IMPRISONMENT AS A SHADOW OF AMERICAN
CULTURE: HOW THE HEALING POWER OF THE CIRCLE
CAN REBUILD COMMUNITY

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ABSTRACT

Imprisonment as a Shadow of American Culture:
How the Healing Power of the Circle Can Rebuild Community

by

Adele Ann Leonard

The research involved an examination of the exorbitant growth of the prison population in this country over the past 30 years from a Jungian perspective, showing how this phenomenon can be seen as a manifestation of an American cultural shadow. It then undertook an in-depth examination of the universal symbol of the circle—particularly in terms of how its inherent characteristics have been used to bring about healing across the centuries—and explored how these attributes can be used to help bring incarcerated people back into the circle of humanity by restoring and strengthening the ties that bind them to the greater community. Finally, the study involved an in-depth examination of one particular circle-based initiative—the Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP)—to examine its effects on individuals in prison and upon their return to society.

Initial work involved an extensive review of the literature from a critical hermeneutic perspective, as seen through the interpretive lens of liberation psychology. The fieldwork phase involved the researcher's participation in and observation of AVP in action, particularly in prison settings, and carrying out in-depth interviews with eight formerly incarcerated AVP facilitators. The results indicate that AVP appears to not only be meeting its goal to reduce levels of violence, but has also helped the interviewees in the difficult transition back into society. Some core elements identified included: use of the circle format, the experiential nature of the process, emphasis on building consensus,

and an array of tools that give people the opportunity to make conscious, positive choices.

While there are myriad ways to approach bringing positive change to a correctional system that is flawed in so many ways, I personally believe that depth psychological approaches that understand and honor the deep-seated causes embedded in our cultural shadowland, and that utilize the healing power of the circle, will have a much better chance to seriously bring about real change than any quick fixes to the mechanisms of imprisonment.

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But lastly, and most importantly, I have to acknowlege the inspiration provided by the participants in AVP workshops, most particularly the men at Ironwood State Prison (and those who have since relocated to Calipatria and other institutions in California), who have been, and continue to be, my shining inspiration and the reason I love doing this work. You guys rock!

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Chapter 1
Introduction

The degree of civilization in a society
can be judged by entering its prisons.
Dostoevsky (1826)[1].

Over the past several decades, the United States has experienced what can only be

referred to as an epidemic of mass imprisonment. At its height, in 2009, there were over

7.2 million people who were either in jail, in prison, or on parole. This accounted for 3.1

percent of all adult residents or one in every 32 adult Americans (Bureau of Justice

Statistics, May 2012) According to the Centre for Prison Studies in London, "the U.S.—

with five percent of the world's population—houses 25 percent of the world's inmates"

(Loury, 2008, p. 5)

The Research Problem

This study first looked at the ballooning rate of incarceration in this nation from a

Jungian perspective and posited that what we have been experiencing is, in essence, a

manifestation of the American cultural shadow. C. G. Jung considered the shadow to be

one of three archetypes (along with anima and animus) that exert a disturbing influence

on the ego (1959, p. 8) in that it consists of the "hidden repressed, for the most part

inferior and guilt-laden personality whose ultimate ramifications reach back into the

realm of our animal ancestors and so comprise the whole historical aspect of the

unconscious" (p. 266). These are the aspects of our selves that we try to disown and

ignore. However, when an individual or a society disowns a part of its identity, invariably

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[1] Dostoevsky, F. (1826). *The House of the Dead.* http://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Civilization

that forsaken aspect "swells up and takes on enormous proportions and you are simply feeding the devils" (Jung, 1984, p. 53).

Just as an individual seeks to separate from his/her shadow self, imprisonment offers a way for our culture to separate from—and in many ways ignore—parts of our national psyche we find troubling or unacceptable. The incarcerated—the "evil doers"—are locked away behind high walls and barbed wire fences in settings that are often far from urban centers and purposefully "out of sight," making the maintainence of ties to family, friends, and community difficult if not impossible to maintain. The strands that bind them to the larger community are if not severed, then stretched terribly thin. Once inside, prisoners are further separated not only by sex, but unofficially by race, ethnicity, and often by crime (sex offenders and those attempting to sever gang affliations, for example, are usually housed in "sensitive needs" yards and away from the general population). The growing tendency towards use of super-max facilities, where prisoners are kept in solitary confinement for up to 24 hours a day, further isolates an individual from any sense of community even within the prison. As levels of imprisonment have burgeoned in the last 30 years, super-max facilities have proliferated from a mere half dozen units in 1985, to operation of units in 45 states and within the Federal Bureau of Prisons in 2003 (Magnani, 2008, p. 3).

Because for incarcerated people the ties that bind them to community—the circle of attachments that integrate them into the larger society—are systematically severed, this dissertation also explored healing efforts that can begin to bring incarcerated people back into the circle of humanity through the acquisition of skills that for many were absent during their formative years. For the incarcerated, imprisonment is about separation,

insecurity, powerlessness, domination, loss of control and resources; for those who favor imprisoning large segments of the population the goals are only slightly skewed: separation, security, power, domination, control, and profitability. The integrity of the circle offers a contrast of inclusion, unity, safe space, confidentiality, support, and autonomy upon which individuals can begin to establish a new foundation on which to rebuild their lives.

Thus from an exploration of the hoary archetype of the shadow as it manifests in our national culture, this study took an in-depth look at the universal symbol of the circle, one of humanity's most common symbols, and described how its inherent characteristics can be used to bring about healing among prison affected populations, in particular, and society more broadly. After identifying and describing a variety of circle-based activities that serve this purpose, the study focused on one particular circle-based initiative—the Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP)—which has been working with prison-affected populations in more than 30 states and 20 countries for over 30 years to examine in greater detail its effects upon both incarcerated people and the community. Ethnographic techniques such as participant interviews and participation in prison-based interventions were undertaken and the results incorporated in this dissertation. Appropriate ethical procedures were adhered to in compliance with the guidelines of the American Psychological Association and the standards and procedures of the Pacifica Graduate Institute's Ethics Committee.

Relevance of the Topic for Psychology

Archetypes and symbols are focal points of Jungian psychology and can play an instrumental role on the journey toward individuation. I believe that a depth

psychological approach to working with incarcerated people, based on an understanding of the shadow issues involved and utilizing the healing power of the circle, holds tremendous potential to encourage positive change at an individual and, ultimately, a societal level while making a meaningful contribution to the field. The research sought to provide a better understanding of how these important Jungian concepts can be used to explore a critcal aspect of the current socio-political landscape—mass imprisonment— and offer a means for greater understanding and positive change. Given the nature of the topic, its patriarchal underpinnings, and the concomitant issues of race, class, and gender that pervade our society, a liberation psychology lens was employed throughout the work because psychologies of liberation move us beyond a focus on the individual and how he/she relates to the world and bring a recognition that the world is a major player impacting the individual. Liberation psychologies allow us to look at the impact of social and cultural influences on our individual intrapsychic dynamics.

Because depth psychology was originally a product of white, middle-class, European, patriarchal civilization, by the 1950s a critique at the fringes began to develop. Writers using psychoanalytic approaches to understand peoples outside of a European domain—those who had not been considered in psychoanalytic thought up to that point, such as Memmi (1965) and Fanon (1963, 1967)—looked at themselves in the mirror of white culture and saw that they did not fit into the theorizing up to that point. They began to question the depth psychological establishment and push at its boundaries to see how their experiences of colonialism and racism could be included. They told us that the reality of the dominant culture was not their reality, and that no, *we* (the white and middle

class) really did *not* understand. Fanon, in fact, had the audacity to declare that the Oedipus complex was unique to Europeans!

Early contributors to liberation psychology provided an underlying narrative for much of the racial and class struggles that erupted in the 1960s in support of the liberation of oppressed peoples. In the process, depth psychology was exposed to new voices and points of view that have served to broaden understanding and frames of inquiry. Movements to end oppression of the poor and minorities were part and parcel of the new liberation psychologies that centered on empowerment of individuals and communities. Writers/activists such as Martin-Baró (1994) in El Salvador and Paulo Freire (1970) in Brazil strongly impacted liberation movements around the world. Freire's theory of *conscientization* was extremely influential internationally in educational and political realms.

But despite these inroads in the areas of race and class, the patriarchal influence continued to be dominant even within these liberation struggles. By the 1970s, a second important influence came to the fore as "women's liberation" took aim at the psychological mainstream. It was noted that truth had somehow been construed as what is true for men without bothering to inquire if it was true for women as well. The feminist critique of the mainstream resulted in a new feminist psychology that has had a significant impact on how we do research. From this viewpoint, scientific "objectivity" takes a back seat to listening, witnessing, validating, and concomitant new apprpoaches to research in which individuals are not "studied" but included as participants in the research.

A psychology-of-liberation perspective challenges how we interpret what goes on around us and seeks ways to bring about a more conscious way of working in the world. Martín-Baró (1994) warns of the danger of applying psychological models of illness and health to oppressed populations. He notes that Freud's description of the healthy person is one who is able to work and to love. For the poor and the oppressed, such opportunities are anywhere from non-existent to limited, in the case of work, and often severely compromised in terms of being able to give and receive love—especially where violence is endemic. Watkins and Shulman (2008) express a need for "psychologies of regeneration" that can provide "passive, disengaged, and divided populations" with "ways to imagine rebuilding psychological spaces where one can develop a critical analysis of one's situation, improvise new practices for the healing of individuals and communitiies, and recover or create a sense of common purpose and vision" (pp. 2-3)—ways to bring people back into the circle. Thus liberation psychology is, I believe, highly relevant when dealing with people impacted by the criminal justice system in the United States.

From a depth psychological point of view, it has become clear to me that many people who have faced incarceration have in fact made the journey to the underworld, as described by Jung and other depth psychologists, and come back to tell their tales. Many of these people possess tremendous wisdom and great humility and thus have much to teach the rest of society. Many, many others, unfortunately, remain stranded in the underworld because of insufficient efforts on the part of society to help them on their journey. Soul work, an emphasis on the imaginal, expression through the arts, along with circle-based interventions, are all important means of helping this population to empower

itself. Yet, it is important to always keep in mind as we enter their world that *they* are the ones *with* the answers and our job as depth psychologists is to help them articulate and make constructive use of what they have experienced and to assist them to negotiate the barricades that keep them separated from the dominant culture.

Timeliness of the Study

As is shown in the discussion below, there is a growing recognition that our bloated prison population has less to do with preventing crime and more to do with pandering to public anxiety and the desire to punish while, at the same time, capitalizing on the numerous opportunities for turning a profit from the business of incarceration. As Loury (2008) notes, in terms of the effectivness of incarceration in reducing crime, "analysts of all political stripes now agree that we long ago entered the zone of diminishing returns" (p. 7). In 2008, we moved into a time of economic downturn. The days of unbridled greed and extravagance were, at least temporarily, out of fashion. Greater scrutiny of state and federal budgets drew attention to the excessive amount of public funds required to support the prison-industrial complex that had been flourishing in the United States for over 30 years. As a result, thousands of convicts continue to gain early release not necessarily because of a recognition that there is no benefit to them being incarcerated, nor for their good behavior, nor in recognition that the current penal system is unjust and ineffective, but due to the need to stem the hemorrhaging from federal, state, and local government coffers. In fact, the first decline in the U.S. prison population in recent history occurred in 2009—a seven percent drop (48,800 offenders)—the first time there had been a downturn since 1980 (Bureau of Justice, 2011). This trend continues as this dissertation is being finalized. In 2012, for the third consecutive year,

the U.S. prison population declined "from a high of 1,615,487 inmates in 2009 to 1,571,013." Between year's end 2011 and 2012, there were 27,770 fewer people in prison in America; however, this was not the trend within the Federal prison system which saw an increase of 1,453 inmates (0.7 percent) in the same period (Bureau of Justice Statistics, July 25, 2013). This changing trend was emphasized in a poll of California voters carried out by the *Los Angeles Times* and the University of Southern California in 2011 that indicated, for the first time in recent memory, a populace *not* enamored of more prisons and longer sentences: "As the state seeks to cut crowding, voters say they'd rather ease some penalities than pay more to house inmates" (Dolan, 2011). In November, 2012, Californians voted to amend the controversial three-strikes law offering hope to thousands of prisoners facing life imprisonment for a non-violent offence. Unfortunately, voters were not ready to do away with the death penalty at this point.[2]

At such a time, when mass imprisonment is being questioned if for nothing more than economic reasons, a singular opportunity to re-examine public policy and the social and political underpinnings of our "law and order" mentality is before us. It is a time for thoughtful people to examine a range of alternatives to vengence. As Magnani and Wray (2006) suggest as they look *Beyond Prisons: A New Interfaith Paradigm for Our Failed Prison System*: "Prisons compete with social programs, such as improvement of public schools, for decreasing funds," and up until this point, "prisons have been winning" (p. 31). We are at an opportune time to address this issue and advance ways in which all

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[2] Due to the inability to secure the pharmaceuticals required for lethal injection, the mandated form of execution in the state of California, no executions have taken place for the past 7 years.

Americans can become part of the circle of community. I believe we will all be better for that effort.

Literature Review

The following review of the literature provides the background for understanding the area of research undertaken and establishes the rationale for the study. The literature review covers four major areas: the historical basis for and the social, psychological, and political issues that have brought the United States to its present incarceration crisis; the Jungian concept of the shadow and how it applies to the phenomenon of mass incarceration; an exploration of the symbol of the circle, including the myriad ways in which it can contribute to healing, and the potential it holds for working with incarcerated people; and, in chapter 2, a review of the literature related to the theoretical approach to be undertaken in this study.

The Imprisonment Epidemic

In this section I review the history of incarceration as it has evolved in the West, particularly in the United States. From there, the forces influencing and defining the current incarceration crisis will be discussed.

Retribution versus rehabilitation: The cyclic history of imprisonment in the West. A review of the history of imprisonment in the West reveals a constantly swinging pendulum, an *enantiodramia* between the desire to punish and the hope for reform. References to punishments meted out to those who violate societal prohibitions go back as far as the Book of Genesis and the myths of ancient Greece (Morris, 1997). What becomes clear from a scholarly review of research into the history of punishment is that many of the issues people were grappling with in ancient times remain paramount today.

Further, one can clearly see the ebb and flow of movements throughout penal history in favor of rehabilitation versus punishment, retribution versus reform.

Imprisonment in ancient and medieval times through the 16th century emerged through institutionalization of the jail. While punishment was then designed primarily to set an example for the populace as to what happens when the laws of society are transgressed, even in ancient Greece there was some consideration of the possible rehabilitation of the offender. Socrates, who himself chose death over imprisonment, according to Plato in the *Gorgias*, commented: "He who is rightly punished ought either to become better and profit by it or he ought to be made an example to his fellow that they may see what he suffers and fear to suffer the like, and become better" (Peters, 1997, p. 5). Plato himself pondered the subject of imprisonment, describing in his *Laws* a system with three levels of incarceration based on the capacity for rehabilitation of the offender.

In the Roman world, imprisonment was primarily reserved for debtors and those who committed petty crimes; serious offenses were routinely punished by exile or death. The concept of keeping a person in prison for life was virtually inconceivable (p. 7-8). Mamertime Prison, one of the first to be constructed and longest maintained, was built under the sewers of Rome in 64 BC. Here prisoners were kept confined in cages (Johnson, 2002, p. 19). Beginning in Roman times, and continuing through this day in some parts of the world, the quality of prison accommodations was primarily based upon the ability of offenders and their families to provide for them while incarcerated (Peters, 1995, p. 26).

The idea of providing aid to those in jail or praying for their souls emerged with the coming of Christianity.

> Under early Roman law, most crimes were considered private affairs, rather than offenses against the state. Criminals were prosecuted not by the government but by the victim. As the Catholic Church expanded its reach in the eighth and ninth centuries, however, crime came to be viewed not as a private wrong but as a sin, and as such open to correction. (Halliman, 2001, p. 66)

The singular most important influence on the design and operation of prisons was, in fact, the monastery: "As early as the 4th century, there is evidence of cells in monasteries reserved for persons consigned to years of solitary confinement," while another strong influence was leper colonies, which kept those infected—in this case with criminality—confined and away from the general populace (Johnson, 2002, p. 22). By the time of the inquisition, imprisonment was viewed as a way of offering heretics the opportunity to repent. Interestingly, this desire to save souls eventually resulted in a problem of overcrowded facilities and a financial burden on the Church: Pope Clement V sent a commission of inspectors to review conditions in southern France resulting in orders to improve the despicable conditions that existed within the inquisitional prisons (Peters, 1997, p. 31).

Expanding use of imprisonment. In England, the use of jails began to increase rapidly beginning in the late 13th century, although physical forms of punishment (execution, flogging, etc.) remained the primary means of punishment. By the early 16th century, English common law included 180 imprisonable offenses usually related to debt, vagrancy, or nuisance crimes. It was at this time that the concept of bail, allowing an accused to post bond in lieu of spending time in jail, was first introduced into English law. Interestingly, beginning in the 13th century, whenever jails became overcrowded,

the Crown would convene a commission empowered to "deliver the jails"—a practice

that apparently was carried out as often as two or three times a year to free up space in

the gaols (Peters, 1997, p. 34-35). (Currently—2014—in the State of California we are

facing the need to deliver the prisons in the face of overcrowding, dwindling state

budgets, and court sanctions.)

From the middle of the eighteenth through the 19th century, there was a

significant change in public forms of punishment, moving from a very public emphasis

on execution and torture to the much less visible use of incarceration—the body was no

longer the major target of penal repression and the implementation of punishment became

hidden. No longer was violence carried out in full view of the population, but behind high

walls and out of sight. Foucault (1975) sees this as a redistribution of blame:

> The expiation that was once rained down upon the body must be replaced by a
> punishment that acts in depth on the heart, the thought, the will, the inclinations. It
> was the end of a certain kind of tragedy; comedy began, with shadow play,
> faceless voices, impalpable entities. The apparatus of punitive justice must now
> bite into this bodiless reality. (pp. 16-17)

"It is the conviction itself that marks the offender with the unequivocally negative sign,"

Foucault notes, rather than scars on the body (pp. 8-9).

In addition to the flagging popularity of public torture, the rapid evolution of

Western society from agrarian to industrial changed the emphasis on punishment from

revenge for wrongs against person (particularly the Crown or government) to protection

of property. The evolution of the jail into the workhouse is a noteworthy representation of

this trend. Again to quote Foucault (1975): "The aim is to derive the maximum

advantages and to neutralize the inconveniences (thefts, interruptions of work,

disturbances and "cabals"), as the forces of production become more concentrated; to

protect materials and tools and to master the labour force" (p. 142). He notes that "the way in which wealth tended to be invested, on a much larger scale than ever before, in commodities and machines, presupposed a systematic, armed intolerance of illegality" (p. 85). Prisons thus became the bastions used to undergird a new social order.

It was also at this time that the concept of solitary confinement was introduced to deal with recalcitrant prisoners (Spierenburg, 1997). A number of other new variations appeared during this time. For example, the use of prisons as a way for families to deal with problematic members (often those guilty of immoral conduct) became common. Some of these individuals were forced to work as a means of discipline, but others, usually from very wealthy families, were simply kept away from society. In France, lawbreakers also could be sentenced to galley servitude in the King's navy while England enacted the Transportation Act of 1718 under which approximately 50,000 English felons were shipped to America between 1718 and 1776 (pp. 75-76). An even larger number were subsequently sent to populate Australia.

By the late 18th century, prisons themselves had became a topic of curiosity and concern for reformers and the general public. While more felons were being sentenced to jail, a significant portion of the penal population remained debtors: "Only the presence of irons differentiated the felons from the visitors or from the debtors and their families," writes McGowen (1997) about the situation circa 1780. "The jail appeared to be a peculiar kind of lodging house with a mixed clientele" (p. 79). In less than 100 years, the situation had changed dramatically:

> Only prisoners and jailers were present, and the difference between the two groups was apparent at a glance. Conversation and pleasure had been outlawed, but the prison was clean and healthy. Prisoners were confined to identical cells and subjected to a similar diet. Their lives were carefully regulated. (p. 79)

This change was largely the result of national campaigns begun in 1810 and carried out by concerned groups—primarily Quakers—that resulted in parliamentary investigation and legislation affecting English jails.

  Reform and the birth of the penitentiary. Johnson (2002) tells us that in Colonial America, those who broke society's rules were generally considered "errant but contrite neighbors" (p. 34). Magnani and Wray (2006) call attention to the fact that in the colony of New York, between 1691 and 1776, there were only 19 cases of imprisonment for crime. Their explanation: "It stands to reason that in a society where there was a shortage of laborers, there would be a reluctance to imprison able-bodied adults. Debtors were a drain on both farmers and merchants and were punished to deter others" (p. 19). For Mauer (2006), the fact that colonial societies were "relatively small and their inhabitants well known to each other" meant that "public approbation and embarrassment was seen as capable of shaming the offender into desisting from continued illegal activities" (p. 3).

  In 1682, William Penn enacted his Great Law that articulated a much more humane penal code for the Pennsylvania Colony than was generally in practice at the time: "Fines and imprisonment in a workhouse as the only penalities for most offences, flogging for adultery, arson, and rape, and the death penalty only for premeditated murder" (Teeters & Shearer, 1957, p. 7). As of 1785, fully half of those imprisoned in the Philadelphia jail (151 men and women) were debtors. However, by the end of the 18th century, the response became more sinister with a significant increase in retributive vengeance: Americans now saw offenders "as out-and-out criminals rather than misguided people" and deserving of God's punishment (Johnson, 2002, p. 34).

The United States is credited with the invention of the penitentiary as an extension of the jail designed to deal with those facing longer sentences. (It should be noted here, that a long sentence at that time was considered to be from 3 to 5 years, an amount of time that would be considered a short sentence in the United States today.) Quakers took the lead in "demanding a wider role for religion in defining the purpose of prison" with the goal of saving souls. (McGowen, 1997, p. 94).

As the pendulum began to swing in the direction of rehabilitation, the aims of incarceration were modified: "So one punishes not to efface the crime, but to transform a criminal (actual or potential); punishment must bring with it a certain corrective technique," according to Foucault (1975, p. 127). Johnson (2002) further describes the penitentiary as a descendent of the "plague town," whose object was to "protect health and improve character" (p. 32). The goal was the reformation of prisoners by imposition of discipline and solitude that would lead to reflection and repentance.

Foremost among the American experiments in penology were two penitentiaries, one in Philadelphia (known as Eastern State Penitentary or, more commonly, Cherry Hill, a reference to its location within the city) and one in Auburn, New York. According to Rothman (1997), at Auburn, "prisoners slept alone, one to a cell. They came together to eat and to work in the prison shops, but the rules prohibited all talking and even the exchange of glances" The Pennsylvania experience was even more severe with prisoners remaining in single cells for the length of their sentence. "They worked, ate, and slept in solitary confinement and were allowed to see only selected visitors" (p. 117). The most notable feature of these institutions, as reported by visitors, was their eerie silence.

On April 5, 1790, the Pennsylvania state legislature passed an act stipulating solitary confinement as the preferred punishment for "hardened and atrocious offenders" (Teeter & Shearer, 1957, p. 10). It took 14 years to construct the prison at Cherry Hill in Philadelphia. In their instructions to the architect, the building commission required: "The exterior of a solitary prison should exhibit as much as possible great strength and convey to the mind a cheerless blank indicative of the misery that awaits the unhappy being who enters within its walls" (p. 59). Yet the philosophy expressed by prison inspectors in 1842 was that the prisoner "should regard his cell as the beautiful gate of the Temple leading to a happy life and a peaceful end, to Heaven" (p. 159), thus emphasizing the religious and educational goals of the establishment.

Johnson (2002) laments that while envisioned to be "the perfect prison—a separate, self-contained, pure moral universe dedicated to the reclamation of wayward men and women"—in actual operation "this grand and even noble experiment in prison reform" all too often led to regimented brutality (p. 32). At that time, solitary confinement was thought to offer offenders an opportunity for repentance by eliminating the negative influences of their fellow prisoners. However, the concept of "separation" rather than resulting in reformation more often "imposed a scheme of such rigorous severity that it was easily embraced by those whose main interest was in punishing criminals and producing deterrence" (McGowen, 1997, p. 102). This situation will be seen again in reference to the situation in the United States today, with the proliferation of super-max facilities.

Despite the isolation that kept prisoners separated from one another, it must be noted that both at Auburn and Cherry Hill, local citizens felt compelled to visit these

institutions regularly in order to offer religious instruction and, in some cases, to teach

basic skills such as reading and writing.

> As we look back on those early days of Cherry Hill we are impressed by the large number of professional men, citizens of Philadelphia, who voluntarily visited the prisoners, month after month, year after year, in all sorts of weather. (Teeters & Shearer, 1957, p 166)

And apparently the visits were valued by the inmates as many continued to communicate

with these visitors following their release

At this time it was also common for average citizens to visit the penitentiaries, an

outing no doubt facilitated, in the case of Cherry Hill, by the fact that the prison was

erected within the city of Philadelphia. (Sing Sing would later be just a pleasant boat trip

up the Hudson from New York City). In a five-year period from 1854-1859, "over 40,000

people visited the prison, not including friends and relatives of the prisoners or those

coming to prison on official business" (p. 200). This degree of contact with the public

would be unthinkable today; on June 26, 1910, public tours of the federal penitentiary at

Leavenworth, Kansas, came to an end (Earley, 1992, p. 36). However, television now

offers a large number of reality shows featuring inmates in America's prisons and jails

for the entertainment of the armchair voyeur.

This new American invention—the penitentiary—was also proudly shown off to

visitors, including two famous Europeans who wrote on the subject: Alex de Tocqueville

and Charles Dickens. De Tocqueville reported on his visits to both the Auburn and

Philadelphia penal experiments in 1831-32, noting that they were both based on the

combination of two principles: isolation and work. In terms of the latter, he noted that in

Philadelphia work was a "saving grace" for it at least gave the totally isolated prisoners

something to do; at Auburn, he felt that work was "something they would like to get out

of doing" as work was done communally but silently (de Tocqueville and de Beaumont, 1833/2005, p. 143). De Toqueville, however, was surprised by the quality of workmanship he observed "since they (the prisoners) receive no remuneration for their work—unlike in the prisons in France." He thoughtfully expressed concern that "when they leave prison they have nothing to show for their efforts" (p. 162-3), a concern yet to be addressed by the prison establishment in the United States to this day.

In terms of having a positive impact on the morality of the prisoners, de Toqueville was told by a staff member at Auburn that of the 670 inmates imprisoned at the time, he considered that perhaps 50 were totally reformed and could be considered "good Christians" (p. 192). In his own opinion, de Toqueville believed that the Philadelphia experiment "would produce more honest people, and New York more obedient citizens" (p. 198). He also astutely observed during his prison visits that while black people consitututed only one-sixth of the U.S. population at that time, they represented half of those in prison (p. 211)—and this was well before the end of slavery.

Charles Dickens came to the United States with two sites at the top of his visitor's list: the falls of Niagara and the penitentiary at Cherry Hill. Of the latter, he wrote (Dickens, 1832/2012): "The system here is rigid, strict and hopeless solitary confinement" and "I believe it, in its effects, to be cruel and wrong" (p. 98).

> In its intention, I am well convinced that it is kind, humane, and meant for reformation; but I am persuaded that those who devised this system of Prison Discipline, and those benevolent gentlemen who carry it into execution, do not know what it is they are doing. I am only the more convinced that there is a depth of terrible endurance in it which none but the sufferers themselves can fathom, and which no man has a right to inflict upon his fellow creature. (p. 98)

He further described an inmate at Cherry Hill as: "A man buried alive; to be dug out in the slow round of years" (p. 99). Despite this and other condemnations, the Pennsylvania

system was to be implemented, at least for some period of time between 1835 and 1851, in at least nine European countries (De Tocqueville, 2005, p. 206).

From 1842 until the mid-1860s, the technical name for the Philadelphia system was "the separate method of confinement with labor and moral instruction." By 1866, the approach was renamed the "individual treatment system," a moniker that lingered until the system officially ceased to function in 1913 (Teeters & Shearer, 1957, p. 218). Rothman (1997) suggests that, reminescent of the rhetoric today, by the antebellum era Americans were "frankly puzzled by the persistence of crime" (p. 116). There was a general feeling that the institutions that were thought to support the social order were faltering, in particular the family. Mauer (2006) concludes that "the demographic and economic growth of the nation had spawned increasing concern about anitsocial behavior, resulting in an institutional response to potential disorder" (p. 4). Therefore, as has been the case over the past 30 years, the focus on crime and on institutions designed to deal with criminals had less to do with a real increase in the level of illegal activity and more to do with insecurities about the society itself.

During the 18th and 19th centuries, significant intellectual effort was invested in efforts to develop the most effective means for managing incarcerated populations and manifested most often in the physical design of new prisons. In addition to the American contribution of the penitentiary, panopticism—the location of inmates around and in view of a central control tower—became a popular innovation at this time. Panopticism, as described by Foucault (1975), "reverses the principle of the dungeon; or rather of its three functions—to enclose, to deprive of light, and to hide—it preserves only the first and eliminates the other two" (p. 200). The prisoner "is seen, but he does not see; he is the

object of information, never a subject of communication" (p. 200). Today's super-max facilities are often designed on the circular model of the 19th century Foucault describes with prisoners never out of sight of those in control of the institution.

Ultimately, the fate that continues to befall prison reform—overcrowding and the punitive outlook of prison administrations, along with a general lack of concern on the part of the general public—resulted in a complete breakdown of both the Philadelphia and Auburn experiments. By the 1880s, both lawmakers and the public had again turned away from rehabilitation and prisons once more were viewed as primarily custodial in nature. Waves of new immigrants crowded the prisons and it was commonly said: "As bad as conditions were, they seemed good enough for the Irish" (Rothman, 1997, p. 126). The closing decades of the 19th century were, according to Rothman, "the dark ages for American prisons" (p. 170). Silence and a cell of one's own were no more.

By 1913, the experiment at Cherry Hill officially came to an end, although the system had ceased to function as originally intended years before. The "house of repentence," as it was called by Dr. Benjamin Rush, had ceased to exist. However, the physical structure continued to function as a prison until 1971. Today it is a National Historical Landmark (Halliman, 2001, p. 63).

While the idea of separation may have had value, the lack of human contact ultimately proved detrimental. Teeters and Shearer (1957) conclude: "Conceived before the development of social psychology, the founders of the system could not know that the human spirit, however, depraved, must communicate if it is to thrive in a healthy fashion" (p. 227). Ultimately, the Auburn model prevailed to a greater extent largely because there was a tremendous need for unskilled labor in the 19th century: "Deployment of prisoners

at factory labor provided an affordable quarantine against the dangers and corruptions of the larger world" (Johnson 2002, p. 38). Like the workhouse before it, American prisons were now institutionalized sources of production feeding the Industrial Revolution.

The reformatory movement. Before its expiration, the penitentiary movement spawned another penal invention: the reformatory. These facilities were aimed primarily at troubled youth and first-time offenders, and the first one was established in Elmira, New York in 1876. Halliman (2001) notes that "at least in theory, Elmira offered criminals *treatment,* not punishment" (p. 70). The reformatory movement also produced two new trends in penology: the flexible or "indeterminate" sentence, and the concept of parole, both of which became common practices in the United States. However, the reformatory movement as originally conceived was dead by 1920—all that remained was the name (p. 72). (Although most juvenile facilities today eschew official use of the title, e.g., California Youth Authority.)

But the reformatory movement has a very sad legacy. A large percentage of the young men I meet in prison are products of America's juvenile detention facilities. These "bad boys" often enter the system as young as 12 years of age and at their graduation, in the majority of cases, they have not been prepared to become good citizens within their communities but rather have acquired the skills and outlook that quickly leads them to become denizens of adult penal institutions.

Sadly, the road that leads to the reformatory often starts with a series of unsuccessful placements in foster care. Aaron Kipnis (1999), who followed this path and was one of the fortunate few to "make it" after the reformatory experience laments that "most public foster care agencies are financially discouraged from seeking adoptive

homes for their foster children because the government subsidies are based on the number of children in foster care per day" (p. 23). Some children also tend to bounce in and out of the foster care system as parents struggling with drug addiction, alcoholism, and imprisonment disappear and then reappear in their lives.

Caryl Chessman (1954), the California convict whose protracted effort to avoid the gas chamber became a focus in the fight against capital punishment, was a graduate of the reformatory:

> It seemed to me that at least half of the youngsters I had known at the reformation factory were doing time here (San Quentin), with one just executed and another on Death Row waiting to die, while a third was given a life sentence and a transfer to Folsom for beating another prisoner to death with a hammer. (p. 217)

While Kipnis (1999) was one of the lucky ones who escaped going to prison and succeeded in the outside world, there is another group—not so fortunate—who also elude such a fate: "Within a decade of release, 6 percent of CYA (California Youth Authority) offenders are dead. This gives us ex-youth authority offenders the highest mortality rate for that age group in the nation" (p. 146)—a truly bone-chilling statistic!

The early 20th century. By the turn of the 20th century, the emergent field of psychiatry began to influence the field of criminology through its interpretation of social deviance and by 1926, 67 prisons employed psychiatrists while 45 had psychologists on staff (Rothman, 1997, p. 178). Psychiatric profiling soon resulted in the categorization of prisoners and creation of designations from minimum to maximum security.

The dawn of the 20th century also saw a new round of attempted reforms, most notably Mott Osborne's use of self-government at Sing Sing and Howard Gill's Norfolk Model featuring "individualized treatment based on psychological and sociological categories in an institution that should emulate as far as possible the atmosphere of the

normal community" (pp. 180-181). Warden Mott Osborne actually had himself admitted to Auburn penitentiary as a prisoner (although it was known he was coming), and once there soon created enough discord to be assigned to one of the institution's punishment cells (Blumenthal, 2004, p. 51). "Even knowing his prospects for release, Osborne nearly went mad himself, overcome with hatred for the guards and 'this hideous, imbecile, soul-destroying system.' He already thought capital punishment insane; now he felt the whole system was demented" (p. 52). Back in the warden's office at Sing Sing, in addition to reforms within the facility, Osborne opened the prison's gates to the public: "Some 250 visitors a day, from evangelist Billy Sunday to bare-knuckle fighter John L. Sullivan and presidential candidate William Jennings Bryant" (p. 55) were given the tour. He wanted people to see what was being accomplished at Sing Sing. Contrast this attitude with prison politics today.

Sing Sing proved to be a magnet for charismatic wardens and Lewis Lawes followed in Osborne's footsteps. Lawes (1937) was a believer in the humanizing effect of "sunshine, open air, sports, and music."

> Men have been taken out of isolation and put into the sunshine and they have done splendidly. We don't take them away from their sunshine except for a serious offense against discipline. If they're in good standing, they're out in it every day." Color, too, improved the men's mood, and Lawes repainted Sing Sing's grim dun buildings orange, the same bright hue as New York City's elevated trains. (p. 116)

In his book, *Life and Death in Sing Sing* (1937), Lawes discusses his penal philosophy and in particular his life-long campaign to abolish the death penalty. For Lawes:

> The criminal was Everyman. Goethe himself had written that he had never heard of a crime that he could not imagine committing. Even the bluest of the blue bloods could not trace his ancestry too far back without encountering a prison or a gallow. (p. 155)

Yet despite Lawes' renown as a writer of books and screenplays,[3] and a popular radio personality, the changes he wrought at Sing Sing did not long survive his tenure (1920-1941). Again the pendulum began to swing in the other direction.

Another voice for reform in the mid-twentieth century was James V. Bennett, for 27 years director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons. Founded in 1929, the Bureau's policies were, at that time, considered to be very progressive. Bennet even pushed the U.S. Congress to demand that the U.S. Public Health Service provide medical and psychiatric care to federal inmates (Earley, 1992, p. 57). In 1958 Bennet established the "medical model" of rehabilitation. "The concept was simple. A criminal committed a crime because he was 'sick' and just like a person who was physically ill, he could be 'cured' if the cause of his 'sickness' was diagnosed and treated." (p. 57). The "medical model" was supposed to make penitentiaries obsolete and construction on all federal prisons came to a temporary halt. But ultimately, conflicts between the intrusive new treatment staff and the established custodial officers brought this, along with other more humane experiments, to an end.

This period of time also saw an increased "professionalization" among prison staff and establishment of a new type of prison—The Big House—that could house up to 2,500 men such as California's San Quentin and Illinois' Statesville (pp. 185-187). These new prisons, which Johnson (2002) reports as carrying on a "custodial warehousing agenda" (p. 40), did include a few positive reforms from the prisoners' point of view. The

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[3] *Twenty Thousand Years in Sing Sing* was made into a 1932 movie under the same title, starring Spencer Tracy, and again in 1940 as *Castle on the Hudson*, featuring John Garfield. *Invisible Stripes* in 1939, with George Raft, was based on his novel of the same name, while Humphrey Bogart starred in *You Can't Get Away with Murder* in 1939, an adaptation of *Chalked Out*, a play Lawes co-wrote" (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lewis_E._Lawes).

introduction of tobacco was greeted with great relief by inmates at the time and corporal punishment was supposedly abolished. In the previous century, as many as 60 percent of prisoners were whipped as part of their punishment each year (p. 41). Prisoners also enjoyed greater freedom to move about and interact with other inmates in these new facilities as the rule of silence and a solitary cell had long ago ceased to function. Unfortunately, this greater freedom served to increase the level of violence *among* inmates, creating a "culture of victimization," often operated with the encouragement of staff, where the more predatory inmates are able to prey upon the weak and defenseless (p. 66).

At this time in the South, most inmates—who were predominantly black—served their time in plantation prisons, often working on chain gangs. Johnson (2002) notes that few, if any, lived to serve out a ten-year sentence and "most didn't live nearly that long" (p. 44). This situation continued despite the fact that the United Nations in 1955 established Standard Minimum Rules for Treatment of Prisoners that stated: "A sentence of imprisonment can be justified only when it is used to ensure, so far as possible, that upon his return to society, the offender is not only willing but able to lead a law-abiding and self-supporting life" (Rothman, 1997, pp. 189-190). The Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s finally curtailed this practice when, once again, concern was being voiced as to the negative impact of imprisonment in America.

Institutionalization. Foucault (1975) forcefully avers that: "The emergence of the prison marks the institutionalization of the power to punish" (p. 130). In his sociological classic *Asylums*, Erving Goffman (1961) notes that U.S. institutions, such as prisons, are primarily aimed at restricting inmates' abilities to communicate and

cooperate. He describes the total institution as "a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life." In *Asylums*, his focus is on "the world of the inmate," and he seeks to "develop a sociological version of the structure of the self" (p. xiii). One of several types of total institution described is designed "to protect the community against what are felt to be intentional dangers to it" These include "jails, penitentiaries, P.O.W. camps, and concentration camps" (pp. 4-5). Those consigned to such institutions are relegated by physical, administrative, and psychological barriers to an existence separate from even those whose charge is maintainence of such institutuions: "Two different social and cultural worlds develop, jogging alongside each other with points of official contact but little mutual penetration" (p. 9). The goal of these institutions is to change people and each, he explains, "is a natural experiment on what can be done to the self" (p. 12). This experiment involves a process of "disculturation" which, at least temporarily, renders the inmate "incapable of managing certain features of daily life on the outside" (p. 13). Systematically the inmate's sense of himself is "mortified" creating stress upon the self by having his fate totally in the hands of the institution (p. 43)

For Cushman (1996), this modern form of institutionalization emerged when madness was no longer seen as a problem within God's domain, but a defect of the mind—"the mind becoming a thing in its own right, in contact with but separate from the body" (pp. 92-93). The expansion of capitalism and industrialization resulted in the view that "deviant behavior that led to reduced economic productivity was a drain not only on the family but more importantly on the nation as a whole. It was imperative that the state

develop the ability to separate laggards from the truly incapacitated" (pp. 96-97). In this new world view, "self-domination" was paramount and "the definition of madness expanded to cover more of the poor"—those who lacked this essential quality—and "contracted for the middle and especially the upper classes" (p. 100). Cushman concurs with Foucault's assessment that as a culture we adopted a "practice of self-surveillance" and an "unswerving belief in self-discipline" (p. 101). Ultimately, the purpose of total institutions is to mold the individual self to fit the cultural definition of acceptable behavior and, failing that, to keep such people separated from society at large.

Cushman believes that this manipulation of the self is really "all about politics," and "*politics* refers to the exercise of power" (p. 332). And by locating the self within the realm of "science," religious and moral considerations no longer prevail. For mainstream psychology, "the essential qualities" ascribed to the healthy individual became "the qualities of the Western self: masterful, bounded, and subjective" (p. 334). Thus psychology often becomes a tool for "preventing individuals from having the ability to see into how political structures impact the individual and how much these structures are responsible for the suffering of the victims and the crimes of perpetrators" (p. 336). Even the foreword to the 1966 President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, carried out by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, stated: "One cannot read the report without being struck by the fact that American correctional philosophy is a philosophy of institutionalization" (Rothman, 1997, p. 193). And the situation is even more extreme today.

Gilligan (1997), writing on the subject of the institutionalization of violence, finds that "crime and punishment are reciprocal systems for the symbolic exchange of honor

and shame. For example, he describes the admission process in American prisons as being "deliberately intended to terrify and humiliate the new inmate by demonstrating to him the complete and total power the prison or hospital has over him, and to intimidate him into submitting absolutely to the institution and its officers" (p. 175). It is not surprising, therefore, to observe that total institutions appear to have frequently nurtured even greater deviance rather than returning the marginalized to the mainstream of society. From his viewpoint on San Quentin's death row, Caryl Chessman (1954) looks back on the journey that has led him to occupy this precarious position:

> I stubbornly balked at being manipulated, regulated, or being compelled to conform blindly through fear or threat or punishment, however severe. Indeed, I came to question the validity of a society that appeared more concerned with imposing its will than in inspiring respect. (p. 347)

Gilligan (1997), who was in charge of psychiatric services in the Massachusetts prison system for ten years, observes that:

> The whole system has a military feel to it; it is like a state of civil war that never ends, in which there are no victors, neither side surrenders, and there is not even the possibility of a peace treaty. (p. 32)

Jack Abbott (1981) is another product of institutionalization. Abbot refers to himself as a "state-raised" convict: "I am at this moment thirty-seven years old. Since age twelve I have been free the sum total of nine and a half months. I have served a good fourteen or fifteen years in solitary. I am barely a precocious child. My passions are those of a boy" (p. 7). Abbott came to prominence when his correspondence with author Norman Mailer was published as *In the Belly of the Beast*, which chronicled his unrelenting resistance to the system that had tried to control him for almost his entire life.

Stunned by his innate intelligence and degree of self-education[4], the impact of the book

did ultimately lead to his release from prison, but his institutional persona was ill-suited

to life "outside." A dispute over use of a public restroom, six weeks following his release,

resulted in a stabbing death. Abbott was caught and returned to prison where he ended his

defiance of the system by hanging himself in 2000. The royalties from the sale of his

book now go to the family of his victim (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jack Abbott).

The European perspective. A comparison of developments in Europe in the 20th

century clearly illuminates just how far the United States continued to lag behind in terms

of adopting a more efficient and humane approach to dealing with criminal behavior. In

Europe:

> Through an odd nexus of public opinion and two widely divergent theories of
> criminality, imprisonment gradually lost its place as the preferred penal sanction.
> The public became increasingly aware of the prison's failure to rehabilitate
> wrongdoers and its success in fostering a culture of recidivism. (O'Brian, 1997, p.
> 209)

In France, the government began providing support to private societies and institutions to

assist prisoners upon release, a move that contributed considerably to a 50% reduction in

the nation's prison population between 1887 and 1956 (p. 211). Since the 1930s, Sweden

has offered furloughs to prisoners (usually 48 hours in length) to allow them to retain ties

with family and society, a system that has been adopted in a number of other European

countries Such programs are offered as part of prison programs that rely primarily on a

"treatment ideology" rather than a punitive model. By the 1960s, there was recognition

among most Western European countries that "the idea of confinement was itself

deviant" (p. 220). Inmate and activitist Jens Soering (2004), a German citizen serving

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[4] Abbot notes of his self-education: "Nine-tenths of my vocabulary I have never heard
spoken" (p. 19).

time in a U.S. prison, notes that "all the nations of the industrialized world, without exception, approach crime and prisons in a way that is diametrically opposite to America's, uniformly seeking to lower, not raise, correctional populations" (p. 5). Only in Britain, where such innovative programs have not been employed, was there a significant increase in the prison population, the number doubling between 1950 and 1980 (O'Brien, 1997, p. 223).

Forces Influencing the Situation Today

In his best-selling book *Newjack*: *Guarding Sing Sing* (2000), journalist Ted Conover—who underwent the mandatory training to become a prison guard at Sing Sing because it was the only way he could get an insider's perspective on the workings of a major penal institution—calls attention to "America's incarceration crisis" and notes that the stunning truth is that:

> Since the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa, the former number-one jailer, the United States has run neck and neck with Russia in the race to become the world leader in rates of imprisonment. We lock up six times as many citizens per capita as England, for example, and seventeen times as many as Japan. (p. 19)

Gottschalk (2006) offers a bridge between the cultural and historical contexts leading to the current imprisonment epidemic, which she refers to as the growth of the "carceral state." Today states such as California, New York, and Florida are spending more on prisons than on higher education—a situation that evolved almost without public notice and only recently has become a "major focus of social science research of public concern" (p.18, 20). She theorizes that four movements/groups have, within the past 40 years, significantly contributed to development of the carceral state despite the appearance of fostering reform within the judicial system. Gottschalk identifies these as:

the victims' movement, the women's movement, the prisoners' rights movement, and opponents of the death penalty (p. 8).

The victims' movement came of age in the 1970s (in counterpoint to the prisoners' rights movement which was at its zenith at that time) as what Gottschalk calls "highly retributive and punitive; a zero-sum game that pitted the rights of victims against the rights of offenders," with a goal of ensuring that offenders "be punished based on how much punishment they inflict on society and on individual victims" (p. 77). This is in stark contrast with the experience in Europe and other countries, such as New Zealand, where assistance for victims of crime is seen as part of the wider fabric of social welfare policies, thus placing crime victims under the broader umbrella of the welfare state rather than giving them a unique identity within the criminal justice system. Soering (2004) shows that while victimization rates were similar (19-24 percent) across four countries (Finland, France, Canada, United States), imprisonment rates per 100,000 civilians ranged from 50-116 in the first three nations and soared to an incredible 715 per 100,000 in the United States (p. 10).

Despite political support for "victims' rights" Sister Helen Prejean (1994) found, in her attempts to organize support for crime victims in Louisiana, that although Congress passed a Victims of Crime Act in 1984 and established a fund partially dedicated to community-based victim assisstance programs, few if any of the victims she met, were aware such programs existed. In fact many, particularly minorities, felt they had not been given any kind of assistance and themselves felt "victimized by the criminal justice system. Insensitivity by the D.A.'s (district attorney's) office and police seems to be almost everyone's experience" (p. 231). This, of course, was before Hurricane Katrina

when the entire nation learned of the disparities in justice and social services available to poor, black residents of New Orleans.

According to Gottschalk (2006), the contribution of the women's movement to creation of the carceral state has largely centered around demands in the 1970s and 1980s to address issues of rape and domestic violence. But again, unlike similar movements in other countries, the focus in the United States was via the criminal justice system. In this effort, according to Gottschalk, liberal and often radical feminists found themselves uncharacteristically aligned with conservatives seeking support for a law and order agenda: "Playing the crime card served to attract money for rape crisis centers and also to broaden the base of the movement from middle-and upper-class white women to Hispanic and black communities," the latter often having felt alienated from the radical nature of the feminist movement and being more focused on issues of racism (p. 128). The battered women's movement, to an even greater extent, favored taking a hard line against perpetrators.

The growth of the prisoners' rights movement of the 1960s and early 1970s, evolved out of efforts of politically minded prisoners, especially Quakers and other conscientious objectors during World War II (Cantine & Rainer, 1950/2001), and by Black Muslims in the years following the war. By the 1960s, the Civil Rights Movement fostered an expansion of this movement by challenging abusive conditions such as the plantation-style prison farms of the South. However, by the end of the decade, more radical elements had moved to the fore. In fact, "the U.S. prisoners' movement came to be seen at home and abroad as a vanguard of a worldwide liberation movement for oppressed people, especially peoples of color" (Gottschalk, 2006, p. 178). The outbreak

of violence that erupted in the nation's prisons in the early 1970s, while initially eliciting

concern about conditions within U.S. penal institutions (Parenti, 2008), eventually

resulted in public sympathy being overwhelmed by the growing national fear of crime in

the streets and social unrest. Militant convicts, mostly black, who had often been hailed

as revolutionaries rather than abused or disgruntled priosners, now appeared dangerous

and threatening in the wake of the Attica uprising of 1971, despite the fact that most of

the 43 victims of the riot were killed by guards and the police who stormed the prison,

not by inmates (Halliman, 2001).

> As Johnson (2002) explains:
>
> It was the violent retaking of the prison by officials that wrought the bulk of the blood and carnage, not the behavior of the inmates. Lawsuits generated by the riot highlight the moral ambiguity of this riot. A civilian jury found in favor of the relatives of inmates, awarding eight million dollars in damages. (However) the lesson of Attica was not that the state could too easily abuse its power but that the state had been insufficiently resolute in the exercise of that power. For most people, Attica was the problem—it had been weak, soft, an easy target. Prisons henceforth would be rigid and regimented. Hard time would get harder. Punishment would rule. (pp. xi-xii)

Concern for the wellbeing of prisoners soon all but disappeared. Halliman (2001) reports

that a 1970 Lou Harris poll found that 73 percent of Americans queried at that time

considered the primary purpose of prison to be rehabilitation. When the question was

asked again in 1995, that sentiment was shared by only 26 percent of those surveyed (p.

xiv). Investigative jouranlist Jessica Mitford, who had taken on the funeral industry in her

1963 best-seller *The American Way of Death*, published *Kind and Usual Punishment:*

The Prison Business in 1974, which offered a preview of what was to become the

carceral state.

Ironically, despite the restoration of the death penalty in many states, the reluctance to take human life has resulted in a significant increase in the number of people receiving a sentence of life without the possibility of parole, with a resultant increase in the number of long-term inmates. "From 1992 to 2003, the total number of offenders serving a life sentence in state and federal prisons increased by 83 percent. As of 2003, one in eleven prisoners was serving a life sentence" (Gottschalk, 2006, p. 231). Further, despite the return of capital punishment after the Supreme Court mandated a 10-year moratorium (1967-1976), most of those sentenced to death spend years in prison going through the tedious process of filing appeals. Gottschalk reports that "in 2003, 84 percent of all known executions took place in just four countries: China, Iran, the United States, and Vietnam." Today the United States, remains one of only two advanced industrial countries to retain the death penalty (p. 23).

The war on drugs. A number of authors (Alexander, 2010; Chomsky, 2003; Davis 2003; Loury, 2008; Mauer, 1992; Parenti, 2008) place much of the blame for the nation's incarceration crisis directly at the feet of the War on Drugs. Alexander, in her 2010 groundbreaking book *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* explains that when Ronald Reagan officially announced that his administration would wage a War on Drugs in October of 1982, "less than 2 percent of the American public viewed drugs as the most important issue facing the nation" (p. 49). On the other hand, as far back as 1968, a Gallup Poll had indicated that 81 percent of Americans surveyed agreed with the statement "law and order has broken down in this country" and the majority blamed "Negroes who start riots and Communists" (p. 45). The Nixon Administration already had built upon these concerns by increasingly focusing on

the need to wage war on crime, but Reagan was able to provide a focus for this rhetoric—

drugs—without ever specifically mentioning the issue of race (p. 47). As Lewis Lawes

(1937) so thoughtfully noted those many years ago: "Crime is nothing more or less than

an act which violates the laws" (p. 4). And to this he adds: "It not infrequently happens

that laws are little short of absurdities" (p. 7). Welcome to the War on Drugs.

The arrival of crack cocaine in the nation's inner cities only a few years after the

groundwork had been laid for the drug war[5], created a media frenzy that served to light a

wick that soon ignited the full-blown War on Drugs. By 1986, "*Time* magazine termed

crack 'the issue of the year'" (Alexander, 2010, p. 51). And it could not have happened at

a worse time for African-Americans specifically and minorities at large:

> As late as 1970, more than 70 percent of all blacks working in metropolitan areas
> held blue-collar jobs. By 1987, when the drug war hit high gear, the industrial
> employment of black men had plummeted to 28 percent. By waging a war on
> drug users and dealers, Reagan made good on his promise to crack down on the
> racially defined "others"—the undeserving. (pp. 49-50)

Alexander also reports that "between 1980 and 1984, FBI antidrug funding increased

from $8 million to $95 million. Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) antidrug spending

grew from $86 to $1,026 million, and FBI antidrug allocations grew from $38 to $181

million." At the same time, "the budget of the National Institute on Drug Abuse was

reduced from $274 million to $57 million from 1981 to 1984, and antidrug funding

allocated to the Department of Education was cut from $14 million to $3 million" (p. 49).

The money trail was leading directly to the race to incarcerate.

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[5] Reagan's Attorney General, William French Smith, advised the president that if they
wanted to expand the federal government's role in law enforcement in a "highly popular"
way, "a federal war on drugs would fit the bill" (Mauer, 1992, p. 60).

For linguist and author Noam Chomsky (2003), the War on Drugs is "basically a technique for controlling dangerous populations internal to the country and doesn't have much to do with drugs." According to Chomsky, with the economic situation in the United States ever more closely resembling that of Third World nations—with extreme wealth concentrated at the top and what Chomsky calls "superfluous people" (unskilled labor not required by industry) at the bottom—something must be done to control or even better exploit this new underclass. For Chomsky, imprisonment in the United States is, in reality, "a way of keeping this deemed useless but potentially volatile population strung out or locked up" (p. 57). And it is working!

The passage of the Anti-Drug Act of 1986 laid down mandatory minimum sentences for drug possession and stipulated even more severe punishment for distribution of crack cocaine (Alexander, 2010, p. 52). New York State Chief Justice Sol Wachler (1997) who served a 3-year sentence in a federal penitentiary (see page 49, below), spent much of his sentence talking with other inmates and noted in his journal new perspectives on the criminal justice system. He rails against mandatory sentencing that has relieved judges of options to adjust sentences according to individual circumstances. The resulting injustices are particularly obvious with narcotics convictions:

> Under the Reagan-era approach of "zero tolerance," the punishment for possession of one hundred grams of marijuana is the same as for the possession of one hundred grams of heroin: a mandatory five- to forty-year sentence with no chance of parole. (p. 176)

The average time spent in jail by a murderer in the United States, he noted was, at that time (not today), 9 years.

And things would only get worse. Despite the election of a Democrat, Bill

Clinton, in 1992, tough-on-crime rhetoric proved to be no longer the province of the far

right of the political spectrum, with the new president enthusiastically proclaiming his

hard line credentials:

> Clinton escalated the drug war beyond what conservatives had imagined possible
> a decade earlier. As the Justice Policy Institute has observed, "the Clinton
> administration's 'tough on crime' policies resulted in the largest increases in
> federal and state prison inmates of any president in American history."
> (Alexander, 2010, p. 55)

Clinton took to heart the experience of the Dukakis campaign and the effect of the Willie

Horton ads run by George Bush: He was not going to allow any Republican to be seen as

taking a tougher stance on crime (Mauer, 1992, p. 69).

The War on Drugs was followed closely by the War on Terrorism, after the 2001

attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, and both offered opportunities for

money to be made by creating a domestic market for the products of war. "According to

the Cato Institute, in 1997 alone, the Pentagon handed over more than 1.2 million pieces

of military equipment to local police departments" (Alexander, 2010, p. 73) "In barely a

decade, the War on Drugs went from being a political slogan to an actual war. SWAT

teams were quickly formed in virtually every major city to fight the drug wars" (p. 74).

Until the War on Drugs, they were rarely used domestically.

> In some jurisdictions drug warrants are served *only* by SWAT teams. In 1972,
> there were just a few hundred paramilitary drug raids per year in the United
> States. By the end of the 1980s, there were three thousand annual SWAT
> deployments, by 1996 there were thirty thousand, and by 2001 there were forty
> thousand. (pp. 73-74)

There were money, weapons, and technology available to local and state law enforcement

agencies contingent upon the number of drug arrests made. No comparable incentives

were offered for other police activities. And if that were not enough to bring them on board, the Reagan Administration had thrown in another incentive to sweeten the pot:

> State and local law enforcement agencies were granted the authority to keep, for their own use, the vast majority of cash and assets they seize when waging the drug war. Law enforcement gained a pecuniary interest not only in the forfeited property, but in the profitability of the drug market itself. (p. 77)

The prison-industrial complex was now big business and prisoners were the fodder required to feed the machine.

The prison-industrial complex. In the late 20th century, at the same time that more and more money was being spent to build new prisons, rehabilitation programs designed to help those in jail succeed on the outside were being cut drastically, even though "inmates who completed a college degree program behind bars re-offended at nearly half the rate of those who began but did not finish their studies" (Soering, 2004, p. 36). In 1974, the journal *The Public Interest* published an article by Robert Martinson that reported on a study of the evaluations of 231 juvenile and adult correctional programs that basically concluded that "nothing works." According to Mauer (1992): "Martinson's original conclusion was immediately hailed by the left as confirming that rehabilitation indeed was impossible in a coercive setting and by the right as proof that rehabilitation was not even worth a try (p. 47)." Despite the fact that Martinson later reconsidered his findings (p. 46), "nothing works" became a rallying cry for tough-on-crime proponents.

Convicted drug dealer Michael Santos has used his time in prison to get an education, advise fellow inmates of their rights, and chronicle the realities of life behind bars, which he does most effectively in *Inside: Life Behind Bars in America* (2006).

While acknowledging his guilt and accepting his punishment, he is committed to exposing the flaws of the system:

> It is my considered opinion that instead of providing a bridge to society, prisons erect barriers to reentry in the community. Instead of inspiring corrections, they inspire continued failure. The corrections machine has never been held accountable by the taxpayers who fund it for its ineffectiveness at preparing people for law-abiding lives upon release. (p. xxi)

In 1994, President Clinton pushed for elimination of federal Pell Grants that had enabled prisoners to pursue higher education while incarcerated. Almost all states immediately followed suit by excluding incarcerated people from receiving state tuition grants as well (Soering, 2004, p. 36).

In the wake of the War on Drugs, as programs to assist inmates were being reduced or even eliminated, a new approach to penology moved to the fore: Development and growth of the relatively new industry of private, for profit, prisons across the country. In the 1990s, such ventures were even being touted by New York-based investment firms: "While arrests and convictions are steadily on the rise, profits are to be made— profits from crime. Get in on the ground floor of the booming industry now!" (Herivel & Wright, 2003, p. 3). In his compelling examination of imprisonment in the United States—*Going Up the River: Travels in a Prison Nation*, Halliman (2001) notes that while there was not one single private prison in 1983, by 2001 there were more than 150. "CCA's (Correctional Corporation of America) stock soared more than 1,000 percent on the New York Stock Exchange, making its founders very rich men" (p. xvii). Halliman reflects:

> I saw how the merger of punishment and profit was reshaping this country; how young men who might in another generation have joined the Army or gone to work in a factory, were now turning to prison for their livelihood. (p. xi)

He believes that the military-industrial complex has in fact given way to a new prison-industrial complex and posits that we are building prisons because we want them, not out of need. (p. xiii). As noted in the section above, the federal government has made participation in the War on Drugs financially very attractive to local and state governments, and to private industry as well. Indeed Davis (2003) suggests that there exist "uncanny parallels between the convict lease system in the 19th century and prison privatization in the twenty-first" (p. 37) and she sees this linking of punishment and profit as a very "deadly embrace" (p. 99).

There are many ways money can be made on our obsession with prisons. For example, collect calls made by inmates to family, friends, or legal advisors, have reaped huge profits for the communication industry. And that profit is shared by the states: "In 1997, New York rang up $21.2 million from phone-call commisions, California made $17.6 million" (Halliman, 2001, p. xiv). In August, 2013, the Federal Communications Commission, after decades of petitioning by families of inmates, voted to restrict phone rates for calls made by prison inmates to 21 cents a minute for debit or prepaid calls and 25 cents a minute for collect calls. Historically such calls cost between 50 cents and $3.95 to place plus rates from five to 89 cents for every subsequent minute—an incredible burden on inmates' families (Zahorsky, 2013). In addition, many rural, predominantly white, communities are now actively seeking new prison construction—to house mostly minority, urban-based inmates—as a panacea for loss of employment due to factory closings, downsizing, and migration of U.S. jobs overseas. As Ross and Richards (2009) note, now "former factory workers and farmers work for the county, state, or federal government correctional institutions. They have learned that managing

convicts is less fun than manufacturing products, herding livestock, or driving tractors"

(p. xiii). But the pay is good and it's a steady job. The California Correctional Peace

Officers Association (CCPOA) is now the most powerful union in the state: In 2002, 2

months after receiving a hefty contribution from CCPOA, then Governor Gray Davis

signed into law a 34% pay increase for union members over 5 years (Soering, 2004, p.

72).

Halliman (2001) profiles the town of Beeville, Texas, which is, he notes, "a town

of 13,000 people and 7,200 inmates" (p. 4). Prisons have replaced the now-closed naval

air station as the town's main employer and the city's goal is eventually to become

known as "a prison hub" (p. 4). Local residents continually refer to "the incredible threat

of crime," yet Halliman could find no one in town who could actually remember when

the last incident took place!

> The people of Beeville had come to believe about crime in the 1990s what
> Americans believed about Communism in the 1950s: that its threat lurked
> everywhere at all times and could only be stemmed by the creation of a vast
> prison-industrial complex. (p. 10)

When visited by Halliman, the two extant correctional facilities in Beeville had brought

1,500 jobs to the community, representing a payroll of $30 million annually (p. 9).

On his travels Halliman also found that the city of Florence, Colorado, already

referred to itself as the "Corrections Capital of the World," as there were 13 prisons

within the county; rural, mostly white, districts in upstate New York, having been

abandoned by local industries, provided 89 percent of that state's prison employees and

received 89 percent of the total budget of the New York Department of Corrections (p.

83). By 1995, Texas was opening new prisons almost weekly (it had 112 by 1997), and

when the economic downturn of the 1980s devastated the state's econony, its prisons

were, "no longer simply houses of detention but engines of economic salvation" (p. 85). The people of Hinton, Oklahoma, took a different tack; they built a prison as an investment and then sold it to Correctional Corporation of America for a profit. The windfall allowed the city to build a new golf course and country club (p. 173).

> As alarming as these trends are, Mauer (1992) expresses concern that:
>
> While the U.S. hegemony over world economies and culture has long been observed and often decried, there are now ominous signs that the incarceration models and mentality so pervasive in this country are affecting social policy abroad as well. (p. 14)

In a globalized economy there is no reason to think that the prison-industrial complex will not make every attempt to reach well beyond U.S. borders.

Inequitable justice. Although greater attention is now being focused on the excesses of the carceral state, primarily in terms of its economic impact, Gottschalk (2006) cautions against "the temptation to reduce this mainly to a question of dollars and cents. Just as slavery was not defeated by economic arguments, the carceral state is fundamentally a social and political question, not an economic one" (p. 245). Johnson (2002), noting the deprivation and injustice African-Americans have faced, points out that "the disproportionate effect of the prison on the black community fairly cries out for a sentencing policy that explicity aims to break the cycle of incarceration that has made the prison a rite of passage in the ghetto" (p. 6). As Soering (2004) reminds us, at the turn of the 21st century in the United States, 715 out of 100,000 adults were imprisoned but African-American males were being jailed at a rate of 6,838 per 100,000; a figure that is stunning when compared to South Africa in the last year of apartheid when 851 per 100,000 black men were in jail (p. 85).

There is growing recognition that a two-tiered system of justice exists in the United States today: Rob a convenience store and spend years doing hard time; misappropriate millions from investors and serve a short time in a minimum security facility, that is if you do not get off with nothing more than having your wrist slapped. (Note that none of the financial wizards who brought about the 2008 economic collapse have as yet served time in prison.) Editor and journalist George Winslow (2003) posits that "corporate crimes have played a key role in the growth of street crime and the drug trade both by directly facilitating those crimes and by indirectly creating social problems based on crime" (p. 45). For many, crime pays.

Author and linguist Noam Chomsky (2003, p. 57) suggests the existence of "a sector who are just superfluous; they're of no use, that is, they don't contribute to profit," and as such they threaten the economic stability of the middle class.

> The more you can increase the fear of drugs and crime and welfare mothers and immigrants and aliens and poverty and all sorts of things, the more you control people. Make them hate each other. Be frightened of each other and think that the other is stealing from them. If you do that you can control people. And that's what the drug war does. (p. 58)

Angela Davis (2003) echos this theme, noting that "the prison has become a black hole into which the detritus of contemporary capitalism is deposited" (p. 16) while Loury (2008) calls attention to the alarming fact that it is more likely for a black male resident of the state of California to go to a state prison than to attend a state college (p. 23). In Loury's estimation: "As the ghetto lost its economic function and proved unable to ensure ethno-racial closure, the prison was called upon to help contain a population widely viewed as deviant, destitute, and dangerous" (p. 65). Alexander (2010) believes we have entered the era of the New Jim Crow: "As a criminal, you have scarcely more

rights, and arguably less respect, than a black man living in Alabama at the height of Jim Crow. We have not ended racial caste in America; we have merely redesigned it" (p. 2). Sister Helen Prejean, in her famous work on the death penalty in Louisiana, *Dead Man Walking* (1994), abhors the racial bias in sentencing: "Here in Louisiana every juvenile that has been executed has been a black whose victim was white and who had an all-white jury" (p. 48). Needless to say, all were also poor.

But the incarceration epidemic is not focused exclusively on African Americans. Latinos make up a large part of the prison population (34.9 percent) and are the principle inhabitants of detention centers set up to warehouse and process illegal immigrants throughout the United States—while the number of prisoners of Asian decent (1.6 percent in 2012) appears to be growing (actual numbers are hard to find as most Asians are simply included as "Others" in prison statistics) and a significant percentage of caucasian Americans behind bars (in predominantly higher security prisons) come from a background of poverty and low literacy. Native Americans make up 1.8 percent of the prison population (Federal Bureau of Prisons, 2012). But the fastest growing group of detainees are women. Davis (2003) reports that "there are now more women in prison in the state of California than there were in the entire country in the early 1970s." In fact, California now holds the distinction of maintaining the largest women's prison in the world (p. 13). Of course, in the nineteenth and early 20th century "deviant" women were more likely to be incarcerated in psychiatric institutions rather than prisons, but that option is no longer viable (p. 66).

For all of these people, the American justice system is a daunting and dangerous place. From his vantage point in the warden's house at Sing Sing almost 75 years ago,

Lewis Lawes clearly saw that although "Sing Sing has had among its prisoners men from every station and walk of life, nearly 99 percent of its prisoners have come from poor homes and common occupations" (1937, p. 43). In terms of those who faced death in Sing Sing's electric chair, he found that "about the only generalizations that can be reached are that most of them were poor (not one was rich) and comparatively friendless" (p. 183). It appears that little has changed to this day.

From his discussions with fellow inmates in federal custody, Wacher (1997) laments that despite the required reading of Miranda rights upon arrest, most suspects remain unaware of their rights (p. 176). Many are talked into pleading guilty and never even see a lawyer much less the inside of a courtroom. According to Alexander (2010), 80 percent of criminal defendants are indigent and cannot afford a lawyer. She notes that a 2004 report of the American Bar Association concluded that "all too often, defendants plead guilty, even if they are innocent, without really understanding their legal rights or what is occurring" (p. 84). Because of the length of sentences mandated for drug-related crimes, prosecutors often "'load up' defendants with charges that carry extremely harsh sentences in order to force them to plead guilty to lesser offenses" and to encourage them to "snitch" on other defendants in return for a reduced sentence (pp. 86-87). In some cases, such a defendant may end up serving time on probation and never realize that despite not having gone to prison, he or she is still considered a felon and thus is subject to all the restrictions that label implies (Ross & Richards, 2009). (See Stigmatization and Disenfranchisement below.)

Author John Grisham offers a chilling portrait of this kind of poor man's justice in his nonfiction best seller, *The Innocent Man* (2006). In *Dead Man Walking*, Sister Prejean

(1994) serves as spiritual advisor to two death row inmates who are both indigent and who both suffered from inadequate representation in court. She rues that "in Louisiana the only statutory requirement for an attorney to defend someone accused of capital murder is five years' practice in law—any kind of law" (p. 49). Both men were executed.

Prison labor. While prison labor had largely been outlawed in the United States in the wake of the Civil Rights movement, in 1979, Congress again sanctioned use of prison labor in for-profit ventures. As of 2003, over 30 states had passed laws permitting the use of convict labor by private firms (Lafer, 2003, pp. 120-121). The Federal Bureau of Prisons established UNICOR in 1977—a revamping of the Federal Prison Industries, Inc., program established during the Franklin Roosevelt administration in 1934—a system of in-prison industries to produce goods for use by the federal government[6].

> None of the products made by convicts could be sold to the public. That was one of the conditions Congress placed on the bureau when UNICOR was created. The politicians wanted to make certain that convicts wouldn't take jobs away from the local community or compete with private industry. (Earley, 1992, p. 310)

President John F. Kennedy's rocking chair in the oval office was probably the best known product of federal prison labor (p. 43).

Oregon was the first state to mandate the establishment of prison industries after voters approved a required work program to be operated not for rehabilitation but specially "to achieve a net profit." Inside Oregon Enterprise (IOE) pays market wages but does not provide retirement, vacation, health benefits, nor do they pay into Social Security, workers' compensation, or Medicare. "According to IOE, hiring inmates can cut an employer's payroll costs by 35 percent" (Halliman, 2001, p. 143-144). While such

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[6] Interestingly, the official history of UNICOR is entitled, *Factories with Fences*. http://www.unicor.gov/information/publications/pdfs/corporate/CATMC1101_C.pdf

a program may well help to offset the cost of maintaining prisons, and provide some skills to inmates it is—unlike UNICOR—at the same time offering cheap and legal competition for what are often decent-paying jobs in the private sector. While there are certainly positive arguments for offering work opportunities for inmates and for them to contribute to their own support, the enthusiasm with which our profit-is-everything economy is supporting a burgeoning prison population made up primarily of poor and minority members of society, is reason for concern. Lafer (2003) makes the telling observation that:

> This cycle is not the result of a conscious conspiracy among public officials or private employers; it is, rather, the natural result of each party pursuing its own rational interests under current conditions. (p. 124)

Bascially, it is just another example of business as usual where profits are what count and people—especially those stigmatized as criminals—do not.

Mental illness, sexual abuse, and prison health care. It is of interest that one of the first discussions of the problem of insanity in American prisons came from Dr. Franklin Bache, the first attending physician at the Cherry Hill penitentiary in 1837 (Teeters & Shearer, 1957, p. 210). A significant proportion of today's prison population is made up of people suffering from mental illness. Soering (2004) estimates that 20 percent of all inmates can be officially termed mentally ill, yet "these men and women are simply mixed in with the general population where they are financially and sexually exploited by other convicts" (p. 52). Kupers (1999) explains that in 1955, there were 560,000 patients in mental hospitals compared to 80,000 in 1999, while the number of prisoners with serious mental disorders had increased five fold (p. xvi). Despite this

reality, little mental health care is provided in American prisons and what services are available always are subservient to security concerns.

According to Kupers, "childhood trauma is one of the mechanisms that cause the underclasses and people of color to be vastly overrepresented in our jails and prisons" (p. 41), yet not only is the problem not addressed, the conditions of imprisonment, including the overcrowding that currently affects most facilities, severely aggravate the problem resulting in violent and often self-destructive behavior. Of course, the punishment for such transgressions, including attempted suicide, is solitary confinement in "supermaximum control units" or SHUs (special housing units) "where prisoners who won't conform or who speak out too vehemently are kept in their cells twenty-three or more hours per day, often for years" (p. 53). Even prisoners who previously exhibited no signs of mental distress are apt to break down in such an environment. Halliman (2001) reports that in 1999, a federal judge in Texas ruled that the state's segregation units were "virtual incubators of psychoses" and that they were, in fact, "cruel and unusual punishment and violated the U.S. Constitution" (p. 5). Leder (2000) makes the poignant observation:

> About 70 percent of inmates in the United States are illiterate. Some 200,000 may suffer from a serious mental disease. Some 60 to 80 percent have a history of substance abuse. So many problems and questions. One answer: prison cells. (p. 195)

Sol Wachler, former Chief Justice of the State of New York and the Court of Appeals who experienced a fall from grace that was fast and hard (*After the Madness: A Judge's Own Prison Memoir*, 1997) offers a telling commentary on the care of psychiatric inmates in federal prison. Self-medicating to offset the effects of what would later be diagnosed as manic-depressive disorder, he carried out a bizarre campaign to win

back the affections of a former lover that led to his ultimate arrest and very public prosecution by an up-and-coming federal prosecutor. Unlike most white-collar criminals, Wachler, at age 63, was not sent to a minimum-security facility but to a high security federal penitentiary where he was supposed to receive an evaluation of his mental condition.

Despite the fact that among his distinguished visitors during his imprisonment was a sitting Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, Wachler received little in the way of "special" treatment. He spent his first days enduring the rigors of solitary confinement ("in the hole") while he was being "evaluated." Finally, he was assigned to the mental health unit, but after being stabbed several times during his sleep, he was returned to solitary confinement where he remained while the event was investigated and prison authorities tried to prove their contention that he had stabbed himself in order to get attention—something that would have been impossible given the placement of the wounds. Ultimately, he suffered several other injuries that never received proper treatment.

> Few judges can fully sense or relate to determinations concerning sentencing, or the inhumanity or cruelty of punishment. There was a time when I thought I was capable of measuring this kind of pain. My colleagues and I should have done more to learn just what being placed in solitary confinement really means. (p. 31)

Viewing the situation from his unique experience on both sides of the correctional divide (as judge and inmate) Wachler firmly believes in the adage: "We were sent to prison *as* a punishment, not *to be* punished" (p. 219).

Women's imprisonment is now the fastest growing segment within the carceral state. Davis (2003) reports that California now imprisons more women than were behind bars in the entire country in 1970 (p. 13). For women, particularly, separation from their

children is a major source of stress; interestingly, according to Krupers (1999), "mothers in prison are less likely to be visited by their children than are fathers" (p. 117). He notes that prisoners who receive quality visitation and are able to maintain family ties—that is they are able to maintain a connection to the community—are less likely to suffer sexual assault or mental breakdowns. Yet, the prison system often seems to exacerbate such contact: Prison facilities are usually located far from the urban areas where most families reside; visitors who do manage to get to a facility often face harassment; and inmates are frequently transferred from one site to another—all contributing to the breakdown of family ties. In the case of men confined in maximum security facilities where visits must be conducted with the prisoner in chains behind plastic barriers, many men confess that as much as they miss seeing their family members, their pride causes them to refuse such visits (p. 170). Wachler (1997) decries the fact that we are a nation that "rails at men who abandon children—but locks them up for ten-year mandatory sentences and then demands that they find work upon release after saddling them with criminal records no employer will come near" (p. 351). Concern for the well-being of their children haunts most of the men I have met in prison.

Sexual abuse is another factor that affects both men and women, although the latter appear to be victimized more often by staff than fellow inmates. For men, sexual abuse is generally more a matter of dominance than desire.

> Prison provides a dark mirror, a parody really, of gender relations in society at large. Outside prison, men battle for dominance and abuse women. With no women available, the same sensibility, but intensified in the way that every form of meanness is exacerbated in overcrowded prisons, is played out in acts of male-on-male sexualized violence. But the inmate rape victim, the "punk," is no longer a man in the eyes of the toughs; he has been turned into a woman. He is at the very bottom of the heap, precisely where men in and out of prison are trying their best to keep from falling. (Krupers, 1999, pp. 140-141)

Abbott (1981) offers his own insider's view of rape among male prisoners:

> What is clear is that when a man sodomizes another to express his contempt, it demonstrates only his contempt for woman, not man. The normal attitude among men in society is that it is a real shame and dishonor to have experienced what it feels like to be a woman. (p. 78)

Gilligan (1997), from his perspective within the Massachusetts prison system, concludes that sexual violence is not only tolerated by prison authorities but actually used by them as a means of control by "passively delegating to the dominant and most violent inmates the power and authority to deliver this form of punishment to the more submissive and nonviolent ones" (p. 166). He found that "prison officers have a vested interest in maintaining the system of prison rape because it deflects the violence of the inmates away from the officers and on to each other" (p. 172). He suggests that the number of men who experience rape while incarcerated could be astronomical (p. 175).

While the provision of mental health care in prisons is poor to abominable, overall healthcare services offered to inmate populations are not much better. Since 2006, the California State prison system's medical services have operated under receivership mandated by a federal court because, as the presiding judge noted: "an inmate was dying unnecessarily every week" in the state's prisons (Megerian, 2012, pp. 1, 17). State appeals to regain control of prison medical care continue to be denied. In such an environment, it is not surprising that the response to the HIV/AIDS pandemic has been lackadasical at best. Johnson writes in 2002 that "though AIDS is five times more prevalent among prisoners than among the general U.S. population, only 10 percent of state and federal prisons and 5 percent of city and county jails offer comprehensive HIV-prevention programs" (p. 276). Regretably, these issues are too extensive to be covered in

greater detail in this review but their importance cannot be overestimated. Concern about the health and welfare of the incarcerated tends to swing with the cyclical nature of public attitudes towards incarceration as have been noted throughout this review.

Stigmatization and disenfranchisement. As bad as conditions may be in prison, convicts can never leave the experience behind them. Like a scarlet letter, time in prison is a mark ex-convicts must wear for the remainder of their lives: "Once released, former prisoners enter a hidden underworld of legalized discrimination and permanent social exclusion. They are members of American's new undercaste" (Alexander, 2010, p. 13). Sanctions enacted into law in most states make it impossible for the formerly incarcerated to apply for many types of jobs, live in many types of housing, or receive social services. Unfortunately, the lack of support offered to the formerly incarcerated has changed little over time. In 1937, Warden Lewis Lawes asked:

> How many men, regardless of character and ability and the cooperation of friends, could start all over again, with only ten dollars and a cheap suit of clothes, and make good? He is a marked man—an ex-convict—who has inevitably lost some if not most, of his self-respect and confidence. His years of imprisonment have thrown him out of gear with life, and he finds it difficult to pick up the threads of normal existence. (p. 127)

Today's ex-convict walks out the prison gates with little more than his 1930s counterpart but facing an even more daunting situation in terms of more restrictive conditions of parole, a high cost of living, and a dearth of employment options.

As Ross and Richards (2009) caution the formerly incarcerated: "Just remember, when the prison doors open, you are not free" (p. 25). Where once parole officers often served as "resource brokers/social workers," the authors lament that they have now become "law enforcement officers" (p. 35). While on parole, a person's residence can be searched without notice, visits or calls can be made to his or her employer, and any fines

owed are deducted from their pay. And, at the same time, they must avoid alcohol and drugs, weapons, and association with other felons—even if they happen to be family members or neighbors. Ross and Richards caution those on parole to never make the mistake of thinking they are free like everyone else: "As a convicted felon, a person with a criminal and prison record, you are different—at best a semi-citizen, and at worst another usual suspect, a person of interest to law enforcement" (p. 141). Is it any wonder that rates of recidivism are so high?

In addition, in most states, former felons lose their right to vote even though they have supposedly served their debt to society. Interestingly, prior to the Civil War, few states disenfranchised those who had served time in prison; following "the decade of emancipation, two-thirds of the states had enacted disenfranchisement provisions" (Loury, 2008, p. 45). The legitimacy of this practice was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1974 (*Richardson v. Ramirez*). This is in stark contrast to most European nations, where participation of former felons in civic society is actually encouraged. For example: "Israel sets up polling places in prisons and detention centers, and its laws even permitted the man who assassinated Yitzhak Rabin to vote for his successor" (pp. 43-44). Today, more than 3.9 million U.S. citizens of voting age have lost their right to cast a ballot (p. 46-47).

Recidivism. Ross and Richards (2009) report that "nearly 50 percent of new admissions (to prison) are people who have previously served time. The same individuals are being 'recycled' again and again" (p. xi). Anger and alienation are an escalating byproduct of this revolving door phenomenon and those caught in the undertow eventually either "give up and make a home for themselves behind bars, or they 'go

warrior' and decide that the next time they get out nobody will send them back" (p. xii).

In their book *Beyond Bars: Rejoining Society After Prison*, the authors try to provide

practical guidance for the formerly incarcerated when they hit the streets. They note that

"after many years in the penitentiary you become institutionalized," a process they call

prisonization. Ex-convicts "have lived in a society built of cement and steel and share a

worldview predicated on their experience of incarceration. They are tentative and

insecure" (p. 5). The authors liken leaving prison and heading home to "Rip Van Winkle

waking up after many years of sleep" (p. 11). The formerly incarcerated are not prepared

and the system is not there to help them but to catch them when they mess up and send

them back to prison. Little, if anything, offered to inmates is geared to helping them on

the outside. Inmate/author Michael Santos (2006) found that his intrepid march to self-

improvement alternatively benefited from enlightened wardens and suffered at the hands

of those who viewed rehabilitative efforts as a waste of time.

> As soon as gates lock a man inside, the prisoner learns that the goal of the
> corrections system is to store his body until his sentence expires. There is no
> mechanism within the system to recognize efforts a prisoner may make to redeem
> himself. Consequently, few commit to such a path. Prisoners learn to live inside
> and forget, or willfully suppress, the characteristics of life in normal society. In so
> doing, they simultaneously condition themselves further to fail upon their release.
> (pp. 280-281)

More than 35 years ago, Foucault (1975) wrote that "police surveillance provides the

prison with offenders, which the prison transforms into delinquents, the targets and

auxiliaries of police supervision, which regularly send back a certain number of them to

prison" (p. 282). He had no idea of the extent to which this system would have evolved

by the 21st century.

Working with Incarcerated People

Writing about the condemned men on Sing Sing's death row, Lewis Lawes (1937) writes:

> During the months they have been waiting, I have come to know each individual personally. They have committed murder, to be sure, but aside from that fact—which is often merely an incident of fate—I find them no different than the average man of the streets. I treasure the memory of some of the friendships made in Sing Sing's death house. (p. 171)

Obviously a lot of people who work in corrections and law enforcement would tell you differently, but from my own experience, that of a few unique professionals such as Lewis Lawes, and other volunteers who spend time getting to know prisoners, "there but for the grace of God . . ." becomes much more than a platitude. It is something that crosses our minds every time we enter, and fortunately are able to leave, prison.

Ram Dass teamed up with Bo Lozoff in 1973 to found the Human Kindness Foundation, where they "started refining the idea of helping prisoners use their cells as ashrams and do their time as 'prison monks' rather than convicts" (Lozoff, 1985, p. xvii). The Prison Ashram Project literally provides inmates with a "how to" manual for spiritual seekers behind bars while also documenting the experiences of inmate meditators from across the country. Lozoff writes, particularly to those in prison:

> You and I are seekers on a sacred, ancient path carved out by trailblazers like Buddha, Mohammed, Jesus, Mary, Moses, great yogis, gurus, medicine chiefs, shamans—countless men and women of every age, race and land. **WE'RE ALL DOING TIME**. (This) is a meeting about Truth, just as if we were sitting in a hidden cave or on a faraway mountaintop. (p. ix)

He encourages his readers to be students rather than victims, noting that "for the prisoner who gets tired of making excuses, incarceration could be turned into the best spiritual break of a lifetime" (p. 8). Many of the prisoners I have met would agree with him.

For 30 years, Richard Shelton, an Arizona English professor, has been offering writing workshops within various state prisons. Reluctantly drawn into the endeavor in response to a request from a convicted murderer, the prison workshops soon became an important part of his life. Tellingly, he relates that he has never felt threatened by the inmate population but has been terrorized in some of his dealings prison guards. He laments that for one segment of our population "prison has become a substitute for the American family, the American home" (2007, p. 52), and decries the inability of the system to treat inmates as individuals because "a system that attempts to deal with inmates on anything but an individual basis will fail most of the time" (p. 117). In this context, he encourages even greater participation of volunteers.

Phenomenologist Drew Leder (*The Soul Knows No Bars: Inmates Reflect on Life, Death, and Hope)* (2000), reflects on his experience teaching philosophy to lifers within the confines of Maryland's oldest maximum security prison, first opened in 1811 and still in use: "Maybe that's one reason I chose to work in a maximum security prison. If ever there were men who knew about inner rage, and had thought long about its consequences and redirection, it would be such men" (p. 159). A professor of Eastern and Western Philosophy at Loyola College in Maryland, Leder was amazed, stimulated, and saddened by his experience and gained a unique perspective on imprisonment in America from the wisdom his students had gained from this most painful process of learning. An example:

> Q talks about a new project he developed in prison: that of "redeeming" time. Perhaps no one is as conscious of sheer temporality as an inmate serving an extended sentence. He must work the fabric of time each day as a tailor works and reworks his cloth. (p. 94)

From a psychological point of view, Gilligan (1997) writes of his experience working with inmates:

> To my surprise, I discovered that working with violent men was one of the most intellectually challenging and emotionally moving experiences in my years to that point. I found that the relationship between the life histories of the violent men who wound up in prison was considerably more understandable and comprehensible than was the corresponding relationship to many of the more seriously "mentally ill" patients I was treating in the university teaching hospital. (p. 25)

Bill Dallas was one of those rare high-flying, but somewhat unscrupulous entrepreneurs who actually landed in prison. *In Lessons from San Quentin: Everything I Needed to Know about Life I Learned in Prison* (2009), he gives all the credit for turning his life around to the "lifers" he met inside. "These lifers wanted their own lives to be restored because they now treasured the things they had taken for granted before: life, family, and God-given opportunities to help others" (p. 112). Now a free man, Dallas still regularly visits his prison mentors noting that even though many are convicted murderers, "I would not hesitate to sacrifice my life for them" (p. xxi). Most prison volunteers find many lifers to be very amazing people.

Susan Sill (2000), whose summer fieldwork was an early inspiration for my decision to focus on working with the incarcerated (see below), offers writing workshops to prisoners. For her, these men are not "dangerous, expendable and richly deserving of punishment" (p. 335). Rather:

> To me, they are my brothers and sons, who fell through a crack in an inner city sidewalk one day, into a world so dark, so terrible, so brutal, so grotesquely depraved, that, in truth, I cannot bear to think of them there. (These are people) who in other, more traditional societies, would have been priests and priestesses, shamans and medicine men, oracles and witches and warlocks. (pp. 334-335)

Truly we are locking away much of the potential vitality of our society.

Challenging the Very Notion of Imprisonment

This review cannot conclude without addressing a fundamental issue underlying

the incarceration crisis and that is, should institutions such as prisons, penitentiaries, or

reformatories even exist? Oscar Wilde, a prominent figure of another century put it quite

succinctly: "As one reads history…one is absolutely sickened not by the crimes the

wicked have committed, but by the punishments the good have inflicted" (Rothman,

1997, p. 165). Most arguments in favor of "reform," still automatically accept the notion

that institutions such as prisons must exist to some degree. Christopher Isherwood clearly

addresses this issue in his Preface to Cantine and Rainer, 2001:

> Certainly there are prisons in this country which are very bad, and no doubt much
> could be done to reform them even within the framework of the existing penal
> system. It goes without saying that such reforms are desirable; but, in working for
> them, we must never allow ourselves to forget that the great central problem
> remains unsolved—the problem of Man's freedom within Society. (p. xxxi)

The above review of the history of imprisonment in the Western world definitely

challenges any assumption that imprisonment works either to deter crime or rehabilitate

those incarcerated. Yet, as Davis (2003) suggests, "the prison is considered so 'natural'

that it is extremely hard to imagine life without it" (p. 10). She goes on to note that short

of war, "mass incarceration has been the most thoroughly implemented government

social program of our time" (p. 11). As Foucault (1975) explains:

> We are aware of all the inconveniences of prison and that it is dangerous when it
> is not useless. And yet one cannot "see" how to replace it. It is the detestable
> solution which one seems unable to do without. (p. 232) So successful has the
> prison been that, after a century and a half of "failures," the prison still exists,
> producing the same results, and there is the greatest reluctance to dispense with it.
> (p. 277)

Norman Mailer offers his own graphic assessment of prisons:

> Prison, whatever its nightmares, was not a dream whose roots would lead you to eternity, but an infernal machine of destruction, a design for the Dispose-All anus of a prodigiously diseased society. The bad conscience of society comes to focus in the burning lens of the penitentiary. (cited in Abbott, 1981, p. xi, xiv)

After volunteering in Arizona prisons for more than 30 years, Shelton (2003) concludes: "I don't believe in prisons. I don't believe the American prison system as we know it should exist. The American prison system is not only a corrupt system, but a corrupting one" (p. 51). And Gilligan (1997) posits:

> If cleaning up sewer systems could prevent more deaths than all the physicians in the world, then perhaps reforming the social, economic, and legal institutions that systematically humiliate people can do more to prevent violence than all the preaching and punishment in the world. (p. 239)

Ultimately, Leder reflects on the circle of violence that we have created and prisons perpetuate:

> For violence, finally, is circular. A man grows up in violent circumstances. He adopts violent measures to survive and escape. He is caught and subjected to violent punishment. Embittered, he leaves with violence in his heart. Shall the circle ever go unbroken? What power is capable of setting us free? (p. 24)

And the caveat he notes is that "if we try to do away with all within us that is 'violent'—unique, expressive, explosive—we threaten to do violence to ourselves. The task is to channel these forces, not obliterate them" (p. 157). Thus far we, as a culture, have failed miserably at this task.

In *Are Prisons Obsolete?* Angela Davis (2003) examines the inevitability of imprisonment and sets before us the possibility of a creative exploration of "new terrains of justice, where the prison no longer serves as our major anchor" (p. 21). For when all is said and done: "There is one loss sustained in prison that transcends in poignancy the numerous comparatively trivial pains and material discomforts: it is the idea of being unfree. Imprisonment is a violation of the fundamental nature of human existence"

(Cantine & Rainer, 2001, p. xxxvi). And Susan Sill (2000) questions: "How does society, with its need for order based in consensus reality, incorporate the irrational, disruptive, but life-bringing forces of Eros" (p. 333)? It is time to think beyond the cage.

Coming Around the Circle Again

The history of incarceration, noted prison administrator Karl Krohne wrote at the turn of the 20th century, is one of "ideals and errors" (Teeters & Shearer,1957, p. vii). As of 2008, the height of the incarceration mania, the corrections industry employed more workers than the three largest corporations in America: General Motors, Ford Motor Company, and Wal-Mart (Loury, 2008, p. 5). But at the same time that imprisonment was mushrooming, crime rates were actually falling! How is that possible? It is because, as a nation, we have become "progressively more punitive: we have made a collective decision to increase the rate of punishment" (p. 7). Crimes that once carried a sentence of a couple of years can now result in imprisonment for 20 or more years! In fact there are any number of inmates who are currently serving multiple life sentences. And as Mark, a Maryland convict, explains: "To satisfy the government's requirement you'd have to die and then be resurrected to serve another sentence. I think that's a mockery of the concept of God. The government doesn't have the power to resurrect you" (Leder, 2000, p. 29). And as Caryl Chessman (1954) watches Big Red being led to the San Quentin gas chamber, he imagines the condemned man thinking: "'What'll they gain by killin' me? He knows he did wrong, but he remembers what a grammer-school teacher once told him: Two wrongs never make a right" (p. 9). Foucault eloquently foresaw the current state of affairs when he wrote more than 35 years ago:

> After a century and a half of "failures," the prison still exists, producing the same results, and there is the greatest reluctance to dispense with it. Delinquency,

solidified by a penal system centered upon the prison, thus represents a diversion
of illegality for the illicit circuits of profit and power of the dominant class.
(Foucault, 1975, p. 277, 280)

Obviously this is all a lot to think about. This study will attempt to offer some new
perspectives.

The Archetype of the Shadow

This research looks in particular at what I believe can be deemed a shadow of
American culture that has in the last 40 years resulted in an incarceration crisis in this
nation, the establishment within the United States of a "carceral state" (Gottshalk, 2006),
and the emergence of a "New Jim Crow" 150 years after the abolition of slavery
(Alexander, 2010). In Jungian psychology the shadow represents that which is not
directly seen or acknowledged. As noted above, I see the current incarceration crisis in
the United States as directly related to the inability of our society to acknowledge, let
alone accept and honor, what we consider to be dark and deviant—and often
freightening—aspects of our culture.

The shadow has most commonly been discussed in relation to individuals and, for
most people, shadow material is deemed unacceptable and, therefore, is banished to the
unconscious where it takes a lot of psychic energy to keep it at bay such that fatigue and
depression can result. Ultimately, the more that gets stuffed down, the more likely it is
that in the pressure cooker of the unconscious, the lid will eventually blow off. "Even
tendencies that might in some circumstances be able to exert a beneficial influence" Jung
(1964) tells us, "are transformed into demons when they are repressed" (p. 93).
According to Jung (1961/1989), "analytical treatment makes the 'shadow' conscious, it
causes a cleavage and a tension of opposites which in their turn seek compensation in

unity" (p 335), but for the vast majority of people, the shadow remains in darkness. Poet

Robert Bly (1994) refers to our shadow material as a sack we drag behind us that

generally grows larger and heavier with each advancing year.

Jungian authors have continued to expand our understanding of the shadow and

the important role it plays. Robert Johnson (1991), analyst and author, explains that the

energy potential of the shadow can actually approach that of the ego, and cautions that "if

it accumulates more energy than our ego, it erupts as an overpowering rage or some

indiscretion. . . . The shadow gone autonomous is a terrible monster in our psychic

house" (p. 5). Psychotherapist and author David Richo (1999) considers the shadow to be

"an archetype of twins" residing in our psyche—one good, the other bad—and believes

that "we have it in us to separate and even alienate one part of ourselves from another

part" (p. 5). Yet, as Jungian analyst and Episcopal priest John Sanford (1994) reminds us,

our perception of good and evil is "relative to the viewpoint of the observer, so that what

may be regarded as good for one creature is evil for another" (p. 6). Thus what is

relegated to an individual's shadow is often a reflection of culturally accepted notions of

right and wrong.

Western culture has been particularly averse to dealing with shadow material.

Rather, within the Judeo-Christian tradition, the emphasis has been on glorifying the light

and vilifying the darkness. John Conger (1988), psychologist and bioenergetics trainer,

notes that "there appeared to be no room in the Christian cultural fabric to include the

shadow" (p. 83). He believes that "particularly in *Answer to Job*, Jung expressed the

dilemma that Christianity faces by splitting the opposites of light and darkness,

masculinity and femininity" (p. 84). The problem with such repression is that

"consciousness is just a focus of light moving in the darkness, and in the shadows stand

not just what we dare not see but our potentiality, what we are becoming" (p. 85). Indeed

many depth psychologists now recognize that not only is repression of the shadow

potentially harmful, but that this disowned material can contain a tremendous amount of

power and creativity if properly mined. This is because the shadow is not inherently

negative or evil but, rather, hidden. In *Psychology and Religion* (1938/1966), Jung

explains:

> If the repressed tendencies, the shadow as I call them, were obviously evil, there
> would be no problem whatever. But the shadow is merely somewhat inferior,
> primitive, unadapted, and awkward; not wholly bad. It even contains childish or
> primitive qualities which would in a way vitalize and embellish human existence,
> but convention forbids! (pp. 94-95)

Archetypal psychologist James Hillman (1979) believes "we will always have to walk in

the company of our own negative judgments about ourselves, the ego shadowed, driven,

by self-criticism" (p. 56). However, he also points out that it is this very shadow that

provides a connection to soul.

> Shadow, then, in psychology is not only that which the ego casts behind, made by
> the ego out of its light, a moral or repressed or evil reflection to be integrated.
> Shadow is the very stuff of the soul, the interior darkness that pulls downward out
> of life and keeps us in relentless connection with the underworld. (pp. 55-56)

Richo (1999) posits that while the negative shadow can be called "our cellar of our

unexamined shame, our positive shadow is an attic of our unclaimed valuables" (p. 3).

For forensic psychologist R. I. Simon (1996), it is "evil that makes things happen, which

is one reason why we are all fascinated by it and read the terrible stories in our

newspapers with horrified fascination" (p. 40). The shadow, he avers, "contains many

vital qualities that can add to our life and strength if we are related to them in the correct

way" (p. 51). No wonder we are so fascinated by the dark side yet feel compelled to keep it apart from ourselves.

In terms of anger, an emotion so often consigned to the shadow world, clinical and forensic psychologist S. A. Diamond (1996) believes that "to feel real rage is to feel real life pared down to its purist, simplest state: the rousing, rapturous flush of unfettered vitality, pristine purpose, and unshakable will. It is at such moments that we are most alive" (p. 13). Yet because there is such a stigma attached to the idea of "being angry," we strive to stuff it in our shadow bag where it eventually emerges in often-insidious ways.

The cultural shadow. In terms of the shadow, what is true for individuals also applies to groups of people. Nations, religions, educational institutions, and organizations—whether corporate or philanthropic in nature—as well as entire cultures, possess a shadow. Jung (1959) has stated that "with a little self-criticism one can see through the shadow—*so far as its nature is personal* (author's emphasis)" (p. 10); the collective cultural shadow may, however, prove to be less forthcoming. According to Jung (1964), "modern man does not understand how much his 'rationalism' (which has destroyed his capacity to respond to numinous symbols and ideas) has put him at the mercy of the psychic 'underworld'" (p. 94). For Conger (1988), "the United States, with its ideals of liberty and justice, has also in the shadows the death of the Indian and the enslavement of the black man"(p. 90), yet most Americans (especially it seems White Americans) prefer to identify with our good deeds and ignore if not deny our negative and selfish exploits.

Cultural historian Richard Tarnas (2006) traces the roots of our cultural shadow dilemma to the very way that Western culture developed:

> The same cultural tradition and historical trajectory that brought forth such noble achievements has also caused immense suffering and loss, for many other cultures and peoples, for many people within Western culture itself, and for many other forms of life on the Earth. (p. 11)

He sees our current predicament as "the natural consequence of the Enlightenment vision beginning to encounter its own shadow" (p. 15). Jung (1964/1970), in fact, states that "Western man is in danger of losing his shadow altogether, of identifying himself with his fictive personality and the world with the abstract picture painted by scientific rationalism" (p. 290). But what has been so intensely denied must eventually come to the fore.

Many Americans seem to be, for the most part, unable to look beyond the rhetoric of "moral values" to acknowledge that while as members of this nation we may possess any number of very positive traits, we are often at the same time, selfish, greedy, violent, and power-hungry. Violence, in fact, seems to be our cultural trope. As Robert Johnson (1991) sees it, "we are presently dealing with the accumulation of a whole society that has worshipped its light side and refused the dark" (p. 26). For Richo (1999), "honor and victory with honor are terms used by the national ego to induce young men to die for an ego cause" (p. 42). According to Simon (1996):

> To look inside and discover unacceptable impulses can be a very troubling experience. For some people it is intolerable. These individuals, and sometimes whole societies, need to attribute their dark sides to others and then dehumanize them as a prelude to victimization. (p. 13)

Criminals, welfare recipients, immigrants, and other marginalized groups become the bearers of our culture's shadow baggage. Simon (1996) further notes that "modern man

prefers to believe that evils of our time somehow do not exist in the human soul or spiritual sphere, but have political or economic causes, and could be eliminated by a different political system" (p. 15). The causes, as well as the solutions are, therefore, thought to exist outside ourselves. He believes that by striving to be "too good we only engender the opposite reaction in the unconscious" (p. 23). This becomes particularly sinister when "our individual shadow qualities, and the collective Shadow of our culture and time, inevitably become intermingled" (p. 60). The mixture can be explosive.

Costs of repressing the shadow. Today many Americans seem to be angry, frustrated, and afraid but unable to do anything about it. In *The Undiscovered Self* (1957/1990a), Jung insightfully addressed this very situation:

> Even today people are largely unconscious of the fact that every individual is a cell in the structure of various international organisms and is therefore causally implicated in their conflicts. He knows that as an individual being he is more or less meaningless and feels himself the victim of uncontrollable forces, but, on the other hand, he harbours within himself a dangerous shadow and adversary who is involved as an invisible helper in the dark machinations of the political monster. (p. 55)

Jungian analyst James Hollis (2001) contends that Americans do not like to consider themselves to be affected by limitations; they like to see themselves as being in charge of their fate. Therefore, when they find themselves at odds with a current reality, they **"**will move elsewhere and invent another. Such audacity does reinvent the world; and such hubris also careens towards a fall" (pp. 17-18). It can also leave a path of devastation in its wake. For Conger (1988), a society that denies the shadow "dooms itself to wars and unexpected reigns of terror" (p. 84) all of which are in evidence today.

Nor are Americans able (or it seems willing) to understand how we, as a nation, are known more for our shadow side than our persona in much of the international arena.

As someone who spent more than 25 years working internationally, I know this to be a fact. Often I have been amazed by how well I have been received personally in light of the feelings of anger and frustration that are so often focused on the United States of America. Anzaldúa (1987) offers a perspective from a feminist Chicana:

> Where there is persecution of minorities, there is shadow projection. Where there is violence and war, there is repression of shadow. To say that you are afraid of us, to put distance between us, you wear the mask of contempt. Admit that Mexico is your double, that she exists in the shadow of this country, that we are irrevocably tied to her. Gringo, accept the doppelganger in your psyche. By taking back your collective shadow the intracultural split will heal. (p. 86)

Owning our own shadow material would, therefore, be a potential boon not only to our own country but the rest of the world as well.

However if, as a culture, we continue blindly down the road of perfectionism and idealism, it is "love for one's fellow man that suffers most of all from the lack of understanding wrought by projection" (Jung, 1957/1990a, p 57). According to Jung (1959): "Projections change the world into the replica of one's own unknown face. In the last analysis, therefore, they lead to an autoerotic or autistic condition in which one dreams a world whose reality remains forever unattainable" (p. 8). He explains that:

> The more projections are thrust in between the subject and the environment, the harder it is for the ego to see through its illusions. . . . [It] is an unconscious factor which spins the illusions that veil his world. And what is being spun is a cocoon, which in the end will completely envelop him. (p. 10)

Among more recent authors, Diamond (1996) refers to Americans as an *"angry people"* (p. 7), and he sees this anger reflected in the rising incidence of mass murder and destruction we see around us. According to Richo (1999): "The abhorred features of our own personality are projected as repulsion, rejection, or dislike of others who demonstrate the very traits we hate in ourselves" (p. 14). And, he warns: "In the case of

disenfranchised and oppressed minorities in a society, what is kept unwelcome eventually turns on us" (p. 25). For Americans this results in "prejudice, war, scapegoating, and violence. Our fear makes us project the archetype of evil onto others, and thus we can reject or kill them." (p. 26)—and lock them away in prisons.

The healing potential of the shadow. While both individuals and cultures are wont to encourage a split between persona and shadow, to be able to hold the two in balance is part and parcel of developing a strong sense of integrity which Jung defines as the *self*, "our life's goal . . . the complete expression of that fateful combination we call individuality," (Jung, 1989) be it for an individual or an entire culture. Jung explains that:

> Recognition of the shadow leads to the modesty we need in order to acknowledge imperfection. The perfect have no need of others, but weakness has, for it seeks support and does not confront its partner with anything that might force him into an inferior position and even humiliate him. This humiliation may happen only too easily when high idealism plays too prominent a role. (Jung, *CW*10, par 57)

Jungian Erich Neumann (1990), a student of C. G. Jung, stresses the importance of dealing with our shadow projections:

> If we withdraw these negative "shadow" projections and (in Jungian terms) "integrate the shadow" we are more capable of relating fairly to others. Integration of the shadow is necessary for mature social, political and ethical development. (p. 148)

That is why shadow work is seen as so important within the context of depth psychology. As Jungian psychologist Robert Hopcke (1989) notes, "the shadow is not actually a problem to be solved but rather an inner entity to be explored, known, and recognized as part of our psychic and communal lives" (p. 85). Thus the importance of doing our shadow work.

I believe that shadow work can be seen as an important if not critical component of addressing America's incarceration crisis. Simon (1996) sums up his personal experience working as a forensic psychiatrist for 32 years:

> I am absolutely convinced that there is no great gulf between the mental life of the common criminal and that of the everyday, upright citizen. The dark side exists in all of us. There is no "we-they" dichotomy between the good citizens, the "we," and the criminals, the "they." (p. 2)

In fact, for those whose very lives have been lived in darkness, their shadow material may actually consist of their most positive tendencies.

The positive shadow. So what is the situation for people who have acted out the negative side of their psyche most of their lives—what is their shadow? Jung states in *Aion* (1959): "The only exceptions to this rule are those rather rare cases where the positive qualities of the personality are repressed, and the ego in consequence plays an essentially negative or unfavourable role" (p. 8). For such individuals, the shadow actually carries their light. I was taken aback a few years ago when I read this in Suzanne Sill's fieldwork report (2005, p. 149) of her writing project with men in prison: "What does the shadow of America's shadow look like? I postulate that what darkens the faces of these men so deeply is the strong light that streams out behind them, from their shadows." In this statement I found tremendous hope that continues to be verified every time I walk through prison gates.

Jung (1959), in fact, laments that man's shadow has usually been perceived as all evil. He points out that the shadow:

> Also displays a good number of good qualities, such as normal instincts, appropriate reactions, realistic insights, creative impulses, etc. On this level of understanding, evil appears more as a distortion, a deformation, a misinterpretation and misapplication of facts that in themselves are natural. (pp. 266-267)

Diamond (1996) agrees: "In the hardened heart of every sinner, no matter how evil, the capacity—maybe even an abysmally imbedded proclivity—for good endures despite the habitude toward evil**" (p. 303). And beginning to address our shadow issues, individually and collectively, as Simon (1996) posits, "greatly aids our humility, our sense of humor, and our capacity to be less judgmental of others" (p. 65). Thus shadow work among those imprisoned may center on bringing forth latent positive qualities that have had to be repressed by lives lived in great darkness.

Freeing the shadow so it can be available for reflection. In the 1937 Terry Lectures, Jung stated that "Mere suppression of the shadow is as little of a remedy as beheading would be for a toothache" (Jung, 1958, p. 77). He advises that:

> To know where the other person makes a mistake is of little value. It only becomes interesting when you know where *you* make the mistake, for then you can do something about it. What we can improve in others is of doubtful utility as a rule, if, indeed it has any effect at all. (Jung, 1959, p. 267-8)

This applies to cultures as well as individuals. In order to bring about real change, particularly in the area of criminal justice, it is necessary for us to do *our* shadow work before (or at least concomitantly with) attempts to change the system or the lives of those directly affected by incarceration. As Jung (1973) reminds us: "Modern man must rediscover a deeper source of his own spiritual life. To do this, he is obliged to struggle with evil, to confront his shadow, to integrate the devil. There is no other choice." Jungian authors further illumine how we can work with the shadow through the following ideas.

Simon (1996, p. 23) considers it paramount that we avoid the tendency "to try to be good," and thus deny our inherent darkness. When we do not do so, the result is usually some type of scapegoating where an "other" is projected to carry our shadow.

> To attempt to cast out violence by attributing it to "them" and not to "us" will only enslave us to a greater and more psychologically damaging myth of safety. We must stare our demons in the eye and learn to control them, so that our darkest dreams will never be translated into terrible actions. (Simon, 1996, p. 15)

For as James Hillman suggests in *The Dream and the Underworld* (1979), "Hades realm is contiguous with life, touching it at all points, just below it, its shadow brother (*Doppelgäng*er) giving life its depth and its psyche" (p. 30). We deny it at our peril. Diamond (1996) suggests that the most valuable thing Americans could do at this time is "to revise our misguided attitudes regarding the real genesis of anger, violence, and psychopathology." He believes that "*we must somehow admit into our thinking the archetypal paradigm of the daimonic*" (p. 300). This means not focusing solely on the light but instead accepting the darkness and being able to hold the tension of the opposites. As Jung (1964/1970) explains:

> To confront a person with his shadow is to show him his own light. Once one has experienced a few times what it is like to juggle between the opposites, one begins to understand what is meant by the self. Anyone who perceives his shadow and his light simultaneously sees himself from two sides and thus gets in the middle. (p. 463)

To bring about enlightenment from the darkness, Marie-Louise von Franz (1980 suggests we need to "warm it up by our conscious attention." Then, she believes, "something white comes out and that would be the moon, the enlightenment which comes from the unconscious" (p. 147). For Congers (1988) the shadow's purpose is to bring this tension of the opposites to the fore in order to "awaken us so that we are available for profound

transformation" (p. 92). Thus both individually and collectively, the shadow can be seen as holding tremendous potentialities.

Ultimately, for Richo (1999), "a God who has to reward and punish is made in the image of the shadow of the human ego" (p. 52). In seeking a solution to the current incarceration crisis, and the idea of punishment and retribution in general, he suggests that:

> The life-or-death decision our current circumstance calls forth is whether to ally ourselves with the collective forces that would serve to suppress the daimonic; or, instead, to work toward the redemption of our anger and rage in any constructive ways we can. (pp. 311-312)

He urges that our goals should be both a transformation of those we have labeled "offenders" and their restoration to the community.

Robert Johnson (1991), I believe, underscores the need for our culture to not only face but honor its shadow: "To own one's own shadow is to reach a holy place. To fail this is to fail one's own sainthood and to miss the purpose of life" (p. 17). I do not believe we will be successful in dealing effectively with America's incarceration crisis unless we do our shadow work.

The Power of the Circle

"Symbols," Jung (1990b) tells us, "are natural attempts to reconcile and unite opposites within the psyche and a symbol always stands for something more than its obvious and immediate meaning. Symbols often are not limited to an individual but are *collective* in their nature and origin" (p. 99). One of the most ancient and hallowed in human history is the all-encompassing symbol of the circle. As noted above, because for incarcerated people the ties that bind them to society have been ruptured, this dissertation

focuses on the inherent healing capacity of the circle and how it can be applied to begin to restore this disenfranchised minority within the circle of humanity.

The power of this archetypal symbol is such that C. G. Jung related the circle to the path to, and achievement of, individuation. Jung (1964/1970), in fact quotes an old saying: "God is a circle whose centre is everywhere and circumference nowhere," and he adds:

> Anyone with the requisite historical and psychological knowledge knows that circular symbols have played an important role in every age; in our own sphere of culture, for instance, they were not only soul symbols but "God images." God in his omniscience, omnipotence, and omnipresence is a totality symbol *par excellence*, something round, complete, and perfect. (p. 327)

World mythology offers a view of the circle's historic significance.

Mythological origins. Humans have gathered in circles around a camp fire in search of warmth and protection as far back as our knowledge extends and they have looked to the circular movement of the sun and moon in the sky for guidance and understanding. Foster and Little (1998) emphasize the historic importance of the circle across cultures:

> The simple, yet sophisticated circle-symbol has been variously utilized by the Australian Aborigines (the Sacred Enclosure), American Indians (the Medicine Wheel, the Sweatlodge, the Sun Dance, the Kiva, etc.), the Mayan/Aztec (the Calendar), the Tibetan Buddhists (the Mandala), and many others. (p. 53)

Joseph Campbell (2002) addresses the universal significance of the circle in Native American legend and notes how the orientation of the ceremonial lodges of the Sioux with "its central pole symbolic of the world axis" serves as the dwelling place of the great spirit, a concept that he notes mirrors "the twelfth century European conception expounded in the *Book of the Twenty-four Philosophers*" (p. 60) in what was then perceived as the other side of the world.

Campbell (2002) establishes the emergence of the significance of circle symbology in Western culture, spatially and historically, "at precisely that geographic point where the rivers Tigris and Euphrates reach the Persion Gulf, the wonderful culture-flower comes to blossom of the hieratic city state" (p. 120) at around 3200 BC. Here a walled city rises "in the manner of a mandala." According to Campbell, this is "an imitation on earth of the celestial order—a sociological middle cosmos, or mesocosm, between the macrocosm of the universe and the microcosm of the individual" (p. 120). Not surprisingly, the emergence of this pattern coincides with the appearance of the wheel, one of the most significant moments in terms of mankind's material development.

Sun Bear, Wabun Wind, and Shawnodese (1994), who brought about renewed interest in the power of the medicine wheel, offer a link between the conception of the circle within North American indigenous cultures and and modern science:

> The circle is one of the natural shapes of life and a central symbol of most Earth people. It represents life without beginning or ending, life that continues. The circle encompasses everything in the universe, from the entirety of the universe itself to the smallest microbe found within. Earth peoples respected the circle as they respected life. When they came together to counsel they sat in a circle. In much of their construction they reminded themselves of the circle, and the continuous flow of life. Today, physics is finding that much of the energy of life is circular or spiraling. (p. 163)

Here we see the roots of an ancient tradition being validated by the discoveries of modern science.

Campbell (2002) further notes the correspondence between the 360 degrees of the circle and the adoption of our measurement of the days of the year, which brings into correspondence "the temporal mandala to that mystical point in the center of the spatial mandala which is the sanctuary of the temple, where the earthly and heavenly powers join" (p. 122). These conceptions follow "the recognition, some time in the fourth

millennium BC, of the orderly round-dance of the five visible planets and the sun and moon through the constellations of the zodiac" (p. 123) that undergirds the study of astrology. From Japan comes the focus on the Zen figure of the *ensô.* Markell (2002) notes that execution of this "enigmatic one-stroke ink circle may be the purest display of the aptitude for quick, appropriate action that marks the awakened mind as well as the emptiness and unity of fullness" p. 106), and from across cultures we see manifestations of the mandala, which will be described in greater detail below, which was so important for Jung. In addition, his work focused on the historical context of the circle as representative of the Deity in Western culture.

The above gives just a brief overview of the spontaneous emergence of this symbol across time and space and underscores its importance within depth psychology.

Importance in depth psychology. Jung (1961/1989), as a result of his years of creative illness, realized that "the goal of psychic development is the self. There is no linear evolution; there is only a circumambulation of the self" (pp. 195-96). In *Psychology and Religion* (1938/1966), Jung explains the various permutations of the circle as it appears in dreams. Referring to a series of dreams by one of his analysands, he states:

> Already at the very beginning of our dream series the circle appears. It takes the form, for instance, of a serpent, which describes a circle round the dreamer. It appears in later dreams as a clock, a circle with a central point, a round target for shooting practice, a clock that is a perpetuum mobile, a ball, a globe, a basin and so on. (pp. 78-79)

Thus the circle pursues the dreamer across the bridge from conscious to unconsious that manifests during sleep.

Campbell (2007) relates circle symbolgy with the Jungian concept of "the circulation of the light" between consciousness and the unconscious (p. 192), in which the center point of the circle serves as the point from which the various reflections of the quadrant—the four seasons, the four directions—radiate and describes how Jung related mandala symbolism to his four basic psychological functions. He then goes on to describe the human dilemma as stemming from our understanding of the various pairs of opposites " (sensation and intuition, feeling and thinking, and the like), and hence to a knowledge of good and evil that commits us to living as but part men." Escape from this fate requires that we must "in some sense die to the law of virtue and sin" and allow ourselves to open "to a circulation of energy and light through all four of the functions, while remaining centered in the middle, so to say, like the Tree of Life in the garden" (p. 195)—a theme that manifests frequently in shamanic traditions (see below).

Healing expressions of the circle. The symbolic qualities of the circle, as noted above, have naturally resulted in its adaptation in a wide variety of healing modalities that operate on physical, psychological and/or spiritual levels. Some of these manifestations are integrally related to depth psychology and are briefly described below.

The mandala. Kast (1992), explains that in Jungian psychology the mandala is an expression of the self archetype: "In Sanskrti, *mandala* means 'circle.' The word has become a common term in theology and, above all, in psychology, as a symbol of wholeness" (p. 108). She further notes how the mandala conveys a sense of order in the midst of chaos. Cunningham (2010) notes that "the concepts and primal patterns it (the mandala) represents are the base upon which all physical things are created," and believes

"we are attracted to mandalas because they are at the core of who and what we are" (outer back cover). According to Fischle (1982):

> The wisdom contained in the image of the mandala calls on man to leave behind what is no longer needed in a state of higher consciousness, to shed old garments, to free himself from clinging to what is past, and to see the transitory for what it is. (p. 29)

Therefore it is not surprising that Jung placed such emphasis on this symbolic form of the circle.

For Jung (1964) the *mandala*, "either symbolizes the divine being, hitherto hidden and dormant in the body and now extracted and revivified, or it symbolizes the vessel or the room in which the transformation of man into a divine being takes place" (p. 112). He observes that:

> Individuals undergoing periods of inner turmoil have a particular tendency to paint mandalas; either as simple, circular images, or as very complicated structures. The experience conveyed is that, despite the chaos, there is order. The creation of such mandalas is a manifestation of psychic centering. (pp. 108-109)

Soon after my return home from a Vision Quest in September (2007), I found myself drawn to the coloring of mandalas as a way of finding calmness and clarity—of becoming re-centered. According to author and artist Susan Fincher (2000): "Mandalas arise from the compelling human need to know our own inner reality, to align this knowing with our body's wisdom and to awaken in ourselves a sense of being in harmony with the universe. Making a circle always brings order to things. Order begets patterns that the mind can grasp and understand" (p. 3). Artist Kyle Bowen (2011) began drawing mandalas during his recovery from a traumatic brain injury. Inspired by Jung's *Man and His Symbols,* his therapeutic work with mandalas subsequently led him to a career as an artist: "I've found the power of the Mandala is *Great* and extremely healing

for the brain and soul" (p. 3) which is why it is commonly used in art therapy programs. As Fincher avers, the mandala "is the exponent of all paths. It is the path to the center, to individuation" (p. 11)—and thus its prominance in so many forms across cultures.

In *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (1989), Jung states that: "It became increasingly plain to me that the mandala is the center. It is the exponent of all paths. It is the path to the center, to individuation" (p. 63). His work with mandals culminated with his famous Liverpool Dream:

> This dream brought with it a sense of finality. I saw that here the goal had been revealed. One could not go beyond the center. The center is the goal, and everything is directed toward that center. Therein lies its healing function. (p. 198)

For Campbell (2002), the center point of the mandala is crucial because this is "the point where opposites come together" (p. 195). It is "the *axis mundi*, the world center, where the vitalizing energy of eternity entered the revolving sphere of space-time"; it is the "Immovable Point of the Buddhist" (p. 196), where transcendence is attained.

Historian and philosopher Mircea Eliade (1962) talks about the universality of a concept of centeredness: "The creation of man, a replica of the cosmogony, took place similarly from a central point, in the Centre of the World" (p. 43). This he also calls the *axis mundi*. According to Eliade:

> The function of the *mandala* may be considered at least twofold. On the one hand, penetration into a *mandala* drawn on the ground is equivalent to an initiation ritual; and, on the other hand, the *mandala* "protects" the neophyte against every harmful force from without, and at the same time helps him to concentrate, to find his own "centre." (p. 53)

Thus the mandala offers protection from outside forces and guides the initiate to the still point at the center.

An offshoot of the mandala is the labyrinth, a spiral path to be walked for meditation and contemplation. Artess (1995) dates the oldest surviving labyrinth back to 2500-2000 BCE. Labyrinths were an integral part of the Christian tradition through the middle ages but eventually were left behind with the advent of the age of enlightenment and the protestant reformation. The late 20th century, however, saw a resurgence of interest in this ancient tradition that continues to expand. The beautiful labyrinth in the Chartres Cathedral in France, has been uncovered and is now an important destination for spiritual seekers.

According to Artess: "Based on the circle, the universal symbol for unity and wholeness, the labyrinth sparks the human imagination and introduces it to the kaleidoscopic patterning that builds a sense of relationship" (p. xii). For Artess, "labyrinths are divine imprints. They are universal patterns most likely created in the realm of the collective unconscious, birthed through the human psyche and passed down through the ages" (p. 45) and their "central concept of unity" is "symbolized by the circle" (p. 50). French painter Patrick Conty has researched labyrinths for over 30 years. For him, labyrinths physically take us into the mandala where: "The images and thoughts that the pilgrim projects are combined and dissolved instead of becoming fixated and associated. They undergo a circumnambulation that transforms them and helps the pilgrim to communicate with his inner state" (p. 242). Thus the labyrinth leads us to a discussion of the manifestation of the circle within alchemy.

The circle in alchemy. In *Psychology and Religion* (1938/1966), Jung describes the historical context in which the circle, containing the sacred division of four, ultimately yields the philosopher's stone. Quoting the *Rosarium Philosophorum* from

1583: "Make a round circle of man and woman, extract them from a quadrangle and from

it a triangle. Make the circle round and thou shall have the Philosopher's Stone" (pp. 67-

68). In *Psychology and Alchemy* (1953/1968), Jung states that:

> The drawing of a spellbinding circle is an ancient magical device used by
> everyone who has a special or secret purpose in mind. He thereby protects himself
> from the "perils of the soul" that threaten him from without and attack anyone
> who is isolated by a secret. (p. 54)

Here the function of the circle is the same as in the mandala. However the alchemical

perspective is at the same time broader.

Von Franz (1980) addresses the concept of the *circulatio* in terms of "the earth

changing into water, water into air, air into fire, and fire into earth," the classic

transformation at the heart of alchemical processes. These she describes as "the

circumambulatio, the process of individuation through the four functions and different

phases of life" (p. 257). To quote von Franz:

> In the process of individuation very often the same problems come up again and
> again; they seem to be settled, but after a while they reappear. When looked at
> more closely one generally sees the *circulatio*, for it has simply reappeared on
> another level. (p. 257)

Here the circle can be seen as part of an evolutionary spiral—something akin to

Gadamer's hermeneutic circle—whereby we revisit the same material, but each time our

understanding has been changed by our previous encounter with the same situation.

Visually the circle is clearly represented by the ouroboros, the snake or dragon

that swallows its own tail. According to Fontana and Frey (1994) the ouroboros "brings

together the symbolism of the circle and the serpent. It represents totality, rebirth,

immortality, and the round of existence" (p. 136). As von Franz (1980, p. 70) describes it,

the ouroboros is: "A kind of schematic representation of the underworld, where the

resurrection of the sun god takes place." The sun god, at the time between death and

rebirth is "surrounded by this snake. According to the Egyptian text, the snake which eats

its own tail is considered to be the guardian of the underworld." Von Franz goes on to

explain that the ouroboros, therefore, represents a resolution of the opposites:

> The head is at one end and the tail at the other. They are one but have an opposite aspect and when the head and the tail, the opposites, meet there a flow is born, which I described as the meaningful flux of life. With the help of the instinct of truth, life goes on as a meaningful flow, as a manifestation of the Self. (p. 174)

This reconciliation of the opposites is a trait that Edinger (1984) ascribes to the

Philosopher's Stone, the ultimate goal of alchemical practice:

> In alchemy the Philosopher's Stone is described as the mediator between opposites. Gradually, the individual becomes able to experience opposite viewpoints simultaneously. With this capacity, alchemically speaking, the Philosopher's Stone is born, i.e., consciousness is created. (p. 18)

So the Philosopher's Stone is thus equated with attainment of individuation.

The spiritual eye. As a long-time practitioner of yoga and student of Hindu

philosophy, my attention was immediately arrested by Jung's analysis of a vision of one

of his clients in which, "there are a vertical and a horizontal circle with a center common

to both" (1958, p. 80). This he calls the world clock, and it is a vision that produces a

sense of "most sublime harmony" (p. 81). He goes on to explain that: "The vertical circle

is blue and the horizontal one containing four colors is golden." Immediately, I thought of

the spiritual eye.

Yogananda (1995) describes the spiritual eye as "a dark opal-blue globe within a

quivering ring of flame." To be able to see the spiritual eye is a primary goal of

meditation; to pierce it is to enter into infinity: "The light of the spiritual eye is a

projection of the 'sun' of cosmic consciousness. Through the light of the spiritual eye,

the yogi moves along the path to Spirit" (p. 742). Jung (1964/1970) further states that "the centre is frequently symbolized by an eye: the ever-open eye of the fish in alchemy, or the unsleeping 'God's eye' of conscience, or the all-seeing sun" (p. 424). In the blue and gold I also see links to the central importance of lapis and gold to the alchemists. Eliade (1962) speaks of "the 'nobility' of gold" which he sees as "the fruit at its most mature; the other metals are 'common' because they are crude, 'not ripe' " (pp. 51-52). He also notes that, "among the *siddi* (powers) achieved by the yogi appear the transmutation of metals into gold" (p. 127), one of the alchemists' stated goals. Necessary to accomplish this transformation is lapis lazuli, a blue gemstone "prized as a mark of divine favour, success and talent" that is often associated with "unselfish love and compassion" (Fontana, 1994, p. 198). Thus its veneration in Chinese healing and within ancient Mesopotamian cultures.

In their presentation of shamanic healing techniques from ancient Egypt, Scully and Wolf (2007) associate gold with Ra, the Sun God:

> The essence of Ra, the royal, potent life-force, energy, reminds us that gold is one of the highest alchemical elements—gold, glistening in the sun, golden statues, pyramids of gold, streets of gold, radiant spiraling gold energy of Ra. (p. 148).

So what I have discovered in this exploration is that ever-evolving spiral that von Franz describes, where everything seems to be coming back to itself—the ouroboros swallowing his tail. It is all one: blue, gold, sun, moon, serpent, circle, Philosopher's Stone.

The circle within shamanic traditions*.* Eliade (1962), in his comparison of world religions, talks about the universality of a concept of centeredness: "The creation of man, a replica of the cosmogony, took place similarly from a central point, in the Centre of the

World" (p. 43). Smith (1997) states that this *axis mundi* is a key concept in shamanism and is "the key rational pattern discernible universally in religious experience, especially in traditional societies; it is indicated by the 'prestige of the center.'" It is "the central axis by which our world is brought into communication with the upper and lower realms" (p. 50). Smith calls this the "celestial archetype" around which the religious rites and healing practices of traditional societies help to provide protection from the chaotic outside world.

According to Eliade (1962), "the most widely distributed variant of the symbolism of the Centre is the Cosmic Tree, situated in the middle of the Universe, and upholding the three worlds as upon one axis" (p. 44). In many shamanic traditions this tree, often represented by a pole placed in the center of the sacred space, is the means by which the shaman accesses the spirits of the upper and lower worlds. According to Smith (1997), it serves as "a center point of order and orientation for the collective life of a tribe or community" (p. 122). Thus it is not surprising that circle symbology looms so large within the spiritual traditions of Native American peoples. Sun Bear (1994) here describes one of his most important visions:

> I saw a circle of rocks with another circle inside, nearer to the center. Connecting them were other rocks like spokes of a wheel. As soon as I saw it, I knew that this was the sacred circle, the sacred hoop of my people. (p. 49)

In his description of the Sun Dance of the Oglala Sioux (Brown, 1989), Black Elk notes the symbolic importance of the black circle painted on the face of the dancers.

> The circle helps us to remember *Wakan-Tanka*, who, like the circle, has no end. There is much power in the circle, as I have often said; the birds know this for they fly in a circle, and build their homes in the form of a circle; this the coyotes know also, for they live in round holes in the ground. **(**p. 92)

Thus it is not surprising that Navajo healers place their patients in the center of a sand painting, "a type of mandala constructed of sand with symbols of the requested hero/heroine (or other mythic figure) drawn upon it with brightly dye-colored sand" (Smith, 1997, p. 247). Not only does the circle contain the energies invoked by the healer but, as Smith notes: "Jung believed that images and symbols had a healing power in their own right" (p. 248) and on this many spiritual and healing traditions are in agreement   .

   Restorative justice. The concept of the circle is also central to an alternative approach to dealing with criminal behavior that is again gaining some prominence. It is known as Restorative Justice, and the focus is on bringing healing to all parties affected by crime rather than punishment and retribution. Van Ness, Morris, and Maxwell (2001) describe the goal of restorative justice as a healing of the divisions between people and within communities caused by crime. "A restorative perspective holds that the 'victim' and 'offender' roles should be temporary, not permanent. Each should be drawn toward a future in which they are free of their past, no longer defined primarily by the harm they may have caused or suffered" (p. 6)—how contrary to the permanent stigmatization of the felon within the predominant American justice system today!

   Basically, there are three models of restorative justice now in use in various parts of the world: mediation, conferencing, and circles. Mediation, which has grown out of conflict resolution strategies, is the most formal approach and involves the use of professional staff to mediate between offenders and victims. Conferencing opens the process up to a broader group of people whose lives have been affected by a crime, while circles offer the broadest inclusion of the community and present a model that has long been a central feature of most indigenous cultures.

In North America, the impetus for a modern adaptation of this type of circle work began in Canada's northern territories among Native people. Lilles (2001) describes crime as "a breach of the relationship between the offender and the victim as well as the offender and the community" (p. 162). He continues:

> The circle is premised on three principles that are also part of the culture of Yukon's aboriginal people. Firstly, a criminal offence represents a breach of the relationship between the offender and the victim as well as the offender and the community; secondly, the stability of the community is dependent on healing these breaches; and, thirdly, the community is well positioned to address the causes of crime, which are often rooted in the economic or social fabric of the community. (p. 162)

In essence, there has been a breach of the circle of community and it is the responsibility of the community to restore unity and wholeness.

Lilles (2001) explains that a major difference between this approach and mainstream legal procedures is that "in circle sentencing, the judge hears less from the lawyers and more from those directly or indirectly affected by the crime" (p. 164). According to Christina Baldwin (1994/1998), this approach calls upon "the potency of the circle," which challenges "everything we have been taught about power" (pp. 44-45) She explains that:

> For the circle to hold steady, there needs to be an understood authority that resides within the circle, a source that all members petition for counsel. If this authority is retained and personified by any person, the circle turns into a triangle. (p. 41)

By its nature, therefore, the circle evokes a sense of equality among all who participate.

In an examination of 27 empirical studies looking at various aspects of the impact of what they refer to as Victim Offender Mediation (VOM) Umbreit, Coates, and Vos (2001), reveal a high level of satisfaction with these alternative processes of justice on the part of both victims and offenders. An interesting finding from this research is the

difference in how victims respond depending upon whether or not the offense was a property crime or a personal one: "The longer the time lapse between the crime and the referral to VOM, the less likely victims of property offence are to reach mediation. In contrast, the reverse is true for victims of personal crimes" (p. 127). This seems reflective of a desire to quickly move beyond the inconvenience of a property crime that has had only moderate psychological impact on the victims and the need for significant personal work to take place before those personally impacted by a crime can face the perpetrator.

In their examination of the effectiveness of the circle approach to justice, Pranis, Stuart, and Wedge (2003), note some unique advantages. First, "The circle process recognizes that we are more than our acts" (p. 26) and it allows us "to engage in conflicts differently from the default stances of either avoiding a fight or bracing for one" (p. 19). Further, circles offer an opportunity to "treat crime as an opportunity to engage the uniqueness of offenders in ways that help them, their families, and their communities develop their different-ness" (p. 20). Thus, "circles are essentially ceremonies of reintegration. Because crime signifies some breakdown of relationships that leaves people isolated" (p. 25). The circle brings us together, creates community, and breaks down the type of isolation that is exasperated by imprisonment.

The authors make note of the potential for resistance to increased use of methods of restorative justice from within the legal establishment. Clearly putting the power into the hands of the community is going to be seen as threatening by those with a vested interest in the status quo—particularly lawyers! And perhaps an even greater concern than resistance from a very powerful lobby such as the American Bar Association, is a very real concern that the process may begin to be taken over by "professionals" and

"experts," rather than remaining in the hands of the community. In a society where a majority of people seem ready and willing to eschew their personal responsibility to an elite minority, this possibility looms large.

Practical applications in work with incarcerated people.

> The common ground of sacrality in shamanism and Jungian psychology is a path of the heart that realizes that all life is sacred [not just human life] and that each life form, including the human, has a center, a core of aliveness in which the Sacred dwells. (Smith, 1997, p. iv)

The more I learn about the symbolic importance of the circle in terms of its power in facilitating healing, building community, and supporting the individuation process, and as I continue to facilitate circle-based Alternative to Violence Project (AVP) workshops, the more convinced I become of the power this approach holds for working with incarcerated people. First of all, the circle is capable of creating what is known as safe or, in some instances, sacred space. Jung (1938/1966) in fact notes the importance of the circle within the Greek *temenos* or sacred space: "The circle, in this case, protects or isolates an inward process that should not become mixed with things outside" (p. 105) and was thus an integral component of dream work in the classical world.

Belenky, Bond, and Weinstock (1991) talk about ways that we can recreate conditions within communities that provide safe space, as well as offer new traditions. Circles inherently lend themselves to the creation of safe space, witnessing, and connection with community. As Smith (1997) avers: "The boundaries demarcating sacred space serve as notice that a qualitatively other space is near, and that proper relations with the sacred require acknowledgment and respect of these boundaries" (p. 54). He emphasizes that establishing sacred space creates a liminal or third space and thus is considered vital if transformation is to occur.

The creation of such sacred space is what makes circle-based techniques particularly effective in the empowerment for people at the margins of society. According to Zimmerman and Coyle (1996), coming together in Council (the system based on the traditional healing circle) offers "an opportunity to touch the ancient wisdom of the circle in meeting the formidable challenges of contemporary life" (p. 4) and can serve as a "gateway to the Mystery of *listening*" (p. 6). Further, such practices offer an opportunity to bring people back in touch with a human tradition that has been all but lost in the noise and constant activity of modern life where it seems everyone is busy talking but few take time to really listen.

The circle also allows for witnessing, and thus validation, of all participants. In his work with what he has termed Borderland personalities, Bernstein (2005) suggests that their real need is "to have their connection to nature and transrational reality validated, not analyzed, not interpreted—simply witnessed" (p. 142). Witnessing—not being judged or reformed—is something those who find themselves outcasts in society, such as prisoners, sorely need, and this is an element of shamanic traditions that is integral to circle-based healing: "One of the key differences between the western and Navajo medical models is that the Navajo incorporates witnessing as a clinical dynamic. All aspects of the healing ceremonial are attended by witnesses" (Smith, 1997, p. 150). Within the practice of Council and approaches such as Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) workshops, the circle bears witness to the reality of each participant.

Ultimately, what the circle can support and bring forth within the context of 21st century America is not, I would suggest, a return to the ways of the past but an incorporation of our spiritual inheritance and a reconnection with the natural world. This

in turn can open our consciousness to new ways of seeing, being, and achieving greater

harmony in our personal lives, within society, and with Nature. Standing firmly centered

upon the wisdom of the past, we will be in a much better position to move respectfully

and purposefully further up along the spiral of understanding towards ultimate

individuation. As Foster and Little (1992) put it:

> Truly, this rite is not a magical formula. It is structured to draw upon the power of ancient archetype and symbol, but only in order to provide the participant with time-honored tools for the spontaneous creation of his or her own myths and ceremonies of passage and confirmation. (p. 22)

The significance of circle symbology and its central role in bringing about healing

is strongly affirmed by the writings discussed above. It appears to me that the myth of

modern western society—particularly American society—has become much more linear

rather than circular. Instead of moving in the arc of traditional mythology, which spirals

back upon itself to allow for reflection, dissolution, and rebirth, we seem to be dedicated

to a trajectory that moves straight ahead at an ever-increasing speed to a goal that can

only be defined as more and faster. With no curves to slow us down, we fail to revisit and

learn from the wisdom of the past. I believe that we need to return to the circular if we are

to ultimately reach that quiet central point, the still point at the center of ourselves. For as

T. S. Eliot (1979) tells us: "Except for the point, the still point, there would be no dance,

and there is only the dance" (p. 5).

The Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP). The specific circle modality that is

the focus of this dissertation is the Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP). In 1975, in

the wake of the Attica prison riot (described above), many of the affected prisoners were

transferred from that now infamous institution to New York's Greenhaven Prison.

Traumatized by what they had witnessed, they approached a group of Quakers working at

Greenhaven about developing a program that could offer inmates, especially young

people coming into prison, a better way to cope with the stress of prison life (*Manual*

Basic Course, AVP 2002). Out of this collaboration, AVP was born.

> AVP is committed to reducing violence by encouraging and training peoplei inthe
> use of creative nonviolent strategies for handling situations in which people often
> resort to violence. Alternatives to violence, like violence itself, are responses to
> conflict. (Garver & Reitan, 1995)

Ultimately, the objective is to help people to change themselves and to reach a point

where they begin to reflect AVP values and techniques in the conduct of their daily lives.

AVP strategies are non-manipulative because they enable people, whether knowlingly or

not, to rely on an internal source of strength.

Transforming Power. At the core of the AVP process is Transforming Power,

something that AVP believes is available to anyone seeking to "do the right thing." For

many people, this power is seen as spiritual, but an inherently ethical rather than a

religious meaning is emphasized in order to be all-inclusive. As noted in the AVP

manuals, transforming power is both "the central philosophy of AVP and the hardest

(concept) to describe. There are as many interpretations of it as there are AVPeople"

(*Manual Basic Course*, AVP, 2002, p. B-2). Interestingly, transforming power is often

depicted in the form of a mandala.

Every AVP facilitator is encouraged to develop a Transforming Power (TP) talk

based on their own understanding and experience. Some of the points that are suggested

for inclusion in a TP talk include an understanding that a power to transform violent and

destructive situations exists, is always present, and is available to work *through* people

who are open to it. It cannot be manipulated. The Twelve Guides to Transforming Power

are a central component of all AVP workshops.

GUIDES TO TRANSFORMING POWER
1. Seek to resolve conflicts by reaching common ground.
2. Reach for that something in others that seeks to do good for self and others.
3. Listen. Everyone has made a journey. Try to understand where the other person is coming from before you make up your mind.
4. Base your position on truth. Since people tend to seek truth, no position based on falsehood can long prevail.
5. Be ready to revise your position if you discover it is not fair.
6. When you are clear about your position, expect to experience great inward power to act on it. A response that relies on this power will be courageous and without hostility.
7. Do not expect that this response will automatically ward off danger. If you cannot avoid risk, risk being creative rather than violent.
8. Surprise and humor may help transform.
9. Learn to trust your inner sense of when to act and when to withdraw.
10. Work towards new ways of overcoming injustice. Be willing to suffer suspicion, hostility, rejection, even persecution if necessary.
11. Be patient and persistent in the continuing search for justice.
12. Help build "community" based on honesty, respect and caring.
Manual Basic Course, AVP 2002

Ultimately the aim is to "alter the range of responses to conflict rather than to eliminate conflict itself" (Garver & Reitan, 1995, p. 3). While such conflicts may involve the possibility of physical violence, they can also stem from emotional issues such as powerlessness, insecurity, unfairness, discrimination, and the like. In any such case there is the potential for damage to be done. A core belief behind AVP is that:

> A life lived with dignity and self-respect and the opporunity for self-actualization, is the birthright of every person. We believe that only when this birthright is made real, for all of us, will we have a just and peaceful world. (*Manual Basic Course,* AVP, 2002, p. A-2)

AVP recognizes that we live in one of the most violent societies on earth, and that this violence permeates our institutions. And while this situation appears to affect some people more than others—entrapping them in a web of violence—AVP believes that "there is no one among us that does not share the capacity for violence, and none that is not hurt by it, one way or the other" AVP workshops offer "a process of seeking and

sharing, and not of teaching" (*Manual Basic Course,* AVP, 2002, A-2). Workshop

attendees are encouraged to seek answers within themselves and, because AVP

recognizes and values the life experience of all, the workshops become learning

experiences for facilitators as well as participants. What is presented is a *process,* and that

process enables people to *experience* what it means to live nonviolently.

Also somewhat unique to AVP is the focus upon coming to concensus in

decision-making—an approach that is central not only in the workshops but within the

organization. "AVP is not about hierarchy; it is about community, about acknowledging

and encouraging the potential of all of us to grow and develop, and about working

together by agreement without coersion." In the AVP viewpoint, "power seeps up, it does

not trickle down" (*Manual Basic Course,* AVP, 2002, p. A-5). AVP offers a win-win

opportunity to everyone.

The AVP workshops. Initially AVP facilitators developed their own workshop

materials drawing upon human relationships training and personal experience. Eventually

the experiential mode of learning developed in AVP workshops was codified in

manuals—the first Basic manual having been published in 1985—to be used in three

levels of workshops: Basic, Advanced, and Training for Facilitators. Each of these is now

available in multiple languages. Thus the manuals have evolved as "an organic part of

AVP experience" (*Manual Basic Course,* AVP, 2002, p. A-5). As empowerment is at the

core of the AVP philosophy, tremendous flexibility is offered to workshop facilitators.

Ultimately, it is not the specifics but the process itself that is critical to success. In my

several years facilitating AVP workshops, I totally support the guidance frequently

offered to "trust the process." Sometimes you just need to get out the way and let it work. Revised versions of the manuals continue to be developed to provide updated material.

In addition to workshops held in prisons, jails, and other correctional facilitlies, AVP increasingly offers the workshops in schools and community settings. In December 2012, this researcher facilitated for the first time at Homeboy Industries in downtown Los Angeles, the innovative program developed by Father Greg Boyle to offer young people an alternative to gang life, and continues to facilitate a monthly mini workshop there each month. In August 2012, the first Basic AVP workshop was held at Pacifica Graduate Institute for interested alumni, faculty, and students. It was followed by an Advanced workshop in November of the same year and a Training for Facilitators in February, 2013.

AVP is also used in a modified form called Healing and Re-Building Our Communities (HROC) to address the results of traumatic social upheavals such as the genoicde that occurred in Rwanda and Burundi and the post-election violence in Kenya. In East Africa (Burundi, Congo, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Uganda), the African Great Lakes Initiative (AGLI) of the Friends Peace Teams strengthens, supports, and promotes peace activities at the grassroots level. To this end, AGLI responds to requests from local religious and non-governmental organizations that focus on conflict management, peace building, trauma healing, and reconciliation. AGLI Peace Teams are composed of members from local partners and the international community (AVP/International website 2012).

In the United States, AVP has spread from New York across the country and in 2012 was actively offering programs in 28 states and 20 countries around the world

(Committee of Local, AVP/USA, 2013; AVP/International website, 2012). In 2012, 1,044 workshops were held in this country, attended by 15,154 participants. There were 1,377 AVP facilitators active inside (in prison) and 637 outside, and APV workshops were offered in 94 prisons/jails within the United States (Committee of Local, AVP/USA, 2013).

Every AVP workshop seeks to:

- Cultivate a climate of affirmation and openness and a sense of the worth of self and others among participants;

- Build a community among its participants, one in which mutual trust and sharing is possible;

- Teach participants how to overcome those communication barriers which are so often at the heart of intolerance and thoughtlessness; and finally,

- Teach some of the basic approaches towards resolving conflicts so that the needs and interests of all conflicting parties can be accommodated" (Garver & Reitan, 1995, p. 4).

Experiential exercises involve affirmation, cooperation, exploration, sharing, trust-building, community-building, role-playing, and a very large dose of humor. It is not uncommon for an AVP participant to comment that he/she has not laughted so much in years!

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AVP MISSION STATEMENT

To empower people to lead nonviolent lives through affirmation, respect for all, community building, cooperation, and trust.

Founded in and developed from the real life experiences of prisoners and others, and building on a spiritual base, AVP encourages every person's innate power to positively transform themselves and the world.

AVP/USA is an association of community based groups and prison based groups offering experiential workshops in personal growth and creative conflict management. The national organization provides support for the work of these local groups.

AVP is a nationwide and worldwide association of volunteer groups offering experiential workshops in conflict resolution, responses to violence, and personal growth.

AVP is dedicated to reducing the level of violence in our society. Our goal is to reduce the level of violence by introducing people to ways of resolving conflict that reduce their need to resort to violence as the solution. The Alternatives to Violence Project is designed to create successful personal interactions and transform violent situations. We're dedicated to teaching the same non-violent skills and techniques that were used by Mohandas Gandhi and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

We do our training where violence is found. Our workshops target: prisons, communities, schools.

AVP/USA, 2010
Revised April 11, 2012

AVP in California. AVP was introduced in California in the early 1990s, but it

did not become a significant force in the state until 2005, when the former warden of San

Quentin (where AVP was already operative), Jeanne Woodford, became the director of

the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation (CDCR). Woodford had

witnessed first-hand the effect AVP had on inmates in her facility and she was interested

in seeing the program adopted throughout the state. In particular, this interest was

sparked by the ability of AVP workshops to bring together prisoners from different races

and cultures in a circle of safe space to openly share with one another. Today AVP is

active within 19 out of 33 California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation

(CDCR) facilities throughout the state and AVP graduates are now "proudly sitting

together in racially mixed groups in the dining hall and on the yard, an otherwise

pratically unheard-of-in-prison phenomenon" (*Proposal to the Justice,* AVP, 2010a) in

California. Requests to go into other state prisons are pending recruitment of sufficient

outside facilitators to support each program. AVP is also offered in two county jails in the

state.

        According to the Annual Report for Calendar Year 2012 (*Committee of Local,*

AVP/USA, 2013), 2,281 inmates in California particiated in Basic AVP workshops that

year, while 1,290 completed the Advanced workshop, and 380 completed the Training

for Facilitators (T4F) course. As of the report date, AVP/California had 415 active

facilitators within the prison system and 161 living outside. This represented a 46%

increase since 2011. Between 2002 and 2010, a total of 12,761 CDCR prisoners

completed AVP workshops ("Overview of Alternatives," AVP/CA, 2010b).

        Research on AVP activities*.* To date a number of research studies of various

types have been done to try to document the effectiveness of AVP in creating change,

primarily within prison environments. Initially carried out on an ad hoc basis, AVP/USA

has in recent years created a Research Committee within the organization to support and

monitor such efforts and to encourage adherence to quality standards of research. Below

is an annotated list of research projects undertaken to date in connection with AVP. Most

are quantative in nature and should be complimented by the qualitative approach that will

be taken in this study (see review of theoretical approach below). Research efforts

undertaken to date include:

- *Evaluation of an Inmate-Run Alternatives to Violence Project: The Impact of Inmate-to-Inmate Intervention*. Christine Walrath, Johns Hopkins University. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, v. 16, n. 7, July 2001, pp. 697-711.

  An impact evaluation of AVP was conducted in a medium-security corrections facility in Maryland. Despite limitations, the results from this evaluation demonstrate a positive impact on anger and self-reported confrontation for inmates who completed a basic level conflict resolution workshop as compared to those who did not.

- *The "Creative Conflict Resolutions" (CCR) Outcome Study.* Conducted at Deuel Vocational Institution (DVI) between October 1999 and October 2001, by Edward W. Hoppe, Ph.D., Chief Psychologist. (Important note: CCR is an adaptation of the Alternatives to Violence Project offered by Friends Outside National Organization in California correctional facilities and funded by a grant from the Hewlett Foundation.)

  Data consisted of pre- and post-test ratings on a 20-item violent opinion instrument administered to 64 inmate participants in CCR workshops as compared to a control group of recovering alcoholics from the local community. Dunn's Multiple Comparison test of the differences between means was used for the analysis. Results showed a highly significant difference between pre- and post-test ratings of inmate participants. The researchers concluded that inmates who participated in the CCR workshops experienced a highly significant shift in their ratings of violent opinion stems, which appeared to be the result of their participation in the CCR workshop.

- *A Study of the Effectiveness of Alternatives to Violence Workshops in a Prison System*, Stan Sloane, August 2002. Ph.D. Dissertation: Case Western University.

  An ethnographic study of inmates in the Delaware Correction Center who were participating in AVP workshops. Data were extracted manually from prison records of control (non-AVP) and experimental (AVP) groups over a 12-month period. Data showed that AVP proved to be effective in creating attitude/behavior change in younger inmates and those with a high school (or greater) education, irrespective of race. Comparison of experimental (AVP) with control groups showed a lower number of infractions for those who had completed at least one AVP workshop.

- *An Evaluation of AVP Workshops in Aotearoa, New Zealand.* Brian Phillip, 2002.

  The research uses both quantitative and qualitative data from past AVP workshop participants both in prison and in the community collected from routine end-of-workshop evaluations and a national mail-out survey of past

participants. Ninety-four percent of respondents indicated that their AVP workshop experience was helpful; written responses showed that respondents experienced change in their individual lives, enhanced understanding of their feelings and actions, and integration of AVP concepts in their daily lives. Results supported the view that AVP in Aotearoa/New Zealand was achieving its goal to empower men, women, and youth to manage conflict in non-violent, creative ways.

- *Summary of Research on the Effectiveness of AVP*. Frances Delahanty, 2003.

  This study looked at evaluations of AVP in Rwanda, New Zealand and two qualitatiave controlled studies in the United States The author notes that none of the four studies included in her survey address the issue of recidivism.

- *A study of Conflict Resolution Workshops in Western Cape Prisons*. Karen de Villiers Graaff, University of Cape Town, 2005.

  Research centers on semi-structured interviews with past inmate participants and facilitators and looks at the form, content, and impact of specific interventions. Although findings are largely favorable, the author points to a need to address issues uniquely relevant to the South African context.

- *The Alternatives to Violence Project in Delaware: A Three-year Comulative Recidivism Study*. Miller and Shuford, 2005.

  Recidivism statistics were developed for a random sample of Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) participants from 1993 to 2001 at the Delaware Correctional Center, the state's largest correctional institution, which houses male inmates with the most serious offenses. Three hundred men who had been released at intervals of one, two, or three years at the time the data was collected were randomly selected for the study. At the end of three years following release, only 11.5 percent of AVP participants had new felony convictions and only half were for violent offenses. These men were compared with a group of 34 men randomly selected to serve as a control group. The AVP sample consistently performed better each year for three years in terms of returning to prison for any reason.

- *Peace Cannot Stay in Small Places*. Chico and Paule, 2005.

  Lessons learned from AVP workshops held in Rwanda post-genocide.

- *A Review of the Literature Concerning the Alternatives to Violence Project*. Kathryn Tomlinson, AVP Britain, 2006. Review of quantitative and qualitative evaluations of AVP prison workshops conducted in the United States, Britain, New Zealand, and Rwanda.

According to the author, all of the quantitative and qualitative studies reviewed (23) showed considerable evidence of the effectiveness of AVP in bringing about change in relation to violence.

- *Minnesota AVP Anger Study, Evidenced Based Outcomes: A Case for Alternatives to Violence Project Workshops in a High Level Correctional Facility.* Terrence F. Kayser, May 26, 2012.

  A self-report inventory on anger, the State-Trait Anger Expression Inventory (or STAXI-2) was administered to 173 volunteer inmates prior to taking their first, three-day AVP workshop in 2002. Respondents were then asked to retake the same inventory after each subsequent AVP workshop they attended and then complete another inventory six to 18 months after completing their last AVP workshop. Not all of the original volunteers continued in the program but those who completed the process were shown to exhibit statistically significant changes in levels of anger with greater effect apparent in those who had more exposure (completed all three workshops) to the program.

- *Using a causal-comparatiave ex post facto design to examine the effects of the Alternatives of Violence Project on the reduction of incidents of violence and misconduct on inmates housed at California State Prison-Solano in Vacaville, California. Dissertation. Degree Doctor of Education in Organizational Leadership, College of Education and Organizational Leadership, University of LaVerne, La Verne, CA.* Kenya Williams, 2012.

  Kenya Williams was the principal of the Education program at California State Prison-Solano at the time of this study. She sought to determine if inmates who partaicipated in AVP programs while incarcereated at Solano had a reduction in behavior misconduct based on archival data maintained by the CDCR. The research also sought to determine if the level of participation (Basic, Advanced or Training for Facilitators) resulted in any difference in misconduct reported. When analyzed, data revealed that there would appear to be a reduction in misconduct among AVP participants who had previous incidents of misconduct and were better educated. Dr. Williams is continuing to develop this line of research.

It is anticipated that the qualitative study undertaken as part of this dissertation will add to the knowledge base in terms of the effectiveness of the Alternatives to Violence Project in bringing about positive change in individuals both within the prison environment and the community at large.

Autobiographical Origins and Researcher's Predisposition to the Subject

The concept of the shadow is what first attracted me to the work of C. G. Jung. To me this was the missing link in my understanding of what was going on around me during the first 8 years of the 21st century in Bush/Cheney America. It seemed that we were coming face-to-face with the shadow side of our cultural persona that proclaims morality and goodness while a shadow made up of greed, selfishness, and fear lurks beneath. On a more personal level, the concept of the shadow revealed to me what I found was missing not only within the Judeo-Christian world view but even from most Eastern spiritual paths to enlightenment, at least as they have been presented in the West, and that is a recognition and coming to terms with the dark side of life.

In the winter of 2006, while reading Cushman's book, *Constructing the Self, Constructing America: A Cultural History of Psychotherapy in America* (1996) for Mary Watkins' Liberation Psychology class at Pacifica, thoughts about working with incarcerated populations started to percolate to the forefront of my mind. Cushman looks at the use of institutionalization historically as a way of controlling various segments of the population for economic and political reasons. In my reading journal for that class, I wrote:

> Cushman talks about the growth of asylums to house unproductive and/or disturbing sectors of the population. Today this problem has become endemic. We have prisons and mental institutions bursting at the seams trying to contain all of our shadow elements. It has reached such a proportion that almost no effort is going into trying to return any significant number to the mainstream—it's all warehousing. The truth is that while in the late 19th and early 20th century these bodies were needed as labor, today they are totally expendable. There are no jobs for these people. They serve no purpose in society but rather reflect aspects of ourselves we don't want to look at.

Suddenly a peripheral interest I had always had in the way prisoners are treated came to the forefront of my thinking. Many years ago I read *Grist for the Mill: The Mellow Drama, Dying: An Opportunity for Awakening, Freeing the Mind, Karmuppance, God, and Beyond* by Ram Dass (Dass & Levine, 1988). At that time Ram Dass was doing a lot of work with men in prison. As a meditator and spiritual seeker, I was intrigued by this approach: The idea was that here are people locked up who are living a totally regimented life, so why not help them see this time as an opportunity to do their personal/spiritual work? That idea really struck me. On various occasions, over many years, I would find myself reflecting on how prisoners are treated and how it is so counter-productive and contributes—along with poverty, racism, violence and lack of educational and employment opportunities—to the creation of a growing underclass in American society.

I also soon learned that mainstream psychology was often more a part of the problem than a solution in terms of its use as a means to define what constitutes the healthy norm by either medicalizing or pathologizing what is seen as deviant (Freire, 1989; Martín-Baró, 1994; Cushman, 1996; Griffin, 1993). This was exemplified for me by a documentary on the *Arts & Entertainment* network (April 7, 2006) about a relatively new maximum-security facility in Arizona where prisoners in the 23-hour per day lockdown were showing increasing signs of mental illness. It was therefore decided that these men could receive some psychological services (otherwise human contact is kept at an absolute minimum). Selected inmates were allowed to stand outside in cages while a therapist—wearing protective eye gear—walked up and down the row offering them candy and asking about their problems through the bars. The program did not indicate

how often these psychological services were provided! Depth psychology, I felt sure, could do better.

But it was one thing to muse about such things and another to actually get involved. I was both intrigued and appalled by the idea. How in the world, I wondered, could I manage to work in such situations? And what could I possibly do to help? Most of my career had focused on empowering low-income women and supporting quality of reproductive health care in the developing world. What would I have to offer?

The following quarter, when we discussed the shadow in our first Jung class (2006), I asked the professor, Glen Slater, about people who had been acting out the negative much of their lives—such as many people in prison. What is their shadow? The reply was that it is the good, the positive, as the shadow is made up of any qualities that we have repressed into the unconscious. As Jung explains, the only times the shadow is not negative are "where the positive qualities of the personality are repressed and the ego in consequence plays an essentially negative or unfavorable role" (1959, p. 8). Then I read a synopsis of Suzan Sill's prison project in Pacifica's Depth Psychology summer fieldwork guide and I knew I had found something worth working on. Sill queries: "What does the shadow of America's shadow look like?" And then offers an answer: "I postulate that what darkens the faces of these men so deeply is the strong light that streams out behind them, from their shadows" (Sill, 2005) At this point, the muse of inspiration was in full gear and synchronicity not only brought me a site for that summer's fieldwork, but the topic for my dissertation as well.

While searching for a fieldwork site for the summer of 2006, I started a dialogue with the Ojai Foundation about a prison initiative they were in the process of developing

that would be based on the practice of council—a way of working with groups within a circle, based on traditional practices that emphasize the establishment of a sacred space within the circle, speaking from the heart, and listening intently as each individual speaks in turn. Ever since council was introduced during our first quarter at Pacifica, I had been taken with the practice. However, as the Ojai project was only in the conceptual stage, my fieldwork that year ended up being in New York City with an alternative to prison program run by the Fortune Society.

The Fortune Society is a unique organization working with people who have faced imprisonment or the threat of going to jail. It was founded as a venue where former prisoners can come to help themselves and, at the same time, apprise the public of the way people are being treated within the criminal justice system. Seventy percent of Fortune's employees are former prisoners or substance-abusers; eighty percent are people of color.

During my time at the Fortune Society I was assigned to the Alternative to Incarceration (ATI) and Family Services programs. At that time, New York State was funding 165 ATI programs; 23 were in New York City and four were operated by Fortune. As reported in the Winter/Spring 2005 edition of *Fortune News* (Kidder, p. 2), the average cost of keeping a person in prison in New York was $62,595 per year. Compare this to costs ranging from $1,400 to $16,000 to put someone into an ATI program for the same period of time.

I had hoped that my fieldwork experience that summer would provide an indication of whether or not I was suited to work in this field. The answer was a resounding yes. It can be difficult, it can be dark, but I can honestly say that I had never

dealt with so many absolutely real and honest, as well as committed, people as those working at Fortune, nor had I been received so warmly and generously. This was truly a life-changing experience that solidified my interest in this topic.

After my experience with the Fortune Society, I felt strongly that council was a technique that could be put to good use in prison-related programs. So, as part of my 2007 summer fieldwork project, I attended a weeklong Nature of Council training at the Ojai Foundation to learn more about how to implement this technique. Located on a hilltop sacred to the Chumash people, the Foundation has endeavored to maintain the site as a sacred space and their teaching of the council technique is primarily based in Native American traditions. That summer I also worked with a program in San Jose, California, that provided support to dual-diagnosis offenders. Santa Clara County is one of a number of sites in the United States that has instituted a separate court to deal with drug offenders and, in particular, the significant number of drug users who are also diagnosed with mental illness. I was again struck by the openness and honesty of the participants in the program and how easily I felt at home in this environment. Here the circle was used to create a safe space and allow for more open participation.

At the end of that summer, I was also to be able to participate in a two-week long Vision Quest that involved a four-day fast while staying alone on a mountainside. Implemented by guides working with the School of Lost Borders, the circle—including the use of council and incorporation of the four directions—was an integral part of all our pre and post-fast activities. As soon as I arrived at my chosen place, I set up a contemplation circle according to the four directions where I spent considerable time over the next four days.

The last night was to be spent in the purpose circle. "The four directioned circle of purpose, like the tabernacle, the cross, the sweatlodge, the mandala, the compass, is a whole, balanced, symbolic representation of the psyche, or self, in a regenerative relationship with the cosmos." Entering the circle, "you symbolically take your place at the center of the total universe, at the center of your purpose" (Foster & Little, 1998, p. 53). Nature had provided me with an almost perfect circle of rocks and someone (or something) had already created a stone altar in the center. Yet I was apprehensive how I would manage to pass the entire night there:

> It seemed to take forever for the sun to go down. When I finally entered the circle, my intention was simple: to survive. My desire was to leave my old life behind and, if I made it through the night, to emerge to a new life to come: "Let me die tonight to what I have been. Let me live tomorrow to be all that I can be." (Leonard, personal journal, Thursday, September 6, 2007)

I cannot say anything profound happened that night. I did not see visions or have prophetic dreams. Mostly I gazed at the stars, chanted my mantra, and sang songs to the Divine Mother. I would doze off, but the discomfort of my position soon brought me back from the brink of sleep. When finally I saw light showing over the Eastern horizon I was filled with joy. I HAD SURVIVED! I got up and began to dance around my circle, shouting at the top of my lungs. Suddenly from the West, I heard the whoops of my buddy also greeting the dawn from his mountaintop perch. My joy increased. I was not alone: "He had gone to be alone in order to discover that he was not alone" (Foster & Little, 1992, p. 202). When we returned to base camp, we again stepped into the threshold circle to be welcomed back. The power of the circle as an integral part of this experience—and now my life—solidified my fascination with its symbolic power.

Soon after my return home, I found myself drawn to the coloring of mandalas as a way of finding calmness and clarity. According to Webster, a mandala is "a circular design containing concentric geometric forms, images of deities, etc., and symbolizing the university, totality, or wholeness in Hinduism and Buddhism" (Agnes, 2005, p. 872). Mandalas respond to the human need to understand our own inner reality (Fincher, 2000), so it is no wonder that Jung found them to be an important tool for use in his own personal journey to individuation. Now, from personal experience, I knew that circle-focused techniques, such as council, offer an invaluable approach to healing and understanding.

While doing research for this summer fieldwork project, I also learned that the circle is a primary component in the movement towards restorative justice. Restorative justice is a new and very promising direction in the way people are tried and sentenced that has its origins in many indigenous cultures, including those of Native American peoples (Lilles, 2001; Pranis et al, 2003; Van Ness et al., 2001).

As I moved forward towards preparation of my dissertation concept paper, I realized that this work was in reality an extension of my life-long spiritual search. As Lewellyn Vaughan-Lee (2003) so aptly states in his book *Catching theThread: Sufism, Dreamwork, and Jungian Psychology*: "The spiritual path is not a linear progression; the truth is not separate from the seeker. Rather the path is a spiral journey of uncovering what is hidden within us" (p. 93).

As the proposal for this dissertation evolved, it became clear over time that the Ojai Foundation's Prison Project was not going to be implemented in the near future and, therefore, could not be examined here. However, the researcher was fortunate to establish

contact with the Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) California and receive their support in carrying out the participatory aspect of this study. Created in the wake of the Attica prison riot of the early 1970s by New York State inmates, in collaboration with Quaker groups working with incarcerated people, AVP activities are now being implemented in prisons and communities within 28 states and 20 countries. Although there are strong ties in terms of origins and philosophy with the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), AVP is a non-sectarian, private, non-profit educational corporation funded entirely by private sources (AVP, 2002, p. A-2) and all activities are carried out by volunteers. AVP trainings all utilize the circle format and incorporate many of the same training techniques and exercises that were included in the Ojai Foundation council trainings.

As noted above, the goals of this research are to increase awareness of the imprisonment epidemic and its negative effects on those on the inside and outside as well; to foster a more humane view of the incarcerated as fellow human beings and to draw on the wisdom and underestanding they have gained from their experience. Ultimately, it is hoped that this work can help to bring about a better understanding of the shadow nature of the prison epidemic, contribute to more enlightened public policy, and highlight effective techniques such as Alternatives to Violence training that can offer greater healing not only for those personally affected by this crisis but within the broader community as well.

Chapter 2
Methodology and Procedures

Research Approach

The purpose of this dissertation is to look at the current incarceration crisis in the United States from the perspective of the Jungian archetype of the shadow; to gain an understanding of the healing characteristics of the circle and its potential to bring about empowerment of people affected by imprisonment; and lastly to take a deeper look at a specific circle-based intervention in terms of its effects on participants' lives. The initial two tasks were accomplished primarily through the use of a critical hermeneutic perspective, as seen through the interpretive lens of liberation psychology, involving an extensive review of the literature. The final activity in this study moved the theory into practice in terms of examining the effect of participation in the Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) workshops, a circle-based intervention, on the lives of formerly incarcerated AVP facilitators.

This study relied upon the use of qualitative research techniques, rather than those of a quantitative nature. This researcher was first exposed to qualitative research in the 1970s, while working at the Ford Foundation in the area of population and international development. At that time, qualitative techniques (interviews, focus-group discussions and the like) were still seen with a somewhat jaundiced eye as having been borrowed from what was then considered the non-academic and non-scientific realm of advertising. However, as Ford and other international organizations were then actively engaged in promoting greater use of contraception and other reproductive health initiatives in cultures around the world, they soon ran up against the limitations of quantitative

techniques for understanding why people do what they do. Qualitative research offered a means of getting answers to such questions.

Part of the reluctance to adopt qualitative methodologies in the social sciences as a whole, I believe, resulted from the pressure to achieve verifiable results brought about by the ascendancy of the scientific perspective in the wake of Descartes and the Enlightenment. But qualitative methodologies, I believe, offer ways of knowing that allow for intuitive perception and understanding and an alternative to the "scientific" bias rampant in Western culture. To quote Merleau-Ponty's Preface to *Phenomenology of Perception* (2003): "Scientific points of view are always both naïve and at the same time dishonest, because they take for granted, without explicitly mentioning it, the other point of view, namely that of consciousness" (p. ix).

In my own professional experience, this has been a problem faced by all of the "soft" sciences as they have felt compelled to try to apply the rigor of hard science to the endlessly slippery slopes of human behavior in order to justify their findings. However, over the years, qualitative methodologies have proliferated and gained increasing acceptance across a variety of fields, including psychology. Today we are all aware that there is virtually no such thing as totally objective, unbiased research; quantum physics is proving that impossibility.

By the time I left the field of international development in 2002, qualitative studies had become an accepted form of research. However, meaningful data was not always forthcoming. Only slowly—sometimes very slowly—did concerns such as those reflected in liberation psychology (see chapter 1) begin to be recognized. Differences between researchers and the researched, such as race, education, social status, age,

gender, and sexual orientation, often resulted in less than candid answers from respondents: For example, why did all those people in developing countries who *said* they only wanted two children when interviewed always *have* five or more? Initially this was interpreted by researchers as a lack of access to contraception; with time, however, it was realized that perhaps poor and uneducated respondents were actually well aware of the "right answer" the interviewers (often young and educated college students) were seeking (usually because of large-scale campaigns promoting the two-child family) and thus simply provided what they knew was the desired response in order to get them to go away!

Qualitative research also can be a very useful way of building a context when paired with good quantitative data. My own published work over the years focused largely on qualitative information and, where possible, paired with quantitative data. Therefore, it is a natural progression for me to continue working primarily in this vein within the wide range of qualitative perspectives found within the field of depth psychology. Qualitative research has always seemed to me to be the best way to gain an understanding of human perspectives and behavior and of accessing interventions that endeavor to modify in some way how people view and react to the various components of their world.

Research Methodology

  Qualitative research. In *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Norman K. Denzin and Yvonne S. Lincoln (1994) describe qualitative research "as a set of interpretive practices, [that] privileges no single methodology over any other. Nor does qualitative research have a distinct set of methods that are entirely its own" (p. 3). They go on to

note that: "Qualitative researchers are more likely than quantitative researchers to confront the constraints of the everyday social world. They see this world in action and embed their findings in it" (p. 5). German researcher Uwe Flick (1998) puts it succinctly: "Qualitative methods cannot be regarded independently of the research process and the issue under study" (p. 1). He goes on to note the specific relevance of qualitative research because it is an inductive strategy: Instead of starting from theory and "employing experimental designs," which yield results that are "rarely perceived and used in everyday life" (p. 3), qualitative approaches are much more appropriate for dealing with "subject- and situation-related" questions (p. 4). Jeanne Marecek (2003) emphasizes the role of value commitments and personal history of the researcher within qualitative studies, which can in fact influence outcomes and notes that such research is ultimately intended to be of benefit to the research site and serve as a starting point for future inquiries.

As John W. Creswell (1998) tells us, qualitative research uses "distinct methodological traditions of inquiry" that enable the researcher to establish "a complex, holistic picture" by engaging in an analysis of words, and reporting on the "detailed views of informants," while carrying out the research in what he terms "a natural setting" (p. 15). Qualitative research also lends itself to the critical interpretation offered by use of a liberation psychology lens, described above (pp. 5-7).

Today the myth of scientific validity has been all but shattered. In fact, for this writer, qualitative approaches offer a path leading away from a patriarchal "fix it" mentality, that assumes that one size will fit all, to a view that celebrates diversity and

promotes greater understanding between researcher and the subjects of the research. As

Flick (1998) sees it:

> Unlike quantitative research, qualitative methods take the researcher's communication with the field and its members as an explicit part of knowledge production instead of excluding it as far as possible as an intervening variable. The subjectivities of the researcher *and* of those being studied are part of the research process. (p. 6)

Further this study has adopted a critical hermeneutical approach to the material.

The critical hermeneutic method. The hermeneutic method of inquiry is central

to this work, particularly in terms of gaining an understanding of imprisonment as it has

and continues to be practiced in Western culture, and in developing the relationship

between incarceration as it is currently manifesting in the United States and C. G. Jung's

concept of the shadow as a construct for understanding this troubling cultural dilemma

from a depth psychologial perspective. It also serves as the basis for examining a

multiplicity of approaches involving the symbol of the circle that can be effectively used

in addressing issues of criminal justice and rehabilitation. As Denzin and Lincoln (2003)

posit: "Philosophical hermeneutics argues that understanding is not, in the first instance, a

procedure- or rule-governed undertaking; rather, it is a very condition of being human"

(p. 301). Since "interpretation" is often used to describe hermeneutic action, the authors

go on to state that "understanding *is* interpretation," thus the goal of the research has been

to gain understanding through an interpretation of text (but not limited to print material).

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2003), use of a critical hermeneutic perspective

brings to the fore the need to examine texts while keeping issues of power and justice in

mind, such as economic status, race, class, gender, and sexual orientation. These are all

issues with particular relevance to the situation of incarcerated people in the United

States today. According to Ellen Herda (1999), "a critical hermeneutic tradition invokes language, understanding, and action." It involves "a process for critiquing existing social realities and creating new ones—a redescription or refiguration of our existing worlds in our organizations and communities" (p. 1). She emphasizes that in this approach we are not seeking to "formulate a neutral or unbiased methodological stance" (p. 3), but rather we seek to weave together a narrative—a narrative "that has the power to hold several plots, even those that may be contradictory" (p. 4). This allows "both researcher and participants (to) have the opportunity to learn" (p. 5). In the Introduction to *Toward Psychologies of Liberation*, Mary Watkins and Helene Shulman (2008), emphasize "the need for creating solidarities and dialogues with more privileged people whose environments and pscyhological well-being are also undermined by the fragmentation of community" (pp. 1-2). For healing to occur, it is not only necessary to support incarcerated people in rebuilding their lives, but to increase awareness among the public at large of how imprisonment policies are affecting not only those directly involved, but society at large.

The hermeneutic circle. The researcher has been struck since beginning work on this topic in 2006, by the continual syncronistic manifestation of circle symbology related to all aspects of this research. Even in terms of the hermeneutic methodology, the circle plays an important role. According to Martin Heidegger (1927/1962):

> In the circle is hidden a positive possibility of the most primordial kind of knowing, and we genuinely grasp this possibility only when we have understood that our first, last, and constant task in interpreting is never to allow our fore-having, fore-sight, and fore-conception to be presented to us by fancies and popular conceptions, but rather to make the scientific theme secure by working out these fore-structures in terms of the things themselves. (p. 153)

For Hans-Georg Gadamer (2003) "the point of Heidegger's hermeneutical reflection is not so much to prove that there is a circle as to show that this circle possesses an ontologically positive significance" (p. 266). The concept of the hermeneutic circle—which is central to Gadamer's work—emphasizes that "the movement of understanding is constantly from the whole to the part and back to the whole. Our task is to expand the unity of the understood meaning centrifugally" (p. 291). Marion Woodman, whose work is centered on bringing body and soul into the psychological dialogue, talks about this as a spiral of learning and understanding (1982). We do not grow in a linear fashion; rather, we evolve in an ongoing spiral, revisiting the same information, the same lessons over and over, but each time from a place of greater understanding. Marie-Louise von Franz (1980) concludes that:

> In the process of individuation very often the same problems come up again and again; they seem to be settled, but after a while they reappear. When looked at more closely one generally sees the *circulatio*, for it has simply reappeared on another level. (p. 257)

Michelle Fine et al (2003) discuss in some detail how exponents of liberation psychology (Martín-Baró, Friere, and Fals-Borda) actually view facts as processes and see the circular nature of causality (p. 175).

Erik Craig (2005) takes this perspective as he looks at hermeneutic inquiry in depth psychology which requires that upon positing a question, we must first take one step back before proceeding forward:

> Even as we begin to think about that which draws us backward, we simultaneously feel as though we are at last moving forward. Only as we move backward towards what we might already understand, do we move forward to what remains unknown, a mystery. (p. 4)

This view of learning is circular. In fact, it seems to be an ever-ascending spiral. Unless information that is taken in can be assimilated, it will soon be lost. And, once assimilated, the base is forever changed and we are then able to see the same information from a different perspective the next time it comes around. That is how we, hopefully, learn from our experiences: In each encounter we potentially become a bit wiser as we find ourselves in an endless spiral of discovery.

Researcher observation and participation. The action-research component of this study has involved the researcher's participation in and observation of the circle-based Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) in action. Flick (1998) notes that in undertaking such activities we are continuing the critical hermeneutic task of working with texts, only this time—through observation and interviews—we are actually producing data when, through recording and transcripton, the material is turned into texts. To this is added a participatory element which is created by the interaction of researcher and research participant "that opens the possibility of movement from text to action" through creation of "shared meaning" and "a willingness to assume responsibility to work with others to change current conditions" (Herda, 1999, p. 2), thus resulting in a dynamic and fluid process.

According to Pamela Maykut and Richard Morehouse (1994), "the participant observer attempts to enter the lives of others," to the extent possible, while "suspending as much as possible his or her own ways of viewing the world." The task involves "listening hard and keenly observing" (p. 69). They note that subsequent observations are then informed by previous discoveries—the hermeneutic circle in action. The observer may be involved in a number of related activities including document analysis,

interviewing, participation and observation, as well as ruminating over what has been experienced.

An integral part of this study has been the researcher's involvement as a participant, then as facilitator, and ultimately as a prison coordinator for the Alternatives to Violence Project. According to Herda (1999): "If there is not a shared problem, through the research process both researcher and participants have the opportunity to learn" (p. 5). She describes the process as "an ongoing act," which, "like culture is always in the making" Thus, "the validity of a research project using a participatory research mode resides in the work that follows the research project itself." For Herda, validity ultimately rests "in the ways personal, social and organization relationships change among people" (p. 6). Participation in the research process holds the potential to bring about change within the researcher, the participants, the organization (in this case AVP), even the specific communities involved (e.g., prisons), and the broader community at large.

The interview process. The other field component of this study involved interviews with individuals who were introduced to AVP while in prison and are now back in the community. The goal has been to understand how the process affected them in terms of interacting with both their prison and non-prison environments.

Steiner Kvale (1996) sees the interviewer as inhabiting the role of either a miner or a traveler. In the miner role, he or she can be thought of as one who "unearths" valuable information. In the traveler mode, he views the interviewer as being "on a journey that leads to a tale to be told upon returning home" (p. 4). Ultimately, "the potentialities of meanings in the original stories are differentiated and unfolded through

the traveler's interpretations;" they are "remolded into new narratives" whose validity

rests on their aesthetic form and the impact they have on the listeners (p. 4). Thus the

traveler not only learns but may in fact change as a result of the process. For Kvale, "the

qualitative resesarch interview is a construction site for knowledge. An interview is

literally an *inter view,* an inter-change of views between two persons conversing about a

theme of mutual interest" (p. 14) which implies an interdependence between interviewer

and respondent.

Irving Seidman (1998) states that he conducts interviews because he is "interested

in other people's stories" and sees storytelling as "essentially a meaning-making process"

(p. 1). His focus is upon what he terms "in-depth, phenomenologically based

interviewing," which involves the use of open-ended questions intended to "build upon

and explore their participants' responses" and thus allow them to "reconstruct his or her

experience within the topic under study" (p. 9). This is the approach that has been utilized

in this study. According to Andrea Fontana and James H. Frey (1994), structured

interviews differ from those that are unstructured because:

> The former aims at capturing precise data of a codable nature in order to explain
> behavior within preestablished categories, whereas the latter is used in an attempt
> to understand the complex behavior of members of society without imposing any
> a priori categorization that may limit the field of inquiry. (p. 366)

Seidman goes on to explain that although efforts can seek to minimize the effect

of the interviewer and context of the interview, "no matter how diligently we work to that

effect . . . interviewers are part of the interviewing picture" (p. 16). He sees the

interaction between those who provide and those who collect information as an inherent

component of the process. And no matter what is said during the interview, the reporting

will in the end rely upon the selection, interpretation, description, and analysis of the

interviewer. In addition, the content and structure of the interview questions will ultimately inform the results.

According to Kvale (1996), "the quality of the original interview is decisive for the quality of later analysis, verification, and reporting" (p. 144). This, of course, seems rather self-evident but he goes on to list six criteria for establishing such quality. First, the respondents' answers should be "spontaneous, rich, specific and relevant," and the formula of "the shorter the interviewer's questions, the longer the subjects' answers" produces the best results. "The degree to which the interviewer follows up and clarifies the meanings" during the interview is critical and "the ideal interview is to a large extent interpreted throughout the interview" as "the interviewer attempts to verify his or her interpretation of the subjects' answers" within the interview." Lastly, the interview is what Kvale calls "self-communicating" in that it is in fact a self-contained story requiring little in the way of explanation (p. 145).

For Maykut and Morehouse (1994), "the interview is a conversation with a purpose" (p. 79) with the goal of data collection. For them, what characterizes these interviews is "the depth of conversation, which moves beyond surface talk to a rich discussion of thoughts and feelings" Qualitative interviews accomplish this in large part due to the amount of time allocated for each interview which encourages a "prolonged engagement with the interviewee" (p. 80) leading to establishment of a climate of trust.

Research Procedures

Moving to a fieldwork perspective, the research has made extensive use of ethnographic techniques such as observation and participation in a circle-based

intervention and in-depth interviews which are described in the section above. As noted

by Paul Atkinson and Martyn Hammersley (1994), an ethnographic perspective features:

> A strong emphasis on exploring the nature of particular social phenomena; a tendency to work primarily with "unstructured" data; investigation of a small number of cases; [and] analysis of data that involves explicit interpretation of the meanings and functions of human action. (p. 248)

Procedures for data gathering. Initially this research involved an extensive

study of texts (literature review) to gain an understanding of what constitutes the

incarceration crisis now affecting the United States. It also examined the archetype of the

shadow in terms of how it is understood in Jungian psychology and, more broadly, across

depth psychological perspectives. Particular attention has been given to the collective or

cultural context of the shadow and how the incarceration crisis can been seen as a

reflection of American's cultural shadow, and how that understanding holds the

possibility of putting ourselves in a more informed position to deal with the current

situation. In terms of working with this shadow material, a review of what we know

about the healing power of the universal symbol of the circle has been explored as a

means of addressing this situation and finding ways to re-stitch a broader fabric of

community that allows us to include, and indeed welcome, all of our very human parts.

This material laid the groundwork for the activities that followed.

As part of the action element of the project, the researcher completed all three

levels of Alternatives to Vioence Project (AVP) training (Basic, Advanced, and Training

for Facilitators) and currently serves as a facilitator within AVP's prison and community-

based programs. The researcher's personal experience participating in and facilitating

AVP workshops, particularly in prison settings, has been noted in a fieldwork journal,

excerpts of which can be found in Appendix A. This continuing activity constitutes the participation and observation component of the study.

Finally, a series of in-depth interviews has been carried out with eight individuals trained as AVP facilitators, the majority being those who completed their training while incarcerated, in order to better understand how the AVP process works and discover ways in which more vibrant interaction between prison and community-based activities can be developed and supported. Given that the researcher has been facilitating in California, all interviewees are residents of this state. Participants were selected to represent diversity in terms of age, race, educational background, sexual orientation, and length of incarceration. A standard interview questionnaire was developed and is included as Appendix B. It was reviewed by AVP California, and by a sample of inmates currently participating in AVP programs in prison. It was also reviewed by the researcher's dissertation committee and was approved as part of Pacifica's ethical review process (discussed below).

As AVP currently does not have permission from the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilittion (CRDC)[7] to interview program paticipants *within* the state's prisons, I spoke with individuals who became facilitators on the inside and now are working within the broader community. I selected facilitators as opposed to individuals who may have taken an AVP workshop while in prison because according to CDCR procedures, AVP cannot initiate contact with formerly incarcerated participants

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[7] The CRDC is very supportive of AVP and has given permission for the organization to carry out several quantitative studies looking at decreases in violence on prison yards where significant numbers of prisoners have participated in AVP programs, and possible effects on rates of recidivism for AVP participants upon release. AVP chapters in a number of states and countries also have done, or are planning to carry out, similar studies.

upon their release from custody. Rather the organization must wait for them to contact AVP, and usually it is those who have not only completed the facilitator training but were active facilitators inside, who are motivated to make contact and seek a continuing relationship with the organization.

The purpose of the interviews was to gain an understanding of the effects of participation in AVP on their prison experiences and on their return to society at large, particularly in reference to their relationship with AVP. This inquiry is in support of a current goal of AVP in California to better integrate formerly incarcerated facilitators within the community while, at the same time, providing greater understanding of the prison situation among the general population by broadening their views about incarcerated people. So while these interviews may not have taken place in what might be considered a "natural setting"(Maykut & Morehouse, 1994, p. 45), the researcher has now spent considerable time working with AVP facilitators within a prison setting.

Data Analysis

The results of a critical hermeneutic review of text in the areas of incarceration in the Western context, Jung's concept of the shadow as applied to the current imprisonment epidemic in the United States, and examination of how the symbol of the circle can be used to bring about healing are presented in detail in the Literature Review section of chapter 1 of this dissertation. The material is again used in the analysis of the participatory data gathered in this study as a means to add description and facilitate interpretation of themes as formed from lived experience (Kvale, 1996).

The observation and participation component is based on the researcher's experience as a participatant, facilitator, and prison coordinator for the Alternatives to

Violence Project in a variety of prison and community settings. The researcher has

maintained a fieldwork journal noting her experiences, perspectives, and understanding

during more than three years of participation in AVP workshops. As Herda (1999) notes:

> An important source of data is the personal log or journal kept by the researcher. This document is the life-source of the data collection process for in it goes the hopes, fears, questions, ideas, humor, observations, and comments of the researcher. (p. 98)

In-depth interviews. Kvale (1996) suggests that in the case of in-depth

interviewing, analysis actually begins during the interviews when "subjects describe their

experience; discover new relationships or see new meanings," which the interviewer then

"condenses, describes and sends back meaning" to the interviewee (p. 189).

All interviews with formerly-incarcerated facilitators were tape recorded and

transcribed. Tape recording is a benefit to the researcher, in terms of reliability, and to the

participants, in terms of providing a record of their responses to the questions.

Transcription also allows for the recording of nonverbal signals found on the tape. The

researcher has transcribed the tapes herself as close to the time of the interview as

possible while the experience was fresh in mind. Herda (1999) suggests that: "It is best if

the researcher does this rather than a machine or another person because in hearing the

conversation one lives through the conversation experience again from a different

perspective" (p. 98). A set of instructions for transcription was developed to be adhered

to by the researcher or, should circumstances have required, by another individual

involved in transcription.

When all interviews were complete, the text was reviewed and marked in terms

of strengths, constraints, possible profiles, and thematic connection. This was done

inductively, without any theory or outcome in mind, or as Seidman (1998) suggests,

"with an open attitude" (p. 100). This material was then organically classified or coded according to the themes that emerged. Again to quote Herda (1999): "Reading all the conversation transcriptions allows one to develop an overview of the issue at hand and begin appropriating a new world from text" (p. 98). Kvale (1996) sees this interpretation as subject to a variety of analytical processess including *condensation* (abridgement of meaning or reduction of texts)*, categorization* (coding into categories, which can be numerical), *narrative structuring* (i.e., stories), *interpretation*, and ad hoc methods (p. 190). He also includes the step of re-interviewing to allow respondents to elaborate upon their responses. In this study, all participants received a copy of their transcript for review and the researcher followed up by phone or email to discuss any changes or corrections they wished to make to the document.

The material was then carefully analyzed to make note of inconsistencies and deviations among respondents' answers to each question. In addition, the researcher has made considerable use of respondents' own language in responding to questions in order to bring their voices actively into the research findings. As Flick (1998) sees it, with in-depth interviewing "the expectation is that factual processes will become evident in it, that 'how it really was' will be revealed" (p. 102) within the narrative data. However, Watkins and Schulman (2008) contend that data analysis can too often become "a largely unconscious interplay of the participants' meanings with the values and experiences of the data analyst" (p. 308). Thus they stress the importance of the researcher becoming aware of, and possibly making note of, any pre-understandings that might affect interpretation. In the end, what hopefully takes place is a "dialectical process" in which the interviewer responds to the participants' words in what Seidman (1998, p. 109) refers

to as a "total immersion in the data." As Herda (1999) suggests, the researcher has used

the text as a guideline to ultimate presentation. She describes the process in this way:

"The object is to create collaboratively a text that allows us to carry out the integrative act

of reading, interpreting, and critiquing our understanding" (p. 86). Thus the material

becomes the grounding for our actions.

> In-depth interviewing's strength is that through it we can come to understand the details of people's experience from their point of view. We can see how their individual experience interacts with powerful social and organizational forces that pervade the context in which they live and work, and we can discover the interconnections among people who live and work in a shared context. (Seidman, 1998, p. 112)

> Ultimately all the material gleaned from the data gathered was analyzed in

relation to the literature studied as part of the research process with the hope that, in the

end, "we stand as new beings in front of a text that holds the possibility of new worlds for

us to live in" (Herda, 1999, p. 88) and with a stronger sense of community among all who

have participated.

> The researcher's orientation toward the research event as a whole give opportunity for one to become a different person than before the research took place. It sets the researcher in a reflective and imaginary mode, thus opening new ways to think about the social problems that drew one to research in the first place. (p. 87)

Ethical Concerns

The participatory facets of this research have been carried out in accordance with

the ethical standards of the American Psychological Association and Pacifica Graduate

Institute's Institutional Review Board (IRB). As Andrea Fontana and James H. Frey

(1994) state clearly:

> Because the objects of inquiry in interviewing are human beings, extreme care must be taken to avoid any harm to them. Traditional ethical concerns have

revolved around the topics of *informed consent*, *right to privacy*, and *protection from harm. (*p. 372)

Further, Watkins and Shulman (2008) make it clear that "when an ethics of liberation motivates psychological research, those schooled in psychological research must involve themselves in a process of re-orientation toward collaboration and dialogue at each stage of research" (p. 300). It is imperative that the researcher be aware that they occupy a "center of power" in carrying out the study. They go on to suggest that "to be part of facilitating research as a liberatory process, this powerfully controlling role often needs to be abandoned for a more dialogical and collective one" which increases the degree of collaboration and opens the research process to greater "self-understanding and empowerment" for all involved.

Interviewees volunteered to participate and signed an "informed consent" form to that effect; they also were free to withdraw from the study at any point. Confidentiality has been maintained in terms their participation and the data collected from their participation. All participants were offered a chance to review a transcript of their interview and the researcher followed up with each of them to make note of any changes or corrections they wanted to see made to the text.

The researcher has completely subscribed to the intention to do no harm, physically, emotionally, or psychologically, to those who participated in the study. Rather every attempt has been made to maximize the positive effect of their participation. All research participants were provided with an overview of the study and special consideration was given to respect and give support to them, recognizing that formerly-incarcerated people are often subject to various forms of discrimination within society. Also as Watkins and Schulman (2008) emphasize, "people need to be able to anticipate

where their words and perspectives are likely to show up before consenting to

participation" (p. 305). All participants in this study clearly understood and are

supportive of the goals of the study.

Chapter 3
Presentation and Analysis of Findings

In this chapter, the findings from the participatory research phase of this study are presented and analyzed. This included the researcher's personal experience participating in and observing the Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) primarily within prison settings but also in various community venues. This is then followed by an analysis of in-depth interviews with eight AVP facilitators who began their involvement with AVP while incarcerated but who are now returned citizens currently involved in the broader community.

Presentation of Findings

Observation and participation. The observation and participation portion of this study involved the researcher: (a) taking all three levels of Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) workshops (Basic, Advanced, and Training for Facilitators), (b) after facilitating in three workshops as an apprentice, officially becoming an AVP facilitator, and then being mentored to become a Team Coordinator, (c) and continuing to facilitate AVP workshops in prison and in the community. In addition, the researcher attended several national and statewide AVP "gatherings," (annual conferences) and became a member of the national research committee. She also serves as the Southwestern regional representative to the Committee of Local and Regional Groups (CLARG). The researcher currently is a co-coordinator for the AVP program at Ironwood State prison in Blythe, California, as well as facilitating in community and other prison workshops in the greater Los Angeles area. As of fall 2013, she has joined another AVP colleague in spearheading the introduction of the AVP program in Calipatria State Prison where a significant number of experienced AVP facilitators from Ironwood have been transferred since the

state downgraded SNY A Yard from a level four to a level three security rating. A commentary on this experience, including excerpts from the fieldwork notes kept during this time frame, is included as Appendix A.

Participant interviews. As described in the Research section of this dissertation, in-depth interviews were carried out with eight individuals who had been introduced to AVP and became actively involved with the program while in prison and are now returned citizens living in the community. (The questionnaire is included as Appendix B). The eight participants were identified by inquiries to long-established AVP program coordinators in California and then approached by the researcher to participate in the study. (Again it should be noted that AVP is not permitted to initiate contact with inmates after they leave prison; formerly incarcerated AVPers must be the ones to establish contact with AVP.) Each was provided with an overview of the project, a set of instructions for interviewees, and read and signed an informed consent form (see Appendix C).

The participants represent a cross section of the current prison population and included six men and two women of diverse ethnicity (predominantly black and Hispanic, but also white, and "other") and sexual orientation, ranging in age from 41 to 64 (average 53.6). Their years served in prison ranged from 8.5 to 38 (average 22.2), or a total of 177.9 years served. The majority of respondents currently reside in the greater Los Angeles area and were interviewed in person; one lives in the Central Coast region and another in the San Francisco Bay Area and they were both interviewed by telephone. All but one of the interviewees served their time in California state prisons; that participant was incarcerated in the Federal prison system. A copy of the initial transcript

of the interview was returned to each participant and then the researcher followed up to see if they wished to make any corrections, additions or further discuss the interview. Each interviewee was ultimately sent a copy of the final version of the findings section of this dissertation for their information.

Responses are summarized below making extensive use of the actual words of the interviewees. This is not only because it actually serves to bring their voices more directly into the document as co-researchers, but because there is an eloquence to their language that cannot be captured by significantly shortening or rephrasing many of their responses. This underscores the researcher's contention that people who have made the journey through the underworld that is retributive punishment, who have faced their own shadow, have incredible light to share with all of us.

Question 1: At what point in your incarceration did you decide to take the AVP Basic Workshop? How did you hear about AVP? The earliest any of the interviewees was introduced to AVP was about one-third of the way into their term, several were half way through, but the majority was nearing the end of their time in prison. In large part this was due to the fact that AVP did not become active in multiple prisons in California until the early 2000s. Several said they heard about the workshops from seeing flyers posted on the yard, but most learned about AVP either from friends or people on the yard with whom they were impressed. "They were like a walking billboard for AVP by their own transformation." A few were able to get into some of the first AVP workshops on their yards while others were faced with long waiting lists. Where possible, most took as many workshops just as fast as was possible. Many stated that AVP came along at a time when they were seriously working on themselves: "That time in my incarceration I was

really making changes, so that was something I was interested in doing." One mentioned the workshops were suggested to help him deal with his anger issues.

Question 2: What made you decide you wanted to become a facilitator? How was that experience for you in prison. What were you looking for? Have you continued to facilitate workshops on the outside? If yes, where? Most respondents indicated that they decided to become a facilitator because they wanted to continue to receive the benefits associated with participation in the AVP workshops. In one instance, an outside facilitator suggested the person might enjoy facilitating and the person found it "really exciting and also an excellent stress reliever for me with the anxiety, after being locked up so long, of getting out"; another considered the workshops "the best combination of having fun as well as taking care of business and learning things." One interviewee indicated he enjoyed the experience because "it was more spiritual." Another said "it took on a more three-dimensional image, rather than the usual two-dimensional. It took on a whole different layer."

A number expressed a strong desire to pass on to others what they had experienced and noted "witnessing change and witnessing interaction where otherwise there wouldn't be any." One found that while facilitating "even the ones (participants) that weren't ready to dive in, you saw them scooting closer to the water and then next time they were in the water." As another stated: "You know in a penitentiary people are more somber and serious and pretty soon you are doing Lite and Livelys and everybody is laughing and running around, having fun, so that was pretty interesting."

A number of respondents indicated that being a facilitator enabled them to interact with "like-minded people," people who were "humane and real." One was particularly

impressed with the equality that existed between inside and outside facilitators. They also enjoyed the camaraderie of being part of a facilitators' group and participating in the healing process.

> That is why the word "transform" (is important). It actually transformed my thoughts from looking at it one way and then having the ability to, in the midst of a hostile situation that could potentially be physically violent, transform that into a positive, nonviolent situation."

In some cases, it offered an opportunity to take on additional responsibilities for coordinating the program inside. For example: "I was part of every workshop we had in Lompoc for two years. I was actually like the liaison inside between the staff and the outside facilitators. I went around and recruited people. I kept the list."

In terms of opportunities to facilitate now that they are again part of the community, the responses varied largely in terms of work and time constraints and access to resources. Finding housing and a job are big priorities for most returning citizens and many are reliant on public transportation for a period of time. But all those interviewed remained connected to AVP in some way, at least facilitating occasionally but also participating in state or national gatherings or serving in some organizational capacity. One respondent indicated that keeping involved was such a priority for her that she kept the business card given to all AVP participants "taped to my forehead. I called them a couple of days after I got out." Another recently released respondent indicated that the local AVP community had been quick to offer opportunities to facilitate as well as helping with logistical issues. "That's another thing about AVP, you make connections with people you otherwise would probably never meet. And they are wonderful people."

***Question 3: How did taking the AVP workshops change how you saw yourself
and your situation? If so, please explain and give me any examples. Feel free to tell me
a story or stories that illustrate these changes.*** Among the changes noted by

interviewees was greater personal empowerment ("It showed me I actually do have a

voice and that people listen to me, that I actually had something to give and was a pretty

good leader."), the opportunity to meet new people and build community, as well as

having a chance to be of service, particularly to younger prisoners ("I called them my

ducklings, these little kids that looked at me as a positive influence."). Many also found

the AVP workshops encouraged greater introspection ("I really appreciated the

opportunity to step outside the box, to move out of my comfort zone;" "AVP helped me

change the way I saw myself and my situation by offering me opportunities to have

epiphanies—you know like insights."). One participant noted that participation in AVP

made him pay more attention to the degree to which he had become institutionalized

while serving time; another found that it greatly increased his level of social interaction,

while most reflected upon the sense of community that formed around AVP participation.

> AVP seemed like a barrier breaker. We continued to interact with each other,
> continued to befriend each other in a lot of ways. That was a rare thing in prison,
> to be greeted in a positive way by different ethnicities. We didn't walk around
> hostile, with a frown on our face all day.

For those who already found themselves in some kind of leadership role, AVP added a

new dimension: "After being there so many years, I knew how to navigate the social

structure, but I really didn't know how to bring in the positive." For those already moving

in a spiritual direction, AVP provided a source of support that helped them pull things

together. One noted: "If you are a seeker of truth, you are going to be drawn to AVP

anyway because all it does is confirm what is already in you." Another saw AVP as "a

blend of humanistic psychology mixed with Quaker philosophy so it kind of fit exactly in what I like to do. It helped me get more grounded. And I'm still doing it!"

Several drew attention to the effects of specific AVP exercises. For example, the Values Clarification Exercise provided a particularly meaningful insight to one respondent.

> There are a series of boxes. You write down things like, school, family, religion, community, whatever it is, and then you write down what your values were towards that particular topic before incarceration and then you write what they are now, currently, and then you write down what you hope they will be when you get released. And it was clear as day. I looked at the paper and the difference between then and now and what the future is going to be was simple—*action*. So I saw that while I said I had valued my family, my actions said otherwise. And now my actions are different. I'm now doing things and saying things and behaving positively with my family. I said that school was important but I was cutting and ditching and now I was actually trying to study and learn, doing correspondence courses. So for each one of those categories down the line, without skipping any, there was no action prior to incarceration and now there was. The phrase came to mind: "Values without actions are dead." This reminded me of a phrase in the Bible that says: "Faith without works is dead." If you are not behaving the way you believe, then you don't really believe it. You don't have that value. It made me realize that when I say that something is important to me or I value it, I really need to do something about it. What I do speaks for me more than what I say.

Another exercise several interviewees referenced as having a strong impact on them was Human to Human, a meditative exercise that involves sitting across from another participant in silence while also making eye contact. "That thing is powerful! I mean families don't do that; friends don't do that. I remember thinking, 'this is weird,' but now I can be in your presence and AVP has given that to me." Another story.

> Prior to that exercise I thought I understood what remorse was and about taking responsibility for the murder I was convicted for committing; I knew that intellectually and I'd even say to a degree emotionally. But during that exercise I literally *felt* the enormity of what I had done, who I had hurt, and it was the first time I truly experienced remorse. Somehow it was the first time I experienced forgiveness. (The facilitator who was) reading the dialogue during the gathering "Something you don't know about me," had mentioned that her son or brother had been killed in a robbery. So I am sitting in front of this other gentleman and she is

reading and my mind froze. When she's reading about the person in front of you and that we all have the same feelings, my mind, I don't know, I would say some magic happened and I realized that she is doing this for us yet it could have been me that killed her son. It could have been me that did that, and yet here she is giving of herself. It wasn't my mind, it wasn't my thinking process, it was just something inside of me that took me to where it was my mother and the mother of the boy I killed, they all changed places. They were all the same person. It was the mother of the young man I killed. Somehow that was an awesome experience for me. Later on, when talking to (this facilitator), she said, "I didn't say that." She had a nephew that had been robbed but he wasn't killed. I told her, "but what I heard, for whatever reason, I heard the words I needed to hear to embody that experience." If she didn't say that, it was what went into my ears.

Question 4: Please talk about how you were able to integrate AVP into your life in prison and how it affected the way you related to other inmates? Inmates of other races? Correctional Officers? Other prison staff? Family and friends on the outside?

Many respondents noted that participating in AVP made them part of a unique community on the yard: "Before it (community) was an abstract concept in my mind. AVP made it possible for me to literally experience that and to keep experiencing it afterwards."

> I can recall countless times on the yard individuals who participated in AVP going up to someone else if they saw an AVP pin and all of a sudden sliding into Mrs. Mumbly and laughing while everybody else around them is looking, like "are they crazy?" And that actually is how a lot of people came to want to participate because they saw people just being happy and they asked, "Hey, what is this?"

Another noted that:

> Once I became a participant and then a facilitator, I was part of that little community. I had seen people passing through the hallways for years and I would just pass by them. Getting to know them in AVP, getting to know their adjective names, getting to know a little bit about them, next time I'd see them I'd say: "Hey, John." AVP, specially being a facilitator, I began to meet a lot of people and got to know them. That particular prison was more like home—"Hey, I know everybody here"—and for positive reasons.

One respondent indicated that skills learned in AVP helped him take on a mentoring role

with many young men of color to an extent that many referred to him as Uncle. "I was

able to talk to them and explain to them how to diffuse these situations. That was

probably the most significant way that I was able to share all of this." Another regularly

employed AVP principles in his interactions with other inmates.

> Because of AVP, I was learning to listen and think what in the world is *he* trying
> to tell me? What I needed to do was find out *his* needs, you know, and be able to
> defuse a potential conflict without having to get angry.

> AVP tools were seen as instrumental in developing better relationships while in

prison. "I think they (the tools) are wise; they utilize wisdom, patience, and tolerance.

You don't just tolerate a situation, you embrace it, yet you don't take it personally. That's

one of the things I learned in AVP."

> I tried to practice what I was preaching. I learned new things and I tried to live it
> as an extension of my spiritual practices. I used the concept of Transforming
> Power. We all can use Transforming Power, because the world doesn't need more
> love, it needs more Transforming Power.

> Racial tension is, unfortunately, a major issue in American prisons and the system

often seems to do more to aggravate rather than relieve the situation. But AVP appears to

help.

> I'll say it was funny my first workshop, and even after that, to see grown men,
> lifers, cry like babies in front of each other and not caring, but being able to feel.
> People of different races; they weren't necessarily friends prior to the AVP
> experience, but here they were hugging each other. Community took place.
> Actually whites, blacks, Mexicans, Asians participated.

> Several interviewees attributed positive change in relationships with

correctional officers (COs) to their participation in AVP.

> With staff it was great because, along with other things I had been involved in, it
> allowed me not to see them as a symbol but more as people. It allowed me to be
> more open to the fact that they have a job to do, and it is a very difficult job, one

that I would never imagine myself doing. Never! It allowed me to have more empathy for them.

(AVP) even translated into a different relationship with staff. Because (in prison) you need a pass to go any place, so they'd ask: "Where are you going?" And I would say, "Hey, I'm a facilitator in AVP." After a while they would just say, "He's a facilitator, let him go."

Yes, it definitely helped in dealing with COs. Now granted certain individuals who happen to work for the CDCR have negative habits and do negative things, but not all of them. The same COs others would describe as "no good," never bothered me because I never put myself in a situation to be questioned by them. I always looked to find something positive to continue my day as opposed to just looking at the negative.

Several respondents noted the positive impact that learning to use "I Messages" had on

relationships both inside and out.

It made a big difference because it teaches you a different way of expressing yourself. In society we are so used to saying *you* did this, I hate when *you* do this, instead of saying you know what, it makes *me* feel bad when this happens. When you can internalize it and express what is happening to you internally, it makes people look at you differently. They don't feel they are being attacked. It makes them want to help you. You know, it's just the opposite side of the coin: You are saying the exact same thing but instead of projecting, you are saying "this is what's happening for me, this is how I'm feeling." It made a big difference in my interaction with the COs (correctional officers).

When I started using "I Statements" and expecting the best, and being patient and persistent and not being verbally aggressive but showing that I'm assertive—"I won't stand for this, however, I am willing to work with you"—it made a big difference in the way people looked at me and so people came at me differently. And I had people say, "What happened? You're different. I like talking with you, I didn't even know this is who you are."

With my family I think I was more conscious of "I Statements," so when I had an issue with a family member, I'd kind of give myself a self-check and then approach it differently.

In terms of family and friends, some respondents indicated that such interactions

were very limited during their incarceration, but for others AVP helped a lot. As one

respondent noted: "AVP helped me become a mellower person, to not trip on small stuff, to not be an angry person." Another explained:

> I don't have family. I have friends and stuff, but I think with my friends I've always been very gentle, but AVP taught me to stand up and say, "I love you but I can't do this." So I think they appreciated where I was coming from more and instead of just taking for granted, "Oh _____ is there and _____ will do this" because that's _____, it was like, "do you mind," or "I need." There was more respect in the way they came at me.

For many in prison, family relationships become a focal point, because these are the ones that tend to endure over long years of separation. Techniques learned in AVP appear to have made a positive difference for many.

> My mom appreciated it more only because she did work for a non-profit, so she thought it was great. She was glad to hear about it; like most moms, (she had) the ability to hear things in one's voice, those subtle changes.

> My behavior is different, my thinking is different but my family hasn't changed. So I realize: "Let's be understanding, there's no sense getting caught in behavior loops." I realized "OK, that's where they *are* at, because that is where I *was* at and I am still growing and they are still growing. Sometimes they don't see things."

> ***Question 5: How do you understand the concept of Transforming Power and has that understanding made a difference in your life? If so, would you give an example(s)?*** As has been noted above (p. 93), Transforming Power (TP) is the essential core of AVP and yet it is often the hardest concept to define.

> I understand Transforming Power to be where you can allow yourself to go inward, to allow for an opportunity to do something "other than." Opening yourself to the "Other" for an opportunity to diffuse a situation or to create an opportunity to de-escalate, to create a change in a situation that could be volatile.

> I think my understanding of Transforming Power is that it is the spiritual aspect that is in all of us. You know we all have it, although sometimes it is covered or we don't have a good connection with it. I think that it is that inner deity, that inner part of God and spirituality that we all have.

There may be different names (for TP) like 12 Steps, but AVP has an element or dynamic that some of them don't have. They bump into it, but AVP kind of fills the room with it because the program is experiential; it's kind of four dimensional, where you actually walk through the door and process everything. A lot of them (other programs) just talk to you *about* it.

That is something I focus on a lot. I've even got the url "transformingpower.com." A lot of what Martin Luther King and Gandhi talked about is really Transforming Power, just using different words. Today, because there is a lot of negativity in society and in our psychological atmosphere, I try to channel as much Transforming Power as I can. It is all about energy and everything is energy. Modern physics shows that.

In AVP workshops that I have attended, I realize we do our best to not use the word "God." It is not a religious group, but when we speak of Transforming Power, I think of it as being that same awesomeness. My understanding of God is not as a He or a She or an It, but something I know affects things in ways that are, I'll say, magical.

And individuals find different ways of experiencing Transforming Power in their lives.

All I have to do is tap into it. I just have to be quiet and still sometimes and I have to wait on it. It doesn't work when I want it to work, but I know it is there. So that is kind of comforting, to say: "OK, I know that there is that possibility for miraculous things to happen, I know there is a possibility for people and situations to change."

There is a something that takes care of me but it doesn't walk me by the hand every minute of my life. I have to have done my homework, taken my own steps, all the while knowing that that something is with me. If I am saying things that I truly feel and there is something telling me, urging me to speak, then even though sometimes it sounds crazy to me, I do it anyway because I know it is Transforming Power guiding me and I do my best to stay out of the way. For me it has been a thing that has happened so often that it is not something I *believe* but something I *know*.

And Transforming Power is not just one component of a workshop, it permeates the experience: "It is at work in every different workshop. Even when you do Light & Livelys, TP is at work because you get them up, you stretch them out, and they are moving, transforming from one state to another state." In AVP, we often say the best way

to explain Transforming Power is to share TP stories. This one took place while the

respondent was living in a transition situation after getting out of prison:

> There were two guys, one was an old Blood and one was an old Crip. They were both supposed to have gotten rid of all of those affiliations, but a lot of it is engrained and they just didn't like each other. So it manifested that they were slurring each other or slamming their gangs and I remember, without thinking, walking in between them and pushing both apart. I said: "Please go over there. And you, please go over there so I can talk to you both." I just reminded them of where they were, the sacrifices they had made, and it ended up working out even though they were ready to go to blows, to take it "outside." Actually one of them was a really big guy, like 6'8" and about 350 pounds, and he was all muscle. The other guy was here (shoulder high) on me. So that meant that in order to equal things, this guy most likely would have gone for a weapon . . . .

Another finds opportunities to use TP almost daily on the streets of San Francisco:

> I have a job that lets me practice Transforming Power a lot. I work at an adult education center for very low-income people, like the chronically homeless. We have people who are mentally ill, who are living on the street, so they are challenging to work with. It is an environment where every day things can happen. Just yesterday I was walking through United Nations Plaza and a fight had broken out. Over the years I've felt confident that I can be in the middle of things like that and have a positive influence on the situation. I just try to make sure that no one is really doing harm. You have got to know when to step in and when not to. Sometimes just your presence makes a difference; you don't have to say anything, or do anything. Transforming Power can radiate and that is what happened yesterday.

> Some respondents found that one or more of the 12 Guides to Transforming

Power (see page 94) particularly resonated with them and their situation.

> Well, I mean I think "expect the best" is one of the biggest for me. Personally I'm not a negative person but I have a knack, because of my environment, to look at the bad and expect the bad to come. And I truly do believe that what you put out is what you get back. Learning that even in a bad situation there is something good and you can find it makes your outlook different.

Another story:

> My biggest thing, when I first got out, was going to restaurants and reading menus. Menus are very different than they were 30 years ago and people talk so fast. At first it was intimidating but then I had no problem saying: "OK, check this out. We're going into this restaurant and I will tell you right now I have no idea

what they are saying, OK, so please help me." And I think it made them feel better because they were being helpful. I know that before AVP, I would never have said: "I can't do this." But AVP has taught me that it is OK to be vulnerable and it is OK to say, "I don't know." It has made a big difference in the transition.

Question 6: AVP workshops are carried out with everyone sitting in a circle. Is the circle an essential part of the AVP process? Was this experience different for you than sitting in a regular classroom setting, i.e., in rows? If so, how? How does it make a difference?

One of the points raised most often was that sitting in a circle "doesn't make anyone above anyone else." In a traditional classroom setting, everything is much more structured: "There is someone at a podium, there's a teacher or someone at a desk who is ahead of you, you are looking at the back of someone's head and it is very confining, very restrictive." The message seems to be: "This is what you are supposed to do!" As one participant put it: "The circle, I don't know, it adds a different dynamic as opposed to someone hiding by sitting in the back row. Even the facilitators or coordinator are equal. You know who's who but you are all mixed in there." For another, the circle "creates a vortex of things that could happen because it is a circle and not a classroom setting."

> Well the circle is important because, like I said, it is how energy goes. The circle keeps the flow going because everybody sees everybody and everybody is equal. It is a lot easier to share in the circle. The circle is part of life like in a sweat lodge; most people used to sit in circles when they were talking, when they were dancing, and when they were around the fires, not in ranks. The circle focuses the energy. I think it is an essential part of AVP.

Another perceived value was visibility: "When you are speaking everybody can see you, you can see everybody's face. I mean I was taught that when you speak to someone you look in their face, you look in their eyes, you make contact."

> I've always believed that body language is equal to the verbal and (being in a circle) also helps the person who is speaking to realize that everyone is actually

listening because everyone wants to be heard. I thought that was important, particularly in there (prison) because there was a lot of eye diversion.

And just sitting in a circle is an unusual experience in prison.

> Having been in prison for about 7 years, the only other place where I had seen that we could circle up and people would actually listen was a meditation group that I was in. Prison is not about circling up and giving people a chance to be listened to. It is about grabbing attention, and beating your chest, and being the sole focus of attention.

At the same time it was seen as instrumental in breaking down racial barriers:

> There would be in virtually every circle I did in prison sworn enemies who were expected by their friends that were watching their backs on the yard to not listen, not be open, be ready to kill. At least two or three different groups would be sitting in the circle and an awful lot of what AVP was about was to somehow try to figure out a way to honor all of those different groups and allow all of them to have a chance to speak and be seen. And being seen and respected was critical to developing trust.

> Being in a circle was also seen as encouraging interaction. It was noted that the

circle kind of "neutralizes everyone." Another noted that the circle format is an aid to

facilitators.

> A team of facilitators that all sit in strategic positions can keep eye contact with one another in the advent that something arises that might not be noticed. That is what facilitating is, not letting things go where they should not be going. We want to stay within this circumference, stay in this circle, because once things get out of the boundary, it can change the whole exercise. It is not about the facilitators, it is about the participants. How can we protect the participants? How can we safeguard the participants? That is what it is all about. The participant is always first.

One respondent noted the effectiveness of taking the circle concept into family

interactions:

> I have friends who have kids and I actually use some of them (Lite and Livelys) with the kids because it teachers them to be with other kids and have fun while not focusing on differences. We're all just being together and I think this is the basis of AVP: No one is above anyone else; we are all equal. And if we can get society to understand that we are all equal, it would be so much better.

And one interviewee offered his own unique take on the concept:

> I know we say *circle*, but I like to think *oval* because the ova is female and I think the female has creation in her belly and I think of the egg because I think of that as creation and nurturing and birth.

> ***Question 7: In AVP we often talk about facilitators getting to the point where they can "trust the process." What does "trusting the process" mean to you? Did you reach that point as a facilitator and, if so, when? How did you know?*** Interviewees all clearly understood the adage, "trust the process," but came to that understanding in different ways. "For me it is my experience that it works, so I trust it. It's not faith; it is just a practical thing I know."

> You have to trust that if you follow the guidelines well enough, it will work itself out. It might not work out the way another person did it, but that's the whole thing about having different facilitators, we all connect differently, we all see things differently.

> I was setting up for an exercise and I totally gave the wrong instructions but it still worked out fine! No one was the wiser except the other facilitators and I was like, "Hey, it really is not about me. It's about setting it up and letting it do its thing." And I realized that there could be 20 people sitting in the circle and there could be 20 different outcomes. Everyone will get something different from it.

> I trusted the process when I saw even people from different neighborhoods begin to broaden their scope, their horizon, begin to grow because this particular program offers a feeling of safety.

One person felt that "we shouldn't have expectations of what other people should be doing, how other people should be responding, (we should) not try to micromanage someone's level of understanding"

> I think it is very easy to experience an AVP workshop where everything just runs so perfectly that one can get to thinking that is how they are all supposed to be. And when you run into a workshop where, compared to the last one, nothing is going right, it is easy to get frustrated. I think it is almost human nature to want to "fix it," but sometimes all that stuff that is going on is necessary to bring it to the point where everything is working and everybody is able to experience it. So the

workshops go however they go, and I just figure: "Hey, I'm going to do my best but the process is going to do itself."

A few respondents did make the point that occasionally some of the more experienced

facilitators did not seem to follow this adage.

> I know I did a game that I screwed up, but the funny thing is it did work out. It was "Find Your Group" (also called Dots) and the first time I did it, I forgot that the facilitators were supposed to added into the group, so when it was all over, one of the facilitators pulled me to the side and told me that I had done it wrong. And I was like, "OK, sorry, it's my first time. I'll get it right the next time." But it was really interesting because when we sat in the circle and processed the exercise, the group was like: "Well, why weren't you all in it? Aren't you part of the group?" So the message came across—that regardless, we all the same.

A story:

> Well I had a person in our facilitating group (of three) that had mental challenges, which is part of the community and society. But we kept rubbing up against that (challenge) and it was frustrating for me and the other person too. Someone with mental issues required more patience and understanding and allowing her to take control over an activity was hard. So I knew I had to throw away everything I had learned because it wasn't working and be able to enlarge myself for that facilitator, realize that my own weaknesses were a liability and understand that the process I'm used to wasn't working. We were feeling like this one person was an outsider and yet the participants would say, "We like her." So it is like God saying: "No, you are wrong!" So then I had to check *me* and apologize. Sometimes we have all this confidence but then the Universe throws a monkey wrench into that comfort by throwing in someone different.

One of the interviewees stressed that the concept can be difficult to implement not only in

AVP, but in one's own life:

> Trusting the process is the bane of my existence, something I deal with on a daily basis; sometimes on an hourly basis! It is such a struggle for me and I know the importance of it. But I enjoy that (challenge) because it allows me to work on myself and in a lot of situations, I just have to let things be. That is the most exciting part of AVP, when you allow the process and then see the evolution of change, the growth. I want to be perfect but I also want to be able to ensure that everybody gets it. I tend not to remember that if they don't get it, it is OK; they may get it later

But for another the concept has just naturally extended to other parts of his life.

Aside from AVP, that's how my process happens. It is like: "Hey, I can't force it to happen and have a specific outcome. I just need to continue being engaged and things will unfold. And that is kind of like trusting the process. A lot of things happen organically so you don't need to have minute control of everything. It's really like other practices, such as meditation or yoga. It's not going to be perfect, but just engaging in doing the practice, that is all you need to do.

For another respondent, trusting the process just felt like the natural way to go.

The first thing that comes to mind right now is people talking about war strategies but how no battle ever follows the plan beyond the first move. The analogy that I would use in my own head is, "OK it's time to play, it's time to dance, and let the action begin and let's stay centered."

Question 8: Do you think there was a point where enough inmates on your yard had participated in AVP to affect the atmosphere on the yard, the level of violence on the yard, or the number of lockdowns? How did that manifest? According to respondents, having the presence of a significant number of AVP participants and facilitators on a particular yard did result in a positive change in the environment.

Oh yes, there were many occasions in which situations that would otherwise have escalated into people being carried off the yard because they were too badly hurt to walk and men being locked up for a month or more in order to allow emotions to cool down (were avoided). I can think of a number of occasions where men walked up to me, because they knew I was an AVP facilitator, and just wanted to talk.

A number of respondents reported that it was the decision by the "lifers" on a yard to become involved in AVP that really got things going. Those serving life, who have come to terms with possibly spending the rest of their lives locked up, wield tremendous influence in prison.

Actually it did. Your first group of people that really started taking it were the lifers, which actually is a good thing because the lifers are a stable force in the institution. So when their attitudes started to change, all the little people who flock around them were like: "Oh Wow, Why is this? Why are you doing this? Why are you being so nice today? Why are you talking to me like this?" (The AVP participants) started showing a respect for other people and then others said, "I want to be like that."

> In the beginning, it was predominantly lifers who knew that they needed to experience this, but then you started to see other people participating because so many of their friends and associates had taken it and were in love with it, so they decided to go.

One respondent said he had been concerned when the program began to spread to the general population—that is beyond the group who had some experience participating in programs and self-help groups. However, his fears proved to be unfounded: "But again trusting the process, there were never any issues. None. And that was a great thing for me that opened up doors and opportunities for all ilk's of people within the prison community." And this broader participation was soon evident on the yard. "I did not necessarily witness but I heard of several instances where there might be a heated conversation and someone would do something from AVP and everybody would start laughing, so the situation was diffused and everything shifted."

Another interviewee (a Latin American) noted that the number of AVP facilitators on a yard had a particularly strong effect. "It also changed because you had a core of facilitators in there that, to the best of their ability, lived the principles of AVP. You know (with the mix of people) everything changes, just like in a dorm or company or yard." This seemed particularly the case in Soledad State Prison where AVP was very active.

> Sometimes you would see different ethnicities walking together in the yard and in other places that would usually be a no-no. Like with S (an African American), he was a facilitator and I was a facilitator and we did a lot of workshops together. So if I saw S, I would give him a hug. And you know that is pretty rare. So I think it made a difference in the prison environment. It brings out a new norm.

It was noted by a number of respondents that when AVP participation reached a critical point on a yard, the whole culture seemed to change. For example: "Without a doubt!

Yes. When I was at Solano, I really saw it because a family had begun to grow so big, almost the whole yard—even people from different gangs—there was a certain camaraderie." And the key to this was seen to be communication:

> Communication plays a major (role) in nonviolence and when you have open communication between people, you can seek a dialog or discourse and not have roadblocks. It facilitates a whole lot of things. I actually saw it on a grand scale where people were able to communicate which automatically diffuses a whole lot of things."

The one respondent who served time in a federal prison stated that the polarization by race was much less of a factor in that system, however he noted that "it couldn't help but make a difference with people from all different groups attending workshops and other people knowing that they were doing them. I think that when the program (was discontinued at Lompoc) things got worse." Things also seemed to vary from one state prison to another. Two respondents who served time at California Men's Colony noted that the atmosphere there was less volatile then in some other state prisons.

> At CMC people actually were on the path of bettering the way they were so you would hear people talking about AVP. There was one guy that had mentioned that he had encountered a couple of guys that had taken AVP arguing, and they were starting to get heated. So the third guy, who had also done AVP, asks them, "Hey, anyone seen Mrs. Mumbly?" And it just took them aback and they caught themselves. It diffused their possible conflict.

And word of such change apparently reaches beyond prison walls: "Sadly I wasn't there long enough to really see what happened but from what I have heard, from a lot of people who wrote, it was taking the place by storm via word of mouth.

Question 9: Have you been able to apply the AVP principles to your life post-prison? If so, how have you done so? Please tell me a story or two about this. Is it easier or harder to apply AVP principles outside? Is there anything else you would like to tell me about this? How has the experience been for you? For most respondents, the skills they learned in AVP were valuable to them in making the transition to life on the outside. "I think that AVP, as well as other groups, helped me get the soft skills I needed, and the peace, so I didn't feel all that anxiety or worry. So when I came out, I was ready for it." For another,

> (AVP) is a constant, a transition between two cultures, like bridging a gap between two countries. I think it is more about having a support system (because) you were in a place where people spoke your language; now you have to adjust to society's rules and take on (the) responsibility of relationships and family and all those things take time.

> The whole strategy around not reacting but acting so as not to escalate; my natural reaction is coming out of emotion but my conscious action is coming from a more grounded, centered place that takes into account what is going on from the perspective of being in someone else's shoes. That is the biggest difference.

A story:

> I was lucky enough to be able to utilize it in prison for a number of years so that when I came out here, it was natural. One of my first roommates when I got out was very, very junky, very young. I kept trying to work with her, but she wasn't hearing me and I started getting a little resentful. So I had to sit her down and I literally had to do "I Statements." Now I'm like 50 and she's like 22 so I have to come across in a way that she (will not feel she) has to defend herself. So I sat her down one day and I said: "You know what, I'm a lot older than you are. I come from a different place than you come from and I feel like you have no respect for me. I feel that you think that I'm your mother, and I am not. I am willing to be helpful. I am willing to work with you, but I feel like you feel because I am a *cleanaholic,* I'll just do it." So we talked about it and she actually said: "I don't know how to clean." It was just that simple. So I said: "Well then I'll show you." And once I actually showed her, we never had another problem. It was really interesting because what she learned from me she took on to her next roommate. In fact she (later) told me, "Oh my roommate now is such a pig." And I said: "Oh no, not your roommate!" She said: "Yes, I had to sit her down and talk to her just like you talked to me." So even though she had never done an AVP workshop she

(now) knew how to handle the situation lovingly and do the same thing I did. It comes in handy; it definitely comes in handy.

Another respondent said that he is trying to share what he had learned in AVP with his family. "Well, I share with my family some of the things I have learned. I'm not saying that I am teaching them or anything, but having a discussion kind of puts it out there for everybody."

For some respondents it was harder to put their AVP skills to use on the outside than it was in prison.

> I think that one of the things I had decided to do in prison was to change my life so I started doing things differently. When I came out, I thought I already had it together in terms of patience, but I came to learn that I was still way behind in terms of communication. Inside if something came up that could potentially lead to conflict, I could be like "later" and just leave. Out here, it is not the same. Inside it is acceptable, proper, and even courteous as you are avoiding a conflict, taking time out, and putting faith in between you. Out here, if I tell someone "later with you, bye bye," or just hang up (the phone), it is not appropriate. So I learned that I can't always apply AVP principles per se. But I (had) learned that AVP is about being a human being with a heart, so to me it is just (about) trying to be a human being with a heart.

> It is harder out here. People out here are very dismissive about things and there (inside) even though what might be considered important really isn't important, it still allows for thinking and all of that—some form of action maybe. But out here people like to run and hide from things. You know they don't want to be involved, so it is definitely harder out here.

For others, AVP is easier to apply now that they are in the community. "I think it is actually harder to practice it in prison because, although you can try to do Transforming Power, you don't have enough to change the prison system. The punitive system is what it is."

> It is easier (out here) because while incarcerated things happen so much quicker and you don't have an option. Like us sitting here in this Starbucks, say if something was to take place in here and we felt uncomfortable, we could get up and walk out that door. In prison, that's not so. I was locked in the kitchen one day, something started happening, they closed the doors and they shot stuff in the

kitchen and everyone had to sit in there and endure it. Here we can get up and move as free people in society.

Out here you are freer on a physical and social level, you don't experience as much threat. You get a lot of mistrust from different groups in prison but out here you don't have that kind of thing. (But) this makes workshops in prison more outstanding and dynamic because the energy there is higher. It is darker so there is more reflection of the light.

Question 10: How would like to see your involvement with AVP continue and develop in the future? And lastly, are there ways in which AVP could better support you in continuing as a facilitator in the community? In terms of their own involvement with AVP at this point in time, respondents expressed a number of different goals. Some were focused on continuing to facilitate workshops: "I like doing Basics and Advanceds. I know that I can probably go on and work my way up, but I'm kind of happy being in the trenches."

Doing these workshops with Homeboys, I really enjoy this because these are a bunch of little gangsters, and believe me I know gangsters. It is where I come from. So if you can look at me and see that I am a different person then it is possible for you to be a different person. And that makes a really big impact on some of them. So I'm happy.

Or getting back into facilitating more often:

As far as facilitating, I would like to get back into facilitating. When we did that workshop just recently, it was a Steering Committee retreat in a workshop setting, after we did some exercises, I saw that I missed it. And I know, because I can remember when I've come home (after facilitating workshops) and felt like that was a good weekend and I was using my time like I should have. I need that.

Several saw their future association as being more involved with supporting AVP/CA as an organization: "I would like to take on more workload and involvement with AVP," and one indicated a preference for a more "backstage" role supporting AVP through help with organizational issues and fund raising. Another had come to a point where AVP was just how he lived his life and facilitating or not facilitating was not important.

> Actually I would say that for me I am going to do whatever I feel called to do. I am finally free to say "no." So now whatever life places in front of me, I'll know if I'm supposed to put myself there and do it or not do it. But I feel that in the course of life itself, in the course of interacting with everyone around me, I'll be doing AVP without needing the formal set up of a workshop. In life you are going to communicate AVP skills by virtue of your life skills—by being a human being with a heart. Someone who wants to be passing on what we call AVP.

The degree of support interviewees had themselves received from AVP seemed to vary but several mentioned having established positive contact. "There is a contact number on the card for the guys to call, so I called and they hooked me up with the community leader here and that's how I got hooked in."

> I feel totally supported (by AVP) because right now I don't have a car and every workshop I have done so far, N has been like: "I'll come get you, I'll coordinate this." And V is right in Culver City so when we did stuff together, he was like, "I'll come pick you up." I don't feel like I'm stranded because that was my biggest worry when I got out, "Well, how am I going to do AVP?" And they were like, "We got you." So that makes me feel really good.

A frequent question discussed at AVP gatherings is can the organization, or should the organization, find better ways of supporting AVP participants, and particularly facilitators, when they return to the community? Some level of greater support was endorsed by most respondents but, at the same time, concern was expressed that AVP could try to do "too many things, and then lose their focus." Respondents noted problems inherent in the re-entry process as areas where AVP could potentially be even more helpful.

> Right now people have to contact AVP when they get out, but sometimes they don't know what to do, or they have other things on their plate. So they would like to get involved but they get caught up. So if AVP had someone whose responsibility was to find out who is coming out and make contact with them, letting them know what is going on or just calling them up and asking: "How you doing?" "Do you need to talk?" I know there are a lot of facilitators who would love to participate (after they get out) if they just had someone to reach out and contact them or to provide them with some support."

Offering greater support to young people before they end up in prison was also

emphasized.

> Right now the (community) workshops are mostly white and middle class. I think it would be great to expose people to the principles of AVP and transforming power way before they get in trouble because you can see the trajectory of someone way before they actually get in trouble. They are at risk: low income, single-parent families, drug and alcohol issues, whatever it is. So if you can try to instill these (AVP) principles (early) maybe they will be able to help themselves before they have to go and do 22 years.

> I wish it were possible for us to do more AVP in high schools and junior highs. I have many friends who are teachers and for some reason most are working with teenagers and I wish AVP were a regular part of their activities.

Lastly, one respondent expressed amazement at just how much AVP does accomplish.

> I am truly amazed (that with a) minimal amount budget, how (AVP) survives, how it actually has grown. But this just re-instills the importance of the volunteer base because a lot of places they just don't get it. But I am really blown away by the support, by the time (available) within this community of AVP. It is just wonderful.

> ***Finally: I have asked you a lot of questions. Is there anything else about your experience with AVP that you would like to share with me? Are there any other stories or experiences that you feel are important to share?*** Most of the respondents had

something additional they wanted to share about their experience being a part of AVP.

On the experiential nature of the workshops:

> I think everyone should have a taste of AVP. It is an inner-active thing. It is not book study. It is actual doing. And a lot of people learn better by actually doing. If you can actually show somebody this is how it works—try this—it makes such a big difference.

On community:

> It is interesting, especially being in a community of recovery, being gentle and kind. I am finding in the community other people that are gentle and kind. What is the adage, "water seeks itself?" I'm finding people at that same level. People that just want peaceful interaction. It took me a lot of years to realize that to put it out

there makes me safer than holding it in. So AVP is wonderful. I'm a total advocate.

I know that a lot of the outside facilitators are involved in Friends meetings or other things, so they have that touchstone, that base that goes beyond the workshops. Other parts of their lives reinforce what they do with AVP. A lot of people coming out of prison don't have any of that. And I tell them: "AVP has good people, good conversations, and they are well-balanced. And they are not only involved in AVP, they are doing something socially (relevant) somewhere else." (But many of these individuals) are like, "Hey, I can't do that." (I know) outside volunteers are often older, retired, and well-established, but I think that is kind of a cop out. I mean it would be a sacrifice for some, but we could do it.

On empowerment:

My whole thing around what AVP does is empowering an individual and honoring an individual; helping people to start recognizing that behavior is separate from humanity. We have to set boundaries around behavior but we should honor every human being.

AVP has to do with creativity and the flowering of individuals. It is walking in the shoes of the other men in that circle. It is the experience and honoring that the men in those circles get from their contemporaries. The message that "Hey, you matter."

Keep fighting the good fight.

About teamwork:

It is about recognizing that we are not separate entities, that when we join a workshop we are a team and it's about a team working together, covering everybody's back. You cannot fail because you are part of a team.

And about magic:

You know the first workshop I took in prison in 2002, it was ____ and _____ and _____ , (all women outside facilitators) and I literally believed that they were angels sent from God; not symbolically or metaphorically, I literally felt they were angels that somehow—maybe they didn't need wings, maybe somehow the wings came off—these angels came into the prison to bless us with love. After that workshop, I came by every time there was a workshop just to receive some of the gold dust that was sprinkled by virtue of being in their presence. I mean they just permeated love and so many others would come by just to be blessed. Yeah, AVP is just awesome!

Chapter 4
Discussion of the Findings

The research question this study addressed is an examination of the exorbitant growth of the prison population in this country over the past 30 years from a Jungian perspective, showing how this phenomenon can be seen as a manifestation of the American cultural shadow. It then undertook an in-depth examination of the universal symbol of the circle—particularly in terms of how its inherent characteristics have been used to bring about healing across the centuries—and then explored how these healing characteristics can be used to help bring incarcerated people back into the circle of humanity by restoring and strengthening the ties that bind them to the greater community. Finally, the study involved an in-depth examination of one particular circle-based initiative—the Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP)—that has been working with prison-affected populations in more than 30 states and 20 countries for over 30 years—to examine in greater detail its effects upon both incarcerated people and the community.

The initial work involved an extensive review of the literature from a critical hermeneutic perspective, as seen through the interpretive lens of liberation psychology (as described above). This covered three major areas: the historical basis for and the social, psychological, and political issues that have brought the United States to its present incarceration crisis; the Jungian concept of the shadow and how it applies to the phenomenon of mass incarceration; and an exploration of the symbol of the circle, including the myriad ways in which it can contribute to healing, and the potential it holds for working with incarcerated people. The use of a critical hermeneutic perspective, as seen through the lens of liberation psychology, resulted in an examination of texts undertaken while always keeping issues of power and justice—such as economic status,

race, class, gender, and sexual orientation—at the fore. As noted by Herda (1999) the critical hermeneutic tradition allows us to make a transition from language to understanding and, ultimately, to action. It enables us to move beyond a critique of social issues to the creation of possible new realities without invoking the limitations imposed by adopting an unrealistic stance of supposed neutrality.

The fieldwork phase of the study involved the researcher's participation in and observation of the Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) in action. This included a range of activities from document analysis, participation and observation in workshops and related program activities, talking with and listening to a wide range of people involved in AVP, interviewing a specific set of participants, and ultimately ruminating over everything that has been experienced. A series of in-depth interviews were undertaken with individuals who were introduced to AVP while in prison and are now back in the community in order to better understand how the process affected them while incarcerated and upon returning to society at large, and to elicit their experiences interacting with AVP on the outside. This supports a current goal of AVP, especially in California, to better integrate the tremendous resource available in formerly incarcerated members into the broader scope of the project both statewide and nationally.

Imprisonment in the Western World

An in-depth review of the literature on imprisonment in the Western World discovered a cyclic history of swings between a focus on retribution versus an emphasis on rehabilitation. Such vacillation continues to be seen today with the California Department of Corrections (CDC) having only recently opted to add the word "rehabilitation" to their name—California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation

(CDCR)—while at the same time confining even larger numbers of inmates in super-max facilities where they suffer almost constant isolation and lack of human contact. This emphasis on isolation is basically the same formula that guided the foundation of the penitentiary movement almost 200 years ago where the goal was actually one of salvation rather than deprivation, yet the results of both such efforts have been dismal indeed. We have failed to learn from Europe and most of the developed world where there has been a realization that humans are social animals and rehabilitation—enabling one to function effectively in society—actually takes place in community not in isolation. One of the great strengths of the Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) that came through in the participant interviews was the ability of AVP workshops to create and build community.

This section also looked at the issue of institutionalization from the perspective of penal facilities and its effect on the conception of self. Several respondents noted how their involvement with AVP allowed them to truly see the degree to which they had been affected by institutionalization despite their best efforts to maintain their positive sense of self. Another characteristic of institutionalization noted by Goffman (1961) is the establishment of the parallel universes of those who are institutionalized (such as prisoners) and those responsible for keeping them institutionalized (such as correctional officers). These two populations march in tandem within a proscribed space yet manage only limited penetration of one world upon the other. Those who have been given the job of "guarding" our prisoners suffer many of the same forms of isolation and stigmatization as do inmates. In California there have been discussions about offering a version of the Alternatives to Violence Project for custodial staff but no action has been taken to date. Even some of the officers I meet when going into prison mention that they could benefit

from such a program. Instead of parallel universes basically at loggerheads, could there actually be a move towards an even broader community? Wishful thinking perhaps, but impossible?

The other intractable reality of prison life is the institutionalization of racism within the penal system, which maintains hard and fast boundaries on most prison yards. Yet AVP appears to be making a difference, albeit a small one. For most inmates, especially on the "mainline" (the Sensitive Needs Yard is a bit different as gang affiliations are being severed), AVP is the first time in prison they have associated with people of other ethnicities; for those from certain backgrounds, it is the first time in their lives they have associated with people they perceive as different from themselves in anything but an official capacity. (We do make an effort to ensure racial diversity in AVP workshops to the extent possible. The only exception being Spanish-language workshops, which obviously attract a majority of Latino participants.)

> X is white, but he loves to facilitate in the Spanish workshops. Says for him they are more fun than those in English. You see he taught himself Spanish while spending 17 years in the SHU (special housing unit or, in the vernacular, the hole). It was how he kept his sanity. He says the only thing that really annoys him now is when someone interrupts him while he is watching his *telenovelas* (soap operas in Spanish) on TV. (Leonard, 2013)

In AVP it doesn't usually take long before someone remarks at how amazed they are to be sharing, participating in exercises, and having fun with people of other races. This sentiment is shared throughout the workshops. "Gee, we are actually all so alike. Who knew?" Again, breaking down walls; creating community.

Another theme that emerged from the literature review is the inequities within our justice system that affect who gets sent to prison and for how long. One thing that has made an incredibly strong impression on me is the very large number of young men

serving life sentences, often supposedly without the possibility of parole. So many

receive this sentence at age 16 or 17, and often after a very short transition from the

juvenile justice system. This is supposed to show we are tough on crime? The following

is from my fieldwork journal.

> I'm thinking about all the research that is now showing how the human brain is still developing until the mid-twenties. Yet here are all these men sentenced to life in prison for something they did between 16 and 22 years of age. Everyone does stupid things between 16 and 22! Do they really know what they are doing? Do they truly understand anything about the consequences? Q is 37. He got life at 16. Since coming to prison, he has left the gang life, got his GED, completed two Associate Arts degrees, works as a tutor in the Education department, attends church and AA, and facilitates in AVP and CGA (Criminals and Gang Members Anonymous) workshops. He married his high school sweetheart while in prison and she is still waiting for him. He is greatly respected and admired by his peers. Finally, in 2013, he was able to go before the Parole Board (something that wasn't even possible a few years ago). He now has a chance to go home next year. Thank God! (Leonard, 2012, 2013)

This reflects on another finding from the literature indicating that since the 1980s, there

have been continuing efforts, initiated primarily at the Federal level but then repeated in

many state and local institutions, to reduce funding available for educational programs

available to those in prison—despite all the evidence showing that such programs make a

tremendous difference in reducing violence in prison and recidivism. The experience of

the young man profiled above is just another example of what a difference the availability

of programs can make in terms of restoring human beings to community.

Inmates attend AVP workshops on a voluntary basis—there is no coercion—so

this self-selection process means that we generally attract people who have already begun

a process of working on themselves. As one interviewee explained:

> If you are a seeker of truth, you are going to be drawn to AVP anyway because all it is going to do is confirm what is already in you. And then you are going to continue on the path if you are a truth seeker and you want to know the real deal

about yourself and how you can tolerate love for yourself and out of that, humanity.

Yes, many say they come to their first workshop just to get a certificate and a chrono (memo placed in their files), but the majority keeps coming back for more. In addition, I have seen that when AVP is an inmate's first foray into participating in "programs" (GED, college, Alcoholics or Narcotics Anonymous, religious services and the like), that person is soon signing up for every other programming option available. AVP is definitely a catalyst for change

Ultimately, what became evident through the literature review was the reality that while the use of imprisonment may have represented a more humane approach to punishment than the physical, and often public, torture and execution of offenders common throughout much of Western history, the institution has, nonetheless, fallen far short of attaining its goals whether they be deterring criminal behavior or rehabilitating those who have broken society's laws. What prisons do accomplish is the creation of institutional personalities who then must struggle to fit back into society while, at the same time being branded with the stigma of being labeled a "felon;" an extension of the prison shadow that will follow them for the rest of their lives.

As Foucault (1975), Davis (2003), and other authors bemoan, prisons are an acknowledged failure but somehow humanity cannot seem to imagine another approach to dealing with those caught deviating from society's norms. Yet a review of literature available on efforts of volunteers to work with incarcerated people gives an indication that something more is possible. What was notable here was the strong and favorable impression formed by volunteers working inside America's prisons. Not one account I read expressed any fear working with inmates (although a few did have some difficult

encounters with staff from time to time) and those involved generally found the

experience personally rewarding. An experience of my own:

> It is one of those hot but humid days of summer and as we near the end of
> Saturday's workshop, a thunderstorm bears down. We can't really see it or hear it
> in our classroom. We've just all stood up in a circle to begin a game of "pattern
> ball" (a very popular Lite and Lively), when the power falters. The system moans
> and groans as it tries to re-establish itself but after a brief flash of light, everything
> goes dark. The only light is in the hallway from a window in the outside door.
> "Wow, I think. Here I am the only woman in a room with more than 20 male
> convicts, many in for murder. This is going to make an interesting story."
> Needless to say, no one moved until the generator came on and then we heard the
> thud of boots and jangling of keys as a group of COs approached. "Everybody
> out!" they yelled as we scrambled to gather our things and leave the building. I
> had the most things so was the last one out. As I'm leaving, a group of CO's
> sitting on a bench near the door offer: "Good thing we were here to protect you."
> Oh yeah, really good. (Leonard, 2012)

The literature review on imprisonment concluded with a look not only at

arguments in favor of revamping the way we build and operate penal institutions but

challenging the very notion of whether "prisons" should exist at all. Again, I am

reminded of the concept of serving time as related to being in an ashram. One of the

interviewees said that he had once remarked to his sister when she visited him in prison

that it might sound really strange, but while he had the worst of all worlds in being locked

up and losing his freedom, at the same time he had the best of all worlds in terms of

having time to attend programs like AVP, study, meditate, and exercise on a daily basis.

Now, holding down a full-time job, being in a relationship, having family responsibilities

have made such a routine difficult if not impossible for him to maintain on the outside.

Imprisonment as a Shadow of American Culture

This section of the research sought confirmation in the literature of this

researcher's contention that the current incarceration crisis in the United States can be

viewed as a cultural shadow resulting in the locking away of what are deemed different

or dangerous populations rather than openly addressing our own societal shadow. The shadow as archetypal symbol was examined and the work of C. G. Jung and other Jungian writers were carefully reviewed especially in terms of how the shadow can manifest beyond the individual within organizations, movements, and cultures at large, and the price that is often paid when our darker side is not even acknowledged, let alone integrated into the greater whole. A number of authors called attention to the resulting tendency to identify scapegoats—such as prisoners—on whom we can project our shadow baggage. Shelton (2007) sees our prison system as "the dark mirror of our contemporary culture, what the garbologist finds out about us by going through our trash, what the psychiatrist finds out by digging in our psyche" (p. 52).

The founders of the penitentiary movement sought to eliminate what they perceived as the shadow nature of man physically by locking him in the darkness in the hopes that the light would then come. It did not. Depth psychology explains why repressing our shadow material is in the long run destructive to individuals and cultures. Numerous writers now strongly take the position that the shadow bags we drag behind us (as Robert Bly refers to our shadow material), actually contain much of our spiritual wealth. Darkness does not make this material disappear, rather attention to the shadow potentially frees the light allowing its potential power to be released and integrated. As a long-time student of Eastern religious teachings, notably the Hindu tradition, I have noted that not only within Christianity, but in the way Eastern philosophy is sometimes presented here in the West, little or no opportunity is offered to help individuals deal with, let alone honor their shadow material. The concept of sin and the complete rejection of all that is perceived to be negative or "evil" in the world makes the road to

enlightenment a steep and slippery slope for most of humanity. Jung had the audacity to take the Christian construct of God to task for the very reason of its lack of acceptance of and respect for the shadow, proposing that wholeness required nothing short of a balancing of the opposites of light and dark. I do not know what is true of Buddhism, but in Hinduism the conception of God (Brahmin) is envisioned as a perfect balance between the three aspects in manifestation: Brahma (creation), Shiva (destruction), and Vishnu (preservation) in the middle holding the tension of the opposites. Thus "the balance of light and dark is ultimately possible and bearable. All nature lives in polarity," as Johnson (1991, p. 15) avers. Edinger (1984) states that with *Answer to Job*, Jung envisioned a new way of relating to a religion by "connecting with it out of one's individual numinous experience." Thus we have "not a community of believers, but rather a community of knowers or better, a community of individuals, each of whom is a carrier of the living experience of the self" (p. 62).

From my personal experience participating in and facilitating Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) workshops, I believe that the experiential nature of this program offers people a safe environment where they can open up their shadow bags and—especially in prison settings—find they are sometimes surprisingly filled with light. As one of the interviewees noted: "This makes workshops in prison more outstanding and dynamic because the energy there is higher. It is darker so there is more reflection of the light." Obviously, AVP is not therapy nor can it be expected to totally liberate one's shadow material in a series of workshops. But the experience does point to the latent potential of shadow material available for exploration through other depth psychological approaches that could benefit us all. This research definitely confirmed for me the

existence of a "positive shadow"—often found in those who have lived much of their lives in the darkness such as prison inmates—and the healing potential that can be found when the shadow is made available for reflection, specifically in relation to imprisonment and criminality. The study definitely supports the importance of "doing our shadow work."

The Healing Power of the Circle

The research then examined what is known about the universal symbol of the circle from mythological interpretation through its incorporation in healing modalities including mandalas, alchemy, Eastern philosophy, and shamanic traditions. The particular emphasis given the circle within depth psychological traditions—especially Jung's conception of the circle as symbolic of the individuation process—was explored and the circle's importance within restorative justice—an alternative response to criminality that seeks to move from an emphasis on punishment to one of responsibility and healing—was also reviewed. This section concluded with an examination of healing interventions based on the circle and their current and potential application to work with incarcerated people. In particular, the origins, structure, underlying premises, and activities of the Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) were examined as well as a review made of research studies related to AVP that have been carried out to date.

Having been in operation continuously for over 30 years in the United States and subsequently in countries around the world, AVP has been providing opportunities for people in violence-prone settings to find ways to peacefully resolve conflict in both prisons and the community. While research on the actual impact of AVP on issues such as internal prison violence, recidivism, anger reduction, and the like have been limited to

date, what evidence has been collected indicates that positive change does occur both in terms of individual behavior and within participating communities.

Within my experience participating in AVP workshops, I believe that along side the experiential nature of the project, conducting the workshops with everyone sitting in a circle is a critical element in their success. Working in the circle levels the playing field. Eye contact is natural and non-threatening. Facilitators are mixed with participants and thus help to "hold" the space and balance the energy. If, during some exercises, facilitators are not participating in small groups, they are moving around between groups offering assistance and support as well as witnessing what is taking place. All of these are characteristics of circle-based healing noted in the literature.

Not surprisingly, the importance of the circle format was strongly emphasized in the participant interviews. Again supporting the emphasis in the literature, the respondents reported experiencing the positive energy held by the circle, which at least one referred to as an "energy vortex." Also essential for them was the sense of equality and the ability of each person to see and be seen, hear and be heard. As one interviewee noted, except for a small, private meditation group, this was the only time during his years in prison that he ever saw, let alone was able to "circle up" with fellow inmates. And a number of respondents believed that the circle format was very important in terms of breaking down the racial barriers so predominant in prison because, as they noted, the circle not only encourages interaction but helps to "neutralize everyone." Here again AVP verifies the wisdom of the ages, reflected in the review of the literature on the healing power of the circle, that this ancient and primordial symbol is still available to us if we are only willing to utilize its power.

From a Personal Perspective

The researcher has now spent more than three years actively involved in Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) activities. The bottom line for me is that I have found *my* people and discovered at long last *my* vocation. Never since I first showed up at the Fortune Society in New York in 2006 to do my first summer fieldwork, have I looked back. In the process of doing this dissertation, I have come home to myself and it has been quite a journey!

Going "inside" has introduced me to a sprawling bureaucracy and a world that is overcrowded, short staffed, arbitrary, cumbersome, and always in some state of flux while managing at the same time to stay the same. But within this strange beast I have also found the most amazing and very real people who are open, caring, wise, intelligent, and very committed to change. I have found numerous seekers of truth embarking on their spiritual journeys to the extent that I can now embrace what Ram Dass and Bo Lozoff had in mind so many years ago when they talked about establishing prison ashrams. In this most bazaar setting incredible change is poised to take place. And while some stalwart individuals do manage to do this all on their own, the majority are just waiting for that special catalyst to set the process in motion and for me that is a role that AVP so uniquely fills. AVP utilizes the inherent power of the circle to create a sacred space (truly luminal space) where everyone can safely do their shadow work and experience the empowerment that comes as a result.

I agree with many of the interviewees who feel that AVP is, in fact, something magical. But there are some core elements that enable that magic to happen including: the use of the circle format, the experiential nature of the entire process, the emphasis on

learning to come to consensus so that all voices are heard and honored, being able to trust the process, the array of tools made available that can facilitate change by giving people the opportunity to make conscious, positive choices, and the overarching presence of Transforming Power, that something larger, wiser, and more loving than ourselves that is available to all regardless of their personal belief structure.

For myself, I am constantly blown away by the openness, honesty, and enthusiasm of AVP people, especially those I meet behind bars. They are a constant source of inspiration and hope in a world that often times seems callous and confusing at best. And as I have come to know more people in the organization, I feel very happy to be associating with so many good people who are actually trying hard to walk their talk in the world. Certainly the organization is anything but perfect and all the usual inter-personal struggles regularly ebb and flow, but there remains an undercurrent of caring and a knowing that what AVP offers is, in fact, something very special.

As AVP continues to grow, many issues will come to the fore. For example, can a program as rapidly expanding as the one in California continue to operate on a purely volunteer basis? Is there a time when some level of professional support needs to be put in place and will that balance with the voluntary nature of the organization? A current area of interest is how can we better bring in the strengths of the AVP process into the running of the organization? This is the reason why AVP/California is looking at adaptation of a circle technique such as council to the way business is carried out. Again, how can we better walk our talk.

Another important issue is how does AVP go about undertaking good quality research to demonstrate the effects of program participation on attitudes and behavior?

Again, this is an area that may potentially require moving beyond the purely voluntary nature of the program.

From the Perspective of the Interviewees

The eight participant interviews ranged over 10 specific questions and the responses are analyzed in chapter 3. Here I would just like to highlight some of the ideas that continually seemed to float to the surface of these discussions. First of all, AVP represents for the respondents a sense of openness, generosity of spirit, and transcendental connection that continues to reverberate through their lives. AVP made a positive impression because AVP people walked their talk, change was clearly visible, concrete, and did not fade away over time. More than just what was learned through the workshops, participation in AVP brought about a deep-seated sense of belonging to a community of like-minded people. For this reason, interviewees not only wanted as much contact with the program as possible because it made them feel good, but because they also wanted to pass along what they had gained to others. In prison, there is a lot of talk about "giving back." Respondents definitely saw their involvement in AVP as a means of helping others, particularly youth.

Most of the respondents indicated that the program came along at a time when they were already striving for, or felt a definite need for change. For many it augmented personal spiritual beliefs, supported personal empowerment, aided in introspection and better understanding the effects of institutionalization on their lives. Further, the interviewees were of a strong mind that AVP did in fact change the climate on their yards, especially once participation reached a significant number. And AVP definitely created a new community, particularly by bringing greater empathy and understanding,

and by encouraging opportunities for interaction across racial lines in particular but in terms of relationships between inmates and prison staff as well. But it did not stop there; in varying degrees the change reached beyond prison walls to influence interactions with friends and family.

All of the respondents had a very real and personal understanding of the concept of Transforming Power and had made it a central part of their lives. In fact their descriptions were often quite eloquent: "something other than," "that inner deity," "that part of God and spirituality that we all have," "AVP fills the room with it," "that same awesomeness." One interviewee offered: Transforming Power is "something I know affects things in ways that are, I'll say, magic;" while another noted that you need to be "quiet and still, (and) you have to wait on it—you can't make it work," but it is "something that takes care of me." Ultimately, one gentleman summed it up as follows: "It is not something I *believe*, but something I *know*."

In terms of learning to "trust the process," respondents felt this was important because it meant that it is OK to make mistakes, "it allows us to understand that there is something bigger at work," it promotes community, and goes against the very human need to "fix it;" it allows you to "get over yourself." Yes, there are guidelines and formats, but once the workshop starts, it is time, as one interviewee noted, to "let the dance begin."

All of the respondents reported that AVP was incredibly helpful to them in making their transition back to free society. One likened it to a bridge between two cultures and they definitely valued opportunities to connect to the wider AVP community because there they found "people who speak your language." While many noted the

constraints faced by the formerly incarcerated in terms of finances, housing, looking for work, transportation, and the like, the people interviewed had, despite all these obstacles, managed to maintain a positive degree of contact and involvement with AVP. Obviously, there are formerly incarcerated facilitators who never make contact with AVP upon release and that would be a very interesting issue to explore if it were possible to do so without violating the agreement with the CDCR requiring that former prisoners must be the ones to institute contact with AVP upon their release. The validity of such a restriction should certainly be examined and possibly challenged at some point in time. Many respondents felt strongly that AVP should find ways to straighten ties with returning citizens and help to involve them in the community program in different ways, before they get totally caught up in the outside world—the "big yard," as one respondent called it. In particular, many expressed a strong interest in making AVP available to young people before they find themselves in serious trouble. Obviously, the formerly-incarcerated can relate to young people teetering on the edge in ways that other community members cannot.

Ultimately, the interviewees found the AVP experience to be empowering and one that honors every human being. It promotes teamwork and builds community. As one man summed it up: "Yeah, AVP is just awesome."

Implications for Depth Psychology

The research undertaken as part of this dissertation has, I believe, served to call attention to the underlying issues relating to the current incarceration crisis in the United States and made a strong argument that this phenomenon can be both better understood and hopefully mitigated through an understanding of how it relates to the Jungian concept

of the shadow. While there are myriad ways to approach bringing positive change to a system that is flawed in so many ways, I personally believe that approaches that understand and honor the deep-seated causes that are embedded in our cultural shadowland, will have a much better chance to seriously bring about change than any quick fixes to the mechanisms of imprisonment. As Alexander (2010) asserts: "Critical consciousness (is) a prerequisite to effective social action" (p. 13).

And more specifically, interventions that allow both those on the inside and the outside to do their shadow work will, I believe, have a much more significant chance of being successful, because as Johnson (1991) makes clear, "to draw the skeletons out of the closet is relatively easy, but to own the gold in the shadow is terrifying" (p. 8), yet it is precisely this gold that we so desperately need. There is more than ample opportunity for such mining efforts to be undertaken by depth psychologists in and around American's prison culture.

Implications for Future Research

From my own observation and participation in the Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP), and the feedback gained from those interviewed for this study, I believe it is fair to say that AVP appears to be not only meeting its goal to reduce levels of violence but has actually succeeded in offering a very real means for restoring very marginalized people to the community fold. However, we live in an evidence-based world and there is clearly a need for a variety of well-crafted research studies that can help to demonstrate the effectiveness of AVP in terms of achieving such goals as reducing levels of violence within prison and bringing down rates of recidivism. Caution does, however, need to be taken that in so doing that "magical" effectiveness of the intervention itself is not

compromised. We know only too well in this society that our heads tend to run away with

brilliant ideas leaving our hearts to ultimately pick up the pieces. In an attempt to

understand what works, let us not leave the patient dying on the operating table. For this

reason, I see a great value in those who possess a strong depth psychological background

undertaking such work. The need is great and opportunities, many.

Chapter 5
Conclusion

Prison on Our Minds

In 2013, up until late October, the *Los Angeles Times* had published 135 articles that talked about "prison" and "California." This was an 8% increase over the 110 such items printed in all of 2012. The governor continues to fight a court order to reduce the significant levels of overcrowding in California prisons and the state's health services remain operating under Federal receivership. This summer, inmates at California's maximum-security prison at Pelican Bay began a hunger strike to protest inmates being confined to solitary confinement for years at a time. Right now, prison is on our minds. Everyone seems to agree that what we are doing does not work to anyone's advantage, except for those who continue to make a profit from the misfortune of others, and the public appears tired of being asked to pay the bill! To this researcher's thinking, this is an optimum time to think outside the box and revisit the whole subject of why and how we punish and the effects our choices have not only on individual lives, but on society as a whole. The depth psychological ramifications are, I believe, as broad as we allow our consciousness to wander because, as Robert Johnson (1991) so adroitly observes: "Heaven and skid row are separated only by an act of consciousness" (p. 50).

Limitations and Delimitations of the Study

In the section Autobiographical Origins and Researcher's Predisposition to the Topic (pages 104-111), the life experiences that brought me to the point of undertaking this study are related. But as is discussed in the Research Methodology and Procedures section (chapter 2), in qualitative research we acknowledge that there is no such thing as an impartial study; the theory of hermeneutics tells us that what takes place is actually an

interaction between the researcher and the subject of the research. In this case the research process has, in fact, not only verified the researcher's original hypotheses (that imprisonment can be seen as a shadow of American culture and that the circle offers opportunities for healing), it has strengthened these initial conjectures while at the same time, deepened my understanding of every aspect of the issues at hand. I have been immersed in the material and the material has affected how I see myself today and the world I live in. It has brought me to a point where I envision a commitment to working with incarcerated people, both inside and outside of prison, as a vocation for what author/activist Jane Fonda (2011) defines as the "prime time" (or final) chapter of this incarnation.

The participatory research component of this study has involved participation in and observation of Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) workshops, primarily in prison settings, and interviews with formerly-incarcerated AVP facilitators. Having now been closely involved with AVP for more than 3 years, I cannot say that I am anything like an impartial observer. Through this research I have seen and experienced a level of change in myself and in individual participants that almost borders on the miraculous. Like the participants interviewed, I find it hard to curb my enthusiasm for AVP, but have attempted to present the material in as objective a manner as possible so that readers can make their own judgments about the findings and the way in which AVP serves as a means of rebuilding community.

The interview questions for this study were developed in consultation with a number of experienced AVP facilitators, my dissertation advisor, and reviewed by the Pacifica Institutional Review Board. The questions were also informally reviewed by

several inmates with experience facilitating AVP workshops to insure their suitability

with the potential interviewees. Again it must be kept in mind that AVP is *not* permitted

to administer questionnaires to inmates nor is the organization able to initiate contact

with inmates after they leave prison for any reason; formerly incarcerated AVPers must

be the ones to establish contact with AVP! Obviously, this is a severe limitation to

gaining an understanding of the obstacles faced by those formerly incarcerated

facilitators who never reach out to AVP upon release. Such information would be very

valuable to the organization and, I believe, ultimately to the California Department of

Corrections and Rehabilitation (CDCR) in terms of looking at ways to better assist

newly-released inmates to successfully make the transition to free society. It could also

lay the groundwork for a more systematic evaluation of the rates of recidivism of

prisoners who participated in the Alternatives to Violence Project while incarcerated as

compared to the general prison population.

Moving Forward

So although this section is officially known as the "Conclusion," to me it is more

about continuation. The research has shown that there is a major incarceration crisis in

the United States at this time and that it can readily be seen as a reflection of the

American cultural shadow. It has also demonstrated ways in which the healing power of

the circle can be used to bring about positive change and rebuild community. This

researcher plans to continue to participate in Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP)

activities both within prisons and in the community with the aim of establishing stronger

links between these two worlds and simply bringing the advantages of AVP participation

to more people. Another strong area of personal interest is how to better support

formerly-incarcerated people in making the transition from prison to living as returned citizens in our communities. There is so much that needs to be done in this area. Ultimately, my hope is that others may draw inspiration from this work to seek out and find their own ways to expand on what has been learned here and develop new and better ways to rebuild an inclusive society where we no longer fear our shadow but find ways to free the light that has been obscured by darkness so long to better illuminate our world.

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Appendix A

**Commentary on Researcher Observation
and Participation in Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP)**

What follows is commentary on my observation and participation experience of

the Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP), making significant use of excerpts from the

fieldwork journal kept during this period.

Entering the World of AVP

There are only two possible stops after you leave Indio before you reach

Ironwood State Prison: Chiriaco Summit, a thriving highway rest stop (and home to the

George Patton museum), and Desert Center a no-longer-thriving, almost ghost town next

to U.S. Route 10. About 25 miles west of Blythe, you see the exit for Wiley's Well. It is

unique because of the bright yellow sign warning: "Do Not Pick Up Hitchhikers," and

then the more normal notation that this is the way to the State Prison.

> Wiley's Well is nine miles further down the road (I've never gone that far—you
> need four-wheel drive). Actually there are two men's prisons here: Chuckawala, a
> minimum-security prison, and Ironwood, a level three, medium-security prison.
> The main difference is that inmates at Chuckawala live in dormitories while those
> at Ironwood are in cells. Both are overcrowded. (Leonard, 2010)

In the spring of 2010, I was able to make contact with Pat Hardy, the director of

the Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) in California. I was looking for a prison

intervention based upon the use of the circle to use as the focus for the participatory

research part of my dissertation. (As noted above, the Ojai Foundation's 1000 Days

initiative, which was originally to be the focus of this research had, unfortunately, failed

to materialize.) Auspiciously, Pat was not only receptive to the idea, but supportive. In

fact, she soon sent me an email saying: "How would you like to go to prison with me in

August?" So a few weeks later, I set off with Pat for Ironwood and my first visit inside

prison walls. Two views of Ironwood (ISP):

> After passing by Chuckawala, you enter the precincts of Ironwood (where a large lawn always looks only remotely green despite seeming to be watered on a consistent basis). Everything else is gray. There are four cellblocks. AVP is currently working in Block C, which has a yard surrounded by concrete buildings: five housing units for prisoners and the education/gymnasium /food hall facility along one side. Our workshop is in one of the classrooms. Did I mention that the temperature outside is about 115 degrees! (Leonard, 2010)

> ISP was activated February 1, 1994. ISP has four semi-autonomous Level III facilities and an outside Level I facility. Each of the facilities contains five 270 designed housing units with a 100 designed bed capacity. Facilities A and B have been converted to house inmates with Sensitive Needs (SNY). One of the Level III 270 designed housing units in Facility A also has been converted to house the Administrative Segregation Unit. *ISP's designed capacity is approximately 2,200 inmates. Currently there are 3,280 inmates housed at ISP.* (Emphasis is the author's.) (California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation website, October, 2013)

I had asked Pat what I needed to do in preparation for the workshop and she said:

"Nothing; just be there." So there I was, along with 20 some inmates all dressed in CDCR

blues, taking my Basic AVP workshop. Pat and another woman from the local

community were the outside facilitators working along with a team of four inside

facilitators. What an experience!

> Strangely, I never felt uncomfortable for a moment. I liked the facilitators; I liked the participants. I was happy to see that some of the exercises were similar to ones I had learned in council training and in other workshops. They were familiar and comfortable—and fun! The guys were fun. They were also dead serious. Some of the sharing was incredibly profound. (Leonard, 2010)

> So I was thrilled and grateful that I had found my project. Unfortunately, there

were no Advanced workshops coming up in the near future, but Pat soon called to tell me

there would be a Training for Facilitators (T4F) workshop at Solano State Prison in

Vacaville the end of November. Did I want to go? And yes, I could take the T4F before I

took the Advanced, so off I went.

> A lot of the mechanics of getting inside were different, and it is a Level Two
> prison, but once the workshop got started it was all the same. There were four of
> us "outsiders" in the group and we had a crack team of facilitators, both from
> inside and outside. I am really beginning to feel like AVP people are my people.
> (Leonard, 2010).

Now I just needed to complete the Advanced workshop. Again, nothing was coming up

on the immediate horizon in prison, so I decided to do my Advanced in the community,

in an event organized by the Los Angeles Council of AVP in Temple City, California. I

would have preferred to go to prison, but I needed to complete the Advanced so I could

start functioning as an apprentice facilitator. Besides, it would be good to experience the

difference between doing AVP "inside" and "outside."

> Well I think this was a good choice of a community workshop because it certainly
> is not all white people. There is a lot of variety ethnically and in terms of sexual
> orientation; pretty good ratio of men vs. women for an event like this. Participants
> talked about being pleased to meet a lot of people from different backgrounds.
> (Leonard, 2011).

Once I had the Advanced under my belt I was ready to begin apprentice

facilitating. Fortunately, there were now workshops on a monthly basis at Ironwood so it

was not long before I had completed the three workshops necessary to get my "gold"

certificate and become a full-fledged AVP facilitator. Soon it was suggested I become a

team coordinator (facilitation leader), so I started being mentored not only by those

coming from outside, but by some very experienced inside team coordinators.

In 2012, I was asked if I would be interested in taking over Pat's role as co-

coordinator for AVP at Ironwood. (Suzy Clark coordinates from November to April

when she and her husband are resident in Phoenix.) This would free Pat up to move on to

opening new prisons to AVP. Well, of course I said yes. In the meantime, we were able

to get AVP started on a second yard at Ironwood, A Yard—the Sensitive Needs Yard

(SNY). SNY offers extra protection to inmates who would be liable to be attacked on the

"main line," not just those convicted of sexual crimes, but a majority who are seeking to

terminate their affiliation with various gangs.

> These guys on A Yard are amazing. There are four really experienced (not to mention enthusiastic) inside facilitators who did their training in other prisons. Everything was so well organized! And the group was very cohesive. The surprise at being able to relate to people of other races, or groups, was notably less pronounced over here. That step seems to have been taken, at least to some degree, here already. These guys were ready to roll (Leonard, 2012).

> **Going inside.** You quickly learn that when going into prisons, nothing can be

taken for granted. What was true last month, yesterday, or an hour ago may no longer

apply. There is an arbitrariness about how and when rules or policies are implemented.

For the outside facilitators, this can be very frustrating; for the inmates, it is a way of life.

For instance, the following are journal extracts across three calendar years:

> It's November so the weather is actually pleasant—not the 115-120 degrees of mid-summer. It's Veteran's Day so there were no classes today; we can go right into the classrooms. Problem turns out that all the black inmates are not on full lock-down, but are restricted to the cellblocks unless they are going to work, school, or a special program.[8] Even though we are considered a "special program," someone decides that even the black facilitators cannot participate—except for the one lead facilitator where a special memo has been issued from the warden's office saying that he can come. So we have 11 instead of 20 participants and the group consists of mostly Hispanics, a Native American, and a few Caucasians. It's a good group and things go well, but I really miss the participation and perspective of the black participants. The usual sense of breaking barriers that takes place and is so valued by participants is minimized. (Leonard, 2011)

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[8] Prison policy seems to be that when there is an incident involving someone from one race, everyone of that race is then locked down for some period of time. It doesn't matter what you were doing at the time, if you are black and a black was involved in an incident, you go on lockdown.

The facilitators are supposed to join us by 8:00 a.m., and the participants by 9:00. At quarter to 9:00, we have facilitators and two participants. It takes until 10:00 a.m. to get everybody released. Seems like there are a lot of Correctional Officers (COs) new to the yard. If they are unsure of something, they just say "No!" The current warden retires at the end of this year and will be replaced by yet another "acting warden." Who is in charge seems to make a lot of difference in terms of what programs are offered and how often. The current warden is high on AVP; the soon-to-be acting warden is aware of the project so we'll have to see what happens when he takes over.[9] (Leonard, 2012)

Well it is supposed to hit 126 degrees today. I've completed my paperwork, passed through security and am on my way to do a workshop on C yard. As I approach, I can see inmates out on the yard. However, once I have checked in and picked up my keys, I find that the yard is empty and deadly quiet. This is not good. I go to the program office and the sergeant in charge tells me there has just been an attack on an officer and everything is shut down. In terms of tomorrow (Saturday), she kindly offers to call me and let me know if there is going to be a program. So I'm off to the Best Western in Blythe to wait and try to keep cool. She calls to tell me there will be a limited program tomorrow. All the Hispanics will be locked down but the blacks, whites, and others can participate. Yeah! I'm there by 8:00 a.m. on Saturday. They are cell feeding. It takes time. I wait. By 10:30 a.m. I'm starting to worry. By 11:30, I get the picture—*everyone* is going to be kept locked down. As the CO reminds me: "There was an attack on an officer." I go home (a four-hour drive back to LA). I'm bummed. But then I remember that this is what life is like for these guys day in and day out. And they don't get to go home. They get to stay in their cells all day and night and it is 126 degrees outside. I'll be back. (Leonard, 2013)

The participants. I have now been doing AVP workshops in prison for over three years. I love it. It is the highlight of my month. I continue to be blown away by the incredible people I meet inside.

Z is a long-time AVP facilitator. He is an imposing presence. When you look into his eyes, it seems like you can see forever. (Leonard, 2010)

AVP participants truly come in all shapes and sizes. There are blacks, whites, Hispanics, Native Americans, and people of Pacific Island and Asian decent. Some are young; many are "lifers."

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[9] Fortunately, he is very supportive of the program and would like to see it expanded.

> Y is a Native American who has spent more than 30 years locked up. He has completed every program available to him in prison and is steeped in the lore of his culture. Last fall he was approved for release by the Parole Board but eventually the governor vetoed the ruling—that was after months of thinking he was on his way home. Y is appealing the decision, but in the meantime he continues to facilitate AVP workshops in his incredibly wise, patient, and thoughtful way. It is obvious that the younger inmates hold him in great respect. (Leonard, 2013)

And AVP extends beyond prison walls:

> W shares that he was seriously thinking of not coming to AVP this weekend. He was kind of in a funk. But when he shared that thought with his wife over the phone she told him: "You better go to that AVP workshop! If you don't, do not bother calling home over the weekend because we won't take your call." She told him she's seen such a positive change in him since he started doing AVP that she wants to make sure he keeps going. (Leonard, 2013)

> V is enjoying a visit with his wife one weekend. She asks what he's been up to and he tells her about the AVP workshop he has recently attended. When she wants to know more, he shares an exercise famous among AVPers around the world called Mrs. Mumbly. Saying it is silly, is an understatement but it always cracks everyone up. V then notices U (also an AVP participant) is sitting at a nearby table with his wife, so he engages them in the game as well. Finally, as all AVP participants have adjective names (positive words rhyming with their name), the men decide their wives should have adjective names too. AVP mini workshop in the visiting room! (Leonard, 2012)

> T sent the certificate he received for completing the Basic workshop to his parents. When he next called home, they told him they had put it up on the refrigerator door. He said it is the first time since he was a kid they had said they were proud of him. (Leonard, 2013)

Most amazing is to see the changes in individual participants as they continue

their involvement with AVP.

> S was literally considered the grumpiest man on the yard (and that is saying something). No one could remember seeing him smile or hearing a kind word from him. But he came to an AVP Basic workshop and had a major breakthrough. He let go of some pain he had been carrying alone for years. After that S was pretty much always smiling and it was actually hard to shut him up, he was so enthusiastic about the program. (Leonard, 2012)

> R came to his first workshop along with all his bald-headed buddies. It seemed like they had brought him along because of his good disposition. Because of his

short stature, he got teased a lot. We tried to separate him from the group where we could, but he remained attached to his friends. I didn't see R again until the T4F. There he was, but this time he was there on his own and he was very serious. Since that time, he has become a tutor in the GED program and works in Education full time. He has a great rapport with all the teachers and security staff as well. He is now being mentored to be a team coordinator for the Spanish-language workshops and coordinates the bi-monthly Spanish mini-sessions on the yard. His shyness has been replaced by a quiet self-confidence. He also now has a healthy head of hair. (Leonard, 2013)

The AVP workshops. Probably the most important characteristic of AVP workshops is that they are experiential; you don't *take* the workshops, you *experience* the workshops. No one is there to teach anyone anything; facilitators are there to do just that—facilitate the process—while at the same time being a part of the process. There is a distinct rhythm to the sessions that moves from often very deep sharing to moments of total hilarity. Truly someone in almost every workshop will note that they haven't laughed this hard in years. For prisoners, the idea of just letting go and having fun is truly cathartic.

In AVP, you often hear, "just trust the process." New facilitators often worry about getting things right and have a tendency to over-explain or over-process exercises. But they soon reach a point where they relax and trust the process because these workshops do seem to have a life of their own. Things often go in unexpected directions but in the end everyone realizes that is the way they needed to go.

It has really become clear to me that probably the most important concept behind all the tools presented in AVP is that they enable an individual to pause before acting. They offer a choice. When working with people in developing countries, I always felt one of the most important concepts to get across, one that could really facilitate change, was for them to realize that they had options. They were not on a dead-end street. AVP tools allow people to pause and consider that they have options before they act. This hesitation also provides a moment of decompression, time to take a deep breath. And sometimes that alone can change an outcome. (Leonard, 2012)

The researcher. At this point I have lost count of the number of AVP workshops I have attended as a participant and then facilitator, but it is probably around 40. AVP offers participants a lot of tools that can help them opt for a non-violent solution to problems. "I Messages" is a favorite for me.

> I don't tend towards violence with other people (just towards myself and objects in my life—my printer is a favorite target of rage), instead I run away. I hate conflict. My initial reaction is to flee. However, that isn't a positive solution either. So I've learned to gather up my courage in such situations and use "I Messages" instead of retreating. "When you do ___, it makes me feel _____, and that may totally be my issue, but I value your friendship and I think we should talk about it." Results have been amazing. How often people are unaware that what they said or did was hurtful or maybe their behavior was a reflection of something else they were going through and had nothing to do with you. No prolonged gnashing of teeth. Deal with it and move on. (Leonard, 2012)

Participating in AVP has affected the way I see things. In the Basic AVP workshop we usually do a "brainstorm" on the concepts of "violence" and "non-violence." I have reached a point where my personal contribution to the discussion centers on the concept of "unkindness" and "kindness."

> *Unkindness*. Working with many groups, I have reduced the question of "what is violence" down to one thing—*unkindness*. When we attack another being or entity, when we express meanness towards any other person or thing, what we basically are being is *unkind*. We want to create pain, to hurt. We want to transfer our pain and hurt onto someone else. You constantly find unkindness used as a way of controlling people, of making one group seem more important than another. Critiques are not offered kindly in support of another, rather the other is made to feel small, inferior. Obviously prison is a bastion for unkindness, legally sanctioned physical, verbal, emotional, subliminal violence inflicted by the system upon a captive population with few legal rights. I think kindness is one of the most important qualities one can possess—and it is one that I often fail to express myself. I believe this is a key concept to understand if one is to address issues of violence—personal and societal. (Leonard, 2012)

AVP Gatherings. Each spring, AVP/USA convenes an annual meeting, which is always referred to as a "gathering*"* after the initial sharing experience that opens each segment of an AVP workshop. These events provide opportunities for those involved

with AVP across the United States, as well as from other countries, to come together to

share experiences, present new workshop concepts, explore new program areas, and, yes,

tend to the yearly business of being an organization. To some extent, gatherings operate

much like a very large workshop; there are always gatherings and Lite and Livelys

throughout the program.

> I attended my first national gathering in 2011, in the San Francisco Bay area.

> How amazing is this program. The keynote speaker is George Gerbino, the Director of the Adult Division of the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation (CDCR). He is a big supporter of AVP. He shares the story of how his son, a college student, was murdered while buying drugs in the inner city. Still he believes in rehabilitation and his wife facilitates AVP in prisons. Asking a question is P. He's just been released on parole after having spent most of his adult life in prison. His release was vetoed twice by the former governor, but at last he is out. He was one of the facilitators in my T4F at Solano last year. And here he is at this gathering, asking George Gerbino a question, also seeking to bring about change. (Leonard, 2011)

My second national gathering was in Maryland in 2012. The richness of these

experiences continues to increase with the commitment on the part of AVP to provide

opportunities for formerly-incarcerated facilitators to attend and participate. Where

needed, this includes providing stipends or scholarships for those who otherwise could

not afford to come. The result has been an increasing level of diversity among

participants and an expanding depth of understanding within the organization.

> A small group of participants—all people of color—have gotten together to discuss how they are feeling marginalized within the gathering. An astute member of the steering committee hears about their meeting and invites them to bring their concerns to the full membership. The final activity therefore is tabled and we engage in an impromptu exercise on racial, gender, and sexual stereotyping. I understand some of the old guard could not understand why this needed to happen, but a lot of us were thrilled. And further exploration of diversity issues has now been made a focus for next year's gathering. (Leonard, 2012)

AVP/California also hosts a gathering for state facilitators each fall at a camping facility on the ocean at Cambria, California. For the bunk-bed-adverse, accommodations are available in local motels. I attended my first in AVP/CA gathering 2012, and was back for more in 2013. Interestingly, I was asked to help organize a session introducing the practice of Council as a possible way of facilitating broader participation in AVP organizational meetings at this latest event. So maybe that Council training is going to be put to good use after all, just in a totally unanticipated way. Synchronicity strikes again!

AVP research committee. At the suggestion of Pat Hardy, I joined the national research committee of AVP in 2011. At that time, there were a number of individuals across the country participating in discussions on something like a quarterly basis. The desire was to be able to demonstrate the effectiveness of AVP in reducing rates of violence in prison and lowering rates of recidivism among program participants post release. (In California we had to back away from a statewide study of recidivism because of the poor quality of existing CDCR data.) Despite the significant expression of interest at the 2012 annual gathering, the research committee has been much less active over the past year. However, AVP Massachusetts is currently in the process of implementing the State-Trait Anger Expression Inventory (or STAXI-2) protocol previously fielded in Minnesota (see page 102). The research described here will contribute additional qualitative information towards ongoing efforts to evaluate the program's impact.

Homeboy Industries. While attending last year's California gathering, I talked with Nancy Vimla, the coordinator for AVP in Los Angeles, about getting involved in some of their activities while continuing to facilitate at Ironwood. Of particular interest was their work with Homeboy Industries, the gang-intervention initiative created by

Father Greg Boyle (*Tattoos on the Heart*) in East Los Angeles. AVP conducts several full

workshops for Homeboy participants each year. My first involvement was facilitating in

an Advanced workshop in December, 2012, followed by a Basic workshop in 2013 and

serving as team coordinator of another Advanced in June. In addition, AVP facilitators

hold mini-sessions at Homeboys every Wednesday morning. On average, I do one mini-

session per month.

> Homeboys is a lot like Grand Central Station at rush hour, but with a happy
> attitude. People are always on the move in all directions: people off the street
> waiting to see a counselor, Homeboys and Homegirls shuttling between classes,
> visitors being given tours of the facility, people waiting in line to eat lunch in the
> Homegirls' Café (healthy food served with attitude) and checking out new
> merchandise in the shop, *homies* lined up to get their tattoos removed, the mobile
> health unit from St. John's Hospital seeing patients. (Leonard, 2013)

Homeboys was a big change from facilitating in prison. First of all, most of the

participants are young and you have a mix of males and females. And because most of

them work at Homeboys, they all know each other so it sometimes feels a lot like high

school. It takes more ingenuity to keep things on track. But just as in prison, it is

remarkable to see the change in participants from when they first come in to when they

have "settled in" to the program. And the mini-sessions really let us get to know them

over time. It is so encouraging to hear them tell about how they are stopping to think

before reacting violently—something that rarely happened with them in the past.

> O says she was really pissed at her neighbor who called child welfare services on
> her. She wanted to go over and punch her in the mouth. But she stopped and
> thought about it. She realized if she did that, she would probably end up losing
> her kids. So she verified her priorities and chose to let it pass. She was quite
> pleased with herself and got a lot of affirmation from the group.

Other AVP/Los Angeles activities. In addition to Homeboys, the AVP/LA group also coordinates regular workshops at the California Institute for Women (CIW) and, as of 2013, at the California Institute for Men (CIM), both in Chino, California. While I have twice been scheduled to facilitate at CIW, both times administrative mishaps have led to the workshops being cancelled (this happens a lot with prison work). I did facilitate in one workshop at CIM last summer and hope to do more in 2014.

> When Nancy first talked about going into CIM, I told her one of our inside facilitators from Ironwood had been transferred there but I did not know which yard he was on. So what a nice surprise to see N show up as one of the inside facilitators on my first visit. I asked how he had made contact with AVP and he said: "Well, I saw some ladies leaving the chapel with a case of materials one day and I just thought, 'those look like AVP people.' So I went up to them and asked and they put me in touch with the inside coordinator, so here I am." (Leonard, 2013)

This fall (2013) AVP/LA did an eight-week series of mini workshops at an alternative high school in an area of Los Angeles significantly impacted by gang violence. AVP/LA is also in the process of implementing a series of full AVP workshops in one of Los Angeles County's numerous juvenile detention facilities. These are expected to begin in 2014.

AVP at Pacifica. In the summer of 2012, the first AVP Basic workshop was held at Pacifica Graduate Institute as an initial offering by the newly established Alumni Association. The workshop was open not only to alumni, but to current students, faculty, and staff. I was fortunate to be one of the facilitators in that session.

> This was my first time facilitating in a non-prison workshop. It was soon obvious that these participants were much more wary about this experiential process than the guys inside: "No, you do not need to take notes; Yes, there is a purpose for doing Lite and Livelys; No, you will not be judged if you choose to pass; Yes, we can do some of the exercises outdoors." But ultimately the process worked. It always does. I was deeply moved by this group's sharing in the "my first experience of violence" gathering. No one in the group had grown up untouched;

it is an experience that affects us all. And I was particularly moved by the contributions of our two formerly-incarcerated facilitators and the positive impact they had on the group. (Leonard, 2011)

Subsequently, Advanced and Training for Facilitator workshops were also offered at

Pacifica with a number of those attending expressing interest in possibly working with

prison-based populations in the future.

Appendix B

Interview Questionnaire

1) At what point in your incarceration did you decide to take the AVP Basic Workshop? How did you hear about AVP?

2) What made you decide you wanted to become a facilitator? How was that experience for you in prison. What were you looking for? Have you continued to facilitate workshops on the outside? If yes, where?

3) How did taking the AVP workshops change how you saw yourself and your situation? If so, please explain and give me any examples. Feel free to tell me a story or stories that illustrate these changes.

4) Please talk about how you were able to integrate AVP into your life in prison and how it affected the way you related to other inmates? Inmates of other races? Correctional Officers? Other prison staff? Family and friends on the outside?

5) How do you understand the concept of Transforming Power and has that understanding made a difference in your life? If so, would you give an example(s)?

6) AVP workshops are carried out with everyone sitting in a circle. Is the circle an essential part of the AVP process? Was this experience different for you than sitting in a regular classroom setting, i.e., in rows? If so, how? How does it make a difference?

7) In AVP we often talk about facilitators getting to the point where they can "trust the process." What does "trusting the process" mean to you? Did you reach that point as a facilitator and, if so, when? How did you know?

8) Do you think there was a point where enough inmates on your yard had participated in AVP to affect the atmosphere on the yard, the level of violence on the yard, or the number of lockdowns? How did that manifest?

9) Have you been able to apply the AVP principles to your life post-prison? If so, how have you done so? Please tell me a story or two about this. Is it easier or harder to apply AVP principles outside? Is there anything else you would like to tell me about this? How has the experience been for you?

10) How would like to see your involvement with AVP continue and develop in the future? And lastly, are there ways in which AVP could better support you in continuing as a facilitator in the community?

I have asked you a lot of questions. Is there anything else about your experience with AVP that you would like to share with me? Are there any other stories or experiences that you feel are important to share?

<center>**Appendix C**

Informed Consent Form</center>

Study Title: *Imprisonment as a Shadow of American Culture: How the Healing Power of the Circle Can Rebuild Community*

1. I agree to allow Adele Ann Leonard to ask me a series of questions on the topic of my experience becoming and serving as an Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) facilitator while incarcerated and in the community.

2. Following completion of some background questions, I will participate in a series of open-ended interview questions expected to take about 90 minutes to complete. The interviews will be done at a location to be agreed upon by me and the researcher. After the interview is transcribed, I will receive a copy for review and will participate in a telephone interview with the researcher for additional comment and reflection. I understand that all interview material will remain confidential.

3. The purpose of this study is to gain a better understanding of the effects of participation in AVP workshops while I was incarcerated and on my return to the community.

4.   I understand that I have the right to decline to answer any question or to ask to withdraw from the study at any time. I also understand that a pseudonym will be provided to insure my confidentiality and that my answers will only be used by the researcher and her committee for data analysis.

5.   I realize that this study is of a research nature and may offer no direct benefit to me. The interview material will be used to further the understanding of the effects of participation in the AVP project in prison and in the community.

6.   Information about this study, the time and location of the interview, and my contribution to the study was discussed with me by Adele Ann Leonard. I am aware that I may contact her by calling (XXX) XXX-XXXX.

7.   Participation in this study is voluntary. I may decide not to enter the study or to refuse to answer any questions. I may also withdraw at any time without adverse consequence to myself. I also acknowledge that the researcher may drop me from the study at any point.

8.   I am not receiving any monetary compensation for being a part of this study.

Signed: _____   Date: _____