

**A Tale of Two Convicts:
A Reentry Story About the Impacts
of Ethnicity and Social Class**
Richard Hendricksen and Alan Mobley

INTRODUCTION

Why do the disciplines of criminal justice and criminology persist in denying the harm caused by imprisonment? On a general level, perhaps one answer lies in the production of knowledge concerning penalty (see Austin, 2003; Austin *et al.* 2007). There are no shortages of surveys and quantitative studies on imprisonment and its aftermath. This information, often presented mostly in numeric form, in large part comprises the penal knowledge base. Here, we present knowledge of a different kind.

Convict Criminology (CC) highlights the importance of direct experience. It does so mostly because first-person accounts remain rare in criminology. Convict Criminologists understand that crime and the societal response to crime are complex phenomena. We aim to contribute to knowledge using our rare ability to draw from our own life experiences within criminal justice systems, and draw upon the ample and often enlightening academic literature (see Jones *et al.*, 2009). It is our hope that this combined approach, which could be called our preferred method, might lead to furthering social goals of creating safer, more just societies (see Richards and Ross, 2001; Ross and Richards, 2003; Mobley, 2011).

Ethnographers, such as anthropologists, study the lives of others. They do so by attempting to record and interpret experience. Autoethnographers do the same thing, but with the crucial difference that the experience they study is their own (Irwin, 1987; Ellis and Bochner, 2000). Autoethnography shares some characteristics with memoir, but an important distinction is that autoethnographers are using their experience to inform more general topics of interest. In other words, whereas in memoir the end goal may be the skillful telling of the tale, autoethnography tells a more general story that may shed light on broader social concerns (see Lenza, 2011; Leyva and Bickel, 2010). In this autoethnographic narrative, the more general concern we address is the difficulty of prisoner reentry.

TWO CONVICTS RETURN HOME

Prisoner reentry has become a major topic in criminology and public policy (Petersilia, 2003; Mobley, 2005; Ross and Richards, 2009; Richards

et al., 2011). Neither of these academic forums, however, receives much information in the way of direct experience (Ross and Richards, 2002, 2003; Irwin, 2005, 2009; Richards *et al.*, 2010). In what follows, one of us (Richard) will tell of his own recent reentry and compare it with what he knows about the reentry of another felon (Josh). The two outcomes are very different, with one embodying something of a best-case scenario. The other outcome, sadly, is as predictable as it is unfortunate.

The point here is that the prison experience harms human beings (Mauer and Chesney-Lind, 2002). Sending someone to prison will nearly always lessen his or her ability to lead a productive contributing life (Clear, 2007). Although Richard uses his prison experience to propel a new life as a scholar, part of the poignancy in his recital is his earnest desire to succeed. However, in another sad twist, penologists are beginning to report that many “best-case” reentry scenarios also end badly (Mobley, 2008; Braun, 2011).

Reentry scholarship informs us that incarceration disproportionately affects the lives of racial minorities and the poor (Alexander, 2010; Bernstein, 2007; Mauer, 2006; Western, 2006). In this paper, the reentry experiences of a young white working class man whose working family can provide him with basic shelter and modest support (i.e. a roof over his head, meals and a few dollars until he gets on his feet) is juxtaposed with the experience of a young Latino man without access to such basic resources. We encourage readers to consider issues of race, class and relative disadvantage in the United States. We also invite readers to become involved in the emotional information conveyed in these accounts. These are the lives of real people. They celebrate their successes and grieve over failures. If prisons harm, which they most surely do, these are the people they hurt.

Richard’s Story:

Zero Days and a Wake-Up Call

Walking out of Racine Correctional Institution in Wisconsin was a surreal experience that I think to this day I am still processing. I remember waking up late and missing breakfast because I had so much to do. I had to go to the Prison Laundry to turn in my linens, then to the Property Room and sign off on everything I had packed up the night before, and then verify that it was on the cart ready to be sent to the Gate House. After going back to my Housing Unit to have my cell inspected for damages that I would be billed for later if any were found, I went to the courtyard to socialize for the last

time with my friends before saying goodbye. Not surprisingly, only a few of them were out there. This is not uncommon. It is very hard to say goodbye to someone who is leaving when you are staying. I do not blame them.

I was sentenced to two years initial confinement and five years on extended supervision. I had fourteen months left until I would be discharged completely at the expiry of my sentence. Making it this far is something I always tried not to think about. Even though on the surface I am doing well, my time involved with the Wisconsin Department of Corrections (WDOC) has left me a bit cynical. Most people coming out of prison do not have the advantages I did. I had a few things in my favor getting out: I am white, do not reside in an urban area, have a high school diploma and most of all I had social connections.

“Hendricksen you’re out!” Finally, they called my name. I walk to the Segregation Unit to be handcuffed before being escorted to the Gate House. That is where the surrealness starts. I remember being in a tiny little room and someone yelling at me to hurry up and change into street clothes. I am thinking, “All this time trying to keep me in and now they’re pushing me out the door”. Walking out into the waiting room to my crying mother was almost too much. She is crying tears of joy today. I am so scared of the parole system that I do not have the heart to tell her that if the current state corrections trend holds, there is a very good chance that I am going back to prison within one year.

We go out to the car and it dawns on me that after spending two years here this is the first time I have seen the prison from the outside. This is also the first time in two years that I will leave an area the size of a few blocks. I got carsick on the way home. I rode in front, my mom slept in the backseat after the conversation died down. I was in a prison about three hours from my hometown and my mom could not make it to see me often, so we did have a lot to talk about. We stopped at a nice restaurant to eat lunch. The colors and taste of the food was an experience that I had often thought about. However, now that I had a menu in front of me, I could not decide what to order from the menu. My widowed mother had become engaged while I was in prison. Because of prison rules regarding how many times you can add people to your prisoner visitors list – you are allowed 12 family members and you can only change them twice a year – I had not met my new father figure before the car ride home. What a way to meet someone for the first time! Fortunately, this man who I will call “Dane” was very trusting and invited me to live at his house.

After checking in with my P.O. (parole officer) I arrived at my new home, a ranch style house in the country. It was a serious step up. It was quiet and surrounded by trees. I had not seen a tree or heard birds in a long time, so I relished it right away. I fell asleep in my room that night a bit uneasily though – maybe it was just because it was a new surrounding or perhaps it was because I was still a bit nervous and excited. I think it was because for the first time in a few years the room was dark. There were no suicide lights on in every cell and no light from the security towers streaming in through my window. I had not slept in the dark in two years.

Josh's Story

Josh is Mexican-American who grew up in the urban area of Milwaukee and was raised by a single mother. His father had never been in the picture and was assumed in prison dead or deported back to Mexico. He joined the Army and was sent to Iraq after graduating from an alternative high school. Josh got up on his last day in prison and had less to do. No one was coming to pick him up so there was no rush. Josh lived on the north side of Milwaukee, which is populated by a diverse working-class population. He had no family home that met the standards of the state of Wisconsin's Division of Community Corrections as a suitable living environment, so he was being released to a Temporary Living Placement (TLP) facility. He left prison in his state issued garb, which he was charged for, and taken by bus to his new home. He then hit the streets the first day to look for a job in his prison uniform. The TLP charges weekly rent and if not paid he could be re-incarcerated by his P.O. He had no luck finding employment his first day out. Josh wanted to eat a late dinner with his mother, but because his brother who is also an ex-con was living with her he was not allowed to go to her house. Since there were sex offenders in the TLP there were lights on at night, so Josh did not get to sleep in the dark.

THE FIRST FEW WEEKS: TRYING TO PICK UP THE PIECES AND FINDING THEY ARE NOT WHERE YOU LEFT THEM

Richard

One of the hardest things emotionally about getting out is realizing that no one put their life on hold while you were in there. The house I left had

new occupants. My job was gone. My wife moved on. The house that I grew up in was gone, and my mother and I lived with Dane. It seemed like there was nothing now that connected me with my old life – there were no constants. I remember the first week I was home I bought a pint of ice cream that me and my wife used to enjoy. I went to a bench that overlooked the Lemonwier River where we used to picnic to eat it. That was the first time I felt like myself and even then I knew it was temporary. Even with the few friends I had left the general consensus among them was that I was not the same person. I had to learn to manage my “spoiled identity” (Jones, 2003). I cannot think about it now though. First things first, I need a job.

I was lucky. I got a job the first week. I got an entry-level job and slightly above minimum-wage compensation. I was a machine operator for a plastic injection-molding factory. It was not the American dream, but it was an honest paycheck. It also was not enough to support myself, pay my supervision fees and go to school, but Dane said I could stay with him for as long as I needed. I enrolled part time at the community college and took classes.

Josh

Josh finally got some proper clothes through a church. After a few weeks of no luck finding employment he got a job as a cook. It was not the classiest restaurant so the compensation was barely enough to live on. He had only ninety days total in the TLP and he was already nearing the end of the first month. The TLP takes about one-third of his paycheck. The rest he uses for food, clothing (he has almost none), the cost of his court appointed drug counseling and his supervision fees. Josh has to find a way to save enough money to pay a security deposit and first month’s rent on a place within two months. If he cannot the TLP will kick him out as they have limited space and usually have someone waiting for the bed. His P.O. has threatened to revoke him if he cannot find a way to “pay his own way in life”. He is contacting every church, social program, and charity organization available to try and come up with something. Unfortunately, we are in a recession. Our tax dollars are tight and with our current economic climate social programs are limited. Josh eats at the Salvation Army when he can to save money.

THE FIRST FEW MONTHS: TRYING TO GET IN THE GROOVE

Richard

The first few months were in some ways the time I realized how many advantages I had compared with most ex-cons. I had a stable and free place to live. I also had food that I did not have to buy. My mother had dropped out of high school pregnant with me, but between her job as a waitress and Dane's income as a factory manager, I had all I needed physically. I knew I had the basics. I was taking classes at a community college and it seemed like I was in good with my P.O. I had a plan to attend university as soon as I could, and with the help of the University of Wisconsin – Oshkosh (UWO) professors (Dr. Stephen Richards, Dr. Chris Rose, Dr. Michael Lenza) and all the others in the CC network, I had a support system to help nurture my goals into fruition. Soon after my release I was accepted into the UWO. I was with my mother in the car when I opened the letter. I was going to a real university. I would become the first of my family to get a degree past high school.

Josh

Josh reunited with his child's mother and between them they raised enough money for an efficiency apartment within walking distance from his job. His girlfriend, who we will call "Jane", works as a housekeeper, a full time but low paying job. Among the challenges Jane is facing is that she is recovering from cocaine dependency. She has been clean for three years. It is at first a good living arrangement. Between their collective incomes their budget is tight, but they are managing. They have food with the help of community assistance. The apartment is in her name because they get rent vouchers, although the lease states a felon cannot occupy the dwelling. His P.O. does not know about this arrangement. It is technically unlawful, but they are left with little choice. He feels that as long as he is maintaining his obligations his P.O. will overlook the infraction if it is discovered. His girlfriend agrees to try and get the County to remove the garnishment of his wages for child support, since they are living together and sharing the expenses of the child. The process is initiated, but never makes it all the way through the bureaucratic red tape.

Josh is having a hard time with the people at work. They are mostly only a few years younger than him, but they are in high school and find a kind of

novelty in knowing someone who has been to prison. One of these kids asks him to buy him beer after work one night. Josh says no. Two days later Josh is arrested at work and jailed. It seems an anonymous tip was made about his living arrangement. After three days of pleading his case to his P.O. Josh is released from jail. He comes home to find that he and his girlfriend have been evicted, and that he has been fired from his job for getting arrested on company property and for missing work. He reports this to his P.O. and is given orders to find full employment as soon as possible. He has no extra money to pay his monthly supervision fees. After not finding a job for the better part of a month he is placed on electronic monitoring. An ankle bracelet is connected to his phone line. He is allowed to leave his home from 8:00 a.m. till 7:00 p.m. Monday through Friday, and until 9:00 p.m. on weekends. He has no job and again needs to find a place to live. Eventually Josh finds a job doing landscaping and lawn maintenance. He makes less than he did as a cook, but even worse is the job environment. He works mainly with other people who also work there as a result of few options. Many of them are ex-cons and active drug users.

When Christmas comes he is excited at the prospect of seeing his family. His P.O. agrees to let him attend the family dinner as long as there are no alcohol or drugs present and no other felons in attendance. Because of this Josh was still not allowed to see his brother. That night when he got home he was arrested. His P.O. had agreed to let him out until 11:00 p.m., but she had forgotten to inform the people who monitor his electronic surveillance. When he did not register as “in” at the preprogrammed time of 8:00 p.m. an electronic arrest warrant was automatically issued. Josh was release from jail the next day. He was told that it officially “never happened”. I wonder if his son will not-remember the Christmas when his father was officially not arrested while tucking him into bed.

Josh is living in a studio apartment with his girlfriend and child again. His P.O. now looks more closely at where he lives and as such they are no longer able to get rent vouchers. To save money the family eats more often at the Salvation Army. Josh and his girlfriend have also started selling blood plasma for about fifty extras dollars apiece each week.

Josh is working first shift and his girlfriend works second. The child is kindergarten age and at a phase where unanticipated expenses are frequent. The child, who we will call “Jack”, is also showing signs of a learning impairment. They have some insurance benefits through her job,

and between that and assistance from charitable organizations the child's problem is assessed. The affliction turns out to be controllable by medication and behavior therapy, which adds an expense. Josh and Jane usually do not have the money, time, or energy to do much besides work and care for Jack. Jane, though, is about to find out she is pregnant. Josh is about to find out that he is not the father of the child.

SECOND YEAR OUT

Richard

I collected my final paycheck from my job hoping it would be enough to make it until my first student financial aid check comes. I leave for UWO in three days. Nearly my whole family gathers to take me out to dinner that night. I remember the feeling of pride as they all wished me luck. I was the first to go away to university, as well as the least likely. They expressed how proud they were that someone was finally going to bring our family name into the educated world. Finally, one of us is going to have a career not a job – someone in our family is going to live a dream that everyone else could not. I was so touched that even in this rough economy my working-class family gave me almost a thousand dollars to help me get by until I could find a part time job.

My first night in the university dorm I was by myself. My roommate, whom I had not met yet, was not due to arrive until the next morning. I went to the student union and tried to buy dinner with my student ID. It did not work so I had to pay cash. I did not realize that the cards had to be activated. I spent that cold January evening alone walking around campus, figuring out where my classes the next day were located. I felt a bit isolated. I was on average five years older than everyone in my dorm. It does not seem much, but the gap between eighteen and twenty-four is a big one in terms of maturity and the unique experiences of my life. I longed for the morning when I would meet Dr. Richards in his office for a tour and a familiar reassuring face.

I soon found that for a person in my position part of succeeding is directly related to the people you have in your support network. So I had to figure out who I was going to surround myself with socially to increase my odds of making it. I looked at student leaders and campus organizations. I deliberated on what kind of student I wanted to be and how I could make friends. I found

acceptance in an organization that measures itself in terms of scholarship, community service, and a collective set of high standards and ideals.

I had an opportunity to make friends with people who were student leaders. They maintained high grades and lived a day-to-day that was structured to ensure success. They lived up to ideals by participating at campus functions and volunteering to help at university events. They included regular community service projects into their lives. The best thing of all was they accepted me knowing my flaws and past. They encouraged me to follow my dreams and not be discouraged by setbacks. The help I got from my professors and the other faculty was great, but without the friendships with other students I do not know if I would have made it. I managed to finish the first semester working part time in the dish room and pulled off a decent GPA. I think I can make it now.

Josh

Josh started his second year out in a menial job with no real prospects for improvement. He lived with his son Jack, who has a learning disability, and his son's mother, who is carrying a child by a new boyfriend. It turns out the new boyfriend is a cocaine dealer. Jane has been using again since the last time Josh was arrested. The pregnancy was eventually terminated, but there was a tremendous amount of stress put on Josh's life. He figured he had no option but to continue living with his drug addict girlfriend and avoid altercations with her drug dealer / new boyfriend. They live on the agreement that they will not use drugs in the home.

Jane soon finds herself no longer employed. Being an active drug addict with a scattered employment history and few skills means legitimate income is in short supply. She starts working for her boyfriend who we will call "John". The small apartment soon becomes a base of operations for two drug dealers and a hang out for users. When Josh comes home from work one day he finds his drug dealer roommates, along with three people very much intoxicated on drugs and acting incoherently. The child is unattended in the bathroom. He takes his son to his mother's house and stays there. He calls his P.O. and leaves a message explaining the situation, in effect admitting to violating the terms of his release due to his living companions and their lifestyle.

When he returns home later that night an electronic warrant is issued for his address. He comes into the apartment where he is immediately accosted

by John and his cohorts and beaten severely. When the police show up they find only Josh unconscious on the floor. They take him into custody and call an ambulance. As other officers arrive they conduct a search of the residence and find drug paraphernalia and residue. Josh is now facing revocation charges for violations of his parole because of his living arrangements and charges of drug paraphernalia and drug possession.

His son Jack is turned over to the child welfare agency. Josh's mother tries to get custody, but because her other felon son lives with her she is not deemed suitable. Because he has a job, Josh is allowed to serve time in a work release program. Things do not go well for him there and within a short time he is sent back to a Wisconsin prison where he is still a prisoner.

In my conversations with people and in my ongoing education I am finding that Josh's story is not entirely unique. In fact, it is alarmingly similar to the greater population of convicts and parolees, who are victims of poverty, failed educational systems, incompetent correctional authorities, and bad luck. Josh is still in the same position as the first time he went to prison. His street time will not count toward discharge, which effectively lengthens his sentence. He has no support system or place to go when he gets out of prison the next time, and no employment prospects. Josh is getting no programming while in prison, although he is over a year into a waiting list for a work release program, but it is like the one he was in before. He has lost most of the possessions he acquired and what little money he had went to court obligated fees. Josh has not seen his son Jack since he was arrested.

Maybe the worst thing about Josh's situation is that in the eyes of the state he has already failed. He made his best attempt and sacrificed much, and it was still not good enough. He will again be released and no doubt will realize that the deck is stacked against him. Besides issues with employment and living arrangements, Josh will have a P.O. that already locked him away once and he knows what a minefield parole can be. How difficult must it be to live knowing all that?

IN CLOSING

(RICHARD)

I had a lot of advantages compared to the majority of people getting out of prison. The difference in the outcomes for Josh and I was not that I worked harder and struggled to succeed more valiantly than he did. The opposite is

much closer to the truth. Without any resources Josh faced difficulties every day securing a roof over his head and food to keep himself alive. Yet, he did not steal, cheat or commit crimes. He kept trying. When we regularly talked on the phone and he would tell me what was happening in his life, I often felt a mixture of unearned security and guilt for simply having a room, a roof over my head, food in the kitchen, or that my mother could lend me ten or twenty dollars when I needed it from her the tips she brought home from work until I found a job.

The resources had created enough security in my life that I could find my way towards a future, whereas Josh, for trying to protect his son and being honest with his parole officer about what his drug addicted girlfriend was doing, was beaten unconscious by her drug dealer boyfriend, only to awake to be handcuffed and charged with drug crimes he never committed. With parole revoked he was placed in chains and returned to prison. No one gave him the slightest consideration. He was just another poor Latino going back to prison.

Around \$30,000 a year is spent to further stigmatize and punish Josh. That is more than it costs me to get my four-year degree at a University. It makes no sense to me. The American public is being taken for a ride through the politics of fear and difference. Here in Wisconsin we spend upward towards \$700,000,000 more each and every year on corrections than our neighbor Minnesota (Lenza and Jones, 2010). Why? Demographically, we are very similar states and have almost identical crime rates. The difference is Minnesota saves prison for dangerous offenders. Nonviolent prisoners serve their time in the community so they may make restitution, get treatment, and so they and their families do not suffer unnecessary harms that exceed the harm they did. In Wisconsin we imprison individuals and as a consequence inflict damage on their families. How many teachers, housing spaces and food for our poor could be bought with those hundreds of millions of dollars? All of this money and funds spent in other states could be spent helping others and doing some good.

Using unnecessary violence against our own citizens is not only morally questionable, but it is also robbing us of our ability to provide essential services to our communities. Putting Josh back in prison for three years costs over \$90,000. His little boy being placed in foster care, instead of with Josh or his mother, and the psychological damage children suffer from parents being incarcerated, that costs us too. Not just now, but long into the future. Brutal social repression of our poor minorities is not making

us safer. Instead, it is robbing us of scarce public resources while harming children, families and communities.

Just think about the money we would have saved by providing Josh with a little assistance for housing, food and childcare for his son. As a father, when he saw probable harm surrounding his son, he did what a parent should do. He acted to protect his son. So what was done in our name? We rewarded that selfless act with re-imprisoning him and placing his son in foster care.

Treating other human beings with just a little consideration does not make us weak. It is an investment in our own citizenry and our future that would strengthen our communities, provide a better future for our children, and help families. In 1998, the United States had over one million nonviolent offenders incarcerated. In a comparative perspective, just this nonviolent prison population was then three times the total prison population of the European Union, which had one-hundred million more people than the United States. American taxpayers spent about \$24 billion to incarcerate these nonviolent offenders in 1998, that is 50 percent more than what was spent for social welfare expenditures for eight and a half million poor Americans (Lenza and Jones, 2010, p. 323; also see Irwin *et al.*, 1999).

Next time a politician proclaims we should vote for him or her because they are ‘tough on crime’, ask them how sending a nonviolent offender to prison for five to seven years at \$30,000 a year is a reasonable public investment? How will this impact his or her children? How is taking a hundred to two hundred thousand dollars or more out of our public coffers for each nonviolent offender we imprison providing a positive benefit to our communities?

You do not need to think very long, hard or deep to recognize this is bad policy that only benefits the prison industrial complex, not you or I.

REFERENCES

- Alexander, M. (2010) *The New Jim Crow*, New York: New Press.
- Austin, J. (2003) “The Use of Science to Justify the Imprison Binge”, in J. I. Ross and S. C. Richards (eds.), *Convict Criminology*, Belmont (CA): Wadsworth, pp. 17-34.
- Austin, J., T. Clear, T. Duster, D. Greenberg, J. Irwin, M. Jacobson, C. McCoy, A. Mobley, B. Owen and J. Page (2007) *Unlocking America: A Blueprint for Sentencing Reform*, Washington (D.C.): JFA Institute – Spring.
- Bernstein, N. (2007) *All Alone in the World*, New York: New Press.
- Braun, M. (2011) *Falling Stars*, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Irvine (CA): University of California – Irvine.
- Clear, T. (2007) *Imprisoning Communities*, Oxford (UK): Oxford University Press.

- Ellis, C. and A. P. Bochner (2000) "Autoethnography, Personal Narrative, Reflexivity: Researcher as Subject", in N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (eds.), *The Handbook of Qualitative Research* (second edition), Thousand Oaks (CA): Sage.
- Irwin, J. (2009) *Lifers: Seeking Redemption in Prison*, New York: Routledge.
- Irwin, J. (2005) *The Warehouse Prison*, Los Angeles: Roxbury.
- Irwin, J. (1987) "Reflections on Ethnography", *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 16: 41-48.
- Irwin, J., V. Schiraldi and J. Ziedenberg (1999) *America's One Million Nonviolent Prisoners*, Washington (D.C.): Justice Policy Institute.
- Jones, R. S. (2004) "Excon Managing a Spoiled Identity", in J. I. Ross and S. C. Richards (eds.), *Convict Criminology*, Belmont (CA): Wadsworth, pp. 191-208.
- Jones, R. S., J. I. Ross, S. C. Richards and D. S. Murphy (2009) "The First Dime: A Decade of Convict Criminology", *Prison Journal*, 89(2): 151-171.
- Lenza, M. (2011). "The Importance of Postmodern Autoethnography and Ethnography in Criminal Justice Research and Policy Development", in I. O. Ekunwe and R. S. Jones (eds.), *Global Perspectives on Re-entry*, Tampere (FI): University of Tampere Press, pp. 146-172.
- Lenza, M. and R. S. Jones (2010) "Money, Criminology and Criminal Justice Policies: The Impacts of Political Policies, Criminality, and Money on the Criminal Justice in the United States", in M. Herzog-Evans (ed.), *Transnational Criminology Manual* (volume 1), Netherlands: Wolf Legal Publishers, pp. 313-332.
- Leyva, M. and C. Bickel (2010) "From Corrections to College: The Value of a Convicts Voice", *Western Criminology Review*, 11(1): 50-60.
- Mauer, M. (2006) *Race to Incarcerate*, New York: New Press.
- Mauer, M. and M. Chesney-Lind (eds.) (2002) *Invisible Punishment*, New York: New Press.
- Mobley, A. (2011) "Resuscitating Justice", in A. Leonard and K. Lawrence (eds.), *Rethinking Justice for the 21st Century*, New York: Aspen Institute Center for Community Change.
- Mobley, A. (2008). "Falling Stars: Prisoner Reentry, Success Stories, and Recidivism – Implications for the Field", paper presented at the *Annual Meetings of the American Society of Criminology*, Atlanta (GA).
- Mobley, A. (2005) "From Weeds to Seeds", *Journal of International and Applied Criminal Justice*, 38(1): 145-167.
- Petersilia, J. (2003) *When Prisoners Come Home*, Oxford (UK): Oxford University Press.
- Richards, S. C., D. Faggiani, J. Roffers, R. Hendricksen and J. A. Krueger (2008a) "Convict Criminology Courses at the University and in Prison", *Journal of Prisoners on Prisons*, 17(1): 43-60.
- Richards, S. C., D. Faggiani, J. Roffers, R. Hendricksen and J. A. Krueger (2008b) "Convict Criminology: Voices from Prison", *Race/Ethnicity: Multidisciplinary Global Context*, 2(1): 121-136.
- Richards, S. C. and J. I. Ross (2001) "The New School of Convict Criminology", *Social Justice*, 28: 177-190.
- Richards, S. C., J. I. Ross, G. Newbold, M. Lenza, R. S. Jones, D. S. Murphy and R. S. Grigsby (2011) "Convict Criminology: Prisoner Re-entry Policy Recommendations",

- in I. O. Ekunwe and R. S. Jones (eds.), *Global Perspectives on Re-entry*, Tampere (FI): University of Tampere Press, pp. 198-222.
- Richards, S. C., M. Lenza, G. Newbold, R. S. Jones, D. Murphy and R. S. Grigsby (2010) "Prison as Seen by Convict Criminologists", in M. Herzog-Evans (ed.) *Transnational Criminology Manual* (volume 3), Nijmegen (Netherlands): Wolf Legal Publishers, pp. 343-360.
- Rose, C. D., K. Reschenberg and S. C. Richards (2010) "Inviting Convicts to College", *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 49(4): 293-308.
- Ross, J. I. and S. C. Richard (2009) *Beyond Bars: Rejoining Society Prison*, New York: Alpha/Penguin Group.
- Ross, J. I., and S. C. Richards (2003) *Convict Criminology*, Belmont (CA): Wadsworth.
- Ross, J. I. and S. C. Richards (2002) *Behind Bars: Surviving Prison*, New York: Alpha/Penguin Group.
- Western, B. (2006) *Punishment and Inequality in America*, New York: Russell Sage.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Richard Hendricksen is an ex-convict. Richard was one of the first prisoners to complete the Inviting Convicts to College Program taught by University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh students inside prison. He is now an undergraduate student studying Sociology and Criminal Justice at the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh.

Alan Mobley is an ex-convict and Assistant Professor of Public Affairs at San Diego State University.