GREENING THE GULAG: POLITICS OF SUSTAINABILITY IN PRISON

by

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A THESIS

Presented to the Department of Geography
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts

June 2016

THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

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Title: Greening the Gulag: Politics of Sustainability in Prison

This thesis has been accepted and approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in the Department of Geography by:

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Degree awarded June 2016

THESIS ABSTRACT

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Over the past 30 years, the U.S. prison population has exploded. With only 5% of the global population, the U.S. now incarcerates more than 25% of the world's prisoners (ACLU, 2011). This has led to increased attention towards the carceral system in the United States, and the efficacy of its methods of rehabilitation. As inmate populations rise, prisons have also become increasingly over-crowded, and this has led to a variety of environmental problems. In response to this and calls to action by the Justice Department to implement more sustainable and cost effective strategies in prisons, the United States is seeing a surge in prison sustainability programs throughout the country. While sustainability is an important challenge facing the world, researchers have argued that these changes are being made not only with environmental sustainability in mind, but with strategic aims to sustain current levels of hyper-incarceration.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express sincere appreciation to Professors Cohen and Buck for their assistance and guidance in the preparation of this manuscript. In addition, special thanks are due to the prisoners and staff who lent me their valuable insights about the sustainability programming at my three sites of research, along with the Oregon Department of Corrections for allowing me to do my research. I would like to thank the people who have supported my progress by attending my presentations and listening to me as I moved (and at times, stumbled) toward this contribution. Those friends are Christine Grummon, Christina Shintani, Devin Lea, Matt McCallum, Phoebe Bright, Ezra Carlson, Mike McDermit, Rose Lambert, and Matt Goslin. I could attempt to speak to the importance of each one of these people to my work and my life, but this acknowledgements section would never end. I would also like to thank the friends who volunteered (or were begged) to help me edit this manuscript into something presentable. Those friends are Anna Worm, Adam Holly, and Adam Morse. I would like to thank Dr. Bob Ross, for editing my manuscript, for being moral and intellectual support throughout my time here, and for being the catalyst and inspiration for both my graduate career and my interest in the field of geography.

I would like to thank my mother, for sharing her experiences while incarcerated, and profoundly influencing the lens by which I understand and relate to the world.

This research was supported in part by the Department of Geography, and the APCG's Margaret Trussell award.

In dedication to my sister Tara,
who gave all of her heart to the things she cared about,
who I lost during my time here.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the past ten years, the prison population in the United States has reached record heights as the U.S. now incarcerates more than 2.2 million people (Kaeble, Glaze, Tsoutis, & Minton, 2015). If we include the number of people under correctional supervision (parole, jail, probation), this number jumps 6.9 million people—more people than live in the entire state of Oregon. (Kaeble, Glaze, Tsoutis, & Minton, 2015). This has put incredible duress on state and federal budgets, and as a result, many people have turned their eyes to scrutinize the Carceral System in the United States and the efficacy of its rehabilitation. Less discussed, in both the literature and political realms, is the impact incarceration has on the environment.

Recently, prisons have been criticized for their environmental practices, which have consisted of the improper dumping of hazardous waste, over-crowding, septic and storage tank leakages, and water pollution (See: Dannenberg, 2007; Heck, 2011; Kelso, 2000). Prisons also use a lot of energy, and need to be powered 24 hours a day. They create massive amounts of food waste. They are often placed in rural areas which may be ecologically vulnerable. In response to these social and environmental problems and recent state and federal directives for Corrections to "go green," the United States is seeing a surge in prison sustainability programs.

The most prominent of these directives emerged in 2011. In 2011, the U.S. Department of Justice, in conjunction with the National Institute of Corrections,

convened to discuss the future of imprisonment in a changing climate. From this collaboration emerged a directive on the need for green carceral practices, as well as suggestions for implementation. Following this publication— "The Greening of Corrections: Creating a Sustainable System"—more prisons than ever have green programming at their facilities (U.S. Department of Justice & National Institute of Corrections, 2011).

Additional attention to these issues comes from the Human Rights Defense Center (HRDC). In an email and public statement, they urged the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to include prisons in the scope of their Environmental Justice Action Agenda Framework for 2020. HRDC asks, "If we can recognize the problem with forcing people to live in close proximity to toxic and hazardous environmental conditions, then why are we ignoring prisoners who are forced to live in detention facilities impacted by such conditions" (Wright, 2015). They go on to write, "While we cannot speak to the knowledge of all federal agencies, we do know that both the EPA and the Department of Justice (DOJ) are well informed about the environmental impact of mass incarceration on poor communities in general and poor communities of color in particular, and that this impact affects both those imprisoned in detention facilities and those who are employed in or live near them" (Wright, 2015). This statement goes on to list a dozen examples of prisons being built on superfund sites, instances of water contamination, valley fever, airborne coal ash (containing lead, arsenic, and mercury), and others. They also point out that many prisoners have children, who may suffer from economic problems as a result of

their parent's incarceration, which may force them to live closer to toxic or contaminated areas.

Focusing on a sustainability program in the Pacific Northwest, this thesis is on the "Sustainability in Prisons Project." The Sustainability in Prisons Project (SPP) is an organization in every prison in Oregon and Washington, and has spread across the US since. Pilot programs for SPP began in 2003 in response to Washington's former Governor Gary Locke's directive for prisons to enact more "sustainable practices:" to reduce water and energy usage, and to limit waste. In my research, I focus specifically on Oregon's participation in this program. I use a political ecological framework to examine these issues, paying careful attention to the way that environmental hazards are experienced unevenly. Additionally, I use a critical human geographic lens to situate my methodology and analysis in radical politics, using R. Johnson's definition that critical human geography involves, "A diverse and rapidly changing set of ideas and practices within human geography linked by a shared commitment to emancipatory politics within and beyond the discipline, to the promotion of progressive social change and to the development of a broad range of critical theories and their application in geographical research and political practice" (Longhurst, 2002). critical human geography incorporates theories from Marxist geography, feminist geography, and critical race theory. These lenses offer a wealth of radical perspectives to carceral geography,[1] and are therefore the most useful frameworks to employ in my research.

This thesis starts with contextualizing the current carceral climate in the United

[1] I take the term "Carceral Geography" from Dominique Moran's 2015 book "Carceral Geography: Spaces and Practices of Incarceration

States by synthesizing its historical trajectory from the Civil War until present. I then bring Oregon's carceral history into focus, discussing some of the programs and organizations at work within Oregon prisons. From there I situate my study in the relevant literature surrounding Eco-Prisons, Carceral Expansion and "Net-Widening," and "Carceral Humanism." I next describe my three case studies: Snake River Correctional Institution, Coffee Creek Correctional Facility, and Santiam Correctional Institution. In the subsequent sections I explain the reason for the proliferation of these programs and fit them into larger societal trends, such as Neoliberal Science Regimes and the scaling back of healthcare programs in prisons. Finally, I discuss what the implications are for the future of prisons and describe what a real green solution could look like.

Significance

While there is much academic scholarship surrounding prison expansion projects, the over-incarceration of People of color, the criminalization of poverty, and many other prison issues, there is much less scholarship regarding environmental sustainability and greening projects within prisons. As climate change pushes us toward environmental conservation and sustainability, prison greening programs are going to become more and more common. Thus, this research contributes to an extremely under-researched field that will grow in importance.

I argue that while these sustainability programs seem like improvements to conditions inside the prison, these programs are rife with contradictions and exemplify troubling recent trends in incarceration. I argue that these sustainability programs are

indicative of neoliberal carceral restructuring, which comes with new penal logics by which rehabilitation is achieved (or attempted). New trends hold prisoners individually accountable for their rehabilitation; they use prisoners themselves and their cooperation as a way to cut costs of operation; and they mine labor to support governmental and nonprofit science. The greening programs are used by the prisons as a discursive strategy to appear more ethical, more progressive, and as though methods of rehabilitation are being transformed toward more effective approaches. In fact, prisons are using these programs as justification for austerity measures and to seek out new venues to offer cheap prisoner labor to, in effect, make the penal state *itself* more sustainable and resistant to change.

Research Questions

This thesis seeks to answer the following questions: what does it mean to have a "sustainable prison," and what might that mean for the future of incarceration? This question will address the ways the term "sustainability" is malleable, and often used strategically to achieve discursive and material ends. Secondly, do sustainability programs produce "green" inmates? How are green inmates defined? This question addresses some of the motivations within the prison to adopt this program. Thirdly, what benefits do prisoners perceive from their participation in these programs? Do these benefits align with the intended goals and objectives of the program? This question turns the focus toward the prisoners, whose voices are often underrepresented in discussions surrounding rehabilitative and educational programs.

Methods

In order to answer these questions, I gathered data from archives, interviews, and solicited journals.

First, I sent record request forms to state environmental agencies in Oregon. I requested environmental histories from the three prisons where I did fieldwork. This information helped me to understand the extent to which these programs effectively mitigate their environmental impact according to their stated goals and the places where they may fail to do so.

Second, I conducted interviews with staff in the participating prisons to learn about their motivations and experiences with these programs, as well as their goals and interests within the realm of sustainability. These interviews took place at three different prisons: Santiam Correctional Institution, Snake River Correctional Institution, and Coffee Creek Correctional Facility. I interviewed five people at each prison. These interviews helped me to explore the discourse surrounding sustainability, as well as the ways the sustainability programs operate within the facility.

Third, the Sustainability coordinator posted recruitment letters at each facility about my research on the Sustainability in Prisons Project. The interested prisoners[2] were gathered, and I introduced myself, the project, the consent documents, the questionnaires, and the journals. We went through the questions together before anyone had to commit to participate in my research, to ensure the clarity of my questions. I also encouraged them

[2] In this thesis I use three different ways to describe the prisoner population: Adults in Custody, Prisoners, and Inmates. Adults in Custody is the preferred term of the prison. Most often, I use inmates or prisoners.

to change any questions that they felt uncomfortable with or felt did not fit within their experience in the Sustainability in Prisons Project. I provided a journal and pens to every prisoner participant and glued the questionnaires inside. I also included directions reminding them to not put any identifiable or incriminating information in the journals. Prisoner participants had two weeks with their journal to reflect upon a series of questions that explored their experiences working within the sustainability programs (I will expand upon the motivation for this methodology in the following section). Ten prisoners participated at Snake River Correctional Institution, eleven at Coffee Creek Correctional Facility, and three at Santiam Correctional Institution. This process helped me to answer my third question and understand how the program is experienced by prisoners. Once I retrieved the journals, I used content and discourse analysis to aggregate common themes.

Explanation of Methods:

Prisons are structurally and bureaucratically closed off, making it difficult to do research in prison. Due to the restricted nature of incarcerated peoples' spaces and personal liberties, it is vital to incorporate a discussion on ethical methods of research in this field of academic study. Creative approaches to prison research have the potential to open the door up for non (or less) hierarchical research strategies that can be employed with vulnerable populations whose ability to consent is potentially restricted by their environment. Implementing new and better ways to perform prison research can create "networks of accessibility" which can offer prisoners voice and agency while holding penal institutions accountable (Reiter, 2014, p. 426).

Many scholars (Jacelon, 2005; Janesick, 1999; Harvey, 2011) have written about the merits of solicited journaling in research, particularly in instances where daily tasks need to be recorded. Many of my questions pertained to daily activities and experiences working within the Sustainability in Prisons Project, so this method was the best suited to my goals. This technique is superior to interviews because interviews will often miss small details that daily writing may capture. Laura Harvey (2011) argues that diaries and journals can be a "memory aid for participants to recall mundane, daily moments" (p. 665). Sometimes these journal projects can be followed by an interview, which can bridge any confusion that may exist within the journal text. Harvey also notes in her article that diaries can draw attention to marginalized voices and explore "the everyday operations of power" (p. 666). This speaks to something one of the female participants at Coffee Creek Correctional facility wrote, "Whether or not some of us will admit it—we come from communities that suppressed and marginalized our voices. If you asked me these questions in person, I might not be able to think of anything to say. I feel much more comfortable writing down my responses." People who have been marginalized are not always comfortable speaking up because their voices have been overpowered and suppressed in the past, and people who have experienced this may not share as much when put on the spot by a researcher. Solicited journals help minimize this pressure by making it possible for the prisoner to choose the environment where they share their thoughts.

Louise Corti (1993) expands upon these arguments. She argues,

> First, diaries can provide a reliable alternative to the traditional interview method for events that are difficult to recall accurately or that are easily

> forgotten. Second, like other self-completion methods, diaries can help to overcome the problems associated with collecting sensitive information by personal interview. Finally, they can be used to supplement interview data to provide a rich source of information on respondents' behaviour and experiences on a daily basis (Corti, 1993).

My research explores the performance of daily tasks associated with the jobs of women and men who are incarcerated. This information may reside the small details, so daily journals create a routine that can aid in recording these seemingly less-significant tasks.

Solicited journals can also help glean greater depth regarding inmate opinions on these programs. Valerie Janesick (1999) makes the perceptive argument that "journal writing is ultimately a way of getting feedback from ourselves, and in so doing, it enables us to experience in a full and open-ended way, the movement of our lives as a whole and the meaning that follows from reflecting on that movement" (p. 507-508). Journal writing can create space for longer reflection into the thoughts and opinions that prisoners share, in addition to leaving time for the mental digestion of their experiences and motivations. Janesick later lists some of the most powerful arguments in favor of this methodology, including journals' capacity to help the writer be more reflective by offering them "an opportunity to write uninterrupted, and totally focused on the point at hand" (p. 522).

In addition, journals offer greater agency to a research participant. They remove the researcher to the greatest degree possible, which helps minimize the inherent hierarchy between researcher and researched. This hierarchy is all the more exaggerated when working with vulnerable populations, such as inmates. Interviews can exacerbate the hierarchy by resembling the interrogative experiences that they experienced prior to their incarceration. Focus groups can result in voices being overpowered, ensure no

confidentiality, and could complicate the political relationships of those inmate participants. Surveys may not have enough space or time to explore a topic fully.

Furthermore, solicited journals also make logistical sense for prison research. Not only does it require less staff to facilitate the research and make ir easier for the prison to accommodate, but it also offers them more privacy. If I interviewed prisoners, an escort would need to be present. With journals, prisoners can write in privacy. Cynthia S. Jacelon and Kristal Imperio (2005) propound the use of solicited journals to collect data when prolonged observation of participants is not practical, thus making it a useful medium to record the events and experiences of sustainability workers in prison. For all of these reasons, journals are the best method to employ for this project.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF PRISONS IN THE U.S.

Neoliberal Transition

Scholars have elucidated the many effects that neoliberalism has had on social, political, and economic geographies in the U.S. and abroad. One major consequence of neoliberalism in the U.S. was the restructuring of welfare systems and the subsequent explosion of prison populations. This section will contextualize my research in Oregon by describing the historical turn in incarceration following the Civil War, when Black Codes and convict leasing laws brought a workforce of former slaves into the carceral fold, as well as inflated and over-represented people of color in the prison system. This section will then move into economic restructuring efforts in the 1980s to present. Next, this chapter delves into Oregon's prison history, as that is where my own research is based. Finally, I discuss Oregon Corrections Enterprises—a company that contracts out the prisoner's labor for private businesses, and the Sustainability in Prisons Project.

The penal trajectory of prisons in the United States took a turn following the Civil War. During the reconstruction period following the conclusion of the war, the government granted freedom to enslaved peoples. The Emancipation Proclamation abolished slavery, later to be concretized by the 13th amendment. The 13th amendment abolished slavery and involuntary servitude in the U.S, except as punishment.

During this time there were many jobless former slaves, many workerless plantations, virulent racism, and frustration towards the defeat in the south. Fearing the sudden shortage in labor, "Black Codes" were instituted, forcing former slaves to sign

year-long labor contracts. If they left the jobs before the year was up, they had to forfeit all of their wages or face arrest. Once incarcerated, convict leasing laws allowed incarcerated freed slaves to be "leased" out to plantations and other work spaces in need of workers. Children without parents, or without "fit" parents, would be forced to work as apprentices until the age of 21 for males and 18 for females (Costly, 2016). Apprentices could be beaten, and if they ran away they could be recaptured. Vagrancy laws condemned jobless African Americans. Freed slaves could be incarcerated merely for not finding a job fast enough, then leased out to plantations and other properties and businesses that were short of labor. This put many former slaves in positions and conditions similar to their prior enslavement. The Republican Congress quickly squelched these laws, only for them to remerge similarly as Jim Crow Laws in the 1890s.

Prison populations following the Civil War grew slowly and consistently until the 1980s. The prison population skyrocketed following economic restructuring efforts in the 1980's, climbing to more than 2 million prisoners. Currently, the United States houses only 5% of the global population, yet 25% of the world's prisoners (American Civil Liberties Union, 2011). However, the spike in incarceration cannot be attributed to an increase in crime. Holding crime constant, the difference between whether or not a criminal is released or held in jail or prison has risen 438% in favor of the latter (Wacquant, 2010, p. 199). That is to say, it is not law breaking that is increasing, but the penal severity with which these crimes are dealt. The War on Drugs has greatly increased the number incarcerated, and simultaneously changed the composition of inmates toward even more extreme racial and income disparities. Until 1988 the maximum sentence for

possession of any amount of drugs was only one year (Alexander, 2010, p. 54). Since then, 31 million people have been incarcerated on drug offenses. In *The New Jim Crow*, Michelle Alexander (2010) puts this number in perspective: "Consider this: there are more people in prisons and jails today just for drug offenses than were incarcerated for all reasons in 1980" (p. 60). Recent policies have emphasized mandatory minimum sentences and three strikes laws, all which have made radical and damaging changes to the lives of people in lower socio-economic sectors. People unable to afford legal representation are often bullied into inflated charges by lawyers who threaten to enforce long mandatory minimums. Without proper knowledge to defend themselves, the accused often take pleas that negotiate sentences with less jail time, regardless of culpability.

In the 1980s, Ronald Reagan dismantled the economic buffers put in by Keynesian economics following the Great Depression, deregulated the state, and opened federal and state functions to privatization. The "War on Drugs," started by Richard Nixon, was taken up in earnest by Ronald Reagan, dramatically increasing inmate populations. During this time, Nancy Reagan popularized the phrase "Just Say No," to set the stage for larger criminalization of drug use (Gustafson, 2009, p. 653). Ronald Reagan also made major cuts to programs such as "Aid to Families with Dependent Children," various school lunch programs, and Medicaid, which forced these program budgets to become matters for states to fund (Steger, 2010, p. 34). These economic reforms mark the beginning of an era of Neoliberalism.

Mandatory minimums picked up speed during this time, responding to what was believed to be inhumane indeterminate sentencing practices. The arbitrary nature of some

mandatory minimums, however, demonstrates the structural racism in the U.S. In order to achieve the 5-year mandatory minimum for possession one must have five grams of crack, compared to 500 grams of its chemically identical counterpart, cocaine. Michael Tonry notes that this discrepancy is racialized because 88.4% of the people convicted in federal courts for crack are Black[3], while the White population only make up 4.5% of those convicted. The population of Black Americans is only 13% of the national total ("Quick Facts: Population estimates, July 1, 2015", 2016). So why are so many Black people convicted under these mandatory minimums? Many have argued that the Drug War incentivizes police to make drug arrests directs them to the easiest place to find people dealing drugs. This means police focus on low income areas where people are more likely to sell drugs to strangers, and to sell drugs outside. These low income areas are primarily homes to Black communities. Tonry (1997) argues that "President Clinton's simultaneous support for affirmative action and harsh crime control policies is ironic.

[3] There is debate about which terminology is more appropriate and respectful to the experience of Blacks/African Americans in the United States. Jesse Jackson chose the term "African-American" because he felt that it resonated with other cultural and ethnic groups that had been previously considered second-class citizens, such as Irish-Americans and Italian-Americans. I choose to use the term "Black" rather than "African American" to reflect what many writers and social theorists (Aisha Harris, 2014; Ericka Hall, 2014; John H. McWhorter, 2004) have written recently. John H. McWhorter (2004) argues that the term "African American" reinforces a legacy that continues to describe Blacks as descendants of slaves, and thus, foreign. He argues that many Blacks in the U.S. are not close or familiar with their African roots, much like the way many Whites in the U.S. are overall, unfamiliar with their own ancestral roots. He says that this racial term's addition implies that to be White in the U.S. is normative and other races have to be described in additional terms. He also says that the term "African-American" silences the different and continuing experiences of people who emigrate to the U.S. from Africa. Others have said that the term African-American garners more respect from other members of American Society and even that self-identified African-Americans make more money (Hall, 2014). This debate is ongoing and features many disagreements. I choose this term because articles in its favor have come up more frequently during my research, but I also recognize that as a White woman it is not my place to make claims to either's superiority.

Affirmative action is designed to help Black peoples overcome the legacies of slavery and racial segregation. Meanwhile, mandatory minimums, three-strikes laws, and similar policies do unnecessary damage to black offenders, their families, and their communities."

Later during Bill Clinton's presidency, he signed into action a law called the "Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act" which destroyed welfare as it existed, replacing Aid to Families with Dependent children with a financial strategy that awarded block grants to states called Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (Steger, p. 36). This program had a five-year lifelong limit of assistance, and if anyone was convicted of a drug offense, they would not be eligible for this program (Alexander, 2010, p. 57). This restructuring of welfare had a huge impact on cycles of poverty, taking people convicted of a crime, who are already at an economic disadvantage due to depleting job prospects, and removing welfare assistance from their grasp. Following that, it is no surprise many turned to "less-legal" forms of labor. Michelle Alexander notes that these financial changes did not mean that the government was being more fiscally conservative, meaning money was not cut out from the budget relegated to handle poor populations in the US, but was instead driven out of welfare programs and into carceral corrections. She argues, "During Clinton's tenure, Washington slashed funding for public housing by $17 billion (a reduction of 61 percent) and boosted corrections by $19 billion (an increase of 171 percent), 'effectively making the construction of prisons the nation's main housing program for the urban poor'" (p. 57). In short: rather than decreasing total spending to open other budgetary possibilities,

they were *increasing* spending directed at the poor, offering them beds in prison rather than shelters. This trend bloated the costs of prison, and now prisons are seeking to cut costs.

According to Noah De Lissovoy, neoliberal society is enacted in two ways. The first converts "almost all moments of social life into occasions for surplus extraction" (2012, p. 742). Secondly, it is expressed through a carceral turn, which runs parallel to ethics that emphasize the importance of individualism and personal choice as the means to achieve success. A good neoliberal citizen recognizes themselves through their "exclusions of the pathologized other" (De Lissovoy, 2012, p. 742). When people believe that economic mobility is possible for anyone, the disproportionate populations who experience poverty are by default considered lazy. Angela Davis argues, "the growth of the prison industrial complex represents the second moment of assault, as those who have been made redundant (through rationing of educational credentials, downsizing, and attacks on social services) are pronounced guilty of the crime of their own dislocation and submitted to the discipline of the system of 'corrections'" (2010, p. 64).

Loic Wacquant (2010) defines neoliberalism as a strategy which encompasses economic policies aimed to benefit the market, such as "labor deregulation, capital mobility, privatization, a monetarist agenda of deflation and financial autonomy, trade liberalization, interplace competition, and the reduction of taxation and public expenditures" (p. 212-213). But, in addition to the economic project, Wacquant argues that neoliberalism is tied up in a moral logic, emphasizing individual responsibility. For that reason, with economic deregulation, we see welfare state retraction and an expansion

of the penal apparatus. Wacquant argues that the state is composed of two hands, the left, which is made up of social functions, health, housing, labor law, education, and welfare, each of which are directed for the benefit of all, but specifically those lacking in financial capital. The right hand of the state, conversely, deals in enforcing the new economic discipline. This is enacted through budget cuts, fiscal incentives, and economic deregulation (Wacquant, 2010, p. 201). Going further, Wacquant argues that this right hand has been inaccurately depicted as economically specific. He argues that this hand also includes "the police, the courts, and the prison as core constituents of the right hand" (p. 201). Looking at neoliberalism in this light, as deeply committed to limiting and dismantling the left hand in order to free funds for the right, we can easily see how hyper-incarceration has resulted. The Sustainability in Prisons Project mimics the left hand in that it offers therapeutic programs, job training programs, and nutritional and health benefits, but it is in fact the right hand—governing, disciplining, and cutting costs to aid in the persistence of the current methods of punishment.

Oregon Prison History

Oregon opened its first prison in 1851 but did not become a state for nine more years. In 1994, Oregon passed a mandatory full-time work week for prisoners. The prisoners can use up to 20 hours of this for education or treatment, but no more than that. In 2012, Oregon closed down a prison for the first time—Oregon State Penitentiary Minimum. Budget issues for the State forced the closure. Prison Legal News noted, "Over the past twenty years, Oregon has more than doubled the number of offenders incarcerated in the state corrections system – largely through the adoption of mandatory

minimum sentencing structures by the voters" ("Budget Crisis Closes Oregon Prison for First Time in 159 Years | Prison Legal News", 2012). In 1994 Oregon voters passed Measure 11. This measure applied mandatory minimums for a variety of crimes, including murder, robbery, arson, and rape, among others. This measure included any person over the age of 15. There are currently 6,286 people incarcerated under Measure 11, 25 of whom are under 18 (*Oregon Department of Corrections: Offenders with M11 Convictions as of April 1, 2016*, 2016). Over the past twenty years since the implement of Measure 11, prison populations have continued to increase, and some argue Measure 11 has contributed to these growing numbers.

Oregon's former Governor, John Kitzhaber discussed the possibility of closing more prisons if sentencing reform could be instituted as well as early release programs. This did not happen, although his final state budget did include staff cuts. Oregon State Department of Corrections is hopeful that the prison will eventually reopen to ease potential overcrowding at Coffee Creek Correctional Women's Facility ("Budget Crisis Closes Oregon Prison for First Time in 159 Years | Prison Legal News", 2012). Currently, there are eight times as many women incarcerated as there were in 1980. Women are the fastest growing prison population, so the potential need to open a second women's facility in Oregon could materialize in the future ("Facts about the Over-Incarceration of Women in the United States", 2016).

Oregon Corrections Enterprises

Private prisons hold a lot of discursive power in contemporary debates about incarceration. Discussions about private prisons center on a dichotomy between public prisons and those that are owned by private companies. This strict divide deflects attention away from private companies and organizations that are contracted for various tasks within State and Federal prisons, as well as the companies that contract out prisoner labor for profit. Oregon Corrections Enterprises (OCE) is a company that contracts out prison labor to work in furniture manufacturing, laundry facilities, and phone banking centers. They advertise that their call centers offer "skilled, highly dependable customer service agents, low labor rates that are competitive with offshore companies, Native English and Spanish language skills, high security and quality, scalable, flexible services that are tailored to your business, simple pricing: integrated overhead and utilities costs, and fully funded labor expenses" ("Oregon Corrections Enterprises: Call Centers", 2016).

Ballot Measure 68 established OCE as a semi-independent company. The company employs about 1,337 prisoners across the state. They claim that the company, specifically the call centers, bring back jobs from overseas. OCE also claims to "provide meaningful work skills in an effort to reduce recidivism; approximately 96% of the adults in custody will reenter society" ("Oregon Corrections Enterprises: Why Buy From Us", 2016).[4] Oregon Corrections Enterprises often reaffirms on its website that Measure 17

[4] It is important to carefully examine the wording here, because at first glance, the 96% appears to reference the earlier recidivism claim, almost implying that 96% of workers find jobs on the

requires that inmates work 40 hours weekly. This may be to remind the reader that they fill an important need—holding prisoners accountable to the decision of its people—reminding the public that they are not exploiting prisoner labor, they are simply the medium by which a law comes to be performed.

Oregon Corrections Enterprises write on the Department of Corrections website that "Many inmates come to prison having never held a real job or learned the value of work. Oregon Corrections Enterprises (OCE) was designed to serve Oregon citizens.... teaching pro-social values including work ethics, responsibility, and a sense of self-worth they lost or never before experienced" ("State of Oregon: Oregon Corrections Enterprises", 2016). OCE runs a laundry division within the prison which does the laundry of local hospitals and other partners. These laundry facilities consume an enormous amount of water. OCE's other resource-intensive projects, such as the print shop and many metal-working projects may increase the prison's vulnerability to environmental hazards, as they bring more chemicals and industrial projects to the facility than were there prior. OCE is one of many organizations that use prison labor to accomplish "green tasks." (see: SolarCity)

The Sustainability in Prisons Project

Pilot programs for the Sustainability in Prisons Program began in 2003 in response to former Washington Governor Gary Locke's directive for prisons to enact more "sustainable practices"—specifically, to reduce water use and energy use and limit waste ("Sustainability in Prisons Annual Report", 2014). The project was started by

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outside, which reduces recidivism to the remaining 4%. There are no statistics about the efficacy of OCE curbing recidivism on its website, however.

Washington Department of Corrections and Evergreen State College. It expanded and became formalized in 2008. Since then, Oregon Department of Corrections has joined the project, as have Departments of Corrections in other states across the Pacific Northwest, and increasingly, the rest of the United States. The first prisons to be involved were Cedar Creek Corrections Center, followed by Stafford Creek Corrections Center, Mission Creek Corrections Center for Women, and Washington Corrections Center for Women. The program boasts that it has saved the prisons $4.3 million annually ("Sustainability in Prisons Annual Report", 2014).

The prisoners fill jobs from asbestos abatement to butterfly rearing technicians, but the majority of positions are filled by community work crews, forestry workers, food service waste recyclers, groundskeepers, and green janitorial workers. This program has proven to be lucrative in a variety of ways for prisons. Not only do their resource restrictions save money and present the ethics and priorities that are bound up in the environmental movement, but they also receive donations to support the program. Last year their budget included $404,000 in funds sourced from twelve different places, including federal grants, private donations, contracts, and foundation donations ("Sustainability in Prisons Annual Report", 2014).

The Washington State Department of Corrections (WDOC) demonstrates reductions from 10-15% in everything from energy, potable water, fuels, and landfill waste during a small section of its time with the Sustainability in Prisons Project: 2005 and 2013 (Sustainability in Prisons Project Annual Report, 2014).

Environmental Inconsistencies

While 10-15% reductions are impressive, we should approach these numbers with caution. First, this is a report written by the WDOC to analyze the effects of a program that they instated, and it is in a brochure whose aim is to show the program is a success. Second, the years chosen seem arbitrary. If the program began tentatively in 2003 and was formalized in 2008, then why was 2005 the year that they chose for comparison? If there was a comprehensive list of yearly energy use, starting in 2003 and going until 2014, it would be easier to tell if 2005 was a year of especially high energy use, making these comparisons more drastic than they would otherwise appear. It leads the reader to wonder to what extent this programming has mitigated their environmental impact.

There is a large body of evidence documented by state and watchdog environmental organizations that further problematize the reductions in environmental impacts made by the Sustainability in Prisons Project. In 2004 (one year after this program began) the Department of Ecology fined the Sustainability in Prisons Project partner, Washington State's Department of Corrections, $60,000 for falsifying water pollution reports. They found that 20 out of 36 reports had been falsified, hiding excess fecal coliform in the water that was being released into the Puget Sound. (Heck, 2011) Walla Walla State Penitentiary fought these fines in court, rather than make improvements to their pollution records. Waste that was dumped into a storm drain and traced back to the facility included naptha, antifreeze, refrigerants, perchloroethylene, laquer thinner, methylene chloride, and photochemicals. Walla Wall Penitentiary was also cited for dumping human waste, hospital waste, and medical needles into a landfill

(Dannenberg, 2007). Later reports cited that diesel spills and other carcinogens traced back to the prison were found in 17 groundwater wells that offered water to over 10,000 citizens (Dannenberg, 2007). As recently as 2012, the Department of Ecology investigated chemicals found outside the prison in the groundwater—chemicals that are used in license plate manufacturing, dry cleaning, sign manufacturing, and other activities that are ongoing in the prison (Kelso, 2012).

The Sustainability in Prisons Project advertises its programs with environmental sustainability rhetoric, while speaking to and acting toward economic sustainability. This is how so many environmental problems continue to occur during their Sustainability in Prisons Project efforts—the program is not only about environmental sustainability; it is about saving money on corrections. In the following section I will situate my research among a few articles that scholars have written. The articles center around three main theoretical foci within my research: "The Eco-Prison," "Carceral Humanism," and "Neoliberal and Humanistic Carceral Expansion."

CHAPTER III

CONTEXTUALIZING MY RESEARCH IN THE LITERATURE

The Eco-Prison

What does it mean to be green? Greenwashing as a phenomenon—especially as a business advertising strategy—is demonstrated in large bodies of literature, but prison greening programs are recent, and few scholars have written about them. However, those who have written about prison greening have published well-thought, powerful articles which I will discuss here. Yvonne Jewkes and Dominique Moran (2015) argue that the term "green" is defined discursively by those in positions of power, just as other terms, such as "crime," "punishment," and "corrections" are defined (p. 3). When prisons employ the terms "sustainability" or "green" to describe their actions, what do they mean? Jewkes and Moran argue that this phrase capitalizes on the many ways "sustainable" can be defined, and the ways it can be used to mislead an audience. A prison can describe actions as "sustainable" to prisoners, and by making the appearance of environmental sustainability, they can take measures to cut how often they wash clothes, how often they replace damaged clothes, and how long showers are.

The Eco-Prison framework has been increasingly on the rise following the Department of Justice's "Greening Corrections: Building a Sustainable System" directive on the need for prison greening. More generally, the Eco-Prison is a part of a carceral trend that seeks to market prisons as more rehabilitative than previous incarnations, a trend also known as "carceral humanism" (to be discussed below). These days most prisons implement some kind of therapeutic program, whether gardening, training dogs,

or other activities. These programs are extremely effective in garnering community support because they keep prisoners busy and present a new strategy to better rehabilitate prisoners with job training and horticultural therapy.

Job training programs and rehabilitative programs seek to create a responsible individual who will, by their participation in these programs, gain the skills to deal with trauma and the behavior that led to their criminality. Job training programs should also help prisoners to find a job following release. Jewkes and Moran argue that these programs "responsibilize" inmates and "may be no less insidious than the more traditional forms of discipline and control, for being part of a treatment modality packaged in moral and ethical rhetoric" (2015, p. 4). That is to say that these green job training programs, while seeming to cater to the prisoners, are actually sophisticated governance strategies that make the individual prisoners responsible for self-policing and their own rehabilitation. These programs instill a neoliberal logic in their prisoners, moralizing and incentivizing individual responsibility and marketable skills.

Jewkes and Moran, suspicious of these reforms, also note that any green reforms that are under the control of the prison will be created within its own frame of reference. That is to say—no reforms will run counter to business or discipline but will instead support the improved functioning of the facility. Jewkes and Moran discuss Michelle Brown's description of paternalism that is inherent in these programs in the way they create and produce inmates who, like the garden he works, require[s] civilizing, cultivating, taming, controlling, and defining" (2015, p. 11). Jewkes and Moran argue that, fundamentally, these programs are sold as humanizing reforms to make it more

difficult to criticize fundamental problems in the carceral project itself.

Neoliberal and Humanistic Carceral Expansion

Judah Schept argues that there should be more scholarly work that discusses community support of carceral projects and, more specifically, how community discourses pertaining to incarceration can seem to be anti-carceral while simultaneously support carceral expansion. Drawing from Pierre Bourdieu, he calls this disjuncture the Carceral Habitus, which I will expand upon in a later section.

Loic Wacquant's (2010) extensive work on the relationship between neoliberalism and prisons has greatly expanded the field of Carceral Geography. Wacquant argues that the increase in penalization in the US has nothing to do with an actual increase in crime, rather, it is a result of increased social insecurity. He also notes that it is not a project put in place by the right, but by the logic of neoliberalism, which is heralded by all politicians, and most virulently by Bill Clinton. Wacquant argues that neoliberalism's economic deregulation, defunding of welfare projects, and ideas of individual responsibility have not just allowed prison populations to grow, but have, in fact, necessitated the expansion of the penal state. The penal state takes the surplus labor and then allows businesses and capital to continue moving without obstacle.

Schept (2013) investigates similar ideas through the lens of a "Justice Campus," otherwise known as a carceral facility "with the feel of a small liberal arts campus" (p. 1). This new prison was intended be a more liberal, empowering, free-form prison—though it would still function as a space of confinement. The justice campus would hold more facilities for rehabilitation than the prison that currently exists, but the purpose of the new

prison and juvenile facility's construction was to expand the holding capacity for Bloomington's regional offenders. It was at its root carceral expansion. This, in effect, combines the county's liberal politics with the carceral imagination and local penal logics, producing a prison that appears liberal, while it in effect is complicit with expanding the carceral capacity of the county.

It is becoming more common for expansions to be couched in liberal terms that distract from the core expansion. A new federal prison was built in in Butner, NC. While it was heralded for its "LEED" (Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design) certification, a large part of the conversation was left out. There has been little discussion on what another federal prison would mean for the United States, nor the increased penal capacity that a new prison would offer. This goes to show the power of the green language surrounding the prisons. It mitigates and deflects critique. It deceives the audience—many of whom are passionate about environmentalism—about what is really happening. Building green prisons is still building new prisons, and new prisons still use a lot of energy.

Within the prison, prison directors can justify cutting prisoners showers in the name of "green" practices, and they can give prisoners used clothing using the same language. This aids in passing their economic decisions uncritically, and often times with overwhelming support. These neoliberal transformations of prisons allow myths of transformative, more rehabilitative carceral projects to exist, without confronting the underlying logic of incarceration. Prison sustainability programs are a part of this larger project. They appear to exhibit a more rehabilitative effort on behalf of the prison,

without confronting larger problems within ideas of incarceration, and thus appear to be a liberal withdrawal of harsher policies while expanding incarceration at large.

Carceral Humanism

Carceral Humanism, also known as "Incarceration Lite," has gained use in forums describing the discursive changes in prison dialogues and writings (See: Simon, 2014; Schept, 2015). Immigration Detention Centers are now being called "Civil Detention Centers," with "suites" holding multiple prisoners and "residential advisors" attending to prisoner's needs instead of guards. Women's prisons are being called "Women's Villages" and "gender-responsive" facilities. The three locations where I did my case studies call prisoners "residents" or "adults in custody." Rather than "guards," the staff are called "officers." The roles for these positions have not changed.

Carceral Humanism also includes a range of "alternatives" to incarceration, consisting of electronic monitoring to work-release programs. This leads to a "widening of the carceral net," and opening up of new spaces of carcerality outside of the prison itself. James Kilgore, a scholar from Urbana Champagne and former prisoner, explains the implications for these "humanistic reforms," specifically ankle bracelet monitoring.

> While the punitive nature of ankle bracelet regimes is a cause for concern, the potential to implement exclusion zones with GPS-based monitors contains more serious long-term implications. Exclusion zones are places where monitors are programmed not to let people go. At the moment authorities mainly use exclusion zones to keep individuals with a sex offense history away from schools and parks. But such zones have the potential to become new ways to reconstruct the space of our cities, to keep the good people in and the bad people out. This technology, which can be set up via smart phones, holds the possibility to turn houses, buildings, even neighborhoods into self-financing sites of incarceration. In the meantime, firms like the GEO Group, which owns BI Incorporated, the nation's largest provider of electronic monitoring

> technology and backup services, are experimenting with new target groups for ankle bracelets. In parts of California and Texas they've used electronic monitors on kids with school truancy records. Under a $370 million contract, BI already has thousands of people awaiting immigration adjudication on monitors. Packaged as an alternative these bracelets actually represent a new horizon for incarceration, finding ways to do it cheaper with technology through the private sector and then getting the user to pay, likely a model that would line up squarely with Right on Crime's notions of reform" (Kilgore, 2014).

This quote highlights the widening carceral net in society. Carceral humanism is thought to be a kinder, fairer, and all around better system than incarceration. People argue that it helps recidivism and makes it easier to find a job. However, it simultaneously opens new possibilities for exploitation. With bracelet monitoring, not only are prisoners responsible for their own rehabilitation, but they will also be responsible for the prison as well.

In the following section, I will describe the three locations where I did my fieldwork—Snake River Correctional Institution, Santiam Correctional Facility, and Coffee Creek Correctional Facility. I will give background on all of the prisons, as well as describe the logistics of my fieldwork. I will analyze and summarize findings in the chapter following the case studies.

CHAPTER IV

CASE STUDIES

Snake River Correctional Institution

The first site that I visited was Snake River Correctional Institution (SRCI). The most striking aspect of this facility was how desolate and unwelcoming its surroundings were. Snake River Correctional Institution sits in the middle of a flat landscape, surrounded by nothing but rocky dry soil. The prison sits in the desert-like part of Oregon near the Idaho border, where water is limited and the environment is inhospitable. There are no trees for shade near the facility.

Snake River Correctional Institution houses both medium and minimum facilities for offenders. When it opened in 1991, it was supposed to hold 3,000 beds. Until 1994, however, there were only 576 medium security beds and 72 minimum security beds. The Oregon Legislative Assembly approved the construction of the remaining beds in 1994. This project cost $175 million and was the “largest state funded public works project in state history” ("DOC Operations Division: Prison Snake River Correctional Institution,” 2016). SRCI is now the largest prison in Oregon, with 2,336 medium security beds, 154 minimum security beds, and 510 special housing beds (solitary confinement). It employs about 900 people and was partially built by the prisoners housed there. The total budgeted capacity is 3,062. Currently, there are 3,013 people imprisoned there (*Snake River Correctional Institution*, n.d.).

With its harsh, desolate surroundings, it is no surprise that this facility was the creator of the “Nature Imagery Project.” The prison itself has few signs of life near enough for prisoners to see. So, Snake River Correctional Institution created what they call a “blue room” for the prisoners in solitary confinement. The “blue room” features an empty room with nature scenes projected on the wall. The prisoner can choose which kind of nature scene they want to see among river scenes, mountain scenes, waterfalls, forests, and the ocean. The image will be projected onto the wall, with background music or nature sounds. Prisoners can choose to use their 40 minutes outside their cell in the “blue room.” The SPP describes the blue room by writing, “The program is offered in hopes that it will reduce psychological stress for the viewers—many studies have pointed to the therapeutic benefits of even brief encounters with nature ("Oregon State | Sustainability In Prisons Project Network", 2016).” The Nature Imagery channel is available to staff as well, though many staff said they never watched the channel. Many pointed out that if they want to see nature, they could leave the facility. That is not a luxury the prisoners have, so they rely on this channel for access to nature. The room is intended to help calm and de-escalate situations with prisoners that become angry or violent. It is also supposed to lower suicide rates of those in solitary confinement long term. The implications of this room as a replacement for both nature and mental health support will be elaborated on later in this thesis.

(Drummond, 2016)
Top Image: A man alone in solitary stands in the "blue room," looking at a wall.
Bottom Image: The nature scenes are projected on a wall in the "blue room." Here we see mountains.

Other Sustainability in Prisons Project programs at Snake River Correction Institution are: recycling, composting, gardens, sustainable gardening, fire crews, recycling sorting crew, sagebrush program with Bureau of Land Management, a habitat restoration crew, Roots of Success, hoop house, green chemistry (green janitorial), Milk Weed propagation, and a dog rehabilitation program.

Coffee Creek Correctional Facility

The second location that I visited was Coffee Creek Correctional Facility (CCCF) in Wilsonville, OR. It is a multi-security prison, and houses all of Oregon's female prisoners. Coffee Creek opened in 2001 and features extensive programming. There is a program called "Between the Lines," where women can record their voices reading a book to their children and the book and recording will be sent to the prisoner's family. They also have Girl Scouts Beyond Bars, a program where the mothers and daughters participate in Girl Scouts activities together twice a month in hopes of decreasing multigenerational cyclical incarceration ("DOC Operations Division: Prison Coffee Creek Correctional Facility", 2016).

Coffee Creek Correctional Facility is budgeted to hold 1,685 beds. At the medium security facility there are 713 beds for women, and at minimum there are 640 beds for women. At intake, there are 432 beds for men. Currently, there are approximately 1,263 women incarcerated at CCCF, and there are approximately 388 men currently in intake (*Coffee Creek Correctional Facility*, n.d.).

The first thing I noticed inside the prison was how much decoration there was in the common spaces. There were designs on the walls that prisoners said they won through different prison-sponsored contests. There were also many women walking dogs in the facility as a part of their dog training program. At CCCF, the Sustainability in Prisons Project programming is composed of recycling, beekeeper apprenticeship programming, Roots of Success education classes, Seeds to Supper, sustainable gardening, viola harvesting for the Oregon Zoo, milkweed for Oregon Silverspot

butterflies, the Taylor's Checkerspot butterflies and Monarch butterflies, canine companion for independence (puppy program), gardens, green house and hoop house, vermiculture composting, composting and food waste recycling, habitat restoration crew, green chemistry (green janitorial), eye glass recycling and certification program, Nature Imagery programs, and an Ecopsychology program with Lewis and Clark College.

Many scholars have written about the different experience of incarceration for men versus women (Steffensmeier & Allen, 2002). Women are also incarcerated by-and-large for very different things than men. This definitely showed from the women's journal writing—something that I will elaborate on in the "Journal Trends" section.

Santiam Correctional Institution

The final site of my fieldwork was Santiam Correctional Institution. Santiam Correctional Institution (SCI) was built in 1946 as a mental health hospital. In 1977 it opened as Prigg Cottage, a medium security pre-release center, to lessen the overcrowding in other prisons. Viewing it from the outside, it appears to be much more beautiful than the other prisons. There were trees in bloom, and plenty of green-space in the landscape. There were also prisoners working out in front of the prison. The whole facility had a calmer air than the other prisons. Starting as a state mental health facility in the 1980s, the building later became "Corrections Division Release Center," and in 1990 it became Santiam Correctional Institution (*Santiam Correctional Institution*, n.d.). SCI is a medium security prison located in Oregon's capital city, Salem. SCI is currently overcrowded. Its budgeted capacity is 440 people, but it currently houses approximately 466 people ("DOC Operations Division: Prison Santiam Correctional Institution", 2016).

Walking through the facility I could see beds in all kinds of strange places, and it was clear they had to put more beds in than there were reasonable places to put them. This is because Oregon State Penitentiary Minimum closing down forced SCI to take more prisoners than they had room for.

The Sustainability in Prisons Project programming consists of the following programs: recycling, composting and earth tubs, gardens, Seeds to Supper, sustainable gardening, fire crews, recycling sorting crew, habitat restoration crew, greenhouse, and green chemistry (green janitorial).

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS

"Some of my friends will die in prison and I refuse to forget their plight. I refuse to ignore the injustice inherent in the larger justice system! I don't believe the lawyers and police are going to fix it, it's working for them just fine"

-Prisoner from Snake River Correctional Institution

What is the Sustainability in Prisons Project?

What is the Sustainability in Prisons Project? One journal trend, specifically at Santiam Correctional Facility (SCI), was that no one knew what the Sustainability in Prisons Project was. The selection criteria for my research project were that the prisoners had to have a job within the Sustainability in Prisons Project. Yet, most had never even heard of the program. If you go to the Sustainability in Prisons Project website, they proudly demonstrate all the projects at SCI. One prisoner at SCI described the poor distribution of information in general. He said: I've been in prison for 40+ months and just recently discovered (via word of mouth) that there is a "college on inside" program… why isn't this information given at the beginning of my time like at Coffee Creek intake." Another prisoner said about the Sustainability in Prisons Project "I've learned that there is a sustainable project in the prison system in Washington and Oregon, which I did not know before, so that's cool. However, I still don't know the details about your sustainable project, which to me is sad because I feel that knowledge is power. Right now all I do is separate the recyclables. I think if I knew more about sustainability then I

would be able to express what I'm learning." The sustainability programs he is referring to are the Sustainability in Prisons Project programs—the very program he has a job in. Repeatedly throughout this journal he premised an answer with "I can't really say what has changed [in the Sustainability in Prisons Project] because the program started without me knowing about it." This same person ended their journal with "I think that you should know that not enough communication is being used through the prison system about the sustainable project. I think communication is vital to any project. I think the project would be much more successful if everyone was on the same page. Here is something that I really feel you should know. There are about 10 inmates that work on the recycle crew. I just asked 5 of the 10 if they knew anything about the sustainable project and only one inmate had any idea what I was talking about." This highlights the importance of including prisoner voices in these narratives. The prisoners are represented as a population that uniformly loves the project. Including the voices of the people that are represented is an important step in creating a more dynamic vision of the prison community.

Therapeutic obstacles

The garden as a potentially unique and resistant space may also create conflict between prisoners and staff. One problem many prisoners cited for the program is that officers often arbitrarily shut programs down or have a hostile attitude toward some of the programs. A prisoner from Snake River Correctional Institution also claimed that corrections officers have a hostile attitude toward the programs because they are jaded from their time in the facility. Staff at Snake River also spoke of this. The facility itself is

trying to create nature hikes and walks to help reduce the effect the austere environment has on staff. Oregon Department of Corrections created an "Employee Safety and Wellness Strategic Initiative Team" to create a healthy, fit environment to keep employees in shape and boost morale.

One participant from Snake River Correctional Institution argued that the prison needs more people from the outside to work with these projects on the inside. He argued that some projects do not receive the support from staff that they should, because officers often do not understand the utility of certain projects. He argued that some programs, such as the apiary, had been halted because staff claimed allergies (though the prisoner did not believe it to be true). He argued that people from "the outside" can better maintain and support these programs. He also argued that this would bring greater empathy into the prison. Many prisoners said that the staff did not see them as human or worthy of sympathy. The prisoner went on to propose: "to get more stakeholders to come in we should also reframe prisons as a 'public health problem.' There are easy correlations that can be made. It is a health issue on many fronts. Until now framing this solely as a public safety problem has made the police solely responsible for fixing it." Police and enforcement officers are not trained in therapy and other efforts to rehabilitate, and this often presents a huge obstacle in performing and maintaining programs focused on therapy. The shutting down of programs bars access to the tools which garden programs can provide prisoners with to deal with trauma (from the inside and prior to their incarceration) and move toward rehabilitation. As a result, it leaves many prisoners

with anger and violence as the most prominent tools for conflict resolution. The participant went on to write "If all you have is a hammer, everything looks like a nail."

Every prison in Oregon now houses a garden. The purpose of these gardens is for horticultural programming and benefits, but also to provide food to the prisoners on the inside. A problem, however, is that a lot of gardens end up being extremely small because the staff worry that the plants could cause safety concerns. They argue that prisoners could hide contraband in the garden. One staff member even voiced concerns that prisoners themselves could hide in the gardens. Due to this, the food often gets donated to community food banks, because it cannot meet the needs of the prison population. This leaves the prisoner diet with less fresh produce. These obstacles create a garden space that can only accommodate a few employees, so the benefits are highly concentrated among only a few prisoners.

Some participants spoke to obstacles in supporting the garden. He said, "As inmates here we have no rights and if you are asking to spend extra time in the garden or volunteer to handle the compost or go outside to plant plants at the right time is is universally assumed that you are trying to escape or fuck something up." Another cited the only interest that the staff have toward the garden project is in policing the safety. He said, "The C.O.s opinion on the garden is, and this is an overall opinion 'just keep the tools locked up or you'll go to the 'hole.'" Because of the mobility restrictions of prison life, it is difficult to spend time in the garden or complete necessary tasks toward its maintenance without the support of the staff.

Green Job Skills

When it comes to the green job skill training, an important question to ask is "what is the viability of the Ag-centered jobs that prisoners are doing?" This is especially important when graduates coming out of agriculture schools like Oregon State University who are seeking jobs as well, who do not have felonies that they must list on job applications. While the prisoners' overall impression of the gardens at each facility was extremely positive, the sentiment about the efficacy of the "green job training" jobs were very low. One prisoner at Snake River Correctional Institution who worked with the Bureau of Land Management Sagebrush growing project spoke about whether or not he thought those skills would lend themselves to future employment, he said, "and I tell them I am qualified to grow sagebrush and when they're done laughing they'll ask 'isn't that a weed'?" Many other journals echoed this. Some said the jobs did not reflect the outside job market. One prisoner at SRCI said "This minimum has about 200 inmates and there are less than 50 jobs that reflect the real world work force." Many believed that the green jobs, like all the other training programs, were a way of keeping the prisoners from being idle without really helping them to prepare for actual job possibilities. Another prisoner at Snake River Correctional Institution said: "Most of what they do here is really take what is mostly all guys with zero work history and try to just put a regular routine in them. Get up, get dressed, go to work, be on time. I know that it's prison and it's supposed to suck—but they could try and do what they say this is all for, and try with a little rehabilitation every now and again." Another responded similarly when asked if he thought the jobs he was learning on the inside would help him when he got out by

writing, “Some [of the jobs] I believe are just to keep the population busy and say that they are helping with rehabilitation.” Others showed a real disdain for the job efforts in their entirety: “The bosses are people that I wouldn’t trust to boil water due to their incompetence. This SRCI minimum is considered a ‘work camp,’ under the guise of training one for the outside—which is complete bullshit…If they cared about rehabilitation 90% of what happens in here wouldn’t.”

When I asked the prisoners what they believed the motivation was behind the implementation of these projects, if not decreased recidivism, most claimed that the Department of Corrections wanted to get money from Federal agencies, and showed little faith in the sincerity of green improvements. One said “They do not want to fall behind in the ‘green revolution.’ Also there is a ton of fed money for any state agency to spend on (green) reformation.” Another said that the Department of Corrections is doing it for their image. “I personally believe that the Oregon DOC has or likes to say they have programs like this to keep themselves in good favor with the general public and anyone who might take a second to look at what the DOC does.”

Unique Trends in Women’s Journals

“The work towards environmental sustainability is extremely empowering.”

-Prisoner at Coffee Creek Correctional Facility

I do not want to make sweeping gendered generalizations in this section. I write this, keeping in mind that gender is learned and performed, and the gender identities of those in Coffee Creek’s female facility vary. However, the journals that I received from the women’s facility were in stark contrast to those from men’s facilities, and it begs the

question—why? I argue it is because of the different socialized characteristics that women are expected to perform. The most glaring difference between the journals was that much of the women's writing spoke of the program in a positive, uncritical light. Recognizing all the positive aspects of the Sustainability programming, and knowing that there are many positive aspects of the program—is it possible that these programs implemented are really without any faults? One thing that the female prisoners focused on much more than the male prisoners was the way that the garden projects and other sustainable projects helped to make them feel connected to the outside world. It helped them to feel like they were part of a community outside of the prison walls. One prisoner at Coffee Creek wrote that one thing that the sustainable programming offered her was "to have some peace and connection in our communities, even in here. Freedom is also giving." Women are expected and groomed from an early age to be caregivers. Nurturing is often considered a feminine trait. To what degree does this influence their impressions of the sustainability programs?

Prison is an isolating experience. Prisoners are not allowed to touch each other, or even lay down together in the yard. This can take a particularly significant toll on the female prisoners, many of whom are mothers, or have held other caregiving roles in their pre-prison lives. The connection to their communities and families is extremely important to them. The opportunity for female prisoners to nurture something, from dogs, to bugs, to plants and to be able to mimic roles they had held in their pre-prison lives is especially important for their construction of their self-identities and their self-esteem. Anthony Giddens (1991) argues that "A person's identity is not to be found in behavior, nor—

important though this is—in the reactions of others, but in the capacity to keep a particular narrative going" (p. 54), and this is especially present in the women's identities in Coffee Creek's Correctional Facility. They must reimagine and construct their past actions in a way that does not contradict the way they imagine their identity to be. As Mary Bosworth argues, "Often the women in prison are restricted by the very categories of 'criminal' with which they have been labeled. Consequently, they must find new definitions of their identity, or otherwise express different rationalizations and 'neutralizations' of their criminal identity" (p. 115). By learning to care for bees or plants, these women can resist the label of criminal, and perpetuate their identities within a narrative of nurturer and caregiver, even in an environment where most of these opportunities are denied to them. Embracing nature and environmental skills as a way to reaffirm their identities as non-criminal women, is a form of resistance.

While defining their own identities in direct contestation of the way prison defines them ("criminal," "Adults in Custody," "Inmates" etc) is an important form of resistance and self-care within the prison setting, there are many other ways that women resist without moving toward outright rebellion. As Ben Crewe (2007) notes, "as studies of women's imprisonment have demonstrated, it may take the form of ostensibly trivial acts, such as challenged to dietary provisions and codes of dress, that represent assertions of subjective identity" (p. 257).

Many female prisoners also spoke of the self-esteem and self-worth that came from the sustainability programming. One woman wrote, "Recycling is helping the earth and it gives these girls value and self-worth." And another: "It's refreshing 'cuz its pro-

social and prison can be a sad depressing thing." They wrote about how it humanized their experience: "It makes me feel human again to be in the gardens or to do green team projects or recycling jobs." The opportunity to nurture and care for something is a deeply humanizing act. Feeling as though one can and does make change, through nurturing and care, is a deeply empowering experience for the women inside Coffee Creek Correctional Facility. Another female prisoner wrote that the garden, "Brings a lot of self-esteem where there may have been none." Scholars Schwartz & Steffensmeier (2008) have spoken to the importance a "gendered theory of incarceration," citing the differences in crimes and levels of power between female and male offenders and offenses. They argue that many women are pulled into crime by partner exploitation, or by unanticipated financial needs of motherhood. Low self-esteem can be used to exploit women into crime, into prostitution, or can result from these crimes. It is no surprise then, that many women spoke of the self-esteem that this work provides them.[5]

Similar to the contrast described in earlier sections, some women said that "The beauty in the garden provides such a sweet respite and reminder that no matter what crazy stresses are happening in this temporary home of mine I can be filled with peace from the sustainable things of nature." This highlights an earlier point, that part of the garden's unique and beloved character is that it is different from the negative experience in prison. Again, we hear it described as an escape: "Nature is my escape," which, while

[5] And this is not to say that the men may not be also suffering from self-esteem issues, merely that while men did not mention self-esteem or empowerment at all, it was apparent in each and every one of the women's journals.

highlighting the positive aspects of the garden, alludes to the negative aspects of the prison.

Being in the garden was a way for the women to feel connected to their families, and their children. Promoting sustainability made many women feel as though they were making a better world for the future, for their children, their grandchildren, and future generations. One woman wrote: "Being involved hands-on in a small way brings a much bigger picture, witnessing for themselves a humble and joyful experience. Smiling from the inside out." One woman described it as a duty. She wrote: "And it's a call to duty to be a role model in the community."

While there may be elements in the programming at Coffee Creek that could be superior to the other prisons, I argue that more than that, it is the unique roles that women are expected to perform—that of caregiver, nurturer, and mother—that give them a unique relationship to the program, and the process of environmental reproduction.

Gardens as Spaces of Refuge and Resistance?

The Sustainability in Prisons Project claims that part of what they provide is horticultural therapy. Horticultural therapy is heralded for its ability to calm and heal, both outside and within prison settings for prisoners, children, veterans, and other survivors of trauma. Gardens can be spaces for novel action. The gardens exist in direct contrast to the prison, and this contrast can open up new possibilities for resistant action. One prisoner at Snake River Correctional Institution put this idea in eloquent form. He said, "Sometimes we just need an excuse to embrace a different standard. 'Place' can do that. 'Out here in the garden we do things different.' There are those of us who lead,

fighting for a better standard in all situations, and having a special 'space' gives us a tool to convince those 'on the fence' to try it out, just out here without risking any negative social pressure. Then they start to like it, and to greater or lesser degrees start to challenge the status quo in other areas."

The writer here describes the way the garden space can act as a transitional area, a space of possibility. Those who are accustomed to acting in certain ways, feel the possibility of new action and new experience in the garden spaces. There is the potential to do things differently, experience relationships with other prisoners differently, and return to the prison with those nuanced perspectives in hand. The same person went on to write: "In the garden the violence of the yard is suspended. There are still disagreements, but we try to hold ourselves to a community standard of conflict resolution. 'Let's use our words' I would say with a smile, mocking the phrase but reminding my friends of our shared values as collaborators against a broken system that had wounded us in similar ways over the years." This quote highlights the way garden spaces can also be used to contest their identities. Prisoners often have to pretend to be tougher and stronger than they would in their "home lives." The prison space can pressure its inhabitants to perform a certain kind of identity, continually reinforced, responding to the performance of other prisoners' identities. Schmid and Jones (1991) discuss the formation and performance of prisoner identities. Through ten months of participant observation, they found that prisoners' expectation of other prisoner behavior and personalities influences the way they construct their identities prior to entry. The pair describes an "anticipatory survival strategy," or "temporary identities," which consist of "protective resolutions: a resolve to

avoid all hostilities; a resolve to avoid all nonessential contacts with inmates and guards; a resolve to defend themselves in any way possible; and a resolve not to change, or to be changed, in prison" (148). This can be an extremely isolating process. Jones and Richards argue that many prisoners feel like their "true" identities make them too vulnerable and may open the door for their personality to be changed by their time in prison. Instead, many chose to suspend their "true" identities during their time in prison. This creates, as they describe, an "identity dialectic." This identity dialectic does not transform their identity, or even suppress their "true" identities entirely, and so these identities can reemerge during visitation and other non-prison spaces, such as the gardens. One prisoner wrote that whether or not those "tough guys" wanted to admit it, the gardens provide hope. The garden spaces, because of their literal and experiential distance from prison, allow for less heteronormative masculine behavior to take place. One prisoner from Santiam Correctional Institution illustrated "I had been in prison for 10 years before I made it into the garden at OSCI [Oregon State Correctional Institution]. Ten years inside the belly of this beast; institutions with all that goes with it, mostly dysfunction, toxic masculinity…those are very flowery words that too easily help one miss that they describe very horrible things that I have witnessed." Toxic masculinity is a term used to describe hyper-masculine socialized traits that often emerge in violent or negative ways. Within many spaces, but in particular homosocial space such as prison, these traits can be exaggerated because identity is being mutually reinforced and behaviors are feeding off of each other, and new prisoners learn their behavior from other prisoners. In the garden, they can, as he said, "embrace a new standard." If the standard on the inside is a toxic

form of masculinity, the standard in the garden can be something different, more cooperative.

Many participants wrote in the journals about how wonderful the garden was, highlighting how different it was from the inside of a prison. Many prisoners referred to it as an "escape." This speaks to the importance of the gardens, and their impressive ability to change these spaces into calm environments, with the potential to heal. Some prisoners described the feeling of being in the gardens as feeling "like a kid again." One prisoner at Snake River Correctional Institution wrote: "Do I feel different going to the garden? Yes. Yes. Yes. First we are unsupervised i.e. no guards, so we don't abuse that situation. Just being outside and working with the plants and the quiet is, or puts you in a very relaxed mood. I guess the word for me is therapeutic. Hope that doesn't sound cliché but it's true. You are away from all of the noise of the inside." This highlights an interesting contradiction. Yes—it *is* better to be in the garden—and to some degree, it is the noise, echoes, and sterile environment within the prison and the difficult experience of living in that environment that makes the contrast between the garden and the prison so great. Part of the garden's strength is that it *is* so different from the prison.

One prisoner from Santiam Correctional Institution summed up a contradiction in garden-spaces as improvements to the prison when he described his experience in the greenhouse: "I described to 'Seeds of Change' what it feels like to walk into that large greenhouse. Do you know when you're under water, and the pressure changes? Warm water pressing your skin from everywhere, sounds are different, removed and muted- far away… It felt safe, and in a violent sub-culture how precious is that, what might you

trade for it? …I loved it. Almost as much as I hate prison." This speaks to how different and highly contrasted the space of the garden is compared to the traditional areas within the prison. Part of the beauty, the relaxation, and "escape" is because it is different from where they spend most of their time. Their devotion to spending time in the garden simultaneously emphasizes how anxious, violent, and loud their experience inside of the prison is.

So while these gardens improve one small space, and offer one space of reprieve, the prisoners must reenter the prison, where they are often overwhelmed by the noise and violence of the inside. And although these gardens improve one space in the prison, they do not change the experience of prison itself. Oftentimes, spotlighting these gardens programs for how much prisoners enjoy and benefit from them deflects attention away from the reason they stand so starkly against the prison experience—because the inside of the prison is so harsh. While the gardens are important features to prisons, it cannot be used to mask or redirect attention from the rest of the prison, whose conditions create this need for an "escape." Improvements to the inside of the prison must be a part of the sustainable project, so that the garden is a supplemental improvement and rehabilitative progress can be made during their time there, rather than it only being a respite from a traumatic space.

Carceral Habitus

"It's not just the inmates; it's the system itself."

-Prisoner from Snake River Correctional Institution

There are many reasons prisons may prefer to stay "out of sight, out of mind." When scrutinized by lawyers and other legal representatives, sexual, verbal, and physical abuse scandals frequently come to light. When one turns their sight toward prisons, issues regarding the high rates of incarceration and the high recidivism rate come up, as well as the disproportionate number of incarcerated people of color. So why do prisons implement and advertise these Sustainability Programs? Why build websites, Facebook pages, YouTube videos, why incorporate nonprofits and Universities? In short: why draw the attention to themselves? Dominique Jewkes and Yvonne Moran study the way that changes in prison programming under rehabilitative or progressive guises receive a great amount of public support from across the political spectrum. They argue: "To those on the political right, sustainability is a way of making the carceral estate more efficient, more competitive, more productive and, when green-collar training is offered, more reparative to the society wronged by the offender's actions. To those on the political left, who may hold views that lean toward decarceration, the green prison promises a 'healthier,' more 'nurturing,' and rehabilitative experience for the offenders while also, in some cases, being showcases for environmental policies in action" (2015, p. 12). This

may offer some insight into Department of Corrections' motivation to bring their actions into the public spotlight. Jewkes and Moran's work begins to explain how people across the political spectrum feel comfortable with carceral expansion when cloaked in green language and the continued hyper-incarceration as it stands, as long as green rehabilitative programming is incorporated into correctional facilities. The right, which wants to see austerity and lowering costs of maintenance and incarceration, finds the resource reductions positive. The (democratic) left wants to see a rehabilitative-focused carceral experience, and they want to support the environment in the process. One term that summarizes this contradiction is a term Judah Schept described as the "Carceral Habitus."

The Habitus is a term borrowed from Bourdieu to describe the "realm of the discussed." Or, what "comes without saying because it goes without saying." Put simply, the Habitus is the things that we take for granted because our social foundation makes us believe that it is natural, or "the way we've always done things." Here, the nuanced "*Carceral* Habitus" is used to describe a phenomenon in Bloomington, Indiana, where a new prison would open that offered more rehabilitative programming and social services to families visiting incarcerated loved ones. And even though the new facility increased the carceral capacity of the community and would make it possible to incarcerate more people, its rehabilitation-focused programming garnered support from even the most critical opponents of the prison industrial complex. This highlights the difficultly people have in moving beyond traditional ideas of punishment and imprisonment into something that fundamentally questions the utility of the way we have come to perform "justice."

Even as we are faced with dramatic and alarming statistics about the number incarcerated and the extremely high recidivism rates, people still have difficulty imagining other possibilities.

Judah Schept describes the Carceral Habitus as it relates to the new, rehabilitation-focused prison to be built in Bloomington:

> The Habitus generates inventions and improvisations but within limits (Bourdieu 2005, 46). The justice campus proposal was viable because it was articulated through a palatable discourse that was aligned with local politics. Yet to focus only on the local liberal logic of social control ignores the ways in which national hegemonic logics permeated and constructed the boundaries of local habitus…In Bloomington, a broad array of structural forces—the hegemony of the institutional paradigm of the prison the circulation of the neoliberal logic of individual responsibility, and the dominance of local technocratic epistemologies—inscribed and constrained the range of possibilities. (2015, 12)

This quote helps explain why people fail to recognize the way these changes (green programs, rehabilitation-focused projects, etc.) do not fundamentally undermine the current technologies of punishment, and pacify liberal factions that want a prison system that appears markedly different and more rehabilitative. Schept goes on to write,

> Officials such as Davison misunderstood their advocacy as somehow operating outside the techniques and logics of punishment. Through Garland's historical lens, we can instead consider the advocacy for therapeutic justice and rehabilitation as a characterization of the local power that punishes. But how did that misunderstanding occur? How did officials who were acutely aware and critical of the carceral state arrive at a set of dispositions that allowed them to suspend their critique of the prison and embrace its dramatic expansion? (2015, p. 14).

This example demonstrates the way many people participate in “anti-carceral” projects that are not actually, in fact, anti-carceral. This speaks to the power of the Habitus, and the power our social-foundation lends to the current prison industrial complex.

Neoliberal science regimes

What other ways do these programs fit into larger societal trends? In what ways does Neoliberalism infiltrate expressions of the Sustainability in Prisons Project? Rebecca Lave coined the phrase “Neoliberal Science Regimes” to describe new trends in scientific research and education. She describes neoliberal science regimes as being characterized by a “new wave of appropriation of labor and knowledge.” She writes,]“Both amateur and citizen scientists provide vast amounts of unpaid work for physical scientists” (2012, p. 28). Organizations like the Bureau of Land Management, the Institute of Applied Ecology, Oregon Zoos, the National Science Foundation, and Oregon Department of Forestry use the Sustainability in Prisons Project to employ prisoner labor to subsidize costs of running their programs. KTVZ reports that 2,700 prisoners fought fires in 2014 ("2,700 Oregon inmates hit fire lines in 2014- State says it saves millions, trains low-risk offenders", 2014). The projects that these organizations work on are extremely important, and they should be funded. However, using prison labor also creates a dependency on prisons for extremely important projects at the same time that state’s prison populations are increasing at an economically unsustainable rate, and many states are being asked to reduce prison populations (e.g. California, Texas). Oregon has already closed one prison, Oregon State Penitentiary Minimum, for budgetary concerns ("Budget Crisis Closes Oregon Prison for First Time in 159 Years | Prison Legal News", 2012).

The heavy reliance on prison labor for these projects also lessens the availability of those same jobs for non-incarcerated individuals, including the inmates who are leaving prison that were told these skills would translate into outside employment. By this I mean, if the Forest Service continues to rely on prisoner labor to subsidize firefighting, then many of those jobs will still be employed by prisoners when former prisoners who are released are looking for that same work.

Scaling back of healthcare services- "Nature Imagery Project"

Mary Bosworth (2016) has argued that self-help courses have come to replace formal counselling and therapy courses in prison, as the rehabilitative ideal has moved into the past and neoliberal models of self-help and individualism have come to replace them. Rather than taking on the responsibility for rehabilitating prisoners, prisons are leaving it up to the prisoners to rehabilitate themselves. This goes for their mental health, as well. This describes what has been happening in prisons as neoliberal restructuring settles into the prison-industrial complex. Mental health services have been reduced as welfare programs are disappearing from the United States. For prisoners, this gap is attended to by Sustainability in Prisons Project, which offers self-help jobs and education programs that require a written application, and self-help mental health programs such as the "Nature Imagery Project." (See p. 32 for photos)

The federal Bureau of Justice Statistics found in a 2006 study that prisoners are five times as likely as the general population to suffer from mental health problems. As of 2014, nearly half of Oregon's prisoners were mentally ill (Background Brief on Mentally Ill in Prisons and Jails, 2014). So while you would expect formal counseling

and mental health services to be increasing, mental health programs are being scaled back and replaced with things like the Nature Imagery Project.

The Nature Imagery project is being heralded as a way to calm prisoners and reduce instances of violence and suicide in Special Housing Units (Solitary confinement). More and more reports are bringing to light indefensibly long sentences in Solitary, years spent 23 hours a day in an 8 by 10-foot unit. Many scientists have researched what solitary confinement does to people. Jeffrey Metzner and Jamie Fellner argue,

> The adverse effects of solitary confinement are especially significant for persons with serious mental illness, commonly defined as a major mental disorder (e.g., schizophrenia, bipolar disorder, major depressive disorder) that is usually characterized by psychotic symptoms and/or significant functional impairments. The stress, lack of meaningful social contact, and unstructured days can exacerbate symptoms of illness or provoke recurrence. Suicides occur disproportionately more often in segregation units than elsewhere in prison. All too frequently, mentally ill prisoners decompensate in isolation, requiring crisis care or psychiatric hospitalization. Many simply will not get better as long as they are isolated (Metzner, & Fellner, 2010).

They also contend,

> Persons with mental illness are often impaired in their ability to handle the stresses of incarceration and to conform to a highly regimented routine. They may exhibit bizarre, annoying, or dangerous behavior and have higher rates of disciplinary infractions than other prisoners…When lesser sanctions do not curb the behavior, they isolate the prisoners in the segregation units, despite the likely negative mental health impact. Once in segregation, continued misconduct, often connected to mental illness, can keep the inmates there indefinitely (Metzner, & Fellner, 2010).

Because of the particular difficulties conforming to regimented prison schedules, many people suffering from mental illnesses are thrown into Special Housing Units where they remain indefinitely. An overwhelming amount of psychological research points to the

negative effects of Solitary Confinement. There is little to no research that demonstrates positive psychological results from solitary confinement. Rather than changing the harsh and damaging policies that the American Psychological Association and other psychiatric organizations have condemned (Casella & Ridgeway, 2010), many prisons in Oregon and Washington are citing the "Nature Imagery" room as a solution to the negative mental impacts of isolation. While they cite the program's value in the way that nature has healing mental and physical characteristics, they have not made an effort to provide real green space outside in which the prisoners can spend time during their hour outside of their cells. Instead they utilize a solitary room with the walls painted blue, and project nature scenes on the wall. This "blue room" has been heralded by the prison and Sustainability in Prisons Project, and is rapidly being implemented in Washington prisons.

It is not a new or isolated decision to use gardens to meet a variety of health needs. Mary Beth Pudup argues that "Organized garden projects have become a preferred antidote to a host of contemporary social problems…by promoting outdoor physical activity, gardens are said [to] support public health efforts to improve community well-being and combat the vaunted obesity epidemic. Garden projects are widely used as a source of employment and training for incarcerated adults and youth" (2007, p 1230). While spending time in nature does offer therapeutic benefits, these changes have large implications for the future. These programs have the possibility of replacing more formal healthcare services in prison, further reducing the accessibility of care for people who are incarcerated.

Sustainable Programming as a Governance Strategy

In addition to being a space of confinement, prisons also seek to construct and discipline prisoners in a way that produces a person who will live their life within the boundaries of the law following their release. Many writers have written about the governance strategies by which prisons achieve this. Mary Bosworth (2016) argues that, "Though little agreement exists among these authors over definitions of risk or the nature of governance strategies, most are agreed that the criminal justice system is more than just a structure for dealing with those who break the law. It is also a primary means of creating accountable and thus governable and obedient citizens" (p. 68). By holding prisoners accountable, prisons create governable citizens who, supposedly, though to greater or lesser degrees, believe and respect the moral logics of neoliberalism. A necessary step in creating the governable citizen involves not just holding them accountable for their actions, but getting them to hold themselves accountable and cooperate with the punishment.

A common thread in the journals was that prisoners would often leave windows open in the winter, purposefully take extra food and throw it away, and leave showers and sinks running, all in an effort to cost the Department of Corrections money. One prisoner wrote, "In fact, many many inmates have an attitude of blatant waste with the reasoning that causing further expense to DOC will somehow make it so less housing is available and therefore less people are incarcerated. I have countless times heard this in regards to leaving showers running, throwing out unused toilet paper rolls, and leaving windows open in the winter." While the prisoners in the sustainability programs looked

down on this behavior, it must still be looked at as its own form of defiance. Many scholars in theorizing resistance, discuss the many ways it can come to fruition. Ben Crewe (2007) contests the idea that resistance has to be organized or cohesive, rather, he argues that "prisoner power needed to be neither collective nor oppositional in order to be effective" (p. 257). Prisoners' ability to dissent and resist is extremely restricted. The opportunities for resistance are limited, and the more organized forms of resistance can be extremely dangerous. Hunger striking and rioting can result in death or an extension of prison sentences. But these are not the only effective methods of resistance. In fact, much of the prisoner resistance in prison is quite subtle. Crewe notes "to seek out only public defiance and rebellion as indications of resistance is to grossly simplify the concept, and expected rather a lot from subordinates in situations in which power differentials are extreme" (p. 257). It is important to see the variety of resistant strategies at play within the prison, beyond clear attempts to seize power. Prison scholars have written about forms of "peasant resistance" or "weapons of the week" that vulnerable or oppressed peoples can use to resist (Scott, 1987). Jeffrey Ian Ross (2009-2010) notes, "Short of refusing to comply with a direct order, prisoners have several creative ways to resist authority. A common one is *slow playing*. In general, this involves complying with the direct orders of a CO, but doing so very slowly or poorly" (p. 33). He goes on to catalogue a variety of resistant tactics employed within the prison, such as monkey wrenching, insubordination, self-injury, enlisting the help of others, and resorting to the legal system. Other scholars (Earle & Phillips, 2012; Godderis, 2006; Smith, 2008) have have also written about how food and bodies can be sites of resistance. But even where

resistance is not documented, even "the relative absence of overt, collective resistance should not be interpreted as an indication that the prison's power strategies are entirely successful, that there are no hidden transcripts of discontent, or that all prisoners passively accept the terms of penal power" (Crewe, 2007, p. 273). There may be few people documenting the wasting of toilet paper and reluctance to recycle, but these are forms of defiance and resistance, nonetheless.

However, these forms of resistance are not ignored nor uncontested by the prison. Rather, there is a constant negotiation of resistance and compliance. Ross (2009-2010) outlines some of the ways prisons negotiate and channel resistance. He argues that, "the state is not a passive player in these numerous interactions. Like prisoner resistance, state responses vary on a case-by-case basis" (p. 36). These methods include accommodation, if a request can be easily accommodated and it will quell stronger resistance later, the actual quelling of prison rebellions and riots, stiffer sanctions and legislation, reliance on supermax prisons, shifting the burden/blame to accreditation, formal and informal retaliation to prisoners filing complaints, and consent decrees/orders (Ross, 2009-2010, p. 37-38). Really, the best way to mitigate resistance within the prison, is to convince a prisoner not to resist. This is how the Sustainability in Prisons Project can act as a surreptitious governance mechanism.

In a prison, staff and officers hold the power, but how that power operates is through strategies of governance. Crewe (2007) perceptively notes, in regards to prisoner resistance, "the reverse is also true [for the prison]: forms of power are 'devised, elaborated, and justified' with resistance (and thus compliance) in mind" (p. 258). The

staff in the prison are constantly fighting back and reasserting their power, through direct force or manipulation. Staff spoke of the need to get prisoners to "voluntarily" participate in the money saving strategies, otherwise they would fight or avoid all attempts to force their participation. One staff member in an interview said "The other piece of that is to get the inmate population to voluntarily participate in eat what you take. Because to be quite honest, the way that sometimes the inmate mentality is is 'take everything and throw it away because its costin' the state money.'" "Eat What You Take" is a new program implemented in Oregon prisons to combat costly food waste. Rather than making pre-assembled food trays, prisoners can go through the line and only choose what they want and what they will eat. The same staff member went on to explain: "With the inmates if you say 'We're doing this to save money,' you're sunk. You have to make it a social benefit for them." He argues that if they were to describe the cost saving measures as such, the prisoners would continue the economically problematic behavior. However, if you cloak the same goal in green language, cooperation is more easily achieved. This example highlights the way that, within the prison, the green language is used as a discursive strategy to achieve prisoner cooperation.

The same prison staff member said that they planned to start weighing the food waste at the end of each meal, creating a competition between three groups to see who could waste the least amount of food. The first prize was a steak and potatoes dinner (with real potatoes—a treat often saved for holidays). The second would be a root beer float. And third for final place would be a large cookie. Having prizes for each, including the losing team, implicates everyone in the green strategies. This also makes it so that no

one is dissuaded by the assumption that they will not win. Crewe (2007) argues that this is a common strategy of governance. He says, "while looking to contribute to rehabilitative goals, by linking rewards and sentence progression to behavior, their aim was to incentivize prisoners to invest in institutionally desirable behavior, and to take responsibility for the terms of their own incarceration" (p. 258).

Prisoners have to apply to participate in certain programs within the Sustainability in Prisons Project. It seems almost contradictory to a mass governance strategy, but in fact can strengthen the governance strategy itself. In Foucault's description of the Mettray penal colony, certain prisoners represented older family members, both policing others in their family, and being a role model for correct behavior. This in itself is a quite clever way of manipulating participants in a way that "choices are steered, so that the subject comes to recognize institutional and personal goals as analogous" (Crewe, 2007, p. 258). Here, "power is not concentrated in and imposed by a sovereign power (Foucault 1977), but dispersed through specialist knowledge and expert authorities, operating in a way that is 'light' (Crewe, 2007, p. 258-259).

A prison wants its prisoners to cooperate with the rules administrators and officers put in place. However, as Foucault (1978) argued, "where there is power, there is resistance" (p. 95). Thus, a prison is constantly in a state of negotiation, compromise, and contestation. The theme in both staff interviews and prisoner journals is that prisoners often leave sinks running, throw recyclables away purposefully, and take things from the cafeteria only to throw them away, all in an effort to cost the Department of Corrections money is an important demonstration of the resistant and compliant power at play in the

prison. The prison attempts to negotiate these economically problematic behaviors by applying green rhetoric to certain activities in the prison. This effectively obfuscates some of the economic goals was by replacing "operational effectiveness" with "green" or "sustainability." This moralizes their behavior, and makes saving the Department of Corrections money a matter of ethics. Sustainability discourse often invokes global scales, so by being sustainable, many prisoners are said to also be helping their children, other family members, and friends on the outside.

Bosworth (2016) contends, "No longer a tool of welfare, nor a means of reform, David Garland (2001:199) suggests instead that imprisonment now 'serves as an expressive satisfaction of retributive sentiments and an instrumental mechanism for the management of risk and the confinement of danger.' In this view, the behavior following release of offenders is of no particular concern for penal administrators. Instead, the choice of rehabilitation or reform has become the individual prisoner's sole responsibility. The prison is merely expected to provide the arena for such person al decisions while warehousing inmates securely" (p. 68). Rather than being sensitive to the socio-economic circumstances that bring prisoners into jail, the program uniformly teaches them that whatever labor they do for State organizations and the prison will help them better themselves. Bosworth argues that this is a new phenomenon, stating "Behavior once thought to reflect socio-economic factors, psychological disturbances and/or opportunities is, in other words, presented these days in the federal handbooks as a simple matter of choice" (2016, 72). Regardless of their background, the implication is by participating in the program, everyone has equal opportunities to succeed following their

release. She also describes the transition in governance strategies in prisons over the past 50 years. She writes "Whereas booklets from the 1960s and 1970s promise individualized care and attention in preparing inmates for release, the recent manuals are characterized by mission statements and promises of inmate satisfaction that seek less to help prisoners realize their potential, but rather to motivate them into becoming willing actors, working towards the goals of the institution and, increasingly, of the wider, globalized, society and marketplace" (2016, 69).

In addition to its claim that with hard work, success will always be achieved, neoliberal logic indicates that individuals are responsible for their own actions and their own reform. Robert Werth (2013) argues, "Additionally, a body of work, often drawing from a Foucauldian governmentality framework, examines how rehabilitative practices are being reshaped by neoliberal logics oriented around moralization and responsibilization. The assumption that 'offenders' need to be accountable, entrepreneurial, and self-managing pervades many contemporary correctional practices" (p.224). The Sustainability in Prisons Project participation predicates itself on individual effort—It is the prisoner's job to apply and be accepted into the program, and from there on the individual must seek out opportunities to learn and better themselves for post-prison life. They must be literate from the start to even apply. The Sustainability in Prisons Project claims to empower prisoners with education and job skills. However, according to Hannah-Moffat, logics of "empowerment" can also be used to renegotiate the roles of the state and community. Many of the programs that empower inmates are nonprofit organizations and Universities. In "Prisons that Empower," Hannah-Moffat

(2000) argues that blanket empowerment strategies can even disempower groups because they assume a common set of experiences, silencing individual stories. Through the discourse of "empowerment," the prison can also create an illusionary parallel between "free people" and the prisoners. It functions to create subjects who participate in their own punishment.

Job-skill programs and programs that emphasize self-responsibility are inherently problematic. Not only are the people who commit crimes often at a socioeconomic disadvantage, but when they leave prison, regardless of the skills they acquire while incarcerated, they will still face obstacles to employment because of their convictions. This is important to consider, yet is left out of the conversation throughout much of the Sustainability in Prisons Project programming.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

"We need you to look us in the face and know we're human. Because the laws are draconian and dehumanize us and the laws need to change. We need activists and community members from every field, every stripe to see what's going on. We lock up more of our citizens than any other human civilization in history. This is the land of the free? It's become a human warehousing business. Help Us!

–Prisoner from Santiam Correctional Institution

Decarceration?

This research does not suggest that there are not people in the program who benefit from green programming. It does not assert that these programs cannot provide kinder, safer, and improved conditions of incarceration. However, while there is a great need to improve conditions inside prisons immediately, we must simultaneously look at the implications of greening corrections. Looking toward the future, what may green programming mean for the sustainability of the largely broken carceral system as it stands, with 67% recidivism rates ("Recidivism | National Institute of Justice", 2014). We need to consider what sustainability programming means for the environment, what it means when programs like the "Nature Imagery Project" are substituted for mental health services, and the potential consequences when green job training is situated within neoliberal science regimes, and based on the labor needs of the prisons and its partner organizations rather than viable jobs on the outside.

At a recent conference I attended, someone in the audience questioned the future of carceral geography as the United States continues in its efforts to reduce prison populations. This is an important question for anyone who dedicates time to observing and studying the criminal justice system.

From his Bloomington study, Judah Schept notes that,

> It was tempting to endorse the partnerships between these actors and their shared discursive register of liberal buzzwords like "reduce recidivism," "rehabilitation," and "therapeutic justice." But the insistence on carceral expansion as a precondition for the expansion of these approaches would seem to dash hopes that an alternative paradigm might emerge. In fact, as the contours of the carceral expand and are reconfigured around different tropes, it seems especially important to trace the ways that larger circulations of neoliberal capitalist and racial logics express themselves differently—cloaked in discourses of therapeutic justice, for example—in different political and cultural contexts (2015, p. 76).

In the past ten years, the U.S. *has* reduced its prison population. The total number of people under some type of correctional supervision (parole, jail, probation, prison) peaked in 2008 at 7,313,600 people. Since, it has been slowly declining and in 2014 stood at 6,851,000 (Kaeble, Glaze, & Minton, 2015). Some say that this is the direction the U.S. is headed, and the issues of hyper-incarceration, while still important, are becoming more manageable.

While it is true that the prison population is declining, it is not declining rapidly. And it will take decades of *constant* decline for the U.S. prison population to reach levels prior to the 1980s. Additionally, prison population is not the only issue in regards to decarceration. As James Kilgore argues:

> Also, the numbers game isn't everything. We need to ask what happens to people who have been taken out of prison. Do they find jobs? Are

> substance abuse and mental health treatment programs available? Are they managing to avoid constant harassment by police? Do they really have a future or are they destined to live at the margins, in the gutters, alleys and board ups of U.S. cities? And most importantly, how many of them are locked up somewhere else just to keep the state prison statistics looking good? Answering these questions is difficult. That trending catchall, "alternatives to incarceration," can become a shell game where punitive policies submerge themselves in benevolent clouds of risk assessment tools and evidence-based practices. Punishment adopts many pseudonyms (Kilgore, 2013).

This is an apt point, considering the recidivism rate in the U.S. The Sustainability in Prisons Project has only been collecting data about recidivism for a few years, and because most statistics follow a three year after-release model, there is no information showing that these projects reduce recidivism yet. Kilgore goes on in his article to discuss states that have moved prisoners to jails to lower the number in their prisons to meet state mandated prisoner reduction levels, these examples are described below.

The Case of California

To elaborate on the idea that decarceral practices and projects are more than just "letting people out of prison," James Kilgore goes on to describe what is happening in California. He writes

> California's process demonstrates how decarceration is about far more than numbers. The recent hunger strike by men in the Security Housing Unit in Pelican Bay provides evidence that the punishment paradigm remains alive and well in California. Brown and CDCR officials' steadfast refusal to negotiate with hunger strikers who were demanding an end to isolation cells in which some of them had remained for over four decades, revealed that little had been realigned in the minds of criminal justice authorities in the Golden State (Kilgore, 2013).

This highlights the need for a new penal paradigm, beyond release. There are many problems with the current carceral system in the United States, and the numbers incarcerated is merely one of them. There are also issues with conditions and extra-penal punishments (violence between prisoners, violence from officers, family visitation issues, geographic isolated prison making visits difficult issues, solitary confinement issues, the list could go on indefinitely). Even as this country decarcerates, many scholars have predicted a widening "net" of carcerality in the United States (See: Schept, 2015; Foucault, 1995; Jiwani, 2011; Whitlock, 2013), meaning an opening up of carceral spaces beyond the prison. If the United States decarcerated the nonviolent offenders, it would still put the country with a much higher incarceration rate than most "advanced" countries ("Incarcerated Felon Population by Type of Crime Committed, 1974-2012", 2015). If we want to truly decarcerate, we need a rapid and ubiquitous paradigm change that not only decarcerates and decriminalizes, but widens a social net so that being poor does not restrict choices so severely that crime is the best, if not only, option. This means rolling back neoliberalism, and ultimately, capitalism. Until we reform laws that bar access to financial aid and food stamps for drug convictions, and restrict access to jobs for people that have committed felonies and misdemeanors, we are going to continue to reify a social logic that punishes, rather than aids. We will reify a logic that looks unsympathetically at the poor and believes control and discipline are the only ways to fix social ills.

A Real Green Solution?

Wacquant points out,

> The real challenge, to be specific, is not to improve prison conditions, although that is clearly a matter of immediate urgency, but to rapidly *depopulate the prison* by engaging a proactive policy of *decarceration* based on alternative sentencing and the social treatment of urban ills. For, whereas we no longer know why we lock people up, we do know very well that passing through the prison has destructive and demoralizing effects on inmates as well as on their families and associates (Wacquant 2012, 9).

These programs also effectively operate to conjoin prisons and sustainable rhetoric to obfuscate the glaring contradiction in the program. Rather than building LEED certified prisons, an immediate and effective green solution would be to stop locking up certain offenders and closing some prisons. This is the Carceral Habitus' strength—it constructs the boundaries of the conversation and guides solutions along the lines of the way the current system operates.

Incarceration rates are currently more than 341% of what they were in 1980 ("Corrections Statistical Analysis Tool (CSAT) - Prisoners", n.d.). With this knowledge readily available to the public and government officials alike, one would expect immediate and sweeping policies to slow incarceration rates, even decreasing overall prison populations. Instead, the US justice department released a document titled "The Greening of Corrections" that urges prisons to seek environmental and economic sustainability rather than advocating for decarceration or decriminalization. This focus deftly avoids confronting questions of incarceration rates. This trajectory has large implications for the future of incarceration. In addition to the serious environmental and economic concerns, we must pose questions to investigate what other kinds of

consequences prisons cause. Is it socially sustainable to continue incarcerating at these rates without enormous consequences for our society and culture?

To return to my research questions—what does it mean to have a sustainable prison? My research has found that a sustainable prison is a prison that can make alterations without fundamentally questioning the current logic of punishment. A sustainable prison can look at a recidivism rate and deflect attention away from it through discursive greenwashing strategies to lower its costs. It can turn toward economic sustainably, rather than environmental or social sustainability. Second, do sustainability programs produce "green" inmates? How are green inmates defined? A green inmate, as defined according to the prison's goals, is an inmate who works with the facility, lessening their economically burdensome behavior (leaving sinks on, throwing food away, etc.) by participating in the "green" programs. This coopts their previous resistant behavior by moralizing green practices and connecting those behaviors to their communities, making wasteful behavior, in contrast, something that environmentally burdens their families and communities. Thirdly, what benefits do prisoners perceive from their participation in these programs? Do these benefits align with the intended goals and objectives of the program? Self-esteem and escape were the two most common benefits cited in the program for prisoners, but many prisoners did not know there was a Sustainability in Prisons Project being conducted at their facility. Their participation, so far, has no correlation with recidivism, and there is no measurable impact on mental health benefits from the Nature Imagery Project.

So in conclusion, while in some cases these programs make the prison experience less traumatic and damaging, the question really becomes: what is the motivation behind these programs, what do they mean for formal mental health, job training, and other efforts made that, if done right, should decrease recidivism? In what ways does this transition deflect the conversation from a fundamentally unsuccessful policy of mass/hyper incarceration? How has the language of the green movement and global climate change been coopted by Department of Corrections? And what does the future hold as more and more nonprofits, universities, and other government agencies have come to increasingly rely on prison labor for research and ecological restoration?

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