

Making Ex-prisoners into Citizens:
Processes of State and Non-governmental Organizational Intervention

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Preface: The Reentry Fair

The Fair

In the spring of 2012, I attended a routine prisoner reentry information fair hosted by Social Justice, Inc. (SJI), a faith-based organization in Madison, Wisconsin.¹ I had learned that the mayor and chief of police were going to speak at the event. I arrived just in time for an opening prayer and poem. The audience was sitting in the middle of the room in chairs, a group of uniformed police officers was sitting in the back of the audience, and there was a large rectangle of tables around the perimeter with information about specific organizations (staff and volunteers were waiting at these booths).

The officials spoke reverentially about the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) present. The chief of police, Noble Wray, stressed the importance of support from the faith community. He mentioned that when people work in groups, it brings out “collective efficacy” and strength. He told the crowd, “At some point in time, a person can pay their debt to society. We can get back to that idea of redemption.” The mayor of Madison, Paul Soglin, appealed to both the ex-prisoners and the organizations in the room to help show people there are better “opportunities” waiting for them than reoffending. He recognized an SJI staff member he had known since the 1960s.

After the speeches, members of the crowd walked around the rectangle of tables, and staff and volunteers began to distribute information at their booths. The topics and programs represented at the tables were strongly work oriented, and included a construction training program and a program at the county workforce office. A fast food restaurant featured a notice—

¹ All NGO titles and staff names are pseudonyms unless otherwise specified.

written on part of a cardboard box in black marker—that it was hiring a night shift worker. Two of the organizations at the booths focused on sexual and reproductive health. I stayed at the event, talking with staff and volunteers, until I saw SJI staff packing up food and tables, looking tired; the staff of this NGO, not city officials, had planned and executed the fair.

The Fair as an Allegory

The story of the fair serves as an allegory of the “marketplace” of post-release services for prisoners that has formed in Dane County, as well as throughout Southern Wisconsin and in the United States more broadly. The speeches I heard and the marketplace of information that formed at the periphery of the room represent the process of offloading from state to non-state actors that has occurred in the development of the field of “prisoner reentry.”²

The tone of the speeches capture the spirit of the national policy discussions about “prisoner reentry” that became dominant in the late 1990s, prompted by policy criminologists Jeremy Travis and Joan Petersilia and U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno (Travis 2005). The idea behind “reentry” was to shift policy and programmatic practice away from a “tough on crime” stance, so that policy-makers and NGOs would increasingly attend to the 95 percent of prisoners who return to communities after release from prison (Travis 2005). Indeed the Madison event

² This mode of information distribution, based on the design of a market square, is not unique to either this organization or Dane County. I learned about a prisoner pre-release information fair held that September in Milwaukee at the women’s pre-release prison. I also attended monthly meetings to learn about programs that were held in suburban Milwaukee; these meetings were often in a square-like setting as well, and brochures for organizations and their competitors were distributed more informally. Starting in 2008, I participated as a volunteer for a Madison-based NGO in reentry simulations, or information-sharing exercises (held both within and outside prisons), all of which mirrored this square formation. People “playing” the part of prisoner (whether they were prisoners about to be released or members of the public being educated via the exercise) circulated between different stations such as county welfare office, church food pantry, and community corrections office. The main difference between these fairs and the post-release fair I attended in April 2012 was that at the 2012 one, more of the participants were NGOs and fewer were representatives of the State of Wisconsin.

represented officials and NGOs in a progressive city cooperating to address some of the consequences of mass incarceration.

Viewed reductively, the reentry fair contained all the elements of devolution that characterize the field of “prisoner reentry” work: officials passing on important work to “the community,” especially its faith-based organizations, with or without pay; individual former prisoners traveling between NGOs and work sites (here, tables); and NGO staff supplying the labor.

The event represents the way in which post-release services and care are set up as a “market square.”³ And yet the format of the fair raises several questions that this dissertation addresses: **What types of activities does the penal state support**, particularly the Department of Corrections, the most significant purchaser of community-based correctional services? (Chapter 3) Despite the vague use of the phrase “the community” by officials, the event raises the question: **How does the panoply of organizations involved represent multiple kinds of communities, each with particular visions of ex-prisoners’ social inclusion?** (Chapters 3, 4 and 5)

At the fair, as in state policy, programs focused on work and treatment were the major foci of outreach to prisoners; the *primary* focus is typically not regarding former prisoners as people with families and/or in sexual relationships, although these concerns were also addressed at select tables. Together, the mayor’s recognition of the SJI staff member who was his acquaintance, and the presence of the team of police in the back of the room capture the tension within “reentry” as a service field located separate from but often in the shadow of the state. This tension raises two important questions: **What kinds of relationships do penal state officials**

³ I put the term in quotation marks because not all forms of services and care are compensated.

have with NGOs? (Chapter 4) How do these NGOs' programs, formed with varied goals, align with or depart from state policy goals for reentry? (Chapter 3)

The appeal to faith groups and the prayer to set the mood raise some important additional questions that I address in this dissertation. For example, **How many NGOs actually require expressions of faith from program participants? How is an NGO's approach to religion associated with its particular visions of ex-prisoners as citizens? (Chapter 5)**

While the design of the event mirrored the decentralized and privatized arrangements in the post-release service and policy field, there were some important absences. Women have been returning home to Wisconsin counties after release from prison in record numbers in recent years, and yet women were conspicuously absent as subjects of the speeches. The minimal references to formerly incarcerated women at this event raise another important question this project addresses: **How do organizations construct former prisoners as citizens in gendered ways? (Chapter 5)**

Chapter 1: Introduction

This study examines non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and their work with former prisoners to prepare them for post-prison life, as well as how and why policy-makers and NGO staff have constructed criminalized people as worthy of these interventions. I also analyze the ways in which the process of devolution has involved increasing state reliance on a variety of NGOs.

I draw attention to the importance of NGOs in this field, which has grown rapidly in the past 10-15 years, because these organizations shape the way ex-prisoners prepare for post-prison life. NGOs offer a diverse set of visions of former prisoners as citizens, and potentially connect program participants with quite distinct kinds of concrete communities in which belonging can be experienced. I focus on ways in which these different types of organizations envision the integration and incorporation of their clients as citizens—individuals who belong as full members of a community—and how their visions correspond to the programming they offer and the expectations they have of participants.

To understand the meaning of post-release citizenship, I follow the ideas discussed abstractly as policies into practice at NGO program sites. The specific meaning of citizenship is not inherently obvious when officials or criminologists say that reentry policy should promote “productive” or “law-abiding citizens” returning to “the community,” or when NGO staff and volunteers say they want to work with “returning citizens.”

I investigate how the meaning of citizenship is constructed in a top-down fashion *for* formerly incarcerated people *by* NGO staff and policy-makers.⁴ This interpretive question

⁴ Many NGO staff members were formerly incarcerated themselves, but when formerly incarcerated people speak about their visions for ex-prisoners, they contribute to debates about ex-prisoners and may or may not distinguish themselves as experts or “reentry specialists.” Because of my criterion (described in the methods chapter) that NGOs

particularly builds on the work of Lynne Haney, who examined “how larger ideological or material imperatives operate through concrete institutions” (Haney 2010:18). I also model this study on two scholars’ prior work on the construction of citizenship from the top down in group-based settings in which participants learn new skills, values, and attitudes seen as appropriate for citizens: Jessica Brown’s work on German immigrant classes (2010) and Anna Korteweg’s work on welfare job clubs (2003; 2006).

Unpacking the meaning of the citizenship of former prisoners for staff at NGO sites and officials requires problematizing the meaning of community. The idea of community is often considered in opposition to centralized state penal institutions (Myrda and Cullen 1998; Simon 1993). In discussions of prisoner reentry in policy and among mainstream criminologists, community is significant because relationships “offenders” form there have the potential to correct the values of former prisoners and monitor their social order (Bazemore and Stinchcomb 2004). Omar McRoberts critiqued this predominant construction of “the community,” which regards ex-prisoners as posing a danger to communities and constructs communities as full of endless resources to intervene and “fix” criminalized people (2002).

In addition to McRoberts, other authors have recognized the ways in which the community is problematically treated as “the ‘solution’ to just about every problem of crime and punishment” (Haney 2010:97). Indeed, as Mark Myrda and Frank Cullen wrote, since the state turned away from its view of itself as the primary party “responsible for reforming [criminals] into upwardly mobile citizens,” “the community” has been treated as the “cure to the ostensibly intractable problem of crime” (Myrda and Cullen 1998:3,8). Beth Richie’s research, in particular,

must provide direct services in a group setting to be included in the study, organizations that *only* do advocacy or lobbying, including those that may be run by ex-prisoners, were excluded from the analysis. In addition, this study does not examine how formerly incarcerated people who are not in staff positions at NGOs define their own citizenship.

showed that formerly incarcerated women of color “do not feel embraced by their communities” and are “not identified as having the right to demand services from it” (Richie 2001:283). Critics, therefore, have cautioned against using the idea of “community” in a way that enables the state to abandon subordinated groups (Carlen and Tombs 2006; Hill Collins 2010; Lynch and Sabol 2001; Somers 2008).

In order to understand what the community means in terms of the construction of ex-prisoners’ citizenship, I ask what *specific* communities, especially those represented through NGOs, are involved in interactions with formerly incarcerated people after their release from prison. Outreach to released prisoners is an important part of the reception of former prisoners by particular, concrete communities organized around place, common values or interests, or a common sense of origin or destiny in the afterlife. I situate this work in terms of the mass return of formerly incarcerated people from correctional institutions in recent years.

THE FIELD OF POST RELEASE SERVICES

Returning Prisoners

To understand the emergence of the field of post-release services and care, it is important to understand the conditions of mass incarceration that have produced historically unprecedented numbers of released prisoners in the United States. Nearly 730,000 men and women exited state and federal prisons in the United States in 2009 (West, Sabol and Greenman 2010).⁵ These surges are in part due to aggressive and punitive policies passed in the late 1980s and 1990s, including truth-in-sentencing (TIS) laws. TIS encourages states to use incarceration, including as

⁵ Many returning prisoners continue serving their felony sentences under correctional supervision in the community. Glaze, Lauren E., and Thomas P. Bonczar. 2009. "Probation and Parole in the United States, 2008." Washington, DC: Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics.

a punitive tool for people on post-release supervision who commit technical violations of the conditions of their release. Under TIS, parole revocation, or “back-door sentencing,” has become a major source of the increase in the population of prisoners (Sabol et al. 2002). The combination of these tough-on-crime laws and tightened regulations for post-release supervision has made it increasingly difficult for the record numbers of criminalized people to avoid returning to prison.⁶

More women than ever have returned from prison in the United States in recent years, following the acceleration of women’s incarceration rates in the 1990s. In particular, the number of women under correctional control has surged; between the 1980s and 2003, women’s incarceration increased at twice the rate of men’s incarceration (Covington 2003).⁷ Women now compose about 8 percent of the population of prisoners nationally (Guerino, Harrison and Sabol 2011). The surge in women’s incarceration (both in raw numbers and relative to men) is a phenomenon that has occurred nationally, as well as in Wisconsin, which is the focus of the current study (Figure 1).

The number of criminalized women of color has undergone a particularly sharp rise since the implementation of the War on Drugs. From 1989 to 1994 (the height of the War on Drugs) the number of African American women under correctional supervision grew twice as fast as the number of black men, and faster than any other group (Bloom, Owen and Covington 2003). The

⁶ This situation has been called a “revolving door problem” (a term that problematically draws attention away from policies).

⁷ In 2009, 18 percent of those on parole/extended supervision were women. Glaze, Lauren E. 2010. “Correctional Populations in the United States, 2009.” Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics. Between 1986 and 1996, there was a nearly nine-fold increase in the incarceration of women for drug offenses. Bloom, Barbara, Barbara Owen, and Stephanie Covington. 2003. “Gender-Responsive Strategies: Guiding Principles for Women Offenders.” Washington, D.C.: US Department of Justice, National Institute of Corrections. The number of mothers incarcerated in U.S. prisons and jails increased by 131% between 1991 and 2007, during which time the number of incarcerated fathers increased by 77 percent. Glaze, Lauren E., and Laura M. Maruschak. 2008. “Parents in Prison and Their Minor Children.” Pp. 25 in *Bureau of Justice Statistics Special Report* Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs.

rise in women's criminalization did not correspond to a large increase in violent offending by women, but rather was driven by more arrests for drug and property offenses (Covington 2003).⁸ This scenario has led feminist researchers to call the War on Drugs "a war on women" (Bush-Baskette 1998; Bush-Baskette 2010).

NGO Interventions

In light of the alarming numbers of people leaving prisons, I examine the policy arrangements under which NGOs now work with formerly incarcerated women and men, focusing their missions on "reentry," "reintegration," or other specific challenges of the post-release process. In what I call the field of *post-release services*, non-profit and for-profit organizations recruit released or soon-to-be-released prisoners and deliver programs to these individuals. Some NGOs provide novel services to this newly recognized population of "returning prisoners," while other NGOs have relabeled existent services (Travis 2000). A large (but unknown) proportion of released prisoners participate in post-prison programming, either voluntarily or as a condition of supervision.⁹

Work in this emergent sector often falls under the umbrella of prisoner reentry, which Joan Petersilia defined as: "all activities and programming conducted to prepare ex-convicts to return safely to the community and to live as law-abiding citizens" (Petersilia 2003:3). Policy-

⁸ The imprisonment rate for black women is double the rate for all U.S. women (Carson and Sabol 2012). African American women are estimated to be half the population of women in prison. Frost, Natasha A., Judith Greene, and Kevin Pranis. 2006. "The Punitiveness Report: Hard hit: The growth in the imprisonment of women, 1977-2004." New York Institute on Women & Criminal Justice, Women's Prison Association.

⁹ As Douglas Thompkins wrote (2010:589): "Personal reentry experience" varies significantly, reflecting "the individual parole officer they are assigned to and the number and types of programs they are required to participate in."

makers tend to refer to providers as “prisoner reentry organizations”¹⁰ and call the field “prisoner reentry” services. Increasingly, critics—including Doug Thompkins (2010), Cassandra Shaylor and Erica Meiners (2013), and Pat Carlen and Jacqueline Tombs (2006)—have labeled this field the “prisoner reentry industry,” the “prisoner reintegration industry,” or “Reentry, Inc.” These authors have remarked on what they regard as an insincere approach or the limited ability of NGOs to address the conditions of mass punishment and penal state surveillance, profiteering neoliberalism, economic exclusion, racism, gender domination, and political disenfranchisement.¹¹

This study examines this organized work with former prisoners in the two Wisconsin counties to which the largest numbers of released state prisoners return each year (Dane and Milwaukee Counties; see Chapter 2 for further information on the state of Wisconsin and these counties). In both Wisconsin and the United States overall, as the population of prisoners coming home has grown at an unprecedented rate, so has the field of post-release services.¹² NGOs doing post-release work are often located in neighborhoods where ex-prisoners are concentrated, and often cater to multiple populations of marginalized people (Hercik et al. 2004). Some work begins before release; some continues after release; and some is only post-release. People participate in post-release programming both on mandatory and voluntary bases.

NGOs doing post-release work are quite varied, offering soft skill classes, Bible studies, group therapy, transitional housing, and one-on-one mentoring or case management, and addressing work, parenting, and romantic and kin relationships. The programs serve a variety of

¹⁰ As I discuss in the methods chapter, what this means in practical terms—organizations with reentry goals, or with a quota of returning prisoners—is a methodological question in itself.

¹¹ The December, 2010 special issue of *Dialectical Anthropology* includes additional, similar critiques.

¹² I do not include institutional or within-prison programming in this study, though some define “reentry” as beginning there.

target populations: women, men, juveniles, adults, and/or whole families.¹³ NGOs may approach sub-populations based on offense, gender, victimization history, substance use or addiction, and current status of supervision. This variety reflects the multiple visions of ideal citizenship that NGOs view as appropriate for the kinds of communities that people are envisioned as joining, and illustrates that these organizations invite participation into quite different concrete communities.

Reentry policy, which emerged in the early 2000s, has built on the scaffolding of two prior areas of policy that envisioned NGOs as core actors shaping the morality and economic self-sufficiency of the poor. The charitable choice provision of the 1996 welfare reform legislation and the faith-based initiatives passed under President Bush beginning in 2001 promoted the idea that religious groups are more adept than the government or secular groups at providing care for the needy (Casanova 1994; Formicola 2003; Johnson 2011). Both Edward Flores (2014) and Omar McRoberts (2002) have critiqued this assumption as problematic in the context of reentry policy, although it is a driving element shaping the development of policy and programs.

Indeed, in the charitable choice provision and faith-based initiatives, policy-makers envisioned the transformation of the poor in terms of allowing community-based organizations, especially religious organizations, to shape “the behaviors and attitudes suitable for success in the work place” (Monsma 2007:88). Charitable choice and faith-based initiative policies thus redirected resources to sites at which lawmakers imagined human resources were “lying dormant” (Chaves and Wineburg 2010:345): churches that would do more charitable work if they were not restrained by regulations (Wuthnow 2004), and other community-based

¹³ I only focus on NGOs that serve women in this research.

organizations that would conduct outreach to the poor regardless of whether they were being paid.

Reentry policies have followed these earlier policies closely in the way they frame religious NGOs as important (Green 2013; Johnson 2011; Miller 2014; Sherman 2003).¹⁴ For instance, the federal Ready4Work program is designed specifically to encourage workforce readiness and soft skill development at faith-based organizations.¹⁵ Thus proponents of reentry policies and programs highlight the ways that post-release programs can do many things: reduce crime, provide workforce development, facilitate ties and group membership, and enhance rights, but these programs also encourage religious involvement for former prisoners (Johnson 2011; Maruna 2011; Morash 2010; Toney 2007).

Terminology

The term “prisoner reentry” is used in many ways. In its most general form, the term refers to massive releases from prison and the work of various actors to facilitate this process (Petersilia 2003; Travis 2005). Todd Clear is among the researchers who have focused on this aspect of reentry; Clear has addressed how the large numbers of people coming home to specific neighborhoods are associated with concerns such as neighborhood cohesion and social order (Clear 2007). The term “reentry” is also used to refer to the personal process that accompanies an individual’s release (whether it is viewed as beginning behind prison walls or upon release), or merely a “problem at the level of individuals” (Bumiller 2013:16). When used to describe only

¹⁴ Major federal reentry policies and programs include Ready4Work (established in 2003, and only available to faith-based organizations), the Prisoner Reentry Initiative (established in 2004; discussed in Chapter 3), and the Second Chance Act of 2007 (passed in 2008).

¹⁵ This program is supported by the U.S. Department of Labor and the Annie E. Casey Foundation and is administered by the NGO Public/Private Ventures.

individual stages and choices, however, this term ignores the specific settings in which people live and spend time. At a minimum, the term “reentry” lacks a clear definition: is it a static stage that people pass through, or a continuing process, and if a process, is it an individual or group process?

Critical scholars have rejected the terminology of reentry and reintegration as incorrect depictions of the processes that many economically and socially marginalized people who have been criminalized experience. Kristin Bumiller (2013) concluded:

The term “re-entry” is a fundamentally inaccurate description of the experience of most ex-prisoners in that most men and women involved in the criminal justice system have never been integrated into mainstream society, even prior to their incarceration. (P. 16)

Rather, Bumiller asserted, people become criminalized as a result of “a series of social exclusions that begin early in life, and are generally related to gender, race, ethnicity, poverty, disability and lack of educational opportunity” (2013:16).

In a similar argument, Laura Shantz and colleagues similarly stated that the term “reintegration” is inadequate to describe the way that criminalized people’s lives often begin in socially and economically marginal positions (Shantz, Kilty and Frignon 2009). In a complementary work, Beth Richie illustrated that upon release, ex-prisoners may face certain coercive or exploitative situations they were able to avoid while in prison, including poverty; residence in the same household, social network, or ZIP code; and strained relationships with police (Richie 2001; Richie 2002).

Because of the imprecision of the term “reentry,” and in its inaccuracy in reflecting the processes people undergo, I will, where possible, refer to this field (in which many actors work to incorporate or include ex-prisoners in social life in a patterned, systematic way) as the post-

release service field. This choice of terminology reflects an effort to draw attention to institutional processes rather than the individual-level process that occurs as a person “reenters.”

As I explain in Chapter 3, the terminology of reentry is useful at times, for example when I discuss the state’s policy as conceived around ideas of “prisoner reentry,” when I compare organizational activities based on how closely they align with such state policy on “prisoner reentry,” and when I label NGOs doing work that meets state reentry policy goals as “classic reentry” NGOs. Yet I identify that NGOs often surpass what is articulated or promoted within state policy on reentry, delivering broader forms of incorporation and offering more forms of social inclusion than “prisoner reentry” suggests.

Research Questions

This study seeks to understand this post-prison service field in which formerly incarcerated women and men are constructed as citizens in relationship to communities imagined in different ways by different service providers. I base my conclusions on an analysis of interviews with providers, in-person observations of the work done at various NGOs, state policy documents, and NGO program and mission-related documents that I collected in southern Wisconsin. Using this data, I seek to answer the following questions: What are the goals of the various NGOs participating in this work, especially as they relate to women? What are the organizations’ practices? What particular communities (e.g., geographically specific neighborhoods, symbolic communities formed around common goals) do they reflect? Why do these organizations focus on providing services for particular groups of participants?

I show that each NGO is situated in particular ways relative to the state, and each entails particular goals; types of clients; activities; and approaches to religion, citizenship, and gender. I

use my observations of patterns in these areas to sort the focal organizations and create typologies reflecting specific NGO attributes (Bennett and Elman 2006). At times I speak specifically about the gendered nature of this process, asking how NGOs regard women in terms of their personal transformation and skills (Haney 2010; McCorkel 2004; McKim 2008; Miller 2012). I address gender most directly in Chapter 5.¹⁶ At other times, I speak more generally about approaches to returning prisoners at NGO sites (Chapters 3 and 4).

STATE INTERVENTIONS

My examination of the way the state and NGO actors approach returning prisoners follows the call of political sociologists to bring institutions into analysis (Evans, Rueschemeyer and Skocpol 1985). The edited volume *Bringing the State Back In* (Evans, Rueschemeyer and Skocpol 1985) called researchers to identify the ways in which the state provides resources, acknowledges rights (Weir and Skocpol 1985), and defines relationships with and within civil society (Katzenstein 1985; Katznelson 1985; Stepan 1985). In addition to my analysis of NGOs, I bring in institutions by examining the way the state intervenes in the lives of criminalized people through the expansion of the penal state, the devolution of work to non-state parties, regulation, and the interpretation of needs.

Intervention through Expansion of the Penal State

I extend the call to “bring the state back in” to the penal state conceived as the multiple actors who shape the laws impacting criminalized people (lawmakers, law enforcers, judges,

¹⁶ Although the project was initially framed around questions about how the approach to gender shaped the organization of the field of outreach to women ex-prisoners, I found that an alternative framework focused on religion was more persuasive given the results; see Chapter 5 for a discussion.

fundings within government, administrative staff). Broadly, the term “penal state” (also called the carceral state) refers to the punitive arm of the state that oversees arrests, criminal processing through sentencing, incarceration, and community supervision (Gottschalk 2006). The new governmental apparatus used to “monitor, incarcerate, and execute its citizens” marks the United States as a strong state, not a weak state, as comparative studies often conclude (Gottschalk 2006:236). Even accounts that critique the efficacy of the state, which hold that the state is posturing to maintain the illusion of control where there is no actual ability to control crime, focus on the penal state’s centrality in driving mass incarceration (Garland 2001; Wacquant 2010a).

Scholars have paid close attention to the growth of the penal state, from federal to municipal policies, practices, agencies, and bodies. Researchers have regularly named an out-of-control, swollen, and invasive state as the primary actor carrying out mass incarceration policies. The growth of the penal state has involved practices ranging from the “tough on crime” rhetoric of politicians to the everyday activities of corrections staff to law enforcement enacting policies (Beckett 1997).¹⁷

This study follows a growing body of research that distinguishes between the various penal state actors and administrative entities that formed and grew in power through mass incarceration (Beckett 1997; Schoenfeld and Campbell 2013).¹⁸ A massive reorganization of the

¹⁷ The state, however, is hardly alone; researchers have identified many other types of actors who have supported and/or benefitted from mass incarceration, including (among others) warden associations, residents of towns hosting prisons, companies using prison industry labor, companies accepting “contracted out” prisoners, victim’s advocates non-profits, and members of poor communities.

¹⁸ In comparison, under Progressive Era social policy, powerful bureaucratic offices were concerned with not only corrections, but also a broad array of interventions across public health and social services.

government agencies concerned with responding to crime has made mass incarceration possible (Thompson 2010b).¹⁹

Thus, I extend the political, sociological, and historical approaches of Thompson (2010b) and Schoenfeld and Campbell (2013) to examine the policy and administrative arrangements that shape post-prison work in Wisconsin. While governmental bodies at the federal, state, county, and municipal levels contribute to the operation of the penal state, I focus particularly on state-level government. Funds for special policing and corrections programs, including reentry, have come from federal sources. As I discuss in Chapter 3, training money from the federal government propelled Wisconsin's move into reentry policy. However, many routine correctional costs within states are covered by taxpayers, and budgets are approved through the state legislature. In Wisconsin, the state-level corrections department operates a greater number of facilities than the federal Bureau of Prisons, and plays a more prominent role than the federal government in communicating with the public about "reentry" as a phenomenon.²⁰ Thus, state-

¹⁹ For example, the first major institutional development was the Johnson Administration's (1963-1969) launching of the War on Crime. In 1968, Johnson passed the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act. States could receive block grants and earmarked assistance to combat what was perceived as a growing threat of both civil unrest (riots and student protests) and organized crime as well as rising rates of violent and property crime. The act created the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA, later succeeded by the Office of Justice Programs), which provided large sums to states for equipment and the training of police forces. After the launch of LEAA and the War on Crime, the War on Drugs was the next major set of domestic and foreign policies through which penal state entities concentrated their power. This set of policies was first launched under President Nixon; it accelerated in the 1980s, especially after the passage of the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986, which created mandatory minimum sentences. Flamm, Michael W. 2005. *Law and order: Street crime, civil unrest, and the crisis of liberalism in the 1960s*. New York: Columbia University Press, Thompson, Heather Ann. 2010b. "Why Mass Incarceration Matters: Rethinking Crisis, Decline, and Transformation in Postwar American History." *Journal of American History*:703-34. Schoenfeld, Heather, and Michael Campbell. 2013. "The Transformation of America's Penal Order: A Historicized Political Sociology of Punishment." *American Journal of Sociology* 118(5):1375-423, Thompson, Heather Ann. 2010b. "Why Mass Incarceration Matters: Rethinking Crisis, Decline, and Transformation in Postwar American History." *Journal of American History*:703-34.

²⁰ In addition to the DOC, several other state agencies contribute to the operation of the penal state: the legislature; the Department of Administration, which oversees state purchasing; the Department of Financial Institutions, which oversees the registration of non-profits; and the Department of Safety and Professional Services (formerly the Department of Regulation and Licensing), which authorizes parties for charitable fundraising and oversees the licensing of professionals.

level correctional agencies have become the public face of Wisconsin's penal state and the primary agencies communicating and executing policy.

State Intervention via Devolution

Because I “bring institutions back in” when considering the penal state, I examine the arrangements through which the state delegates work to NGOs. The boundary between the state and NGOs has become blurry due to years of devolution policies and practices (Collins and Mayer 2010; Haney 2010; Mayer 2007; Sager 2010). The current era of mass incarceration is characterized by larger struggles to “redefine the perimeter, missions, priorities, and modalities of action of public authorities” (Wacquant 2010a:217).

I also situate this research within the context of wider state policies encouraging economic neo-liberalism. Politically decentralized and economically neoliberal nation-states such as the United States look to the market and voluntary organizations to incorporate newcomers on an individualistic basis (Haney 2004; Mudge 2008; Soysal 1994). Broadly, the state has expanded the role of NGOs by both contracting and policy invitations—naming NGOs as “partners” but often providing only limited funding for this collaborative work.

As I demonstrate in Chapter 3, state policies promote several approaches that devolve decisions to lower-level jurisdictions and to non-state actors. In community-based correctional services, as in other social service fields, devolution (the transference of governmental work to non-governmental parties) has become widespread. *Privatization* is a formal process delegating specific tasks to non-state parties (Marwell 2004; Van Slyke 2003). *Responsibilization* is an informal offloading of work to “the community” at large (Rose 1996). I provide a historical context for privatization and responsibilization in the development of Wisconsin's purchase of

service (POS) system in the 1970s and the prison population boom in the 1990s. Through specific policies, state actors have removed themselves from much of the direct delivery of services and care to ex-prisoners.

I examine the consequences of devolution by exploring the kinds of secular and religious NGOs to whom state actors have transferred post-release work. I use the term NGO rather than service providers in order to signify that not all post-release work is formal “service provision” and not all NGOs are “service providers” who are directly paid by the penal state for their work. As I note in the case descriptions in the empirical chapters, religious and voluntary organizations are among the participants in post-release work. As I show, the devolution of services has enabled diverse organizations to work to receive former prisoners, and some of these organizations specifically address women as a growing correctional sub-population.

Beyond a growing acknowledgement of the relevance of devolution, exactly *how* the penal state shapes the field of post-release services is a point of contestation. On one end of the continuum, academics and activists have expressed fear of a totalitarian reentry industrial complex. In this view, non-state actors performing the role of “satellite states” (Haney 2010) do work on behalf of the state; their conduct is “managed and directed” by state actors even though the satellites retain some programmatic autonomy (2010:18). Lynne Haney has argued that it is a mistake to assume state devolution always means state withdrawal and retrenchment (2010).

At the other end of the continuum, policy-makers such as former Wisconsin Governor Tommy Thompson (1987-2001) justify transferring work to “the community” because NGOs offer something healthy and helpful that the state cannot (or will not) provide (Thompson 1999). Such justifications suggest that the character and moral guidance that “the community” offers prisoners—particularly when this direction is offered in a religious setting—is a better alternative

than anything the state can offer (Sherman 2003; Sherman 2002). Thus, proponents of this view suggest that penal agencies should leave it to “the community” at large—with only minimal state involvement—to determine the need for services and deliver them.

To understand how the state relates to the NGOs it claims as partners, I specify the role state actors play in setting up these devolved relationships in Wisconsin. I analyze funding, guidelines for services, and accountability regimes that the state applies to NGOs working on the inclusion of former prisoners in post-prison life. Municipalities, state governments, and federal government agencies have been involved in shaping the field of post-release services in important ways.

State Intervention through the Regulation and Interpretation of Needs

Beyond involvement in the expanded penal state and the shrinking devolved state, state actors play additional roles in shaping NGO work with former prisoners. Michael Walzer (2003) discussed typical forms state regulation of associational life, and many of these also characterize state involvement with post-release NGOs. State bodies license professionals and set rules for activities run by non-profits, as would be expected in any area of NGO activity.

Further forms of state involvement surround the interpretation of need, or the authoritative assessment of the social needs of a constituency, including the establishment of benefits and program eligibility (Fraser 1987). Need interpretation would be expected in the administration of many types of social programs, particularly for the poor (Fraser 1995; Mayer 2007). Policies at many levels have identified returning prisoners as a distinct population needing intervention and assistance (Travis 2005). In the post-release service field, these state policy activities are particular to the type of clients and program participants. The Wisconsin

Department of Corrections (not entirely transparently) interprets the needs of “correctional clients” (released prisoners) through the allocation for program funds for specific services in correctional budgets. DOC agents also interpret need when they refer clients to NGOs.

However, not all NGOs encounter all of these forms of state involvement and regulation. As I show in Chapter 4, there is substantial variation in the forms and degree of state involvement in NGO sites—the DOC is heavily integrated in organizational practices at some sites and nearly entirely absent from organizational practices at others. I specifically assess closeness and hierarchy in the relationships between NGOs and the DOC. Capturing this variation in state-NGO relationships and its connection to NGO programming, visions of citizenship, and community locations is essential for providing an accurate assessment of the post-release services field.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF FORMERLY INCARCERATED PEOPLE’S CITIZENSHIP

State policies have certainly shaped the field of post-release work through the expansion of the penal state, devolution, and additional interventions such as regulation and need interpretation. Further, I argue that states have been important participants in and have prompted debates over the meaning of ex-prisoners’ citizenship. As Michael Walzer noted, the state “compels association members to think about a common good, beyond their own conceptions of the good life” (2003:23). As discussions of the meaning of post-prison life have taken shape, the ideas of citizenship and community have arisen frequently. Researchers, practitioners, and policy-makers have debated whether and how formerly incarcerated people can become citizens, and what role NGOs play in that process.

The heart of the current project is two-fold: first, interpreting what various actors mean as they discuss good citizenship and invoke the aid of the community, and, second, asking how these actors translate their meanings into practice. I review two perspectives on the arrangements between the state and NGOs that structure NGO work with formerly incarcerated people, shaping their citizenship. First, a perspective on reentry that is increasingly mainstream among state officials and particular private foundations regards intermediary institutions as relevant to the shaping of ex-prisoners as citizens. Second, however, academic researchers' critiques of reentry policy and programs question whether meaningful citizenship is really being offered to formerly incarcerated people through these arrangements.

Mainstream "Reentry" Perspective

Proponents of reentry policy have voiced quite optimistic and increasingly predominant views in discussions of post-release life. These proponents have sought to create and encourage programs for "reentry" as a less punitive alternative to incarceration (Bumiller 2013). Defenders of "reentry" describe their goal as using programs to transform prisoners into worthy, law-abiding, and *productive citizens* who are ready for life in *the community* rather than in correctional institutions (Petersilia 2003).

The dominant discourses of reentry proponents focus on the need for the post-prison integration process to prioritize reducing recidivism and public safety. Proponents envision ex-prisoners as ideally becoming integrated into work, family, and civic life, with the ultimate goal of "successful reintegration" into societal institutions. Staff and volunteers work on re-socializing and re-tooling the skills of former prisoners, providing resources and information and

thus impacting clients' actions and opportunities (D.R. Lynes 2004; VanDeCarr 2007; Young, Taxman and Byrne 2002).

The Ready4Reentry toolkit, which was designed for faith-based and community organizations and published by the U.S. Department of Labor Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives (DOL 2007), is a prime example of discussions at the level of federal policy encouraging NGO work that facilitates citizenship. The Ready4Reentry document states that the goals of reentry policy are not only safe streets but also the “successful integration of ex-prisoners into America’s communities.” The toolkit materials assert that programs can achieve successful integration by utilizing “caring mentors” and encouraging “attachment to the labor force through stable employment, in concert with family and community connections” that will break the “cycle” of offending (DOL 2007:1). The task the materials describe is providing “social supports” and “skills” that will allow ex-prisoners to remain in the work force, which also implies that reentry programs will supervise participants and help them deal with “obstacles to reentry” in the form of substance abuse and housing needs (DOL 2007:1). These state actors believe faith communities are “uniquely situated” to do this work with people officials regard as having lacked morality prior to arrest and incarceration (DOL 2007:1).²¹

In sum, the Ready4Reentry toolkit describes returning prisoners as being made into citizens as workers, but also as people who are hopefully involved in faith communities and

²¹ Current policy on citizen-making through reentry program interventions echoes older thinking guiding welfare reform. For instance, the 1987 “New Consensus Report” written by Michael Novak and others at the American Enterprise Institute advances a role of government is “unable by its nature to engage the problems of the underclass at the necessary moral depth” (Novak 1987:108); only outside government can people learn to “live as full and independent citizens.” This report argued that religion (along with family) is especially effective as part of the “moral system” to “establish expectations for behavior” Novak, Michael. 1987. *The New consensus on family and welfare: A community of self-reliance*. Washington, D.C. Milwaukee, WI: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research; Marquette University. The report urges that voluntary associations “should focus their power on reducing behavioral dependency” (Novak 1987:108; also discussed in Mayer 2007), particularly faith-based organizations, because so many of the poor (and non-poor) are religious.

families and under close supervision. The vision of ex-prisoners presented in these materials is of people who need contact with institutions that can offer skill development and mentoring.

In addition to the federal government, private foundations also espouse the position that citizenship can best be encouraged via non-state programs, especially ones that promote the values of responsibility and morality. For example, the right-leaning Bradley Foundation supports several NGOs that run post-release programs in Milwaukee. A recent annual report reflects the foundation's view of citizenship as "responsible self-government" of the poor. The foundation funds organizations that help create "competent, self-governing citizens" capable of making political, economic, and moral decisions (Bradley Foundation 2010).

The perceived need to shape moral citizenship is exactly why churches are appealing to reentry policy-makers. Omar McRoberts has asserted that policy-makers' language of individual transformation builds on an idea of moral reform that religious organizations have been using since the early twentieth century. McRoberts noted:

It is no wonder that religious institutions have been raised as possible midwives of successful reentry.... This is not a new language or logic. The language of individual transformation is a cousin of that which emerged during the moral reform movement, a strain of religious social thought originating around the turn of the 20th century in the nation's exploding urban centers (McRoberts 2002:4).

McRoberts continued by drawing a parallel between current policy and reformers who invoked the social gospel over a century ago as they sought to use the Bible to redirect the poor from vice and violence, and explaining that "reentry policy is beginning to look to churches to reorient, or reform, ex-offenders so that they might resist the enticements to crime present in the city" (McRoberts 2002:4). In both periods, the state has relied on intermediating organizations to enact reform and transformation away from crime (McRoberts 2002), tasking religious institutions with moral transformation of the individual.

Critiques of “Reentry” Work at NGOs

Critics, however, are skeptical that the penal state could provide NGOs real independence from its surveillance and goals of control. In a 2013 essay, Kristin Bumiller considered organizations involved in reentry programs through a demonstration project for the Second Chance Act. She suggested that organizations had been essentially pulled closer to the penal state, including law enforcement. Bumiller responded to a 2009 report on this demonstration by the department of Labor’s Employment and Training Administration:

The most energetic and successful efforts of these initiatives helped to create inter-agency cooperation and encourage more collaboration between rehabilitation officials and in-prison services and law enforcement. (Bumiller 2013:21)

These providers of reentry services, she wrote, must rely on law enforcement to “keep track of participants so they [could] focus on an employment-centred approach to rehabilitation” (2013:21). Yet Bumiller concluded that this arrangement did not benefit the program participants; the assessment showed that the programs did not sufficiently address housing, job training, or substance abuse counseling, nor did they respond to the unique needs of women (Bumiller 2013:21).

Douglas Thompkins (2010) is one of those who are most skeptical of prisoner reentry as in idea driving policy and programs. Like Bumiller, Thompkins views these policies as falling far from the ideal of enabling ex-prisoners’ citizenship. Thompkins concluded that “the prisoner reentry industry (PRI) has become a major part of the Social Control Industrial Complex” (Thompkins 2010:589). PRI, he wrote, is “doing little to link the formerly incarcerated person to the social capital and human skills necessary to become a ‘citizen’” (2010:589). The “industry” offers no real opportunities such as lasting job placement, he explained, because NGOs would be out of their own service-providing jobs.

Critics have also asserted that the conditions that allow staff to control former prisoners in these extra-carceral spaces are hostile to the creation of active, agentic citizens. Thompkins wrote that programs reduce adults to “child-like” people who need surveillance (2010:597). Cassandra Shaylor and Erica Meiners expressed a similar concern about the ways that these sites could “render more diffuse, or even mask, carceral practices” (2013:189-190).

Critical scholars have also described a concern about the potential for organizational co-optation, which could diminish both citizen-building at NGO sites, as well as political organizing by NGOs. As Haney wrote, the prospects for NGOs to operate outside the goals of the penal state are dampened by states’ “co-optation” of NGO agendas, budgetary priorities, staffing decisions, and approaches to clients (2010:92). MaDonna Maidment has framed reentry NGOs as co-opted because of their reliance on the state for survival. Maidment critiqued the “political vortex constructed by the state to satisfy its own organizational interests,” which she asserted is a pretext to intervene and exclude criminalized people (Maidment 2006a:18). While there have been some grassroots mobilization efforts among reentry NGOs, critics have noted that few of these organizations are specifically politicized (Bumiller 2013; Shaylor and Meiners 2013).

Broader critiques of penal politics (i.e., critiques of policy that affects aspects of the penal system other than post-release services) have questioned whether meaningful citizenship for criminalized people is really being offered. Among the most widely read critiques of the way mass punishment has diminished citizenship is work by Jeff Manza, Chris Uggen, and their colleagues.²² Manza and colleagues described the penal state as denying prisoners citizenship for

²² But also see the following work. Weaver, Velsa M. 2009. "The Impact of the Carceral State on Citizenship and Sense of the State." Pp. 56 in *Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association*. Toronto, Ontario. Katzenstein, Mary. 2005. "Rights without Citizenship: Activist Politics and Prison Reform." Pp. 236-58 in *Routing the Opposition: Social Movements, Public Policy, and Democracy*, edited by David S. Meyer, Valerie Jenness, and Helen Ingram. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. Demleitner, Nora. 2005. "A vicious cycle: Resanctioning offenders." Pp. 185-202 in *Civil penalties, social consequences*, edited by Christopher Mele and Teresa Miller. New York: Routledge. Mele, Christopher, and Teresa A. Miller. 2005b. "Collateral Civil Penalties as

life; the authors emphasized the many rights that felons lose permanently after conviction. People with felony convictions are simultaneously denied the benefits of full citizenship and expected to behave as particularly virtuous citizens by meeting the special conditions of parole (Manza and Uggen 2006:9). A felony conviction limits people's rights and capacities and stigmatizes them (Uggen, Manza and Behrens 2004), and several authors have argued that stripping people of their rights as citizens in this way threatens the democracy of the nation as a whole (Uggen and Manza 2002; Uggen, Manza and Thompson 2006). These authors have claimed that the circumstances of mass incarceration have transformed felons into an entrenched category of "partial citizens" (Manza and Uggen 2006:9).

Discussing incarcerated women (rather than gender-neutral prisoners in the abstract), feminist penologists particularly decry criminalized women's exclusion from citizenship through punishment. As Pat Carlen and Jacqueline Tombs wrote, ideas of inclusion in policy on criminalized people, especially women, are at best weak, and at worst absent (Carlen and Tombs 2006).²³ Lynne Haney has also expressed concern that state penal control restricts the prospect of the citizenship for criminalized people, especially through the process of localized identification of program eligibility. For example, "inconsistent definitions of basic citizen rights" are applied across locales (2010:91), and thus access to social assistance as an entitlement varies based on the state in which a criminalized woman lives. These critical readings by feminist penologists suggest that to do meaningful work with formerly incarcerated women, NGOs must address the particular gendered exclusions of women who have been criminalized.

Techniques of Social Policy." Pp. 9-26 in *Civil Penalties, Social Consequences*, edited by Christopher Mele and Teresa A. Miller. New York: Routledge.

²³ In the case of Scotland, which they examine in detail, this is effectively limited to information sharing, which may amount to little more than continued forms of coercive control.

Additional critics of the penal system have identified the economic marginalization of the poor, which shapes life before and after criminalization, as the source of exclusion of prisoners. For instance, Loïc Wacquant wrote that the penal state expands in power, invades ever more deeply into the lives of the criminalized and poor as it carries out neoliberal goals, and pushes individuals into “workfare” and “desocialized wage labor” (Wacquant 2010a:213). Yet the state does not treat the poor as citizens, he argued, but rather subjects who need to meet behavioral obligations in order to receive public assistance.

Addressing the circumstances of poor women of color, critical race feminists have further demonstrated that marginality and exclusion from citizenship are conditions that precede punishment; the process of punishment then exacerbates this extant exclusion. Diminished access to education, job skills, employment, job ladders, and entitlement to state assistance occurs both before and after criminalization for poor women of color (Alfred and Chlup 2009; Richie 2001; Richie 2012). These accounts document the ways in which poor, criminalized African American women are categorically not treated as citizens in terms of being entitled to either fair criminal justice processing as victims or resources that would allow the creation of real opportunities after release (Irving 2008; Richie 2001; Richie 2012).

Angela Davis, Jill McCorkel, and Beth Richie have shown that penal policies have brought women, especially women of color, into the carceral net but, unlike the typical penal approach before tough-on-crime policies and the War on Drugs, have not treated them as deserving special mercy or leniency as women (Gordon 1998-1999; McCorkel 2013; Richie 1996).²⁴ The work of these authors suggests that programs must do much more than re-socialize

²⁴ But see the following accounts of how policy-makers have brought this view of women’s deservingness of special mercy in and out of style. Rafter, Nicole Hahn. 1990. *Partial justice: Women, prisons, and social control*. New Brunswick, U.S.A.: Transaction Publishers. Hannah-Moffat, Kelly. 2000. *Punishment in Disguise: Penal Governance and Canadian Federal Women's Imprisonment*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

individuals; a meaningful commitment to “reentry” would mean addressing the conditions of poor neighborhoods and addressing structural barriers to work opportunities on a wide scale in order to change the positioning of their participants.²⁵

The Present Study

This study provides an empirically based explanation of how NGOs are positioned relative to the penal state, who is involved, how they are involved in terms of programs, and what motivates their involvement. This research thus provides a foundation to understand NGO involvement in post-release work, whether it is more celebratory (per policy-makers’ claims) or cautionary (per critical researchers’ claims). Although I ultimately see NGO involvement as citizenship enhancing, I consider these critics concerns seriously.

By highlighting the role NGOs play in producing citizens in particular ways, I do not deny either the severe exclusion that former prisoners face or the observation that some NGOs doing post-release work promote visions of former prisoners that converge with state policy goals (especially advancing treatment and work-readiness). Rather, I seek to capture the varied role of state involvement in post-release work through arrangements with NGOs (Chapter 4), as well as the NGOs’ varied goals and practices (Chapter 3). Among critics, I am concerned that the complexity of state engagement has been underestimated in order to condemn both the brute unacceptability of the status quo of mass punishment and the danger of organizational co-optation that perpetuates exclusion from citizenship.

The typologies of organizations I present in the three empirical chapters bring more nuance and specificity into the discussion of how NGOs are or are not implicated in the work of

²⁵ Some discussions of what “justice reinvestment” should mean have focused on these changes, specifically, investing meaningfully in neighborhoods before they become “million dollar blocks.”

the penal state. I classify organizations on several dimensions, including goals and activities (Chapter 3), working and funding relationships (Chapter 4), and approaches to religion (Chapter 5). These chapters address several roles played by the state as it oversees the NGO sector: penal state (concerned with punishment and law enforcement); devolved state (concerned with paying non-state parties for work or encouraging this work without direct payment, and nurturing work in the secular or faith-based NGO sectors); regulator; need interpreter; and communicator of the meaning of citizenship.

CITIZENSHIP FRAMEWORK

Because this study investigates the meaning of citizenship as constructed in programs and policies for formerly incarcerated women (and often also men), I use several tools from the conceptual literature on citizenship. First, I build on Lynne Haney's (2010) work by employing a multi-site comparative design in order to identify the many types of community-based organizations that are involved in work with former prisoners. Second, I employ a Marshallian definition of citizenship: people who are recognized as belonging as members of communities. Next, I extend the concept of incorporation first described by Soysal (1994) to the penal state and NGO context. Then I apply the various visions of ideal citizens described by Walzer (2003) and scholars of religion to the topic of post-release policy and programs. Finally, I discuss my use of the concept of gendered citizenship.

Comparative Approach to Citizenship

I adopt a comparative approach in order to illustrate variation across NGO sites and discuss why variation matters for the inclusion of ex-prisoners in communities that hold various

visions of citizenship. As Lynne Haney has written, policies and practices within the penal system, including NGOs doing devolved work, can configure different models of citizenship (Haney 2004). Haney emphasized that devolution has made states less bounded as institutions, and thus opened many forms of discourse about criminalized people:

It also makes sense that, with the inclusion of all sorts of new actors playing the role of the state, their institutional practices and agendas would diversify; the tools they use to interpret and respond to their institutional worlds would multiply. (Haney 2010: 19)

Although I disagree that NGOs must play the role of the state (in fact, I show that some position themselves far from the role of the state in various ways), I take Haney's observation about openness and variation in tools and interpretations of reentry actors seriously in my research design. Haney wrote that her goal was "to juxtapose these penal institutions and to compare their strategies of governance" (2010:22). Modeling my study after Haney's (2010) institutional comparison, I undertake a multi-site, comparative study to capture the scope of variation in the discourses and practices that are encouraged in policies and across NGO sites that serve formerly incarcerated women.

Researchers focusing on post-release work at NGOs have tended to use only a small number of cases or one case (or a pre-existing consortium, Miller 2014) to explore these processes. However, this study utilizes a comparative approach in order to recognize variation in the field, where processes of intervention actually occur across many types of networks and communities. Analyzing multiple empirical cases allows me to identify variation and patterns in the understanding of belonging; no single case encompasses the variation in goals, communities, and practices that leads to a wide range of responses to program participants.

Defining Citizenship in Communities

I understand citizenship in terms of inclusion in communities that make possible the practice of rights (Marshall 1964; Yuval-Davis 1997). T. H. Marshall identified citizenship as a claim to acceptance as a full members of a society—both a legal status that accords rights and benefits, but also the opportunity to participate politically, economically, and civically, and to be recognized as belonging (Bloemraad 2006; Bloemraad, Korteweg and Yurdakul 2008). Thus, my definition of citizenship emphasizes belonging in the communities where citizenship practices occur (Glenn 2002). I examine specific practices—including preparation for employment, democratic participation, civic engagement, and participation in faith-related activities—that enable the enactment of rights. Whether actors see the state or God as ensuring these rights (O'Neill 2005), these practices encourage the practice of rights that make social membership meaningful (Fujiwara 2008; Glenn 2000; Glenn 2002).

Because I understand citizenship as enacted through diverse practices that are made possible through community membership, I examine the roles post-prison service organizations play in expanding the practice of citizenship in varied ways. Only by examining the participation of the broad range of actors involved in diverse organizations, as well as their varied activities and understandings of the meaning of social belonging for ex-prisoners, can I unpack the way state policy-makers and NGO staffs have constructed the meaning of post-release life for ex-prisoners.

For example, as I show in Chapter 5, studying only secular sites (as feminist penological studies have often done) can obscure the ways in which religious ideas of belonging shape ideas about women's gender identities and their prospects for community involvement. By including a large and varied set of NGOs in the analysis, I am able to recognize ways that NGOs construct

citizenship in terms other than the economic production relationship prioritized by the state. As Judith Shklar (1991), Margaret Somers (2008), and others have discussed, it is typically gainful employment that makes a person recognizable to others as a citizen and enables membership in broader political, civil, and social communities in the United States. Yet in cases such as St. Matthew House (SMH), whose priorities for their participants I discuss later, membership is based not on status as a worker but as a Christian. At SMH and other conservative Lutheran and evangelical and NGOs, membership is secured in terms of participation in a religious body, especially through reciprocally religious relationships.

Because of my emphasis on the importance of *particular* communities, in my discussions of NGO sites I describe their institutional embeddedness and neighborhood location. I show how the location of organizations in broader networks and/or communities impacts the ideas advanced and practices in use. The institutional location of NGOs is important: organizations are embedded in networks and organizational cultures that are strongly related to not only the services offered, but also the beliefs about client worthiness, norms of appropriate relations within organizations, and responses to state policies (Esparza 2007; Lichterman 2005; Martin 2005; Noy 2009; Simonds 1996). The environment in which an NGO's office is located further speaks to the community to which it sees itself responding, the purpose of the interventions, and the resources available for their interventions (Hays 2003; Matthews 1995).

NGO staff and volunteers model civic education and the cultivation of the type of person appropriate for democratic life (Goldberg 2013), or specifically for life "in the community" after release. Framing post-release organizations in this way builds on previous research on frontline work with many sub-groups: immigrants (Bloemraad 2006; Choo 2011; Ong 2003), shelter residents (Gengler 2011), women experiencing violence (Scott 2000; Scott 2005), abortion clinic

clients (Simonds 1996), and people experiencing workplace discrimination (Albiston 2005). This body of work has shown that organizations crucially shape the opportunities, resources, and self-understanding of the vulnerable people in whose lives workers intervene. Post-release service work addresses another type of liminal citizenship in a socially vulnerable population at which non-profit and for-profit organizations target their outreach. These frontline organizations shape participants, offer resources, and provide opportunities for developing ongoing institutional ties, especially because programs may enhance clients' ability to participate in additional social institutions (Bloemraad 2006).

Incorporation

Borrowing from studies of migration and citizenship, I use the concept of *incorporation* as an analytical tool that draws attention to structural processes of reception as part of post-release services. The service provider identifies a “community” that the ex-prisoner is being schooled to enter as a member. I extend the concept of incorporation from studies of immigration that also focus on the two-sided relationships between the receiving community and the citizen-in-the-making who is expected to belong in the group.

Incorporation is the process of extending citizenship to newly recognized members of a society, such as immigrants and new political constituents (Berkovitch 1999; Haller, Portes and Lynch 2011; Portes 1995; Soysal 1994; Swider 2008). Research on incorporation treats citizenship as a condition based on the recognition of people as members of communities, and posits that communities create the social conditions within which citizens exercise their rights (Benhabib 2004; Bloemraad 2006; Bloemraad, Korteweg and Yurdakul 2008; Glenn 2002; Marshall 1964).

Incorporation researchers have highlighted the varied and often institutionalized ways of talking about and working with newly recognized members (Soysal 1994). For example, studies of the incorporation of women have examined how women became politically and economically integrated as a new group in the public sphere (Berkovitch 1999). Incorporation researchers have asserted that the societal involvement of new members is more heavily influenced by the reception structures that states and the non-state sector use than by the cultural characteristics and individual traits of newly recognized members (Soysal 1994).

I extend this literature by applying the concept of incorporation to research on the penal state; specifically, I use incorporation as a conceptual tool to illuminate the ways in which institutional actors (especially NGOs) target, process, and route ex-prisoners to prepare them for citizenship. In the area of post-release services, I apply this concept to uncover the multiple dimensions and forms of what I call “prisoner incorporation,” which are the concrete practices used to socially include former prisoners in “the community” identified as actually rehabilitating the individual and transforming him or her into a full member. I identify non-exclusive modes or forms of incorporation of former prisoners, which I discuss in Chapter 3 and build on in my discussion of NGO-state relationships in Chapter 4.

Visions of Citizens

As policies and program staff work to incorporate formerly incarcerated people, I explore their discursive ideas about or visions of belonging and their related practices. In the wake of welfare reform and the rise of the religious right, policies and programs supporting prisoner reentry have strongly emphasized personal transformation (Bumiller 2013; Green 2013; Miller

2014). I interrogate and describe the ideal citizens into which practitioners and policy-makers seek to transform ex-prisoners.

My analysis is guided by discussions of social policies in non-penal domains, associational life, and correctional programs. Walzer (2003) described many of these visions in his essay on civil society. The notable exception is my identification of citizens as members of religious communities, which Walzer did not discuss, except in the form of nationalism. I regard these visions as possible goals that NGOs could encourage former prisoners to achieve, and conclude that it is unlikely that a single organization will promote all of them. I ask how organizations endorse visions of good citizens that are particular to their goals. I use four visions of citizens—as workers, as consumers, as members of political bodies, and as members of religious bodies—to further set up my inquiry into how the construction of citizens is gendered.

Citizens as workers/economic producers. Discussions of post-prison life focus strongly on the idea of the citizen whose standing rests on economic workforce participation. This vision is familiar from prior research on citizenship based historically and in the contemporary United States (Shklar 1991; Somers 2008; Walzer 2003). Both reentry researchers and practitioners view jobs as the means to overcome the economic ills associated with joblessness, such as poverty (Miller 2012; Peck and Theodore 2008; Western 2008b). Social exclusion is thus diagnosed not as a political response to incarceration but rather as an economic result of joblessness due in part to both the prior experience of the prisoner and the record of incarceration.

This idea emphasizes converting ex-prisoners into citizens who have the skills, motivation, and social support to become economically independent and thus worthy of recognition. When not providing skills for the labor market, programs should serve as an

“ideological refresher course,” teaching the poor why they should find sustenance in the labor market rather than make claims on the state (Korteweg 2003).

Citizens as consumers. In this vision of citizenship familiar from broader conceptual discussions (Walzer 2003), consumerism and the exercise of personal choice are identified as the hallmarks of citizenship. When criminalized men and women participate in rehabilitative and soft skill programs, this ideal is applied; however, it is applied in a limited way, with programs focusing on increasing participants’ ability to make decisions that staff or officials deem appropriate and to leave behind what is often called “criminal thinking.” Even when incarcerated women have little choice about their involvement, practitioners and officials still define program consumption/completion as furthering the goals of independence and stability (Hannah-Moffat 2004; McCorkel 2013). Program completion can be framed as the participant taking a step toward self-regulation or even “becom[ing] active in the reconstruction of their community image” rather than “passive entities to be acted upon” (Bazemore and Stinchcombe 2004:15). This is ironically the case even in addiction programs, in which the treatment is something to which an addict must submit to become more agentic (Moore 2007). Even if treatment is mandatory or chosen under duress, the completion of programs is treated as progress toward an ideal of citizenship.

Citizens as members of political bodies. The identification of the citizen as an active participant in the demos, or collective body of political rule, who has standing to make claims, is another vision of citizenship (Soss 2000; Walzer 2003). This vision is especially common in critical work on mass incarceration. Grassroots organizations doing work with former prisoners are recognized as raising political consciousness (Bumiller 2013; Lawston 2009; Shaylor and Meiners 2013). The work of Chris Uggen, Jeff Manza, and colleagues has examined the

obstacles to political engagement that people with criminal records face (Uggen 2002; Uggen and Manza 2002; Uggen and Manza 2004).

In contrast to these approaches, my reading views democracy and civic activity in a different light, located in the NGO sector rather than merely defined by the consequences of prisoners' political disenfranchisement from formal political institutions. Programs that address citizenship based on membership in a political body seek to offer civic engagement as a form of democratic participation that is not contingent on formal voting. Political and civic activities that could be encouraged include attending and testifying at legislative hearings, volunteering for a political campaign, learning to talk to authority figures, and performing charitable acts for others in the community.

Citizens as members of religious bodies. The final vision of citizenship I use in this analysis identifies the citizen as a participant in a religious community, defined as an imagined fellowship of common origin or salvation (Allahyari 2000; Lichterman 2005; O'Neill 2009). I understand religion as a form of meaning-making (Daly 1973) that involves ritual acts that form community (Turner 2008).

Researchers have discussed how programs have encouraged participants' relationships with God since the charitable choice and faith-based initiatives emerged (discussed in Chapter 5) (Formicola 2003; Formicola, Segers and Weber 2003). Indeed, one of the more controversial aspects of reentry policies is the way policy-makers have explicitly called on faith-based organizations. Focusing on religious membership versus national membership (as Walzer did) facilitates a discussion about membership that is more applicable to this debate and these

program sites, in which nationalism is not a primary concern, but in many cases, morality, spirituality, and faith are.²⁶

These four visions of citizenship guide my analysis of discourses and practices. I classify the specific practices that NGOs encourage in my analysis in Chapter 3.²⁷ In Chapter 4 I discuss how various NGOs' positions relative to the state are associated with incorporation activities. I further identify the association of visions of ideal citizens with specific approaches to gender and religion in Chapter 5.

Social inclusion after prison release depends on specifically how communities seek to include people, because citizenship is constituted by the community, not in just "the community" as a vague construction, but in particular organizations with particular goals. It is unlikely that an NGO strongly endorses all these visions, or engages in all the types of incorporation practices I identify in Chapter 3. More importantly, no single vision of citizenship is complete (Walzer 2003): each is partial in that it is very difficult to pursue all of them, and thus practical limitations require some tradeoffs. Further, approaches may build on multiple visions; for example, policies envision the poor as both members of religious communities and worker-citizens when they presume faith-based organizations can best transmit "the behaviors and attitudes suitable for success in the work place" (Monsma 2007:88). Therefore, I argue that the process of post-release incorporation is inherently partial, and may involve the blending of these ideal visions.

²⁶ But see the note in Chapter 2 on the limitations of the research—I did not include Latino community-based organizations for reasons I discuss in that chapter.

²⁷ Some of the practices I discuss in Chapter 1 (e.g., teaching discipline and obedience through domestic work or chores at residences and encouraging reflection or cultural awareness through entertainment events or short trips) do not align closely with a certain vision of a citizen. These practices, however, sometimes overlap with the ideals I identify (e.g., doing chores is associated with being a good Christian and loving neighbor).

Gendered Citizenship

As I investigate constructions of citizenship in terms of worker-producers, consumers of services who become self-regulating and more agentic, members of political bodies, and/or members of religious bodies, I consider how criminalized people are gendered. I understand gender as a social, historically specific construct based on a perception of biological sex differences (Brush 2002; Newton 1994). Gender is a “central organizing and analytical principle of social reality” that configures power relations and differentiates social roles (Lombardo and Verloo 2009). I understand gender as open to contestation, change, and localized definition. Gendered meanings are institutionally integrated via specific policies, and are culturally variable (Karp 2010; Mackay, Kenny and Chappell 2010:580; Rafter 1997). Further, my approach recognizes the ways in which gender is embedded in, works through, and determines many processes (Choo and Ferree 2010).

Following studies of penal programs that target incarcerated and formerly incarcerated women, I ask whether and how gender is involved in visions of the good citizen and in ideas about communities in which people can find belonging or involvement. I thus identify post-release services as another site in which state policies and funding mandates impact practices and organizational constructions of citizenship as gendered. Even in lessons about hygiene or finances (Brown 2010; Kilty and DeVellis 2010; Ong 2003), staff may employ gendered understandings as they teach clients how to understand the responsibilities and rights they have in their roles as parents, workers, benefit recipients, felons, and addicts in recovery (Brown 2010; Choo 2006; Haney 2010; Ong 2003).

In discussions of the construction of criminalized, poor women as gendered citizens, scholars have focused on three topics: sexuality and romantic ties, parenting, and work. Research

on these topics forms the basis of my expectation that interventions with women will be especially gendered in these areas (Haney 2004; Hannah-Moffat 2000; McCorkel 2013).

Sexuality and romantic relationships. Previous research has identified gendered approaches to punishment, in which women are often held to higher moral standards than men (Chesney-Lind and Pasko 2004; Rafter 1990; Rafter 1997; Worrall 2002). Sexuality is a core area in which interventions with criminalized women teach what constitutes women's problematic dependency or responsible behavior (Haney 2010; McCorkel 2004). For example, early twentieth-century policies criminalizing women for moral offenses or sexually transmitted diseases did not require the criminalization of similarly "offending" men (Odegard 1939). These policies enacted ideas about women's responsibility for both men's sexuality and their own.

In more current research, Lynne Haney studied a home for juveniles that taught the young women living there that they had become dependent on the wrong kind of men; staff told women residents that their core "problem" was attempting to meet their needs by choosing the wrong partners (Haney 2010). I build on feminist penological research in my interrogation of how the construction of ex-prisoners' citizenship is gendered, particularly in practitioners' treatment of romantic relationships (Goodkind 2009; Haney 2010; McKim 2008).

One of my key bases is Kelly Hannah-Moffat's study of federal parole board evaluations in Canada, which was based on documentary analysis and interviews. Hannah-Moffat stressed the importance of analyzing what meanings are mobilized to create citizens in the context of punishment (Hannah-Moffat 2006). She showed that when parole board agents used women's histories to determine degrees of culpability and potential for recidivism, they used class-based, ethnically and culturally specific, and heteronormative ideas about romantic relationships. For example, the board characterized women who used "resistant agency" to aggressively fight back

in relationships or self-harmed as riskier than those who used “passive agency” (were compliant or did not fight back). In addition to misunderstanding the nature of violent relationships and power, the evaluation was heteronormative and gender-biased. The boards did not evaluate men in the same way; romantic relationships were only considered a factor in risk assessment for women (Hannah-Moffat 2006). My inquiry into the construction of criminalized women as gendered citizens examines not only the discussion of romantic relationships and sexuality, but also parenting.

Parenting. I follow feminist scholars of citizenship who critique exclusion of parenting (particularly motherhood) and personal relations deemed “private” from liberal constructions of citizenship (Dietz 1994; Yuval-Davis 1997). Feminist scholars in a range of areas (including criminology, jurisprudence, and welfare state studies) have articulated a gender-difference position that emphasizes women’s unique relatedness (Bloom, Owen and Covington 2003; Covington 2003; Haney 2000). This approach constructs citizenship in a way that values relationships and caring, and stresses women’s participation in the family (Dietz 1994). These perspectives advocate programs that “acknowledge and accommodate the likelihood that women are primary caregivers to a child or other dependent” (Sydney 2005:4). Groups adopting a relational perspective may actively seek to reunite women in drug treatment with their children, as well as provide psychological and vocational services (McKim 2008).

Work. In addition to exploring the gendered nature of the construction of relationships, sexuality, and parenting, I also examine how ex-prisoners are approached as workers, that is, people who should respond to economic need by finding labor market engagement deemed appropriate to policy-makers or program staff. The conditions of poverty and economic marginality are certainly of concern to feminist criminologists. For example, Gail Caputo has

discussed women's arrests as driven by crimes of economic need, resulting from an insufficient welfare system, experiences of trauma, and mental health and substance use habits formed as a way to self-medicate after trauma (Caputo 2008). Further, as Beth Richie's work shows, the conditions of gender-entrapment—the extreme limitations placed on economic and personal freedom that Richie shows battered African American women face—shape law-breaking behavior (Richie 1996). Feminist criminologists have demonstrated that systems of punishment increase women's economic marginality, and in particular, a two-tiered correctional system has harmed women by reinforcing structural job market obstacles and unequal access to resources (Haney 2000; Rafter 1990).

Feminist scholars from a variety of fields have advanced a range of arguments with regard to women's economic participation. One such response, gender-difference, acknowledges differences between women's and men's experiences and view these discrepancies as problems that must be addressed in order for women to attain equality with men (Haney 2000). It is not immediately clear how NGO programs embracing this perspective would position women in the labor market, although there are indications that workforce participation would be de-prioritized or delayed in favor of therapeutic interventions at such sites (Haney 2010; McKim 2008).

Alternatively, feminist scholars have also advanced gender-sameness, a position that expects that women and men should receive the same services to realize their capabilities as equals (Haney 2000). In seeking equal opportunities for women and men, gender-sameness often requires women to imitate men's normative behavior, including participation in labor markets as bread-winners (Lombardo and Verloo 2009).

I take up these various questions about how ex-prisoners' citizenship is constructed in gendered ways in Chapter 5. In addition to highlighting the variation in programming and its

consequences for messages about what makes ex-prisoners worthy citizens, I address the gendering of ex-prisoners' citizenship. I argue that the NGOs' approaches to religion, citizenship, and gender occur in a Weberian "elective affinity" (association between attributes) at a small number of NGO sites I examine in depth (Chalcraft and Harrington 2001).

RESPONDING TO RESEARCH ON REENTRY AND FAITH-BASED NGOS

My questions about how NGOs include formerly incarcerated people are a response to two bodies of research: research on desistance and recidivism, and research on faith-based NGOs. I discuss my study's contribution to these areas.

Desistance and Recidivism Research

Desistance. My approach is distinct from research focusing on desistance from crime. For researchers in this area, cessation of criminal behavior is the outcome of interest, which they seek to explain by uncovering typified pathways out of crime. Like Shaylor and Meiners (2013), I move away from a focus on individual offending practices in order to think critically about the politics of institutions, rather than personal shortcomings.

Research on crime and desistance has tended to describe typical life stages and social psychological ceremonies through which criminalized people move as they become law-abiding individuals (Edin, Nelson and Paranal 2004; Flores 2014; Leverentz 2006; Maruna 2001). Researchers have examined only certain types of variation in these stages, such as gender differences (Uggen and Kruttschnitt 1998), race and gender patterns of recidivism upon release (Huebner, DeJong and Cobbina 2010), and the "gendered pathways" that prisoners (often women) take into and out of crime (Caputo 2008). As in the classic work of John Braithwaite,

these stages and ceremonies through which people leave criminal behavior have also been addressed in terms of country-level cultural differences in which specific formulaic processes are presumed to be the normal pathways out of crime (Braithwaite 1989).

Ed Flores' work on the reintegration and assimilation of gang members is atypical in the author's use of an organizational lens that focuses on goals and normative desistance outcomes. Flores studied concrete organizational settings and NGOs' ideas about what it means in these settings for a Latino ex-gang members to become integrated with family, church, and employment institutions (Flores 2014). Thus, his approach problematized the more prevalent idea that reintegration is a consistent process that looks the same regardless of the surrounding community.

I follow Flores' comparative and site-specific design, although I depart from the broader desistance literature by attending to the construction of citizens, rather than cessation from crime, as the variable of interest. I take an organizational approach, asking how these organizational settings influence the process of shaping citizens; whether or not ex-prisoners commit additional crimes does not matter for this discussion.

Recidivism. Research on recidivism, the variable of greatest interest to policy-makers, emphasizes narrowly focused program evaluations based on outcomes, especially arrest and workforce participation (Nelson and Turetsky 2008). Recidivism studies have been conducted at the level of cohorts of released prisoners (e.g., numerous studies using Bureau of Justice Statistics release data), neighborhoods and communities (Morenoff, Harding and Cooter 2009; Uggen and Manza 2004-2005), and programs (Chu 2007; Sung and Chu 2013).

Recidivism-oriented research is most concerned with identifying the conditions that encourage individuals to behave and conform, and treats criminal behavior as normatively

problematic. Penal policy's fixation with "evidence-based" research dates to Martinson's meta-analysis of "what works" to reduce recidivism (Martinson 1974), although Martinson disagreed with the application of his research, and later committed suicide (Brown 2009). In a current example, the state of Wisconsin has hired Ed Latessa for evaluation and as a speaker with the goal of helping correctional officials and lawmakers in Wisconsin understand "what works" in corrections to reduce "criminal behavior." Latessa's approach highlights how cognitive and skill-building approaches are supposed to "work" in individuals (Latessa 2012).

These recidivism studies are important, but the policy context surrounding organizations as well as their particular goals for their participants and the visions of citizenship rooted in their concrete communities also matter. These studies have usually focused on individual processes and program outcomes in terms of job attainment, recidivism, and desistance (reviewed later in this chapter), rather than examining the structural arrangements that shape post-release programming through which NGOs are tied in new partnerships with the state. Such studies have also tended to be individualistic (pathways to desistance) or very heavily focused on narrow outcomes (interventions that create compliance), and have not considered how visions of citizenship shape the post-release process. For these reasons, my research documents the services offered, staff backgrounds, recruitment, funding, curriculum, and clients at NGOs that serve women, and explores how these characteristics influence both the recognition (or non-recognition) of client differences and the practices used to teach citizenship.

Research on Faith-Based Organizations

Faith-based organizations are key players in social services generally as well as in the reentry field (Esparza 2007; Green 2013; Johnson 2011; Sherman 2003). While some require

little of their participants in terms of expressions of faith, and thus are more likely to receive public money, others require religious expressions from their participants and seem uninterested in relationships with penal state bodies. Understanding the involvement of these faith-based organizations in a field in which ex-prisoners' citizenship is being shaped and defined is crucial.

One of the particular ways I extend the current research beyond studies that are generally dismissive of the “reentry industry” and what it offers ex-prisoners is by including NGOs that work less closely with the penal state. By extending the pool of NGOs whose work I examine beyond those that are most visible on lists of social service networks provided by correctional departments, I reach more nuanced conclusions about the inclusive potential of organizations that are closer to and farther from the penal state.

Thus, my study sheds light on faith providers, who have been largely overlooked by feminist penology and studies of the societal impacts of incarceration. A notable exception is the dissertation of Cesraéa (Chez) Rumpf, who used photo elicitation interviews with formerly incarcerated women to understand the importance of the state and faith in their lives as they move in and out of recovery homes and 12-step programs (Kaufman, Rumpf and Kaiser 2014; Rumpf 2014).

Indeed, the role of religion in the post-release period is a growing area of study. Within this body of research, the work of Ed Flores has focused on programs for men who were often criminalized via gang involvement (although they did not necessarily serve prison time). Flores examined Pentecostal and Jesuit church programs for men in Los Angeles, and revealed different routes to the construction of “family men” and “church men” in these settings (Flores 2009; Flores 2014). The work of Reuben Miller is another important part of this literature. Miller examined a consortium of prisoner reentry providers in Chicago, among which many component

NGOs were faith based. These NGOs focused on personal transformation and job-readiness goals (Miller 2014). I follow this more NGO-centered work.

Progression of Chapters

The following three empirical chapters pose questions about and analyze the processes shaping the reception of prisoners after release. Together, these chapters investigate: the goals and activities of NGOs relative to state policies, relationships between NGOs and the DOC, the way NGOs' orientations to gender and religion shape practices, and how all of these factors are related to visions and practices of citizenship.

In Chapter 2 (Context, Data and Methods), I make the case for examining Wisconsin's policies and specifically NGOs active in the two highest-reentry counties in the state. I outline my criteria for organizational inclusion in the study, describe data collection techniques (I combine documentary and observational data), and explain the analytical process.

In Chapter 3 (Prisoner Incorporation), I ask: When and in what circumstances did the state of Wisconsin ask NGOs to participate in work with former prisoners? Who are the organizations that focus their missions on work with ex-prisoners? What are their self-explained motivations and their funding sources, and what activities do they prefer to offer? What implications do these activities (as modes of incorporation) and the communities into which NGOs invite ex-prisoners have for ex-prisoners' citizenship? I situate Wisconsin's reentry policy within a federal policy (PRI), and discuss the state DOC's goals for reentry policy. I develop a typology of incorporation activities and note which of these activities converge with and which diverge from the state's goals as expressed in reentry policy. I distinguish between organizations engaging in two types of activities, which I call classic reentry and broader incorporation. I

further distinguish between left-leaning and right-leaning broader incorporation organizations by contrasting their visions of returning prisoners as citizens and the communities in which they are embedded.

In Chapter 4 (NGO-State Relationships), I investigate how NGOs' relationships with the state vary and how that variation is reflected in different incorporation activities. I show that NGO-state relationships vary along two dimensions: (1) the degree of hierarchy in reporting/funding agreements, and (2) the closeness of the relationships (regardless of the presence of contracts). I identify four types of NGOs—satellite states, satellite-seeking NGOs, conversant and advocates, and NGOs opposing state involvement—based on their location on these two dimensions, and I discuss the prevalence of each type. I use physical and geographical descriptions as well as data on organizational goals and funding to characterize each of the four types and describe a typical organization. This chapter presents a counter-argument to critical penological work on “Reentry Inc.” or the “reintegration industry,” which portrays NGOs as “satellite states.”

I further examine how incorporation activities layer onto these four types. I find that the distinctions in incorporation work are greatest between “NGOs opposed to state involvement” (which includes nearly all the “right-leaning broader incorporation” NGOs discussed in the prior chapter) and the “satellite states” and “satellite-seeking NGOs” (which include the “classic reentry” and “left-leaning broader incorporation” NGOs discussed in the prior chapter). I show that most treatment work is conducted by NGOs in hierarchical relationships with the penal state, and most religious and cultural incorporation occurs at sites that I identify as run by “NGOs opposed to state involvement.”

In Chapter 5 (NGO Approaches to Religion), I examine how NGOs address religion, citizenship, and gender in patterned ways as they intervene in the lives of ex-prisoners. I present an inductively formed classificatory typology based on the program's expectations of participants (Bennett and Elman 2006), which differentiates between what I call secular, religiously inspired, and reciprocally religious organizations. I summarize the commonalities of the organizations in each type in terms of denomination, funding, predominant description of the work ("case management" or "walking with ex-offenders"), the provision of services to women only or to men and women, age of the organization, and location. I discuss the advantages of this typology, including its comprehensiveness, attention to nuanced uses of faith, and concern with how NGOs activate faith in institutionally specific settings. In a closer examination of three cases, I identify an "elective affinity" between the approaches to religion, gender, and citizenship. I outline the specific ways in which NGOs activate faith as they construct citizens in gendered ways as consumers of services, economic producers, and members of religious communities. This analysis suggests the value of further study of the gendered construction of formerly incarcerated people in faith-related settings.

Because of my emphasis on rooting the construction of ex-prisoners as citizens in concrete communities, in Chapters 4 and 5, where I portray particular NGOs in greater detail, I discuss organizational histories and the types of networks (e.g., drug treatment, feminist, evangelical) through which I learned of and accessed organizations. I include geographic and physical descriptions of the locations, which suggest types of participants that NGOs identify themselves as seeking to engage. I discuss particular funding sources that reveal the ways that organizations are embedded within larger ideological movements or denominations that guide practices.

In the concluding chapter, I summarize this study's contributions, discuss limitations, outline promising directions for future research, and discuss policy implications.

Chapter 2: Context, Data, and Methods

This study examines the ways in which policy-makers and NGO staff envision citizenship for formerly incarcerated people in Southern Wisconsin. In addition to my focus on policies impacting NGO work, I examine goals and practices at 18 NGOs that work with women (served alone or alongside men) in two counties in Wisconsin. Below, I justify the focus on Wisconsin and describe the two focal counties. I then explain the study design and research questions, and delineate the types of case comparisons the study is designed to make. I outline the stages of data collection and the data collection procedures I undertook from 2009 through 2013, and develop an operational definition of an NGO doing post-release work. Finally, I review the data analysis techniques and discuss the study's limitations.

GEOGRAPHICAL SCOPE OF DATA COLLECTION

The State of Wisconsin

The characteristics of Wisconsin's penal system—increasing incarceration rates, mandatory sentencing policies, and the high visibility of women and people of color as current and recently released prisoners—are striking, but also fairly consistent with broader trends across the United States. Wisconsin has been a national leader among state and county government devolving public services to non-state actors via formal privatization agreements. This practice became widespread in large part as a result of welfare reform in 1996 (Collins and Mayer 2010; Mayer 2007), and certainly characterizes Wisconsin state policy in the correctional arena. In addition, state (and national) officials have made informal requests for community participation in service delivery in Wisconsin's post-release service field.

Because states are the primary government entity dealing with street crime and the processing of most common offenses (including the nearly ubiquitous low-level, non-violent drug offenses) I focus on the state correctional system in Wisconsin. I examine how the state Department of Corrections (DOC) has delegated the provision of services for former state prisoners to non-state organizations, and explore which types of organizations have taken up this work.

Mass incarceration and release in Wisconsin. Wisconsin incarcerated a historically large number of people in the 1990s and 2000s amidst the passage of tough-on-crime laws and the rapid building of new prison facilities (Thompson 1999). As in many states, the prison population in Wisconsin has begun to decline only recently, and at a slow pace (Hall 2011; Pager and Phelps 2012).²⁸ Despite this reversal, the total number of ex-prisoners continues to grow; a preliminary estimate indicated that 70,200 ex-prisoners lived in Wisconsin at the end of 2010 (Shannon et al. 2011).

The increase in the number of current and former prisoners in the state system reflects Wisconsin's shift to a "tough-on-crime" state in terms of its sentencing policy. Like many states, Wisconsin adopted structured or determinate sentencing with the passage of Truth in Sentencing (TIS) beginning in 1997 (the laws applied to offenses committed beginning December, 1999) (Carmichael 2013; Stemen, Rengifo and Wilson 2006). The policy replaced indeterminate, individualized sentencing. Wisconsin moved to a bifurcated sentencing structure based on sentencing grids, which increased sentence time for many kinds of offenses. Parole was now ended, and was replaced by "extended supervision" (ES). A vested percentage of the sentence needed to be served in prison; the fixed percentage depends on the class of felony (Carmichael

²⁸ Prison Admissions by Year, 2000-2011. File from Wisconsin Department of Corrections.

2013). ES was also calculated as a percentage of the total sentence. These sentencing decisions were made regardless of the person's progress toward rehabilitation.²⁹

TIS policies are associated with high rates of cycling between prison and community supervision (Oliver 2009). Indeed, after TIS, there was a surge in the number of people under post-release supervision, or "extended supervision" in Wisconsin's state system. There were also increases in sentence length, percentage of sentence served, and percentage of parole violators among admissions to state prison (Hughes 2001).³⁰ Because this policy setting has led to an increase in the prison population, and has made it difficult for those in the system to "get off paper" (complete one's full sentence), it has created opportunities for NGOs to assist former prisoners during what could be the final stage of the transition back to community life.

Demographic imprisonment trends. Following decades of unprecedented growth in their criminalization rates across the United States, women have become an increasingly visible segment of the correctional population. Wisconsin is a clear example: the state's population of women in prison increased nearly nine-fold between 1977 and 2004 (Frost, Greene and Pranis 2006). In addition, the proportion of Wisconsin's incarcerated population who are women has grown over the past 20 years, particularly in the 1990s. In the last decade, the increase in the population of incarcerated women has been driven by back-end sentencing: revocations of

²⁹ For example, consider a Class C felony committed after February 1, 2003 (the second phase of TIS), like possession of over 400 grams of heroin. Under TIS, the sentence would be broken up into prison and ES time as per cents based on that it is a Class C felony (Wisconsin Statutes 961.41(1)(d)). This means: a 25 years maximum term of confinement, 15 year maximum extended supervision period, and imprisonment not to exceed 40 years. Carmichael, Christina D. 2013. "Felony Sentencing and Probation." Madison, WI: Wisconsin Legislative Fiscal Bureau.

³⁰ TIS laws have increased rates of revocation of community supervision and returns to prison, and have lengthened total time under supervision Greene, Judith, and Kevin Pranis. 2006. "Treatment instead of prisons: A roadmap for sentencing and correctional policy reform in Wisconsin." Justice Strategies, Drug Policy Alliance.

community supervision are the primary reason for prison admissions among women.³¹ Only one third of the 8,146 admissions of women to the Wisconsin system from 2000 to 2011 were for new violations (as opposed to revocations).³² As of 2009, the female correctional inmate population in Wisconsin was expected to grow through 2020 (Mead & Hunt 2009).

The population of incarcerated women in Wisconsin is disproportionately African American, and indeed, racial disparities are striking for both men and women at every level of Wisconsin's justice system (Coggs and Wray 2008; Oliver 2009; Pawasarat and Quinn 2013). The U.S. Census reported that at the end of 2006, the Wisconsin population was 85 percent non-Hispanic white, 6 percent non-Hispanic black, and 5 percent Hispanic or Latino of any race; in stark contrast, the state Department of Corrections' adult prisoner population was 43 percent non-Hispanic white, 45 percent non-Hispanic black, and eight percent Hispanic/Latino of any race (Coggs and Wray 2008).³³ In this regard, Wisconsin is not a "typical" U.S. state, but rather has one of the largest racial disparities in incarceration rates.

Devolution of Post-Release Services

Wisconsin is consistent with other states in its embrace of the privatization of community-based services. The state Department of Corrections (DOC) most recently privatized programs for formerly incarcerated people through its emergent reentry policy. Successful

³¹ According to a recent demographic report by Mead & Hunt: "On a national basis, from 2005 to 2006, for example, the number of women in prison increased by 4.5%, reaching 112,498 prisoners. This exceeded the annual growth rate of male inmates which was 2.7%. The comparable rate of growth in Wisconsin was actually 5.7% for female inmates and 3.1% for male inmates" (p. 8-2). Mead & Hunt, Inc. 2009. "Offender Population Projections and System Capacity." State of Wisconsin Department of Administration, Division of State Facilities.

³² Prison Admissions by Year, 2000-2011. File from Wisconsin Department of Corrections.

³³ About 46 percent of all parolees in Wisconsin are white, about 42 percent are African American/black, and just over 8 percent are Latino/Hispanic (Glaze and Bonczar 2009).

reentry became an explicit policy goal of the DOC in 2005 (Center for Self-Sufficiency 2010; Raemisch 2008).

In the DOC's terms, reentry is about creating law-abiding individuals: "Reentry means we immediately identify the conditions that led to the offender's delinquent or criminal behavior and then work to reduce or eliminate those factors. The singular goal is to change behavior so offenders adopt law-abiding lifestyles" (DOC 2012). According to Mary Kay Sergo (formerly Mary Kay Kollat), the Wisconsin state director of reentry programming from 2007 through 2012, the department's reentry funding is geared toward turning the 97 percent of prisoners who will be released at some point into law-abiding citizens (Hall 2011).

To execute this policy, the DOC relies on collaboration with community-based organizations. Indeed, such collaboration is part of its mission, which includes "partnering with other private and public agencies for coordinated and integrated corrections programs" (2011-2013 Biennial Budget). The department uses a legislative appropriation in the biennial budget to fund reentry services that are contracted out to community groups.³⁴

The state's development of its "reentry" policy was part of a broader policy shift in state corrections since the 1970s, in which a purchase of service system was implemented to guide formal privatization. Purchase of service (POS) money is available to organizations through a bidding process in which awards go to the lowest responsible bidder, and a contracting process in which both the merits of the application and the cost are weighed by a scoring panel. NGOs cannot rely *only* on DOC funds, however, as a small number are granted most of the contracts; DOC money is supplemented by funds from many governmental and private funding sources.

³⁴ A recent legislative appropriation is called Becky Young funds; in addition, stimulus money ("Byrne funds") supports research on and the evaluation of reentry programs, and covers tasks including those as basic as counting the number of people under correctional control on a given day.

Wisconsin state policies also encourage NGOs running community-based programming to work with released prisoners when not directly paid through POS funds. In addition, the growing ex-prisoner population supplies NGOs with an increasing base of participants. In light of these policies and release trends, it is increasingly important to understand the NGOs that work with ex-prisoners, both through direct contracting relationships with the DOC and outside these relationships, and to explore their goals and the practices they utilize to for fashion the social inclusion of ex-prisoners.

High-Reentry Counties

In the current study, I used data from Dane and Milwaukee Counties in Wisconsin, to analyze the policies and practices of NGOs that focus on serving formerly incarcerated people. These are the counties to which the greatest number of released state prisoners move after release. Each county has a distinct released prisoner population as well as specific economic and social service situations that impact the shape of post-release work. Milwaukee County, where in the City of Milwaukee is located, includes large areas of concentrated poverty and greater capacity to address specialized client needs. Dane County, where the City of Madison is based, has a smaller population of ex-prisoners and a narrower scope of available services. Focusing on NGOs in these counties captures work in the state's two largest cities; Madison is also the seat of state government, including state's corrections department. These are also some of the most racially diverse counties in the state.

Milwaukee County. Arrests for drug offenses in Wisconsin have occurred disproportionately in Milwaukee County. The "Treatment Instead of Prisons" report commissioned by the Drug Policy Alliance found that as of 2003, Milwaukee County accounted

for 17 percent of the state population, but 27 percent of drug arrests, 47 percent of drug sale arrests, and 61 percent of new prison admissions of drug offenders (Justice Strategies 2005). Responding to treatment needs, NGOs in Milwaukee County also have access to streamlined substance abuse funding resources that are not available on the same scale in Dane County. Milwaukee organizations can join Wiser (Wisconsin Supports Everyone's Recovery) Choice, a network of substance abuse and mental health providers funded in part through federal Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) money.

Compared to Dane County, Milwaukee County has a higher crime rate, striking degrees of racial and economic segregation, and a larger total number of returning prisoners. John Pawasarat and Lois Quinn report that two-thirds of the county's incarcerated African American men have come from six ZIP codes in the poorest neighborhoods of Milwaukee, including 53206 (2013). Milwaukee has larger areas of concentrated poverty than Dane County, most notably the large inner urban core. This area has suffered from the departure of industries (accelerating in the last 20 years) and middle class residents (since the 1960s), bisection of neighborhoods for highway construction (since the 1960s), and has been characterized by racial employment discrimination (since at least before World War II) (Jones 2009).

Milwaukee County receives by far the largest number of state prisoners returning after release; 39 percent of women prisoners in Wisconsin returned to this county after release in 2005 and 2006. Whereas white women return to nearly all of the 71 counties in the state in a relatively dispersed pattern, Milwaukee is the predominant reentry site for black and Latina women. In 2006, Milwaukee County received 59 percent of black and Hispanic women leaving the state correctional system but only 20 percent of their white counterparts.³⁵ Having a criminal record

³⁵ Calculated by the author using a Wisconsin Department of Corrections data file of prison admissions/exits (1990-2003 and 2005-2007) compiled by Pamela Oliver.

presents substantial barriers to obtaining housing and education, maintaining income, and finding transportation in neighborhoods that are already quite disadvantaged (Pawasarat 2007).

Pawasarat and Quinn report that “most ex-offenders return from prison into inner city neighborhoods that have extremely large gaps (i.e., 25 to 1 in May 2009) between the number of active job seekers compared to available full-time work” (2013:4).

Compared to Dane County, Milwaukee County also has more organizations working with former prisoners, a history of welfare rights and civil rights organizing, and a larger proportion of services geared toward subpopulations (Jones 2009; Miller 1986).

Milwaukee organizations can apply for grants from several local foundations that focus on ameliorating social problems in the metropolitan area. For example, the Greater Milwaukee Foundation issues grants to the projects it deems to have the lowest risk and maximum return (Greater Milwaukee Foundation, 2012). Thus, this private donor rewards Milwaukee organizations for pursuing uncontroversial projects. The Bradley Foundation, another major organization that supports local projects (discussed in Chapter 1), is a conservative funder that seeks programs that provide alternatives to government social services by enlisting individuals’ capacity to be self-sufficient. Despite these rather conservative inclinations of funding groups, the county is also home to a progressive interracial, congregation-based organizing network, Milwaukee for Justice. More progressive funders, such as the Annie. E. Casey Foundation, also support Milwaukee NGOs.³⁶

Dane County. Relative to Milwaukee County, Dane County receives a smaller number of returning prisoners and has fewer areas of concentrated poverty. In recent years, 8 percent of the women exiting Wisconsin state prisons returned to Dane County. Compared to Milwaukee

³⁶ Both counties also manage contracts for programs like W-2 and Foodshare Employment and Training (FSET).

County, in Dane County a larger proportion of returning women prisoners are white; this pattern is not surprising given that Dane County's racial composition is predominantly white.³⁷ In addition, Dane County is somewhat of an outlier politically, as local voters are more liberal than voters in the state as a whole.

Local organizations have easier access to the state DOC headquarters (though there are regional offices in both areas). Dane County (as part of DOC Region 1) also has an institutional liaison between organizations and the DOC, a position that does not exist in Milwaukee County (as part of DOC Region 3). Dane County has a history of activist organizing around issues of racial disparities in corrections. Members of the University of Wisconsin-Madison, a local Catholic college (Edgewood College), state government, and local interfaith coalitions have had a significant influence on this activism, including by addressing issues of racial disparities in criminal justice at the county and state levels (Coggs and Wray 2008; Jackson and Mlatawou 2009; Oliver 2009).

QUESTIONS AND DESIGN

Interpretive Approach to Citizenship

The overarching interpretive framework of this dissertation focuses on the ways in which policy-makers and NGO staff operating in Dane and Milwaukee Counties shape the qualitative meanings of citizenship for formerly incarcerated people (especially women). This framework directs attention to discourses and practices in order to examine the meanings of citizenship for different actors. The design is consistent with an interpretive use of literature to inform the

³⁷ Calculated by the author using a Wisconsin Department of Corrections data file of prison admissions/exits (1990-2003 and 2005-2007) compiled by Pamela Oliver.

research questions in a way that is not rigid, but rather responds to the development of new questions and in-situ concepts.

Initial interests and research questions. The research was sparked by my concern about the situation of prisoners, a concern that deepened when I volunteered at Social Justice, Inc. (described in the Preface) beginning in the winter of 2008. I attended a support group connected to this NGO, Heart to Heart, and the personal stories I heard and the interactions I observed at the group suggested that the meaning of social belonging for ex-prisoners would be a rich area of study. I became curious about what these types of group-based programs for formerly incarcerated people do and how they differ in preparing people for post-prison life as citizens.

For both practical and theoretical reasons, I was specifically concerned with women's experiences after release from prison. I sought to discover what factors motivated NGOs' work with women ex-prisoners. In its first iteration, this study was designed to follow variation in the construction of criminalized women's citizenship based on the NGOs' philosophy of gender. I expected to identify NGOs along a spectrum, from adopting gender-same principles (viewing women as needing to be treated like men to achieve equality with men) to adopting gender-different principles (viewing women as needing to be treated differently from men to achieve equality with men) (Haney 2000). I expected that each setting's distinct commitments and resulting staffing and programming decisions would produce divergent practices and different discursive meanings (Scott 1998; Scott 2000). This focus dictated that I study organizations that work with women, either alone or alongside men.

Discoveries based on data. While actively collecting data, I attempted to rank NGOs serving women ex-prisoners on a spectrum of gender-sameness to gender-difference.³⁸ However,

³⁸ I expected that NGOs founded on principles of gender-difference would include references in the mission statement to women's unique pathways to crime, women's relationships, and women's underlying differences

many organizations' orientation to gender was unclear, contradictory, or unspecified. In addition, the gender-same/gender-different dichotomy did not hold up in several cases; gender was apparently not of primary importance in explaining the design of programs. As I came to this realization about gender, I also concluded that religion was far more important to providers and policies than I had anticipated, and the influence of religion complicated the same-different gender dichotomy. Grant data, which showed that Wisconsin had a higher than average number grants made to non-profit organizations with Christian identities and activities (Foundations Directory 2011), reinforced this conclusion.

Revised research question. An interpretive approach allows researchers to “attend to and register the presence of a surprise or a puzzle: as things, acts, words, concepts, etc. that surprise do not arrive pre-labeled as such” (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012:33). Interpretive researchers fashion the project design carefully, yet “retain an openness to the possibility of surprises” because “ongoing learning is expected to, and typically does, revise the research design while its implementation is in progress” (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012:33-34).

In this vein, my research focus and design shifted as I responded to the initial findings in the fall of 2011. My overarching goal remained to examine NGOs and activities that have the potential to reshape formerly incarcerated women as citizens based on ideal models of “successful reentry,” and to complete this analysis by analyzing the goals and routine programming at non-state organizations. However, I revised the research framework to focus on the ways in which three types of organizational cases (which I call secular, religiously inspired, and reciprocally religious) deal with citizenship and gender.

compared with men. I operationalized groups founded on principles of gender-sameness based their co-addressing women and men in the same terms.

The revised design seeks to make systematic cross-case comparisons and classify types of interventions with ex-prisoners. When I discuss cases for which I did not observe routine sessions, I lean more heavily on interviews and texts as data sources. When possible, I use cases for comparison which are richer in observational data (Van Evera 1997), using the one to two NGOs within each type on which I focused on in greater detail.³⁹ I conducted at least one observation of a routine group meeting for seven organizations (see Appendix A): one secular, three religiously inspired, and three reciprocally religious NGOs (not all the same NGOs I had chosen for closer analysis). These seven groups span the three main types of NGOs I have identified, but more heavily capture the details of religiously inspired and reciprocally religious organizations.⁴⁰

Organizations and programs. NGOs are the primary cases used to compare organizational characteristics in this study. Outreach to formerly incarcerated people is often integrated into existing programs at NGOs. I use an embedded case study design to look at programs focused on this population within organizations (Monsma 2007).⁴¹ I emphasize and have more data on the specific programs that entail a high degree of ex-prisoner participation (rather than NGOs as a whole). For each NGO, I focus on the program that staff reported

³⁹ I had sought to choose closer-focus NGOs to reflect within-type variation in organizations in order to maximize variation. For example, if a given category of NGOs varied primarily by race (as reciprocally religious organizations did), I would choose cases that varied with respect to this secondary variable; if location was the primary difference, I would focus on organizations in different counties.

⁴⁰ Note: Of the 18 NGOs I study, 4 are secular, 9 are religiously inspired, and 5 are reciprocally religious. The types are not evenly represented because I learned a lot about the NGO at which I volunteered, and over time, I realized another organization was not, as I had originally thought, secular (I did not observe a session at this NGO). The group of NGOs I have studied in detail allows for comparisons based on (among other factors) religious affiliation and county for religiously inspired organizations, and a comparison based on the targeted race of clients (keeping religious affiliation constant) for reciprocally religious organizations. I do not, however, limit my comparisons to these focal cases.

⁴¹ Some NGOs run only one program, group, or class, while others run many.

involved the most ex-prisoner women. However, when discussing these programs, I situate them within the broader offerings and goals of the NGO.

Comparisons. This study uses typological theorizing in order to make systematic comparisons using a particular technique that Andrew Bennett and Colin Elman call classificatory typological comparisons (2006). By identifying similarities between cases and assigning cases to types, this technique allowed researchers to “map and compare a population of cases” (Elman 2009:122). Beyond merely using types as the basis for description (as in the question “What constitutes this type of case?”), this approach allows researchers to use types to apply theoretical reasoning (as in the questions, “What is this a case of?” “Do I find the congruence I expected in these cases?”) (Elman 2009).

I form types based on inductively formed categories and deductively formed categories. I then identify organizations within each category and illustrate the types by providing descriptions of cases as well as accounts of similar and dissimilar cases within the type. When I describe these focal cases, I discuss the ways in which they are similar to or different from other NGOs in the category, reflecting that it may not be fruitful to search for a perfectly representative case in a small-N project (Small 2009).

The following questions and comparative typologies to form the basis of the three empirical chapters. In Chapter 3, I investigate NGOs’ self-reported motivations for this work, asking what types of activities and program they preferred to conduct and what their funding relationship is with the state DOC. I ask, what are the implications of these activities (as modes of incorporation) and the communities that the NGOs invite ex-prisoners to join for shaping ex-prisoners’ citizenship? I inductively identify six types of activities undertaken by NGOs and two categories of NGOs based on these activities (classic reentry and broader incorporation).

In Chapter 4, I ask how NGOs are arranged in relationships with the penal state and to what degree the data correspond to concerns about co-optation of NGOs in this field. I deductively identify four types of organizational relationships with the penal state based on dimensions of hierarchy and closeness. I also investigate how closeness and hierarchy as types are patterned along with the incorporation activities and this distinction between “classic reentry” and “broader incorporation” organizations studied in the prior chapter. Building on Chapter 3, I investigate how NGOs’ relationships with the penal state are associated with incorporation activities.

In Chapter 5, I ask how faith has been relevant to organized work with current and former prisoners in Wisconsin and describe the ways current post-release service NGOs use faith, and ask how religion, gender, and citizenship may be patterned together at NGOs. I inductively identify three types of NGOs based their approach to religion (secular, religiously inspired, and reciprocally religious). Across cases, I show how these distinctions are also heavily patterned along with typological distinctions I showed in previous chapters. In three cases, I show how these distinctions are also patterned along with gender and as “visions of citizenship.”

STAGES OF DATA COLLECTION

Exploratory Data Collection (beginning February 2009)

My initial goals were to provide a broad sketch of post-release services and identify discursive approaches to gender. To understand how programming varies in the region (Southern Wisconsin), I collected preliminary data on Dane and Milwaukee Counties (all IRB information is in Appendix D). In February, 2009, I began to gather data via participant observation at an umbrella organization in Dane County, where I worked as a volunteer and got to know

participants and staff at all levels. From 2008 through 2013, I brought formerly incarcerated people who were members of an NGO in Dane County (and whom I met through volunteering) to undergraduate classes I taught. I also joined a national network of religious providers, which connected me to local groups and web seminars selling curricular products to service providers. During this period, I also conducted in-depth interviews with service providers and organized informal information-gathering meetings across Southern Wisconsin. The most formative of these early informants was a Dane County corrections agent with whom I spoke several times.

In 2009 and 2010, based on this exploratory research, I conducted an informal census of Madison organizations providing services for men and women returning from prison. Because the number of groups was too large to include every program used by former prisoners after release, I narrowed my inclusion criteria (I explain the criteria in detail below).

To situate organizations among or in contrast to prisoner activists, in 2008 I began attending prison activist forums in Dane County as well as legislative hearings at which formerly incarcerated people raised grievances about correctional policies. These events helped me familiarize myself with instrumental actors in the field, build relationships, and learn about policies and issues.⁴²

Phase One (beginning November 2010)

The goal of the first phase of data collection was to understand the reentry process in Wisconsin, including the rules and regulations of reentry, the programs that guide the process,

⁴² During the study period, I also volunteered at church-based food pantries and community meal services in Dane County, and served meals at a city shelter Boston, Massachusetts. Although I did not engage in these experiences for research purposes, they did familiarize me with the way that being in different settings entails having different types of relationships with governmental employees and church volunteers and staff (some close and some distant). These experiences helped me understand nuanced differences between secular and what I call religiously inspired settings.

and the NGOs that run these programs. I sought the following information for each organization that fit the selection criteria (I describe 18 such NGOs in the dissertation): the location, mission, programming goals (including views about parenting, romantic relationships and work), recruitment procedures, services offered (and curriculum if available), professional background of staff (when possible), requirements for program participation (such as payment of fees, completion of chores, and mentorship relationships), and idealized success stories. Using the data gathered during this phase, I was also able to make basic comparisons between NGOs in terms of their goals and practices (in the form of activities).

I collected and examined textual data and publicly available information about NGOs that serve formerly incarcerated women in Dane and Milwaukee Counties. Then, during informal and formal interviews with NGO staff and program directors, I used this information as a prompt. The information also shaped my questions about the goals and practices at their organizations.

I decided it would be best to remove identifiers for all individual respondents. I told respondents I would not use the organization's name (for small organizations) unless people gave permission to do so. Again, I subsequently decided to use pseudonyms and only non-identifying descriptive information for all NGO. I created names that resemble some aspect of the character of the original name, following Paul Lichterman (1999). In the chapters that follow, all names are pseudonyms unless specifically noted.

Phase Two (March 2011 - September 2013)

The goal of the second phase of data collection was to select focal organizations based on NGOs' approaches to religion, and to directly observe a routine program as well as any other professional meetings the staff permitted as a staff member's "shadow." I also discussed

information I gathered in phase one in in-depth interviews with at least one staff member at each NGO. I often spoke to several staff members, the program or executive director, and occasionally had short conversations with program participants and other volunteers).

TYPES OF DATA

I sought to integrate textual analysis with interview and observational data in order to connect discursive approaches to religion, gender, and citizenship to the structural features of organizations (Strkyer and Wald 2009). I combine publicly available documentary data, in-depth observations, and the content of semi-structured interviews (Brown 2010; Haney 2010; Ong 2003); I also draw on secondary data on prisoner populations and neighborhood characteristics.⁴³ These forms of data complement one another. For example, many aspects of organizational life are not reflected in written records, especially for organizations that receive no public funds and have very basic websites. In these cases, interview and observational data filled gaps in the documentary evidence. In some cases, I was able to use multiple data sources (written, spoken, and observed) to reveal contradictions between discourse and practice that prompted a moment of realization for me as part of my analysis (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012).

Basis for Organizational Inclusion

Deciding which NGOs to include in the study was complicated by the fact that researchers have yet to fashion a concise yet thorough definition of a prisoner reentry organization. Few studies have analyzed NGOs selected based on their goals rather than their

⁴³ Interpretivists call this use of multiple sources of data intertextuality (in contrast to triangulation, which implies only one version of reality is correct). Schwartz-Shea, Peregrine, and Dvora Yanow. 2012. *Interpretive research design: Concepts and processes*. New York: Routledge.

outcomes; notable exceptions are studies of Milwaukee (Center for Self-Sufficiency 2010) and Chicago (Miller 2014). Typically, programs providing post-release services have been chosen for study based on their status as a funding recipient (i.e., evaluations of programs that receive earmarked reentry funds); funders' reports on the organizations they have funded are the most common type of study. The current study contributes to the literature by constructing an operational definition of an NGO that specializes in post-release work.

I selected NGOs based on several criteria. I focused on NGOs running one or more programs or groups that include women who have served a prison sentence. Selected organizations had at least one leader and more than one client/participant returning from prison taking part in routine programs. I focused on group settings because I believed that this context would encourage communication about ideals for citizenship.

Each of the organizations also provided direct services (rather than secondary services such as providing food or transportation) to groups (rather than one-on-one) in the community (rather than within prison). I included only NGOs that had a client population that was at least 20 percent women, so that women were a recognizable constituency at the organizations. Selected NGOs also had a mission that expressed the goal of working with formerly incarcerated people or included terms describing this type of service (e.g., prisoner reentry, prison aftercare, ex-prisoner, formerly incarcerated people, prisoner, offender, ex-offender, parolees, or people under correctional supervision) in their mission statements.

I narrowed my focus to institutions that organize post-prison life for women ex-prisoners, where adult women are served alone or alongside adult men (I observed that some programs also permit children, but they are not typically the direct focus of the intervention).

Initially, I intended to study organizations serving people with felonies that had left prison within the past year. However, I quickly found that most NGOs served populations with various types of criminal records and incarceration histories, and that many NGOs were not overly concerned with exactly what type of criminal records their clients had or which kinds of facilities (if any) they had been inmates. It was also uncommon to end services at a time directly related to the date of release from prison. Therefore I did not exclude NGOs that drew more heavily from people most recently in jail rather prison.

This set of selection criteria is an improvement over funding status because many NGOs do not receive earmarked reentry funds for their work. Rather, this definition relies heavily on self-reported missions, and thereby broadens the definition of an NGO doing post-release incorporation work.

Identifying Leads to NGOs

I identified potential organizations via snowball sampling, relying on recommendations from interview respondents (mainly state and federal correctional agents and supervisors and non-profit staff, as described below). In addition to these recommendations, I identified potential NGOs in three ways. First, events sponsored by networks with which I was affiliated (but not formally studying) were particularly helpful sources of contacts at new organizations. I attended events run by Matthew 25, a group of faith-based providers that meets outside Milwaukee; two branches of Wisconsin's interracial, congregation-based organizing network, Wisconsin for Justice (Dane Co. for Justice and Milwaukee Co. for Justice); a national Christian reentry organization; and the City of Madison Office of Equal Opportunity (real name). Second, I referenced resource guides including service directory guides from DOC agents in both counties,

a Milwaukee County mental health provider network guide, the Dane County United Way directory, four Christian lists (based heavily in Milwaukee County), and one activist list (based heavily in Dane County). Third, funding records were another helpful resource for identifying potential NGOs. I examined purchase of service or contract records from the Department of Corrections and the Federal Bureau of Prisons. I also found lists of NGOs that the Foundations Center reported had received grants of \$1000 or more for “offender/ex-offender” related activities (Foundations Directory Online 2011a).

Screening

Once I had identified leads, three undergraduate student researchers and I screened the prospective organizations.⁴⁴ We called organizations to ask if they worked with formerly incarcerated women and to verify that their programs were currently active. Students also downloaded publicly accessible information about the NGOs from websites. In addition, I verified that organizations were active by checking whether their listing with the state Department of Financial Institutions was updated and whether they were certified to fundraise as a charitable organization through the state Department of Regulation and Licensing.⁴⁵

Excluded NGOs. In interpretive research, it is important for the researcher to reflect on how the choice of sites will shape the data collected (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012). In this case, the boundary between organizations that serve former prisoners as part of their client base and those that specifically and primarily focus on populations of former prisoners is blurry. Because my target group was the latter, I excluded organizations that did not specifically focus

⁴⁴ Four additional students completed other research tasks.

⁴⁵ The Department of Regulation and Licensing is now known as the Department of Safety and Professional Services.

on former prisoners in their mission statements. For example, I excluded two organizations that focused primarily on providing comprehensive services for Latino communities, because although they did serve former prisoners, they did not specialize in post-prison work. Although I had hoped to include every Wisconsin-based NGO that focused on working with ex-prisoners, time and resource limits forced me to restrict the sample to NGOs of this type in Southern Wisconsin.

Screened organizations were excluded for several additional reasons. In Appendix A, I list the categories of reasons to show the types of NGOs that were excluded. Two of the most significant reasons for exclusion are being located in a county other than Dane or Milwaukee County, and serving only men.

PRIMARY DATA

In-depth Interviews and Observations

I conducted formal and informal interviews with 100 people at NGOs (80 of these contacts were at NGOs that fit the study criteria), 34 government employees (most at the Department of Corrections, but also some at the Veterans Administration and the Federal Bureau of Prisons), and 31 other experts familiar with post-release policy and services (e.g. activist and long-term researcher, homeless services specialist). At NGOs where I spent more time, I spoke to more people for longer periods, and had multiple interviews with the same individuals. Twenty-eight of the contacts were first called by student researcher Carla Carballo for screening; when she determined that the organization met the study criteria, I made a second call and/or made other arrangements to talk to employees of the NGO. Most interviews at NGO sites took at least an hour. Calls to contacts from whom I sought information lasted less than 30 minutes; I

also communicated via email with many of these contacts to gather information. Visits on which I shadowed NGO staff and conducted observations lasted much longer; the longest was four hours.

Style of interviews. The interpretive research perspective encourages researchers to ask about terms research subjects use. In the current research, “returning citizens” was a term I heard repeatedly, and thus I probed interviewees about its meaning. I also asked about acronyms or phrases used by individuals in the study; for example, the choice to call clients “ex-offenders” rather than “offenders,” or the “self-in-relation model.” I often asked interviewees about phrases from websites or other NGO materials.

Interview content. Interviews covered what services the organization offered, how long they had done this work, the reason for their geographical location, how their mission applies to women and ex-prisoners, the organization’s major funding sources, the characteristics of their clientele, relevant information about staff backgrounds, and information about the networks or communities to which they were most closely tied. I prepared by reviewing documents on the organization so I could ask more specific versions of these questions. In more in-depth interviews, I asked about particular struggles that had occurred, specific obstacles the agency faced, and professional backgrounds of the staff. Interviews also covered how the NGO collects information on the ways in which activities are designed to meet expectations of organizational founders, funders, and state curricula. Appendix D includes a detailed list of interview questions, although in most interviews I also asked questions specifically tailored to the organization and emphasized areas about which documents had revealed less information.

Observations. Because interviews and documents rely solely on self-reports by staff and do not provide the opportunity to see actual processes of citizen-making in practice, I also

shadowed staff and observed routine programs. I used observational data from group sessions to reveal the implicit priorities in staff-led activities, particularly attitudes about religious activities, work, romantic relationships, and/or parenting. I also used data from these sessions to probe staff members in subsequent interviews; for example, I asked how they chose that day's passage or how the current session built on the previous session. Group sessions also allowed me to observe instances in which participants did not seem to agree with what they were hearing, and thus staff had to place more emphasis on a certain message.

Self-Presentation. In interpretive research, it is especially important to be reflective about how the researcher's presence and personal characteristics affect interactions (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012). I presented myself as a UW-Madison student conducting research on women's reentry. Generally this introduction evoked agreement about the need for this type of research. Respondents often replied that women need assistance and services, women ex-prisoners face especially difficult challenges, and rates of imprisonment have been rising among women; in addition, interviewees often expressed a desire to help women by contributing to research on responses to these circumstances. Although initiating interviews with DOC staff required the most involved bureaucratic process, and at times DOC employees took longer to "warm up" to the topic, they were among the most sympathetic about the need for research on and programs for women.

After committing a "faux pas" during a group introduction at an organization (one that did not meet the study criteria), I decided not to mention the academic degree I was working toward unless asked. Everyone at the screening meeting was required to share a goal about their career. After saying I aspired to teach college students, I realized that such a job was completely out of sync with those desired by the others in the room, and I quickly regretted my

characterization of my work. Regardless of my attempt to downplay my academic pursuits, I conducted the research from the privileged position of a white, middle class woman who has not been incarcerated.

Not everyone responded positively to my initial contact. One potential respondent in Milwaukee did not want to talk with me and expressed a strong disapproval of outsiders from universities who study poor, black neighborhoods in Milwaukee; she indicated that she only spoke to people conducting action research. The entire interaction was quite negative. Separately, an interview respondent, Alma Warren at the Ministry of St. Peter in Milwaukee, agreed to participate in the interview but was not forthcoming in her responses to my questions about gender, did not want the interview to be recorded, did not seem to welcome my questions, and was concerned with which government division was funding my research.

These two exceptional interactions both crossed racial/ethnic lines. I perceived that I was more positively received when talking to white officials and staff, especially white women. I also felt it was easier to connect with evangelical men and women (both white and black), who seemed interested in my Jewish religious background. Respondents at St. Matthew House, in particular, seemed genuinely interested in my religious experiences; I enjoyed connecting with them on this level. Although respondents at St. Matthew's House and two other NGOs extended offers to move beyond a research relationship, I did not follow up on these offers.

At times, my university affiliation seemed appealing to contacts, although perhaps vague in terms of what it could offer. At a Matthew 25 meeting, an evangelical group leader announced that it was good that members of universities were present, because Matthew 25 would like to make connections with universities. When I asked him later one-on-one what he would like the

university to do, I seemed to catch him off guard. Exactly what universities can offer NGOs is a question I will continue to ask in future projects, though earlier in the planning stages.

Documentation. I recorded only a small number of interviews, because I quickly observed that the presence of recording devices made people uncomfortable. Instead, during interviews, and after observations, I wrote shorthand notes chronicling the session. Immediately after fieldwork interactions, I recorded myself describing the experience in order to retain as much specific wording (both respondents' words and my own) and as many of the other details of the interactions as I could remember. For both interviews and observations, I typed field notes as soon afterward as possible.

SECONDARY DATA

Data on NGOs

In addition to primary interview and observational data, I also collected documentary and financial data on the missions, funding, programs, inter-organizational ties, and curricula of 18 NGOs. As research by Lisa Brush and Kelly Hannah-Moffat has shown, the analysis of documents can reveal ways in which institutional representatives interpret women's social backgrounds make them worthy of institutional interventions (Brush 1997; Hannah-Moffat 2004; Hannah-Moffat 2006).

Written self-descriptions and missions. The NGOs' written self-descriptions and mission statements provided data that helped me assess their goals. I paid five dollars per organization to obtain incorporation documents (bylaws) from the state Department of Financial Institutions. These documents (one for each organization) described the initial founding purpose. I also analyzed self-descriptions on websites and in other written material including funding

applications (where accessible). I collected data on missions from three primary sources: (1) website pages with titles such as: about us, history, values, what we believe, and program information; (2) charter documents filed with the Department of Financial Institutions; and (3) brochures from the NGOs themselves or other NGOs. When these sources were scarce, I drew from three additional sources: (1) the description of the organizational mission on recent 990 tax forms posted on the GuideStar or Manta websites; (2) service provider directories; and (3) descriptions of collaborating organizations on the websites of other NGOs.

Newsletters and curricula. I also analyzed newsletters that were posted on websites, mailed to me, or available at the Wisconsin Historical Society's Library and Archives in Madison. I used separate search engines specific to the library and archives to conduct searches for organizations by name. I also gathered curricular materials commonly used in reintegration and recovery settings (directly from NGO staff when possible).

Funding records. I examined funding records in whatever form I could find: 990 tax forms (not required for all organizations),⁴⁶ the state of Wisconsin's purchasing site (VendorNet), the Foundation Center's online directory, the Mapping Milwaukee report (Center for Self-Sufficiency 2010) and The National Directory of Non-Profit Organizations (2009). I also examined listings of federal-level awardees related to the Prisoner Reentry Initiative, the Department of Justice Second Chance Act, Department of Labor Ready4Work grants, and Bureau of Prisons' contracts for residential centers. With respect to grants and fellowships, I collected data on grant providers, recipient organizations' names and locations, grant amounts, and dates of awards from the Foundation Directory Online (for grants of \$1000 or greater). This resource was helpful, but the website includes a disclaimer that it cannot be considered

⁴⁶ One organization (Clinics in Wisconsin) is for-profit and did not need to fill out the 990 form. Exclusively religious organizations/religious orders also do not need to file 990s.

comprehensive for research purposes. I also examined records of United Way “partners” and reports listing awards from three major private funders: The Annie E. Casey Foundation, the Bradley Foundation, and the Greater Milwaukee Foundation. For awards of \$25,000 or more, I obtained funding information on contracts and bids from the Wisconsin state purchasing directory (VendorNet 2012) and from Department of Corrections administrators. In addition, I searched the directory for the names of the organizations I studied, which linked me to contracts they had been awarded.⁴⁷ For contracts between the DOC and private vendors, I collected data on the parties, funding amounts, and years awarded from VendorNet. I also examined spreadsheets of records from DOC staff.⁴⁸

Organizational location and age. I most often found organizational charter dates and principal office addresses through the state Department of Financial Institutions. Resources for this information also included historical service directories, NGO literature, and archival materials from earlier decades.

Other Secondary Data

Policy data. I collected data on the state-NGO relationship and reentry policy, particularly on the state’s requests for bids and proposals. I also studied official reports, including budget requests, from the Reentry Initiative (WI DOC). I analyzed administrative and statutory laws to understand the legal structure and practices of the field of post-release services.

Correctional population data. I gathered information on the correctional population from Pam Oliver’s data on administrative data on women’s prison exits through 2007 (from the

⁴⁷ The site also shows which NGOs have applied for but not received awards.

⁴⁸ I requested reports on funding from individuals in county offices, but do not analyze county-level support in-depth in the current study.

Wisconsin state prison system). I also obtained release population spreadsheets from DOC staff, and drew from Bureau of Justice Statistics data (which combines state and federal prisoners).

Neighborhood data. I relied on police reports for Milwaukee neighborhoods to describe NGO sites in that city. These City of Milwaukee Neighborhood Strategic Planning reports were produced by the Milwaukee Police Department.

Obstacles to Site Access

In three instances, I did not gain research access to potential NGOs. First, as discussed above, I was not positively received at the Ministry of St. Peter; therefore, I did not feel comfortable asking for further access to the site. Second, although both a student and I had positive conversations with a contact at Eastern Wisconsin Evangelical Ministry, and this contact indicated that I was welcome to attend his Bible study, he did not respond to my request to attend as part of the research, and thus I did not conduct observational research at the site. Third, a contact at Community Treatment for Offenders declined my request to observe her women's program, citing her supervisor's rules.

I am aware of four more organizations that could have been included, but I did not have adequate information to be certain enough to include these in time (I did not conduct interviews at these NGOs). I have not included these NGOs in the analytical discussion.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ One organization has a longer history of involvement Milwaukee starting from when it operated under the name Society for the Friendless; this is now a secular mental health and addiction provider that appears similar to Clinics in Wisconsin and Community Treatment for Offenders. The second is somewhat similar to Healing our Sisters and Brothers, though it is also residential. The third is anti-violence focused and, like Community Environment for Women, is for women and residential. The last NGO is similar to and connected to St. Matthew House.

DATA ANALYSIS

I sought to use analytic techniques to examine how the activities of policy-makers NGOs reveal underlying meanings and structural relationships (Burawoy 2009; Wacquant 2002). I briefly discuss my coding, diagramming, and memoing techniques below.

Coding and Operationalization

I relied primarily on hand coding (rather than using software) to complete the first step of data analysis. To facilitate the analysis of requests for bids and proposals, two student researchers flagged all discussions of certain topics including work, parenting, and the distinction between men's and women's services. I coded my field notes (which detailed events and topics covered in interviews and observations) using categories that pertained to the main research questions. These categories included parenting, work, religious community, rights, and other ideas about belonging. I coded both field notes and textual data to highlight information about the goals of the organization, the target population, services offered, recruitment strategies, funding, ideas about rights and belonging, and the embeddedness of the NGO in a network or community of other organizations.

In Chapter 3, I classified modes of incorporation based on my observations of NGO practices during visits and based on activities I heard about during interviews. I identified patterns as I hand-coded field notes on observations and interviews. For example, I observed leaders at multiple NGOs organizing group meals to encourage healthy nutrition and requiring chores. These activities were used to teach an appreciation for domestic work, so I consider them one mode. The analysis of modes of incorporation allowed me to distinguish between two types of NGOs: "classic reentry" organizations that exclusively incorporate prisoners using the state-

preferred emphasis on work and treatment, and “broader incorporation” organizations doing additional forms of prisoner incorporation.

As a second layer of analysis in this chapter, I analyzed discourse in NGO documents to support my classification of incorporation activities. Using NVivo, I uncovered word frequency patterns and identified similarities of characteristics across NGOs. I examined treatment-related,⁵⁰ work-related terms,⁵¹ and religious terms.⁵² I expect that many discursive patterns match practices at organizations. Because discourse and practice do not always match, I supply observations where possible to demonstrate how prisoner incorporation operates.

In Chapter 4, I focus on the NGOs’ relationship with penal state bodies at the state level (primarily) and federal level (to a lesser extent because federal funds are less prevalent). I operationalize a *hierarchical* relationship in part based on funding receipt. I consider the receipt of funding earmarked for reentry through the DOC, as well as the federal Bureau of Prisons and Department of Labor. Through such funding sources, penal state bodies make clear expectations for providers in terms of priorities for released prisoners, particularly around treatment, housing during treatment, and labor market engagement, and expectations for NGOs in terms of routine reporting requirements. I consider organizational registration on VendorNet, the state of Wisconsin’s purchasing site, run by the Department of Administration, to be one indication of openness to a hierarchical funding/reporting relationship.

⁵⁰ These terms related to treatment included “referral,” “treatment,” and “AODA” (alcohol or other drug addiction).

⁵¹ These terms related to workforce development in organizational documents: Work/s/ed/ing, worker/s, job/s training, employment, income, employers, occupation, workforce.

⁵² These religious terms were: ministry/ies, church/es, faith, Lutheran, congregation/s, spiritual, God, Christ, Christian/s, Rev., spiritually, worship, Bible, Biblical, Calvary, chaplain/s, congregational, disciples, discipleship, fellowship, Gospel, grace, holy, Immanuel, Jesus, Lord, minister, ordained, PAN (the Prison Aftercare Network), parish, Pastor/s, pastoral, prayer, redeemer, salvation, savior, seminary, shepherd, spirit, synod, synodical, trinity and Zion.

This focus on bodies disbursing “reentry” funds means I do not attend to NGO relationships with other state bodies that are not particular to “reentry” populations (such as funds related to W-2, family relationship-building, or the county sheriff). Because the focus of the research is on managing the post-release work, I did not consider the receipt of contracts at some NGOs for institutional (within-prison) work.⁵³ When I was aware of NGOs that had bid with the DOC and not received the funds, I used this as a reason to consider NGOs as in a hierarchical relationship with the state; viewing the non-awarded bidders is a feature available on VendorNet. However, I did not exhaustively do this search for “negative cases” for every possible contract during this period, but rather noted some “repeat players” in a small number of contracts. There are only two NGOs registered on this site that I am not aware of as having ever been DOC bidders for post-release services (Heart to Heart and St. Matthew House).

In the same chapter, to examine the *closeness* of NGOs and the penal state, I consider testifying in the state legislature as an especially visible arena for advocacy. I also consider instances in which NGOs approaching the DOC as conversants, such as through formal or informal meetings with DOC officials beyond what is necessary for the execution of the terms of a contract.

In Chapter 5, I operationalize organizations as *secular* when they have no religious iconography, no religious principles in mission, and no clergy as staff. I call NGOs *religiously inspired* when they are guided by loosely and not dogmatically understood faith principles. Religiously inspired organizations do not require participants to have a relationship with God,

⁵³ These institutional contracts may be indirectly important to the current analysis that focuses on post-release work and contracts for this work, in that they reflect the capacity for bidding and proposal-writing to correctional agencies, and in that NGOs’ experiences with correctional agencies in these other kinds of contracts may already shape their idea of how their relationship with the penal state can or should look. However, I have not included data on this here.

nor do they require participants hold particular beliefs. Such NGOs may also have clergy on the board or as the original founders. Conversion experiences are not necessary to complete programming or to graduate, either. Finally, I call NGOs *reciprocally religious* (and these NGOs often call themselves ministries or missions) when they emphasize participants' willingness to have a personal relationship with God in a particular way through establishing pairs of newer and older believers. Through this process of teaching and learning about the Christian faith to occur, mentors seek mentees, who then become mentors and seek mentees in a chain of serially reciprocal discipleship.

Diagramming and Memoing

Though I did not digitally code field notes and interviews, NVivo was helpful in the data analysis. I used the software to create horizontal dendrograms: cluster analysis diagrams that display data as a set of branches. I was able to display similar organizations as branches that were clustered together, and dissimilar organizations as clustered farther apart. This diagramming process assisted in the generation of types of NGO approaches to religion. I also used NVivo and to conduct term searches (e.g., for the analysis in the Prisoner Incorporation chapter, I searched for religious terms) and to determine which terms were most commonly used in documents and field notes.

I used data from both written materials and interactions with staff to categorize organizations. I categorized NGOs that had no references to faith or religion in their programming or mission as secular. Organizations that did not require the religious identification of participants, but mentioned a religion-based founding, had religious figures in prominent roles, offered spiritual guidance (broadly defined), or had religious figures in the name of the

organization were categorized as religiously inspired. I categorized organizations that explicitly referred to holy texts and referenced clients developing a relationship with a divine power as reciprocally religious.

I also wrote memos on emergent findings during and after data collection. These allowed me to revisit academic literature and my data in an ongoing process.

Limitations of the Research Design and Data Analysis

Understanding the work of NGOs ultimately requires answering a series of questions, including: How many prisoners are routed to post-release organizations? How often is program contact mandatory versus voluntary? Unfortunately, I do not have the data needed to address these questions. The lack of publicly available, aggregated person-level data on program contact is representative of a larger data collection problem in state corrections. Conducting counts of clients across organizations would be difficult and present analytical problems (e.g., some clients attend programming at multiple organizations, and the identification of ex-prisoners requires special IRB authorization). Another limitation is that the data are not comprehensive with respect to the characteristics of participants at all NGOs.

To some degree, the criterion for NGO inclusion in the study is limited because it relies on organizations' self-reports that they work with a given population. While I did not believe it was necessary to systematically verify NGOs' self-reports, this definition may not be suitable for all studies.⁵⁴ Notably, in some instances staff or volunteers at organizations I screened reported they did not currently serve ex-prisoners (even though textual documents described an intent to serve this population); I did not include these NGOs in the study group. These NGOs were not

⁵⁴ Looking at DOC purchase of service data had the unintended consequence of verifying that some NGOs do work with DOC populations.

being paid by external parties to serve formerly incarcerated people and thus had limited incentive to misrepresent their clientele.

The analysis cannot provide a comprehensive comparison of messages that staff or organizations send to women and those they send to men because NGOs with only men were excluded from the study. I only observed programs with women participants when the focal NGOs offered them (as in the case of Heart to Heart).

Finally, because the unit of analysis is programs and NGOs rather than individual clients, the current study can shed light on the messages organizations attempt to transmit to individuals in programs, but cannot reveal what messages participants actually internalize. This project complements the work of researchers such as Chez Rumpf and Andrea Leverentz, who conduct bottom-up analysis of the reentry process (Leverentz 2006; Rumpf 2014).⁵⁵

⁵⁵ In addition, Megan Welsh's forthcoming research on women's reentry in California during "realignment" utilizes both a top-down and a bottom-up approach Welsh, Megan. 2015. "How women and front-line workers manage the bureaucratic process of prisoner reentry in post-Realignment California." New York: CUNY Graduate Center, John Jay College of Criminal Justice.

Chapter 3: Prisoner Incorporation

As states have withdrawn from direct service provision, they have increasingly called on non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to serve and care for ex-prisoners. In what is often called the “prisoner reentry” or “prisoner reintegration” industry, NGOs run voluntary and mandatory programming for the growing number of released prisoners in the United States, a population that a preliminary estimate placed at a minimum of 7.7 million individuals (Shannon et al. 2011). Both policy-makers and practitioners have sought to use these programs to modify ex-prisoners’ cognitive processes, skills, resources, opportunities, rights, and group memberships (Flores 2009; Haney 2010; McKim 2008; McRoberts 2002; Miller 2014). Reentry programming includes topics as diverse as job readiness, addiction recovery, and Bible study. In this context, secular and religious NGOs use diverse approaches to prepare individuals for post-prison life.

Borrowing the concept of incorporation from the literature on migration and citizenship, I examine prisoner reentry as an institutional process that state policy structures and that occurs primarily in the NGO sector. Using data from Wisconsin, I analyze the reception of released prisoners in terms of what I call “prisoner incorporation:” the practices through which NGOs intervene into the lives of ex-prisoners. The results illustrate that NGOs involved in post-release work differ significantly with respect to several factors, including: political and religious orientation, funding, ideas about citizenship, incorporation practices, and the types of communities in which they offer ex-prisoners membership.

Two primary types of organizations emerged in the results: “classic reentry” NGOs align with state correctional policy, have neutral political beliefs, are rarely faith based, and have a conditional view of prisoner citizenship, while “broader incorporation” NGOs are guided by either progressive politics or the politics of the religious right and tend to view ex-prisoners as

having an ongoing claim to resources and participation in communities. Based on the results, I reconsider the significance of the NGO sector for prisoner reentry and conclude that NGOs may have more agency to diverge from the goals of state reentry policy than many previous researchers have recognized.

PRISONER REENTRY

A growing number of policy-makers has begun to support the idea of facilitating a “second chance” for ex-prisoners via spending on post-release. A movement emerged in the late 1990s in the United States to promote “prisoner reentry,” or “activities that prepare ex-convicts to return safely to the community and to live as law-abiding citizens” (Petersilia 2003:3; Toney 2007; Travis 2000; Travis 2007). State policies at multiple levels (federal, state, county, and municipality) structure many of the institutional processes that shape prisoner reentry. Officials regulate and enforce conditions resulting in the curtailment of rights during and after incarceration (Manza and Uggen 2006; Uggen and Manza 2002; Uggen, Manza and Thompson 2006), including life-long exclusion from certain rights and freedoms (HIRE Network 2013a; Mele and Miller 2005a). State policies also influence three processes that crucially structure the reception of prisoners: the re-articulation of the importance of community, the responsabilization of the community, and privatization.

First, state policies that re-conceptualize correctional work as the purview of the community have shaped the reception of prisoners (Myrda and Cullen 1998). At the inception of the modern nation-state, Western governments took dramatic measures to monopolize the (real or illusory) power to punish (Spierenburg 1995). Officials and NGOs now jointly manage the administration of punishment and social services, a process which began in some jurisdictions in

the nineteenth century (Maurutto 2003). The language of partnerships and private-public collaborations now predominates in policy discussions of punishment (Garland 1996; Haney 2010; Miller 2014). This re-articulation of the importance of community means individuals are increasingly governed through their relationships to multiple, overlapping communities. These communities also shape the individuals within them in terms of morality and ideas about what makes a “competent citizen” (Rose 1996:331).

The responsabilization of specific community actors is a related process (Garland 1996; Haney 2004; Hannah-Moffat 2000). In and beyond the US, governments have transferred responsibilities to external organizations and individuals, thus ‘shaping the powers and wills of autonomous entities’ to do what the state will not do (Hannah-Moffat 2000). Policy-makers in the US have asked organizations to participate in an “all hands on deck” approach (Obama 2008). Many responsabilized organizations administer programs geared toward changing habits and behaviors and receive little or no state funding.

Finally, formal privatization has shaped the reception of ex-prisoners in the US. From defense to social services, government agencies increasingly pay non-state entities (non-profit or for profit) to provide goods or services rather than providing them directly (DeHoog 1996; Milward and Provan 1993). Beginning with the charitable choice provision of the 1996 welfare reform act, a series of policies have facilitated privatization by allowing a greater range of organizations to receive public funds, including faith-based NGOs, (Sager 2010). States now route released prisoners to NGOs and away from state offices for direct services via contract.

As a result of these changes, NGOs have begun to play an increasingly important role in shaping the ways that released prisoners are socially included. For example, governmentality scholars have found that NGOs work to align participants’ behavior with the state’s aims,

communicate social and moral rules, and encourage behavior changes (Haney 2004; Maurutto 2003; Moore 2007; Singh 2012). Following this work and research on the incorporation of newly recognized citizens, I investigate the varied practices of citizenship among NGOs doing reentry work.

Previous Research on Prisoner Reentry Work

The extant research includes two types of arguments about the significance of reentry work in the NGO sector in the context of the penal state. The first type, which I call contain-and-control, asserts that the prohibitive aspects of the penal state have become all-encompassing and diminish citizenship for all. Techniques to control risk extend far beyond correctional institutions or criminalized people (Barker 2009; Simon 2007). Authors particularly recognize the ways in which a risk or waste management approach treats criminalized people as waste that must be contained (Feeley and Simon 1992; also see Lynch 1998; Simon 1993; Simon 2007). Loïc Wacquant observes that the “invasive, expansive, and expensive penal state” extends to new social and physical spaces, punitively containing the urban poor (Wacquant 2010a). Decentralized penal programs thus facilitate the state’s ability to control and contain the bodies of the criminalized poor and undermine citizenship for all (Thompkins, Curtis and Wendel 2010).

The second type of argument, which I call co-opted productivity, emphasizes the ways in which NGOs encourage personal transformation at decentralized sites. In this view, NGOs work to impact criminalized participants’ citizenship in constrained ways; they produce citizens only as narrowly defined by the interests of the state or market (Goodkind 2009; McKim 2008; Rose

1996; Thompkins 2010). For instance, NGOs satisfy specific policy directives (Haney 2010) such as preparing job-ready graduates (Goodkind 2009; Miller 2014; Wacquant 2010b).

Employing these perspectives, most studies of NGO-sponsored prisoner reentry programs have maintained that NGOs' activities align closely with state policy guidelines and goals, or that NGOs have little agency to develop and implement their own specific objectives. However, research by Ursula Castellano and Nicole Marwell on non-profit activity in two closely related areas—social services and diversionary sentencing—has revealed a range of goals and practices among NGOs, including variation in how NGOs understand and interact with the state (Castellano 2011; Marwell 2004). The current study extends understanding of the variation Marwell and Castellano uncovered by analyzing diversity among NGOs involved in prisoner reentry in the state of Wisconsin. I show that the forms of prisoner incorporation that NGOs implement are more diverse and divergent from state policy than prior work described.

Wisconsin's Reentry Policy

The state of Wisconsin launched its first “reentry initiative” in 2005 when the US Department of Justice selected the Wisconsin Department of Corrections (DOC) to undergo specialized staff training on reentry (Frank 2005). The federal Prisoner Reentry Initiative (PRI), which allocated these funds, advocated community partnerships that harnessed secular and faith-based organizations to run prisoner reentry programs. PRI responsibilized NGOs to shape ex-prisoners as citizens through programs “designed to give ex-offenders a second chance to become productive citizens” (US DOJ, 2008). The policy defined citizenship in the limited sense of ex-prisoners' law-abidingness and labor market productivity.

Similar to the federal PRI, subsequent reentry initiatives in Wisconsin have articulated the importance of community and have encouraged community responsabilization. Repeatedly, DOC policy has asked *the community* at large to “partner” with the DOC (DOC Reentry Business Plan, 2008; DOC Budget Request, 2011-2013; Raemisch 2008). In a podcast for potential contract recipients, the DOC reentry director stated that the DOC “can’t do it alone” and “needs support from the community” (Cavanaugh and Lopez 2013). Similarly, a 2008 policy report asserted that “one agency cannot accomplish community safety on its own” (Raemisch 2008).

The DOC further mirrors the PRI by engaging limited ideas about what prisoners’ citizenship means. In an explanation of the importance of reentry, the state’s first reentry director used the term citizen to refer to a compliant individual when she concluded that it “makes all of us safer” when people receive “services and tools so that when they get out they can be law-abiding citizens” (Hall 2011). This phrasing is used frequently by DOC administrators, suggesting the DOC views the ideal program as providing something ex-prisoners lack (i.e. services or tools) in order to create compliant supervisees.

For a subset of NGOs (as well as for-profit businesses), the DOC has influenced the content of programming by allocating a limited amount of funding. The agency oversees a competitive process to award contracts to the lowest responsible bidder or the highest scoring proposer.⁵⁶ These funds cover limited areas of prisoner incorporation work. I identified two modes of prisoner incorporation for which funds have been allocated: treatment or counseling-

⁵⁶ Contract awardees must meet the DOC’s terms in such areas stated in the contract as education levels of a minimum number of staff members and not requiring that a client receive faith-based services. They also must keep treated populations separated based on risk level, provide necessary reporting to the agency, have current applicable licensing, keep progress notes and make a bureaucratic evaluation of each program session. Increasingly, they must also know how to respond to the COMPAS risk assessment system. The DOC makes further recommendations, such as assigning homework and engaging in role-play (Cavanaugh and Lopez, 2013).

based work that to improve mental health and address addiction, and economic interventions to prepare clients for labor market engagement.⁵⁷

These requests for bids and proposals illustrate ways in which the DOC further mirrors the PRI's limited visions of prisoners' citizenship. Documents do not specifically identify communities in which they encourage prisoners to participate in the long term. For instance, in 2010, the DOC requested bids for a program that would "increase the involvement of natural support systems (family members, community mentors, etc.) in the delivery of services to offenders" (DOC SM-2673, 2010). Rather than envision long-term integration in real communities, documents emphasize short-term treatment teams.

As in the federal PRI, Wisconsin's DOC acknowledges and works with religious organizations, but with caution. The DOC has stated as reentry policy has developed that the agency is open to "working with" faith-based "partners (Schneider 2003). Indeed, there is a long history of church involvement with prisoners in Wisconsin, notably through the Wisconsin Service Association (real name) beginning in the 1910s that now operates under a different name. This organization was the Wisconsin branch of the Society for the Friendless, a Christian national prisoners' aid organization which promoted moral improvement and religious culture in and beyond prisons. Yet a federal court ruling on a faith-based Milwaukee drug treatment facility limits the terms under which the state can fund religious NGOs. The DOC and other agencies must not *require* clients to be served in faith-based settings (Freedom from Religion Foundation 2002). The DOC's requests for bids continue to specify that faith-based organizations are eligible

⁵⁷ The state budget line to purchase services for all "offenders" on community supervision increased from \$21.6 million in the 2002-2003 budget to \$30.9 million in the 2012-2013 budget. This increase in budget line by roughly half falls short of the doubling of the population of people on parole/extended supervision in Wisconsin in these years. In fiscal year 2013, spending heavily went to treatment and housing. Over 12 percent went into substance abuse, sex offender, domestic violence, and anger management group while just over four percent went to any employment or vocational related program. 2013b. "Corrections at a Glance." Madison, WI: State of Wisconsin Department of Corrections, Division of Community Corrections.

bidders, but that any awardees must post specific notices on-site, including that clients can request services without a religious character.

RESULTS

Modes of Prisoner Incorporation

The state's invitation has generated a wide range of providers and practices. I identified six non-exclusive modes of prisoner incorporation adopted by these providers: treatment, economic, domestic labor, cultural, religious, and political incorporation (Table 1). The activities officially endorsed by state reentry policy are only one part of a broader range of interventions with ex-prisoners. First, I identify two sets of activities that more closely align with state policy: treatment and economic incorporation. These activities address attributes or skills that ex-prisoners are identified as lacking, and do not offer lasting membership in communities. Next, I identify four sets of activities that diverge from state policy: domestic labor, and cultural, religious, and political incorporation. NGOs use these activities to incorporate ex-prisoners into particular communities.

Incorporation modes aligned with state policy. State reentry policy prioritizes treatment, and this mode of prisoner incorporation is most common among providers. Fourteen organizations do treatment activities by addressing an identified condition, such as addiction or trauma (Table 1). This approach extends to parenting classes at some organizations, although more frequently it focuses on substance abuse, dual diagnosis (e.g. concurrent mental illness and substance abuse), and sex offender treatment. Incorporation through treatment addresses participants as patients or clients who must work to overcome problems. Often, such programs require sobriety, medication, and individual or group counseling for a mental health condition.

Programs provide participants with a delineated result, such as acquiring skills to cope with past trauma.

A typical treatment-oriented NGO is Mary Magdalene (MM), originally founded within the Catholic Worker movement. A service provider directory describes their alcohol and drug addiction program as employing a harm reduction model and principles of women's relational psychology. Although few other organizations apply a gender-based philosophy or curriculum, MM's approach is typical in its use of individual and group treatment interventions. The program helps women "recover from the physical, sexual, and emotional traumas that they have endured from early childhood to the present." MM addresses participants' treatment needs by generating what they see as previously absent coping skills.

The next most common mode also converges with state policy: economic incorporation helps ex-prisoners enter labor markets via training in soft skills such as typing, dressing for a job, and talking to an employer. Eleven organizations adopt this mode of incorporation, often in conjunction with treatment-focused work. Providers encourage the transformation of clients' attitudes and skills to help them become responsible workers and handlers of finances. This work was typically separate from hard-skill development.⁵⁸

A common lesson taught by NGOs doing economic incorporation is how ex-prisoners can convince employers to grant them job interviews. For example, I observed a group session of

⁵⁸ Major routes to hard skill development in programs I observed were beyond the NGOs I studied. These were 1) through the Department of Workforce Development's institutional apprenticeship programs, for lower numbers of people, which offer different hard skills to women and men; 2) through the Wisconsin Regional Training Program in Milwaukee, which trains workers for living-wage work in a unique model based on employers' indications of jobs that will become available. 3) through on-the-job training at employment sites, including through the DOC's Community Corrections Employment (CCEP) program, which incentivizes employers to hire returning prisoners; however this is not a structured apprenticeship program issuing benchmark certifications of employee skills; 4) community college technical degrees. I did not investigate the content of the FSET program through Dane County's job center, but from conversations my sense is this is soft skilling (e.g. job-readiness—educating participants about job searches and interviews).

the Onward Upward job-readiness program at Achieve, a national NGO with an anti-racism and anti-sexism mission. Kate, the facilitator, explained that one quarter of the participants had criminal records and also that three quarters enrolled as part of the welfare-to-work program. Kate discussed applying for work with a criminal record and how to obtain a job interview. She told the class: “You can’t make them [employers] understand, but you can work on being the best possible worker you can be.” Kate recommended that participants offer a narrative that described a personal transformation: “I do have some charges... at the time I was having some health issues. There have been no new charges.” Kate also suggested that class members could say they had been changed through the program: “I’ve been in Onward Upward and I’ve been volunteering. I’ve been focused on my goals.”

This example shows that economic incorporation is not necessarily tied to membership in concrete, organic communities. Helping students become the best workers they can be does not place them in an organic community. Rather, economic incorporation interventions are geared toward obtaining a job interview or developing a plan for interactions with prospective employers. The approach assumes that programs must provide certain information that participants lacked upon entry.

Incorporation modes that diverge from state policy. Other NGO practices diverge from the state’s reentry policy. These divergent practices seek to include ex-prisoners in lasting communities of people, such as sports fans or congregants at an “ex-offender friendly” church, via domestic labor and cultural, religious, and political incorporation. These modes of incorporation do not *necessarily* treat ex-prisoners as needing correcting and controlling, but rather provide models of including people in broader communities.

Incorporation through domestic labor involves teaching participants to become responsible for chores and to foster health-conscious habits. Five organizations, including St. Matthew House (SMH), a residential facility emphasizing alcohol and drug sobriety and Christian fellowship, employed this mode. The director explained, “You need your house to be organized before anything else.” All residents must do chores and pass room checks to remain in the house. The screening process to apply for SMH residence even includes specifying the kind of chore the applicant prefers—dishes or toilets. Doing chores contributes to the process of learning humility and being a good Christian neighbor within the house and also assures each resident’s ongoing inclusion in the house community.

The significance of keeping one’s living space clean is clear in an SMH newsletter describing Jenelle. The article states that before rehab, “The only way to survive was sleeping on the couch of a roach and rodent infested apartment trading herself for her precious crack. Scratching her skin raw from the bugs and mice, she felt she was literally living in hell.” The newsletter features a recent picture of Jenelle with a vacuum in a main hallway, thus using a commitment to hygiene to symbolize the striking contrast between her life before and after her participation in rehab and then the SMH program.

Cultural incorporation falls even more clearly outside state policy. Creating arts and sports fans or confident speakers is not the state’s reentry policy goal. This mode, which encouraged participants to become part of a broader community of people, occurred at four organizations. Striking examples occurred at two events I attended at the invitation of Leon, the leader of the loosely faith-based organization Heart to Heart (HTH). HTH’s mission states that they will “advocate for individuals who have experienced incarceration to receive an opportunity to begin living an accountable, productive life.” In 2011, HTH hosted actors from a nearby

university to perform two skits about reentry at a local church. The performance involved breakout sessions for mixed groups composed of HTH members, their families, people at the university, and church members. In 2012, HTH support group participants attended a forum on black playwrights. HTH participants were encouraged to talk about art's connection to life as a way of talking about overcoming adversity, and in the process becoming literate about theater. These activities also broadened the communities (i.e. university, church) in which the ex-prisoners could participate.

Moving further from state policy, five organizations employed religious incorporation by calling for a change of religious orientation in individual participants. NGOs adopting religious incorporation offered membership in religious communities: “ex-offender friendly” churches as well as the afterlife. For example, two NGOs are part of a larger network of conservative Protestant ministries called the Knapsack Network. The network identifies people about to be released, typically meeting jailees in institutional Bible studies. Volunteers then greet people as they are released from the county facility⁵⁹ at 12:01 a.m. in Milwaukee, offering each a certificate. The individual can use the certificate to pick up a knapsack containing a Bible, a bus pass, and hygienic materials at a designated Bible study. The certificate is thus an invitation to join a church-based Bible study. State policy certainly does not endorse activities aiming to expand church membership.

Lastly, reentry practices that focus on political incorporation diverge significantly from state policy. Seven organizations practice this mode, in which providers approach participants as deserving members of a larger political body who should cultivate an awareness of politics and

⁵⁹ This is not a state Department of Corrections facility. Members of the Knapsack Network also work with state prisoners. This NGO did not make a strong distinction between incarceration in jails or prisons, though they mainly recruited jailees (some of whom may have also been under DOC supervision or correctional control at different times).

rights. This approach offers membership in a wider political body in which ex-prisoners have standing, such as mothers who have rights or political constituents. Political incorporation may involve NGOs guiding members to speak directly to authority figures. For example, Community Environment for Women (CEW) is an organization that offers halfway houses and specialized day programs for criminalized women, especially mothers of infants, women with substance abuse issues, and sex workers. A CEW social worker described coaching a client to advocate for more visitations with her children in a meeting with her correctional agent. In such interactions, CEW staff members recognized women as people who have rights, the ability to self-advocate, and special standing to make claims as mothers.

The state's invitation to "the community" to become involved in prisoner reentry has encouraged a wide range of incorporation activities that surpass those encouraged in state policy. Based on this range, I distinguish between two types of NGOs. I call NGOs specializing in the state's preferred policy areas (i.e. treatment and economic incorporation) classic reentry organizations. I contrast these groups with NGOs that use further forms of incorporation (i.e. domestic work and cultural, religious, and political incorporation), which I call broader incorporation organizations.

Classic Reentry Organizations

Six of the eighteen NGOs performed classic reentry work. Classic reentry NGOs assume participants need treatment for addiction and/or training in soft skills. Many specialized in treatment-focused incorporation, including programs for parenting as a form of treatment. To support my coding of treatment incorporation practices, I conducted analysis of terms in NGO documents. I found more frequent use of the terms "referral," "treatment," and "AODA" (alcohol

or other drug addiction) in documents written by classic reentry organizations than in those written by their counterparts. Economic terms such as “workforce” and “job training” are also used more often in documents written by classic reentry NGOs than in those written by their broader incorporation counterparts.

The average age since founding is six years older for classic reentry NGOs compared to their broader incorporation counterparts, suggesting that classic NGOs as a group have had more experience negotiating with the state as a potential funder. These organizations are generally better endowed than broader incorporation organizations; the few classic reentry NGOs that received DOC contracts received the majority of DOC funds.

For example, Community Treatment for Offenders (CTO) is a secular agency that provides both residential beds and therapeutic treatment groups across Wisconsin. CTO received seven DOC contracts for post-release work from 2008 to 2011. One contract granted \$130,000 annually for aftercare and relapse prevention groups. Other NGOs have become aware of CTO’s closeness to the DOC. Leon at Heart to Heart jokingly called CTO “minimum.” The joke references the security levels of the state’s prisons (maximum, medium, minimum), facetiously suggesting that CTO is part of the state prison system with an even lower security level. Leon’s observation reflected the practical difficulty of distinguishing between the DOC and CTO from the vantage of an NGO with greater distance from the state.

The City Support Center (CSC) typifies classic reentry NGOs in two ways. CSC offers treatment and although the group had a loose affiliation with Islam under its previous director, it is open to working with people with any or no faith affiliation. CSC received a \$19,000 annual contract from the DOC to run three regular groups on relapse prevention and psychological intervention, but relies more heavily on other funding sources including Medicaid. Classic

reentry NGOs such as CSC are not strongly concerned with faith practices. The other classic reentry NGOs in the sample were secular, interfaith, or affiliated with mainline Protestant churches or the Church of God in Christ (COGIC). These providers rarely mentioned God and never mentioned the Bible in their documents. In addition, classic reentry NGOs do not focus on politics. For example, CSC's clinical director stressed that to protect his professional role, he does not call himself an advocate. Overall, political positions at classic reentry organizations are unremarkable.

Classic reentry NGOs run programs that facilitate inclusion as a citizen by providing resources and skills and enforcing changes in individuals. For example, Clinics in Wisconsin (CIW) is a secular, for-profit agency that describes program participants as offenders (the state's preferred term) who have the *potential to be* citizens.⁶⁰ In its program guide, CIW describes a philosophy that allows offenders to become "citizens" by tapping into their own abilities and capacities: "Each offender has strengths that can help them be productive, law-abiding citizens." This philosophy characterizes participants as works in progress who can gain reinforcement from teams who will share responsibility for working to "meet offender needs." This orientation suggests convergence with state policy, which frames programs as providing social control. By engaging short-term teams, CIW and its peers are working to create compliant, law-abiding ex-prisoners who can begin to be considered potential citizens.

Like other classic reentry organizations, Social Justice, Inc. (SJI) constructs teams to create "community" around ex-prisoners. In their citizen circle model, six community members commit to meeting regularly with their assigned former prisoner. This interfaith NGO was founded in the 1970s to promote activism on a range of poverty and racial justice issues. The

⁶⁰ All other organizations included in the analysis are non-profits.

group's core mission is to "identify, study, urge action, and work together for social justice in the broader community." One way SJI accomplishes this is by leading a working group to address the city's housing and homelessness issues. Their social change efforts integrate the work of several formerly incarcerated people on the staff. Thus, as activists and not simply service providers, SJI distinguishes itself from other classic reentry NGOs. Notwithstanding the scope of SJI, the classic reentry approach generally offers limited visions of the citizenship and community membership of clients.

Broader Incorporation Organizations

Twelve organizations diverged from state policy and worked toward prisoner incorporation beyond treatment provision and economic incorporation. NGOs in this category used two to five modes of prisoner incorporation. All but two provided treatment or job-readiness intervention. Thus, broader incorporation organizations engaged in a variety of activities and issues beyond those described in state policy. For example, groups that provided treatment often addressed domestic violence and sexual abuse. Documents from broader incorporation NGOs used religious terms three times more frequently than those from classic reentry organizations; many of these specific terms were completely absent from classic reentry NGO documents.

NGOs doing broader incorporation work had widely varying funding situations. Generally, DOC contracts were less common among this group than among classic reentry NGOs. Many relied on private grants and donations, and facilitators were not necessarily compensated for their work. A prime example is Growing Our Garden, an arts therapy

organization for women. Their weekly program was led in a donated church space by an ELCA pastor who was not compensated for her work.

Even those broader incorporation organizations that had public contracts struggled financially. Healing our Sisters and Brothers (HSB) is an anti-violence organization that has received multiple state and federal contracts from several agencies besides DOC. In a provider directory, HSB described itself as “a spiritually-based, client and family-centered agency that specializes in working with many African American populations in a culturally responsive manner.” As the director explained, there have been repeated, costly metal thefts to the building that they could no longer afford to repair. So, HSB has closed its business run as a welfare-to-work training site.

HSB exemplifies another feature that distinguishes broader incorporation NGOs: to recognize and respond to particular features of clients, such as economic marginality, gender violence, and/or racial oppression. HSB’s goal of creating ‘productive, taxpaying citizens’ who are home owners, employed, mentors, and free of “drug addictions” and “criminal involvements” converges with state descriptions of ideal citizens. However, the way in which HSB recognizes participants as members of concrete communities is a crucial distinction. HSB seeks to use its location on the main corridor of a heavily impoverished, majority Black neighborhood to welcome pedestrians. HSB “is located in the heart of the community it was created to serve,” as the mission statement emphasizes, as Phaedra explained, and as I observed during my visit.

Broader incorporation NGOs like HSB also moved beyond state policy through their political orientations and concern about integrating participants in concrete communities. I will demonstrate this divergence by NGOs that fall both to the right (Dinner with Luke) and to the left (Heart to Heart) of state policy.

Right-Leaning Broader Incorporation Organizations

Staff and leaders at five evangelical and conservative Protestant organizations in Milwaukee were affiliated with movements of the religious right. Some were located within churches while others were stand-alone missions. Their divergence from state policy was possible in part because of funding independence—none of the right-leaning broader incorporation NGOs received DOC contracts (Table 1).

These organizations expressed the view that ex-prisoners need not join programs to prove their worthiness as citizens. Dinner with Luke (DWL), a Bible study in the Knapsack Network and held at a conservative Protestant church, represented many providers to the right of state policy. DWL used the phrase “returning citizens” to signify their view that ex-prisoners already belong. DWL emphasized transformation into fullness. A church newsletter explained that participants could become spiritually full as they found “the precious blood of Christ” that would fill the “the emptiness in our lives... with Christian Fellowship.” Thus, DWL hoped that citizens could change their state of spiritual emptiness by joining a community of believers within the church community. Members treated ex-prisoners as welcome because of a prior, unconditional promise of inclusion that members explain was assured by Jesus. Other broader incorporation NGOs also promoted the idea of “returning citizens.” This focus on membership in a conservative Protestant community is certainly not part of DOC policy.

Left-Leaning Broader Incorporation Organizations

Another subset of broader incorporation providers was identifiably left leaning. These groups emphasized “dignity” and “respect” for people whom they asserted should be treated as if they already belong. This view does not align with the state’s position that ex-prisoners are only

worthy of inclusion once they have displayed certain conduct and are in treatment, law abiding, and job-ready. Left-leaning broader incorporation NGOs tended to prefer political incorporation over religious incorporation. Of the few that were faith-based, their denominations were mainline Protestant or interfaith as opposed to evangelical or conservative Protestant. Staff members at four NGOs visibly advocated for progressive policy issues at the state and national levels; they supported causes such as “ban the box” bills, culturally appropriate domestic violence interventions, gender-specific treatment for criminalized women, ending the “prison industrial complex,” and correcting the moral injustice of “racial disparities.”

Heart to Heart (HTH) represents a typical view of ex-prisoners of having a prior claim to the conditions of citizenship. As the HTH mission states, “Once [an] individual has committed to change, they must have an opportunity within that community to live out that change.” Rather than framing programming around deficiency, HTH framed their work around the “opportunity” of committed individuals to live the free life to which they are entitled. The efforts of the director, Leon, to include group members in wider political communities reflect this view. Leon began the inclusion by encouraging members to prepare a five-minute life narrative to share with the weekly support group. Participants then moved on to more public settings, such as university classrooms. These public-speaking skills become especially useful when Leon, together with the participants, appealed to the DOC and legislative authorities in both formal and informal settings on behalf of released prisoners.

HTH’s inclusion of members in broader political communities was especially evident when Leon convened a town hall meeting focused on a participant named Lavar, whose DOC agent had incarcerated him so many times for supervision violations that his work and health were impacted. HTH, as well as a local reporter and prisoner advocates believed that tracking

equipment malfunctions rather than actual violations of supervision had spurred the incarcerations, and thus the actions of Lavar's DOC agent were unwarranted and excessive. Leon explained that the meeting was meant to show the agent that she could count on the community around Lavar to "hold him accountable." HTH was successful in changing the DOC personnel assigned to Lavar's case. In a broader sense, this work to support Lavar activated the political community that enabled all group members (those that have and have not been incarcerated alike) to exercise citizenship. HTH members used their speaking skills to present direct critiques of decisions to state officials. In the process, HTH also communicated to an audience beyond the organization that Lavar and all other HTH members deserve to be treated like citizens.

Through efforts such as those of HTH, left-leaning NGOs offer incorporation into particular communities, although different ones than conservative Christian missions. Despite these political differences, the broader incorporation NGOs see the preexisting citizenship claims of released prisoners as warranting their immediate inclusion in actual communities and an entitlement to respectful services. This perspective contrasts significantly with the view of citizenship adopted in state policy and by classic reentry organizations that reentry programs should offer services to *make* citizens by correcting ex-prisoners' deficits. Supervisees in classic organizations who become compliant and hard-working will earn the opportunity to become members of the abstract community of citizens, but are not seen immediately in terms of being entitled to any specific services or to be in a community with the never-incarcerated.

These results show that the state's encouragement of community participation has brought strikingly diverse organizational actors into working with ex-prisoners. Reentry NGOs vary in the degree to which they emphasize just the activities that state policy encourages. Although there is clearly a smaller group of NGOs whose members reflect state policy and enjoy

the majority of DOC contracts, the process of engaging ex-prisoners in organizational settings spreads to a wider set of providers who see themselves and the ex-prisoners as already belonging to a community. The majority of providers go beyond carrying through the state's idea of what ex-prisoners should do and be. They include ex-prisoners in ongoing religious and political communities and engage ex-prisoners in forms of action in which the DOC has no explicit interest, from domestic labor and the arts to Bible study and lobbying.

Most striking is how the NGOs' diverse visions of ex-prisoners' citizenship relate to the types of prisoner incorporation they provide. NGOs that closely reflect state policy goals emphasize their role as social control agents and frame citizenship as a condition toward which an "offender" can progress via program completion and good conduct. NGOs that add other concerns to the state's policy goal of mental health and employability also treat prisoners unconditionally as members in church communities or members of political communities with entitlement to rights. Both communicate that ex-prisoners are citizens who already deserve membership in their organizations and are to be provided the resources they need to experience the opportunities of a free life.

Significance of Prisoner Incorporation

The concept of prisoner incorporation draws attention to key processes facilitated by state policy, namely responsibilization and privatization. The concept reveals that the work typically called reentry is not uniform, is institutionally patterned, and includes quite varied assumptions among NGOs about the nature of community and formerly incarcerated people's relationship to citizenship. This approach reveals that NGOs not only perform the kinds of work officially preferred, as co-opted productivity arguments in the literature suggest, but also receive ex-

prisoners in actually functioning communities in ways that vary across providers' religious and political orientations and corresponding funding sources. Policy-makers tolerate and even encourage this diversity because it enables them to transfer responsibility for the provision of care and services for ex-prisoners to 'the community' while directly paying only select, larger NGOs.

In Wisconsin's current reentry policy, organizations not receiving DOC funds to diverge from and surpass the official policy goals of generating law-abiding, mentally healthy citizen-workers. Thus, offloading reentry work to NGOs not paid by the state has encouraged a plurality of practices. Reentry work may be more varied than officials anticipated when they launched their reentry initiatives. The development of a reentry policy field has not pushed out faith providers like the Society for the Friendless in its current form, but to the contrary, continues faith-based NGOs' ongoing involvement with the state's criminal justice system. Moreover, some NGOs have diverged farther from policy than co-opted productivity readings might predict. While a contain-and-control approach might be promoted in settings such as CTO ("minimum minimum"), that reading of state policy overlooks very differently justified work by NGOs concerned about citizenship.

Thus, the diversity of NGOs, activities and communities into which NGOs can invite formerly incarcerated people in part reflects the decentralized funding arrangements in the state's broad calls to "responsibilize" post-release work. Many of these responsibilized parties are embedded in communities where they, their friends, their neighbors, and their family members may be formerly incarcerated people; they are involved because they know that if they do not intervene in ways they view as beneficial to ex-prisoners, no one else will. Because less professionalized, smaller NGOs interpret demand for services in a decentralized way, they may

be more attuned to needs of the populations they serve than a centralized state department. This decentralized aspect of the arrangement in itself is a good, though somewhat contradictorily so, because the lack of substantial support undermines the potential of such NGOs to continue their “broader incorporation” work.

This arrangement raises a basic question: is it feasible to consider public funding of this work in a way that promotes the public good of having diverse providers that reflect a range of communities? How would state support for the NGO sector look, if the state were “serious about reentry,” in Loïc Wacquant’s terms (Wacquant 2010b:614)?

Given public support, the state’s service procurement process could be expanded to include a larger proportion of these providers’ diverse work with and for those they address as citizens already, especially for the “broader incorporation” NGOs. Yet within current arrangements, full privatization of post-release work through paid state contracts is not a practical goal. Without a major change of bidding requirements, the privatization of post-release services will continue to preference the work of large, professionalized providers like CTO that are not well integrated now in communities of common concern and interest from which they presumably began. As Chapter 4 discusses, many smaller providers, heavily “broader incorporation” NGOs, are also unable to prepare the documentation necessary to compete for state contracts, if they even qualify in terms of staff certification, experience and education.

Full expansion of state sponsorship of this work is also not necessarily a desirable goal, and could encourage the kinds of consequences the authors writing on “contain and control” and “co-opted productivity” have warned. Entering more NGOs into hierarchical accountability/reporting relationships with state agencies through the receipt of public funds could encourage the displacement of goals, encourage homogenization around the state’s priorities (currently

treatment and job-readiness) around a limited approach to citizenship, and divert staff resources toward meeting the state's goals. I address some of these issues in the next chapter.

As faith-based and secular NGOs continue working in this devolved policy field, researchers and policy-makers should not undervalue innovation in NGO prisoner incorporation work. In *Governing through Crime*, Jonathan Simon argued that heavy investments in the penal state are sapping the country's innovation and democracy (Simon 2007). I locate patterns of prisoner incorporation that are structured by and yet remain peripheral to the penal state. Prisoner incorporation patterns say less about sapping innovation and democracy than about the creativity NGOs exercise in response to the desperation and extreme exclusions in the lives of former prisoners. NGO work at the margins of the penal state to offers experiences of citizenship to those whom the state deems as still needing preparation to become citizens. Those with broader visions of inclusion are also practicing democracy, expressed both in the diversity of their programs and in the fuller participation they offer to ex-prisoners.

Chapter 4: NGO-State Relationships

In this chapter, I draw on several literatures related to NGO service delivery and advocacy as I conceptualize the relationships of NGOs with penal state agencies as multiple and complex. I discuss how these relationships vary along two particular dimensions: the degree of *hierarchy* in terms of accountability and reporting, and the degree of *distance* in terms of NGOs' views of the state as a target of advocacy or a conversant. Using these two dimensions to distinguish NGOs allows me to document the most prevalent forms of NGO-state relationships that have formed in the post-release service field amidst privatization and responsabilization. I also connect relationship types to the incorporation activities NGOs conduct, building on my results in the prior chapter.

Considered together in a two-by-two table, these dimensions defining NGOs' relationships with penal state officials produce four expected types of NGOs (Table 1). First, *satellite states* are the type of NGOs most widely discussed by critical penologists. I use this term to refer to NGOs that are in close and hierarchical relationships with penal state funders providing earmarked reentry funds. The use of this term builds on work from Lynne Haney (2010) and other critics of NGOs in the penal services field, who regard NGOs as being pulled, via funding, closer to the goals of the penal state.⁶¹ I looked for the presence of this kind of arrangement in response to critical penological concerns about the co-optation, particularly through funding arrangements, of NGOs doing post-release service work.

In the second type of relationship I identify, organizations that I call *satellite-seeking NGOs* are eager to establish a hierarchical relationship through earmarked reentry funding,

⁶¹ Matthews also used the term "satellite state" in her book. Matthews, Nancy A. 1994. *Confronting rape: The feminist anti-rape movement and the state*. London ; New York: Routledge.

which they have nearly all bid for, but have not received. These NGOs do not regard the state as a target/conversant. I examined whether there is indeed a body of NGOs eager to be included among the “satellite states.” The results substantiate critical penologists’ concerns about the threat of “seepage” (Kilty and Devellis 2010:2) or the absorption of an increasing number of NGOs into coordinated relationships with the penal state.

Third, the NGOs I classify as *conversants and advocates* view the state as a target of advocacy or engage in conversations unrelated to the fulfillment of a contract. These NGOs do not receive earmarked “reentry” funds for post-release work. The presence of this type would demonstrate empirically that NGOs have ways of engaging with penal state actors without reporting directly to them in the capacity of their post-release work.⁶²

Fourth, when organizations are located in non-hierarchical and distant relationships with the penal state, I classify them as *NGOs opposing state involvement*. These NGOs do not regard the state as a target/conversant, nor do they seek state funding earmarked for reentry. The presence of these NGOs would provide the clearest counter-case to the kinds of organizations predominantly described in critical penological work (most notably Shaylor and Meiners 2013; Thompkins 2010).

I find that all four types of NGOs occur empirically at relatively similar frequencies, with the exception of the infrequent presence of conversants and advocates (Table 2). I describe each type, as well as the communities in which the NGOs are embedded. I identify 11 of the 18 NGOs I study as either satellite states or satellite-seeking NGOs; thus, the results suggest that the privatization process has not yet saturated the pool of NGOs that are willing to do privatized work. The body of NGOs that are in hierarchical relationships and conduct privatized service

⁶² To reiterate the earlier point (made in the methods chapter) about the scope of this analysis: I have not considered bids and awards for institutional/in-prison contracts from correctional agencies.

work (satellite states) could grow with expanded access to state funding. Meanwhile, the small number of conversants and advocates suggests that regarding penal state agencies on solely a horizontal basis, without a hierarchical relationship, is a difficult position to maintain.

I also use this typology to investigate how NGO-state relationships are associated with NGOs' incorporation activities (Table 3). I find that NGOs opposed to state involvement strongly emphasize the religious incorporation and cultural incorporation of former prisoners, receive no earmarked reentry funds from state agencies, are rarely registered for bidding with the DOC on VendorNet, and are composed of the right-leaning "broader incorporation" NGOs discussed in the prior chapter. Conversely, I find that the satellite states, satellite-seeking NGOs, and conversants and advocates are heavily composed of "classic reentry" and "left-leaning broader incorporation" NGOs I identified in the prior chapter.

Strikingly, these results show that the work of "treatment" is primarily conducted at NGOs that are in closer and more hierarchical relationships with the state, and that much of the work of religious and cultural incorporation is being done at NGOs that are farther from the state and do not have reporting/funding relationships with penal state agencies. This pattern suggests that treatment is being privatized primarily to one distinct group of NGOs, while broader incorporation, particularly through involvement in religious communities, is being responsibilized to other distinct kinds of NGOs.

CONCEPTUALIZING NGO-STATE RELATIONSHIPS

Why Differentiate among Forms of State-NGO Relationships?

I conceptualize the forms of NGO-state relationships based on the work of Nancy Matthews, Lynne Haney, and Stanley Cohen. Writing about a variety of fields, decades, and

locales, these authors regard NGO-state relationships as complex and resistant to simple categorization.

Nancy Matthews' research on the development of rape crisis centers (RCCs) in California beginning in the 1970s and their relationships with state bodies (1994, 1995) demonstrated that characterizing RCCs receiving public funds as co-opted was overly simplistic. Matthews contrasted these NGOs based on whether they resisted or accepted state funding, and whether they were bureaucratized or resistant to bureaucracy.⁶³ These dimensions allowed Matthews to identify the expected orientations of NGOs to the state. In the more extreme orientations, some RCCs took a stance of overt opposition to the state (seen, for example, in NGOs' outright refusal to apply for state funds) while others took a stance of apparent accommodation as they adjusted their practices to conform to state rules.

In addition, using these dimensions, Matthews identified less expected orientations: one group of NGOs that held a position of active engagement with the state and another group that received state funds but resisted the "bureaucratic rationality" of the state to define their work (1994:127). Her comparisons, based on these dimensions, revealed that it would be a mistake to assume that engagement with the state always meant NGOs were unable to advance their goals.

Focusing on professionals working in the growing field of services for criminalized people in the 1980s, Stanley Cohen's now classic book, *Visions of Social Control* (1985), called readers to recognize the nuanced relationships between these "crime control" workers and the penal state that was being reconfigured in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, and Western Europe. His chapter on "professionals" discussed employees of state welfare, health,

⁶³ Matthews also examined whether RCCs were community oriented or feminist, and whether they held liberal or radical ideological views.

and educational fields: members of low-level helping and controlling professions which had already experienced increased power since the 1960s. He identified their position as having contradictory interests relative to the state. Cohen wrote that these professionals were “not directly or necessarily acting in the best interest of the state” and were not “tools of the state” (1985:164). Rather, crime control professionals’ relationship with the penal state was ambiguous, particularly given their professional guidelines and accreditation standards as well as their desire to seek out funding and clients. Cohen described the professionals as “elites and self-seeking” in the way they applied their specialized knowledge to “advance their own interests,” enjoying “functional autonomy” (185:163).

If professionally certified employees of NGOs currently doing work with former prisoners are, as Cohen described, already in a contradictory position, then less professionalized NGO employees and volunteers may also maintain nuanced relationships with the penal state. These relationships may not be entirely explainable in terms of funding and the accompanying accountability and reporting requirements.

Attending to correctional services (alternative-to-incarceration programs) for women in California in the 1990s and 2000s, Lynne Haney’s work provides a further basis for seeking more nuanced explanations of the NGO-state relationship. Haney’s book *Offending Women* (also reviewed in the introductory chapter) examined two carceral sites: a juvenile home and an alternative-to-prison community-based facility for mothers (Haney 2010). As Haney showed, it would be a mistake to regard the blurring of state/non-state lines through devolution as evidence that NGOs doing work with criminalized women are operating fully apart from state involvement.

Haney focused on “satellite institutions” that were located apart from California’s centralized prisons. She defined “satellite states” as sites run by NGOs that were often “located outside the confines of central state structures or departments” (2010:17). Haney showed that state devolution, which allocated responsibilities to these “satellite states,” did not mean the state’s withdrawal from NGO sites (Haney 2010). Describing such NGOs, she wrote:

In many ways, these agencies are akin to satellite states—they circle and hover around the centralized “mother ship,” relying on her for material survival, legitimacy, and authority. (P. 16)

Haney thus observed that “geographical distance” may not promise institutions with this kind of hierarchical reporting relationship a greater degree of flexibility (2010:17).

By raising concerns of co-optation, *Offending Women* points to the importance of funding and accountability relationships as a substantial way in which ties to the penal state vary for NGOs. As she showed, NGOs vary on many dimensions beyond funding, including whether services are more punitive or rehabilitative and the geographical locations of service delivery in communities. Along with Matthews and Cohen, Haney thus provides motivation to investigate how “varied and complex” NGOs, as well as their relationships with the penal state, could be (2010:17). NGOs and the penal state could relate to one another in many ways in this context.

Building on the work of these authors, I develop two dimensions of the NGO-state relationship in the post-release services field. First, I discuss *hierarchy* as a dimension: having a more or less hierarchical relationship, particularly as indicated by the NGO’s requirements for reporting/accountability. Second, I address *closeness* as a dimension. This reflects the degree to which NGOs view the state as target of advocacy or a conversant in discussions about curriculum design or needed services; NGOs are free to either participate or avoid such discussions.

Dimension One: Hierarchical Relationships

An important characteristic of NGOs' relationships with the state is the degree to which the relationship is hierarchical. Funding and reporting accountability is a major aspect of hierarchy in these relationships; additional hierarchical features include: government bodies steering agendas via the identification of fundable work, the diversion of political opposition into service delivery, and expectations that NGOs will either rely on law enforcement or mirror the controlled prison environment.⁶⁴ I differentiate between more and less hierarchical relationships as they are described in research on faith-based organizations in the wake of charitable choice, privatization, the delivery of charitable services, and NGOs' work with criminalized people.

More hierarchical NGO-state relationships. Researchers have paid significant attention to the ways that funding may impact NGOs' goal setting, resource allocation, and program choice (Jung and Moon 2007). Receiving government funds can subject an organization to a complex legal environment, including rules requiring that an NGO report to the state (Chaves, Stephens and Galaskiewicz 2004). NGOs pursue their missions in a moderate way that does not antagonize the funders on whom they depend (Smith 1993). Funding streams are thus a major mechanism through which NGOs enter hierarchical relationships with the state.

Stephen Monsma's research on welfare-to-work programs showed that the proportion of funds an NGO receives from a given source impacts the degree of power that source has over the NGO (2003). Monsma found that as funds from government sources approach 100 percent of an NGO's budget, "it is almost inevitable that the agency-government relationship will shift from one of partnership to one of superior-subordinate" (Monsma 2003:15). For this reason, "many

⁶⁴ Less central to my argument is that the hierarchical imbalance in NGO-state relationships also appears in differences in size between an NGO and the state. Another example of this kind of relationship that is beyond the scope of this project is arts organizations facing censorship. Owen, Tim. 2000. "NGO-Government Partnerships." *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 1(1):131-37.

faith-based groups do not accept government funds out of fear that doing so would compromise their religious mission” (2003:17). As Monsma’s respondents explained, turning down funds allowed their organizations to have a “clear sense of autonomy or independence” (2003:14) to pursue projects that would not have been possible through state funds.⁶⁵

In addition to documenting the ways that funding relationships reflect disparate levels of power between the state and NGOs, authors have expressed concerns about governments steering service delivery into state-supported areas in which NGOs must operate to survive.⁶⁶ Dennis Young (1999) and Steven Smith and Michael Lipsky (1993) have shown that states have created entire programs and providers that did not previously exist, which then are governed by demanding contracts and thus reporting relationships (Smith and Lipsky 1993; Young 1999).

Related to this concern, a hierarchical relationship associated with receiving state funds may divert staff and volunteers from pursuing more radical goals. As Nicole Marwell’s article on the “NGO-ization of the state” asserted, dependence on the state for funds meant that the community-based, locally formed organizations she studied did not have a very contentious relationship with state (Marwell 2004). Although she believed NGOs could take an oppositional stance like social movement actors do, she wrote that “CBO [community-based organization] competitors are less ‘countermovements’ (e.g., Meyer and Staggenborg 1996) than they are simply other CBOs seeking the same government contract dollars” (2004:270). Whether state

⁶⁵ There is not complete consensus about whether receiving public funding forces NGOs into a hierarchical relationship with state bodies. In contrast to the authors just reviewed, Mark Chaves and his co-authors framed NGOs as part of an oligopsony in which the state is also dependent on them for services to be completed. Yet, even if mutual need makes the relationship between funder and awardee less hierarchical, it is far from a meeting of equals; it would take far less for an NGO reliant on state funds to be out of business than for the state corrections department reliant on NGO services to go out of business. Chaves, Mark, Laura Stephens, and Joseph Galaskiewicz. 2004. "Does government funding suppress nonprofits' political activity?" *American Sociological Review* 69(2):292-316.

⁶⁶ This dilemma is discussed in terms of the issue of “problem choice” in sociology of science research.

funding creates a diminished political stance or attracts NGOs with depoliticized goals is not addressed here, although the issue is addressed in the work of Janet Poppendieck.

Poppendieck's work examined the emergency food and hunger advocacy field, asking how providers who stated they did not want their work institutionalized found themselves reliant on funds they regarded as "band aids" at best (1998). She showed that charity provision diverts would-be advocates, all the more so when these providers have invested years in establishing networks of coordination (Poppendieck 1998). Emergency food NGOs such as pantries have become efficient and well-coordinated. Poppendieck argued that the emergency food charity network "absorb[s] the time and attention of advocates" who then must defend the status quo in order to keep operations running, using public dollars (1998:299). Because the advocates are distracted and emergency food networks grow, this arrangement reduces pressure on the state to make the adequate provision of food an entitlement. As both Poppendieck and Smith showed, despite their opposition to the way in which funds are set up, these NGO providers continue to do their work because they know no one else will help their targeted population (Smith 1993).

Researchers have paid particular attention to the relationships between *penal* state governmental bodies and NGOs. Ursula Castellano adopted a systems and organizations approach in her study of NGO actors running pre-trial release programs in California (Castellano 2005). Given the greater or lesser degrees of coupling and coordination she observed across NGO sites, she described those NGOs and courts that contracted relationships as "partners in crime." Castellano described this relationship as mutually beneficial; she wrote that non-profit caseworkers and court officials "work together to solve problems, capitalize on each other's strengths and achieve goals they would not be capable of working on alone" (2005:2). While not

wholly unproblematic, she noted that the arrangement is increasingly common and is functional because it contributes to the public good via a reduction in the number of costly court trials.

However, critical penologists writing on NGOs in the post-prison service field are chiefly concerned with the risks of co-optation associated with receiving funds from penal state agencies (Shaylor and Meiners 2013; Thompkins 2010; Thompkins, Curtis and Wendel 2010). Many critical penological arguments share the tone of extreme apprehension in the “contain-and-control” and “co-opted productivity” concerns about the convergence between NGOs and the penal state in terms of the content of post-release services discussed in the previous chapter. These authors offer mechanisms through which they believe the penal state diminishes NGOs’ autonomy via dependency on state funds.

A particularly vivid account of these mechanisms in the work of Jennifer Kilty and Leah Devellis draws on a liquid (rather than satellite) metaphor. In their analysis of controlling interactions in a halfway house for women, they described NGOs connected to the criminal justice system as “subject to a seeping saturation of correctional approaches to governance” (2010:2). The authors wrote:

This ongoing seepage of correctional type governance strategies is directly tied to funding and the dependence of many not for profit organisations on government correctional monies to support the lifeblood of their agencies. Being fiscally responsible to the correctional system often requires more liberal and/or supportive organisations to forfeit, for example, a needs based and/or harm reduction approach for one that focuses on risk and security. (P. 2)

The authors concluded that such government-funded community-based NGOs must have “amplified reliance on surveillance, monitoring, and cross reporting confirmation measures reflective of more traditional correctional social control schemas” (Kilty and Devellis 2010:2).

Similarly, other critical penological authors have argued that reentry funding has essentially pulled organizations closer to the penal state (Bumiller 2013; Haney 2010), requiring

NGOs to embrace the penal state's control goals in the NGO sector (Maidment 2006). For example, MaDonna Maidment wrote that the state has offloaded the provision of services for which they state used to be responsible to NGOs, themselves in a precarious position (Maidment 2006b). The reception of state money shapes NGOs' agendas as they do the state's work of making people "governable" and specifically making people with mental health diagnoses more "manageable" (2006:271). Specifically, the state delegates "psy-professionals" at local, state-funded NGOs to work toward achieving its own goal of controlling the behavior of formerly incarcerated women.

As the quote from Kilty and Devellis reflects, a particularly concerning aspect of the "seepage" of correctional goals into NGOs is the potential for organizations to place clients in prison-like conditions through cooperation with law enforcement (Kilty and DeVellis 2010; Shantz, Kilty and Frignon 2009; Simon 2007). The concern is that NGOs could become (and already are) part of the coercive and controlling arm of the state in several ways, including close interaction with law enforcement (Bumiller 2013).

Additionally, NGOs' relationships with funders that may not *only* encourage this convergence of goals between NGOs and the penal state; as Kilty, Devellis, and MaDonna Maidment write, these hierarchical relationships may also pull NGOs away from more radical positions. The literature seems open as to whether "seepage" or the accumulation of "satellite states" around the state's orbit occurs through the self-selection of NGOs with goals similar to the penal state or through changes in NGO goals over time.⁶⁷ Regardless, authors in the field have raised concerns that these state-endorsed NGOs are no longer grassroots or radical, as such

⁶⁷ This is sometimes called "mission creep" or goal displacement; it is a much older issue in the study of organizations. This is an issue I do not address in detail here.

a position cannot be maintained within a state funding regime. These authors framed NGOs as having little interest in much besides their own growth and being unlikely to challenge the status quo in the penal state's treatment of ex-prisoners, especially women (Bumiller 2013, Thompkins 2010, Shaylor and Meiners 2013).

Less hierarchical NGO-state relationships. Researchers have characterized relationships on the other end of the hierarchy dimension as lacking a reporting requirement, or including a more horizontal balance of power between the NGO and the state in defining the terms of what information will be reported. Nancy Matthews illustrated an alternate to the types of NGO experiences described by Maidment, Marwell, Monsma, Poppendieck, and others. Matthews documented cases in which RCCs resisted reporting/accountability aspects of a hierarchical relationship on ideological grounds. At the organization Santa Cruz Women Against Rape, the funder, the California Office of Criminal Justice Planning (OCJP), expected the NGO to collect data on victims' race and ethnicity. However, the NGO refused to report the requested information because they believed it was "politically incorrect" and made unnecessary distinctions between people (1995:296). This choice allowed the organization to resist the bureaucratic terms of the hierarchical funding arrangement, but eventually led to the loss of its state funding.

A less hierarchical NGO-state relationship would involve a requirement for the NGO to report minimal to no data to the state. In the book *Elusive Togetherness*, Paul Lichterman described that in response to welfare reform, faith-based organizations in the fictionalized Midwestern city of Lakeburg formed groups to assist people in need without state funding (2005). Members of these groups believed their involvement was increasingly necessary because public welfare support was declining. Their activism was self-directed, that is, not shaped

directly by the demands of a public agency, but rather shaped by volunteers' motivation to care for their fellow citizens (Lichterman 2005). His account showed that NGOs that operate outside relationships with state bodies have more choices in how to approach their program participants and diagnose problems and solutions.

Together, these authors have suggested that hierarchical relationships have a variety of features, among them reporting and accounting to state offices, implementing the state's policy goals, and diverting resources away from other potential projects and activities. Conversely, NGOs operating outside this hierarchical relationship receive no public funding, have no obligation to report to the state, or resist the requirements demanded of them.⁶⁸

Dimension Two: Closeness

An important second dimension of the NGO-state relationship is closeness. Building on Poppendieck's analysis in particular, I distinguish between NGO reporting/accountability to the state as funder and seeking out state offices as targets of advocacy or conversations beyond the scope of contracts. This dimension particularly addresses whether NGOs view state agencies as useful or worth spending their time addressing; I regard closeness as primarily driven by the NGO. I provide further reasons for examining this dimension of the state-NGO relationship by drawing from literature on NGOs and social movement advocacy for penal policy reform.⁶⁹

Closer NGO-state relationships. NGOs and the state are located in a closer relationship when NGOs identify government officials as targets or conversants, especially when the NGOs

⁶⁸ In addition, professional certification by state officials produces a more horizontal than vertical relationship between NGOs and the state. As Cohen (reviewed above) described, professionals are motivated by additional goals per professional associations and the need to have enough clients and sufficient funding streams to survive (1985).

⁶⁹ Previously I had considered surveillance of the organization by state regulators as a second dimension; however, funding and surveillance are difficult to separate in practice.

are concerned about the rights granted by the state (Thompson 2010a). As Dennis Young wrote, some NGOs are in adversarial relationships with the state: the NGOs “prod government to make changes in public policy and to maintain accountability to the public” (Young 1999:33). In particular, advocacy activities are ways in which NGOs can address the state and voice opposition (Young 1999). Certainly, using state bodies as institutional targets has been addressed at length by scholars of social movements and cause lawyering (Cole 1994; Levitsky 2001; McCann 1994; Rosenberg 1991).

NGOs are closer to the state when they engage in discussions about program content or funding criteria, surpassing the terms of a contract. For example, Matthews described groups lobbying the funder (OCJP) to change their formula for the allocation of funding, which had stressed serving new clients and turning over many clients. Matthews characterized this NGO orientation as “active engagement,” in that the work “attempts to intervene in the state either proactively or reactively to change its policies” (1995:301).

Prisoner advocacy represents a particular kind of closeness to the penal state. For example, during a wave of coordinated litigation in the 1960s and 1970s, prisoners’ rights advocates targeted judges in the pursuit of what Mary Katzenstein described as “challenging society at large to recognize prisoners as... fellow citizens” (2005:239). Further, religious advocates, especially Quakers, have played a central role in urging national sentencing reform in the United States. The American Friends Service Committee decried a lack of accountability and guidelines for judges and parole boards under indeterminate sentencing in the early 1970s (Brown 2009; Garland 2001).⁷⁰

⁷⁰ For more information, see the committee’s 1971 report, *Struggle for Justice*.

The “reentry movement” documented in Mark Toney’s dissertation targets the penal state in a horizontal way, approaching state actors as targets or conversants (2007). Although decentralized and nascent at the time of his research, this movement generally seeks to restore rights to people with criminal records and eliminate post-incarceration sanctions (Toney 2007). The movement targets state bodies because legislatures and courts have implemented a range of problematic sanctions beyond formal criminal sentences. As this movement has evolved (since 2007), activists have sought to convince legislators and judges (as well as the wider public) of the problematic aspects of mass punishment.

In Beth Richie’s interviews with women who had been incarcerated and released at least three times, she found that some women had participated in “consciousness-raising” post-release programs. Such programs defined success as “their ability to shift their point of view from self-blame to self-responsibility and ultimately to responsibility for one’s family and neighborhood” as well as developing a sense of hope (Richie 2001:385). To the extent that NGOs adopt this approach, it is conceivable that NGOs could also regard penal state actors as conversants or targets of their advocacy to improve options for formerly incarcerated people.

Currently in Wisconsin, an interfaith organization called WISDOM (the actual name), which does not provide direct services, engages in advocacy, targeting the penal state with their “11x15” campaign to reduce the state’s prisoner population to 11,000 by 2015. Further, in the fall of 2009, the Wisconsin Peace and Justice Network protested the DOC’s blocking of the Wisconsin Books to Prisoners program, which impacted currently incarcerated people. Of interest in the analysis, then, is whether and how NGOs that provide services address the penal state as conversants and advocates without maintaining funding/reporting relationships.

More distant NGO-state relationships. At the other end of the closeness continuum, NGOs in a more distant relationship with the state regard the state as neither an adequate conversant nor a target of activism. In Matthews' research (1994, 1995), some RCCs operated far from the state in working to meet their goals. Not only did they not have public funds (which characterizes a hierarchical relationship), but they also identified targets of activism other than the state. A member of the Crenshaw Women's Center (an RCC) explained that the group would respond to rapes by "go[ing] to rapists and confront[ing] them," occasionally also involving police in an indirect way by getting rapists "busted for drugs" (1994:21). NGOs whose goal was not targeting the state, but rather broader social consciousness-raising—for example, when the Crenshaw Women's Center performed guerilla theater on Mother's Day in the Santa Monica Mall—were located farther from the state.

For these reasons, in addition to my measure of more or less hierarchy in NGO-state relationships, I adopt a measure of closeness between NGOs and the penal state that reflects the nuance and complexity of the relationship.

TPOLOGY OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN NGOs AND THE PENAL STATE

In order to address how NGOs' relationships with penal state bodies are formed in typological ways, I classify NGOs in four possible types created by the combination of these two dimensions. I describe each type of NGO-state relationship by presenting an example of an organization that is involved in this kind of relationship, as well as describing the neighborhood

location and the community and institutions to which these focal NGOs are tied. I also discuss variation within each type.⁷¹

Importantly, the data show that the post-release service field is not populated by only satellite states or those that seek state funding. NGOs opposing state involvement, and, to a lesser degree, conversants and advocates are counter-cases to a reading of the field as composed of solely satellite states or NGOs that are eager to assume this role (satellite-seeking NGOs).

Satellite States

I identify six NGOs as satellite states based on their hierarchical and close relationships with the state DOC. The first organization I use to illustrate this relationship is Community Treatment for Offenders (CTO). As a major recipient of DOC post-release services funds, CTO's close and hierarchical relationship requires frequent and extensive reporting. I describe the relationship between the DOC and CTO as it played out at one office where services are delivered inside a DOC building far from any residential areas. I supplement this description with additional information about routine meetings between the agency and the DOC drawn from interviews and a report conducted for the DOC by the Center for Self-Sufficiency (2010).

Community Treatment for Offenders: Setting. CTO was founded in the early 1980s as a halfway house for incarcerated veterans. The organization has since become one of the largest correctional service providers in Wisconsin, and its offices are geographically spread throughout the state. This NGO was jokingly called “minimum minimum” (see the prior chapter for a more detailed explanation of this phrase) as if it were actually a prison. CTO operates programs at a DOC community corrections building, the Day Report Center (DRC). Although I was unable to

⁷¹ I find that many NGOs use DOC agents to recruit clients. This alone does not seem to be an attribute that distinguishes NGOs that are closer to the penal state from those that are farther from the penal state.

obtain permission to shadow staff member Mary Erikson in her women's group, Women on Supervision, I spoke with Mary multiple times about the program and also spoke to the executive director of CTO.

I have visited the DRC multiple times; the building is not easy to find, and its location near a highway feels desolate.⁷² I have seen men waiting for the bus outside the building, but have never seen pedestrians. Only four buses serve this area, and not all of them run at peak hours. Unlike NGOs that are located in neighborhoods where they expect many residents will live after release, CTO was not located in an area that was welcoming or easy to access. CTO's clients came to the location because they were required to by correctional agents (to attend programs or meet with their agents). As Mary explained, "No one has ever asked to be here."

The DRC's entrance is physically uncomfortable and places visitors under significant scrutiny. Clients and visitors enter a waiting area with hard, unwelcoming benches and a glassed-in receptionist desk. A receptionist controls access to the main part of the building. Visitors are let in once the person expecting them comes to the reception area. One of my visits to the building was on a Tuesday, which was busy as it is also the weekly release day for the DOC. A few African American men were also waiting inside and the first man described himself to the other as being "too old for this."

Most DOC community corrections staff members work in a large space filled with cubicles and surrounded by the offices of those who are higher in what staff members call the "chain of command." I sometimes met with agents at the DRC in a DOC interview room normally used for agents to meet with people on supervision. I also once met with an agent in a DOC conference room where we could overhear a group meeting run by an NGO in progress in

⁷² The first time I arrived, I was unsure where the entrance was, and parked in the lot for a neighboring industrial site; as I returned to my car, I was chased by two guard dogs.

an adjacent room. CTO staff work in an area of the DRC that is separate from the area used by the DOC. CTO and one other NGO shared a room containing cubicles. At the time of my visit, CTO had three full-time employees and five part-time employees working at the DRC.

Maintaining this kind of reporting relationship and operating in such close physical proximity does not necessarily foster a friendly atmosphere. At one visit to this site, I observed Mary Erikson, a CTO employee working at the DRC, having a tense encounter with a DOC supervisor while I waited at reception. I checked in at the desk to meet with Mary. As I waited, Ethan, a DOC supervisor whom I had spoken with during a recent visit, came out to talk to me about the purpose of my visit; initially, I felt I was in trouble. It became clear that Mary had not received the proper approval from Ethan to meet with me. After establishing why I was there, Ethan suggested that I talk with certain staff at the DOC based on my prior conversation with him. Mary arrived in the reception area in the middle of this exchange; however, rather than walking all the way over to Ethan and me, she waited for me at the door. I felt tension between them.

DOC control of client information. It was clear that the DOC sought control over not only who entered the building, but also over information about CTO's correctional clients. Once we sat down alone, I asked Mary about the relationship between CTO and DOC staff. She stated that other than being in a common location, there was not much interaction between them. She said she had not attended and was not aware of any joint CTO-DOC meetings at the DRC. I learned that the DOC tightly controls what information CTO can and cannot access.

Mary explained that CTO does not receive all of the current files for their clients, although counselors and agents can discuss clients on an individual basis. Mary explained which

information she was able to access. Information on clients is kept in file cabinets in the DOC offices or is recorded on DOC agents' individual computers and then, after being retired, is filed in a room at the office.⁷³ Mary reported that current supervisory information is not available to the people providing treatment. Supervisees must sign away their right to confidentiality about their treatment (in this case at CTO) in form DOC-10. Based on Mary's account, however, the confidentiality waiver does not seem to be reciprocated by the DOC sharing full information with the NGO.

Preserving the integrity of both treatment and supervision was the reason given for the deliberate separation of the DOC and CTO in their management of information, Mary explained. She said they "try to keep the counseling separate from the probation."⁷⁴ DOC agents are responsible for tracking "offender" progress in programs such as Mary's women's group when treatment is a part of the sentence. Mary explained that CTO is required to produce regular reports on the groups for the DOC. As procurement documents explain, all contract recipients must fill out forms DOC-1088 (offender monthly report) and DOC-1026 (unit service monthly report) because billing is based on attendance. This arrangement helps agents ensure that "offenders" are fulfilling the terms of their sentences, which may include treatment in groups such as the ones CTO runs for sex offender treatment, anger management, or women.

Program information. In addition to the penal state absence that I identified in the DOC's withholding of current client files, I observed that there was no routine sharing of DOC

⁷³ It is possible that the Byrne money the DOC was receiving to employ data analysts might have improved the storage of data, placing it into a centralized system since 2011. Further, a recent podcast indicated that vendors should be getting risk printouts for DOC clients (Cavanaugh and Lopez 2013).

⁷⁴ This was a blanket term. Some of her group participants are on probation; others are on extended supervision.

institutional program content with CTO employees. I also learned that the DOC staff did not share relevant program information with Mary.

A few weeks before meeting with Mary, I met with Kelly Gray at the DRC. Kelly is a state corrections agent who works to connect prisoners and community programs and also manages programming in the prisons. Kelly had given me a women's pre-release curriculum packet. I still had the packet with me when I visited Mary. As Mary and I began speaking, I pulled out the packet in order to ask Mary how much her community-based class cross-references women's institutional programs.

Mary had clearly not seen this curriculum before. She immediately seemed mad when I explained what it was. She said she had built up her "Women on Supervision" curriculum for women from scratch and used resources from men's programs. She asked who gave me the curriculum. I could not name Kelly because of confidentiality, so I referred her to Ethan, the DOC supervisor, to ask for more information.

Mary's job seemed difficult and the fact that someone who did not even work at the DOC could get information that Mary did not have—information that would have made her job easier—seemed to make the situation even more frustrating. The one-way channeling of information from CTO to the DOC was especially clear in this instance; it upset Mary that she did not have access to a tool available within the DOC bureaucracy that could have saved her time and effort.

The case of CTO illustrates a hierarchical reporting relationship, which most clearly affirms Haney's discussion of how satellite states should look: located around the penal state, reliant on this "mother ship" for resources, and not experiencing the withdrawal of the state even though devolution has occurred. This closeness was experienced in multiple ways, including the

DOC being ever-present in the building, the surveillance of visitors, and the willingness of some agents to discuss client issues.

There were other indications of CTO's closeness to the state that suggested more than just the one-way flow of information that Mary had described. The director described having quarterly meetings with DOC officials and other providers in the region. He also promoted ending felon disenfranchisement in his capacity as the leader of a professional organization. This kind of closeness at the level of policy critique and coordination of services may occur on a higher level of the organization than the one experienced by counselors like Mary.

This case brings empirical substance to the concerns of critical penologists that NGOs are not "grassroots" or driven by community members' concerns. This argument is convincing, given the dislocation of this particular NGO setting from any residential neighborhoods and the content and terms of the work Mary described as being directed by the DOC in a top-down fashion. The treatment of people in the waiting area and the presence of DOC agents nearby are the sort of scenarios that critical penologists have warned could reproduce prison-like conditions.

This description of CTO shows that in the satellite state model there is little room for deviation from the state's plan for how services should be delivered. Being located in the DRC building and having limited information about clients and curricula, yet being expected to report to the DOC regularly, presented significant constraints.

Intra-type variation. Like CTO, all but one of the satellite state NGOs I identify as in close and hierarchical relationships with the penal state have received earmarked "reentry" or post-release specific funds from the state and federal governments (Wisconsin Department of Corrections, U.S. Department of Labor, and U.S. Bureau of Prisons). All are registered to use and have bid for DOC contracts on VendorNet.

The Ministry of St. Peter is an NGO I classify as a satellite state that, like CTO, maintains a close relationship with penal state agencies beyond simply executing their contracts.⁷⁵ The Center for Self-Sufficiency overview of services in Milwaukee (2010) described the Ministry of St. Peter (MSP) as having monthly meetings with the DOC and having staff serving on the federal Prisoner Reentry Initiative advisory board. Unlike CTO, however, MSP *is* attached and responsive to a residential community in which it is located, and focuses on a certain kind of potential participant in that community. MSP's mission statement identifies its focus on African American families and individuals in a particular neighborhood of Milwaukee.

MSP's work reflects the state's control goals: using reentry services to create "law-abiding citizens." A report from the Department of Labor (DOL) states that the Ministry of St. Peter provides space for DOC correctional agents to meet with clients on site.⁷⁶ This suggests an openness on the part of MSP to the DOC's surveillance of program participants—certainly a concern of critical penologists concerned about NGOs being pulled into penal state policy agendas.

As with CTO, MSP's hierarchical reporting relationship is made possible through professionalization in record-keeping about their service delivery. The DOL's report characterizes this NGO as one of several funding recipients to "supply their communities with necessary services" because "through these organizations, churches are able to provide separate staffing and bookkeeping, which provide organizational independence that can provide high-quality management and financial accountability" (U.S. Department of Labor 2007:6).

⁷⁵ MSP has received earmarked reentry funds through the Department of Labor (and other funders).

⁷⁶ I only visited this site once and cannot comment on the frequency of such meetings. I did not ask whether such meetings began before or after the earmarked reentry funding was received.

While few other satellite states are this closely identified with a specific residential neighborhood or community to which they appear responsive, some focus on a more generic type of community. For example, Clinics in Wisconsin's intake form requires program participant to sign an agreement stating:

I understand and agree that [program name] is a voluntary program designed to help offenders transition back into the community of Milwaukee... I understand and agree that attendance and active participation in weekly individual and group sessions located within my geographic area is required **ACCORDING TO MY CASE PLAN and requirements**.

This approach to "the community" equates it with the "geographic area" where a person lives. By requiring a support team composed of family as well as case workers across agencies (including W-2 and the DOC), this approach does not appear to be concerned with the particular community infrastructure of any of the neighborhoods in which their program participants live.

In addition, the extent of satellite states' collaboration with law enforcement is at times striking. For example, there is a working relationship with city police at Community Environment for Women (which I discuss in the following chapter). These results empirically substantiate the concerns of critical penologists who discuss NGOs that are in close collaboration with the penal state.

Satellite-Seeking NGOs

I identify five satellite-seeking NGOs as located within hierarchical relationships with the penal state (in the sense of being open to having a funding/reporting relationship with a state agency); these relationships are also distant, in that NGOs do not approach the penal state as a target of advocacy or a conversant. The number of NGOs I classify within this type indicates that

the penal state has not absorbed all the organizations that appear willing to do the work required to enter into contracting-type relationships.

An arts therapy organization in Dane County, Growing Our Garden (GOG), provides an example of this relationship. GOG's leader, Rev. Liz Smith, runs the program in connection with a jail ministry. I draw on an interview with Rev. Smith in which she described being constrained in what the organization could do without funds, considering that GOG competes with some of the largest NGOs that contract with the DOC. However, she also identified ways in which the NGO is currently unable and possibly unwilling to maintain the record-keeping required for contracting, because they hold a different view of the nature of addiction recovery than the predominantly "zero tolerance" approach of the state.

Growing Our Garden: Setting. Growing Our Garden (GOG) is an arts-based program that Reverend Liz Smith runs in connection with her jail ministry. Rev. Smith described herself as "called to the ministry" from a mainline Protestant Madison church a few miles away from where GOG meets downtown.

Its location is an important aspect of the GOG—it is easily accessible from the county jail facility from which women in the program come while on release (known as Huber privileges). These women can earn volunteer credit for participating in GOG. For women who are no longer under these arrangements but are still participating in GOG, the church is centrally located along city bus lines.⁷⁷

GOG meets inside a mainline Protestant church that hosts several outreach programs. During my first visit to GOG, I approached the wrong entrance, and entered a drop-in center (in

⁷⁷ The distinction between women who served jail sentences and those who served prison sentences was once again not of great importance to the NGO; the leader had already formed relationships with women through her chaplaincy in the jail.

the basement) for people facing mental illness and/or homelessness, which was run by a large social service agency. Men were sitting outside the church. One man sat at the main church entrance where a biblical quote was engraved, rocking repetitively with a blanket covering his body and head. When I reached the correct section of the building, I met Reverend Smith and watched some of the men from downstairs also come inside to use the bathroom upstairs. A church volunteer working at an information desk said nothing. Rev. Smith later explained the man outside was waiting for emergency money from the church. She also explained that this church was one of the last places in the city with an outdoor bench structured so people could actually sleep on it.

Rev. Smith's remarks, and my observations at the church entrances, suggested that the church was welcoming to these programs for the poor, ill, criminalized, and (I later learned) refugees.⁷⁸ Rev. Smith explained that the church had given GOG permission to use church space without paying rent (downtown rental rates would have been prohibitive for GOG). She showed me projects GOG had completed to beautify the main areas of the church (inside and outside).

Despite this rapport between the church and GOG, Rev. Smith told me she has trouble recommending churches in Madison to the women in GOG. She said in many situations women do not know how to dress or act at church. She did not want them to get into a situation where they do not fit in, which can make them feel unsafe. So while GOG does not require (or perhaps even encourage) women to join the larger church, this location invites women to participate in the religious community in a particular but limited way: the women beautify the church in their group, but create their own community inside the church with the artists who come to lead the

⁷⁸ I picked up what might have been ambivalence from the church's side. When I was leaving after one visit, a man doing repair work made a joke about jail and "just visiting" the reentry program (referring to game of Monopoly). It was intended as funny, but seemed disrespectful to the women.

group. The program's written materials describe GOG as "a safe place for women who are recreating their lives after incarceration to develop their artistic skills," and as providing "an opportunity to create community based public art."⁷⁹

Difficulty with funding. During our interview, Rev. Smith identified obtaining financial support as a difficulty. She said that, until about 2000, her denomination's churches and larger administrative organizations had funded the program without problems. During this time, she explained that the \$15,000 that she could raise would comfortably cover her time and the time of other group leaders. However, the available funds began to decrease. She believed that over the past decade or so, the money was "going elsewhere within churches" or was "drying up."⁸⁰ Rev. Smith said she and the other co-leader are now effectively volunteering. They receive a small amount of money for supplies, and she said they will be paid an end-of-year stipend from those funds. She said she was frustrated about the financial situation.

Rev. Smith said the reason they have not had fundraising success recently is that the money available through religious, arts, and gardening grants (all relate to GOG work) is for supplies, not salaries.⁸¹ Although a professional grant writer who the leaders consulted said that the most effective financial options would be fundraisers and consistent donations, Rev. Smith believes "everyone is stretched."

Further, Rev. Smith said GOG was competing with not only her jail ministry, but also Community Environment for Women (the area's rape crisis and domestic violence centers) for

⁷⁹ The director said she wanted the women to develop spiritually; going to AA, journaling, and meditation are the features of what she considers a "well-developed spiritual life."

⁸⁰ Rev. Smith referenced the economic shift then, and said she "could feel it in the kids" with whom she worked at other sites in the city.

⁸¹ She discussed having difficulty finding time to write grants in her various positions, especially because as she explained, it is "not my gift." She said she is "not good at asking," although she has learned to do it.

the same \$10,000 that would be allocated to a woman-related cause; and yet, she said they are “working with the same people” as participants. Given this competition, she said she would like to draw more heavily on arts-related funding, and discussed connections to other artists through the city who do social outreach (e.g., with people with disabilities). Rev. Smith viewed the organization’s religious identity as limiting their fundraising efforts.⁸² She specifically identified GOG’s disadvantage in the competition as related to their record-keeping and view of sobriety.

Record-keeping. I asked Rev. Smith whether she thought that funds available through faith-based initiatives and reentry policies had indeed opened up opportunities to her organization. Rev. Smith said no, because this money was not for “groups like them.” She said a board member had done some research and concluded that reentry grant money would not be available to them. She explained further, saying “the accountability and follow-up required is not something we do.”

Based on Rev. Smith’s explanation, GOG is not professionalized in the ways required to receive earmarked correctional funds or private foundation grants. Although Rev. Smith has a doctoral divinity degree and in this sense is professionally trained, GOG does not have its own office space within the church building. The NGO is not positioned well to receive funds, particularly with regard to the management of records about participants and outcomes that are commonly expected as part of the hierarchical funding/reporting relationship discussed for satellite states.

⁸² One local patron of the arts cannot support the organization because of their religious affiliations. When I asked if she had considered one particular nationally known private funder (United Way), Rev. Smith replied that GOG would not be able to successfully apply for United Way funding because the jail portion of the ministry is too religious.

For example, a representative request for bids (RFB) from the DOC (SN-3030)⁸³ details record-keeping standards for NGO contractors. Contractors must maintain electronic records and use these to report on program goals as well as referrals, rejections of clients, terminations, completions, and returnees to the program. Organizations must also provide written descriptions of the interventions and their effectiveness, and any decisions to change the intervention. The contractors (NGOs) must also report on “how the program reduced recidivating.” Organizations are required to submit annual outcome reports (RFB SN-3030, section 4.8.2.4.2). Further, vendors must supply monthly “offender report” forms to the agency.⁸⁴

Non-hegemonic view of addiction. In addition to record-keeping, a second major reason that the organization is not well positioned for DOC (or other “reentry” earmarked) funds is that GOG’s definition of effectiveness is quite different from most widely used measures. The group is working in a field in which state funders expect the implementation of a model of “zero-tolerance” of clients using substances. GOG, however, holds an alternative view of sobriety.⁸⁵

Rev. Smith said they serve people when they are “just normalizing again.” She said the group’s co-leaders are “loving people,” as well as “respectful and confidential,” that they “accept where people are at,” and they expect sobriety when participants are attending programs. She described her job as saying to women, “I have confidence you can do this.” She asked:

⁸³ This was a request for bids for a secular, non-residential employment program for men and women in Milwaukee that was posted by the Department of Corrections in June, 2011. These kinds of expectations are common across areas of purchased services.

⁸⁴ There are also major hurdles in terms of the staff experience required to receive DOC funding. Besides administrators, all staff must have a bachelor’s degree, with a minimum number of years working in human services required, as well as the “proven ability to deliver services to individuals from various racial, religious, and ethnic backgrounds as well as individuals with a disability.” Staff members also need to have worked minimum number of years in serving a correctional population. This applicant could meet these criteria, I suspect.

⁸⁵ A comparable situation was discussed by Rumpf (2014), when analyzing the experiences of participants of a recovery home that adopts the hegemonic “zero tolerance.” Rumpf reported that despite their opposition on ideological grounds, staff members believed that if they did not enforce “zero tolerance,” women would fail at other sites and with parole officers.

How would you measure the success for someone who repeatedly tries and fails, and each time learns something new about herself? Each time she comes in sober and gets what she needs for the day. She calls the reverend because “she knows I worry.” ... I could rescue them left and right, [and say] here’s the plan, but they will feel better when they decide [on their own] and ask, “Could you help with this or that piece?”

GOG’s approach in terms of accepting people whether or not they have been using substances is quite different than the state’s “zero-tolerance” approach that demands full cessation.

Given this outlook on substance use, is difficult for GOG to establish strong measures of success in the language of effective interventions and “checks for effectiveness,” and therefore would be challenging for the organization to report effectiveness in terms acceptable to the DOC as funder (as in RFB SN-3030). Were the group to seek DOC funds, it would require a shift in the scope of programming; I have never seen art therapy services offered in an RFB/P, because such programs are not in the state’s preferred areas, and because they are likely not seen as promising “effectiveness.”⁸⁶

Intra-type variation. GOG is typical of satellite-seeking NGOs that are eager to find funds to support their work. GOG is unusual in that all other NGOs in this type have bid for DOC funds on VendorNet; GOG is not registered at the site. Yet the experience of tight competition for funds is hardly unique to GOG. A Journey to Stable Work founder, Reverend Jayne, told me he was disappointed that his NGO had not gotten a major line of federal funding that Ministry of St. Peter had received. He claimed that his organization does the same work, but on a larger scale; his implication was that JSW was more deserving of the award.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ In this case, the population served also might not match those the DOC wants to serve, given that the agency draws more heavily from jail than prison releases; however, I do not know enough about the kinds of DOC probationary arrangements some participants may also be serving.

⁸⁷ GOG is also similar to other satellite-seeking NGOs in that their programs include some institutional components (in this case, in county jails). None of these NGOs are residential.

While GOG is heavily engaged with liberal, mainline denomination churches and a community of artists, other satellite-seeking NGOs are embedded in communities defined in different ways. SJI, an NGO that frames itself as integrated within a community of interfaith activists responding to social justice issues in Dane County, is similar to GOG. SJI's advocacy, which began in the 1970s, has involved creating task forces around incarceration, poverty, and housing issues that directly call upon officials to change policies. SJI's prisoner focus came later in the development of the organization. The organization's focus on prisoners and their families is broad, although the NGO is most accessible to the heavily minority and poor neighborhood where its offices are located.⁸⁸

Whereas SJI and GOG might serve African American women incidentally in Dane County, Healing Our Sisters and Brothers (HSB) and All Our Sisters (AOS) utilize models of working from within black communities and reaching out to women (AOS) and also men (HSB) in Milwaukee County. All Our Sisters frames itself as being committed to the uplift of incarcerated women within the black church. AOS employs a model created especially for women who (according to the founding story) identify release with fear and vulnerability. Although Dr. Collins, one of the group's founders, reported that AOS serves women of all backgrounds, pictures of the agency's success stories and mentors notably feature nearly all black women. HSB frames itself as a service provider and advocate first for the wider African American community in Milwaukee, and also for the particular neighborhood in which the group operates. The director, Phaedra, is active in national-level coalitions on partner violence in African American families.

⁸⁸ The organization works with DOC officials as part of a separate funded program within prisons using Second Chance Act (reentry) funds, in a program for men that is not discussed here for multiple reasons.

These results suggest that the body of NGOs in hierarchical relationships could continue to grow, as many NGOs are eager to expand by using earmarked “reentry” funds. Rev. Smith’s account suggests that this funding is as difficult for these satellite state and satellite-seeking NGO competitors to access as Marwell (2004) suggested. However, not all NGOs seek out this kind of hierarchical reporting relationship with penal state agencies.

Conversants and Advocates

For the NGOs I call conversants and advocates, a non-hierarchical and close relationship with the penal state presents possibilities for overcoming the limitations of the satellite state model. Such NGOs operate outside a direct reporting relationship and address the penal state in ways unrelated to contracts. Only two of the focal NGOs fall into this type; this relative infrequency suggests it is a difficult or unappealing type of relationship to manage.

A routine program session at Heart to Heart (HTH) provides a detailed picture of this type of NGO.⁸⁹ At the meeting, HTH directors had invited DOC staff to the support group as guest speakers (not as program evaluators). The visitors were implicitly presented to the heavily black, male group as examples of black men with limited opportunities who had built strong careers through the DOC. These visitors observed the same norms as the other group members: they followed the “speaker’s bureau” format to share stories about themselves. I observed that using state officials as conversants in this style did *not* mean confronting these officials by directly raising grievances about the treatment of formerly incarcerated people (although participants indirectly raised grievances during the visit).

⁸⁹ At the time of the support group session I attended, HTH was embedded within SJI, but soon after that it became an independent agency.

Heart to Heart: Setting. I became connected with HTH by volunteering at what was at the time their parent organization in Dane County, Social Justice, Inc., and by inviting HTH leaders and participants to be guest speakers in my classes from 2009 to 2013. Beyond attending routine meetings and special functions at many sites where Heart to Heart was active (e.g., theaters, churches, the state legislature), I also attended meetings of the local chapter of an interfaith activist organization in which Leon, the head of Heart to Heart, was involved. Leon is one of many formerly incarcerated men and women who serve as co-leaders of the activist organization. Through its leaders, the organization is connected to several social justice causes, from encouraging treatment rather than prison sentences, to reducing the county's racial disparities in the criminal justice system, to setting up a women's recovery home.

HTH works closely within a community development organization, the South Side Madison Group (SSMG). Operating within an evangelical church building, SSMG is both located in and recruits participants from a heavily African American section of Madison. With Leon, SSMG co-runs programs that specifically serve men and are targeted at the black community living in this area of Madison (including a residential home for men). Leon explained that, separate from these targeted services, the weekly HTH support group meeting is for everyone. Although Heart to Heart's administrative office is not pedestrian friendly, the meetings are held in locations on well-traveled bus and pedestrian routes in this neighborhood.

Another NGO hosted the meeting at a site in a cluster of buildings housing organizations that provide social and human services; the site feels like the main gathering area of this heavily black neighborhood. I noticed a pro-life billboard that stated "Choice Kills" and pictured an African American baby crossed with a slash strategically placed near a reproductive health organization in the neighborhood. The location of the sign was also near the library, county

human services office, grocery store, drug store, and post-release service organizations. The sign reflects contestation about the services offered at the reproductive health organization. In addition, according to news coverage not all community leaders support placing all these services together in this mall-like square. Some leaders have expressed concern that these social services might come to define the neighborhood around the square. Like several of the providers in the mall area, Heart to Heart seeks to be accessible to African Americans living in this neighborhood in particular.

The DOC visitors. As discussed in the previous chapter, Heart to Heart has participated in fairly politicized activities, including testifying at the legislature and organizing a town hall meeting to persuade an agent to stop incarcerating Lavar for equipment malfunctions. Heart to Heart was one of three NGOs to join the Restore the Vote Wisconsin Coalition (actual name), along with Social Justice, Inc. and Journey to Stable Work. Thus, I was interested in how the group would address the DOC officials that I learned had been invited as guests.

I had expected that, as at the hearings, the leader and members would address these guests with concerns about racial disparity injustices, problems with their sentences, or needs in facilities. What I saw, however, was the group including the speakers in the genre of the group by inviting them to share key information about their personal lives, as HTH members take turns doing every week.

The DOC visitors were both African American men, at least one of whom was a high-ranking official in the DOC. He emphasized that he had made the most of having been to high school, even though he described an experience in which a teacher diminished his intelligence. The second speaker emphasized that despite his own personal educational attainment (he held two terminal professional degrees), he had encountered the prison system through his brother's

incarceration. The leaders' message in including these visitors in the group seemed to be that people facing disadvantage and difficulty can attain professional success.

The HTH members and leaders treated the DOC visitors as career examples, and not expressly as administrative officials. While HTH addressed the DOC visitors as conversants, they did not directly address these men with grievances about the DOC. Yet the larger conversations occurring, which were not directed at the officials, included several statements about the unacceptability of the status quo in penal policy. For example, I heard statements that "the system has been doing this a long time," which linked the criminal justice system to slavery. I heard statements about prisoners being used as money-makers for the correctional industry, and describing returning from prison as being on a "merry-go-round." I also heard about the damage of a criminal record and of serving time, when participants made statements such as "this thing is no joke," and "it sucks you in the prime of your life," and "this is not pretty." These kinds of statements were common on nights without DOC visitors, as well, and are far more critical and socially aware than the kind of discussions I heard at other NGOs' routine programs.

However, these remarks were not directed at the DOC visitors (i.e., participants did not say anything suggesting look what *your* department has done or can do). Importantly, Leon, the leader, did not accept all the statements from members as the final word. He told group members they needed to "take personal responsibility," and he said, "I don't want to hear your excuse as blaming the system." It was surprising to me that the group members held back from *directly* advocating for changes when they had the ear of these two visitors, because members had done so quite effectively in legislature subcommittee hearings. So while inviting the DOC visitors reflected a certain kind of conversational closeness to these officials, it did not take the form of direct advocacy.

Intra-type variation. Notably, I identify only two NGOs in the conversant and advocate type of relationship, in which NGOs might be freer to push back against state policy goals because of their freedom from a relationship constrained by accountability and reporting. Mary Magdalene's turning away from state funding after having been a contractor was unusual, and stood in contrast to NGOs like Journey to Stable Work that were waiting in line for these kinds of funds.

Both NGOs in the conversants and advocates category are closely integrated in the communities in which they are based. These communities are defined as most accountable to different populations: African American communities in particular neighborhoods in the case of HTH, and feminists concerned about women in the justice system in the case of Mary Magdalene.⁹⁰

Mary Magdalene (MM) frames itself as most responsive to and embedded in the community of feminist advocates for criminalized women. For example, the executive director and program director listed among their achievements that they had pressured officials to provide more resources for women in the local jail system, and now there is not only a new building but also a library. These achievements required the sustained advocacy of staff and volunteers.

In MM's case, their position in the conversants and advocates category reflects a choice to sidestep a hierarchical funding relationship with penal state agencies. MM has received earmarked "reentry" funds for work with released prisoners in the past. Yet after the experience of working under a DOC contract, MM did not extend the contract or submit new bids or proposals. The director explained during an interview that the rules of the contract had required them to separate women of different risk levels into different parts of the office. This created

⁹⁰ Both of the NGOs I identified as conversants and advocates have an institutional (in-prison) component or presence, as does nearly every organization I studied.

significant logistical difficulties for the staff, as one person was always required to remain in the room with the women supported by DOC funds. Their DOC arrangement also involved the local jail, run by the sheriff, which created additional challenges. The director described the sheriff as “ruling by fear” and not supporting programs, and she described the organization as “working around him.”

A further, significant problem MM faced with regard to the DOC contract was that funds were not available for the kind of intervention they wanted to do with the women in the program, much like at Growing Our Garden. For example, MM implemented the Moving On curriculum, which they designed in coordination with the Canadian feminist criminologist Marilyn Van Diemen. The director of MM described Moving On as the only evidence-based, gender-specific, cognitive behavioral program for women; she said the staff loves the program and women at the site have responded well. The curriculum is a deliberate alternative to Criminal Thinking, which is based on the zero-tolerance approach preferred by the DOC. However, the director said the DOC would not fund this kind of work (Moving On). My impression was that renewing the DOC contract would have kept MM from pursuing this kind of intervention with DOC clients.⁹¹

The low number of conversants and advocates does little to counter the argument of critical penologists that the “satellite state” approach defines the post-release service field. However, the strongest case against this argument comes from the NGOs I identify as having a distant and non-hierarchical relationship with penal state agencies.

⁹¹ I discussed this issue with a DOC official without using any identifying information. She said she was surprised the DOC would not fund this kind of gender-specific intervention. However, I have never seen a DOC request for bids or proposals that used the kind of language used by Moving On proponents, including gender-responsive or gender-aware language.

NGOs Opposing State Involvement

I identify five NGOs as opposing state involvement. I illustrate this relationship using St. Matthew House (SMH), an NGO whose leaders chose to take a cautious position to maintain their freedom in hiring by avoiding public funds. SMH staff regard government involvement as intrusive, even, as I show, when their concerns about the stipulations involved in receiving public funding may not be fully warranted. SMH's program content further insulates them from regulation. Staff members are also unconcerned with advocacy directed toward the DOC or coordinating services through meetings with the DOC. Unlike many of the satellite state NGOs, SMH chose its location because the agency imagines that residents will live there after they leave SMH's residential program. More broadly, the organization picked this site because it seeks to address crime and poverty in this area through their mission work, which draws in volunteers from area evangelical churches.

St. Matthew House: Setting. I learned about SMH through another evangelical ministry that runs programs at the same site and through meetings of Matthew 25, an information-sharing session for many of Milwaukee's missions doing reentry work. SMH is a Christian mission that is integrated with and on a centralized list of other prison ministries. The organization operates a residential facility for adults struggling with drugs and alcohol; it was established in 2005 under an earlier director, who had previously experienced a chemical addiction (the current director, Jake, has not).⁹² Many of the founding members listed in the bylaws are from a town west of Milwaukee.

The identity of the organization as a mission is important. Many of the current staff and volunteers are involved in the Large Suburban Evangelical Christian Church (LSECC) to the

⁹² After my fieldwork, SMH began to welcome children into the house alongside their parents in greater numbers.

west of Milwaukee; two staff members have served as missionaries to Milwaukee through this church. SMH's mission frames the organization as part of a "movement" in which people whose lives are "devastated by drugs and alcohol" and "who have long been a burden on the city's resources" are set free through "the healing power of Jesus Christ."

The SMH residential building is located in a very economically depressed area on a busy corridor with frequent car, bus, and foot traffic. The director's office has screens from cameras placed on at least on two areas of the exterior of the building; visitors must be buzzed in, can only come in during limited windows of time, and must sign in. Jake, the director, often remarked that the site was at the center of violent crime in the city. At a volunteer recruitment session at LSECC, the director said that the last thing he does before bed is check the crime beat of the paper to learn what incidents have occurred only fractions of a mile away.⁹³

This location is important to St. Matthew House's goals. SMH deliberately operates within the inner city, where the staff and volunteers can work to transform people whom they regard as "the least, the last and the lost in our central city." As Jake explained during an interview, he had considered a rural location, but decided against it because that was not where the residents were going to live after the program. He also noted that the current site was near a street that shared part of the organization's name, which he interpreted as a sign that the organization should be located there. I observed that this location also allows residents with children to be near their families that do not live in the residence.⁹⁴

⁹³ Looking out the windows of the building, I could see people walking to a nearby gas station and fast food facilities and waiting for the bus. Via the monitor, I also saw a man attempt to break into the facility's locked yard by repeatedly pushing on the fence. The director also saw this, but seemed unconcerned.

⁹⁴ One newsletter portrayed the location as allowing people who have completed their time at SMH to move in with their children living in this section of Milwaukee. I also heard stories from residents about visits to family members nearby.

No medically trained staff. Hearing that SMH specializes in housing people with drug and alcohol issues, I had expected to find crisis staff with medical training available around the clock. During my first visit to the residence, however, I was surprised to learn from Jake that none of the staff members have medical or mental health degrees. Although some residents transfer in from rehab facilities, residents do not have to attend rehab before moving into the house. Unlike many other drug and alcohol recovery sites, staff members were not clinical specialists.

Residents could come from anywhere, and could elect to detox at SMH. Jake said that 75 percent of the residents have been previously incarcerated and 90 percent have criminal records. In one conversation, he reported that seven of the 40 current residents had come from prison or jail (the number of residents fluctuates through the year).⁹⁵ Residents are released onto the street for rule violations such as using drugs or alcohol or having an overnight guest. Once they are living in house, residents are required to attend classes nearly every day on topics ranging from Bible studies (most of the classes) to life skills; in addition, the organization pairs residents with volunteer Christian mentors, many from LSECC.

SMH avoids many state regulations (DOC and otherwise) because it is excluded from certain categories of service providers.⁹⁶ It is possible for SMH to control their programming and have no formally trained drug and alcohol specialists on site, for several reasons related to their

⁹⁵ Although this number may seem low, nearly all have criminal records, which program leaders regard as relatively interchangeable with either being on welfare or being in prison, as these are all framed as forms of dependency.

⁹⁶ SMH does not qualify as a “community-based residential facility” under Wisconsin Statutes, 50.037, so it avoids certain regulations and fees. For example, such facilities must have an administrator with a bachelor’s or associate’s degree or similar training, but Jake did not attend college. Because SMH receives no public funding, it is also not classified as an “outpatient mental health clinic,” as described in the states administrative code (DHS 35). Classification as an outpatient mental health clinic would require, among other things, proof that the organization had what DHS considers clinical supervision by licensed professionals (under DHS 35.03). There is a special classification for other sites that deliver drug treatment by professionals with public money, but this does not apply to SMH, either. Although the Department of Safety and Professional Services (formerly Regulation and Licensing)

funding and the private classification of the home. If SMH were bound by the terms of a DOC contract, the organization's staff and facilities would need to adhere to a long list of conditions. For example, a representative request for proposals (DJB 1062F) for a secular female transitional living program in Milwaukee specifies terms that govern the purchase of insurance, staff education levels, the retention of client records, the posting of rules, the secular nature of the programming, intake and discharge, reporting to the DOC, client payment, documentation of staff schedules, and the documentation of work center certification status.

Further, SMH has minimal involvement with DOC (although I learned they had made a presentation about their program to prison officials). The director and a staff member reported using DOC agents to recruit clients, as many NGOs did. They explained during a joint interview that identifying potential residents through agents is more efficient than committing years to “walking with” prisoners before release and transition to post-release services. My impression was that staff members were not concerned with conversing with officials or advocating for any substantive issues at the DOC.

SMH's refusal to take DOC funds was particularly important to the director. In our conversations, Jake emphasized the importance of the organization not operating on public funds. He also stressed this in a 2008 newsletter to potential donors (just as the economy was experiencing a sudden downturn after the market crash):

We receive no government funds and while members here do pay a fee to participate in our ministry, we still have to raise about 55% of our budget from local foundations and individual contributors. Many of those who come to St. Matthew House need financial help to pay their fees. This year, with the economy what it is, our budgets are very tight and fund raising is down.

regulates professionals in designated certification or licensing areas (i.e., clinical substance abuse counselors), SMH staff fall outside the established professions that are certified. The Department of Financial Institutions *does* register NGOs like SMH as “800” or charitable organizations approved for charitable fundraising.

As Jake explained, SMH’s funding situation brought freedom in hiring. Jake noted that the board members had thoroughly analyzed the issue, and believed that taking public funds would limit their ability to hire who they wanted. He believed that receiving public money would require the organization to hire certain applicants—in his example, a “gay Muslim” applicant—and that would pose a problem because he did not believe certain people could teach all the classes.

These concerns about limited freedom in hiring if SMH were to accept public funds may be unfounded; SMH would have a great deal of freedom in hiring regardless of its funding source. The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) specifies that religious organizations can hire people of their religious choosing, but are required to hire qualified applicants based on other categories (race, gender, national origin, disability, color, and/or age) (EEOC 2014).⁹⁷ Should the organization receive a DOC contract, the rules are still quite lenient, although they are not entirely clear. A representative request for Wisconsin DOC proposals, DJB 1062F, specifies that “A religious organization does not, by contracting with the State of Wisconsin, lose the exemption provided under Section 702 of the Civil Rights Act (42 U.S.C. 2000e-1(a)) regarding its employment practices” (Department of Administration 2008:25-26). The request further explains, “Except with respect to sexual orientation, the contractor further agrees to take affirmative action to ensure equal employment opportunities” (Department of Administration 2008:28).⁹⁸

⁹⁷ EEOC policy states: “Religious corporations, associations, educational institutions, or societies are exempt from the federal laws that EEOC enforces when it comes to the employment of individuals based on their particular religion. In other words, an employer whose purpose and character is primarily religious is permitted to lean towards hiring persons of the same religion. This exception relieves religious organizations only from the ban on employment discrimination based on religion.”

⁹⁸ The meaning of this statement is somewhat ambiguous. The request also states that employers cannot discriminate based on either religion or sexuality, whereas with regard to sexuality, employers are just not required to take affirmative action.

Thus, my interpretation is that SMH could refuse to hire the hypothetical gay Muslim applicant even if the agency had a DOC or federal contract. However, the NGO *would* be required to provide programs to meet other specifications in the contract, such as using only secular content. Such changes to the content and program qualifications would significantly change the way in which SMH approaches its work.

Unlike the programs of satellite states, the operations within SMH are subject to only very limited state oversight. There is no reporting/accountability relationship with a penal state agency, and contact with the DOC is minimal.⁹⁹

Intra-type variation. All the agencies I have identified as NGOs opposing state involvement run a Bible study in prison or jail. “Walking with” prisoners, as mentioned above, is a significant method of meeting potential participants, and usually suggests a spiritual mentoring relationship that begins during incarceration. None of these organizations receive earmarked “reentry” funds from a state agency; however, two NGOs, SMH and All Our Sisters, have registered on the state purchasing website.

An NGO that is similar to SMH is Eastern Wisconsin Evangelical Mission (EWEM). These two agencies are the largest of the NGOs I identify as organizations opposing state involvement. Although EWEM’s work has a heavier institutional component than the work of SMH, both organizations rely heavily on volunteers. As one EWEM newsletter explained:

No ministry can ever be effective without many people, often serving unknown, who make the fulfilling of God’s Call possible. We are so very, very grateful to those who have willingly stepped up and stood in the gap for those in and out of prison whom God has redeemed!

⁹⁹ As at any NGO, however, individual clients of SMH may certainly experience a more intrusive, invasive penal state presence in their lives because many residents are also under the supervision of DOC agents, separate from the organization’s relationship with the state. I do not know whether parole officers visit the site, but I never witnessed an individual who I knew was a parole officer on site during my limited visits.

As this quote suggests, like SHM, EWEM has explicitly religious bylaws. EWEM's mission is to "know Christ and make him known," to equip people for a calling of service to others as part of being a minister to Christ, and to provide leaders for groups that cannot afford their own.

This overt religious identification characterizes many of the organizations I identify as NGOs opposed to state involvement, although they vary as to whether they are independent or embedded in churches. Like SMH, three additional NGOs (including EWEM) are stand-alone NGOs. Two others are embedded in other churches, and are in the Knapsack Network. However, unlike SMH, none of the other NGOs opposed to state involvement are residential.¹⁰⁰

The prevalence of NGOs in this category, which falls at the opposite ends of both the hierarchy and closeness continuums from satellite states, adds nuance to the research in the field of post-release service provision. Certainly, there is no shortage of NGOs seeking or already engaged in hierarchical relationships, affirming critical penologists' fear that the autonomy and efficacy of NGOs are at risk because of their various connections to the penal state (Haney 2010; Bumiller 2013; Thompkins 2010). Yet many NGOs resist this pull or "seepage" (Kilty and Devellis 2010) by avoiding the state both in its funding/accountability function and in terms of addressing DOC officials in other capacities (e.g., as policy-makers and coordinators of services).

¹⁰⁰ As Jake noted, residents must pay rent. At other residential facilities, the DOC (or federal BOP) is supposed to pay for beds when they contract service provision to an NGO, in which case the person's stay is limited in time (e.g., three months are funded at one home run by Community Environment for Women). Other types of contributions may also be expected at residential sites. Lynne Haney and Megan Welsh have discussed homes for criminalized women that ask residents to turn over food stamps. Haney, Lynne. 2010. *Offending Women: Power, Punishment, and the Regulation of Desire*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, Welsh, Megan. forthcoming. "Studying out: Institutional ethnographic fieldwork as prisoner reentry activism."

NGO-STATE RELATIONSHIPS AND INCORPORATION ACTIVITIES

Having established this typology and illustrated NGO-state relationships with these four cases, I now examine how NGOs within this typology approach the incorporation of prisoners as citizens, using the classification discussed in the prior chapter.

Given the characteristics of the satellite states and satellite-seeking NGOs, these NGOs should be many of the same ones I identified as doing “classic reentry” in the last chapter: NGOs whose incorporation practices converge with the DOC’s reentry policy emphases on treatment and job-readiness in order to create law-abiding citizens. Such activities should be most marketable and thus most appealing to NGOs in funding/accountability relationships.

In contrast, given their freedom from the constraints of a hierarchical reporting relationship, the conversants and adversaries and NGOs opposing state involvement should offer a wider range of activities than are emphasized in state policy. They should also define the priorities of their work quite differently than satellite states do. I expected NGOs in non-hierarchical relationships to overlap significantly with the “broader incorporation” NGOs discussed in the last chapter.

Results

Incorporation activities. Several patterns in the associations between incorporation activities and NGO-state relationships are visually striking (Table 3). NGOs opposed to state involvement, all of which focus on religious incorporation, heavily promote cultural and economic incorporation. I also find that treatment incorporation work is heavily concentrated among NGOs that have hierarchical relationships with the penal state (satellite states and satellite-seeking NGOs). In all but one case (10 of 11 NGOs), NGOs with hierarchical

connections to the state conduct incorporation by approaching ex-prisoners as people who need treatment in order to gain their agency and self-sufficiency.

The conversants and advocates category contains too few agencies to indicate whether their incorporation work more closely resembles that of satellite states and satellite-seeking NGOs or the incorporation work of NGOs opposing state involvement.

These results suggest that the major state reentry project of promoting treatment has either already been privatized or is a priority at NGOs seeking hierarchical funding or accountability relationships with the penal state. Treatment incorporation work is least common among NGOs opposed to state involvement. In contrast to the emphasis on treatment, attention to job-readiness, also focal in the state DOC's policy goals, is not associated with any of the four types of NGO-state relationship. Job-readiness is a concern to most agencies regardless of the degree of hierarchy and closeness in relationships with the state, but it is not the defining characteristic of any of the types I discuss.

Classic reentry versus broader incorporation NGOs. The six “classic reentry” NGOs discussed in Chapter 3 all have hierarchical relationships with state bodies. Thus, the penal state is hierarchically managing NGOs that do work that converges with the priorities of reentry policy. However, “broader incorporation NGOs” have both non-hierarchical relationships with the state, as I expected, but also hierarchical relationships. All of the left-leaning broader incorporation NGOs are in a closer and/or more hierarchical relationship with the penal state, and most are classified as satellite-seeking NGOs. This observation indicates that NGOs that recognize people in explicitly multi-cultural terms and are politically progressive are largely open to hierarchical reporting/funding relationships.

In contrast, the right-leaning broader incorporation NGOs (most of which are classified as NGOs opposed to state involvement) are not open to this hierarchical relationship. Given their orientation to state involvement, these NGOs affiliated with the religious right (discussed in prior chapter) can foster ideas about citizenship and incorporation that go beyond the ideas emphasized in state policy. They focus particularly on religious incorporation. Their approach to citizenship is rooted in communities of religious membership rather than in state bodies that grant rights. As such, these NGOs present an alternative to the state's very limited idea of citizenship as rooted only in labor market participation and receiving treatment. The programs of NGOs opposing state intervention have quite different goals than the prisoners' rights advocates discussed above (protests, litigation); they appear less concerned with the political incorporation activities of the more left-leaning broader incorporation NGOs.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF VARIED STATE RELATIONSHIPS WITH NGOS

This chapter identified types of NGO-state relationships. Some of these types seem to have greater potential for including people in specific communities rather than approaching neighborhoods or "the community" generically. The type least likely to focus on this kind of inclusion is the satellite states, exemplified by CTO, the large NGO with a goal of "satisfy[ing] community demands for retribution;" CTO is described by Heart to Heart as if it were indistinguishable from the prison system, and even operates out of the DOC's Day Report Center. This is an extreme case in which it is difficult to imagine the NGO inviting any kind of ongoing participation in any community of common identity or place. While one of the satellite states, CEW, maintains a commitment to women's particular needs, and is connected to global networks fighting prostitution, the sexual exploitation of children, and human trafficking, this

NGO works very closely with penal state funders and law enforcement (as I discuss in Chapter 5), and appears to have grown apart from the radical feminist community from which it emerged.

In contrast, the possibilities for inclusion in specific communities through the NGO are greater in satellite-seeking NGOs, conversants and advocates, and NGOs opposed to state intervention. Notably, however, making the strongest case for community inclusion would require individual-level data on experiences at NGOs and in communities (Kissane 2007; Richie 2001).¹⁰¹

It is striking that these possibilities for inclusion in specific communities appear limited when they exist. Each idea of incorporation into the community is partial in the sense of being based on the particular commitments of the NGO. Even Growing Our Garden's leader was cautious about suggesting church involvement for the group participants. However, in this case, forming a community within the church, through the arts group, is still a meaningful community.

Beyond the two dimensions I examined (hierarchy and closeness) these data show there are other ways in which NGOs vary. First, both the current data and Monsma's research (2003) suggest that organizations differ in the degree to which foundations and donations support the costs (mixed funding sources are very common). Second, the NGOs vary in whether governmental funding goes toward beds (as it does at Community Environment for Women) or towards programs (as it does at Community Treatment for Offenders).¹⁰² Third, they vary in the degree to which DOC agents are involved in pairing ex-prisoners with specific program sites. Data on these factors, along with information on the length of the contracting history, would

¹⁰¹ A further question this chapter raises (but one that is beyond the scope of the data) is how individuals become less or more involved in the communities in which NGOs may offer them participation. One perspective is that a predominant approach is simply hiring people into the NGOs where they received services; this is addressed in Elizabeth Speck's article in *Dialectical Anthropology*, in December, 2010.

¹⁰² This distinction may or may not be relevant for the kinds of interactions NGOs have with state actors or for staff views of organizational participants.

allow the analysis of more dimensions and would help specify the structure of NGO-state relationships.

An area of great concern to critical penologists is interactions with law enforcement. Thus, these results raise questions about how these interactions differ across types of NGOs given their various forms of distancing from the state.¹⁰³ My familiarity with anecdotal situations at St. Matthew House suggests that when residents were forcibly removed from the house because of substance use, it was by staff, rather than police. This NGO may not interact closely with law enforcement in this process of excluding members from the program and its larger community. Does sidestepping the use of police force represent a form of not reproducing the conditions of prison? Not necessarily. Yet it suggests a notably different way of addressing and interacting with program participants, whom staff members treat more like wayward children than deviant offenders.¹⁰⁴

These results also raise questions about advocacy: Have nearly all the advocates in this field been distracted, as Poppendieck concluded has happened in the field of emergency food provision? Why do prison reform advocates such as WISDOM avoid direct service provision? Why do so few NGOs that deliver services regard the penal state as worth engaging with substantively, beyond the reporting relationship and beyond using agents as a recruitment tool?

Within the scope of these data, however, the current results provide some empirical support for the concerns of critical penologists, including Haney. Approaches to incorporation are related to the degree of hierarchy in the relationship with the state. However, by adding the

¹⁰³ An additional consideration that Welsh is investigating is the potential for varied orientations to law enforcement within satellite states (Welsh 2015).

¹⁰⁴ Thompkins also commented on this “child-like” approach. Thompkins, Douglas E. 2010. “The expanding prisoner reentry industry.” *Dialectical Anthropology* 34(4):589-604.

dimension of closeness, I am able to identify more potential for deviation from state goals and freedom from state “co-optation” than is recognized in discussions of the reintegration industry. This is especially apparent among NGOs opposing state involvement. The empirical presence of this type of NGO is important because it has been largely overlooked in the critical penological literature. This oversight may have occurred in part because, following Foucault, critical researchers have been concerned with the power of the medical and therapeutic professions to work on minds and bodies in a specialized role that developed along with the penal state (Cohen 1985; Maidment 2006). These NGOs differ from satellite states, which are presumed to be contaminated via funding; the privatization of post-release work does not explain their involvement, and professionalization is not their concern.

Encouraging ex-prisoners to be humble servants of God who are engaged in religious communities (as at St. Matthew House) reflects a particular view of citizenship that not everyone would identify as the most important, or even desirable. Each NGO promotes partial and particular ideas about incorporation and belonging that are specific to its setting. Thus, it is worth debating whether responsabilization, privatization, and the relationships and specific forms of incorporation these processes have encouraged are good for citizenship. However, the presence of variation among post-release NGOs serves as a counter-argument to the reading of this field as completely co-opted and driven by state funding goals.

Chapter 5: NGO Approaches to Religion

In this chapter, I discuss the ways policies have invited organizations whose work is guided by religious ideas and/or practices to become increasingly involved in post-release work (McRoberts 2002; Miller 2014). I address the relevance of faith for NGOs, the ways NGOs vary in their use of faith, and the way religious approaches appear related to other important features of NGOs. Further, I analyze the relevance of faith to the construction of citizenship and gender in three cases.

First, I provide a brief history of the work of religious organizations with current and former prisoners in Wisconsin. Although research on community-based services for women ex-prisoners has not recognized the importance of these religious NGOs (i.e., Bumiller 2013; Morash 2010; Richie 2001), their involvement has been ongoing. This omission is surprising considering the vastly important role of religion in the American penal system's mission, both currently and historically (Green 2013; O'Connor 2002).

Next, I present an inductively formed typology of NGO approaches to religion. I describe the NGOs I identify in each type according to their denominations, funding, geographical location, predominant way of describing their work (as either "case management" of "clients" or as "walking with ex-offenders"), inclusion of women only or men alongside women in programming, organizational independence, and age of the organization. In addition to allowing me to describe the distribution of NGOs, this typology also enables me to show how approaches to faith are associated with the aspects of NGO work that I analyzed in prior chapters (incorporation analysis in Chapter 3 and relationship with the state in Chapter 4)(Table 4).

Engaging with literature on the sociology of religion, I discuss the advantages of this typology. I argue that my typological approach identifies nuanced differences between NGOs, recognizes that NGOs can incorporate faith in fluid and loose ways, and is comprehensive. The between types distinctions also draw attention to the ways in which NGOs *activate* faith in institutionally specific ways, particular to their understandings of gender and citizenship, rather than relying on their denominations to explain their work.

Next, I apply the concept of Weberian “elective affinity” or the convergence of attributes. I argue that there is elective affinity in NGOs’ approaches to faith, gender, and citizenship at the three cases I examine in this chapter, which span the continuum from secular to reciprocally religious (Chalcraft and Harrington 2001) (Table 5). I note the ways in which these NGOs are similar to and different from other NGOs in each type, inviting further analysis of whether these elective affinities occur in the wider types from which I draw these cases. I describe the specific communities in which these NGOs are embedded, as I seek to locate the goals driving NGOs’ practices within their institutional relationships and illustrate the kinds of communities in which participants may be included. I show that the three NGOs present distinct visions of formerly incarcerated citizens: as people needing treatment to become independent, as workers or economic producers, and as members of religious communities.

I also show that each approach is closely related to a particular approach to gender. Community Environment for Women is a secular organization that takes a gender-specific approach and emphasizes a vision of citizenship in terms of consumption; Journey to Stable Work is a religiously inspired organization that prioritizes the job-readiness or soft skill development of men and women alike; and St. Matthew House is a reciprocally religious

organization that takes a gender-specific approach to understanding men and women's roles in romantic partnerships and mentoring relationships.

I close with a discussion of these patterns of elective affinity and their implications. I suggest ways that asking about the construction and uses of faith in programs for criminalized people could be of interest to researchers in the sociology of religion and feminist penology. Drawing on the literature on gendered citizenship, feminist penology, and critical race feminism, I highlight ways in which NGOs' approaches are both inclusive and marginalizing.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF RELIGIOUS INVOLVEMENT WITH PRISONERS

NGOs' current work with released prisoners is just one of many forms of religious involvement with criminalized people; others include visits to prisons by religious leaders and religion-based volunteers and advocacy for prison reform (Rafter 1990). Like many other U.S. states and Canadian provinces, Wisconsin has a long history of involvement of religious organizations in work with criminalized youth and adults in its state system (Maurutto 2003; McRoberts 2002).¹⁰⁵ In the nineteenth century, this involvement took the form of Protestant and Catholic prison chaplains, who were paid by the state government.¹⁰⁶ The denominations and faiths of visitors to Wisconsin's prisons expanded as the prisoner population grew. By the 1930s, frequent visitors included Salvation Army ministers and a broad range of mainline

¹⁰⁵ Because I focus mainly on the state-level system, I exclude discussions of county-level jail visitors here. One interviewee indicated that in Dane County it is difficult to sustain the ongoing participation of Muslim clergy in the jails, perhaps owing to tension between these clergy and the more long-standing participants: evangelicals and conservative Protestants, more liberal mainline Protestants, and Catholics. Meanwhile, this respondent said that finding rabbis was extremely difficult, as all but one rabbi this respondent had polled said that jail work was not what they did.

¹⁰⁶ At least since the 1860s, the daily life of state prisoners (both men and women) included contact with Protestant and Catholic chaplains at the central state prison. The separate women's facility, the Wisconsin Home for Women (later Taycheedah Correctional Institution), was not built until 1921.

Protestant visitors. By the 1960s, black church representatives, including individuals from Missionary Baptist Churches, were among the frequent visitors (Thomas 2002).¹⁰⁷

In addition to serving as prison chaplains and prison visitors, members of religious organizations have also visibly advocated for penal reform (as discussed in Chapter 4). For example, when Democratic Governor Patrick Lucey (1971-1977) formed a citizen's committee, the Citizens Study Committee on Offender Rehabilitation, to study Wisconsin's penal policies in response to the prison riot/massacre at Attica in 1971, he included Catholic clergy (Reverend John Murtaugh and Father Quintin Heline) among these committee members.

The committee framed prisons and state monopolization of corrections as dangerous and undemocratic, and the community at large as a more supportive and appropriate place for rehabilitation (Wisconsin Council on Criminal Justice 1972). The committee wanted to close the state's prisons by 1975, and shift to the use of post-release services run by community organizations. Committee members stressed that even the most dangerous of prisoners deserved care, especially mental health care:

[They] must also have community resources, particularly specialized mental health services, readily available to them so that they too might more readily assume the burden of citizenship upon their eventual release (Wisconsin Council on Criminal Justice 1972:2).

The committee called for the state to give up power and responsibility in order to respond to the needs and provide resources (which they considered entitlements) to prisoners. This was necessary, committee members argued, because state involvement with criminalized people was damaging and destructive; they framed the state as out of touch and not able to respond to the particular needs and entitlements of prisoners.

¹⁰⁷ Not included here is the history of religious visitors to county-run jails.

Indeed, starting in the early 1970s, transferring what was increasingly known as “community corrections” work to “the community” became an achievement of this committee. After the publication of this committee’s report, the Wisconsin Department of Health and Social Services began a community corrections purchase-of-service system for the Division of Corrections in 1973. This policy was meant to allow community-based organizations to work with parolees and probationers (also covered in Chapter 2) (Wisconsin Statutes 1973b). This policy opened the door for Wisconsin to contract with faith-based organizations doing community corrections work in the state.

Religious organizations then took on an additional role as privatization took hold: they became paid post-release service providers that contracted with the government. The church-state relationship took a new turn at the state and federal levels starting in the 1960s.¹⁰⁸ Faith-based organizations such as Catholic Charities and the Salvation Army, alongside secular NGOs, began to receive purchase of service contracts for social service programming (Kennedy and Bielefeld 2006).

The available data do not reveal whether faith-based organizations immediately received state correctional contracts in Wisconsin.¹⁰⁹ However, by the early 1990s, faith-based organizations were formally involved in purchase of service agreements. For example, NuStart Halfway House (the actual name, although the organization is no longer active under this name) was a faith-based site funded through purchase of service funds in the 1991-1992 fiscal year.

¹⁰⁸ This could be considered re-secularization, a process discussed in more detail in Jose Casanova’s 1994 book, *Public Religions in the Modern World*. Yet it is not clear whether Wisconsin’s penal system was ever fully de-secularized. Even remarks made by prison administrators in the 1950s discuss the God-given worth of individuals.

¹⁰⁹ Public records for POS recipients are patchy. The DOC reported to me that they destroy contracts after four years. The purchase of service awardee spreadsheet I have from 1982 does not include any obviously religious organizations; the spreadsheet is from the report entitled *An Evaluation of the Milwaukee Community Corrections Residential Centers*, which was published by the Wisconsin Department of Health and Social Services.

NuStart, a facility located in Milwaukee with beds for 12 women, was run by Lutheran Social Services of Wisconsin and Upper Michigan (LSS) (Mikkelson 1992). LSS is a ministry working on behalf of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America, and LSS still has several residential facilities across the state that contract with the Wisconsin DOC.

The records I analyzed indicate that the NGOs receiving state and federal correctional contracts for community-based work with former prisoners were mostly secular at first. As other research on NGOs has shown, secular organizations remain widely seen as the established service providers whom policy-makers have regarded as the “status quo” when they more actively began to invite faith-based providers to administer services to the poor and criminalized (Kissane 2007; Monsma 2003). Since the implementation of policy changes that opened contracting to NGOs in the 1960s and 1970s, however, state and federal policies have become increasingly open to awarding contracts to NGOs that use faith in a range of ways, as long as these NGOs meet certain clearly stated stipulations.

Recent federal-level policies have framed the community at large and faith-based organizations in particular as fit to conduct programs to morally reshape the poor. First, the charitable choice provision was passed as section 104 of the 1996 welfare reform bill under President Clinton (Sager 2010). Next, faith-based initiatives were first instituted under President Bush in 2001, with the passage of Executive Order 13199, which established the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives. Faith-based initiatives later expanded across federal agencies.¹¹⁰

Together, these two policies increased faith-based groups’ competitiveness when applying for funds at the federal, state, or county level (Bush 2008; Esparza 2007; Johnson 2011)

¹¹⁰ The policy was then applied at state levels, with states creating similar offices and liaisons to assist faith-based and other community-based organizations in applying for government money.

because they stated that there is no rule against giving contracts to religious groups, provided the arrangement meets certain stipulations. In Wisconsin correctional policy, the possible stipulations include agents writing rules requiring AODA treatment without naming a specific program, thus allowing an individual client to select whether they use a faith-based provider.¹¹¹ At the level of federal policy, the faith-based initiatives established that government cannot require religious organizations to take down iconography or alter internal structures when a faith-based organization is funded. In addition, contractors cannot discriminate based on clients' religion, and government funds cannot support "inherently religious" activities. Providers must offer alternative arrangements to clients who feel uncomfortable. These initiative also extended protection of hiring in a broadly preferential way by faith-based organizations, which the courts have supported, but this protection depends on the funding source, as some earmarked funds come with further stipulations.

Policies on "prisoner reentry" have extended many assumptions and rules from the charitable choice and faith-based initiatives into work with formerly incarcerated people, particularly in the rhetorical refrains of the importance of creating of productive, law-abiding citizens. Major federal policies regarding prisoner reentry heavily emphasize personal transformation in terms of individual-level changes in attitudes and thought processes (Bumiller 2013; Green 2013; Miller 2014). These policies have most notably included: Ready4Work (established in 2003), the Prisoner Reentry Initiative (established in 2004, discussed in Chapter

¹¹¹ Some of the main areas in which these stipulations are laid out are the court case *Kerr v. Farrey* (95 f.3d 472, 1996) on whether NA or AA are religious and can be mandated, Division of Community Corrections Administrative Directive 01-10 (included in requests for bids and proposals, which states that "an agent may write a rule requiring an offender to attend and complete AODA treatment without naming a specific program") and the Faith Works case (discussed briefly in Chapter 3).

1), and the Second Chance Act of 2007 (passed in 2008). Of these policies, Ready4Work exclusively seeks faith-based providers.

In addition to these more formal post-release contracting arrangements and the ongoing use of prison chaplains, within-prison Bible study programs are currently a major programmatic way that state prisoners engage with faith during their sentence. For example, I had several conversations with a devout Christian woman in the Matthew 25 network who runs a service driving visitors from Milwaukee to prisons across the state. Her faith motivates her own prison visits. She told me that she is concerned about the number of people being converted to Islam (relative to the number being converted to Christianity) in the prisons. She also described religious experiences that she and other visitors had in her vehicle on the way to these prisons, including speaking in tongues, serving as a portal during a healing experience, and spotting divine signs (e.g., interpreting passing cars as representing biblical rams, as in Daniel's visions) that hold meaning for the future of her organization.

Many of these same NGOs whose members visit prisoners continue to provide post-release services in a "responsibilized" way, without state funding. The state DOC's fraternization rules limit the kinds of contact that visitors can have with prisoners during and after release; however, I observed that these institutional missions, as well as the other prison visitors, maintained organizational contact with prisoners after their release.

Given the importance of faith, clergy, and religious NGOs in the field of work with formerly incarcerated people, I ask how NGOs working with formerly incarcerated people use faith and how they vary in their expectations of prisoners' faith beliefs and practices.

TYPOLGY

In order to reflect the varied ways through which NGOs bring in faith, I developed a typology that employs a three group model running along a continuum. A three group model implies non-nested categories.¹¹² I consider three approaches to religion. In what I term a *secular* approach, NGOs do not have faith visible at all. In what I term a *religiously inspired* approach, NGOs are loosely guided by faith but do not require faith practices or beliefs of participants. In what I term a *reciprocally religious* approach, NGOs' faith is the most visible and it shapes NGOs' expectations of participants. I did not use prior research to identify these types; rather, I developed them using inductive analysis using NVivo diagrams of similarities in organizational features.

Identification and Description of NGOs by Type

I identify four NGOs as secular, nine as religiously inspired, and five as reciprocally religious (Table 4). To describe the NGOs within these types, I detail the denominational or faith affiliations of these NGOs. I also summarize the organizations' funding, county location, ways of describing their work, work with women alone or also with men, mixed or gender-segregated programs, organizational independence, and age.

This typology enables me to not only describe the distribution of NGOs, but also to show how approaches to faith are associated with other salient aspects of NGO work. When organized

¹¹² Another example of a three group model is in Frank Sampson's study on monastic life. Sampson categorized monks in three groups: the Loyal Opposition, the Young Turks, and the Outcasts. The groups corresponded to distinct social contexts and interactions. Sampson, Samuel Frank. 1969. "Crisis in a Cloister." Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, Wheat, Christopher Owen. 2005. "Organizational Positions and the Social Structure of Exchange." Pp. 277 in *Business Studies*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, White, Harrison C., Scott A. Boorman, and Ron L. Breiger. 1976. "Social structure from multiple networks. I. Blockmodels of roles and positions." *American Journal of Sociology* 81(4):730-80.

by type of approach to religion (secular, religiously inspired, reciprocally religious), I observe clustering of NGOs in terms of prisoner incorporation practices and relationships with the penal state (previously covered in Chapters 3 and 4). In one cluster of NGOs, I observe that secular NGOs operate as “satellite states.” In a second cluster of NGOs, I observe that nearly all the right-leaning, broader incorporation NGOs are reciprocally religious, and are NGOs opposed to penal state involvement. In a third cluster of NGOs, I observe that religiously inspired NGOs are located in between these orientations; they are a mix of left-leaning broader incorporation and classic reentry NGOs. The majority of these NGOs are seeking state funds, so I classified them as satellite-seeking NGOs in Chapter 4.

Secular NGOs. These secular NGOs are by definition not faith-affiliated. Their official approach is to stay away from faith, and thus they have no religious iconography, no religious principles in mission, and no clergy on their staff. However, sometimes NGOs leave room for participants to bring in spirituality if they have it, without requiring or endorsing any faith. There is a widespread expectation that participants attend AA and NA meetings; AA and NA espouse a belief in a “higher power,” though they are organizationally separate. I have not encountered indications that any secular NGOs are expressly hostile to religious practices of participants.

Of the four secular NGOs I identify, two began without a religious affiliation. The other two began with a spiritual affiliation: Onward Upward was begun as a Christian organization nationally, and Community Environment for Women (CEW) was begun in connection with an international yogic movement. However, the latter two do not have religious affiliations now.

These NGOs receive major funding contracts from government sponsors (Federal Bureau of Prisons, Wisconsin Department of Corrections, and Wisconsin Department of Workforce Development through W-2) as well as foundations (United Way). Some receive contracts for

work inside prisons as well as for their post-prison programs. One is for-profit; three are non-profits. Three of these operate in Madison, and two operate in both counties. All run some residential component.

Three of these secular NGOs work with men and women, and one runs programs for adult women only (CEW). Offering gender-segregated programming for women is frequent among these secular organizations. The earliest of these started in this area in 1974, with the others forming gradually over the next four decades. These NGOs are stand-alone (rather than part of other NGOs) and often are referred to as “agencies.”

Many secular NGOs rely on a case management or social work approach to clients as individual “cases” who are directed to treatment, groups and additional resources based on their particular needs (also discussed in Haney’s 2010 book). Viewing people as “cases” and “clients” suggests a clinical view of participants.¹¹³ Approaching people as “clients” need not occur in a secular setting, but rather indicates a style of work that converges both with the fields of social work and psychiatry and with correctional agencies, where agents oversee caseloads of returning prisoners on correctional supervision.

I observe a heavy overlap between the secular NGOs and those I had classified as doing “classic reentry” and operating as “satellite states” in their close and hierarchical relationships with the penal state.¹¹⁴ This clustering indicates that many of the NGOs whom the state is funding are secular; it also indicates that many of the NGOs with whom the penal state works in hierarchical funding/reporting relationships are secular.

¹¹³ Rebecca Allahyari also discusses the implications of the terminology of “clients” at one of the shelter sites she studies, contra the approach to people as “guests” at another. Allahyari, Rebecca Anne. 2000. *Visions of charity: Volunteer workers and moral community*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

¹¹⁴ Two of these NGOs are “classic reentry,” and two are left-leaning broader incorporation NGOs.

Religiously inspired NGOs. In this approach, faith principles guide NGOs to a greater or lesser degree and at times in a fluid way. Staff do not expect participants to hold particular beliefs or exhibit particular practices, and do not expect conversion experiences. Clergy may serve as staff, volunteers, or active board members.

Three of these NGOs are interfaith. Several are explicitly Christian, and of these, one has a close tie to and is offered within a black Holiness/Pentecostal (COGIC) church. All Our Sisters (AOS) has a self-described mission of “ministering word of God through the Gospel” and is not connected with a specific denomination. The leader has a divinity degree; she has connections through family in leadership positions and her gospel career to black Christian churches.

Another NGO, Heart to Heart (HTH), has close ties with and co-runs a program at the South Side Madison Group, hosted in an evangelical church (mentioned in Chapter 4). HTH’s approach is heavily integrated with this church community, and one of the programs is even co-led by a reverend, although the director, Leon, told me they were “not a faith-based group.” Leon made this remark the day before he appeared on a panel with two local clergy to discuss the role of the church in the black community. Leon’s description suggests that the relevance of faith to their work varies contextually and that they do not make demands on participants about particular faith beliefs or practices.

Two NGOs describe themselves as “spiritually based.” One of these is Growing Our Garden, which meets within a mainline Protestant church (described in Chapter 4). The office of another self-described “spiritually based” NGO, Healing Our Sisters and Brothers, is decorated with African art. Their materials frequently reference Afro-centric spiritual themes of life and hope as part of their goals to provide treatment that is “holistic, spiritual and culturally specific.” City Support Center (CSC) has an explicit affiliation beyond Christianity. CSC established what

the current director describes as loose Muslim affiliations through the former director, although she stressed that they encourage and welcome all faiths.

These religiously inspired NGOs have mixed funding sources, drawing support from private donations and funding drives, foundations, Medicaid, Wisconsin Department of Corrections, and/or Ready4Work (a program funded by the federal Department of Labor and Annie E. Casey Foundation/ Public-Private Ventures).¹¹⁵ Three NGOs will only work with women; the remaining six serve women and men. Mixing men and women in programs is fairly common at the NGOs where both are served. All but two of these organizations operate in Milwaukee. Their ages are mixed: the earliest began in 1973, with a small number forming each decade since.

Similar to secular NGOs, staff at many of these religiously inspired NGOs describe themselves as employing a case management approach. For instance, Mary Magdalene, Social Justice Inc., and Journey to Stable Work use this method; they are larger and older NGOs that offer an array of programs, and have standing relationships with other institutions offering additional services. All Our Sisters (AOS) does not use this phrase, but does describe itself similarly in terms of using “customized resource services.” AOS assigns a facilitator to each woman and connects her to services, including soft skill building classes and sexual abuse support groups. Healing Our Sisters and Brothers uses language to the same effect to describe its “comprehensive services,” although materials do not emphasize centralized guidance by one case worker.

However, not every religiously inspired NGO uses case management. I discussed in Chapter 4 that Growing Our Garden does not keep client records or provide a range of program

¹¹⁵ Several organizations receive contracts for their in-prison work, with funds from the DOC, United Way, and federal Second Chance Act through the federal Department of Justice.

services, as everyone is in the same arts therapy program. Occasionally, some NGOs refer to themselves as “walking with ex-offenders,” as I will describe in the deeper description of Journey to Stable Work. However, this phrase is more common among reciprocally religious NGOs.

Compared to secular and reciprocally religious NGOs, many of the NGOs I classify as religiously inspired are in a middle place in their degree of faith practices and their relationships with the penal state. They are guided by faith as they carry out their mission; many carry out work that surpasses the state’s policy goals, and most seek state funds for post-release work that they do not currently receive.¹¹⁶

Reciprocally religious NGOs. These NGOs present a stronger form of the orientation to faith I observe in religiously inspired NGOs, which is signaled in the names and goals of many of the NGOs as “missions” or “ministries.” This approach offers participants a long-standing membership in a community of believers (during life and the afterlife). They encourage members to realize they have something to contribute: these members have the duty to pass on the understanding they have gained to new ex-prisoners. Whether they have non-denominational Christian or conservative Lutheran affiliation, these NGOs emphasize participants’ willingness to have a personal relationship with God. They all require an expression of faith back from participants, which is carried out through specific practices.

These NGOs are all based in Protestant denominations within Christianity, although this model could certainly be followed within other denominations and religions. Of these NGOs, two are affiliated with conservative Lutheran denominations; both Dinner with Luke and Good

¹¹⁶ Four of the religiously inspired NGOs are “classic reentry” organizations, and the others are left-leaning broader incorporation NGOs. They reflect a mixture of relationships with the penal state: five of the nine are “satellite seeking NGOs,” and small numbers are what I identify as “conversants and advocates” and “satellite states.”

Word Bible Study are in the Knapsack Network (discussed in Chapter 3). St. Matthew House (SMH) is a self-described Christian fellowship with connections to the Large Suburban Evangelical Christian Church (LSECC, described in Chapter 4). SMH is also closely connected to Eastern Wisconsin Evangelical Mission (EWEM), which is a non-denominational Christian organization that offers Biblically based programming at the house and at other locations. An EWEM program facilitator described their approach as “a tent-making industry” (a style of missionary work). Finally, God’s Love, Inc., is connected to a Church of God as well as an international network of prison missions.

These NGOs are clear about the specific religious expectations they hold from participants in terms of seeking a direct relationship with Jesus; they also all run Bible studies. Most of these NGOs work with current prisoners or jail inmates, which they frame as “walking with” prisoners; the ministries then extend contact with these individuals through their post-release program. Four NGOs work with women and men; among these NGOs, holding groups that mix men and women is common, though not the only modality. One NGO, God’s Love, Inc., works only with women. As the director explained, the men that came wanted romantic relationships, and she viewed men as the problem for many women in the first place.

In addition to Bible studies and support groups, “walking with ex-offenders or “returning citizens” is a predominant mode of describing their working with people. This practice occurs through establishing pairs of newer and older believers. Through this process of teaching and learning about the Christian faith, mentors seek mentees, who then become mentors and seek mentees in a chain of serially reciprocal discipleship. This spiritual guidance approach of “walking with ex-offenders,” through mentoring relationships, occurs predominantly, rather than the “case management” approach visible in the other types.

However, this self-described approach of “walking with” people does not indicate a lack of a centralized process of managing participants. For example, St. Matthew House (SMH) provides a largest array of classes, and they do some of the same screening of applicants as NGOs using a case management approach. This is reflected in SMH’s two part application process, which, the director explained, is designed to reveal whether people have a “soft heart” and are open to change. SMH maintains a close watch on the activities of residents. As of December, 2011, 87 people had been served in the NGO during the year, 13 of these people had been forcibly kicked out because of substance use, and 25 people had graduated. In effect, SMH does do case management, although they more heavily emphasize residents’ formation of one-on-one relationships with spiritual mentors.

The conservative Lutheran and evangelical organizations expected participants to believe in the Bible as the truthful word of God (also known as literalism or sola scriptura). The evangelicals also commonly described having had a born-again experience. However, at St. Matthew House, expressions of wanting to “know God” was more important for being accepted into the program than was spiritual rebirth.

The consistent grouping of these five reciprocally religious NGOs across various typologies is striking. Nearly all the right-leaning broader incorporation NGOs are reciprocally religious and are in distant, non-hierarchical relationships with the penal state.¹¹⁷ These NGOs were also all founded after 2004, and all operate in Milwaukee County. All NGOs are connected to the Matthew 25 network of religious prison aftercare providers in the Milwaukee area. EWEM publishes regular listings of ex-offender and prison ministries, including the four others.

¹¹⁷ The only right-leaning NGO doing broader incorporation work that is not among this core cluster is All Our Sisters (AOS), a religiously inspired NGO which does not emphasize religious incorporation in their community work, and has submitted bids for DOC funds.

Whether reciprocally religious NGOs are stand-alone or embedded in churches is a source of within-type variation. The three stand-alone organizations (St. Matthew House, God's Love Inc., and Eastern Wisconsin Evangelical Mission) receive private donations and grants from foundations.¹¹⁸ At least one Christian foundation supports the Good Word Bible Study. The facilitator of Dinner with Luke is supported through church funds.

Having described the NGOs falling into these types and having discussed similarities of clusters of NGOs that are clustered together in multiple typologies, I argue that my typological approach offers additional strengths for understanding what NGOs are doing with faith.

Advantages of This Typology

A spectrum, not a binary. First, this typology is an improvement upon the frequently used faith-based/secular distinction in policy discussions of “faith-based organizations” since the charitable choice provision, because it allows more detailed distinctions in how NGOs use faith. As previous authors studying charitable choice programs have noted, describing organizations providing care and social services as faith-based or secular may have been useful to inclusively expand the range of organizations that could receive contracts beginning with the charitable choice provision. However, this binary categorization is not nuanced enough to capture the range of ideas and practices at play (Kennedy and Bielefeld 2006).

The typology I offer describes the middle place where NGOs taking a fluid and loose approach to faith operate. Although Leon at Heart to Heart did not see himself as running a faith-based NGO, faith was still relevant to the way he presented his organization and the institutional

¹¹⁸ Collecting data on funding for the two church-based organizations (Dinner with Luke and Good Word Bible Study) was not possible through the Foundation Directory, as this directory uses tax reports that churches are not required to submit. However, I was able to collect data on the funder and interview an employee of this foundation supporting and, it seemed, partly overseeing the Good Word Bible Study.

location of the group. Likewise, Growing Our Garden's leader, Reverend Smith, understood spirituality within a mainline Protestant framework (discussed in Chapter 4). Her affiliations with the church are essential in providing an opportunity for the meeting space downtown, even though her faith expectations of the women are minimally demanding. Reverend Smith said she wants the women to lead a spiritual life as they write in journals or attend AA, and she may even discourage women from attending churches in Madison.

Another seemingly fluid and loose application of faith occurs when religion carries a declining but non-negligible role at an NGO. In his comparison of faith-based and secular non-profit welfare-to-work programs, Stephen Monsma defined NGOs as secular when they did not have a religious base or religious history, or when they previously had a religious orientation but have become "largely secular in nature" (Monsma 2003:13). This categorization would overlook the role of faith at Mary Magdalene (MM), an NGO that has drifted from its Catholic Worker Movement orientation. The references to faith principles in the programmatic goals have diminished. However, MM maintains a chaplain service and hosts evangelical volunteers at group meals, who told me they are concerned with MM's drift from faith. Even though MM leaders have also moved the NGO away from the church geographically and symbolically, these leaders prominently refer to their older work with monks and nuns to explain their service to criminalized women.

My typology thus enables these kinds of religiously inspired NGOs to be contrasted from those secular NGOs that stay away from faith entirely. It also allows distinguishing organizations like Mary Magdalene from those that lead a more deliberate effort to build a community composed of people holding similar basic understandings (like Biblical literalism) and activities (like participating in a mentor/mentee relationship).

Comprehensiveness. This typology explains all the cases I study, unlike a prior analysis based on NGO approaches to gender. Previously, I looked at NGOs to find support for gender-sameness or gender-difference philosophies and practices, described in feminist penology, criminology and jurisprudence research. My expectations did not hold up well. I found that the discourses and practices of some NGOs were ambiguous or contradictory with respect to gender. A small number of organizations took one approach or the other, but in many cases, the approach to gender was inconclusive. This finding indicated that organizations' approach to gender, framed in this way, does not fully or primarily explain how they systematically approach participants. However, the present typology based on approaches to faith describes all the cases.

Focusing on how faith is activated in particular settings. An important way NGOs vary is in their expectations of their participants (Marwell 2004). This typology allows the examination of how expectations are related to faith and the practices through which actors employ faith in their unique settings. Looking at these expectations and practices moves beyond distinguishing NGOs in terms of denominational differences in principles and dogma. Following Paul Lichterman, I steer away from a deterministic argument about the kind of person that religious views makes a person become or makes a group do. As Lichterman described, it is not a foregone conclusion how NGOs with given religious beliefs or affiliations will act; rather, it is of greater importance whether and how participants activate religion in these settings (2005; 2012).

How NGOs activate faith occurs in institutionally specific ways, pointing to the importance of recognizing how meanings are contextually constructed. Scholars of religion and gender have shown that organizations doing faith-related work construct their visions of program participants in ways specific to the communities where they are based. For example, Ed Flores' study of gang recovery work was rooted in particular neighborhoods of Los Angeles where

organizations (Victory Outreach and Homeboy Industries) did outreach with Latino men. The NGOs he studied operated in these places with particular cultural makeup and history, where program participants held particular assumptions of “gender as natural” (Flores 2014:163). The leaders used Jesuit and Pentecostal teachings alongside references to men’s former gang lives in these neighborhoods as they communicated what it meant to the target population “be a ‘real man’” (2014:163).

Flores’ attention to how programs guided participants to think about themselves as church men and family men (2009; 2014) also builds on prior work on religion and gender. Researchers in this area have recognized that religious organizations do gender when they construct gendered meanings that apply to romantic partnership and the family (Bartkowski 1997; Wolkomir 2004), to the division of labor in the church (Gallagher 2003), and to teens’ sexuality (Armitage and Dugan 2006).

Examining the ways in which organizations activate faith in gendered and contextually specific ways also invites examining the ways in which ideas about citizenship are woven into these constructions. Kevin O’Neill’s study of the church in Guatemala examined how church leaders promoted the use of prayer as political action, engaging with congregants’ shared idea of “citizenship in heaven” as well as shared expectations about self-control, and shared values stressing self-improvement for the sake of society (O’Neill 2009).¹¹⁹ Leaders were able to use faith to meet their goals in ways that were specific to the cultural setting, faith ideas familiar to congregants, and political moment.

In the next portion of the analysis, I build on Lichterman, Flores, O’Neill and others by asking *how* faith is activated, alongside institutionally-specific ideas about gender and

¹¹⁹ This is a reference to *Philippians* 3:20: “But our citizenship is in heaven, and it is from there that we are expecting A Savior....”

citizenship. Distinguishing organizations' approaches to faith is not only an improvement on current conceptual approaches; doing so may also clarify how faith matters in the construction of former prisoners as gendered citizens. To make this argument about select NGO cases, I employ the concept of "elective affinity."

ELECTIVE AFFINITY

The concept of elective affinity comes from Max Weber's work. Weber described the co-occurrence of Calvinism and capitalism in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*.¹²⁰ As summarized by one of Weber's contemporaries, Weber showed that the economic system of capitalism and religious beliefs were "simultaneously present and closely bound up with each other" (Chalcraft and Harrington 2001:42). Elective affinity now refers to "a point of coincidence" or "convergence" between social processes, or what Werner Stark described as a "process of mutual accommodation [where] like found and fitted itself, to like" (Treviño 2005:327).

I use the concept of elective affinity as I demonstrate that NGOs' approach to gender is closely related to the ways in which staff activate faith within distinct institutional and community locations. The patterns I uncover are specific to three NGOs I examine closely, one secular (Community Environment for Women), one religiously inspired (Journey to Stable Work), and one reciprocally religious (St. Matthew House). Building on my typology of NGO approaches to religion, this argument departs from feminist criminologists who see gender-difference and gender-sameness as the primary division among service providers. Because I

¹²⁰ Weber framed his claims in causal terms, though the usage has been more typically associational and acausal after Weber Treviño, A. Javier 2005. "Parsons's Action-System Requisite Model and Weber's Elective Affinity: A Convergence of Convenience." *Journal of Classical Sociology* 5(3):319-48.

stress that institutional and community locations matter for situating NGOs' priorities, practices, and resources, I describe each NGO in terms of its setting, approach to religion/secularity, and gender (Table 5).

First, I discuss Community Environment for Women (CEW). This NGO is typical of secular NGOs in the sense of approaching programming in a gender-specific way, and in terms of heavily relying on state contracts. CEW's approach to participants is as "women" who need case management and gender-specific programming. Among secular NGOs, however, CEW is unusual because of a focus on criminalized women (and sometimes their children); the others work with women and men. CEW is one of the older NGOs among these, though its practices, including employing a case-management approach, are not noticeably different from newer secular NGOs. Many secular NGOs regard clients as needing to be treated through services in order to be self-sufficient and stable. However, preferring to refer to participants as "women" and not "clients," as CEW does, is more unusual, as is CEW's feminist origins. CEW's approach frames offering need-based services to women as clients as an essential basis for recognizing citizenship. This is particularly the case in CEW's services to and advocacy on behalf of women involved in sex work, which is framed around removing barriers to treatment.

Second, I discuss Journey to Stable Work (JSW). This religiously inspired NGO is typical in the sense of operating in Milwaukee and taking a gender-neutral approach to men and women alike as having potential for workforce participation. Many religiously inspired NGOs I study use a "case management" approach like JSW (although I discuss a JSW founder still active with the organization who describes "walking with" prisoners). Formed in the early 1980s, JSW is one of the oldest religiously inspired NGOs, making it atypical. JSW's approach sees citizenship in terms of removing the obstacles that block labor market productivity of "ex-

offenders.” JSW approaches the “ex-offender’s” ability to participate in the labor market as the basis of citizenship.

Third, I discuss St. Matthew House. This is a typical reciprocally religious NGO in the sense of frequently mixing men and women in programs and operating in Milwaukee. SMH is a residential site, which is uncommon for this type. This is one of the larger NGOs in this type; in contrast, God’s Love, Inc. is run out of a leader’s home and operates where ever other NGOs will host their groups. St. Matthew House is also unlike other reciprocally religious organizations as it focuses its efforts only “walking with” people in the post-release period, and does not maintain a prison ministry. At SMH, I uncover an approach that sees citizenship as possible through Christian relationships of serving fellow members of the community; since these relations are bounded by membership in a religious community of shared values, the organization asks those they serve to make some sort of professions of faith. This interpretation of citizenship through service typically sees the individuals served in gendered terms.

Limitations in the comparison. I had more access to SMH than other NGOs I profile below. I balance primary data and secondary data in all three cases, but lean more heavily toward secondary data in CEW and JSW, and more heavily toward observations for SMH.

COMMUNITY ENVIRONMENT FOR WOMEN

Although CEW was originally founded within a global spiritual movement, it is not known by this name or affiliation anymore. Their secular orientation developed at a time when they needed to be secular to receive funding into their work with women. The vision of citizenship the NGO emphasizes the consumption of services and advocacy around particular rights of women to access services regardless of economic status. As is especially evident in

prostitution program, their approach to gender uses a professionalized, clinical model which is typical of secular NGOs.

Institutional Location

I became connected with CEW through a former corrections agent based in Dane County. CEW emerged in the mid-1970s alongside women's transit authority, battered women's shelter, and rape crisis center in Madison. Diane Kravetz identifies CEW at its founding as a radical feminist organization in the sense of challenging the domination of women by men through family and romantic partnerships and societally. Kravetz reported founding members used the terms "radical" and "feminist" during interviews, although they also stated they had learned to be cautious about public use of terms as they turned off clients as well as Corrections (Kravetz 2004). CEW was one of a very small number of NGOs to focus on criminalized women in Dane County for several decades (Kravetz 2004; Mikkelsen 1992; Shane-DuBow et al. 1987).¹²¹

CEW also emerged in connection with the Women's Jail Project (real name), a self-described activist, anti-sexist, anti-racist, and anti-classist organization with ties to Greenpeace, which was active from approximately 1976 until 1992. The Women's Jail Project sought to expand the few resources for problems "specific to women, much less low-income and minority women," and to reduce the anxiety associated with serving a jail term and leaving jail in Dane County. The Women's Jail Project sought to work "in solidarity with rather than on behalf of

¹²¹ At the time of CEW's founding, there was a network of halfway houses and missions in Madison that were run by the county mental health services, the state Department of Vocation and Rehabilitation, and other NGOs, but these agencies may have screened out criminalized women. For example, an overview of services offered in the 1970s stated that one provider screened out "girls" who were "sex deviants, alcoholics," or others creating disturbances Brautigam, Richard Kensing. 1971. "The use of community residential facilities for criminal offenders in Dane County, Wisconsin." Pp. 186: University of Wisconsin--Madison.

incarcerated women,” and described the justice system as “designed for White men,” “dehumanizing,” and “dewomanizing.”

Like the Jail Project, CEW has used the terminology of “women” as they address their group participants. This preference was evident in CEW’s materials from the 1990s to now and in my interview with Wendy Jones, a CEW social worker. However, CEW has moved away from an activist orientation and takes a far more clinical, professional approach now. CEW’s staff members’ professional activities place the organization within networks of treatment providers. For example, an addiction psychiatrist (with an MD) who provides outpatient services for CEW participated in a recent Wisconsin Association on Alcohol and Other Drug Abuse (WAAODA) conference.

The orientation of CEW with the penal state was close from the early years. In a recent illustration, CEW and the South Madison Police Department formed a task force responding to prostitution in 2007. CEW has led outreach to women selling sex and required attendance in a “john school” for men arrested for buying sex; the NGO has also worked with the district attorney to respond to local child sex trafficking. CEW is now allied with regional, national and movements fighting prostitution and trafficking. CEW participates in the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (real name), a global NGO targeting the commercial sexual exploitation of women and children. Valued Women, a project within CEW, targets women in prostitution.

CEW’s residential homes and groups are located in residential areas accessible on bus lines in three major areas of Madison and Verona/Fitchburg. They are also located strategically near high-prostitution areas, as in their drop-in program near the police station on South Side.

Secular Approach

CEW was first incorporated as a Joyful Peace resource center, a yoga-based global self-improvement and spiritual movement (pseudonym). As of the early 1980s when bylaws for Joyful Peace were filed, the goals were “to maintain a residential treatment facility to serve women with primary involvement in the criminal justice system.” The organization has been long known as CEW (not Joyful Peace).¹²² Now, CEW is clearly secular: there are no faith requirements and I am aware of no religious programs or personnel. They offer yoga, along with other programs.

Their secularity is closely related to their choice of funding sources. In the period in which they became active, before charitable choice and the faith-based initiatives, receiving state funds required secular programming. Kravetz reports CEW was founded with funds from LEAA (the preceding agency before federal Department of Justice’s Office of Justice Assistance) and that CEW received nearly all their funding from public sources early on (2004). CEW still relies heavily on Wisconsin DOC and the federal Bureau of Prisons funds for beds, as an interview respondent reported to me.

Citizenship

The approach to citizenship at CEW stresses women’s rights to access programs and resources that address their needs. As I learned in my interview with a social worker at CEW, Wendy Jones, this approach is also framed as “empower[ing] the woman” to take positive

¹²² The local chapter of the “Joyful Peace” website explains: “Joyful Peace has been involved with a number of service projects in our area over the years since ... this yoga group first started in Madison. Later in that same decade a preschool... and an alternative to incarceration for women offenders, CEW, were opened by members of our local group. While [the preschool] is gone, CEW has since grown to a major community resource for women and children. They now run 12 innovative programs ...”

control over her life decisions. Service provision has been central since its founding: archival materials describe that its early goal was to provide “services aimed at changing the destructive life styles and reintegrating women into the community.” A 1992 brochure advertising the Valued Women program explained services focus on “issues that lead to the behavior of prostitution,” including abusive relationships, under-employment, low self-esteem, sexual abuse, and drug addiction. The brochure emphasizes that behaviors can change. Indeed, CEW aims to encourage women’s redefinition of their selves through treatment.

CEW approaches women as having the right to overcome barriers to get services, thus constructing women first as people who need gender-specific services. In discussing women’s inability to access or complete treatment, the NGO discusses “barriers,” or factors that delay treatment, employment, and self-sufficiency. For example, current written materials state:

Each participant receives an individualized plan. Amended schedules are completed for participants facing barriers and particularly difficult situations in order to allow them to continue treatment in a way that meets their needs.

In this usage, barriers refer to forces or circumstances blocking necessary treatment. CEW also understands women’s resource deficiencies (lack of housing or childcare) as barriers. The core values state that CEW’s “programs will assist in addressing the number one barrier for women to recovery in Dane County – long-term, safe, permanent housing.” Further, CEW identifies lack of treatment for mental health issues as a barrier, specifically the “co-occurring trauma issues which can destabilize participation in treatment/employment.”

Staff frame untreated needs as the most urgent problem, as they impede women’s abilities to work. Only once a woman is stable in terms of drug abuse or mental health needs can she become a labor market participant. Labor market participation certainly figures into goals for participants; materials frequently describe that women can become “gainfully employed,” or gain

“employability,” “economic self-sufficiency,” and an “economically viable lifestyle for mother and infant.” However, treatment is more pressing, to CEW.¹²³ In particular, treatment offered at CEW was designed to situate women to do better, less degrading work. This suggests that CEW’s message is that a corrective is needed because sex work is mainly the *wrong* kind of work.

Approach to Gender

CEW’s continual work with women as sex workers, mothers, and substance abusers, among other roles, draws heavily on social work. As Wendy Jones, an MSW, emphasized, CEW takes a “strengths-based approach” by seeing women as potentially offering skills or gifts rather than merely as law-breakers to be punished. She also stressed that CEW follows a “self-in-relation model” which defines the self via core relationships, and is based on the view that women are relational.¹²⁴ The agency’s website emphasizes the effectiveness of their use of “women-specific elements” in response to alcohol and drug abuse. In the current mission statement, CEW explicitly aligns itself with a move toward “gender-responsiveness.” CEW’s mission stresses what is known as a harm reduction model: an approach understanding that a “zero tolerance” or abstinence expectation for stopping substance is impractical.

The way CEW refers to its clients as “women” who receive needed services, along with advocacy around particular issues (notably prostitution and drug use). The professionalized nature of CEW’s interventions are especially clear in the Valued Women program. An

¹²³ Therapeutic and medical interventions are not the only ones that CEW offers, though they appear to be the predominant form of services. Through Valued Women, the agency offers phones for making appointments, food pantry and donated clothing, a space to make meals and hold meetings, as-needed transportation assistance, and limited financial assistance for license or GED fees.

¹²⁴ This terminology is associated with the Wellesley Center for Women and its emphasis on “women’s ways of knowing.”

application for continuation of support by their city and county in 2013-2014 explains that services are designed for “building self-worth, awareness, empowerment and pride in accomplishments by offering viable alternatives to prostitution in order to build healthier lives.”¹²⁵ Valued Women includes counseling options: individualized planning; twice weekly counseling for at minimum six months (with options specific to particular needs like addiction); and group counseling and support.

Like all the secular NGOs, CEW was established before the charitable choice and faith-based initiatives. In this case, a secular identity developed around state-funded service provision for their target population, justice-involved women. It can be otherwise: secular NGOs need not be professionalized (Matthews 1994; 1995). However, all the secular NGOs I examine resemble CEW in this way.

JOURNEY TO STABLE WORK

Journey to Stable Work (JSW) is an NGO doing religiously inspired work which has ties to pre-release prisons, interfaith organizing networks, and religiously inspired NGOs through Southern Wisconsin. Their vision of citizenship is based on workers who overcome barriers of employment discrimination and industrial restructuring. This construction approaches men and women as relatively interchangeable breadwinners. However, men, especially black men, seem to be imagined as the primary clients.

¹²⁵ This application states CEW responds to the multiple issues women face (poverty, homelessness, incarceration, sexual assault, and domestic violence), based on research from a wide range of areas: criminal justice, diversion programs, motivational approaches, trauma, case management, domestic violence, and sexual exploitation. These materials explain their approach is also guided by research on issues facing women in prostitution specifically: poverty, chemical dependency, childhood sexual abuse, sexual assault, and homelessness, incarceration, lack of job skills, PTSD, care-taking responsibilities, HIV, and other health needs.

Institutional and Community Location

I became connected to JSW through an advocacy organization for fathers. JSW formed in the early 1980s through Grace Alone Church and the NGO Mary Magdalene (discussed below). JSW later located to its current site within a larger social service center, which is accessible to pedestrians. The building is in a residential area in a very poor, heavily black neighborhood that has many visibly abandoned buildings and incurs nearly a fifth of Milwaukee's raze orders each year. The JSW parking lot is separated from the street by a fence. An advertisement for volunteers at a local university recommends that students drive, not walk, to JSW at night.

Some of JSW's multiple institutional ties to religious organizations are through one of the founders, Reverend Bill Jayne. This renowned Lutheran pastor has led organizing efforts around civil rights and prison activist issues and is still active with JSW. Rev. Jayne is in a leadership role in Wisconsin for Justice, interfaith, congregation-based organizing network, and in its area chapter, Milwaukee for Justice (pseudonyms).¹²⁶ This organizing connects JSW to Dane County NGOs. Rev. Jayne has worked with Heart to Heart's leader, Leon, a leader in Madison for Justice. Rev. Jayne also noted that some ideas from Madison, specifically Social Justice, Inc., have spread to JSW, including using a small circle as a supportive group around a formerly incarcerated person.

JSW also maintains institutional ties to the DOC's pre-release centers (prisons). Rev Jayne reported that there is one JSW employee working at Milwaukee Women's Correctional Center (which opened in 2003) who does wraparound referral. Because some pre-release work coordinators have only sent people to what Jayne called "dead-end jobs," he said that JSW

¹²⁶ As Rev. Jayne explained, Milwaukee for Justice has used a succession of strategies to respond to drugs in Milwaukee: vigils at drug houses to try to shut them down, efforts to reduce the drug market, and finally advocacy for funding for treatment programs instead of prisons.

picked up the slack through their job counseling. Rev. Jayne also described using the Milwaukee Women's Correctional Center for recruiting JSW participants.¹²⁷

Approach to Religion: Inspired by Faith

JSW has no requirement that participants partake in faith activities or hold particular beliefs, but maintains some involvement with faith leaders, volunteers, and congregations. Faith first came up in my conversation with Barry, a staff member who runs a weekly, two hour Employability Class. Barry explained that his class covers finance, employment, politics, and spirituality. I asked him what he meant by spirituality and he replied that they discuss “something bigger than religion.” He said, “We break down religion and discuss harmony.” He shared the origins of the organization at Grace Alone Church, located two miles away, where the organization first operated for a few years.

Rev. Jayne, a former Grace Alone pastor, later explained that JSW began when the social ministry committee assessed the needs in the community in the early 1980s.¹²⁸ Although Rev. Jayne said not many people are volunteering from Grace Alone now, he said some volunteers work as members of the board or for JSW’s annual fundraiser and event.

Of those Grace Alone congregants that do continue to volunteer, a major area of activity is in recruitment of people to participate in JSW programs in the pre-release prisons.¹²⁹ From this

¹²⁷ An emerging tie to the state not discussed here is the organization’s recent involvement in a city-wide marriage/healthy relationship program sponsored by the federal Department of Health and Human Services. TANF-eligible families are especially targeted, with singles welcome alongside couples.

¹²⁸ Although he did not recall their involvement in our interviews, the organization’s website mentions the joint role of Mary Magdalene (an organization I also identify as religiously inspired) in founding JSW.

¹²⁹ He said it has gotten harder over 30 years to volunteer at the DOC’s pre-release centers. One issue many respondents discussed is the state’s fraternization rules, which limit contact of the same volunteers at prisons with people once they are released.

introduction, they are able to send six to eight women in a van to JSW to use computers, work on resumes, and do job search. He said they also develop relationships for the AODA program this way. Another area of religious activity at JSW occurs when Rev. Jayne escorts prisoners about to be released to church services and programs, though this does not as clearly link to JSW.¹³⁰

Vision of Citizenship: Workers Overcoming Barriers

The predominant approach to clients at JSW is as workers: people who want and deserve to be hired in meaningful work regardless of their criminal record. For example, a newsletter described the JSW's Employment Readiness program for "ex-offenders" as seeking help people "step by step, to get a job that will provide them with a living wage" for participants to develop confidence to be "healthy member of society and the best they can be." However, JSW identifies what is blocking this goal of "ex-offender" employment as "barriers" or "blocks." They recognize that these barriers include rules (difficulty and delay accessing driver's licenses after prison) and discriminatory hiring practices. Other barriers they recognize are related to the attributes of their clients: low educational attainment, limited work history, limited leads, and a criminal record. Therefore the vision of citizenship is in regaining of rights, especially in the workplace, which enable meaningful employment.

Discrimination against their clients was a concern to Reverend Jayne, who told me with what I perceived as some anger that many returning prisoners get temp jobs only as long as employers can get a benefit from the state DOC. He described a program that rewards employers for three months of DOC client employment:

¹³⁰ Every couple of weeks, Rev. Jayne and his wife to pick up four men in the morning for a class at his current ELCA church. He said they join a group of 12-25 people in a group Sunday mornings in the central city.

The companies get a perk even if the employee isn't permanent. They will be fired on the 89th day or 90th day.¹³¹ It's discriminatory, but there are many reasons not to contest it. What they need are jobs.

He further explained that employers make worse a situation in which there are not even enough spots for prisoners to go to select pre-release prisons and participate in work release.

Barry explained additional difficulties based on race and conviction type. He said there is a "cesspool of barriers in Milwaukee, especially for black men." This is particularly so for people convicted of sex offenses, whom many NGOs will not work with. He said that JSW does not discriminate in this way; they also work with people with convictions for drugs, murder, and burglary. In his work, he said he relies more heavily on sending people toward temp work if drugs and robbery were convictions.

Barry discussed raising the issue of discrimination consciously in his employability class. He said, overall, the message he tries to send is: "Stay involved. Even though you can't vote, still pay attention." For example, he said he encourages "ex-offenders" in the class to fight bills like Madison's proposed legislation at that time to prohibit hiring felons in the school systems. He said he wants to let people know: "you do have rights after a certain time. Be informed of anything going to affect you as ex-offenders."

This political engagement Barry said he encourages is notably geared toward the employment sector. Yet the directly oppositional work of JSW seems limited. When I asked about litigation, Barry said they avoid lawsuits. Barry explained that JSW advocates for social

¹³¹ The implication was employers stretch the employment as long as the benefit to them holds, and not a day longer. The Department of Corrections CCEP program provides employers with bonding for a limited time period. There are multiple programs and so, multiple lengths of time; it depends on what training is offered, if they are a non-profit, and more factors.

justice, but that they are a non-profit that is not pushing for a suit. He said they leave that to Milwaukee for Justice.¹³²

Barry also situated these barriers to work in the recent industrial history in this area of Milwaukee. He said that in the 1980s and 1990s there had been AO Smith and Tower.¹³³ Then, “A man could work.” However, now:

In the new Milwaukee, assembly is overseas. There’s more service, advanced skills [required] with machinery. [People have gotten] no transition from industrial to technical jobs. People are stuck in the middle.

In addition to industrial restructuring, he described the loss of resources that left the area with the loss of Opportunities Industrialization Center of Greater Milwaukee (OIC, about a mile away). OIC was Milwaukee’s largest W-2 provider, founded in 1967 as a community training and development corporation for low-income residents. OIC was audited and had major financial problems as well as a kickback scandal tied to a politician, resulting its closure. Barry described JSW as contributing to “filling the void” for the (very large) North Side without OIC.

Approach to Gender

As Barry’s description of better days on the North Side illustrates, the economic restructuring has particularly impacted men (“a man could work”), as has discrimination against African Americans with criminal convictions (“cesspools... especially for black men”). Implied in both is a model of breadwinning worker-citizens, who are imagined as black men in his description.

¹³² When I interviewed staff at another NGO, Mary Magdalene, and said my impression was that JSW was active on issues of civil rights, the director said she did not agree.

¹³³ These were businesses that closed: AO Smith in 1997 and its successor, Tower Automotive 2006, which at the time employed 6500 people Wexler, Evan. 2013. "Milwaukee’s industrial past." Pp. 1 in *Frontline*. Boston, MA: PBS; WGBH.

I observed that JSW generally approaches workers in their written materials as both men and women. In describing workforce readiness, the JSW materials make no distinction by gender. A newsletter states: “Often these men and women have spotty work histories, which may be a barrier to some employers. Sometimes they lack a high school education...” Materials state that, through one job-readiness group, “these men and women are able to create an effective sales pitch for themselves based upon their own strengths and experiences.”

The approach to program participants as gender-neutral seems to apply to job-readiness. However, in programs that go beyond employability and job counseling, the NGO acknowledges gender differences. For example, JSW offers a program that focuses specifically on manhood and men’s roles in relationships. The program was originally called a fatherhood group, and was later renamed the “manhood focus group” to include a wider group of clients. Malcolm, the director of JSW, explained the choice to include some men-only programs to a student researcher doing a screening call. Having women in the groups tends to inflame men’s chauvinism, he said. Malcolm explained that the men at JSW who have chauvinistic attitudes toward women become more boisterous, because having a woman in the group threatens them. Thus, Malcom sees the result as negative for everyone. Meanwhile, a program was designed for women at JSW. This weekly support group does not merely deal with job-related issues.

This design suggests that JSW views gender as relatively unimportant for the labor market, or that men and women should be approached interchangeably as workers. In other words, women should be treated “like men” regarding employment matters: as labor market participants. Such a liberal construction of a citizen is consistent with Barry’s depiction of the worker as a family breadwinner. This design suggests that when topics go beyond the labor market (i.e., parenting), recognition of gender differences matters to JSW.

Reverend Jayne explains his involvement in the organization through the broader arc of his faith-based organizing. He described “walking with” prisoners whom he seeks to recruit to JSW. However, faith (broadly understood as spirituality) is only one part of programming that Barry described, and does not involve religious expectations for participants.

The most consistent aspect of its founding through Grace Alone is that Journey to Stable Work still seeks to be responsive to the community where it is located. JSW’s construction of people with criminal convictions as deserving both resources and the means to make a living through work occurs in a particular context: for multiple reasons, their community has lost the opportunity to keep its residents employed. JSW emphasizes a right to workforce participation as defining citizenship, and thus they seek to shape worker/breadwinners. Their uses of faith ideas make JSW similar to Ministry of St. Peter and All Our Sisters, two other religiously inspired NGOs in Milwaukee that offer job-readiness classes through soft skill training.

ST. MATTHEW HOUSE

At St. Matthew House, a reciprocally religious NGO, the meaning of citizenship is heavily based in ideas about obedience and serving God’s word. This meaning is practically applied through staff and volunteers’ encouragement of particular kinds of relationships of mentorship and of serving within in the family. The approach to “residents” at SMH is heavily gendered and geared toward creating marriageable men and women. Recruitment is enacted in a heavily racialized setting: primarily black residents are recruited in inner city Milwaukee and primarily white volunteers are recruited in suburban Milwaukee.

Institutional and Community Location

The Large Suburban Evangelical Christian Church (LSECC) is among the largest 100 churches in the U.S. and has a reported 7,000 attendees each week. SMH has close ties with LSECC: both director Jake¹³⁴ and staff member Tara have been missionaries from the church to Milwaukee, and Jake holds a high rank within LSECC's membership. LSECC is founded on core ideas about the discipleship of believers and is embedded in an even larger network of evangelical churches in Eastern Wisconsin. LSECC is nearly 20 miles from the St. Matthew House site.¹³⁵

Reciprocally Religious Approach

Jake explained during an interview that St. Matthew House gets the mandate or “marching orders” for what they are supposed to do from the Great Commission. This portion of *Matthew* 28 calls them to create missions to make disciples of all nations.¹³⁶ Jake stressed the importance of obedience and serving when he explained his view that the Bible is meta-narrative for life, and the narrative says, “we obey.” When people are saved, he explained that people’s “natural reaction” is to serve, not to simply pay back debt owed, which is impossible, or to “get right with Him,” which is not in itself the goal, “to have joy in obedience, to become changed

¹³⁴ He describes himself as a pastor, usually alongside another self-description that is humorous and self-deprecating, though he said he has no formal religious schooling.

¹³⁵ Another longstanding member of LSECC running a mission in Milwaukee is Henry, whom I met through the *Matthew* 25 network. Henry said that he believes many white suburbanites in this church are afraid of the city without understanding it. So, Henry leads bus tours so suburbanites can see for themselves and decide whether they still want themselves and/or (for husbands) their wives to stay away.

¹³⁶ He said in *Matthew* 28:19, there is instruction to be with the Holy Spirit and to give all authority to me (God) and to be disciples of all nations. The key portion is: “go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them... and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you” (*Matthew* 28: 19-20). Jake told me this same conversation is reflected by Luke in *Acts* 1:8 from Luke’s perspective—“be my witnesses... to all ends of the Earth.”

through obedience.” Obedience to God allows the transformation of those who serve through humility, in this view. One can “live the kingdom life” through humility, and part of the kingdom life is citizenship in heaven for those obedient to God’s word. Jake told me that through faith, people get citizenship as a gift, and that citizenship and being saved can be congruent mandates.¹³⁷

One way SMH encourages its staff, volunteers, and residents to carry out their mandate to serve is acting as a religious mentor. I observed that mentorships were set up through reciprocal relationships, in which residents met with volunteers on a regular basis. Mentor meetings are a key way SMH leads residents to see the relevance of Biblical teachings, along with nearly daily required classes and informal drop-in meetings with staff. Although residents were not (in my knowledge) required to immediately become mentors, the model is one in which mentees eventually become mentors.

Citizenship and Gender at a Volunteer Recruitment Event

Jake’s discussion of family and romantic relationships at a volunteer recruitment at LSECC reveals the gendered meaning of citizenship through membership in family and religious community. On many Sundays, LSECC congregants involved in missions share an overview of their work for about an hour. The event is meant to educate fellow congregants and recruit volunteers. On stage were two white men (the director, Jake and Bill, another staff member); one black woman (Diane, a former resident, now staff), and two residents: a white woman who spoke

¹³⁷ The most topical passage is Philippians 3:20–21: “But our citizenship is in heaven. And we eagerly await a Savior from there, the Lord Jesus Christ who, by the power that enables him to bring everything under his control, will transform our lowly bodies so that they will be like his glorious body” (New International Version). This seems most consistent with the idea of eternal citizenship waiting in heaven as a right for those who believe, also discussed by Kevin O’Neill (2009).

very little and a black man (Lance). The people on stage either directly spoke to the audience or allowed Jake to speak about them to the audience. The recruitment event audience appeared almost entirely white to me.

Most of the attention during the presentation was on Jake, Bill, and Lance. Jake had drawn explicit attention to Lance's race, and implicit attention to Lance's gender and sexuality, when he Jake introduced him by saying, "Lance is smooth. All of us, we're White and we're not smooth, but he's smoooooth." I learned that Lance had only been at St. Matthew House a couple of months, having turned away from his "old hustling lifestyle." I learned Lance had spent nearly a third of his near 40 years in prison for drug-related offenses, and now earns \$8 per hour.

Toward the end of the discussion, Jake opened the floor to questions from the audience. An older white woman in the audience stood up and her voice shook nervously when she said she wanted to "ask a question that has been in my heart for a long time." She asked why so many black families she had encountered in her work as a nurse had no man that showed up at the hospital along with the others in the families. She said did she not think this was "what is supposed to be Christian."

In response, Jake praised her for her question and joked, "Do you have three or four years?" for him to answer, because the answer was long. He passed the microphone to Diane, the African American staff member and former resident. Her answer was, "it has developed over several generations" and that "the men have disappeared because of slavery or crime. Women have had to step up to being both parents." She described it as her choice to have been a single mother.

Jake did not reflect much there, rather proceeding to ask Lance more questions that brought up the subject of fatherhood. Jake asked Lance, "Do you know your father's name?"

Lance replied, “No.” Jake turned to the audience, saying, “It’s not that he didn’t spend enough time with him, didn’t get to see him—didn’t know his name.” Jake asked the larger group a question: “So, what do you think the chances are that he will be a good father in the absence of Christian people?” Some people in the audience answered quietly; it seemed the answer was supposed to be “low” or “none.” Jake stated that it is a problem that “the sexual aspect” of marriage has continued even though men are absent as fathers. He urged the audience to “see past his black culture” and see Lance is trying to find Jesus.

Citizenship

This interchange stressed two related forms of memberships through church and family. I learned Lance needed to be included in two kinds of families unlike any he had been included in before moving to SMH: fictive (through mentorship) and nuclear (through marriage). First, Jake stressed how important it is for Lance to be included in symbolic family through Christian mentorship. The setup of the event suggested it was one that volunteers could help support by becoming mentors; the expectation is that this time and energy will pay off as the mentor become useful for the group, finds their “gifts,” and perhaps takes on others as mentees.

Additionally, the presentation communicated that Lance needs to eventually be in a second kind of family: a nuclear family that church members see as morally acceptable. The harm attributed to Lance was that he was denied this as a child. It seemed to me that getting Lance ready to be in a marriage was to Jake just as an important part of redeeming him as assuring volunteers that he was seeking Jesus.

The Gendered Dimensions of Serving

The gendered dimensions of serving and membership in these institutions (church, family) were apparent in the discussion of romantic relationships that form the basis of family at the volunteer event. One lesson from this interchange was that men and women are seen as different and as completing one another within marriage and family.¹³⁸ This reflects a view much like the one the long-term LSECC pastor and his wife published as a magazine article, in which differentiated between the power of husbands and wives. They wrote: “A husband who is leading in a godly way expects his wife to follow the Lord to exercise her gifts. And a submissive wife gets on with it.” By talking about husband’s “leadership role” of family, the pastor and first lady idealized different roles and power positions for husbands and wives.

Similarly, this lesson that a morally acceptable Christian family is headed by a man, and is based on heterosexual marriage, became clear in Jake’s treatment of Diane as a single parent. Diane had said she had chosen to be a single parent. Jake did not ask her to explain more, and did not respond to her explanation pointing to slavery and crime in the prevalence of woman-headed households. The way he brushed aside Diane’s narrative and moved back to Lance to expose his fatherlessness was quite telling of the message that men-as-husbands and women-as-wives must complete one another; it suggests anything else is not an acceptable family.

A second gendered message from this interchange was that women may be viewed as the obstacles to forming Christian marriages. As Jake articulated the goal of getting Lance closer to marriage and family, he identified that “inner city” women’s sexual licentiousness as a reason

¹³⁸ This is a position also called complementarism and is discussed by several authors: Gallagher, Sally K. 2003. *Evangelical identity and gendered family life*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. Hill Collins, Patricia. 2004. *Black sexual politics : African Americans, gender, and the new racism*. New York: Routledge. Miles, Todd L. 2011. "A Prejudicial Treatment of the Issues: A Review of Carolyn Custis James' 'Half the Church: Recapturing God's Vision for Women'." *Journal for Biblical Manhood and Womanhood* (Fall):38-41.

why there is not Christian marriage for Lance, and the residents whom Lance symbolically represented. Jake identified a problem in the inner city as that many (implicitly stated: black) women would not make good wives. This remark echoes a stereotypical negative portrayal of African American women as immoral and as spreading immorality to African Americans broadly, which has been used to discredit black women (Giddings 1984). The racially implicit meaning of his statement is especially clear based on the social context, in which he brought two black residents and one white resident as examples before a white audience. This account placed the blame on (implicitly black) women's unsuitability for the fact that Lance was unmarried.

This characterization of inner city romantic relationships also reveals that SMH may be evaluating women as if they are less forgivable than men.¹³⁹ Jake was willing to consider Lance a desirable match for a Christian wife because he had left his immoral lifestyle. Perhaps to make a point about just how far Lance had come, Jake categorically presented most of the population of unmarried women in Milwaukee as not redeemable like Lance was. Jake did not acknowledge why women might regard a man with a hustling past, criminal record, drug and/or alcohol history, heavy prison time, and low wage earning as an undesirable husband.

This priority of making men marriageable came through in the presentation. When I attended a women's Bible study, I learned that guiding women residents toward Christian marriage is also a goal. However, this goal was not as emphasized in the volunteer recruitment.

SMH draws from select passages, as in the Great Commission, to justify its practices. As Jake called upon LSECC to provide volunteers, he presented ideas that would attract the community in which SMH is embedded. Using these ideas about mission and the right kinds of Christian obedience to attract volunteers requires signaling a particular, conventional line of

¹³⁹ I attended a women's Bible study that was focused on women's forgiveness and that anger is not love.

interpretation that is based on relatively rigid ideas about family and gender in romantic relationships.

CONCLUSION

These data make clear that it is crucial for researchers to attend to how NGO actors use faith as they work with formerly incarcerated people. Looking for forms of control by the state, feminist penologists have overlooked the role of faith in bringing meaning to former prisoners' experiences, including at NGOs that have developed in opposition to state involvement. Following the relevance of religion at program sites should be especially salient for feminist penologists concerned with how gender operates in programs for criminalized people. I have highlighted the constructed and institutionally situated meanings and uses of faith, drawing on the sociology of religion. This approach is highly complementary with work in penology revealing gendered ideas and practices about current and former prisoners in specific penal institutions (Karp 2010; Sabo, Kupers and London 2001; Watterson 1996).

The inductive typology I offer has contributed to the understanding of how people actually use religion in post-release settings. This approach moves past a binary distinction between faith-based and secular groups, and recognizes that faith can be activated in contextually specific and fluid ways. Along with the closer analysis of three cases, this typology also allows examining the role of faith in ways sensitive to NGOs' institutional locations. The ways organizations are positioned within communities are related to their mandates that are valued in these communities, and to the setting of expectations or shared ideas at program settings. This typology also allowed me to identify clusters of NGOs with common attributes in their incorporation activities, relationship with the penal state, and approaches to faith.

In the analysis of the three NGOs, I identified that practices and ideas related to faith, citizenship, and gender occur together in patterned ways. Gender was relevant to the ways the NGOs activated faith, by staying away (CEW), by using it guiding principles (JSW), by using it to shape expectations of obligations to one another as neighbors, romantic partners and in mentoring relationships (SMH), and as a means to recruit church volunteers and attendees (SMH, JSW). Further, I found that the ways in which the three NGOs approached ex-prisoners as citizens was gendered in the NGOs' discussion of treatment (CEW), employment (JSW), and membership in a religious community (SMH).

Based on literature on citizenship reviewed in the introduction (Chapter 1), I had expected ideas and practices to be gendered particularly when related to sexuality, romantic relationships, parenting, and work. Not only did this occur, but I also found significant variation in how and where this became clear across the three cases. Further, I see ideas about race as heavily involved in the construction of gender, faith, and citizenship in these three NGOs. While this co-construction is not surprising given the work of Evelyn Glenn on the racial and gendered aspects of citizenship in American history (2000; 2002), thinking about how this is so at sites specifically for criminalized people that engage faith pushes both the sociology of religion and feminist penology in new directions. I note some ways I observe this co-construction for each NGO.

At CEW, the justification of outreach to women as clients who are entitled to needed services is in terms of gender-difference, and is framed in terms of gender-specific needs, economic positioning, and sexuality. In making claims about women's needs, this approach risks marginalizing other forms of differences as less relevant than a seemingly universal idea of what issues criminalized women should be experiencing (Lawston 2009).

By invoking “women” as a universal category, this kind of approach can limit, rather than empower, women whose primary allegiance is not to other women, but to another group (Scott 2005; Websdale 2005), and can marginalize women and even worsen their problems (Crenshaw 1994; Crenshaw 1998 [1989]; Maidment 2006b). However, my evidence of how this marginalization may be occurring in program settings is speculative, as I did not observe a program session.

CEW’s materials do not explicitly discuss race, even as CEW engages in activities on Madison’s heavily African American South Side. Rather, they refer to their approach as seeking to build a “culturally competent environment” with regard to their activities, programs, and materials, as well as seeking to be “responsive to gender, culture and age.” To the extent race and culture are being equated, this approach risks coding purported problems that are stereotypically associated with racial and ethnic groups as *cultural* problems (Kennelly 1999).

It is striking that CEW’s materials stress using cutting edge techniques such as forms of trauma-informed care and keeping up with the most current research, but not building accountability in the communities where they deliver services. The lists of programmatic acronyms through their materials suggests that they see themselves as most accountable to communities of trained practitioners and to funders, rather than to people without specialized education trying to understand what they do and exactly how it is “culturally competent.”

At JSW, the approach to gender and citizenship presents a different form of women’s marginalization. Programs are designed in terms of gender-neutral job-readiness, yet their forte and unwritten emphasis seems to be improving the work opportunities of men who cannot be hired. Certainly, Reverend Jayne is concerned with recruiting women and their job-readiness, but it seems women are included more incidentally.

Non-recognition of differences, here along gender lines, can also lead marginalization of a separate variety than a CEW. A critique of this kind of gender-neutral approach is that symbolic, institutional erasure of differences based on gender marginalizes women, who may be regarded as bad or deviant men (Fraser 1995; Lorde 1995 [1980]). Denying differences between women and men has many consequences, including invalidating women's concerns (Korteweg 2006). Treating women like men may also ignore the way women, compared to men, experience different socialization or paths into and out of offending (Carbone-Lopez and Kruttschnitt 2010; Richie 1996; Sudbury 2002).

My evidence of this kind of marginalization occurring at JSW is somewhat speculative, as I did not observe programs at this NGO. Of particular note was when staff treated women's sexuality as making them distracting to men in a mixed-gender setting, and responded by removing the women. Meanwhile, the discussions of African American men, the implicit North side job seekers in Milwaukee, seemed to bracket African American women as job-seekers, suggesting they are not who JSW has in mind.

Finally, I saw SMH diverge from JSW's driving goal of creating worker-citizens. This was especially clear when I observed Jake refused the request of a woman residing at the house for assistance purchasing a uniform for a job. Jake explained that this response was meant to be an exercise in teaching money management. His response to her request (which he summarized for me) also communicated that getting women into jobs is not SMH's prime concern.¹⁴⁰ SMH further communicates specific ideas about men and women's responsibilities: men need fathers to develop adequate manhood, and women endanger men through their lack of adequacy as Christian partners.

¹⁴⁰ I did not observe a similar request by a man to compare his response.

The discussion of African American women at the volunteer event for SMH made clear that to Jake, the women of Milwaukee were promiscuous and the men (minus Lance) were hustlers. This depiction was placed in a moral framework: both are immoral and antithetical to what a Christian family should be. He did not rather place “inner city” women in an economic framework, in contrast to CEW, which understood quite well that sex work is a means to economic survival.

The denial of recognition of the extreme economic deprivation was striking here, and resonates with Haney’s description in *Offending Women* (2010). In an alternative-to prison-program, staff marginalized inmates by denying the importance of their economic disadvantage. Staff prevented the women from working in order to focus on their treatment. Haney discusses how staff members’ blindness to the urgency of women’s poverty was destructive when income was the key to areas of their lives in which they need to reestablish themselves (Haney 2010).

This analysis presents a first step to understanding faith, citizenship, and gender, and potentially also race, as elective affinities. While all three NGOs work with women and include them in some way, there are indications that women were not fully and actively welcomed. Each approach to gender that I observed in these settings is potentially a source of invitation as well as closure. These forms of inclusion, however limited, were constructed in ways particular within each setting, in ways that correspond to the community within which each NGO was embedded.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The study examines a wide field of services for ex-offenders, not only famous programs receiving earmarked “prisoner reentry” funds. By offering information about the NGO field and how it is organized, the dissertation has provided a layout of this area of services in terms of practices. It is not clear from current literature what a “prisoner reentry organization” means. I operationalize a definition of a post-release service NGO, which I define widely in terms of post-release services and care and a focus on formerly incarcerated people in mission.

I have shown that the idea of a “prisoner reentry organization” is too limited for several reasons, including that it is rare to find an NGO that only serves people who were incarcerated in prison. I found that whether people with criminal records have been to state or federal prison or jail (or none of these) was not important to all providers. Yet it was important to policy-makers, as the earmarked public funding sources from the Wisconsin Department of Corrections, U.S. Bureau of Prisons, and U.S. Department of Labor I examined most closely are allocated on this basis. Private funders were perhaps even less concerned with this distinction in the incarceration histories of clients. Rather, they attributed issues associated with incarceration to broader characteristics of neighborhoods and people they deemed problematic.¹⁴¹

In focusing on NGOs that deliver direct services, the study also recognizes that the ways NGOs do services and care is not necessarily compensated with earmarked reentry funds from

¹⁴¹ The Bradley Foundation seems to collapse welfare and prison together as opposites of self-sufficiency. The Casey Foundation seems to recognize need for parents’ mobility out of poverty for sake of children’s well-being, in very poor and high-reentry areas (some of their funding is particular to formerly incarcerated people, though rhetoric is much broader; their point of entry is with adults as a means to address their concern about poor children) 2010d. “The Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation 2009 Annual Report.” Milwaukee, WI: The Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, 2012c. “Jane Bradley Pettit Foundation: Letter from the Board.” Milwaukee, Bice, Daniel, Bill Glauber, and Ben Poston. 2011. “From Local Roots, Bradley Foundation Builds Conservative Empire.” Pp. 1 in *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*. Milwaukee, WI. 2012a. “The Annie E. Casey Foundation: Mission and History.”, Mills, Linda. 2008. “What Shall We Then Do? An Interdenominational Guide and Kit for Creating Healing Communities.” Annie E. Casey Foundation.

policy initiatives, as in the case of most visible or famous programs or NGOs. I deliberately take a broad approach rather than conducting evaluation or description of NGOs sharing one funder (U.S. Department of Labor 2007; Young, Taxman and Byrne 2002). This approach follows research on the fields of homeless services or feminist rape crisis center organizations, rather than the best endowed or most prominent organizations in these fields (Esparza 2007; Matthews 1994; Matthews 1995; Noy 2009). A wide scope allows me to examine NGO work made possible through privatization (with state funds) and responsabilization (without state funds), and the relation of this work to policy goals.

CONTRIBUTIONS

The operational definition and larger methodological approach I take enables several contributions: highlighting the importance of a regional approach, examining gendered work, stressing the relevance of faith at NGO settings, and uncovering variation in NGOs along multiple dimensions.

Regional Focus

My approach has drawn attention to the importance of regional patterns in NGO and policy responses to people leaving prison. My approach has allowed consideration of the NGO sector as a reflection of religious, social movement, and culturally specific groups that have been active in the area. The study also demonstrates the importance of examining the post-release incorporation process in varied size cities within this region. Many studies have focused on high-reentry ZIP codes in high density cities that are located in very populous regions, much more like Milwaukee. Not every prisoner returns to Baltimore, New York City, or Detroit, or large cities

on which previous reentry research has focused (Harding, Morenoff and Herbert 2013; Morenoff, Harding and Cooter 2009; Venkatesh et al. 2007; Visher, La Vigne and Travis 2004). These are not all the kinds of places that people are returning to after incarceration; people also return in to medium and smaller sized cities and rural areas (Wodahl 2006). By including Dane County in the analysis, the study draws attention to how prisoner incorporation looks and operates in smaller cities.¹⁴²

Attention to Gender and Faith

This study is the first comparison of multiple religious NGOs' gendered work with criminalized women. I have examined a broader array of NGO sites where formerly incarcerated women are served than previous research has reported. Feminist penological studies have especially focused on women-only programs that are secular, including through studies of programs outside of prisons (Bumiller 2013; Goodkind 2009; McKim 2008), in community-based prisons (Haney 2010), and in more traditional prisons (McCorkel 2013).¹⁴³ However, I find that the NGO sites I examine do not typically look like this; women are served in many programs still predominantly thought of as for men, where women are a minority.

¹⁴² With California's new "realignment" policy (non-non-non's on supervision), a whole state, with rural and urban centers of many sizes, is experiencing the return of prisoners or people now diverted from prisons Welsh, Megan. 2015. "How women and front-line workers manage the bureaucratic process of prisoner reentry in post-Realignment California." New York: CUNY Graduate Center, John Jay College of Criminal Justice.

¹⁴³ Feminist criminological studies address such programs through interviews of criminalized women Miller, Elanor M. 1986. *Street Woman*. Philadelphia Temple University Press, Richie, Beth. 2001. "Challenges incarcerated women face as they return to their communities: Findings from life history interviews." *Crime & Delinquency* 47(3):368-89, Rumpf, Cesraéa. 2014. "Seeing the State: Women, Incarceration, and Social Marginality." Pp. TBD in *Department of Sociology*. Chicago, IL: Loyola University of Chicago, Welsh, Megan. 2015. "How women and front-line workers manage the bureaucratic process of prisoner reentry in post-Realignment California." New York: CUNY Graduate Center, John Jay College of Criminal Justice.

In particular, this study reveals the importance of religious NGOs for understanding how gender is managed in this field. Researchers have not deeply examined the way religious work (and not only secular work) is gendered in its approach to criminalized women. This is a contribution to feminist and critical penology, which have mainly focused on secular settings. Although I take a different approach from Chez Rumpf, who interviewed women attending religious programs (Rumpf 2014), I join her in analyzing ways that frontline staff use faith as a strategy to manage criminalized people's morality.

This study also differentiates between many ways of activating faith that are not limited to a faith-based/secular binary or to denomination. This approach advances the study of post-release work among sociologists of religion and feminist penologists alike. As Green suggests (2013) and this study affirms, researchers are behind the curve in realizing the importance of evangelicals in particular in shaping the field of correctional policy and programs. As I have shown, the presence of evangelical Protestants and many other denominations is not only important because of particular dogmatic beliefs, but also, more importantly, because of the institutionally particular kinds of relationships, practices, and communities that come with their participation.

I have also illuminated variation in how NGOs approach program participants, including examining the co-construction of ideas about faith, gender, citizenship, and race. By asking what NGOs do with gender, along with other categories important to them, this study also moves past a reductive view of gender in terms of merely explains recidivism or desistance. Rather, of more concern in is the gendered processes through which policy-makers and NGO staff intervene in the lives of clients. Further, my approach allows moving past an approach seeing work with women as either "gender-responsive" or not. One way I do this is by examining the "elective

affinity” between gender, religion, and citizenship ideas and practices at particular NGOs (Chapter 5).

Highlighting NGO Variation

A further contribution of my approach has been to highlight variation in NGOs by offering typologies to characterize and compare this work in this region. These typologies can be extended and their applicability assessed beyond Southern Wisconsin. The typological contributions are significant, considering that research on “reentry” has focused heavily on individual experiences, while critical penological research on the “reintegration industry” or “Reentry, Inc.” has focused on the threat of co-optation at NGOs. Researchers have generally not well documented or appreciated the variation of this field or the payoffs of that plurality for communities into which NGOs can invite ex-prisoners. I particularly highlight variation in four areas: in ways intervening in the lives of their program participants; in funding relationships; in the uses of faith; and in the communities or institutional locations in which NGOs are embedded.

Forms of intervention. I have highlighted variation in how NGOs carrying out state policy goals, or moving beyond them, through their activities. This approach allows me to demonstrate that the field is not limited to what I call classic reentry NGOs, which approach ex-prisoners citizenship in a limited way which converges with state reentry policy goals. Additionally, I draw attention to what I term broader incorporation NGOs operating to the left and right of policy (Chapter 3).

Funding relationships. Variation in their relationships with the penal state via engaging in or resisting hierarchical funding relationships). I have also illuminated that while there are the type of NGOs that penologists have described as “satellite states,” or NGOs seen to be

coordinating with or orbiting around penal state and law enforcement in a co-opted way (many of whom are indeed these “classic reentry” NGOs), the field is not limited to these NGOs (Chapter 4). I demonstrate the presence of what I term satellite seeking NGOs, conversants and advocates and NGOs opposed to state involvement; these types of NGOs have largely been missing from critical penological discussions of what NGOs doing post-release work do. They have quite different kinds of relationships with penal state actors, and present alternative approaches to incorporation.

Uses of faith. I have illuminated the varied ways NGOs use faith, with or without state funding, and in different ways. I have demonstrated that NGOs are not merely secular as most feminist and critical penological analyses of prisons and post-prison programs have described (but see Flores 2013; Miller 2014; Rumpf 2014). While some organizations do treat faith loosely and as optional for staff, volunteers, and program participants to take or leave (Gillum 2008; Miller 2014), I demonstrate that other NGOs hold specific religious expectations of staff, volunteers, and program participants. Such NGOs are also “opposed to state involvement” and right-leaning “broader incorporation” NGOs that have been missing from discussions about what post-release work involves.

Community and institutional locations. Variation in the range of communities into which NGOs can invite ex-prisoners. Through descriptions of NGO locations, settings, goals, and in some cases, histories, I have offered a tangible look at variously defined communities in which NGOs are situated. When they lack close community environments, I have described the institutional arrangements that characterize the NGOs.

LIMITATIONS, FUTURE DIRECTIONS, AND POLICY PROPOSALS

Discussion of post-release sites as “carceral grey spaces” that reproduce the controlling conditions of prison is a concern of critical penologists (Kilty and DeVellis 2010). Because I did not observe programs at every site, I am unable in my design to report on routine, everyday practices from within all the sites. Where I was able to take tours and observe routine interactions, I did observe occasional instances of threats of punishment at sites in mundane forms (like a whiteboard tracking rule infractions for “SWEARING” at Community Environment for Women). However, it is possible that these punitive elements were a more important part of daily life than I saw. These micro-level interactions were beyond my purview at sites where I was not able to do observations because of the logistical limitations of the project.

I am also unable to report experiences from the perspectives of program participants. An important question that person-level data would illuminate is how people who participate in programs become variously engaged in the communities to which NGOs are connected; compared to non-incarcerated program participants, how do previously incarcerated program participants experience membership in communities? The ideal design to address these questions would pair program-level and person-level data; meanwhile, other data collection approaches enable reporting on such events in more detail.¹⁴⁴

To further understand NGOs’ importance and scope, we would benefit from data on how many ex-prisoners have contact with NGOs, whether these interactions are required or voluntary,

¹⁴⁴ See Kaufman, Rumpf and Kaiser’s 2014 working paper, drawing on data was collected as part of Chez Rumpf’s dissertation in which an Illinois program participant, Jean, recalled being punished for being “toxic” after her drug test. Kaufman, Nicole, Cesraéa Rumpf, and Joshua Kaiser. 2014. “Beyond Punishment: Dynamic Dimensions of Penal Control through Interventionist, Covert, and Negligent Involvement.” Pp. 63 in *Meeting of the Law and Society Association*. Minneapolis, MN, Rumpf, Cesraéa. 2014. “Seeing the State: Women, Incarceration, and Social Marginality.” Pp. TBD in *Department of Sociology*. Chicago, IL: Loyola University of Chicago.

and their duration, the extent of funding by corrections departments and self-pay, the kinds of programs ex-prisoners concurrently attend, and the characteristics of ex-prisoners that do not use programs, who accompanies ex-prisoners to program sites. Understanding the scale on which and ways in which organizations process participants will ultimately require answering several questions: how many former prisoners are routed to post-release organizations? How often is a program mandatory or voluntary, and to what degree do the kinds of participation in programs differ on that basis? Unfortunately, I do not have systematic data on these questions, though they invite further research.¹⁴⁵

Critical research has pointed to deficits of programming in meeting ex-prisoners' needs (Richie 2001). Although my research did not pair needs to services, this project is a step toward systematically assessing what work is being done that could occur in future research.

Studies of citizenship have illustrated the importance of acknowledging older incorporation discourses in operation (Berkovitch 1997; Shafir and Peled 1998). A stronger historical component integrated into analysis would enliven the analysis, particularly as I have examined the typologies I have identified in a static way. Comprehensive historical records are not included as part of this data collection project, limiting my ability to comment on issues such as organizational survival with and without state funds, and whether satellite-seeking NGOs tend to become satellite states. However, this is an area I would like to develop.

I am interested in expanding the present research by interest at focal moments of policy change with records I do have. This historical institutionalist analysis could link political rhetoric

¹⁴⁵ A lack of publicly available, aggregated person-level data on program contact is representative of a larger data collection problem in state corrections. Counts of clients across organizations would be difficult and analytically problematic. There are repeat clients at multiple organizations, and the identification of ex-prisoners requires special IRB authorization. Kelly, Lawrence Starling. 2010. "Re-entry programs, from an anti-unconventional ex-offender." *Dialectical Anthropology* 34:491-95.

about released prisoners and the importance of community to the increased use of privatization within Wisconsin's correctional agencies. This same kind of rhetorical analysis could examine how the category of "prisoner" is used in a mutually exclusive way with "citizen" now, but until recent decades, it was otherwise in Wisconsin.

Policy Proposals

How could these arrangements improve? I reflect on two proposals for improvement in the areas of making DOC privatization decisions more transparent, and in making information about services more accessible.

Need determination and funding allocation. NGOs and post-release policies could, in Chad Goldberg's terms, engage in more "enabling" and not only "tutelary" outreach with formerly incarcerated people (Goldberg 2001). Doing so means providing competency to be independent in order to "move through major periods of transitions in their lives" (Goldberg 2001: 304, quoting Giddens). Providing "hard" skill building (expanded apprenticeship programs) and educational programs are two ways NGOs could do so, with adequate support (Western 2008a).

Building on Goldberg's work (2001), I suggest that another means to "enabling" activities is through encouraging participatory involvement in penal policy administration for NGOs and their ex-prisoner participants, around the area of the state's determination of needs that they use to allocate funding.

A focus on individual need (albeit in a very limited and problematic way) is evident on the personalized ranking of criminogenic needs that the DOC is now implementing (as California and other states have done). As it is used, untreated need becomes risk of criminal offense, which

threatens public safety. However, the DOC is not transparent on the process it uses to estimate the needs of prisoners who are “releasing” (in DOC speak).

Rather, I observe a lack of transparency over decisions to allocate correctional program funds in given areas. Decisions about the Wisconsin DOC’s community-based purchase of service funding allocation can come from legislature (i.e. Becky Young appropriation previously mentioned) and from DOC administrators (based on my interviews). Although the Center for Self-Sufficiency’s 2010 report states that these decisions may be shaped by agents, a top official said this is not so. So far, no one has said decisions come from rigorous research of people leaving prison and their needs. Only limited information on previous bid/proposal scoring is available via VendorNet. In an over-stretched agency, in an era of austerity, it seems more expedient for penal agencies to acknowledge that there are needs of prisoners that they are only partly aware of than to assure everyone that these needs are being met on a wide scale (Wuthnow 1991).

Forming regional coalitions of NGOs and formerly incarcerated people that could speak to policy-makers as they make determinations of ex-prisoners’ needs could work to make this process more transparent. It could also differently shape governmental assessment of needs as they purchased services and could make the process of interacting with the DOC more participatory for formerly incarcerated people and NGO staff members and volunteers.

The fact that the Wisconsin DOC is willing to talk about needs could be an asset for organizing. Though limiting in some ways, needs talk also opens up opportunities for contestation about the basis on which need determinations are made for expenditure on a wide scale.

Information management. Making the field more transparent could also better align people with specialized resources. Comprehensive information about currently active programs and NGOs is terribly lacking. As a reflection of the broad-scale devolution occurring, no one seems to have a stake in providing an updated picture; no one is taking responsibility for providing ex-prisoners a complete picture. In this fragmented service field, many NGOs do not know about one another. The “reentry fair” described in the preface did not reflect all the providers in the area, and service directories from the DOC, county networks, and NGOs were incomplete. Presumably, people are not aware of all the programs they could attend, and programs are not aware of their base of potential participants. The arrangement is not merely inefficient, but also potentially marginalizing for ex-prisoners who do not live in neighborhoods where specialized programs are offered (Richie 2001).

One small, significant step would be creating a frequently updated web listing of programs for formerly incarcerated people that cross networks. Municipal-level or county-level governments are best situated to host this information on a website, though I will bracket the issues of labor and compensation here. The website would particularly be accessible in public libraries in each neighborhood. This virtual “reception center” would be a more comprehensive form of the “reentry fair,” through which people could about resources without being expected to take part in any particular program. If it were linked to the county ACCESS site, anyone applying for Foodshare, energy assistance, or other county and state assistance programs in Wisconsin could access it.

PRIVATIZATION

Despite these limitations, this study has illuminated the ways in which the process of privatization occurring in this field is incomplete. I now address some of the implications of this phenomenon. First, the way this field is privatized distinguishes it from others in which the state has more clearly retracted and not expanded (mental health provision and welfare). Second, I challenges explanations of privatization as motivated merely by encouraging profit-making in businesses and cost-savings in governments. I discuss that the offloading of work to non-profits in this field which has been justified with rhetoric about the moral benefits of turning to “the community.”

The simultaneous thinning and expanding penal state is the great contradiction behind the rise of correctional services (Haney 2010). States are becoming increasingly “hollow” in their social service provision (Smith 1993; Smith and Lipsky 1993). The need for NGO involvement arises with the unwillingness of the state as direct service provider services after prison release (Wuthnow 1991). Yet, quite unlike the contraction of welfare programs, this thinning of state functions is accompanied by penal state expansion at an unprecedented level (Gottschalk 2009). The expansion of the reach of the penal state to an unprecedented number of criminalized people combined with the state’s refusal to directly provide services creates a need for services in the NGO sector.

For example, under Governor Thompson, Wisconsin’s DOC staffing did not keep pace with the growth of the DOC and the increase in the population it oversaw. Thus the agency experienced a relative labor shortage. Between the mid-1970s and mid-1990s, the state prison population had grown ten-fold, while the number of full-time correctional employees increased only a little more than two-fold. The growth of the DOC budget during this time was

proportionate to the growth of the prisoner population (Corrections Bulletin 1973a; State of Wisconsin Blue Book 1975; State of Wisconsin Blue Book 1995). As the agency staff size grew, the prisoner population grew faster, and the importance of “the community” grew.

This field does not present a pure picture of privatization, unlike the closing of state mental hospitals that required patients to seek private care (Lerman 1982). First, this is because there has been ongoing involvement of NGOs not receiving state funds that are involved with prisoners.¹⁴⁶ As I show in Chapter 4, many NGOs do not receive state funds for their work; NGOs not receiving state funds are able to (in some cases, barely) self-support or find foundation funds or private donations. Second, this is because corrections in Wisconsin, in its various bureaucratic forms, did not offer most of the post-release services now being privatized. Services have been provided in a more organized way than they may have been offered formerly, but iteratively and on a much smaller scale before.¹⁴⁷

I anticipate that this process of privatization could continue without saturating the full field. I do not expect full privatization to occur. Some NGOs cannot or will not take state funds. The professional requirements for bidding for correctional agency funds are prohibitively high for some NGOs, for instance, I discussed how Growing Our Garden is not capable of meeting the requirements to receive such funding. Others are opposed ideologically. St. Matthew House is not interested in such a reporting/accountability relationship. Others who qualify for funds have decided that the funding is too restrictive (i.e., Mary Magdalene). As long as the need for NGO

¹⁴⁶ For example, consider the Commandos, formed through the NAACP in Milwaukee. One branch of the Commandos was formed for the protection of Father Groppi during the civil rights and housing protest movement of the late 1960s. Another branch advocated for and provided services to prisoners, and their testimony is included in hearings on prisoner issues of the early 1970s. In my admittedly limited historical records, do not see evidence that the Commandos received state correctional funds.

¹⁴⁷ One administrator at the DOC who has worked there since the 1970s said the state did not used to supply what it now privatizes for people on community supervision. However, agents also did more in previous eras; for example I have seen evidence of at least a stated commitment to making sure men had jobs before they were released.

services is greater than amount of public funds offered, some of this field—particularly religious organizations—will continue to be operating outside of state’s more direct control.

My focus on the state’s privatization activities moves beyond a focus on the importance of neoliberal agendas by identifying how policies have called on “the community” as the morally “rightful” shaper or re-maker of criminalized people. There has been recent attention to privatization to for-profit companies supplying other penal services and goods, especially prisons. What this discussion has overlooked is that profit motives are not necessarily the only ones driving involvement in the work for the entities that do post-release work.

In Wisconsin, this kind of privatization to NGOs occurred in the wake of Attica, when citizens and policy-makers were concerned about the way the prison as an institution was a threat to democracy. Privatization of post-release work occurred in this context *before* the state considered privatizing prisons.¹⁴⁸ So the privatization of penal services is not only tied closely with the neoliberal politics of the 1990s (Hallett 2006), but rather is also importantly rooted in earlier debates about the proper use of community for shaping citizens. Officials and community members in Wisconsin placed a moral meaning in the state devolving this work to others that predates the “tough-on-crime” discourses of the 1980s and 1990s (Wisconsin Council on Criminal Justice 1972). The view that community can offer the proper morality to make good citizens is older than the rise of the New Right; it was subsequently supported by Governor Thompson and his administration in the 1990s and the Bradley Foundation as a current funder of NGOs.

¹⁴⁸ In the 1990s, Thompson administration officials considered this option; they declined to do it, though they did purchase a supermax facility that had been built on speculation by a private company that had wanted to run a private prison. Flaherty, Mike 1999. "State must rethink its prison policy, Sullivan says: New retiree reflects on trends." Pp. 1C in *Wisconsin State Journal* Madison, WI.

CITIZENSHIP AND INCORPORATION

In addition to these contributions in illuminating the process of privatization, this study has examined the implications of the post-prison service field for citizenship. Research on citizenship has shown that flows of capital, people, labor are associated with heightened discussion and struggle over the meaning and extension of citizenship (Isin 2008). In the case I have examined, mass imprisonment has produced unprecedented numbers of released prisoners. In its wake, NGOs and policy-makers have responded in the form of localized/ decentralized projects seeking to remake people and/or retool them to prepare them for life as law-abiding, “productive” citizens. The research has drawn attention to ways in which these actors apply patterned ideas about what the incorporation of citizens and the practices of ex-prisoners should entail, following prior work on incorporation of other newly recognized groups (Bloemraad 2006; Soysal 1994; Swider 2008). This project advances discussions of citizenship and formerly incarcerated people in three areas: in terms of inclusion and the civic sector, the role of the community in the construction of ex-prisoners as citizens, and prisoner incorporation as a patterned process of social inclusion.

Inclusion and the Civic Sector

I have shown that as NGOs work to systematically include people that have been incarcerated, they regard them as provisional citizens or as already citizens. By drawing attention to inclusive activities in civic sector, I broaden the discussion of punishment, citizenship, and exclusion. Critical discussion of citizenship issues that former prisoners face has focused on restriction of rights, the treatment of people with criminal records and who have experienced imprisonment as partial citizens, and the social exclusion of criminalized people in today’s era of

mass punishment (Manza and Uggen 2006). Policy discussions have focused on citizenship as in terms of duties that people convicted of crimes owe to “the community” at large and to their agents. This quite limited definition of a citizen involves law-abidingness under heightened surveillance, compulsory completion of terms of release, and in many cases, a required number of treatment program sessions for identified issues seen as related to their prior offending.

This framing has overlooked the question of ways in which NGOs could, to varying degrees and in different ways, promote goals to “strengthen, extend, and expand democratic citizenship” (Goldberg 2001:311). To pursue this Marshallian question, I have investigated responses to ex-prisoners on the ground, among people who see themselves as positioned to respond. I have asked who, if anyone, is reaching out to ex-prisoners? On what basis, and using what practices?

By drawing attention to NGOs’ power to assist ex-prisoners as they activate the few rights they have, I also move past a state-focused idea of citizenship (Bloemraad, Korteweg and Yurdakul 2008). The empirical chapters portray citizenship as a form of social membership that is not only something that the penal state can take away from individuals, or something that states gradually and partially return to them. Citizenship is also constructed outside of the state sector; among those doing this work are NGOs that do not necessarily define rights in terms of the state.

For instance, at Dinner with Luke, “the law” refers to Biblical law. Membership is activated regardless of felon status. For those NGOs more concerned with state-granted rights, they do not wait for penal state representatives to hand their participants their rights. At NGOs like Community Environment for Women and Heart to Heart, staff teach participants how to talk to authority figures in order to advocate for themselves and others with criminal records for such

pressing issues as increasing visitations with children and persuading agents to stop arrests of participants that they view as unnecessary.

Citizenship and Communities

I have examined the systematic work to include ex-prisoners in programs which can potentially also to connect them to specific communities. This is important because in several areas of contemporary policy discussions, community serves as a symbol for “the quest for a place where every individual is recognized as an equal member... [with] entitlements and responsibilities commensurate with their ability to serve the greater good” (Hill Collins 2010:26).¹⁴⁹

Particularly in penal policy, communities have become integrally important in constructing, defining, shaping formerly incarcerated people as citizens. As responsibilization and privatization in penal policies have shifted responsibilities to communities at large, the state has also withdrawn from responsibility to work with ex-prisoners after release. Thus no one but “the community” is left when the state retreats and market is uninterested in employing/ training/ doing business with, or blatantly discriminates against, unskilled people with criminal records. Using “partnership” language policy-makers and administrators expect that “the community” will pick up where the state leaves off (Sager 2010), which in this case is at the prison gate.

This expectation of devolution is illustrated in some states through an image of reentry as a bridge. For example, state correctional officials in Wisconsin call the process “a bridge to

¹⁴⁹ The state’s devolution of work to the community is consistent with two goals of the new right. Neoconservative goals stress the moral remaking of the poor, and neoliberal goals idealize thin government and the commodification of an increasing range of kinds of transactions. Goldberg, Chad Alan. 2001. “Social citizenship and a reconstructed Tocqueville.” *American Sociological Review* 66:289-315, Mayer, Victoria Lynn. 2007. “Contracting Citizenship: Shifting Public/Private Boundaries in the Context of Welfare Reform.” Pp. 241 in *Department of Sociology*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin.

success” and illustrate the process with a hanging bridge without a specified source or destination (Raemisch 2008). “Reentry” imagined here starts at the prison (represented through a DOC decal in Wisconsin) and ends in the community (left blank in Wisconsin’s image).

At the federal level and at the levels of other states, too, discussions among policy-makers of reentry as a bridge frequently describe an individual, gender-neutral prisoner’s process of reentry as a bridge-crossing exercise. These constructions assume a generic community will be waiting to provide whatever is needed. For example, the US Department of Labor’s “Ready4Work Toolkit” frames non-state organizations as necessary to be or build a bridge for ex-prisoners to cross, using collaboration with one another (Good and Sherrid 2005:9). These authors describe organizations as *already* being or building the bridges needed to aid in reentry. In another example, Montana’s correctional secretary describes reentry work on a bridge that is the site of the collaboration of multiple state and non-state actors like “employers, landlords, churches and social service agencies that are so critical to a successful reentry of offenders” (Ferriter 2012:7).

As officials call to “community partners” to assist penal policy agencies, I have identified that by invoking the work of “the community,” policy-makers are speaking to *NGOs*, and not only family, neighbors, and friends. Because of NGOs’ importance in this arrangement, I have treated them as carriers of important messages about what belonging means; I do not reduce NGOs to the penal state, or see them as irrelevant or merely useful in lowering recidivism rates.

By highlighting variation in the kinds of community environments where NGOs operate, I challenge the idea of a generic community to which ex-prisoners return. Rather, the process of constructing post-release citizenship is built on engagement by communities that are varied, and not one generic “community.” This is important because acquiring citizenship is localized and

specific to the on-the-ground institutions involved (Bloemraad 2006). So, variation on the ground is important; what NGOs do has the potential to be more inclusionary (and even exclusionary) than one mythical, undifferentiated community.

Diverse NGOs reflect varied communities and community members. These sites offer particular commitments and goals and institutionalized ways of activating faith and understanding gender and could be inclusive to people whose needs they address. They can, but do not always, respond to particularized needs and identifications of participants. For example, an African American man with a sex offense conviction might feel more welcome at Journey to Stable Work than other neighborhood NGOs, whereas he would not qualify for the key program at the Ministry of St. Peter. Healing Our Sisters and Brothers specifically seeks out people who feel alienated from anti-violence NGOs with predominantly white staff. So when a former prisoner is included in a meaningful way in programming, and possibly becomes active in ongoing activities through the organization (e.g., attending ongoing support groups, participating in the site-run business), it is not broadly “the community” that has stepped up; rather, one particularly responsive subset has welcomed people returning from prison.

Prisoner Incorporation

The concept of “prisoner incorporation” that I have offered highlights institutional processes of reception rather than merely individual-level “reentry.” I reveal patterned ways in which NGOs work to systematically include formerly incarcerated people, closely related to their funding and their approach to faith. My approach broadens understanding of the role of the state and NGO actors. I show that the penal state structures prisoner incorporation in many ways: by driving up incarceration rates and revoking prisoners; by devolving post-release services; by

managing contracted NGOs' accountability, by making determinations of need in areas where they will fund programs, and thus encouraging organizational convergence around areas they see as the greatest priorities; and by maintaining relationships with NGO staff that surpass the requirements of contracts.

I have also revealed the patterned ways in which NGOs do incorporation, closely related to their relationship with the penal state and their approach to faith. This suggests that understanding how prisoner incorporation operates requires understanding state reentry policy priorities, NGOs' desire to steer away from or toward close relationships with the penal state on multiple dimensions, and the relevance of faith within the NGO's goals and programming.

These chapters show that although NGOs act in inclusive ways through their incorporation activities, they are practically limited in all the visions they can encourage and strategies they can implement. No NGO offers inclusion as citizens in all the areas I empirically follow, suggesting that the way they incorporate ex-prisoners is an inherently partial process that is particular to the goals, philosophy, funding, and community in which the organization is situated. As my analysis of three NGOs in depth in Chapter 5 suggests, their approaches may be inclusionary in some regards and exclusionary in others, as they recognize worthiness to participate in programs and be included as citizens on the basis of some categories and not others.

Beyond these specific chapter results, a prisoner incorporation approach more broadly allows me to take a macro-level perspective to explain the current arrangements through which prisoners are received in the United States. A liberal structural arrangement requires people with and without criminal records and incarceration histories to navigate the labor market directly,

with minimal state assistance. However, the NGO sector can lightly buffer this process for returning prisoners.¹⁵⁰

The organizations I have examined are heavily concerned with preparing people for the labor market, recognizing the centrality of paid, above-ground work for staying “off paper” as well as for meeting many other needs. To do so, NGOs I have discussed here provide mainly soft skills (changes to resume, dress, attitude, job search patterns) rather than hard skills.¹⁵¹ These NGOs can buffer people from risks of market, for instance by facilitating job searches and through, in some cases, the provision of second-hand items. NGOs can also encourage the activation or practice of rights that impact market transactions, though I observed that few did. Onward Upward, in an exceptional case, encouraged participants to file EEOC complaints if they felt they were being discriminated against as felons.

These same arrangements in the U.S. also route formerly incarcerated people away from the state for services, though individuals interface directly with the state for oversight by agents. This arrangement continues until an agent finds problems with individuals. If the agent seeks to revoke a person’s community supervision and return him or her to prison, then the state removes NGOs doing community-based work from the process.

This pattern becomes clear in that limitations in NGOs’ access to revocation hearings occurs widely.¹⁵² NGOs cannot appear in many states in revocation hearings on behalf of a person on parole or post-release supervision who is at risk of being sent back to prison, unless

¹⁵⁰ This is still distinct from, for example, the Netherlands. Soysal (1994) shows this is a more “pure” corporatist model in that it routes money to parties and schools particular to immigrant groups to use to cover services appropriate to those groups.

¹⁵¹ An exceptional NGO, Wisconsin Regional Training Program, did not meet the requirements of the study.

¹⁵² Moreover, few states make these hearings open to the public, and, as in Wisconsin, the administrative law judge’s decision is not written, it is only audio-recorded (the recording can be purchased by the public).

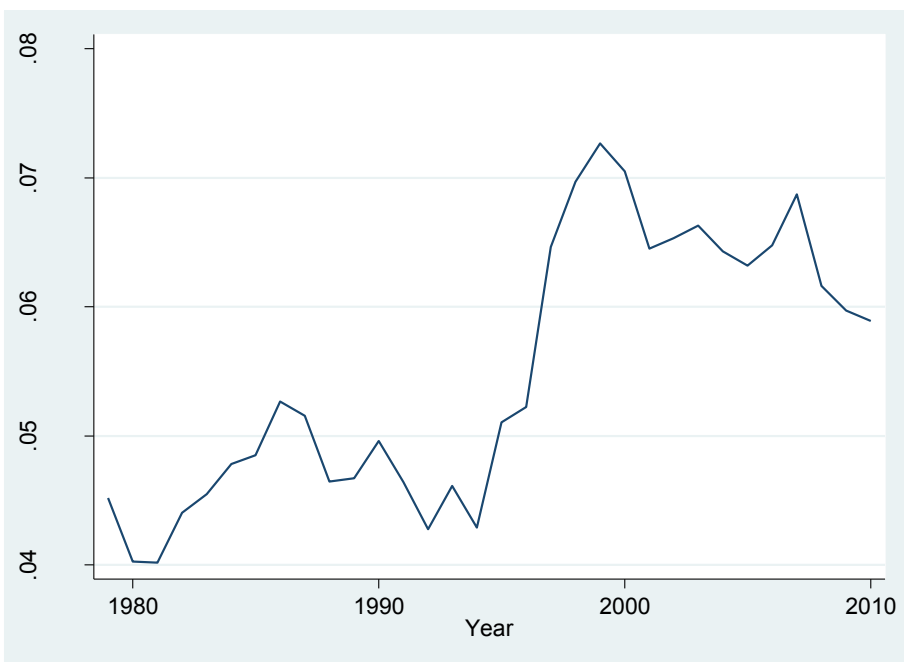
they are specifically called by a corrections agent.¹⁵³ In Wisconsin, this is particularly true. This arrangement removes NGOs that have the most contact with prisoners from the proceedings when their input could be most valuable. I did not observe any NGOs target this part of the policy impacting their work with former prisoners, although many resisted the DOC's strict rules of fraternization by trying to keep some consistency with prisoners as they were re-incarcerated and released.

This kind of analysis invites comparisons in other regions, states, and nations to understand the consequences of societal structures and institutional arrangements for shaping released prisoners' inclusion.

¹⁵³ Contra a ruling that prisoners should have due process in these settings in the 1972 prisoner's rights case *Morrissey v. Brewer*. My examination of statutes and administrative laws in 20 of the 50 states in 2013 for the American Legislative Issue and Campaign Exchange showed that it is relatively unusual for states to allow ex-prisoners facing revocation hearings to be allowed to call their own witnesses, and even more unusual for these hearings to be open to the public.

FIGURE

Figure 1: Ratio of women to men prisoners in Wisconsin, 1979-2010, state and federal prisoners



Sources: BJS data file “Prisoners under state or federal jurisdiction, federal and state-by-state, 1977-2004” (Hill and Harrison 2005) and BJS data compiled by hand from reports on prisoner populations for the years 1979-2010, i.e. “Prisoners in 2010” (Guerino, Harrison and Sabol 2011).

TABLES

Table 1*Features of Organizations, Sorted by Programming Activities*

Organization by Pseudonym (* indicates closer focus)	DOC contract	Treatment	Economic	Domestic Labor	Cultural	Religious	Political
Classic Reentry Organizations							
City Support Center	Yes	X					
Clinics in WI	Yes	X					
Community Treatment for Offenders	Yes	X					
Social Justice, Inc. *		X	X				
Ministry of St. Peter		X	X				
All Our Sisters		X	X				
Broader Incorporation Organizations: Right-leaning							
St. Matthew House *		X	X	X	X	X	
Eastern WI Evangelical Mission		X	X		X	X	X
Good Word Bible Study *			X			X	
Dinner with Luke *				X		X	
God's Love, Inc.					X	X	
Broader Incorporation Organizations: Left-leaning							
Mary Magdalene	Yes	X	X	X			
Journey to Stable Work	Yes	X	X				X
Healing Our Sisters and Brothers		X	X				X
Growing Our Garden *		X		X			X
Community Environment for Women	Yes	X		X			X
Heart to Heart *		X	X		X		X
Onward Upward *			X				X

Table 2: Dimensions of Closeness and Hierarchy as a 2x2 Table

		DEGREE OF HIERARCHY IN RELATIONSHIP WITH PENAL STATE	
		More	Less
CLOSENESS OF PENAL STATE OFFICIALS	Closer	Community Treatment for Offenders Onward Upward @ Achieve City Support Center Clinics in Wisconsin Ministry of St Peter Community Environment for Women	Heart to Heart Mary Magdalene
	Farther	All Our Sisters Social Justice, Inc. Healing Our Sisters and Brothers Journey to Stable Work Growing Our Garden	St. Matthew House God's Love, Inc. Good Word Bible Study Dinner with Luke Eastern Wisconsin Evangelical Mission

Table 3: NGO-State Relationships

	Relationship with Penal State		Earmarked Reentry Funds			Incorporation Activities					
	Hierarchical	Close	Bid for DOC reentry contracts?	Received earmarked reentry funds?	Registered on WI VendorNet ?	Treatment	Economic	Domestic Labor	Cultural	Religious	Political
Organization by Pseudonym (* indicates closer focus; CR=Classic Reentry; BIL=Broader Incorporation, left-leaning; BIR=Broader Incorporation, right-leaning)											
<i>Satellite States</i>											
City Support Center (CR)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	X					
Clinics in WI (CR)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	X					
Community Treatment for Offenders (CR)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	X					
Ministry of St. Peter (CR)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	X	X				
Onward Upward * (BIL)	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes		X				X
Community Environment for Women (BIL)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	X		X			X
<i>Satellite Seeking NGOs</i>											
All Our Sisters (CR)	Yes		Yes		Yes	X	X				
Social Justice, Inc. * (CR)	Yes		Yes		Yes	X	X				
Healing Our Sisters and Brothers (BIL)	Yes		Yes		Yes	X	X				X
Journey to Stable Work (BIL)	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes	X	X				X
Growing Our Garden * (BIL)	Maybe					X		X			X
<i>Conversants and Advocates</i>											
Heart to Heart * (BIL)		Yes			Yes	X	X		X		X
Mary Magdalene (BIL)		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	X	X	X			
<i>NGOs Opposing State Involvement</i>											

St. Matthew House * (BIR)					Yes	X	X	X	X	X	
Eastern WI Evang. Mission (BIR)						X	X		X	X	X
Good Word Bible Study * (BIR)							X			X	
Dinner with Luke * (BIR)								X		X	
God's Love, Inc. (BIR)									X	X	

TABLE 4: NGOs and their Approaches to Religion

Organization by Pseudonym (* indicates closer focus)	Religious affiliation	NGO type based on incorporation activities, Chapter 3	NGO type based on relationship with penal state, Chapter 4
<i>Secular</i>			
Clinics in WI	n/a	Classic Reentry	Satellite State
Community Treatment for Offenders	n/a	Classic Reentry	Satellite State
Onward Upward *	n/a (though begun as a Christian organization)	Broader Incorporation, left-leaning	Satellite State
Community Environment for Women	n/a (though begun in association with a yogic movement)	Broader Incorporation, left-leaning	Satellite State
<i>Religiously Inspired</i>			
City Support Center	Muslim	Classic Reentry	Satellite State
All Our Sisters	Using “sound Christian teachings” and ministering word of God through the Gospel (no specific denomination) ¹⁵⁴	Classic Reentry	Satellite Seeking NGO
Social Justice, Inc. *	Interfaith	Classic Reentry	Satellite Seeking NGO
Ministry of St. Peter	Tie to Holiness/Pentecostal (COGIC) church	Classic Reentry	Satellite State
Healing Our Sisters and Brothers	Spiritually based	Broader Incorporation, left-leaning	Satellite Seeking NGO
Journey to Stable Work	Interfaith	Broader Incorporation, left-leaning	Satellite Seeking NGO
Mary Magdalene	Interfaith	Broader Incorporation, left-leaning	Conversants and Advocates
Growing Our Garden *	Spiritually based, with ties to ELCA and UCC churches	Broader Incorporation, left-leaning	Satellite Seeking NGO

¹⁵⁴ Note: these religious activities seem to apply to the pre-release program. That is why I coded this NGO as not offering post-release religious incorporation activities in Table 1.

Heart to Heart *	Ties to an evangelical church	Broader Incorporation, left-leaning	Conversants and Advocates
<i>Reciprocally Religious</i>			
St. Matthew House *	Christian fellowship	Broader Incorporation, right-leaning	NGO Opposed to State Involvement
Eastern WI Evang. Mission	Non-denominational Christian with Biblically based programming	Broader Incorporation, right-leaning	NGO Opposed to State Involvement
Good Word Bible Study *	Missouri Synod Lutheran	Broader Incorporation, right-leaning	NGO Opposed to State Involvement
Dinner with Luke *	Wisconsin Synod Lutheran	Broader Incorporation, right-leaning	NGO Opposed to State Involvement
God's Love, Inc.	Connection to Church of God and international network of prison missions	Broader Incorporation, right-leaning	NGO Opposed to State Involvement

Table 5: In-Depth Organizational Cases

	Community Environment for Women	Journey to Stable Work	St. Matthew House
Approach to religion/ secularity	Secular	Religiously inspired	Reciprocally religious
Community location	Residential neighborhoods, Madison and neighboring cities, including high prostitution area	Residential neighborhood, Milwaukee	Mixed use neighborhood, Milwaukee
Institutional location	Feminist service network (Women's Jail Project); global anti-trafficking movement; police collaborations	Faith Alone church community; ties to pre- release centers and statewide interfaith organizing network	Large Suburban Christian Church and Matthew 25 networks
Approach to citizenship	Citizen as consumer (basis of citizenship is completion of treatment to meet needs)	Citizen as producer (basis of citizenship is economic participation)	Citizen in heaven (basis of citizenship is religious membership)
Approach to gender	Strengths-based, gender- specific treatment	Prioritization of job- readiness for men and women alike	Distinct ideas about how men and women serve in family and mentorships

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Contact with NGOs

The following table provides information about my contact with NGOs I studied. I have ranked the NGOs by my degree of familiarity with them.

Organization	Approach to religion (RR= reciprocally religious, RI= religiously inspired, S=Secular)	County	Planned to be closer focus NGO?	Info on my contact with organization
1. Heart to Heart	RI	Dane	No	<p>Attended 3 routine programs</p> <p>Interview with leaders: 2 with more active leader, 1 with less active leader</p> <p>Attended public events led by this org.: 3</p> <p>Attended other public events where org members had prominent role: more</p> <p>Interview with participant: 1</p> <p>Guest speakers in class: many times</p>
2. Social Justice, Inc.	RI	Dane	No	<p>Interview/conversation with board member: 1</p> <p>Co-attending meeting with staff member re: another org: 1</p> <p>Attended routine meeting of women's group: 1</p> <p>Attended planning meeting for women's group: 1</p> <p>Attended public events where org. played visible role, i.e. reentry fair: many</p> <p>Participated in reentry activities in prisons and community: many</p> <p>Interview w/staff member at major funding org: 1</p>
3. St. Matthew House	RR	Milwaukee	Yes	<p>Attended volunteer recruitment session: 1</p> <p>Interview of director w/shadowing director: 1</p> <p>Attended routine program w/shadowing of staff member: 1</p> <p>Called a funder of this org (and others), spoke off the record</p>
4. Dinner with Luke	RR	Milwaukee	Yes	<p>Conversation w/higher-up pastor (phone): 1</p> <p>Conversation w/leader (phone): 1</p> <p>Attended routine program: 1</p>

5. The Good Word Bible Study	RR	Milwaukee	Yes	Interview w/head and funder: 1 Conversation w/co-leader: 1 (phone) Attended routine program: 1
6. Onward Upward at Achieve	S	Dane	Yes	Interview/conversations w/staff member/facilitator: 3 (2 on phone, 1 in person) Attended routine program: 1 (Staff contact no longer runs this program, which org was also on the fence about cutting)
7. Growing Our Garden	RI	Dane	No	Interviews/Conversations w/co-leader: 2 (1 in person, 1 on phone, 1 briefly in person at event) Attended routine program: 1 Attended public event/ art show by members: 1 (Receptive director)
8. Healing Our Sisters and Brothers	RI	Milwaukee	Yes	Interviews w/director, founder: 2 (1 on phone, 1 in person-- recorded) Conversations w/two staff members (informal): 1 Interviews/conversations with staff contact: 1 me in person, 1 student on phone
9. Journey to Stable Work	RI	Milwaukee	No	Conversation w/director (short, on phone): 1 (student) Interviews with original founder: 2 (appx. a year apart) Called a foundation about new program at org (asked to attend women's program when it was running, no response)
10. Community Treatment for Offenders	S	Both counties	No	Conversations/interviews with one staff member: 2 Phone conversation w/CEO: 1
11. Clinics in Wisconsin	S	Milwaukee	No	Conversation w/staff member at office: 1 Phone conversation w/other staff member: 1
12. Mary Magdalene	RI	Milwaukee	No	Interview with exec director and program director: 1
13. Community Environment for Women	S	Dane	No	Staff interview: 1 Informal conversations with clients at another org site
14. Ministry of St. Peter	RI	Milwaukee	No	Interviews/conversations with program director: 2 (1 by me, 1 by student; 1 in person by me)

Contact was not open to the research beyond minimal answers and did not want to record. Had contact with two major funders				
15. God's love, Inc.	RR	Milwaukee	No	Conversations w/leader (at dinner, on phone): 2 (Org did not have plans whenever I asked to join an event or activity)
16. All Our Sisters	RI			Interview with founder/director: 1
17. City Support Center	RI			Interviews with directors: 2
18. Eastern Wisconsin Evangelical Ministry	RR	Milwaukee	No	Conversation w/group leader (phone): 1 (student had also had one)

Appendix 2: Excluded Organizations

The following list indicates reasons for excluding organizations from the study.

1) Administratively inactive.

I verified this status by calling multiple times and checking the NGO's status as an "800" organization (permitted to fundraise as a charitable organization) with the State of Wisconsin. If this status was not renewed, it was likely they were not operational. One of these organizations, providing faith-based addiction treatment, had been subsumed inside another.

2) No identified leader.

I did not study Narcotics Anonymous and Alcoholics Anonymous meetings, though I was aware of much overlap between these (especially NA) and program participants in both counties.

3) No women served.

I did not include three notable NGOs that serve ex-prisoner men in Milwaukee, particularly addressing men's parenting.

4) No community-based group programming for ex-prisoners.

There are many organizations that visit correctional institutions that offer no community-based component. "Walking with" a prisoner is common among evangelical missions, who also tend to run Bible studies in the community, so I do not believe this criterion greatly changed the kinds of organizations about which I am writing. The ones I know about are Catholic, evangelical Christian, Pentecostal, and interfaith, and secular.

There was also a gender-specific and a returning veteran organization whose leadership advertised serving ex-prisoner women in the community, but did not. For one organization, there was no one who had been imprisoned when I visited the site. For the other, the local program staff did not know about (and clearly did not facilitate) this incarcerated veteran women's program.

5) No reentry focus.

I also did not include organizations that lacked a focus on prisoner reentry in their mission. There is one exception. Conversations with multiple people (especially DOC agents) in Dane County included their suggestion that I talk to people at the Achieve organization. DOC agents said Achieve was one of the main agencies they work with for women, in what seems to be a relatively small field. Achieve does not have a reentry focus of its mission, but it is widely regarded as a core reentry provider for women. I decided to keep the organization for this reason, and also because it theoretically represents secular service providers and there were not many NGOs in this category.

6) No direct services.

I did not include large legal advocates and a smaller evangelical mission running a warehouse of second-hand goods. It is worth noting that there are more kinds of outreach to prisoners than just

the group-based model that I selected for.¹⁵⁵ I did not include four politically active advocacy NGOs. I also did not include a house for ex-prisoner women that provides no direct services.

7) Too new to have a clientele base.

I did not include organizations that were so new during my data collection period (i.e. 1-2 years old) that their goals and clientele had not yet become clear. This meant I did not include three nascent programs, two of them focused on women.

8) No services for adults.

I did not study services for juveniles, though I am aware of examples of such organizations within the secular NGO network in Dane County and the evangelical mission network in Milwaukee. There is a field of youth-based gang interventions that I only minimally encountered, for reasons I explain below under limitations.

9) Outside the focal region.

In Southern Wisconsin, the major concentration of services for federal prisoners are not in the focal counties. Further, I am aware of specific services for Native Americans that I did not encounter in the focal region (though I was unable to reach contacts). Otherwise, NGOs doing post-release work elsewhere in the state I am aware of are Catholic, Lutheran, or evangelical Christian, or the same large secular service providers I have studied (including CTO and CEW).

10) Programs only for families of incarcerated people.

There are several organizations doing this work, from providing transportation to running ongoing programming for children and parents within prisons. I am aware of such programs in both focal counties. The same organizations do not necessarily run programs for ex-prisoner adults.

11) Diversionary and not post-release focus.

One NGO in Milwaukee is geared toward probationers or deferred sentences (special arrangements with prosecutors) only.

This selection approach allowed me to not only see secular non-profits as dominant actors in reentry, or to only notice the best funded religiously inspired NGO through a federal workforce program on reentry. Through this method, we identified 21 organizations in Dane and Milwaukee Counties which meet the criteria. I only discuss the 18 of these for which I spoke to a person about programming in this dissertation. Of the three omitted organizations, one is a large

¹⁵⁵ I also observed these kinds of outreach to formerly incarcerated people. Program volunteers or staff seek to appeal to and restore one individual in a one-on-one setting, in and out of correctional institutions. I have seen these predominantly in Christian, evangelical and non-denominational organizations, but also secular ministries are active in Wisconsin. Another alternative is circles with one returning prisoner with four or more community members, which is not unique to Southern Wisconsin. A third alternative is secondary services. Some groups provide secondary services like assistance with drivers' license recovery in addition to primary services like job and fatherhood counseling. I am excluding groups that only do secondary services, such as the ACLU. This kind of individualized attention occurs in the form of case management or individualized case planning (especially among secular organizations), but typically co-occurs alongside group-based interventions.

secular service provider, like Community Treatment for Offenders, and two are gender-specific, women-only programs with a residential component, like Community Environment for Women.

Appendix 3: Interview Questions for First and Second Phases of Research

I. Interview Protocol for Phase One Interviews

This protocol lists questions I plan to ask during Phase One of the research. The research will be done in an iterative process based on the information I find from textual sources and human subjects. I anticipate that in most conversations I will draw from questions listed here or very similar questions.

Questions about Recipients of Prisoner Reentry Services

Geographical scope: Wisconsin, the City of Madison, Dane County, the City of Milwaukee, or Milwaukee County.

1. Can it be estimated how many women receive services specifically designed for returning prisoners in [this area]?
2. Is there any centrally collected information on how many women receive services from different kinds of organizations: state community corrections offices vs. non-profit groups vs. for-profit groups?
3. Can it be estimated how many of these women receiving services or not receiving services were incarcerated in Wisconsin, whether sentences are in state or federal correctional systems, and how many were in prison versus jail?
4. Can it be estimated how long after reentry women begin to receive these services in [this area], and for what duration of time?
5. Are all these estimates available for men and women, separate and combined?
6. There are recent estimates for much money has gone into corrections programming for certain types of programs at the state level (i.e.: mental health, substance abuse treatment, etc.), but is there any breakdown that anyone has kept track of, to tell how many dollars go to reentering women vs. men?
7. If there is data on programming and gender breakdowns described above, does the office/individual that keeps track of that data also collect other centrally tabulated information on other social characteristics of people in programs?
 - a. For instance, for people involved with non-state post-programming, does anyone *centrally* keep track of area of...
 - i. residence,
 - ii. race/ethnicity,
 - iii. offenses,
 - iv. sentence length,
 - v. family status,
 - vi. TANF status,
 - vii. food stamp status,
 - viii. or SSDI status?
 - b. Based on what I've learned so far, I suspect that this is information that would only be known by staff running programs, but do participants have other ideas about answering this question?
8. How are people matched with reentry programs? What role do the following actors play in the pairing of clients to post-prison reentry programs?

- a. Returning prisoners who will receive the services
 - b. judges
 - c. in-reach by non-state actors inside prisons
 - d. counselors and clergy inside prisons
 - e. Community Corrections agents
 - f. families
 - g. anyone else important who I'm missing?
9. Wisconsin does not have an official Reentry Court system like some other states, but is there any kind of de facto organization of caseloads so some judges manage a lot of reentering prisoners? If so, who are some of those judges? Is there a lot of involvement in case plans from those judges? Or, is there a judge who has a caseload with more women? More people from a certain geographical area? Or is it completely arbitrary?
 10. Drug and alcohol courts began in some areas of the state 5 or so years ago—do drug and alcohol court judges have anything to do with reentry and pairing people to programming in [this area]? Or, do they tend to send people to a certain kind of program (i.e.: residential rehab) rather than a community-based day program?

Questions about Interpreting Publicly Available Information

Note: This section is particularly subject to change depending on findings from databases like Foundations Online, GuideStar, VendorNet, and USASpending.

1. Are all state contracts listed on VendorNet? Why might a contract be sealed? How complete could I consider VendorNet to be?
2. How often are clients of reentry services contracted out between private parties, versus between the state and a non-state actor? Is there a public resource listing contracts between private parties? How complete could I expect that resource to be?
3. Are there smaller funders (such as below \$10,000 in giving) that are actors on the reentry scene in Southern Wisconsin who do not appear in GuideStar? What kind of actors might those be?
4. Which federal departments have the most complete disbursement information on USASpending?
5. What kind of projects is USASpending likely to capture or omit?
6. How far back do incorporating documents filed with the state go? What are reasons that an organization could be in bad standing in the filing of these documents?
7. Are there fees to become incorporated?
8. There are records for the incorporation of X organization, but I can't find evidence they're still active (i.e.: no one answers the phone, no website). Have you heard anything about this organization? Do you know why they merged with Y organization... do you know why they closed... do you think they active but understaffed?
9. If a parent organization begins a new regular program because of subsuming another organization, is there any documentation from the parent organization's side? From the subsumed organization's side?

10. Are corporations' or companies' yearly or quarterly reports to stockholders publicly available? If not, what tools are at the business library to learn about for-profit companies to parallel what I am learning through the 990s of non-profits?

Questions about Rules, Policies, Regulations, etc.

1. State policy: There has been a reentry services coordinator in the Wisconsin DOC since 2005, but have there been major changes in that time? How were services coordinated before Mary Kay Kollat was in this current position? What do other states do?
2. Federal legislation: What are the rules about the termination of parental rights when a parent is incarcerated for over 15 months? What do the rules say about required visits for parents—how much contact must parents maintain, to keep the possibility of custody?

- II. Interview Protocol for Phase 2: These are questions for semi-structured interviews with organizational staff.

General Questions and Organizational History

1. How long have you been at this location? (usually starts off with discussion about why they are located there. Sometimes it is closely connected to the organization's history of funding or being part of a larger network, so I ask more about that—why are you no longer a W-2 site, are you still funded by the church? Etc. When I do this, I usually reference what I have read about them that is verifiable, especially in news articles or on their website.)
2. Do you get a lot of walk-ins? (if getting integrated with a community is part of why they moved to this spot)
3. (I usually remark about something at the organization that is different than other places I've seen and ask them about how they came to do that—whether a location choice or combination of kinds of services, specialty, etc., and ask how that fits into their goals.)
4. How did the organization start working with formerly incarcerated women? (this prompts people to give a history of the larger purpose and how this group fit into their work, whether added later or central from the start).
5. (As the respondent talks about the work, if he or she drops names of other alliances of organizations, networks, etc. I follow up with questions about if they were part of events, campaigns, a push to create a women's jail library, etc., to get a more dynamic sense of what they do with other organizations but what makes their work here different.)

Questions about services for clients

1. I read (XYZ material) which was helpful to give me a background on your work with (population). Can you tell me more about what you do—is it case management in combination with the classes on your brochure here? (something like this as an invitation for respondent to describe what they do. Often they do so in terms of naming problems they try to address and telling me what programs address the problems.)
2. It looks like (from the materials/ website) staff members have regular meetings with teams of other service providers for a single client (aka coordinated care or wraparound

services)—how does that work? Who is involved? (or other follow-up questions about services)

3. What is the balance of men and women in the program/s?
4. Have most of the clients been incarcerated? (respondent usually provides a percent).
 - a. Is that about the same for the men and the women?
5. How do you recruit program participants—do you visit the prisons?
6. How do you determine where to place participants in programs?
7. What information about your clients is important for you to collect about the participants when they come in and progress through your program/s?
8. Does this organization mix men and women within programs? (This usually leads to discussion about their choice to do that and how it links to organizational philosophy. Sometimes it also leads to a discussion of how the organization tries to keep client groups separate--if not men and women, some other line of distinction that they tell me.)

Questions about goals for / expectations in their work with clients

9. What is the most important lesson that the organization hopes that formerly incarcerated people will take away from their programs here? (Usually answering this also involves a long explanation of the obstacles that incarcerated people face, especially women, during and after prison. Often also involves the respondent's view of what reentry is and what the government should and should not do, is or is not doing.)
10. What does a client need to do to stay in a program?
11. I have heard of some places that encourage work first, and to take on parenting later, and then some that do the opposite. Others think that prayer should come first. Does the organization have an idea about the priorities that formerly incarceration women should take on when they are released?
12. What do the participants need to do to complete the program? Or, how long can people stay here? (Often leads to discussion on whether people are welcome here, even hired after completion).
13. (If respondent has been talking about familial relationships, I encourage more discussion. If about workplace rights or drivers' license access, I ask more. If prayer, I ask more about this goal and what they hope it will do for people.)

Questions about Staff and Funding

14. How does the organization select staff? (this leads to discussion of centralized or decentralized structure of the organization and the larger network it is part of, professional qualifications of staff, and the similarities between staff and clients that are important to the respondent).
15. How did you pick (X curriculum)? (The question is connected to the issue of whether their funder, synod, etc. determines their curriculum.)
16. Is any funding earmarked for sub-populations the organization serves? (Or can be asked about particular sub-populations: have you found the Wiser choice network to be a helpful way to get funding and clients? Is this the only funding source that is specific to a subpopulation that you deal with?)
17. (Often this leads to discussion about how funding is organized in a way that is or is not helpful to their goals. Could also be asked as, are there possibilities for funding this kind of work?)

18. (Often talking about funding leads to a discussion of the climate today, how hard it is to stay funded, the skill needed to fill out applications for funding. I ask follow up questions.)

Usually I close with thanking people for their time and telling them how I appreciated some aspect of how their programs are unique or important. I ask if I can contact them again with further questions.

Appendix 4: IRB Information

For the exploratory stage of the research, I received IRB approval in August 2009 for these interviews on women's reentry process with experts familiar with the process.

For the first stage of research, my updated IRB agreement (approved in February 2011) included a consent form that specified that I would not use identifying information unless respondents consented.

For the second stage of the research, I received IRB approval to pursue this goal in February 2012. Per the IRB agreement, I agreed to leave the room if staff members were discussing identifying information about former prisoners, and if anyone requested. In the IRB agreement, I also stated that I would not use identifying details about individuals, and was granted permission to quote respondents. When I received a grant in the summer of 2012, I was permitted by the IRB to provide respondents with compensation in the form of a \$10 gift card to a chain restaurant. I also retroactively contacted prior consent form signees to ask if they would like to receive compensation.

