

PEDAGOGIES OF REPAIR: COMMUNITY COLLEGE AND CARCERAL
EDUCATION FOR ADULT LEARNERS

by

NADIA K. RAZA

A DISSERTATION

Presented to the Department of Education Studies
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

September 2018

DISSERTATION APPROVAL PAGE

Student: Nadia K. Raza

Title: Pedagogies of Repair: Community College and Carceral Education for Adult Learners

This dissertation has been accepted and approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in the Department of Education Studies by:

Dr. Joanna Goode	Chairperson
Dr. Edward Olivos	Core Member
Dr. Audrey Lucero	Core Member
Dr. Anita Chari	Institutional Representative

and

Janet Woodfruff-Borden Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

Original approval signatures are on file with the University of Oregon Graduate School.

Degree awarded September 2018

© Nadia K. Raza
This work is licensed under Creative Commons
Attribution NonCommerical-NoDervis (United States) License.

DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

Nadia K. Raza

Doctor of Philosophy

Critical and Sociocultural Studies in Education

July, 2018

Title: Pedagogies of Repair: Community College and Carceral Education for Adult Learners

This dissertation examines the relationship between community colleges and prisons as similar institutions that absorb and manage displaced workers, economic refugees, and dispossessed adult populations. Based on interviews with adult learners in two community college settings, I discuss how these two seemingly distinctive institutions work together to subvert individual and collective desires for self-determination through policies and pedagogies that institutionalize discouragement and emotional management. Specifically, I am concerned with what it means for working-class adults to participate in higher education in the context of precarity and incarceration—literally and figuratively. Drawing from the growing field of scholarship that underscores the consolidation of practices and interdependency between academia and incarceration (Chatterjee, Davis, 2003, 2005, Meiners, 2007, Sojoyner 2016), the contexts I have chosen for this project are two institutions where students gather each week to participate in the project of higher education. Carrying past and present traumas related to schooling, many participants viewed community college as the one remaining institution deigned to help them remake their lives. This study asks how participants

made sense of their lives, choices, and sacrifices to participate in higher education and how these factors structure their expectations of what college might provide them. Utilizing critical race theory, this dissertation offers a theoretical framework *pedagogy of repair*, which I define as the interpretive structures and stories used by non-traditional students to make sense of their past and potential futures amidst the normative neoliberal structures of precarious labor, vulnerability, social abandonment and debt.

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME OF AUTHOR: Nadia K. Raza

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:

University of Oregon, Eugene, OR
Humboldt State University, Arcata, CA
University of California, Los Angeles, CA

DEGREES AWARDED:

Doctor of Philosophy, Critical & Socio-cultural Studies in Education, 2018,
University of Oregon
Master of Education, Critical & Socio-cultural Studies in Education, 2015,
University of Oregon
Master of Arts, Sociology, 2003, Humboldt State University
Bachelor of Science, Sociology, 2000, University of California, Los Angeles

AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST:

Community College Education
Incarceration and Carceral Education
Sociology of Education

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

Instructor of Sociology, Lane Community College, 2005 to present
Graduate Teaching Fellow, University of Oregon, 2011-2018

GRANTS, AWARDS, AND HONORS:

Wayne Morse Graduate Research Fellow, Wayne Morse Center for Law and
Politics University of Oregon, 2017
Education Studies Department Graduate Employee Excellence Award, University
of Oregon, 2016-2018
Graduate Teaching Fellowship, University of Oregon, 2011- 2015

Janette Gunther Drew Scholarship, College of Education, University of Oregon,
2015

University of Oregon Multicultural Center Achievement Award for Outstanding
Leadership Development and Dedication to Intersectional and Multiracial
Community Building and Social Justice, University of Oregon, 2013

PUBLICATIONS:

Brooks, S., Dean, A., Franklin-Phipps, A., Mathis, E., Rath, C., Raza, N.,
Sundstrom, K. (2017). Becoming-academic in the neoliberal academy: A
collective biography. *Gender and Education*, 1-20.

Beghetto, R., Barbee, B., Brooks, S., Franklin-Phipps, A., Fukuda, E.,
Gardner-Allers, N. Lynne; Hood, Donald; Raza, Nadia; Uusitalo, Niina; White
Eyes, Chance; Kaufman, James C. (editor) (2013). Light Bulbs, Bill Evans, and
Cat Hair: Exploring Representations of Creativity and Education in Images,
Videos, and Blogs. *Psychology of Popular Media Culture*, 2(4), 188-206.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To you who walked with me upon my path and who held out a hand when I stumbled...

Gloria Anzuldúa, 1987

This dissertation has been the result of tremendous support, encouragement and love. My deepest appreciation to the countless people who entered into this project over the years. It was through innumerable conversations that this work took shape, found sustenance, and developed a life of its own.

As with any achievement, this is testament to the community behind it. Tamara Lea Spira, thank you for your endless commitment to this project and to my success and well-being as a person. You amplified my understanding of this work and ability on every level. You continually create transformative spaces of possibility within and beyond the academy. I am so grateful to have you on my committee for life. My deepest appreciation to Diana Arterian who resuscitated this project. Through your tenacity as an organizer and writer, I found my voice.

Many thanks to my advisor Dr. Joanna Goode. Your feedback and support have been invaluable.

To my family, Shanaz Raza, Nuri and Maha Nusrat and Samara Cooper your unwavering support, love, and laughter have served as a lifeline. Finally, to Todd Cooper, your patience and belief in my work elevate everything I do. Thank you for your endless encouragement. I am so grateful for your friendship and love.

Last, I regard this dissertation as both an academic production and a love letter to the students I have learned from over the years. It is my hope that this work contributes, in some small way, to the lives of the participants.

This dissertation is dedicated to Meme. You were my first and forever teacher.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. Introduction.....	1
Problem Statement.....	2
Why Incarcerated and Non-Incarcerated Students?.....	3
Research Questions.....	5
Theoretical Framework: Pedagogies of Repair.....	7
National Community College Reform Policies	8
Oregon Promise	8
Incarceration and the Second Chance Pell Grant.....	9
Scope of the Study	11
Limitations of the Study.....	12
Significance of the Study	13
Summary.....	14
II. LITERATURE REVIEW	15
Introduction.....	15
Structure and Organization	16
Part I. The Evolution of the Community College	18
The High School and Junior College Movement.....	18

Chapter	Page
Contradictory College: The Truman Report and the Problem of “Idle Masses”	20
Community Colleges and Prisons: Managing Race and Class Anxieties	22
Community Colleges and Prisons	24
Part II: Community Colleges, Prisons and Institutionalizing Discouragement	26
Cooling Out.....	26
Cooling Out & The School to Prison Nexus.....	29
Cruel Optimism.....	31
Part III. Understanding Democracy, Deficit, and Neoliberalism	33
Democracy and Pragmatism	34
Framing Neoliberalism	36
Deficit Theories	39
Nontraditional Students	42
Theoretical Framework: Critical Race Theory	45
Conclusion	47
 III. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	 49
Introduction.....	49
Epistemological and Ontological Assumptions	50

Chapter	Page
Narrative and Critical Race Theory	51
Research Method and Methodology	53
Sites of Research.....	57
Oregon Demographics	57
Lane Community College	58
College Inside	59
Research Design and Data Collection.....	60
Lane Community College	60
Chemeketa Community College’s College Inside Program	61
Data Management	66
Data Analysis	67
Role of the Researcher	68
Limitations	71
IV. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS LANE COMMUNITY COLLEGE	72
Introduction.....	72
The Oregon Promise	79
Community Colleges as “Another Chance” Institutions	83

Chapter	Page
Therapeutic Discourses and Narratives of Recovery	88
Conclusion	94
V. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS COLLEGE INSIDE	95
Introduction.....	95
Non-traditional Student Identity	99
Performing Prisoner & Student: Learning versus Education Inside Prison.....	103
Second Chances	107
Conclusion	109
VI. IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	112
Introduction.....	112
Summary of Findings.....	114
How Does the Oregon Promise and Second Chance Pell Grant Impact Adult-Learners?	114
The Second Chance Pell Grant	117
Spatial Inclusion and Last Chance Institutions	120
Pedagogies of Repair: Therapeutic Discourses and Narratives of Recovery.....	123
Implications for Theory	129

Chapter	Page
Implications for Pedagogy	131
Implications for Policy.....	135
Future Research	139
Conclusion	140
APPENDICES	142
A. RESEARCH PROTOCOL AT LANE COMMUNITY COLLEGE	143
B. RESEARCH PROTOCOL FOR THE COLLEGE INSIDE PROGRAM	148
REFERENCES CITED.....	167

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Attendance Patterns of Community College Students Nationally	42
2. Undergraduates by Demographic Characteristic	43
3. Lane Community College Student Demographics	58

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is the result of my intellectual journey to make sense of the disjuncture between the promise of higher education as a means of upward mobility in principle versus practice. What may seem like a naïve question grew from years of observations in my work teaching sociology and ethnic studies at community colleges. Prompted by the contradictions emerging from the idea of democratic meritocracy in higher education, that is, inclusion in discourse and exclusion in practice. In what follows, I explore how the institutions of community colleges and prisons operate as structurally similar institutions that absorb and manage displaced adult populations' desires for stability and upward mobility.

Utilizing critical race theory, this study considers the experiences of two populations of adult learners categorized as non-traditional community college students: a population incarcerated and non-incarcerated. Exploring how these two seemingly distinctive institutions work together to absorb displaced workers, economic refugees, and precarious adult populations, I explore the intersections between adult higher education and mass incarceration, and the values of racialized-capitalism, democracy, disenfranchisement, and segregation that undergird them (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1986; Davis, 2006; Giroux, 1999; Lipsitz, 2009; Rose, 2008). As I will discuss, an aspect of this management is through the process of “cooling out”, which gives a name to how institutions structure failure through policies and pedagogies.

Specifically, I am concerned with what it means to participate in higher education in the context of precarity and incarceration—literally and figuratively. Drawing from the

growing field of scholarship that underscores the consolidation of practices and interdependency between academia and incarceration (Chatterjee, 2014; Davis, 2003, 2005; Meiners, 2007; Sojoyner 2016), this study takes place within two community college institutions where students gather each week to participate in the project of higher education. Carrying past and present traumas related to schooling, many participants viewed community college as the one remaining institution designed to help them remake their lives. Compelled by their brave determination, I wanted to know more about what they encountered and how their experiences in community influenced their expectations for the future.

Problem Statement

Community colleges enroll almost half of the undergraduates in the United States (Cohen, Brawer, & Kisker, 2014). In 2015, over 13 million students attended the nations' 1132 community colleges. Once referred to as Junior Colleges, these institutions are uniquely situated to provide a broad range of students the option to earn a degree and/or professional skills with fewer entrance requirements, at a lower cost, and with more flexible schedules than four-year colleges (Kolesnikova, 2009). However, in 2015 among first-time, full-time degree-seeking students entering two-year community colleges, only 36.3% graduate with a degree within three years (Snyder & Dillow, 2015). The numbers fall even lower to 26.9% for returning/non-traditional students, and even lower for minority and underrepresented students (Gleiman, 2015). At Lane Community College, one of the sites for this study, in 2014 the graduation rate was a mere 12.8%. This statistic is framed against the 76% of students who report their primary goal is to graduate with an Associates of Arts Transfer Degrees or Certificate of Study (Lane

Community College Student Statistics, 2015). I can think of no parallel national institutional endeavor that continues to beguile students with promises of success in the face of staggering attrition. While the cumulative factors for student attrition are beyond the scope of this study, this research takes an interest in how adult learners, often characterized as non-traditional students (a term I define in the following chapter), structure their expectations for success and achievement in the shadows of attrition.

This question is magnified in the context of carceral education. A Department of Education report on Corrections Education in 2009 concluded that, in a 50-state analysis of postsecondary correction education, 68% of all postsecondary correction education is contracted through community colleges. However, little scholarship exists about how incarcerated students experience these programs and their outcomes (Jones and d'Errico 1994). As such, I ask how incarcerated students articulate the meaning and impact of access to higher education while serving prison sentences. I consider what access to higher education signifies for these students and by extension others.

Why Incarcerated and Non-Incarcerated Students?

At first thought, adult learners attending community college might seem entirely dissimilar from incarcerated community college students and in many ways, they are. As I began data collection, my involvement in prison education grew. Unsurprisingly, as incarceration rates rise the market for contractors providing corrections education increases too. A 2011 report commissioned by the Institute for Higher Education titled "Unlocking Potential: Results of a National Survey of Postsecondary Education in State Prisons" concludes that of the 43 states that responded to the survey, all offer some type

of postsecondary correctional education: academic, vocational, or a combination of the two. The majority of these programs are offered through community colleges.

Through conversations and encounters inside prison classes, I was surprised how similarly incarcerated and non-incarcerated adults narrated their relationship in and with higher education. Many of the incarcerated people I spoke with had previously attended community colleges and some of the community college students were re-entering from jail and prison time. Simultaneously, I was confronted with contrasts between reading and writing about democracy and access to higher education and observing life and learning inside a federal prison. Amidst the ideological and physical disconnect between the experiences of students inside and outside prison walls, I began to feel and experience the interdependencies of these institutions more acutely. In *Contradictory College: The Conflicting Origins, Impacts, and Futures of the Community College*, Kevin Dougherty (1994) stresses that while community colleges play a crucial role in American higher education and by extension American life, people know little about them and the vast populations they serve. The tendency to overlook the experiences of adult learners and is ever more salient for incarcerated students (Yates & Lakes, 2010). As Angela Davis reminds us, prisons (and I will add community colleges) relieve members of society of the responsibility of serious engagement with the problems of our society, especially those produced by racism, sexism and capitalism (2009 p.16).

Before I continue, it is essential to acknowledge that audiences reading this work may have not spent much time at either community colleges or prisons. Physical geographic segregation, writes M. Jacqui Alexander (2005), "is a potent metaphor for the multiple sites of separation and opposition generated by the state, but which are also

sustained in the very practices of living the oppositions we enforce" (p. 5). Alexander interrogates the ways segregation is sustained, not only through practices of the state but also, through everyday actions in day-to-day life. Her work offers an understanding for how ordinary people participate in the work of the carceral state and hegemony by "filling in" spaces of contradiction with assumptions people hold about prisons and the people they contain (Davis, 2003). Angela Davis (2003, 2005, 2014,) considers the dialectics between prisons and institutions of higher education as central features in the development of democracy, individual rights, and contemporary notions of freedom. As I will discuss later in this chapter, this dialectic is strengthened through a wave of national community college reform policies: The Oregon Promise and the Second Chance Pell Grant. Both policies stem from national movements for tuition reform and extending access to education. Following a review of my research questions, I review the importance of these policies and how they inform this project.

Research Questions

This project asks how incarcerated and non-incarcerated community college students make sense of their lives, choices, and sacrifices to participate in higher education and how these factors structure their expectations of what college might provide them. Utilizing the theoretical framework of critical race theory, I approach community college sites as "storied landscapes" where individual and collective stories circulate to perpetuate the myth of meritocracy amidst profound economic and social instability. Emphasizing stories within the discursive field of two community college sites, the following analytic questions guide this study:

- What does it mean for working-class adults to participate in higher education in the context of precarity and incarceration?
- How do neoliberal discourses of meritocracy, individualism, and deficit function to normalize inequality and precarity within and beyond the academy?
- How do non-traditional students narrate possibility and the crafting of new subjectivities within and beyond institutions of higher education?
- How does the category "non-traditional" materialize in the allocation of resources and entitlements?
- How do the Oregon Promise and Second Chance Pell Grant impact adult-learners?

To explore these questions in descriptive and nuanced ways, this research centers on participants' oral testimonies through stories. Because research and theory are inextricably linked, Chapter III provides a detailed overview of the epistemological and ontological assumptions of this study and guiding theoretical framework of critical race theory.

Addressing the pervasiveness of racism and structural inequality in education, critical race theory works at the intersection of legal studies, sociology, ethnic and women's studies to illustrate the intersections of race and racism with other forms of subordination in order to eliminate oppression (Bell, 2009, 2010; Delgado, 2005; Matsuda, 1996). Privileging anti-racist and transformative goals, critical race methodology features stories, testimonies, and narratives to challenge dominant ideologies and structural inequality.

Theoretical Framework: Pedagogies of Repair

Building on critical race theory, this dissertation offers a theoretical framework: *pedagogies of repair*, which I define as the interpretive structures and stories used by non-traditional students to make sense of their past and potential futures amidst the normative neoliberal structures of hyper-individualism, accountability, and emotional management. Because higher education is a future-oriented endeavor that socializes participants toward new subjectivities and intelligible identities (i.e. the college graduate, the successful student, the full-time student), pedagogies of repair refers to the ways non-traditional students narrate possibility and new subjectivities within and beyond institutions of higher education.

Since the inception of this study, I have been haunted by the question, “What happens when the world you were taught to believe in no longer exists?” What stories do we tell to suture the disjuncture between democratic meritocracy and the daily violence that maintains a highly stratified social structure? As I will discuss in Chapter III, the stories we tell are often the ones that are available for telling, that is, stories that are intelligible and readily accepted by others. Pedagogies of repair gives language to this process. This project asks how adult-learners, who are lacking the economic and social support and traditional pathways to achieve social and economic stability, make sense of their lives and choices. Pedagogies of repair conceptualizes narratives as teaching tools where people exchange and express interpretive frames. This research is amplified against the backdrop of two significant community college reform policies, The Oregon Promise and the Second Chance Pell Grant. In the next section, I will review the importance of these policies and how they inform this project.

National Community College Reform Policies

Oregon Promise

In 2015, President Obama unveiled “America’s College Promise Proposal: Tuition-Free Community College for Responsible Students.” The announcement signaled a shift in national debates about tuition reform. In a September 2016 press release, U.S. Education Secretary John B. King Jr. affirmed that “Community colleges are not just a distinctly American institution, but as the largest, most affordable segment of America’s higher education system, they are critical to reaching the President’s goal to have the highest share of college graduates in the world and to ensuring America’s economic prosperity in the future.” Placing community colleges on center stage, the U.S. Department of Education released the “America’s College Promise Playbook” as a comprehensive resource guide to support state constituencies in actionable steps toward local proposals.

In July 2015, the Oregon Legislature passed Senate Bill 81 known as “The Oregon Promise” to expand financial support to high school graduates to attend community college. Initially, SB 81 allocated \$10 million for the 2016-17 academic year (Senate Bill 81 Legislative Report, December 2016). According to a legislative update in August 2017, the State has invested a total of \$40 million in the Oregon Promise Grant for 2017-19. The \$40M investment allows Oregon to extend grants for 2016-17 awardees to provide to cover tuition costs for up to 90 community college credits, the equivalent to two years of full-time enrollment (Oregon Office of Student Access and Completion, 2016). On average, the Oregon Promise grants range from \$1,000 to \$3,248 per

academic year. As of Spring 2016, more than 13,800 recent high school graduates and GED recipients had submitted applications.

While the Oregon Promise directs much-needed attention to educational equity and democratic inclusion for recent high-school graduates, it grossly denies inclusion to the statistical majority of community college attendees who are classified as non-traditional students. Simultaneously, this proposal redefines the virtue of "responsibility" to young, able-bodied, non-parenting, documented, English-speaking, high-achieving, middle-class, recent high-school graduates. The coupling of "responsible" with "deserving" is a neoliberal and meritocratic strategy that influences perceptions and policies regarding entitlement and access to higher education. A theme of this project is how neoliberalism operates as an ideological project to shape day-to-day beliefs regarding entitlement; specifically, who is deserving of access to education, wealth, safety, well-being and who is not. While much has written about the Oregon Promise in higher education journalism, given how new the program is, there is little scholarship that considers the policy from a non-traditional student perspective.

Incarceration and the Second Chance Pell Grant

The United States contains 5% of the world's population but houses 25% of the total world prison population (Alexander 2010; Pew Center on the States, 2008; Yates & Lakes, 2010). An estimated 2.3 million people are incarcerated in the United States. On any given day, more than one in 100 adults are in jail or prison and one out of every 31 U.S. adults is under some form of correctional control (Pew Center on the States 2008). Once under correctional control, both youth and adults experience excessively high rates of recidivism. Research suggests that approximately six in ten formerly incarcerated

people will end up back in prison within three years of release (BSJ 2009; Lagan and Levin, 2002).

In 2015, amid rising criticisms of mass incarceration, concerns over criminal justice reform, and policies aimed at reducing recidivism, the Obama Administration and Department of Education announced the Second Chance Pell Pilot Program. The program repealed a 1994 Congressional amendment to the Higher Education Act that eliminated Pell Grant eligibility for people in federal or state prisons. The grant runs from 2016-2019 by partnering with sixty-eight colleges that had established successful prison education programs. Of the sixty-eight colleges selected, forty are housed in community colleges. The Second Chance Pell Pilot Program aims to support new models of postsecondary education inside prisons with the goal of reducing recidivism and improving prison conditions. The program cites a 2013 study from the RAND foundation funded by the Department of Justice which found incarcerated individuals who participated in correctional education were 43 % less likely to return to prison within three years than prisoners than those who did not participate in any correctional education programs. RAND also estimated that for every dollar invested in correctional education programs, four to five dollars are saved on re-incarceration costs.

In January 2016, Chemeketa Community College in Salem, Oregon was selected as one of 67 colleges and universities to receive a three-year Second Chance Pell Pilot Program Grant. As of May 2018, The College Inside program has graduated 214 students with an A.A. or Certificate and Diploma (CAD) from two prisons in Salem. Approximately 160 graduates of the program have been released from prison. According to Chemeketa, two years after release only 6 graduates have returned to prison. This

translates to an incredibly low recidivism rate of 4 %. According to the Oregon Criminal Justice Commission, the statewide recidivism rate for individuals released from prison or a felony jail sentence in 2012 is 53% (Oregon Criminal Justice Commission, 2015). That is, 53% of people released were arrested for a new crime within three years of release. These statistics are even more potent against an Oregon Department of Justice Fact Sheet for 2016 that reveals between January 2016-December 2016 the average number of inmates released per month was 393 (Issue Brief Oregon Department of Corrections, January 2018). Approximately, 4,716 people are released from prison each year.

Despite these statistics, there have been relatively few prison education programs in Oregon since 1994. The allocation of the Second Chance Pell Grant Pilot Program presents a significant opportunity to contribute to research on prison education, recidivism and research on community college corrections education. A Department of Education report on Corrections Education in 2009 concluded that, in a 50-state analysis of postsecondary correction education, 68% of all postsecondary correction education is provided by community colleges.

Scope of the Study

This study explores the discursive fields that non-traditional students occupy in two community college spaces: the first, Lane Community College is a two-year community college located in Eugene, Oregon. Established in 1964, Lane is the third largest community college in Oregon with a 5,000 mile service district that spans four counties, with a total annual enrollment of 27,000 credit and non-credit students in the 2016-2017 academic year. Approximately half the student body is enrolled full time, with the other half attending part-time. The second site in this study is a satellite

community college program, College Inside. College Inside provides college education (Associates of Arts Transfer Degrees and applied certification in mechanics) inside three Oregon state corrections institutions. In 2016, the College Inside program served over 200 students with a 21% graduation rate. A remarkably successful aspect of the program is the low recidivism rate of College Inside graduates—a mere 4% have returned to prison three years after their release.

Relying on qualitative interviewing methods, the data collected in this study comes from 47 interviews at two research sites. Chapter III offers a detailed review of the distinctive protocols used in each setting for recruitment, data collection, and data management. Each protocol reflects the context and specific needs of the population and collaborating institutions (i.e. the College Inside Program Director, the Department of Corrections, and the University of Oregon Institutional Review Board). Rather than searching for (or believing in) universal truths, I attended to how participants navigated the institution and institutional discourses. Utilizing critical race theory, I emphasize how participants challenged their marginalized positionality within higher education.

Limitations of the Study

Consistent with all research, this project is defined not only by what is discussed but by its own absences and omissions. The most significant of these is the lack of diverse representation in race and gender in the population. At Lane Community College, the 23 participants in this study ranged from 24 to 67 years of age. A distinctive feature of this data sample is 20 of the 23 participants were women/female-identifying and 21 of the 24 participants passed as white. The nearly unanimous homogeneity in gender at Lane Community College was matched in my sample at the Oregon State Penitentiary, an

institution for men. Of the 25 students recruited, 24 opted into the study. The men participating in this study range from 28-64 years of age. Given the significance of racial affiliation within a state prison, I did not ask respondents their racial or ethnic identity or affiliations. I discuss the meaning and significance of these patterns in Chapter III as well as elaborate on the racial history of Oregon shapes contemporary demographics.

Significance of the Study

As discussed earlier in this chapter, community colleges enroll almost half of the undergraduates in the United States (Cohen, Brawer, & Kisker, 2014). Uniquely situated to respond to the diverse educational needs of a changing communities, I can think of no other public institution that brings together such a broad demographic with needs spanning from educational and career aspirations to health care and essential means for survival. With a highly community based and localized mission, community college education extends from rural satellite campuses, tribal reservations, within prisons, etc. The community college is emblematic of the pragmatic and adaptive nature of the nation's education system. As a distinctly American invention, I believe these are one of the last remaining truly publically accessible institutions. This study was informed, in part, by my desire to understand the needs and experiences of adult-learners. Throughout this study, I was reminded that adults who return to community college are at the front-lines of navigating the assaults of neoliberal policies. From the overlooked liminal spaces of their everyday-lives, non-traditional students arrive in community college classrooms from different roads and seek different destinations. My focus on adult-learners in various settings is an opportunity to understand a specific site of instability and possibility.

Summary

In as much as this research is about non-traditional students pursuing higher education in different institutions, it is simultaneously about the contemporary conditions that frame this study. My inquiry is housed in broader questions about neoliberal discourses in higher education. Mainly, how neoliberal discourses of meritocracy, individualism, and deficit operate to normalize inequality and precarity within and beyond the academy. In the following chapter, I situate this study in the field of community college research by historicizing the tensions that have shaped the community college system. I contribute to this scholarship by demonstrating how racialized fears informed the growth and development of the nation's community college system. Next, I review the literature on the school to prison nexus, which in part, emphasizes the merging of practices, technologies, and ideologies between the academy and policing that fuels mass incarceration (Chatterjee 2014; Ferguson, 2012; Meiners, 2007, 2011). Drawing from the fields of sociology and affect theory, I discuss how community colleges and prisons manage, reduce, and redirect the desires of minority groups through institutionalizing discouragement. Engaging these fields of study, this work invites new questions and conversations about how adult learners navigate higher education.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This dissertation examines the relationship between community colleges and prisons as similar institutions that absorb and manage displaced workers, economic refugees, and dispossessed adult populations. In this chapter, I consider how these two distinctive institutions work together to disrupt individual and collective efforts for upward mobility. To illustrate this point, I analyze the 1947 Truman Commission Report, a document celebrated by community college historians as advancing the two-year institution, as an archive of racial and class anxieties. I will discuss how community colleges would be enlisted to solve “The problem of racialized male idleness.” In demonstrating how these aims were, and continue to be, met, I explore key concepts: cooling out, cruel optimism, deficit theories. I operationalize these terms to consider the intersections between adult higher education and mass incarceration.

This study asks how incarcerated, and non-incarcerated community college students make sense of their lives, choices, and sacrifices to participate in higher education and how these factors structure their expectations of what college might provide them. Emphasizing stories within the discursive field of higher education, the following analytic questions guide this study:

- What does it mean for working-class adults to participate in higher education in the context of precarity and incarceration?

- How do neoliberal discourses of meritocracy, individualism, and deficit function to normalize inequality and precarity within and beyond the academy?
- How do non-traditional students narrate possibility in the crafting of new subjectivities within and beyond institutions of higher education?
- How does the category "non-traditional" materialize in the allocation of resources and entitlements?
- How do the Oregon Promise and Second Chance Pell Grant impact adult-learners?

The purpose of this literature review is to explore and contextualize these questions within literature in the fields of sociology affect theory, community college and prison research.

Structure and Organization

This literature review is divided into three parts. Part I historicizes the tensions that shaped the community college system. Emphasizing the anxieties between a national identity built on a story of democratic inclusion, meritocratic success, and a national system based on racialized gendered capitalistic hierarchies, I demonstrate how prominent historians in the field discount the racialized anxieties that manifest in policies of containment. To illustrate this point, I analyze the 1947 Truman Commission Report, a document celebrated by community college historians as advancing the institution, as an archive of racial and class anxieties. Highlighting how community colleges were enlisted to “solve,” as Truman put it, the problem of racialized male idleness. Reading the Truman Commission Report as an archive of racialized history exposes the

interdependency between community colleges and prisons. Next, I turn to the literature on the school to prison nexus which, in part, emphasizes the merging of practices, technologies, and ideologies between the academy and policing that fuels mass incarceration (Chatterjee 2014; Ferguson, 2012; Meiners, 2007, 2011). While explaining the rise of the prison industrial complex is beyond the scope of this review, to explain how prisons and community colleges function as structurally similar institutions, I draw from Roderick Ferguson's argument in *The Reorder of Things* (2012). Here, I discuss how these two seemingly distinctive institutions work together to undermine individual and collective desires for self-determination while actualizing the racist and classist articulations in the Truman Commission Report.

Expanding on this discussion, Part II takes up the “how” questions—that is, how community colleges and prisons manage, reduce, and redirect the desires of minority groups through institutionalizing discouragement. Turning to literature in the fields of sociology and affect theory, I discuss how the process of cooling out (Goffman, 1952) and cruel optimism (Berlant, 2011) are instrumental in rationalizing and re-producing a subjectivity of dispossession. In doing so, these processes relegate failure as a personal or cultural phenomenon rather than a result of social structures that uphold capitalism and white supremacy. I argue that cooling out complicates scholarship on student motivation and retention by naming how institutions structure failure through policies and pedagogies.

The final section Part III defines and situates key terms and theories. Here focus is given to contextualizing the importance of deficit theories, neoliberalism, and democracy. Each of these terms is grounded in scholarship in political and social theory, which shape

education policy and practice. I conclude with a review of critical race theory and discussion of the theoretical and methodological framework for this study.

Part I. The Evolution of the Community College

In *Gateway to Opportunity: A History of the Community College in the United States* (2011) Beach argues:

for most of the 20th century, every American educational institution was torn by contradictory purposes and mutually incompatible goals because they were all trying to promote inclusiveness while also protecting exclusiveness. These institutions were trying to foster greater opportunity, while also limiting opportunity through greater stratification (p. 17).

Theorizing the historical and contemporary role of the community college system, the framing of “contradictory purposes and mutually incompatible goals” raises the question introduced in Chapter 1, how does an institution beguile populations with promises of inclusiveness and opportunity while simultaneously maintaining exclusiveness and stratification? In what follows, I consider how the contradictory promises of community college were reconciled to reinforce a system of racialized democracy by promoting the possibility of social mobility while simultaneously limiting opportunity. To do so, I begin with a historical review of the community college system.

The High School and Junior College Movement

The predecessor of the modern community college was the junior college, which began in the 1880’s. This era was shaped by a national reform agenda that sought to modernize occupational identities while preparing working and middle-class White men to assume roles in production industries (Tyack, 2001). The idea of a state-sponsored 2-year college emphasizing university preparation and technical skills can be traced back to

the late 1800's. The Morell Acts of 1862 and 1890, commonly referred to as the Land Grant Act, established state funding for publically accessible education. In the early years, junior colleges sought to extend democratic inclusion for predominantly middle and working-class white Protestant men and women while responding to the regionalism of local and state economies and constituencies. According to Beach (2011), "the junior college was the product of a movement to reorganize the American secondary school population toward a more rational and efficient system of education" (p.17). This was, in part, due to the increase of high school students in the 1930's. In 1910, only 5% of the 19 to 22-year-old population was enrolled in higher education. By 1930, approximately 51% of the nation's 14 to 17-year-olds were enrolled in high school and increased the demand for post-secondary education (Goldin and Lawrence, 1999). In "Human Capital and Social Capital: The Rise of Secondary Schooling in America, 1910 - 1940," Goldin and Lawrence (1999) offer a detailed analysis of the high school movement, suggesting that the rapid growth of the institution was caused by increasing demand for high school educated youth in factory based-industrial fields marked an investment in human capital for the average (i.e. white) American worker.

In 1929, the American Association of Junior Colleges (AAJC) was formed to create, "a national institutional identity along with uniform purpose for the growing junior college." In their founding year, the AAJC defined the junior college as "an institution offering two years of instruction of collegiate training in response to the larger and ever-changing civic, social, religious, and vocational needs of the entire community." (Cohen, 2003. p. 222). Evident in this definition is the responsiveness and flexibility junior colleges extended to the social and economic needs of their constituency. During

the first half of the 20th century, that demographic was predominantly working and middle-class white men and women between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one (Baker, 1994). Goldin and Lawrence (1999) suggest that the financial returns on college education during this period was a motivating factor in establishing the importance of post-secondary education. Additionally, the aspirations of students entering post-secondary education through the community college would be a driving force in the institutions' character (Baker, 2007).

In the early 20th-century education reformers that viewed themselves as progressives wanted to construct a rational, efficient, meritocratic education system (Tyack, 2001). According to Baker,

progressive leaders did their best to rhetorically institutionalize the junior college as more than just a preparatory school for the university to differentiate at least two curricular tracks. They emphasized vocational training as a more natural (and more appropriate) route to the middle class for the majority of students. Thus, there was an ideological gap between the expansive democratic rhetoric of the junior college vision and the social-efficiency (2007, p. 63).

A defining tension for the institution was the gap between terminal education and the aspirational desires of working-class students seeking social mobility, grew in the wake of the great depression.

Contradictory College: The Truman Report and the Problem of “idle masses”

As discussed in the previous section, in their first fifty years, junior colleges were defined by a highly localized and vague mission. Early architects of the system were conscious of the contradictions the institution would have to manage. Namely, the

pressure of students who aimed to fulfill meritocratic promises of higher education with the reality of a racialized labor market that required a continual supply of low waged workers. Baker describes these dual functions as the “democratization of higher education that simultaneously sorts out the masses into a hierarchically segmented labor market” (1994, p. 37).

As articulations of these dual functions surfaced, a defining moment in institutional identity occurred with the publication of "The President's Commission on Higher Education Report" (also known as the Truman Commission Report) in 1947. The report derived its thesis from a 1941 publication by Water Crosby Elles, published in the AAJC "Why Junior College Terminal Education?" Promoting terminal education, the Elles warns, "It would be unwise and unfortunate if all [junior college students] tried to enter a university and prepare for professions which in most cases are already overcrowded, and for which their talents and abilities in many cases do not fit them" (p. 289). Unsurprisingly, the urgency for terminal education was elevated to a national priority in the wake of the economic depression of the 1930's. By the 1940's there were over 600,000 unemployed and dispossessed men. The Truman Commission articulated the heightened anxiety of elites regarding the masses of "idle young men." Fearful of the volatile and insurgent potential, the Presidential Commission believed junior colleges had an obligation to solve the challenge of idleness which was considered a "liability to the country." The report declared idle youth were considered a wasted national asset—not to mention a threat (Beach, 2011).

The emergent vision during the Roosevelt and Truman era envisioned community colleges as holding sites where idle brown, black and immigrant youth could receive

basic vocational and terminal training while a limited number of jobs opened, essentially configuring community colleges as repositories where segments of the underemployed population could seek refuge. Historically and today, community college enrollment rates often increase as the unemployment rate grows (Long 2004). In “Young People and the Great Recession” (2011) Bell and Blanchflower discuss how the 2008 economic collapse caused unprecedented increased enrollment at community colleges, especially among sixteen- to twenty-four-year-olds due to lack of employment opportunities. Truman’s framework enlisted community colleges for multiple purposes; it offered the façade of liberal democratic progress through the expansion of accessible education while preparing working class white, immigrant, and men of color to compete for limited low waged work, which perpetuated surplus labor to drive down wages. It also established the notion that a form of institutional containment for underemployed masses was necessary to promote social stability and protect ruling-class interests.

Community Colleges and Prisons: Managing Race and Class Anxieties

The impact of the Truman Report cannot be underestimated. The document exposes how race and class anxieties were intertwined in the fabric of the institution. Yet the literature on the history and evolution of community college system (Baker, 1994, Beach 2001, Cohen & Brawer, 2003, Dougherty, 1991, Levin 2014) is devoid of analysis of race as a driving force shaping the institution. As Angela Y. Davis (2003) suggests, “congealed forms of racism operate in clandestine ways. In other words, they are rarely recognized as racist” (p. 25). Reading the Truman Commission Report as an archive of racialized history exposes the interdependency between community colleges and prisons. The overt desire to establish a national institution that works in part to contain

disenfranchised working class, brown, black and immigrant men is strategically and structurally similar to the penitentiary system.

Additionally, the unrealistic expectation that the community college system “solve,” as Truman put it, the problem of racialized male idleness can be contextualized as a precursor to “tough on crime” “war on drugs” policies that fueled the institutionalization of mass incarceration. Mass incarceration is a shorthand term to reference that the United States incarcerates more people than any other democratic nation. With 5% of the world’s population and 25% of the total prison population, the number of people incarcerated in the U.S. has increased since the 1970s despite a decrease in violent crimes. The ideology of “three strikes” legislation, mandatory minimums, and the war on drugs shape the contemporary perception of justice (Alexander 2010; Davis 2003; Gilmore 2007; Mauer 2000; Pew Center on the States, 2010). Although the evolution of mass incarceration is beyond the scope of this review, the preceding discussion illustrates how architects of the community college system and prison expansion were motivated by fears of the volatile and insurgent potential of jobless masses, enlisted the institution as a spatial and ideological solution of containment.

In, *Are Prisons Obsolete* (2001), Davis stresses that the ideological work that prisons perform is to “relieve us of the responsibility of seriously engaging with the problems of our society, especially those produced by racism and global capitalism” (p.17). This idea can also be applied to community colleges. The out of “out of sight, out of mind” adage coupled with the rhetoric of individual accountability make it easy to avoid complex thinking about populations that are

absorbed into community colleges and prisons.

Community Colleges and Prisons

Drawing the connections between these intuitions, I turn to a pivotal era in the growth of prisons and community colleges. Community Colleges became a national network in the 1960's with the opening of 457 public community colleges. This was more than the total in existence before that decade (Phillippe & Patton, 2000). According to the *Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics*, the expansion of prisons and jails followed at the end of the decade in 1969—directly after the unprecedented insurgent rebellions on and off college campuses during the 1960's. In this section, I draw on R.A. Ferguson's, *The Reorder of Things: The University and its Pedagogies of Minority Difference* (2012) to demonstrate how the interdependencies between the academy and prisons developed. Not only did both institutions experience considerable growth but they worked together to subvert individual and collective desires for self-determination while actualizing the racist and classist articulations in the Truman Commission Report.

In his first chapter of *The Reorder of Things*, Ferguson (2012), suggests that contrary to the prevailing assumption that the academy is primarily influenced by state and capital, the academy socializes the state and capital to civil society's emergent articulations of needs and differences. Offering a critical reading of the relationship between state interests, capitalism, and the academy, Roderick A. Ferguson stresses that,

The Western academy was created as the repository and grantor of national culture and innovator of political economy. As such, the academy is an archive of sorts, whose technologies are—as the theory goes—constantly refined to acquire the latest innovation... In the context of post-WWII United States, the Academy can be read as a record of the shifts and contradictions of the political economy (p. 12)

Stated differently, Ferguson theorizes the academy as a venue to understand the state and capital as interlocutors with, rather than determinates of, American life. Specifically, he argues that in response to student movements, the academy became the training ground for state and capital's engagement, containment and management of minority difference (p. 11). Discussing the Third World Liberation Strike (TWLF) at San Francisco State University in 1968, Ferguson identifies 269 similar protests on college campuses that year. Amplified by the revolutionary spirit of self-determination, insurgent student movements pushed for anti-racist and anti-imperialist agendas against state policies at home and abroad. Targeting the academy as an instrument of the state, protestors occupied buildings, shut down campuses, opened free schools, and developed militant demands to reshape institutions of higher education. Students pushed back on the racist tropes of "terminal education" that caused decades of disenfranchisement, demanding the "opening of the academy through the creation of new courses, departments and schools, increased enfranchisement through the enrollment and hiring of non-white students and faculty members, and a challenge to conventional pedagogies of minority difference (West, 2014, 114).

The academy responded by translating the demands raised by movements to matters of identity politics and representation. In other words, the academy co-opted insurgent movements through strategies of incorporation. Tactically, this allowed institutions of higher education to manage minority difference. Adding to Ferguson's valuable analysis, the concomitant practice of prison expansion served the state's response to insurgent movements off campuses (Alexander, 2011,

Davis, 2005 Spira, 2012, Sudbury, 2013). Evidenced in "tough on crime" legislation and COINTELPRO surveillance, the government fought back through the expansion of policies that fueled mass incarceration (Alexander, 2011). In this way, the academy and prisons operated as structurally similar institutions to manage, reduce, and redirect the desires of minority groups.

Because this project is concerned with discourses that undergird the marginalization, management, and containment of adult-learners, the following section expands on how community colleges and prisons manage, reduce, and redirect the desires of minority groups. To do this, I turn to literature in the fields of sociology and affect theory to revisit a question I posed at the start of this chapter, how does an institution beguile populations with promises of inclusiveness and opportunity while simultaneously maintaining exclusiveness and stratification? To explore this phenomenon, I consider how institutional discouragement is structured in the policies and pedagogies of each institution. To do so, I discuss cooling out and cruel optimism as strategies to manage participants' desires for uplift and self-determination.

Part II: Community colleges, prisons and institutionalizing discouragement

Cooling Out

Responding to the social mobilizations of the 1960's with a different set of questions, sociologist Burton Clark sought to explain how community colleges resolved their contradictory missions. In his article, "The Cooling-Out Function in Higher Education" (1967), Clark presented his argument as follows:

“community colleges functioned to resolve a key contradiction between the cultural imperative for widespread post-secondary aspirations and the structural

limits on labor market opportunities for degree holders" (p. 572). One way this contradiction is managed is through a process called "cooling out" that is softly denying the aspirations of "poorly prepared" students. Clark described cooling out as a process of "gradual institutionalized discouragement" (p. 571).

In a telling revelation, the term "cooling out" was first used by Erving Goffman in an article "Cooling the Mark Out: Some Aspects of Adaptation to Failure" (1952). Here, Goffman discusses the "adaptation to loss" of both money and self-image experienced by a "mark" during a con. Goffman explains that a mark refers to

any individual who is a victim or prospective victim of certain forms of planned illegal exploitation. The mark is the sucker—the person who is taken in. An instance of the operation of any particular racket taken through the full cycle of its steps or phases is sometimes called a play. The persons who operate the racket and "take" the mark are occasionally called operators of the con (p. 451).

Describing the full cycle of steps involved in a "play," Goffman highlights several intrapersonal processes about the self-image and affective management of the mark who is invested in maintaining the identity of a judicious and shrewd person. Additionally, Goffman focused on the interpersonal dynamics of managing the situation through a coordinated facilitation by the operators. To soften the blow to the mark and avoid adverse attention in the form of a scene, Goffman describes a phase at the end of the racket called "cooling out." In this phase, the victim or mark, "is given instruction in the philosophy of taking a loss." In the scenario,

a mark's participation in a play, and his investment in it, clearly commit him in his own eyes to the proposition that he is a smart man. The process by which he comes to believe that he cannot lose is also the process by which he drops the defenses and compensations that

previously protected him from defeats. When the blow-off comes, the mark finds that he has no defense for not being a shrewd man. He has defined himself as a shrewd man and must face the fact that he is only another easy mark. He has defined himself as possessing a certain set of qualities and then proven to himself that he is miserably lacking in them. This is a process of self-destruction of the self. It is no wonder that the mark needs to be cooled out and that it is a good business policy for one of the operators to stay with the mark in order to talk him into a point of view from which it is possible to accept a loss.... In essence, the cooler has the job of handling persons who have been caught out on a limb. Persons whose expectations and self-conceptions have been built up and then shattered (p. 453).

In this and his later work, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1956), Goffman centralizes the concept of impression management as the constant production that occurs to make sense of the self and the situation. Specifically, in the example above it is the negotiations and collaborations that arise for the mark to save-face while taking a loss.

Particularly useful to this study is Goffman's idea of the mark—a victim of an exploitative situation, who, is socialized in the "philosophy of taking a loss." The process Goffman describes is about restructuring the mark's subjectivity such that he or she experiences the situation as accident or fluke rather than a coordinated set-up. The con or play transforms the affective realm of feelings, desires, self-worth, and image of the target. Without being labeled as such, Goffman is articulating an affective or emotional structure of loss managed by a restructuring of the victim's subjectivity. This same point is made by contemporary scholars addressing the impact of neoliberalism who argue that the making of the modern idealized subject is a project to re-structure subjectivities and desires to align with hyper-individualistic commodified values (Brown, 2003;

Davis, 2007; Spira, 2012). The making of the neoliberal subject is a cultural process to transform the affective realm of feelings, desires, self-image, and emotions.

The scenario of “the con” is a poignant allegory to consider how prisons and community colleges are environments that socialize participants in the “philosophy of taking a loss” by cooling out the expectations and self-efficacy of marginalized populations. Remember, at Lane Community College, one of the sites for this study, in 2014 the graduation rate was a mere 12.8%. This statistic looms against the 74% of students who report their primary goal as graduating with an Associates of Arts Transfer Degrees (Lane Community College Student Statistics, 2015). As I will discuss in the following data chapters, both populations in this study discussed emotional management as a salient aspect of what they have learned in order to succeed within their respective institutions.

Cooling Out & The School to Prison Nexus

Community colleges are not the only educational setting that institutionalizes failure. In *The Art of Critical Pedagogy* (2008) Jeff Duncan-Andrade refers to urban schools as “factories of failure” (p.17). K-12 scholars concerned with the accrued effects of “soft-denial” and overt discouragement refer to this process as being “pushed-out.” The term “pushed-out” was popularized in the early 1990's to intervene on draconian laws that criminalized youth of color in predominantly urban areas (i.e. California Proposition 187 passed in 1994, California Proposition 21 passed in 2000). The term being “pushed-out” emerged to explain the school to prison nexus. This process

includes the policies, ideologies, and practices that move a select group of young people from schools to prisons. The term aims to highlight a constellation of relations that “naturalize the movement of youth of color from our schools and communities into under-or unemployment and permanent detention (Miners, 2011, p. 550). Miners argues,

Linkages between schools and prisons are less a pipeline, more a persistent nexus or a web of intertwined, punitive threads. The nexus metaphor, while perhaps “less sexy” or compelling, than the schoolhouse to jailhouse track is more accurate as it captures the historic, systematic, and multifaceted nature of the intersections of education and incarceration (2007, p.31).

Whereas a field of scholarship has developed to highlight and make commonplace the relationship between the K-12 school to prison nexus, (Giroux, 2001; Meiners, 2011; Meiners & Winn, 2010; Wald & Losen, 2003) this work considers the proximity of community colleges and prisons as similar institutions that absorb and manage displaced workers, economic refugees, and dispossessed adult populations.

An aspect of this management is through the process of cooling out, which gives a name to how institutions structure failure through policies and pedagogies. For example, one way cooling out manifests is in a 2013 study that found approximately 60% of non-traditional students were directed to one or more remedial education courses (American Community College Association, 2014). Remedial education and other highly segregated and stigmatized educational spaces can erode students’ self-efficacy. Cooling out can be understood as a process of socialized dissonance and the internalization of deficit that students experience in environments where their aspirations are stifled by obstructionist, or as Clark wrote, narratives of soft denial.

The term cooling out is useful to understand the affective experience that many of students I spoke to discussed—the internalization of failure. Cooling out is relevant to understanding student experience because of how it operates as a tactic used to manage, regulate, and redirect the desires and emotions of adults coping with chronic uncertainty. As a framework, cooling out speaks to the subverting of desires and agency. Developing this point, the next section considers how cooling out is amplified by cruel optimism. I will argue that both processes are part of the making of the neoliberal subject.

Cruel Optimism

In “The Politics of Pain and The End of Empire,” Liz Philipose (2007) stresses that we need a vocabulary for the emotional dimensions of the neoliberalism wherein,

Emotional selves are segmented from politics and public life, medicated and pacified in ways that delimit their expression. Politics are denuded of shared ideas, communities, fellow feeling, contestation and participation, and the possibilities of liberal democracy are crushed. We mourn their passing in an altogether anachronistic lament for things that never came true for most people" (p.161).

Advancing a "literacy of emotions," in the context of precarity and chronic uncertainty draws attention to how the experience of loss is embodied in-and-through the psychological state of melancholia. In David Eng and David Kazanjian collection *Loss: The Politics of Mourning* (2002) defines melancholia as the,

Unaccountable loss, a formal relation, and a structure of feeling, a mechanism of disavowal and a constellation of affect, melancholia is a condition or orientation of loss that encompasses the individual and collective, the spiritual and material, the psychic and the social, the aesthetic and the political (p.3).

Loss: The Politics of Mourning, complicates Freud's "Mourning and Melancholia" (1917) in which the psycho-affective condition of melancholia is discussed as "a confrontation with loss through the adamant refusal of closure, mourning without an end, melancholia results from the inability to resolve the grief and ambivalence precipitated by the loss of the ideal." Melancholia offers a framework to consider the material and affective loss as both a *process* and *condition* of desire.

Lauren Berlant's work "Cruel Optimism" (2011) makes this distinction. Berlant defines cruel optimism as "a relation of attachments to compromised conditions of possibility" (p.14). It is an active, and by that, I mean, continual engagement with "maintaining an attachment to a problematic object in advance of its loss" (p.14). In an interview, Anna, a 58-year-old mother of four, referred to her relationship with higher education as an "abusive relationship." Expressing uncertainty as to why she returned to community college after a discouraging first experience in the 1980's—she struggled to explain the rationalizations she told herself and others. In similar moments, other participants lingered on the lack of, or loss in, the belief that attending college would amount to anything. In other words, as participants discussed how their lives are impacted by precarity and the loss of the material conditions for survival (e.g. housing, employment, and safety) they also addressed *the loss of the idea or potentiality* of obtaining the material conditions for survival (e.g. the future of securing permanent housing, employment, and safety).

The confrontation of loss of faith or belief in the idea that higher education would improve the lives of participants often led to discussions of personal failure. Jennifer

Silva (2012) explores this tendency in, *Becoming a Neoliberal Subject: Working-Class Selfhood in the Age of Uncertainty*.

Silva calls for a re-examination of the how the preoccupation with inwardly-directed narratives of the self as the agent of emotional and psychic repair dovetail with neoliberal ideology in such a way to make powerless working-class adults feel responsible for their fates. Channeling the framework of deficit theories,

The suffering and betrayal born of de-industrialization, privatization of the public, rising inequality, and risk is interpreted as an individual failure: their family members are seen as bad individuals, their addictions and illnesses as private vices, and their inability to realize their visions of successful adulthood as personal failures. Ultimately, the predominance of the unstable and imperfect family past serves to obscure the shaping power of the unstable and imperfect present (p.30).

For many working-class youth and adults trying to "make it" amidst profound economic and social instability, coping with the contradictions of meritocracy means internalizing messages of individual deficit. Scholars in the burgeoning field of institutional betrayal argue that the institutional system such as education, the military, and health care cause trauma by convincing members of their legitimacy and interest in protecting them (Pyke, 2018, Smith, Freyd & Norman, 2014,).

Part III. Understanding Democracy, Deficit, and Neoliberalism

To be an educator is to work within the paradoxes, presumptions, and the promises of education as the institution to promote equity. In the scope of contemporary politics, culture, and civil society, the meanings of democracy, individual rights, and contemporary notions of freedom are increasingly paradoxical. Alexander (2005) asks, "what does democracy mean when its association with the perils of empire has rendered

it so thoroughly corrupt?" (p.17). Mainstream notions of American democracy reflect corporatized neoliberal values of meritocracy, assimilation, patriotic militarism, and nativist nationhood. Moreover, the co-optation of democracy by American exceptionalism obscures histories of progressive movements that offer alternative definitions of democracy. In the following section, I elaborate upon and situate the terms democracy and neoliberalism in the specific context of this project.

Democracy and Pragmatism

My use and understanding of democracy is rooted in a pragmatist framework. Pragmatist philosophy in education grew from the theoretical questions and applied methods of social reformers John Dewey (1859-1992) and Jane Addams (1860 -1935). In a period marked by cultural, political, and scientific anxiety surrounding notions of progress, uplift, inclusion, and rights echoed in Social Darwinism. Addams and Dewey were among the first American thinkers to position education as integral to the project of social welfare and democracy. Their legacy is echoed in the belief that education can serve as "the great equalizer."

In Jane Addams' *Democracy and Social Ethics* (1902) and *Twenty Years after the Hull House* (1911), democracy is conceptualized as a practice rooted in a conception of mutual reciprocity. Addams defined reciprocity as "an engagement of sympathetic understanding with the values and experiences of others" (p.27). Both Dewey and Addams approached democracy as a way of life rooted in principals of cooperation, reciprocity, interdependence, human dignity and the belief in human potential. Their work stresses the belief that "it is not enough to passively believe in the innate dignity of all human beings. Such faith in the potentialities and possibilities of others carries with it

the responsibility for providing conditions that will enable these capacities to reach fulfillment" (Siegfried, 2001 p.xi). The focus of their inquiry was cultivating institutions that empower people to reach their full potential.

The canonization of Addams is based on the great social experiment that was The Hull House, which demonstrated the possibility of grassroots social welfare. In *Jane Addams and the dream for American democracy* (2002) Elshtain, critiques how Addams is remembered and reduced as a suffragist and social worker. Citing the 1990 tribute to Addams in *Life* magazine's tribute to "The One Hundred Most Important Americans of the Twentieth Century," Elshtain laments that popular accounts

make the Hull House sound more like a Great Society-era program rather than the complex intercultural space that it was. Perhaps we are so accustomed to thinking of the poor as clients rather than as deserving citizens, as recipients of social provision rather than active architects of their destinies, that we have lost a civic vocabulary rich enough to accurately and fully describe the reality of the Hull House (p. 22).

For Addams, democracy was in the doing.

This vision of democracy is important to my research on adult learners in community college education for three reasons. First, it invites an understanding of higher education as the reciprocal encounter between individuals and institutions for self-determination and collective welfare. Second, pragmatism anchors democracy to both structural conditions and individual agency. Third, community colleges, and by extension, the services and education provided remain one of the few publicly accessible semi-subsidized institutions capable of fulfilling Addams's vision of grassroots social-welfare. This is because community colleges are participatory institutions uniquely situated to uphold the ideological and material conviction that Addams and her

contemporaries stress—that democracy is enacted when social institutions uphold the conditions for individual and collective development.

Framing Neoliberalism

The version of democracy offered by Addams contrasts with contemporary neoliberal policies that dismantle and erode the public sphere through divestment in civil society and spaces as well as the divestment in an ethics of care, social welfare, and public services. The term neoliberalism refers to a historically generated state strategy to respond to the crisis of capital by defending, often through deregulation, the “rights” of constituencies to private profits and interests. In “Beyond Orwellian Nightmares and Neoliberal Authoritarianism,” Henry Giroux (2014) names the consolidation of neoliberal power and practices as

a state in which people participate willingly in their oppression, often out of deep insecurity about their freedom and the future. This is a mode of governance in which individual and social agency is in crisis and begin to disappear in a society in which 99 percent of the public, especially young people, low-income groups and minorities of class and color are considered disposable.

Giroux argues that mass displacement of populations, the proliferation of poverty and precarious labor are concomitant manifestations of neoliberal authoritarianism.

As a movement that is both a process and condition, neoliberalism is an all-encompassing doctrine to restructure markets, geographies, labor, and the intimate domains of day-to-day life.¹ The pervasive dimensions of neoliberalism are poignantly captured in Margret Thatcher’s emblematic phrase, “there is no alternative,” a philosophy that came to be known by the acronym T.I.N.A., neoliberalism maintains ideological and material dominance through circulating a narrative of inevitability (i.e. there is no

alternative) and eliminating alternatives in the social imaginary (Wallenstein, 2013). Thus, neoliberalism surfaces in the way ordinary people imagine the world—the common understandings, myths and stories that make possible generalized practices and the overall legitimacy of a particular social order. Lipman (2011) refers to the social imaginary of neoliberalism as an ideological project to "change the soul" whereby "competitive individualism is a virtue and personal accountability replaces government responsibility for collective social welfare" (p.11). Lipman stresses that the power of neoliberalism lies in its saturation of practices and consciousness, making it difficult to think otherwise. Similarly, as Wendy Brown (2003) notes:

neoliberalism is a constructivist project: it does not presume the ontological "givenness" of a thoroughgoing economic rationality for all domains of society but rather takes as its task the development, dissemination, and institutionalization of such a rationality (p.23).

The project to re-structure subjectivities in accordance with neoliberal market values is fundamentally about the making of the modern idealized neoliberal subject (Brown, 2003, Davis, 2007, Spira, 2012). This process transforms the affective realm of feelings, desires, ethics, and emotions. Examples of how intimate feelings, beliefs, and attitudes align with neoliberalism can be evidenced in the popularity of deficit theories (i.e. victim blaming, social Darwinism, culture of poverty theories, and hyper-individualism).

I consider neoliberalism both a process and condition where the physical or geographic, economic, as well as psychic of loss, surface as the continuous manifestations of colonialism and imperialism, and war (Alexander 2005, Brown, 2003, Davis, 1986, Spira, 2012). The pervasive dimensions of neoliberalism are poignantly

captured in Margret Thatcher’s emblematic phrase, “there is no alternative,” a philosophy that came to be known by the acronym T.I.N.A., neoliberalism maintains ideological and material dominance through circulating a narrative of inevitability (i.e. there is no alternative) and eliminating alternatives in the social imaginary (Wallenstein, 2013). Neoliberalism surfaces in the way ordinary people imagine the world—the common understandings, myths and stories that make possible generalized practices and the overall legitimacy of the social order.

In the past four decades neoliberal discourses have reshaped social views on education, social welfare and entitlement (Levin, 2014). The movements around re-segregation, school-choice, and privatization are primarily about access to higher education. In each of these issues, policies and discourses of meritocracy are enlisted in the normalization of neoliberal privatization as the natural or inevitable.

My interest in the ideological aspects of neoliberalism has to do with day-to-day beliefs regarding entitlement. Specifically, who is deserving of wealth, safety, well-being—and who is not. A colleague once explained the psyche of the neoliberal subject as rooted in an ethical stance of, “you deserve what you get, and you get what you deserve.” The normalization of injustice through rhetorical strategies that shift blame to individuals rather than institutions is not new. A powerful example of this is the coded language structured into laws and policies that frame entitlement through personal means such as responsibility. For example, the 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act established restrictive access to state and federal welfare under the guise of “revising America’s work ethic” (Kelly, 1997). The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act ended Aid to Families with

Dependent Children, a program that began in 1937. In doing so, the act shifted the discourse of “responsibility” as a means for state assistance. I reference the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act to contextualize the current movements for community college tuition reform as shifting the perception of who is and who is not deserving of access, resources, and entitlements.

My concern with deficit theories grew from observations about narratives of ambivalence, apathy, and meritocracy that circulate in community colleges. The tropes of apathy and ambivalence are all too often imposed on student behaviors such as disengagement and attrition rates. These characterizations displace the distress associated with economic precarity rather than acknowledge the reality wherein students negotiate of loss upon loss. These ideas channel responsibility to individual deficit rather than structural violence and the catastrophic impact of capitalism. The trope of apathy is a mechanism to suture the ruptures and contradictions associated with loss.

Deficit Theories

Deficit theories have a long and insidious history in the United States. I use the term deficit theories to evoke discourses that purport genetic or cultural deficiencies as the cause of inequality, poverty, and suffering. Modern conceptions of deficit thinking manifest from Daniel Patrick Moynihan's culture of poverty thesis outlined in, *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action* (1965) and later known as the Moynihan report (Gans,1995). However, the legacy of biological and cultural deficit theories can be traced to the Western Enlightenment where the codification of deficit theories was instrumental in colonial occupations and the political and pedagogical regimes that followed. Today, deficit theories permeate every arena of social life circulating in notions

of social Darwinism, sociobiology, and the racialization of poverty (Gains, 1995, Kelly, 1997).

In the education system, deficit theories surface in notions of under-preparedness, low achievement, and low cognitive skills (Dougherty, 1994, Herideen, 1998). Deficit theories dismiss the role of history, social institutions, laws, and ideology on students' experiences. In other words, deficit theories do the work to displace the role of history, racism, sexism, and institutional neglect onto individuals. In, *The Evolution of Deficit Thinking: Educational Thought and Practice* (1997), Valencia stresses that deficit thinking has a powerful hold on contemporary politics and culture. Tracing the connection between the genetic pathology thesis and culture of poverty model with the pervasiveness of discriminatory policies, Valencia argues that there is a resurgence of deficit thinking.

In his article, "Cultural and Accumulated Environmental Models," Arthur Pearl (1997) argues that deficit thinking is endemic in U.S. political and social culture and is a cornerstone of both conservative and liberal thought. Although conservatives and liberals may organize differently around poverty and inequality, deficit models rationalize and naturalize the existence of inequality as a reality rather than a by-product of capitalism. Pearl is not alone in suggesting that there is a resurgence in deficit thinking and victim blaming in the current socio-political discourse (Fine, 1990, Kozol, 1991, Lipman 2013, Rose, 1989). Moreover, the resurgence of deficit theories intersects in neo-Malthusian views of scarcity and catastrophism that characterize the ways both conservatives and progressives organize around the environment and issues of population, poverty, social welfare, and citizenship (Boal 2007). In each of these issues, deficit theories do the

work to displace attention from the distribution and use of resources by pathologizing disenfranchised individuals and communities. By shaping debates on environmentalism, incarceration, and social welfare, deficit theories inform not just *what we think* but *how we think*. In doing the work to justify and naturalize austerity and the gutting of social welfare (Gilmore 2007, Prashad, 2002, Kelly, 2007) deficit theories promote the naturalization of Thatcher's imperative, "there is no alternative." While much has been written about deficit thinking and victim blaming, my interest is to consider how these frameworks inform how we think about adult-education within community colleges.

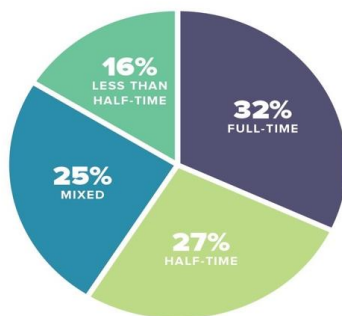
A common example of deficit-based discourses is the overuse of apathy and ambivalence as frames to explain non-traditional student behaviors. These overgeneralized and under-interrogated characterizations displace the distress associated with social and economic marginalization (i.e. precarious labor, vulnerability, social abandonment and debt) onto perceived student behaviors. Moreover, deficit theories channel the responsibility and blame of achievement gaps to individual deficit rather than structural violence and the catastrophic impacts of capitalism. As discussed in Chapter I, America's College Promise Proposal redefines the virtue of "responsible" as young, able-bodied, non-parenting, documented, English-speaking, high-achieving, middle-class, recent high school graduates. The framing of "responsible" as "deserving" is a neoliberal strategy that influences perceptions and policies regarding entitlement. My interest here is how the coupling of "responsible" as "deserving" impacts a population of community college students that are stigmatized as nontraditional.

Nontraditional Students

"Nontraditional" is a broad categorization for students who have not followed a seamless path from high school directly onto college. Also, the term applies to students who attend college part-time, are single parents, first-generation college attendees, immigrants, racial minorities, veterans, displaced workers, and/or students with disabilities. The term, "non-traditional" represents a potent irony and contradiction because the overwhelming majority of students who attend community college are "non-traditional." According to the American Association of Community Colleges, nearly half of all U.S. undergraduate students (46%) attend a community college— approximately 58% of those students are nontraditional students. During the 2011-2012 academic year, community college students represented more than half of all single-parent college students, first-generation students and students with disabilities (AAOC Data Points, April 2015). An additional characteristic that defines the non-traditional student is attendance patterns. Students who attend do not attend college full time are categorized as non-traditional. Figure 1 illustrates the attendance patterns of community college students nationally during 2011-2012.

Figure 1

Attendance patterns, 2011–12

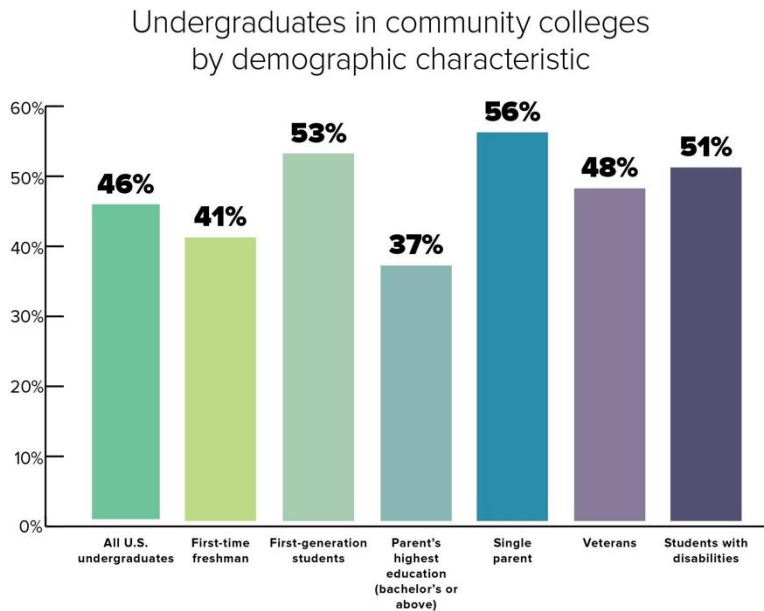


Source: American Association of Community College analysis of Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS)

Notes: Fall 2015 enrollment data and 2014-2015 National Postsecondary Student Aid Study (NPSAS: 12)

The overlapping characteristics of attendance status mixed with experience and markers such as being a single-parent, first generation, etc., create a lack of clarity and problematic categorization "non-traditional." This is illustrated in Figure 2: A demographic portrait of student characteristics.

Figure 2



Source: American Association of Community Colleges analysis of Integrated Postsecondary Notes: Education Data System (IPEDS) Fall 2015 enrollment data

The coupling of both student characteristic and experiences distorts representations of the normative student experience by labeling the majority population as the minority. Consequences of this overgeneralizing and problematic category take

shape through social policies and curriculum that disenfranchise non-traditional students. For example, a recent study revealed that approximately 60% of non-traditional students were directed to one or more remedial education courses (American Community College Association, 2014). While the complexities of remedial education are beyond the scope of this study, remedial education and other highly segregated and stigmatized educational spaces can erode student's self-efficacy.

Penelope Herideen discusses the complexities in understanding non-traditional student experience in *Policy, Pedagogy, and Social Inequality: Community College Student Realities in Post-Industrial America* (1998). She concludes that non-traditional community college students are historically under-studied and under-valued as narrators of their own experience.

However what Herideen and others overlook is that both research and advocacy for non-traditional students often assumes that students self-identify with the term. In this study, 46% of the participants who meet one or more of the criteria qualifying them as non-traditional, did not consider themselves as such. This is not to say that the people I interviewed have not made distinctions about themselves compared to younger first-time students. Those distinctions, however, did not employ the terms of traditional versus non-traditional. Naturally, the question arises, why use a category that is overly general, obscure, and at times rejected as salient for its members? And as a researcher, what does it mean to reify a category that reduces the complexities of the population for whom I hope this work serves? My simultaneous use and critique of the term hinges on the importance in making non-traditional students visible (even if members do not define themselves as such). The reason why this category is important, I argue, has to do with

the ways adult-learners characterized as non-traditional students are being left out of the imagined future outlined in the current wave of community college reforms. How we imagine and advocate for educational reform requires an active confrontation with the categorization erasure of vulnerable populations. My interest in this paradoxical category is informed by scholars in the field of critical race theory who interrogate the way policies and categories are used to disenfranchise marginalized populations.

Theoretical Framework: Critical Race Theory

Addressing the pervasiveness of racism and structural inequality in education, critical race theory works at the intersection of legal studies, sociology, ethnic and women's studies to illustrate the intersections of race and racism with other forms of subordination (Bell, 2009, 1992, Delgado, 2005, Matsuda, 1996). It does so by theorizing racism is a structural feature of social institutions. Solórzano and Yosso (2002), outline critical race theory as a framework to conduct research grounded in the experiences and dignity of people of color. The aims are to identify, analyze and transform the structural and cultural conditions that perpetuate racism and oppression. Privileging anti-racist transformative goals, CRT emphasizes stories, testimonies and narratives to challenge dominant ideologies. By shifting the unit of analysis from perceived individualistic explanations to systemic conditions, CRT privileges the subjectivity and knowledge of marginalized individuals and groups. According to Ladson-Billings (2009), CRT is "an important intellectual and social tool for deconstruction, reconstruction and construction: deconstruction of oppressive structures and discourses, reconstruction of human agency, and construction of equitable and socially just relations of power" (p.19). Scholarship in the field recognizes and critiques

how education has been, and continues to be, the primary mechanism to (re)produce dominant conceptions of our social world by silencing and pathologizing individuals rather than institutions.

Arguing that all ideology, racial or otherwise, is produced and reproduced in communicative action, CRT stresses that stories are the basis for political openings for new ways to confront structural inequality. This is because stories continually do the work to operationalize and resist hegemony. The power of storytelling according to Lee Anne Bell (2010) is "because stories carry within them historical/social formations and sediment ways of thinking... stories offer an accessible vehicle for uncovering normative patterns and historical relations that perpetuate privilege (p.19).

In "Critical Race Methodology: Counter-Storytelling as an Analytical Framework for Education Research" (2002) Solórzano & Yosso stress

Although social scientists tell stories under the guise of "objective" research, these stories uphold deficit, racialized notions about people of color. For the authors, a critical race methodology provides a tool to "counter" deficit storytelling. Specifically, a critical race methodology offers space to conduct and present research grounded in the experiences and knowledge of people of color. As they describe how they compose counter-stories, the authors discuss how the stories can be used as theoretical, methodological, and pedagogical tools to challenge racism, sexism, and classism and work toward social justice (p. 23).

Scholars in the field challenge the ideology of racism and inequality that creates, maintains, and justifies the use of a "master narrative" in storytelling (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002, Delgado 1989, 1995, Bell, 2010). Master narratives also referred to as "stock stories" are viewed as "natural" or "normal" narratives that are ubiquitous in mainstream social institutions. When analyzing stories of inequality, Valencia (1997) demonstrates

the consistent use of cultural deficit in stock stories to rationalize and make sense of oppression. Exposing stock stories, CRT works to expose how racism persists in discourses of racial progress. Recognizing that marginalized groups possess alternative knowledge; CRT aims to disrupt stock-stories by privileging counter-stories. Solórzano & Yosso (2002) define counter-storytelling as “a method of telling the stories of those people whose experiences are not often told” (p. 26).

My research examines community colleges as "storied landscapes" where individual and collective stories circulate to make sense of the tensions between success and agency. To do so, I ask both *how* and *what* stories “work” to make coherent complex choices and negotiations.

In addition to the theoretical and methodological insights of CRT, I draw on Lauren Berlant’s work “Cruel Optimism” (2011), to consider the disjuncture between what higher education promises and produces. Using CRT’s framework of stories as an analytic tool and Bertlant’s framework of cruel optimism, I ask what stories are shared to make sense of non-traditional student aspirations and struggles. In this study, I am also invested in the importance of documenting stories from students that are often overlooked.

Conclusion

In this literature review, I began with a discussion of the historical evolution of the community college system. Contextualizing the ideology and interests that shaped the junior college, I revealed that racial and class-based anxieties propelled the growth of the community college system. Reading the 1947 Truman Commission Report as an archive of racialized history, I demonstrate that the investment in community colleges

served multiple purposes; it offered the façade of liberal democratic progress through the expansion of accessible education while preparing working-class, immigrant, and men of color to compete for limited low waged work while using surplus labor to drive down wages. Understanding how colleges maintain this dual function, promoting inclusivity with access to education while limiting opportunity, is a primary tension in this work. Turning to the work of sociologists Goffman (1952) and Clark (1967), I discussed the theory of "cooling-out"—a gradual process of discouragement or soft-denial. Cooling-out is a compelling explanation of how failure is structured within higher education. Building off Clark's framing of narratives of soft-denial, I then discussed Berlant's work on cruel optimism. Last, I reviewed deficit theories in education to support my use of critical race theory. The literature I have reviewed informs the overarching question explored in this dissertation: how incarcerated and non-incarcerated community college students imagine and narrate their desires surrounding higher education. Using the epistemology and methodological approach of CRT, the next chapter explores how I conducted data-collection and analysis.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter begins with a review of the guiding research questions that inform the research design. This project aims to understand how incarcerated, and non-incarcerated community college students make sense of their lives, choices, and sacrifices to participate in higher education and how these factors structure their expectations of what college might provide them. Utilizing a theoretical framework of critical race theory, I approach community college sites as “storied landscapes” where individual and collective stories circulate to make sense of the profound economic and social instability students face. Emphasizing stories within the discursive field of higher education, the following analytic questions guide this study:

- What does it mean for working-class adults to participate in higher education in the context of precarity and incarceration?
- How do neoliberal discourses of meritocracy, individualism, and deficit function to normalize inequality and precarity within and beyond the academy?
- How do non-traditional students narrate possibility in the crafting of new subjectivities within and beyond institutions of higher education?
- How does the category "non-traditional" materialize in the allocation of resources and entitlements?
- How do the Oregon Promise and Second Chance Pell Grant impact adult-learners?

Discussing the choices and considerations that shaped the research design, the next section begins with a discussion of the epistemological and ontological assumptions that inform this study. Within this conversation, I explain the centrality of narrative in critical race methodology. This is followed by a review of each research site and the historical forces that shape the demographics in Oregon. Next, I outline the research design, data collection and analysis process. The chapter concludes with a discussion of how the research design and methodology maintains an ethical approach to research with incarcerated populations and the limitations of this study.

Epistemological and Ontological Assumptions

Informed by a critical race, feminist, and indigenous studies framework, this research seeks to disrupt the epistemological legacy of colonialism reproduced in positivistic methods. I am inspired by an indigenous strategy of refusal as a political and methodological stance. Associated with the work of Tuck and Yang (2008), refusal is a compelling framework to take a conscious political and ethical stance rejecting extractive research practices. Eve Tuck and Wayne Yang use refusal as a response to the legacy of *damage-centered research* and *inquiry as an invasion*. Utilizing these terms allows these indigenous scholars to frame the preoccupation within social science research to document and empirically substantiate pain, loss, and oppression (Tuck & Yang, 2013). Rather than document the indignities caused by what bell hooks refers to as white-supremacist-capitalist-patriarchy (1981), Tuck and Yang advance a framework of desire-based research. In "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities" Eve Tuck (2011) centers desire-based research as an approach "concerned with understanding complexity, contradiction, and the self-determination of lived lives" (p. 416). Building on the premise

that language shapes thought desire-based research evokes questions about the choices inherent in research. This approach exemplifies post-qualitative encounters that do not place “humanism’s individual subject at the apex of inquiry but see subjects, including the researcher, as emergent in encounters with others—with human others, with discourses, and with physical and social landscapes” (Davies et al., 2013, p.680). Their critique resonates in Third-World, indigenous, feminist scholarship and critical race theory to challenge the foundation of Western empiricism and the authorial omniscience of objectivity. I am inspired by the unique positionality of participants knowledge through stories. The epistemological and ontological premise of critical race theory is rooted in a method of standpoint knowledge (Hill Collins, 2000). Feminist standpoint theory maintains an epistemological position that knowledge is predicated on one's positionality and identity (Sanchez-Casal & MacDonald, 2002).

Narrative and Critical Race Theory

Stories and narratives are a fundamental ontological feature of human existence (Bruner, 1991; Holstein and Gubrium, 2000). They are one of the most enduring and influential ways we construct our social identities and relate to the world. As Richard Delgado (1998) writes, "stories create bonds, represent cohesion, shared understandings, and meanings" (p.89). Critical race theory valorizes the capacity for people of color to understand their own lives and give voice to their experiences.

Associated with the seminal work *Borderlands/La Frontera* (1987) by Gloria Anzaldúa, those who "navigate between and negotiate multiple social worlds such as cultures, languages, social classes, sexualities, and nation-states, develop the faculty to

survive within and challenge mono-cultural and mono-lingual conceptions of social reality" (p.25). Anzaldúa writes of this faculty as "la facultad" as the:

capacity to see in the surface phenomena the meaning of deeper realities, to see the deep structure below the surface. It is an instant "sensing," a quick perception arrived at by the part of the psyche that does not speak, that communicates in images and symbols which read the faces of feelings, that is behind which feelings reside/hide... It is a kind of survival tactic that people, caught between the words, unknowingly cultivate (p. 63).

Anzaldúa refers to in-between spaces as borderlands which, extend to "any physical manifestation where power takes shape, sites that are patrolled and regulated, militarized borders between nation states, street corners, and underground asylums" (1987: 25).

Articulated by María Lugones (2006) as the "límen," borderlands exist at "the edge of hardened structures, a place where transgressions of the reigning order are possible...it is a place populated by economic refugees—those who are dispossessed of access to the means of survival" (p.78). Theorizing from social location, Anzaldúa (1987) advances a method to "account for various registers of experiences—shifting from the material, to that which is felt, heard, remembered and imagined" (p.25). The methodological framework of critical race methodology and Borderlands center on people's capacity to understand their own lives and give voice to their experiences. They extend a captious method to produce counter-hegemonic knowledge, account for geographic location, and the ways that power shapes the physical and psychological contours of experience.

Additional critiques from post-colonial, critical, queer, ethnic and women's studies have expanded the field of narrative representation, voice and authority, and ethics of representation. In, *The Cultural Politics of Emotions* (2004), Sarah Ahmed

argues that narratives should be approached as more than an auditory expression but as an embodied phenomenon.

Narratives or scripts do not, of course simply exist ‘out there’ to legislate the political actions of states. They also shape bodies and life including those that follow and depart from such narratives in ways in which they love and live, in the decisions they make and take within the intimate sphere of home and work... Bodies take the shape of norms that repeated over time and with force. I want to argue that norms surface *as* the surface of bodies; norms are the matter of impressions, of how our bodies are ‘impressed upon’ by the world, as a word made up of others. In other words, such impressions are effects of labor; how bodies work and are worked upon shapes the surface of the body (p. 145).

Ahmed's work contemplates how the body is a site where negotiations of inclusion, resistance, assimilation, and transgression take shape. In an important argument, Ahmed creates the following analogy:

Regulative norms function in a way as repetitive injury strains (RSI's). Through repeating some gestures and not others, through being orientated in some directions and not others, bodies become contorted; they get twisted into shapes that enable some action only as they restrict capacity for other kinds of action (2004, p.145).

Recognizing that silence, resistance, and participation are orientations that are performed in a classroom allows for the recognition of spatial narratives. Stories are a complex site for the negotiation and expression of meaning. Spatial analyses was integral in developing the research design of this study.

Research Method and Methodology

Research and theory are inextricably linked. According to Sandra Harding (1987), a research method is a technique for gathering evidence such as interviews, focus groups, participant observation, ethnographies, and surveys. Alternatively, research methodology is “a theory and analysis of how research does or should proceed” (p. 3). Critical race

methodology approaches the distinction between method and methodology similarly.

According to Daniel Solórzano (2002), critical race theory approaches

methods as the specific techniques used in the research process, such as data gathering and analysis. Whether we use quantitative, qualitative, or a combination of methods depends on which techniques of data gathering and analysis will best help us answer our research questions. We define methodology as the overarching theoretical approach guiding the research. For us, methodology is the nexus of theory and method in the way praxis is to theory and practice. In other words, methodology is the place where theory and method meet. Critical race methodology is an approach to research grounded in critical race theory. We approach our work and engage in various techniques of data gathering and analysis guided by critical race theory and Latino critical race (LatCrit) theory. Critical race methodology pushes us to humanize quantitative data and to recognize silenced voices in qualitative data. (p.38).

In "Critical Race Methodology: Counter-Storytelling as an Analytical Framework for Education Research" (2002) Solórzano and Yosso outline critical race methodology as a theoretically grounded approach to research that:

- foregrounds race and racism in all aspects of the research process;
- challenges the traditional research paradigms, texts, and theories used to explain the experiences of students of color;
- offers a liberatory or transformative solution to racial, gender, and class subordination;
- focuses on the racialized, gendered, and classed experiences of students of color;
- uses the interdisciplinary knowledge base of ethnic studies, women's studies, sociology; history, humanities, and the law to better understand the experiences of students of color (p.23).

Accounting for power, ethics, and representation, critical race methodology is grounded in materialist realities for emancipatory results. In what follows, I use the principals and tools of critical race methodology. However, it does so in settings that are predominantly composed of white-working class students.

Applying Critical Race Theory and methodology in majority white context exposes tensions and intersections between CRT and Whiteness Studies. Associated with the pioneering work of W.E.B Du Bois (1890;1920), James Baldwin (1972), Theodore Allen (1973;1975), Franz Fanon (2004), George Lipsitz (1998) and David Roediger (1991), Whiteness studies exposes the discursive, historical, and political structures that produce and re-produce white supremacy and privilege. A tenant of CRT is the notion of Whiteness as property (DeCuir & Dixon, 2004). By rendering visible the ways Whiteness, power, and privilege manifest, whiteness studies and CRT share a commitment to dismantle oppressive structures through anti-racist research.

Both fields acknowledge the process of racial formation, emergence and maintenance of identity politics, and the psychological and material trauma endemic in a culture of White supremacy and racism. Shielded from this reality, working-class White communities can ignore their stake in changing racist systems (Segrest, 2002). bell hooks (2014) stresses the danger of developing an analysis of shared victimization that re-centers whiteness. Rather, hooks advocates for the necessity of solidarity based on, “one's political and ethical understanding of racism and one's rejection of domination.” In the decades shaped by identity politics, George Lipsitz contends, “White supremacy is an equal opportunity employer; nonwhite people can become active agents of white supremacy as

well as passive participants in its hierarchies and rewards: (p.viii). Returning to my earlier point, both CRT and Whiteness studies recognize that,

Group interests are not monolithic, and aggregate figures can obscure serious differences within racial groups. All whites do not benefit from the possessive investment in whiteness in precisely the same ways; the experiences of members of minority groups are not interchangeable. But the possessive investment in whiteness always affects individual and collective life chances and opportunities (Lipsitz, 2006, p.79).

While charting the intersections between Whiteness Studies and CRT are outside the scope of this dissertation, I draw upon these areas to consider the historical realities that have produced the unique demographics of my research sites and the social and political urgencies within these spaces and communities. This study considers how CRT, developed by predominantly scholars of color in urban settings can be applied to research with working-class White students in rural areas.

Critical race methodology strives toward a greater understanding of the lives and meanings made by marginalized individuals and groups. A main objective is to develop research that makes available the conceptual structures that inform behavior while developing a system of analysis regarding the structures in-and-of themselves. I draw from the work of scholars in this field to value stories from the margins and to challenge the normalcy of what bell hooks refers to “White supremacist-capitalist patriarchy” (1981). In this study, emphasis is given to stories from marginalized communities reflect experiential knowledge of the "contextual contours" that must be negotiated to survive (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p.11). Considering the experiential knowledge of adult-learners as a focal point, the following section provides an overview of the research sites and design used in this study.

Sites of Research

Oregon Demographics

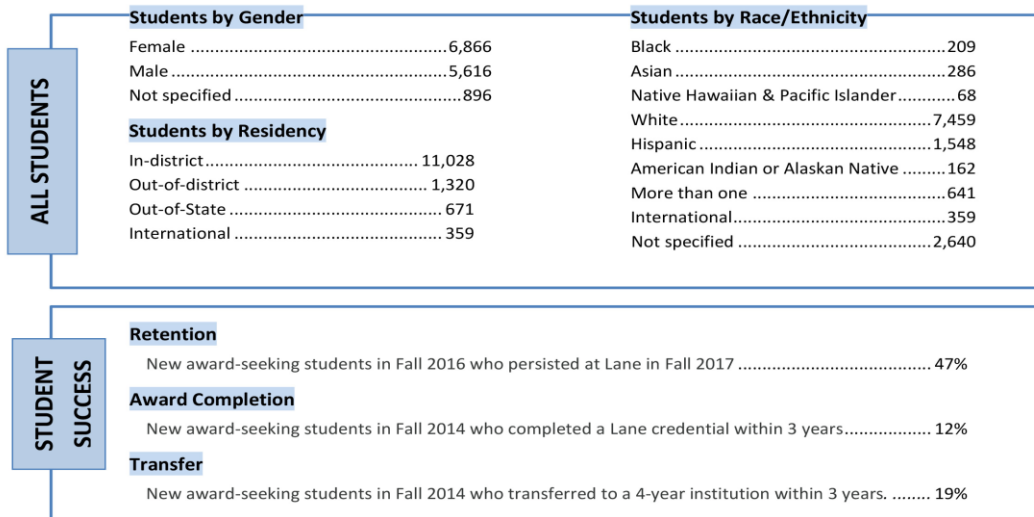
I begin the discussion of my research sites with a broad overview of the racial history of Oregon. This overview is necessary to understand the contemporary composition of each research site. Racist policies aimed at Black exclusion have indelibly shaped Oregon's demographic. Oregon is the only state that entered the Union with a clause in its constitution forbidding Black people from establishing residence. Article 35 of Oregon's 1859 constitution outlines the vision for the state to exist as a “White Utopia” (Semuels, 2016). In 1927, fifty-nine years after the 14th Amendment, Oregon amended the law to remove the discriminatory clause. However, the entrenched structural and social racism that shaped the state's past continues to manifest in racialized policies and practices. In a 2016 article, “The Racist History of Portland, the Whitest City in America” Alana Semuels characterizes Portland as the whitest big city in America, with a population that is 72.2 percent white and only 6.3 percent African American. Alongside wide scale gentrification and displacement, a 2011 audit conducted by the Fair Housing Council of Oregon found that landlords and leasing agencies discriminated against Black and Latino renters’ 64 percent of the time, citing people of color higher rents or deposits and adding on additional fees. In area schools, a 2015 study concluded that across the state, African American students are suspended and expelled at a rate four to five times higher than that of their white peers. The continual effects of structural racism and discriminatory policies shape the state and the demographics of the research settings in this study.

Lane Community College

Lane Community College is a two-year community college located in Eugene, Oregon. Established in 1964, Lane is the third largest community college in Oregon with a 5,000-service district that spans four counties. The total annual enrollment of 27,000 credit and non-credit students in the 2016-2017 academic year. Approximately half the student body is enrolled full time, with the other half attending part-time. The college offers a wide variety of instructional programs including transfer credit programs, School of Professional and Technical Careers programs, Continuing Education noncredit courses, programs in English as a Second Language and International ESL and GED programs. Indicated in the students' success data, 12% of those who identified certificates of study or degree completion in 2014 completed their credential in three years by 2017. An overview of the demographics and student success rate at Lane is presented in Figure 3.

Figure 3.

FAST FACTS - FALL 2017



(Source: Lane Fast Facts, Fall 2017.)

The data in the following chapter came from 23 interviews with students who were enrolled in classes specifically for non-traditional students. These were a “College Success” course and a class in the “Women in Transitions Program.” 87% (21) of respondents were enrolled in the Women in Transitions Program (WIT). According to faculty and administrator, Cara DiMarco who has worked for the program for 29.5 of the 30 years the program has existed, in the 1980’s, the first iteration of the program was called “The Displaced Homemakers Program (DiMarco, 2017). In 1987, the Women in Transition Program offers a cohort experience and “college entry program designed for women in the midst of life transitions to become economically self-sufficient through access to education, training, and employment.” Students in the WIT program also enroll in mainstream college courses while in the program. After celebrating its 30th anniversary in 2017, the program funding was cut for the 2018-19 budget year.

College Inside

The second research site is the satellite community college program College Inside through Chemeketa Community College. Chemeketa was founded in 1952 and is located near Salem, Oregon. Chemeketa serves nearly 30,000 students each year in a district that covers 2,600 square miles. The College Inside Program began in 2007 through the financial contribution of a private donor. At that time, there were few, if any college education programs as a result of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 which prohibited incarcerated individuals from receiving

Federal Pell Grants. In the early years, the program ran in two corrections institutions and was funded through private individual donations and small grants.

In June 2016, Chemeketa was awarded a selective grant through the U.S. Department of Education to participate in Second Chance Pell Grant Piolet Program. Chemeketa is the only college in Oregon to join the 68 colleges throughout the country to study the impact of education programs on recidivism (for a full list of institutions selected to participate in the Second Chance Pell Grant see <https://www2.ed.gov/documents/press-releases/second-chance-pell-institutions.pdf>). College Inside provides college education (Associates of Arts Transfer Degrees and applied certification in mechanics) inside three state corrections institutions: Oregon State Correctional Institution, Oregon State Penitentiary, and Santiam Correctional Institution. In May of 2018, the College Inside program has graduated 214 Pell Grant eligible students and 20 students on other scholarships. A remarkably successful aspect of the program is the low recidivism rate of College Inside graduates—a mere 4% have returned to prison two years after their release.

Research Design and Data Collection

Lane Community College

Building from the discussion of each research site, this section reviews the distinctive protocols for recruitment, data collection, and data management in each setting. Each protocol reflects the context and specific needs of the population. At Lane Community College data collection was structured around one-on-one interviews. A total of 23 interviews were conducted between November and May of 2016-2017.

Participants were recruited from in-class invitation pitches and word-of-mouth. In-class,

presentations were made in three college preparation courses that served adult-learners/non-traditional students. One presentation was in a non-credit "College Now" course specifically for non-traditional students. The class offers curriculum on steps students can take to be successful in college. The two additional courses I made recruitment pitches in were part of the Women in Transitions Program (see page 60). Overall, 28 students responded to the classroom visits by sending an email expressing interest. The respondents ranged from 24 to 67 years of age. Of these, 23 students were able to schedule and complete an interview. A distinctive feature of this data sample is 20 of the 23 participants were women/female-identifying.

Before interviews, I emailed participants consent forms and the list of interview questions. Additionally, I gave the option of meeting at one of three locations (both on and off campus). The start of each interview consisted of a short discussion of the aims of this research and a review of the consent forms. Participants were provided a hard copy of interview questions and asked to select a question they wanted to begin with. This element of choice contributed to a semi-structured and less formal interview process. Interviews lasted between an hour to an hour and a half, were audio-recorded, and transcribed. For a list of the interview questions, see Appendix A. In addition to interviews with students, I took field notes on visual data in the form of billboards and posters on display in the campus environment.

Chemeketa Community College's College Inside Program

Within the College Inside the program, different considerations were given to conducting human subjects research. As a vulnerable population, incarcerated people have historically carried the burden of violent and unethical research practices, people

who experience incarceration require greater protection. Within this setting, conceptions of agency, consent, coercion access, and confidentiality are radically different within the prison environment. With these considerations, I worked with the College Inside program director, the department of corrections, the University of Oregon Institutional Review Board to establish an approach to recruitment, confidentiality, and data recording that acknowledged ethnical concerns unique to the population and setting. Ultimately, the research design evolved from a collaboration with each of these institutions.

During the Spring term 2017, I was teaching a College Inside class. My clearance as an Instructor provided me with routine access to enter and exit the prison for class-related purposes. In this research site, I occupied the roles of principal investor and a faculty member. This will be discussed further in the section on the role of the researcher. The benefit of this dual role of educator and researcher was access inside and structured encounters with people who were incarcerated. Without an access badge, I am skeptical this research would have been possible. However, working as both an Instructor and a researcher raised unique issues regarding the ethics of recruitment and coercion to participate. I worked with a senior research specialist at the University of Oregon's Research Compliance office to develop a protocol that alleviated pressure on students who might have felt obligated to participate in the study or think that their participation could influence their grade or my perception of them.

The regulation of prison-life makes access to confidential space for one-on-one conversations is extremely difficult. Arranging a private discussion or interview required significant clearance, support from corrections administration, staff, and physical space. Working within these constraints, data collection focused on student writing. During the

11-week term, I assigned one autobiographical-paper prompting students to reflect on experiences in higher education before and during the College Inside Program.

Additionally, I asked how participants navigated the institutions of prison and community college and institutional discourses. A copy of the writing prompt is included in Appendix A. Papers were collected but not graded. Participation in this study was attained through consent to use responses to the written assignment described above.

Consent forms were distributed during our class meeting on Week10 (one week before the end of the term). After explaining the scope and goals of this research, I set aside 30 minutes to answer student questions. Our conversation was robust. We discussed the history of research in prisons and research on marginalized populations, ethics, representation, power, and the potential impact of this work. Students were given the week to determine if they would participate or opt-out. During this time, students were encouraged to talk to the program coordinator if they had any questions. Including the program director triangulated the discussion process and provided another person students could speak with. Regardless of participation in the study, students were assigned the autobiographical essay (to review the assignment see Appendix A). On the final day of class, I handed out new consent forms. Students checked the box to indicate their choice of participation or non-participation. I was mindful to establish a process that diminished any obvious visual markers of who participated. It was important to protect participants privacy about the decision. Collecting all the forms in this manner decreased any visual markers of participation status. A manila envelope circulated, and each student added their paper and consent form in the folder.

Of the 25 students recruited, 24 opted into the study. The men participating in this study ranged from 28-64 years of age. Given the complexity of racial affiliation within a state prison, I did not ask respondents their racial or ethnic identity or affiliations. As the written responses were transcribed any identifying details were omitted and pseudonyms were applied.

Navigating Ethical Access to Participants

Throughout the research protocol outlined above, I was aware that access, ethics, and coercion have different meanings in the context of captivity. As mentioned in Chapter I, during my doctoral program my involvement with prison education grew. Before I began developing a research protocol, I established relationships with faculty teaching and facilitating programs inside. In the year prior to this study, I observed four education and rehabilitative classes in the Oregon State Correctional Institute. Through these opportunities and access to the prison setting I had conversations with practitioners and incarcerated students who encouraged me to get involved with prison education.

As part of my preparation to teach for the College Inside Program, I completed three mandatory trainings with the Oregon Department of Corrections. Each session was well attended with ten to fifteen new contracted employees. From my perspective, the content of the trainings focused on two main themes. The first addressed physical safety, the risk of violence, reporting of sexual abuse, and procedures working inside. The second emphasized the potential for psychological manipulation by inmates. As contracted employees unfamiliar with working in the prison setting participants, we were warned of potential dangers of being recruited to carry out small favors such as mailing a letter or enacting favoritism. The examples of coercion were underscored by the

environment of the training room. Located on the third floor looking out over the prison yard, the walls of the training room were lined with shadow boxes that were filled with shanks, ropes, and other contraband items confiscated from inmates. The display presented a very tangible reminder of prison life and how antagonisms materialize within the environment.

This point was underscored a few weeks later when I received an email prior to the first-class meeting informing me that the prison was on lockdown and non-corrections staff could not enter or leave the prison. The lockdown lasted three days. Later, I gleaned that the lockdown was a punitive response to multiple (seemingly coordinated) fights that took place throughout the prison grounds in rapid succession. The week following the lock-down when I held the first day of class, students apologized for their appearance. Many of them did not have access to a shower for several days. The impact of the events leading up to, during and, after the lockdown was felt through the entire quarter.

During the first Oregon DOC training, I made a valuable contact with the facilitator who put me in touch with the Research Committee Chair at the Department of Corrections. The contact provided the opportunity to inquire about the potential of conducting research based data for my dissertation. Met with support, particularly because, this project did not require any resources from the DOC, I was encouraged to submit a proposal after I obtained IRB approval from the University of Oregon. To better understand the process of IRB approval for research with a vulnerable population, I met with a Senior Research Compliance Administrator at the University of Oregon. During a robust conversation, we drafted a series of specialized concerns and potential research

approaches to elevate them. Among these, was addressing the limited capacity to solicit voluntary informed consent.

Federal regulations recognize that prisoners experience constraints that affect their ability to make voluntary decisions under the conditions of incarceration. In their study "Coercion and informed consent in research involving prisoners" (2005), Moser et al. found prisoners' main reasons for participating in research projects included avoiding boredom, meeting someone new, appearing cooperative in hopes of being treated better. Additional factors requiring greater consideration were inmates' rights to privacy such that they could participate without fear that their information will be shared with others. Mindful of these concerns, I designed a protocol that gave detailed consideration to recruitment, coercion, privacy.

Research that poses more than minimal risk to subjects or involves vulnerable populations requires a formal review with the University's Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects. The committee is comprised of 18-20 faculty, administrative, and research representatives. As part of the approval process my advisor and I attended their meeting to explain and clarify portions of the research design. Following a discussion with members of the board, I received feedback and edits to ensure the welfare of participants and approval to pursue this project.

Data Management

To ensure participant privacy and confidentiality interviews at Lane Community College occurred in private study rooms. To protect anonymity, during transcription, pseudonyms were used. Audio recordings, transcription files, and field notes are safely stored on a password protected hard drive. Data management for research inside a state

corrections institute is subject to different constraints. Any information gathered in my role as an instructor or researcher is subject to search by the prison. With this consideration, I placed parameters on the questions asked to mitigate participants sharing potentially consequential information (i.e. information about rules violations while inside). Once consent forms were paired with student papers, a random assignment of a pseudonym was used to differentiate responses. No actual names of participants are used in the results of the data. De-identification of any personal information and identifiers (length of sentence, community of origin, etc.) took place before data analysis to minimize any possibility of the subject being identified. The one student paper that was not linked to a consent form was shredded and disposed of in a secure confidential recycle bin.

Data Analysis and Representation

This project considers how incarcerated and non-incarcerated community college students make sense of their lives, choices, and sacrifices to participate in higher education and how these factors structure their expectations of what college might provide them? As discussed, the way I set out to answer this question is by interviewing and collecting written responses to a series of questions such as:

- What are three terms that come to mind describing your experience in higher education and why?
- What messages do you receive about attending college at this time and place in your life? Do you agree with these messages? Why? Why not?
- What (if any) challenges do you feel prevent you from achieving your goals?

Through these questions, I opened up a space to learn how participants felt about,

and ascribed meaning to, participating in higher education. During the transcription process, I observed patterns in descriptions, experiences, and stories that were common and those that were less so. Rather than searching for (or believing in) universal truths, I attended to how participants navigated the institution and institutional discourses. Informed by Critical Race Theory, I noticed how participants challenged their marginalized positionality within higher education. I reviewed the data for how counter stories emerged and if the forces of cooling out or cruel optimism were apparent.

The representation of data in the following chapters comes from interview excerpts organized in response to a particular topic or theme. Referring back to the research questions, I clustered responses. Given that I interviewed 47 participants a significant amount of data was not represented in this manuscript. The data that is presented here was selected following the transcription process. Carefully reviewing the transcripts, I began to notice patterns in student experience. These sections were annotated for further analysis. Occasionally in certain interviews and participant writing stories surfaced that I intuitively felt needed to be shared. These were passionate testimonies that were, at times, part of more extensive reflections and/or the formulation of an insight. It is undeniable that my positionality as a community college faculty member, second-generation immigrant, female graduate student influenced what I heard, felt, and read during interviews and the transcription process.

Role of the Researcher

Over the course of this research, I was prompted to continually re-evaluate my position as a researcher and the power relations that structured encounters with participants. As mentioned earlier, in both research settings I maintained two roles as the

principal investor and a faculty member. It is important to acknowledge that my positionality as a community college faculty member and alumni of two community colleges informs a vantage point from which I write. Naming my positionality is a conscious and deliberate decision to align with post-colonial and indigenous research practices. Moreover, I consciously attended to critical questions about the power relations embedded in research. As Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2014) stresses in *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous peoples*, producers, participants, and consumers of research should ask: Whose research it? Whose interests does it serve? Who will benefit from it? Who has designed its questions and framed its scope? I hope that this work will contribute, even in a minimal way, to the lives of the study participants, and the work of community college educators, and students.

In addition to the solidarity I extend to the participants in this study, extensive consideration was given to mitigating any conflict of interest related to my dual roles. As a faculty member and Principal Investigator at Lane Community College, prior and during this study, I taught sociology courses online. Participants recruited for this study had no prior interaction with me as a college faculty member. The only mention of my role as a faculty member was during classroom recruitment visits. Attention was given to how my role as a faculty member conducting research could increase my institutional affiliation and cause additional layers of distance between participants. In response, conscious choices were made not to schedule interviews in my office as not to amplify my role as a faculty member. Mindful of ways power relations are inscribed to social space, I scheduled on-campus and off-campus interviews in student study rooms. These observations required me to place myself and my research practices in relation to the

roles and environment I occupy. This need was accentuated in the College Inside classroom.

As discussed, my role as a faculty member was integral to accessing participants in the College Inside Program. However, my motivation to teach in the College Inside Program was not informed by the possibility of conducting research. It was not until I attended a Department of Corrections training facilitated by a member of the Research Committee during the first week of an eleven-week teaching term, that the possibility emerged. The process needed to receive IRB approval from the University of Oregon Research Compliance Committee and the Oregon Department of Corrections was an extremely involved process with no guarantee of approval. Although I did not rely on access to data from the College Inside program for the completion of my dissertation, approval came one week prior to the end of the term. This allowed a short window of time to solicit participation.

Gaining research clearance at the end of the term influenced the data collection process in unanticipated ways. By the end of the term I had established a rapport with students. By this time students were aware that I was completing a dissertation. In every introductory sociology class I teach during a discussion on sociological research I often give examples of research projects I have participated in. By the end of the term, students were aware of my background, my pedagogical approach and my dissertation research on adult learners in community college. I believe these factors contributed to the nearly unanimous participation. As discussed previously, students were assigned an auto-biographical writing assignment. To alleviate any concerns that may arise from a conflict of interest, potential favoritism, the impact of grade, etc. I emphasized that I

would not be aware of who opted-in or opted-out of the study until the class was over and grades submitted.

Limitations

Consistent with all research, this project is defined not only by what is presented but by its own absences. The most significant of these is the lack of representation in race and gender in the population. This absence is reflective of a limited sample population as well as the demographics of the research sites. During data collection, I had not anticipated participation from predominately female respondents. During one interview, I raised the observation that there was a lack of male participation. The participant suggested, perhaps female students in the Women in Transitions Program were more eager to tell their stories for the cathartic and healing experience of being heard. It is difficult to account for this absence.

Another limitation is the sample size and generalizability. Working with a sample of 48 participants produced a great deal of data. However, much of the data was not represented in this study. Part of this is due to constraints of time and resources. With additional time, I would have pursued follow up interviews to seek clarification and depth. Moreover, in hindsight, I would have used an additional interview method, prompting participants to discuss topics rather than specific questions. This is because questions can be interpreted differently and in some interviews participants overprepared their responses to the questions I had emailed them. These methodological restrictions are inevitable when using a singular tool for data collection. Lastly, participant observation in both settings would have supported this research.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS LANE COMMUNITY COLLEGE

How would you tell your coming of age story without the milestones—graduations, weddings, promotions, births—that propel it forward? How might you make sense of the broken promises—unused degrees, unexpected layoffs, or failed relationships—that disconnect the pieces of yourself that you spent a lifetime carefully assembling? (Silva, 2013, p. 42).

Introduction

This brief excerpt introduces some of the emergent themes of the data collected during interviews with 24 adult-learners at Lane Community College. Each of the participants meet the colleges' criteria of being a non-traditional student. This chapter considers how adults narrate their experiences when the taken-for-granted pathways for organizing one's life through work and education have become unattainable, impractical, and obsolete. The way respondents describe their lives and desires within higher education is intimately connected to both the appropriation and contestation of neoliberal discourses of hyper-individualism, accountability, and emotional management. I consider how these discourses alternatively sustain and deprive participants when the pathways they were taught to believe in no longer exist. Because higher education is a future-oriented endeavor that socializes participants toward new subjectivities and intelligible identities (i.e., the college graduate, the full-time student, the double major), this project considers the ways non-traditional students narrate possibility in the crafting of new subjectivities within and beyond institutions of higher education. The research question that informed this study asks how participants make sense of their lives, choices, and

sacrifices to participate in higher education and how these factors structure their expectations of what college might provide them.

There are three primary themes in this chapter. The first section explores the "non-traditional" student as a category and the way it materializes in the allocation of resources and entitlements. The importance of this identity, I argue, centers on the current wave of tuition reforms that erase non-traditional students from the imagined community. Building on this, the second theme expands on the construction of community college as last chance institutions. Exposing participants' sense of precarity and possibility, I consider embodied manifestations of economic abandonment and how community colleges serve as repositories for those pushed to the margins of precarity. Doing so adds a spatial/geographic awareness to the forms of support community colleges provide. The third section considers how students reconcile complicated narratives of uncertainty and institutional betrayal by framing their lives through therapeutic discourses. As a neoliberal expression, therapeutic frameworks promote an obsessive preoccupation with personal choices, blame, and self-help (Berlant, 2009, Ehrenreich, 2010, Silva, 2013).

This data draws attention to how some of the most politically invisible and economically vulnerable populations—women, minority students, economically disadvantaged, first-generation, and re-entry/returning students—absorb the punishment of austerity through unemployment, underemployment and dislocation experiences that are normalized as inevitable experiences of the modern landscape and mediated by discourses that circulate within and beyond community colleges regarding meritocracy, hyper-individualism, and self-help. Towards these ends, the testimonies below illustrate

how the social reproduction of story-lines prioritizing therapeutic self-help and emotional regulation shape the ideological and narrative habitus within and beyond the classroom.

Non-traditional Student Identity

I begin this section with a discussion of identity. An objective of this research was to understand, “How does the category "non-traditional" materialize in the allocation of resources and entitlements?” To approach this question, I started by asking. “Do participants consider themselves non-traditional students or not?” As discussed in the introduction, the term non-traditional is a catch-all category used to describe an extensive array of students who do not enter college directly after high school. Karen Kim's study "Exploring the Meaning of Nontraditional" (2002) concludes that three distinct definitions are used by researchers and policymakers to identify non-traditional community college populations. These are as follows: students who are 25 or older, students who experience one or more background characteristics such as being from an underrepresented ethnic group, first generation in college, immigration status, speaking a primary language other than English. In addition to such demographic characteristics, students who enroll in classes part-time, are without a high school diploma, parenting students and re-entry students are also considered non-traditional. As an obscure category, the term combines identities and experiences to render the majority of students who attend community college as *not the traditional student*. One of the ways I draw attention to the broad nature of this category is including participants’ age next to an assigned pseudonym. The data represents experiences from individuals in their twenties to sixties. In this data set, I include age identifiers to remind readers of the range of adult-learners included in this study who are also parents, care givers, workers, etc.

The power to define what is and what is not traditional or normative bears heavily on students' sense of belonging. My concern with the category and the experiences of students categorized as such pertains to visibility and the allocation of both material and psychological resources and entitlements. Of the 24 students interviewed, 46% identified with the term non-traditional whereas 54% did not, despite meeting one or more criteria qualifying them as non-traditional. This is not to say that, the people I interviewed have not made distinctions about themselves compared to younger first-time college students. Those differences, however, did not distinguish traditional versus non-traditional. The following excerpts illustrate how students internalize, make sense of, and resist the identity of non-traditional.

Mercedes, who as 35 when we spoke, was one of the more eager participants in the study. She was first to contact me following the recruitment pitch I made in her class. When we met, she was exhausted from working a graveyard shift as a cab-driver. Although she was fatigued, she had an urgency to talk. Our interview was an hour and fifty minutes. Feeling more like an oral history than any of the other interviews conducted, Mercedes started our conversation by saying, "It is a big story."

Do you identify as a non-traditional student?

Right now, yes, absolutely. I am 35 and trying to start over, and I think there is this frustration, I mean, I have all these "*shoulds*," I *should* have a college degree, I had a stable upbringing, both my parents both have PhDs. I *should* be making a living wage but, I am not... And I never really have [made a living wage]. And [now], I am still struggling at year 7 in my job. That is insane! Why would I keep doing this? So, I moved to Oregon to start over and I never realized how hard it would be to start over. This is not what I think of as being *the tradition*.

In her response, Mercedes highlights a relationship between the past and what should have come to fruition amidst the struggle surrounding the present. Her notion of “the tradition” hinges on a belief in a social contract that equates having a good childhood and parents with advanced degrees as an indicator of the kind of future that should be available and indeed attainable. Negotiating the "should-haves," Mercedes’ feeling of instability as a worker and student intensified her awareness of her age.

Awareness of age was a common theme expressed. Sue who as 68 attended Alder community college in 1978. She went on to earn a degree in English literature and worked as an editor for 27 years. After what she described as an “unanticipated and devastating layoff last year,” she re-enrolled in classes. She describes herself as non-traditional because she feels old in classes with people in their twenties while she is in her sixties. She also noted that her unemployment left her in a place of transition with nowhere to go.

Anna, a 54-year-old single mother and part time student, expressed her identification with the category non-traditional as follows:

I think so, I feel it in age and expectations. I also find that there are a lot of things that I am expected to know. The social cues and acronyms that make this place inaccessible. If I were fresh out of high school, maybe I would know. But since it has been so long, I don’t always feel that I belong.

Kay, who was 39, related her experience as a non-traditional student to navigating the social setting on campus. For Kay and others, a storied life trajectory or nonlinear path is how they identified with the concept.

Yes. I absolutely consider myself non-traditional. I run into my son's friends here [on campus]. I think that for some people like me, we tried to find success and find ourselves ... having not taken a very linear and normal path. A non-traditional student is having a bit more of a sorted story. They come [to college] with more determination.

Other participants feel the stigma of returning to school as an adult. Shawna, who as 35, expressed resistance by refusing to accept the stigma associated her experience.

I identify as non-traditional. I didn't graduate high school and I went a different route and got a GED. The term can be limiting and it can be offensive. Not being called normal can make me feel excluded. Some of the ideas that it was "less-than" or a put down to be here. There were some ideas in my head that this was a lesser choice—that I wasn't going to a 4-year school, but I had to get over that. I think work needs to be done to change the stigma.

Similarly, Sara who at 32 was attending college for the first time. After high-school, she devoted herself to homeschooling three children. The decision to homeschool resulted from the medical needs of her child. While beyond the scope of this project, the lack of adequate and comprehensive, quality health care and child care was a significant factor in participants' lives. She qualified her experience in this way:

Non-traditional, to me it means your second or third time around and [that you are] old. It means that it takes more for me to get here and get work done. I have a lot of other responsibilities.

Ironically, Sara refers to herself as a non-traditional student, which she defines as "second or third time around," even though this is her first time in college. When I asked her to explain this contradiction, she expressed that your first time around is the chance you might have had after you graduate high school. For Sara, the distinctions between opportunities and choices seemed unclear.

Several of the women I spoke with narrate their life through an individualistic lens that fails to account for institutional forces. Doing so, they internalize the reasons they may not have attended college earlier in life as personal choices rather than as institutional constraints. There was one exception, Mallory, who at 32 returned to school after a prison sentence. She considers herself non-traditional because, in her words, “Most people don’t come back to college after prison. Most people, they are coming here before *life catches them*.” In a schooling context that privileges younger students, Mallory’s statement pushes back on the internalization of guilt or stigma that some adult-students carry. She was defying the odds and expectations of others by returning to college after incarceration.

Only one respondent pushed back on the term non-traditional. Madrone who was 38 expressed,

I do not identify as a non-traditional student. Not at all. I identify as someone who shows up to learn, and I think that would be a traditional student. I don’t feel that I am going to the Senior Center on Friday to learn to basket weave. That, to me, would be a non-traditional student. [If] you show up with a backpack and turn stuff in—that is a student. And I am not a minority of some kind. I view the term as derogatory. I have a reasonable IQ, and I can get stuff done and see myself as average.

Contextualizing her experience through signifiers of a normative student experiences (i.e., wearing a backpack, turning in assignments, etc.), Madrone insists on her student identity as normative. She adds to this understanding her status as a white woman by differentiating herself from “a minority of some kind.” Since there is little agreement over what constitutes non-traditional (Dougherty, 1994), Madrone’s assertion of her experience as a normative one stems from privilege she associates with her whiteness.

Her analysis illuminates how perceived entitlement is signified by not being a minority of some kind. This exchange makes clear that entitlement and identity produce a sense of belonging.

Mercedes, Sue, Anna, Kay, Shawna, Sara, Mallory, and Madrone all reveal that the power to define what is and what is not traditional or normative bears heavily on students' sense of belonging within the institution. Against this backdrop, my concern with this ambiguous category and the experiences of students categorized as such pertains to visibility and the allocation of both material and psychological resources and entitlements. The next section draws attention to how the allocation of resources and entitlements are refashioned in the current wave of tuition reform.

The Oregon Promise

This section attends to the question, "How do the Oregon Promise and Second Chance Pell Grant impact adult-learners?" As discussed in Chapter II, non-traditional students occupy a unique place in higher education (Cohen, 2008). They are both victims of and collaborators with an institution that structurally neglects them. Despite mixed identification, I argue the category is necessary to study given how non-traditional students less visible in the current wave of tuition reform.

The relationship between tuition reform and identifying as a non-traditional student was made apparent during several interviews. When I asked participants the question, "Do you identify as a non-traditional student?" a short discussion followed. However, several responses led to animated conversations about the Oregon Promise. The first cohort of 463 Oregon Promise recipients enrolled at Lane Community College in the Fall of 2016, six months before these interviews. The topic is a polarizing issue for

participants. Criticizing the eligibility criteria that disenfranchises them, respondents addressed the financial and social friction created by different institutionally produced realities.

Overall, participants celebrated the tuition reform as progress. However, many were critical of the eligibility criteria and allocation of the award. As mentioned above, responses to the question about identifying as non-traditional often morphed into discussions about the noticeable shift in a younger demographic on campus because of the Oregon Promise. As the collegiate peers of “Promise recipients,” returning students have a unique vantage point to observe the impacts of the program. Respondents offered the following insights:

Kay, who was 39 when we spoke, contextualized her view of the program by comparing how it felt to attend community college in the year before the program versus now.

I had felt more comfortable in the classroom until this year. This was the first time I felt old or outnumbered. It got more intimidating. I think the program is wonderful and I wish it applied to more people. For me, I am raising two kids, have multiple stressors, and I am supposed to be really clear about how this choice [to be in school] impacts my career choices. I don't have the same cushion. It is a double-edged sword and it changes things for students like me. It would be nice if it was more evenly distributed.

Viewing the program as a double-edged sword that adversely impacts adult students was a theme in several interviews. Shawna voiced an astute critique of the program concerning age and class.

I think that it is unfortunate. I will say that compared to last year, the classes are packed, and it is a lot of younger kids. It is definitely a different experience when you come here as

an older adult with more responsibilities. I wish there was something that targeted or made different opportunities [available] for people who had already started.

Also, I feel that it is benefiting middle-upper-class families that can already afford college. It is benefiting families that don't really need it as much financially and at the same time, there is the largest enrollment and re-enrollment. It doesn't seem that it is serving the people that need it most financially. And it does not address anyone other than high school grads.

Madrone who initially rejected the label non-traditional to describe her experience, utilized the term to critique the Oregon Promise.

It is not that it takes away from other students, but it crowds the pond. It crowds out the non-traditional students. So, it makes less room for other people to come in. Literally, there is less room when your classes are full. And maybe that is one difference that I see with older students; we think of things in terms of money. It is not like, "Oh cool the instructor didn't show up and I get to skip class." It is like, "I broke my neck to get here, and now the instructor didn't show up!"

In a follow up comment, Madrone stressed the investment in recent high-school graduates has an adverse effect on non-traditional learners by diminishing the often-overlooked value-added aspects of attending college (available parking, access to guidance counselors, classes with space to enroll, etc.).

The uneven allocation of the Oregon Promise magnified other issues of educational commitment and attitude. Madrone's frustration draws attention to the hurdles many students overcome to arrive to class every day. Anna, who was 58, echoed a similar perspective that emphasizes the virtues of commitment:

I think it should be re-defined. That you earn the benefit of free college by doing community service or demonstrating

they are committed. I noticed that in my writing class, which is hard, by the 5th week half the class drops-out and they wasted hundreds of dollars and were not committed.

The students that it will most benefit, or [it will] appeal to, might not be the population that is ready for it. I wonder because I am so new to this if it will shift the attitude to learning. If something is free, it can shift the perspective.

Assigning a value to traditional markers of educational commitment, returning students pointed to high dropout rates to indicate less dedication in recent high school graduates.

An unspoken assumption here is the association between commitment and worthiness.

This is illustrated in Tasha's response. She is a 34-year-old mother of two.

Now they want to offer free tuition and I am baffled. *What about the \$35,000 I borrowed?* That is amazing. If I were to take free tuition, I would have never had to borrow any money. And are they going to take it seriously as I took it? A lot of us older non-traditional ones can see the ones who are taking it seriously and the ones who are not.

I think they should take half the money and give it to someone who is right out of high school and give half [of the money] to people who are returning and see who does better. Like conducting an experiment—choose ten students right out of high school and ten who are returning and track them for a year.

Tasha's frustration over her significant debt lingered through the duration of the interview. It is impossible to fathom the burden caused by \$35,000 of debt for an Associate Degree imposes on her and her family. Rather than criticizing recent high school graduates who avail themselves of the Oregon Promise, participants echoed the concern about younger students' readiness and commitment. Mercedes (34) distilled her concern as such: "I worry that 18 and 19 years olds are not ready. I think that the free

opportunity should be allocated to people who prove that they are ready and want to be here." Wendy a 63-year-old asserts that it is "frustrating" that midway through the term one-third of the students drop out because they are "lazy, don't want to meet the challenge, and don't want to study... I was offended." She went on to say, "I can still produce. I am still productive." Implicitly leveraging a critique of younger students' work ethic through her positionality as a productive worker, Wendy's insistence that she was still "productive" and "could produce" is a way to push back on her experience as disposable surplus-labor by internalizing structural inequities through a narrative of personal determination and value.

Responding to the Oregon Promise, participants applied words such as worthy, hard work, proving themselves, and effort. These terms reinforce the belief that financial support be allocated on some meritocratic basis. The critiques raised above draws attention to the perceived characteristics of Promise recipients rather than to the structural inequality inherent in the way the policy allocates resources.

Community Colleges as “Another Chance” Institutions

Wanting to be at a community college as an adult-learner is a complicated proposition. In an effort to better understand what it means for working-class adults to participate in higher education, several students, I spoke with shared involved stories about their arrival to community college. Their stories highlight a range of needs and desires that bring people to campus. As indicated in Chapter I, between 2009-2016, Alder Community College established a food pantry and a free thrift store; it increased medical aid and opened a warming center where current students and their families can stay during winter nights when the temperature drops below 30 degrees. More than 87% of

the patrons that avail themselves of these services are non-traditional students (Lane Community College Report, 2015).

For some, community colleges are considered a last chance institution (Cohen, 2008). The strong emphasis on graduation, transfer, student success, and career paths after college can detract from exploring the reasons adult students turn to community college. The following section highlights responses to the question, “What brought you here?” Although this was the question asked, the question might as well have been, “*What happens when the world you were taught to believe in no longer exists?*” In responses, participants reconstruct what it means to be both an adult and a student while negotiating displacement, uncertainty, and trauma. Confronting the loss of homes, jobs, and social services, all of which are naturalized occurrences and defining characteristics of this epoch, leads to a psychological loss in the belief in a potential future predicated on home, jobs, and the material means of survival. In other words, the loss of the material conditions for survival (e.g., a housing, employment, safety) intersects with, and amplifies, the loss of the imaginary of obtaining the material conditions for survival (e.g., the future of having a house or employment). The responses in this section magnify various dimensions of displacement, loss, and betrayal presented by the notion of “the American dream.”

When I asked Linda (46), what brought her here, she quietly shared that she had a hard time returning after an eight-year break in her education. She explained, “It is definitely not where I wanted to go. I think that was true for a lot of people. We get here from a different route.” Discussing the pressure felt by family and society, Linda concluded that, “It is a lot easier to hide out here.”

Comparably, Alesia who was 32 years old offered,

I needed to have some future other than a minimum-wage, soul-robbing, dead-end job. I use this to convey that I am trying to do something productive with my life. I did not have an educational path. I am someone who dropped out of high school three times...I will probably never own a house. There is validation with saying, "I am in school."

As is true for many students, attending college provides intelligibility in that it offers a way to make one's choices and path appear normative and sensible. Silvia (2013) stresses that markers of adulthood require "sets of practical accomplishments and repertoires of behavior that are commonly recognized as social markers of adulthood: nest-leaving, stable employment, a college degree, marriage, parenthood, and financial independence" (29). Participation in school signifies a logical and prestigious marker of social participation.

In a related statement, Kay commented, "At the beginning, it was a stalling tactic. It was something that I could do, a place that I could be and not get flack for not working." Early in our interview, Kay expressed that she had been applying to jobs for over a year. She narrates the perception others have of her "not working" as a personal choice or failure rather than not being given a chance to work. The internalization of failure is heightened by social stigma and the *perceptions* of others.

The internalization of what others think extends beyond the options and perceptions of friends and family. Respondents internalized institutional discourses on campus billboards. Sue critiqued the college's ambiguous slogans that announce, "Success Starts Here" and "You Can Get There From Here." She remarked, "Those slogans are usually focused on getting started to go on from here. But for a lot of us, *this is it.*" Madrone (38) voiced her own critique of the messages on campus billboards,

saying, "All the one currently focuses on the fact that this 'isn't' success. Instead, the focus is that 'you'll get there someday' when you are not here. The emphasis is 'You haven't gotten there *yet*.' It really minimizes the effort it takes and perpetuates the stigma that this isn't [a] success."

The stigma attached to attending community college came up for other respondents. Returning to my conversation with Alesia, she went on to say:

Community colleges seem to be the kinda— they are the retarded stepchild that no one wants to deal with. What I am trying to say is that it draws a broad demographic. It is kinda like a last-ditch effort. I thought about applying to the university, but I knew they didn't want me [and] there is nothing else that I can really do...Where else do you go to learn a skill?

Where else can someone go physically, financially, and socially when they are under-employed, unskilled, and pushed to the margins of precarity? As neoliberalism operates through the hyper-privatization and commodification of space, Alesia's question touches on the spatial and geographic exclusions that working-class adults face. Confronted with increased surveillance, criminalization, privatization, and security culture, there are fewer spaces and places where disenfranchised and displaced adults can go. An example of this is the proliferation of securitized zones, commercial centers where you must pay to stay, gated communities, and the pervasive turn to "sit-lie" laws that criminalize idleness in shopping areas. As a site for social welfare, community colleges exist as one of the last remaining publicly subsidized institutions to serve a broad range of needs.

Mercedes charts her decision to go back to school to have a "place" to figure out who she is.

School was always a comfortable place for me. It felt necessary to come back to school. This was the place that I had chosen my life the first time around. I had been living a different life over the last 8 years. I needed to go back to someplace where I could be and once was myself. I came here to be like, “Who the hell are you and what do you want as a human being?”

For some, the decision to attend resulted from life transitions and the need for social support. As Bea commented, "A lot of the transitions that I see people going through here were not elective. People either needed to get clean, get out of an abusive relationship and [or] start over." Towards these ends, Shawna remarked, “My life is at such a capacity that I don’t have the ability to take on another area of grief. Being a student, I know I can come here week after week and the expectations are pretty clear.”

The profound need for predictability and structure are motivating factors to attend college. Mercedes stressed that part of her decision to enroll came from the need to have stability and safety. “I am full. My body was, just like, it is full. It is full of too much tragedy. This place feels safer." Participating in community college is one way adults attribute progress, order, and control in their lives. It provides a narrative of progress, agency, and affirmation of self-improvement and belonging to something. I believe each of these factors to be extremely powerful and true. The following section introduces and highlights how therapeutic discourses shift the focus from educational achievement to self-help and recovery.

I asked Sue a warm-up question at the beginning of our interview, “What are three terms you would use to describe community college?” She replied, “A lifesaver, survival, and a reason to keep functioning and hope for the future.” She also spoke of community college as a space that helps her with “emotional regulation” elaborating that when in-

class and on-campus she is "co-regulating and attuning to the people around her."

Managing her emotions—rather than the preciousness of the job market and her future—offers a strategy to get-by. For Sue, Shawna, Bea, Mercedes, Madrone, and Mallory, attending classes and participating in higher education provides therapeutic elements.

Therapeutic Discourses and Pedagogies of Repair

In *Coming of Age: Working-class adulthood in an age of uncertainty* (2013), Silva explores the circulation of therapeutic discourses to explain and define the remaking of the self.

The need to continuously recreate one's identity—whether after a failed attempt in college or an unanticipated divorce or a sudden career change—can be an anxiety-producing endeavor. In a world of rapid change and tenuous loyalties, the language and institution of *therapy*—and the self-transformation it promises—has exploded in American culture ... Inwardly directed and preoccupied with its own psychic and emotional growth, the therapeutic-self has become a crucial cultural resource for ascribing meaning and order to one's life amid the flux and uncertainty of a flexible economy and a post-traditional social world (Bellah et al. 1985; Giddens 1991; Illouz 2008; Silva 2012 p.19).

In her qualitative study of the changing meaning and practices of adulthood in a neoliberal society, Jennifer Silva argues that rather than defining one's life through a title or role in the labor-based economy, contemporary working-class adults gain a sense of self by their location in, what she terms the mood-economy. Within the mood-economy, *emotional management* has become the new currency of working-class adulthood, promising transformation—and longed-for progress—in exchange for a public denunciation of pain" (116). Building on the argument made in Eva Illouz's, *Oprah Winfrey and the glamour of misery: An essay on popular culture* (2003), "the suffering

person is compelled to make her pain a compelling narrative of identity, to work on it and make it into a meaningful life project” (161).

An outcome of contemporary therapeutic discourse is the emphasis on individual accountability and self-control and erasure of structural analysis. Barbara Ehrenreich explores this phenomenon in *Bright-sided: How positive thinking is undermining America* (2010) noting the ways therapeutic frameworks inform self-blame and a morbid preoccupation with personal choices and self-worth.

In this section, I consider how non-traditional students narrate possibility and the crafting of new subjectivities within and beyond institutions of higher education by utilizing therapeutic discourses. Some narrate managing their decisions and emotions as the cause of struggle and the source of recovery. Tasha emphasized what she wished she would have done differently:

I wish I had got here earlier, so I hadn't come here so desperate as a last chance situation. If I had come here earlier, had a better attitude and worked on myself more, before I was clinically depressed, I probably would have implemented it better. I keep telling myself this year is going to be different—this is a fresh start.

The idea of starting over came up again in my interview with Mercedes, a 34-year-old part time student, elaborated on her struggles with unemployment, anxiety, and depression.

I quit my job in 2014 because my sister was having a baby and my job wouldn't give me time off, and I didn't want to miss it. I had no idea how hard it would be [to get a job again]. Everyone thought I would be able to do it and I couldn't. I had no idea how hard it would be to start over. It was awful not to be able to do it. I was just like [pause] not functioning. I was barely functioning. I went to the orientation thinking, “Maybe this will be something I can do.”

And I went from—like sitting on my couch and petting my cat and thinking about taking showers to getting out of bed and washing my face twice a day and doing all the things it takes to feel human again. And I am doing that right now. To have a place to be for someone like me—I don't need classes, grades, coursework material, that is not something that I need. *I needed a way to crawl back into the world.* I didn't even know that I needed that.

Bewildered and disillusioned by the difficulty to find employment and resume the trajectory of a stable adult life led to a paralyzing situation. The transition to community college literally saved Mercedes's life by restoring her perceived humanity. Mallory who previously experienced incarceration, during which time she lost custody of her son, succinctly referred to community college by saying, "This is a re-entry place."

As the taken-for-granted pathways of education and work are no longer stable, adults with few places to seek refuge in community colleges. Kay explained, "Especially for people to come here, to community college, and be in the arms of other people who struggle—there is a lot of support for that." Sue who had been laid off from a career job at 60, returned to community college after 38 years. She referred to community college as "A launch pad of hope. If you are going to do something different – this is the place that might help you get there." As a single mother who is attending college for the first time, Kay a 39 year old mother of three proudly remarked, "I really discovered my capabilities here, outside of being a mother. Me as a person, I was given a setting to gain confidence." Similarly, in discussing a "College Success" course, Aleisha (34) noted, "At first, it sort of felt like one big therapy class."

Maintaining skepticism that community college is a "launch pad for hope," Mary who was 39 asserted, "You know how much money the school makes from us? They get

a lot of money from profiting off other people's hope." Her statement addresses the notion of *cruel optimism*, that is, a relation of attachments to compromised conditions of possibility. For many working-class adults trying to "make it" amidst profound economic and social instability, therapeutic language offers a strategic framework focused on remaking the self. Therapeutic narratives allow respondents to organize complicated feelings and experiences in a way that makes their lives comprehensible and meaningful. Following, Silva (2013), they provide a "culturally available tool-kit for making sense of their difficult emotions and helping put them 'to work' by eliciting a narrative of suffering and self-help" (122).

While therapeutic modes of thinking insert ineligibility and a narrative arc of control and recovery in storytelling regarding the self, these discourses frayed when participants mentioned family, particularly children and the material realities of debt. Financial conversations were marked with anxiety, fear and, distress. When we spoke, Kay expressed doubt in her decision to attend college. She was acutely aware of how the financial burden and time constraints affected her family.

I can't make any guarantees of how this will play out – Will it be worth it in the long run? As a parent, I feel selfish. I have a nine-year-old, and I have to say, "I can't right now" constantly. There is a lot of pressure that I better get it done quickly. There are moments where I think, "What have I inflicted on my family?" especially when I am not even sure where this is going to lead. All I know is that there will be even more debt. It is scary. *I wish someone would just tell me how it ends.*

Uncertainty was also expressed by Shawna. When we spoke, she was completing her second year and had two more terms to finish her associate degree.

And now I am in this position where [my experience in college] has plateaued and there is kinda a sense of failure with that. I feel that I

must have done something wrong. [Now] there is this a dry period where things were not as clear cut easy, and I thought, I thought that things would keep going if I put one-foot-in front-of-another and then, one day, I would graduate. And now, I have to make these decisions of what to do with debt. [pause] Three years of debt behind me and *I am more uncertain now than when I first began.*

As these passages reveal, the transition into college and the transition out of college can be marked by different experiences. While many support services are available for students starting the process (i.e., pre-college admission courses, guidance counseling, orientations, etc.) few exist for students nearing completion.

Exhausted from the curricular demands of college, Mercedes who was 34 when we spoke stresses:

It might not be about another class anymore but bigger questions. [pause] My cubby holes are full. I just can't store any more. [pause] I am worn down.

Wendy a 38 year-old , a single mother, who had returned to college after raising her child explained:

My expectations of myself were so high that I was frozen. And all these people that said they were going to help me at community college. The ones that said, meet with me for resume help, I would email them and they would never get back to me. It was like I had to keep nudging them. And at some point, I just didn't have any nudges left.

Subsumed by the betrayals and broken promises, Wendy's words, "I didn't have any nudges left," are representative of the process of cooling out, a process of gradual institutionalized discouragement.

The tradeoffs that adult students make can easily go unnoticed. The fears and pressures Kay openly shared with me were similar to those shared in stories I had heard

from other non-traditional students, especially in the years following the economic collapse of 2008, when many non-traditional students turned to community college for financial aid support. Shawna offered:

I am getting loans so it covers all of my tuition but I have been using financial aid to cover living expenses, so I do have quite a bit of debt. I have \$10,000 in debt already and I have only been here a year... This gives me a ton of anxiety.

Tasha noted:

I'll have the debt but I want it to be worth the debt. I'll be \$35k in debt when I walk out of here, and all the money went to pay rent to keep a roof over my kids' heads. A lot of people do this for the financial aid check—it is the only way to survive.

Of the 23 students I interviewed, 20 of them knew one or more students that were currently enrolled primarily to access financial aid money to support themselves and their families. To the people interviewed, this was considered a common reason to enroll in community college. One respondent, Mallory contextualized the debt by comparing it to a prison sentence.

When you commit a crime, you get sentenced and you serve some time. When you leave prison, that sentence follows you wherever you go. There is no escaping it. You come here, and they give you access to all this money and before you know it, you have racked up enormous debt. Everywhere you turn they remind you of it and no matter what, it is there. It is a different kind of sentence—it follows you.

Amidst crippling economic insecurity and a decline in social mobility, the stakes are high for adult learners. As stated in my introduction, the contexts I have chosen for this project are two institutions where students gather each week to participate in the

project of higher education. The excerpts in this chapter touch upon the various ways the system of higher education can be understood as a place for social transformation, survival, and belonging.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have illustrated how community colleges provide a geographic and social place where adult populations turn to establish stable, predictable and intelligible adult lives in a context high of unemployment rates, violence, the elimination of social services and safety nets. Towards these ends, I discussed how non-traditional students risk further marginalization and invisibility because of tuition reform policies like the Oregon Promise. Internalizing structural inequalities through narratives of meritocracy and uplift, participants embrace a framework of therapeutic agency predicated on emotional regulation and self-help. In “Subversive Stories and Hegemonic Tales: Toward a Sociology of Narrative,” Ewick and Silbey explain, “We are as likely to be shackled by the stories we tell (or that are culturally available for our telling) as we are in the form of oppression they might seek to reveal” (1995:212; cited from Silva, 2013: 22). Building off the insights presented in this discussion, the next chapter considers the experiences of a different population of adult learners who enter the community college classroom within a maximum-security prison.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS COLLEGE INSIDE

College is an opportunity to prove myself and to society that despite my situation, I strive to better myself. This may be the last chance I have to do that (Kim, College Inside Student, 2017).

Introduction

The United States contains 5% of the world's population but houses 25% of the total world prison population (Alexander 2010; Pew Center on the States, 2008; Yates & Lakes, 2010). An estimated 2.3 million people are incarcerated in the United States. On any given day, more than one in 100 adults are in jail or prison and one out of every 31 U.S. adults is under some form of correctional control (Pew Center on the States 2008). Once under correctional control, both youth and adult offenders experience excessively high rates of recidivism. Research suggests that approximately six in ten formerly incarcerated people will end up back in prison within three years of release (BSJ 2009; Lagan and Levin, 2002).

In 2015, amid rising criticisms of mass incarceration, concerns over criminal justice reform, and policies aimed at reducing recidivism, the Obama Administration and Department of Education announced the Second Chance Pell Pilot Program (SCA). The program repeals the 1994 Congressional amendment to the Higher Education Act that eliminated Pell Grant eligibility for people in federal or state prisons. The Second Chance Pell Pilot Program aims to support new models of postsecondary education inside prisons with the goal of reducing recidivism and improve prison conditions. It does so by building on a 2013 study from the RAND foundation funded by the Department of Justice, which concluded that incarcerated individuals who participated in correctional

education were 43 % less likely to return to prison within three years than prisoners who did not participate in any correctional education programs. RAND also estimated that for every dollar invested in correctional education programs, four to five dollars are saved on three-year re-incarceration costs (Davis, 2013).

In January 2016, Chemeketa Community College was selected as one of 67 colleges and universities to receive a three-year Second Chance Pell Pilot Program Grant. The College Inside program currently serves over 175 students at two prisons in Salem. Since 2007, the College Inside Program has graduated 179 individuals. Approximately 160 graduates of the program have been released from prison. According to Chemeketa, these students experience an incredibly low recidivism rate of 6 %. According to the Oregon Criminal Justice Commission the statewide recidivism rate for individuals released from prison or a felony jail sentence in 2012, 53% were arrested for a new crime within 3 years of release. There have been relatively few prison education programs in Oregon since 1994. The allocation of the Second Chance Pell Grant Pilot Program presents a significant opportunity to contribute to research on prison education, recidivism and research on community college corrections education. A Department of Education report on Corrections Education in 2009 concluded that, in a 50-state analysis of postsecondary correction education, 68% of all postsecondary correction education is provided by community colleges. However, little scholarship exists about how incarcerated students experience these programs.

This chapter considers how incarcerated students articulate the meaning and impact of access to higher education while serving prison sentences. I consider what access to higher education signifies for these students and by extension others. The topic

of prison education is a controversial issue touching on deep values surrounding the allocation of rights, resources, and entitlement to higher education. In "The Paradox of Higher Education in Prison" Jones and d'Errico (1994) argue the issues confronting prison higher education are rooted in "competing visions of what prisoners themselves are and, what prisoners should and ought to be" (1994, p.12.) Prison higher education is a specialized and growing field. Taking many forms, it is a practice where the perception of participants shapes the practice and purpose of education. Simply put, what we believe about, justice, the state, and those convicted shape our ideas about what, and how they should learn.

The aim of this section is to bring two communities of adult learners' experiences into dialogue with one another. Returning to my overarching research question, this section asks how participants make sense of their lives and choices, opportunities and sacrifices, to participate in higher education and how these factors structure their expectations of what a college education or a degree might provide. To be clear, this chapter does not conflate the experiences and lives of incarcerated and non-incarcerated populations; rather, the intention is to bring the voices of incarcerated students into the conversation of adult higher-education in a way that cuts through the ideological and political divide that perpetuates the segregation of carceral experiences. Much of the importance of this work derives from the need to conceptualize the prison, all too often perceived as an isolated institution, to a set of relationships that shape the ideologies, practices, and purpose of other systems (Davis, 2003). The tendency to relegate prisons as separate and distant obscures the way the education system is mutually imbricated

with mass incarceration through maintaining the values of racialized-capitalism, disenfranchisement, and segregation.

There are three primary themes in this chapter. The first explores the identity of incarcerated students. As respondents note, the status of college student challenges carceral discourses of limitation that negate self-worth and possibility. In this project, the identity of "college student" has been a central interest because the role is a future-oriented identity rooted in new subjectivities. I have stressed that non-traditional students occupy a unique positionality within the community college classroom and institution. An aspect of their positionality involves reconciling contradictory discourses of a self-deficit and meritocracy. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the prison setting where students who are inmates negotiate the conflicting expectations that accompany their roles.

The second theme explores participants' sense of precarity and possibility within and beyond the prison setting. This section considers how incarcerated students make sense of the possibilities available to them in a site where their futures appear foreclosed. I discuss how the Second Chance Pell Grant produces friction between corrections staff and students and faculty. Participants noted how higher education in prison represents both conflict and accommodation between prison staff. Within the different roles and expectations, educators are positioned as allies and the classroom as a space to engage in positive and humanizing social behavior, demonstrate their abilities, and conceive of futures beyond the institution. The final theme returns to the notion of "last chance" or second chance institutions to consider how incarcerated community college students narrate their experiences in higher. Conceptualizing their potential futures beyond the

institution of the prison, participants move beyond a theorization of their marginalization towards an interstice of self-hood predicated on freedom and agency.

The testimonies that follow demonstrate how incarcerated students negotiate competing discourses that shape the prison environment and the college classroom. When collecting and analyzing this data set, I observed that within the institution of prison, prisoners are socialized toward an institutionalized story that accentuates emotional regulation, acceptance and personal accountability. The passages below reveal moments of friction. For example, when presented with what may appear as an innocuous question, “Do you consider yourself a non-traditional college student?” participants struggled to articulate their personal identity separate from that of the institution. Moments of conflict serve as a potent reminder that communication is not just about what is said. As Carlos Decena (2011) suggests, we must stay attuned to tacit knowledge—that which we know but cannot tell. Tacit knowledge challenges the interpretive praxis that privileges those who are able and safe to speak. In the prison setting, everyday experiences that are applied and lived may not always be easily communicated.

Non-traditional Student Identity

Following the discussion in Chapter IV, I begin this data chapter considering how identities are managed in the context of prison education. Consistent with my previous chapter, my concern with how participants relate to the category of adult or non-traditional student has to do with two issues: belonging in the classroom and within higher education and how that sense of belonging translates to beliefs about entitlements and possibilities. Seventeen out of twenty-three participants responded to the question.

53% identified with the term non-traditional student, 23% did not, and 17% responded “maybe.” The following excerpts illustrate how relate to their competing identities in prison. A note about data representation in this chapter: due to heightened concerns regarding confidentiality, I did not include participants ages in this data set. As part of the research protocol, I de-linked ages and names from each participant and assigned pseudonyms.

Many of the participants were acutely aware of self-perception and how labels projected onto them shaped their lives. In a reflective and autobiographical response to a question about past experiences in school, Desmond shared:

The world I was cast into, was one that I could never truly belong to because everything felt beyond my control, even my own actions. The reason being, that regardless of who and what I really was, others ascribed to me certain attributes that really stemmed from their own minds. They projected their personal feelings of inadequacy, their feelings of deviance, and their sometimes salacious and self-serving desires.

Now, as an adult, I have come to education and theory as a means to make sense of my life and actions.

Reflection on the value of education and theory as a means to make sense of his life, Desmond and several of his peers recognized that education would enable them to account for their lives and relationships in new and different ways. On a side note, Desmond was one of three students that identified themselves as avid readers with interest in feminist theory. His would often include in his writing references to bell hooks.

Class conversations frequently highlighted how the College Inside program had improved their ability to make sense of and deal with problems they face inside the

prison and problems that influence the communities from which they came. Chad discussed this idea:

I do think of myself as a college student. Part of that is because I am convinced of the mental health benefits of academic study. The constant challenge of new material and necessity of study have kept my intellect flexible and mentally healthy. The broader scope of my background knowledge is making it easier to accept new ideas. Some of this is undoubtedly a process of growing up and maturing.

The [College Inside] program is one of the most stabilizing forces in my life. Attending one or two classes a week has been an anchor in my life and given me purpose.

Striking a more sociological tone, Blake reflected:

I realized at some point in my life that no matter what I did, people would say and think of me whatever they wished regardless of what I did. And so, I became exactly what they said I was. In one very real sense, I had no choice and at the same time, I made was playing out the roles they ascribed to me.

Choice, agency, and self-reflection are prominent themes that surfaced. Reflecting on experiences with a range of individuals and institutions that determined their lives and choices served as a fitting preamble for participants to contextualize their current relationship within the system of higher education. Responding to a more specific question, "Do you identify as a non-traditional student?" Erik replied:

No. Considering that I am what society says I am. I identify as an inmate/convict. For 16 of my 35 years, I've lived that message has been force fed to me. It has been on the shirts and pants I wear, how I am addressed, and how others have come to see me.

As a sociologist, I interpret Erick's assertion as an articulation of his master status. This designation is the product of a constant social reiteration of meanings ascribed to an identity. A status is a constellation of behaviors, values, and definitions that are reproduced through interaction. As Desmond and Blake stress, their identity, behavior, and by extension, future is informed by perceptions and expectations from the past and present.

Other participants assess their identity as a student differently. Elijah had two previous experiences in college. As a veteran, his re-entry experience in community college was difficult. He expressed distance from the identity of "college student" which felt self-absorbed and less meaningful after serving in the military. When asked if he identifies as a non-traditional college student, Elijah replied:

Yes. It is one of the identities that I prefer. I do not have many identities that are respectable in prison. [Being a student] gives the impression of having a desire to change and that is what I want to be seen as.

The desire to change and project the impression of change is more than a mindset in that it requires access to institutions and identities to fulfill that aspiration.

Higher education is possibly one of the most intelligible institutions to signify change. In stark contrast, the systematic features of incarceration are maintained through containment, order, and conformity. Incarcerated college students negotiate what it means to participate in higher education while serving time in different ways.

Other respondents associated with their identity as students through evaluating the classes, curriculum, and instructors. Authenticity created an experience where they could feel and identify as students and people—in contrast to feeling like an inmate. Ramor commented:

I take a lot of pride in being and identifying as a non-traditional student. I am attending college with the same curriculum, same instructors. I go to class with other students—our classroom just happens to be inside a prison.

Correspondingly Paul contributed:

At first, I didn't really think of myself as a college student of any kind. Then, I learned that we are following the exact same curriculum as they are in other community colleges. Being able to go into a classroom with a real instructor and get an education means the world to me. Since starting this program, I have noticed that when I am in class, I forget that I am behind bars wearing a shirt that says "Inmate" on it. It makes me feel like a person.

For Ramor and Paul, the legitimization of their experience has to do with more than access to education but equality in education. A defining feature of the college experience is having access to same instructors and curriculum. The classroom environment is one of few opportunities for inmates to interact with professionals who also work outside of the prison and its culture.

Performing Prisoner & Student: Learning versus Education Inside Prison

In an informal conversation during a class break, three participants discussed their perception that the “good” prisoner, in the minds of corrections officers, “know their place” and “keep in line.” A powerful message on the inside is those who succeed do not seek meaningful change in their lives. One participant shared their impression that in order to display acceptance and accountability of their sentence they should, “keep their head down and not seek out extracurriculars” like education. When I asked the small group what messages they receive from corrections officers, a respondent offered examples of hearing comments condemning the Second Chance Pell Grant affording free tuition to inmates when their children were going into debt for a college education.

The literature on prison education programs casts the relationship between educators and corrections officers as a delicate balance of conflict and cooperation (Jones and d'Errico 1994, Campbell, 1995, Stern, 2014). As participants noted, higher education in prison represents both conflict and accommodation between prison staff. As representatives of distinctive institutions, corrections officers and educators have different training, goals, and objectives. The unique responsibilities and commitments that guide educators and corrections officials was a topic that participants commented on as well. Amidst contrasting roles, educators are frequently positioned as allies. Marcos emphasized this:

What this program has offered me is the understanding that people do care. It is easy to be or at least feel forgotten behind 40-foot walls. These walls, and this place drains the energy of allies, but the program and especially the teachers remind us that we are not alone.

This comment was accentuated by appreciation students shared at the end of each class session. While exiting the room, students would walk past the front of the room say goodbye and words of gratitude. After the first day of class, one student said, "We recognize that we have to be here, but you do not, you choose to, and we thank you." Acknowledgements of gratitude came in the form of thank you cards on the last day of class and comments on the informed consent form. One of which read:

Prison drains all who enter. Inmate, staff, teacher. Please know that you made and are making a difference in people's lives. Thank you for your energy. Before you go, please know this.... *You have lived this.* "Solidarity requires that one enter into the situation of those whom one is solidary; it is a radical posture." - Paulo Freire

These gestures contributed to the humanizing culture within the classroom space. Moreover, comments such as these provided a counter narrative It also provided a context for inmates to participate in and express positive social skills. Blake commented:

Being in college is the first pro-social accomplishment I have achieved. I quit school in the 7th grade, and this has been a huge source of shame for me. Seeking my degree has provided me a structure with transparent and fair expectations, something to excel at and alleviated some of this shame.

The association of college classes as a site where consistent expectations structured the opportunity to succeed reoccurred. In response to the question, “What is one of the most valuable aspects of the College Inside Program?” TJ responded:

Having access to community college has given me and my peers something to strive for in a very limited environment. Another College Inside student encouraged me to join, and I love to be able to reach out to others and give them encouragement to do the same. The most valuable lesson I have learned is hard work and perseverance pays off. I have been given a chance to put my best effort forward. I know if I carry this attitude to the outside, I will be a successful person.

Complementing this idea, Sam offered:

This is one of the most meaningful experiences I have ever had. I set a goal to get a 4.0 at the beginning and with only four credits left at the end of this term, I think I am going to be able to do it. For the first time in my life, I am going to finish something. And 4.0 or not, that is a huge achievement and gives me confidence that I can be successful in the future.

Each of these accounts touches on deep components of education and relational learning.

Rather than identifying specific academic knowledge and skills, participants identified

social skills and self-development. Additionally, participants related their experiences to their futures and future lives they envision. Relatedly, Marcos stressed:

The most valuable thing I take from participating in the College Inside Program are the education credentials. I also have improved my social skills as an adult. I now feel more confident and knowledgeable with the education to prove it, I realize that I am smarter than I gave myself credit for. I have developed the discipline of devoting time and energy to learning material that I never would have had interest in. I learned a lot about myself as far as being social, regulating my emotions, and working with others.

These statements correspond to comments in the previous chapter regarding the therapeutic functions and emotional regulation that college classes provide. In a cultural moment informed by the discourse of “safe spaces” the comments shared by adult learners casts a new light on the importance of the classroom space as a site to engage in positive and humanizing social behavior where adult learners demonstrate their abilities and conceive of futures beyond the institution. As discussed in the last chapter, the consistent expectations and structure facilitate aspects of student growth.

In this way, The Second Chance Pell Grant Piolet Program establishes college and career pathways for incarcerated individuals to not only earn a college degree but apply as transfer students to Universities. For example, four of the 24 students were actively working on college applications during the term. Contingent upon their release dates, these men are creating futures in higher education that would not be possible without the program. The support to dream of a future beyond the prison reverberates throughout the program and prison by providing hope for others. College Inside introduces new and different values, roles, and possibilities than previously existed. The final section highlights prison-students experience.

Second Chances

Overall, this chapter demonstrates the ways that incarcerated community college students narrate their experiences in higher education. Throughout this project, I have been overwhelmed by the candor and vulnerability of participants. Nowhere else is this truer than in this final section. In what follows, adult learners reflect upon the promises and possibilities of higher education as they experience incarceration. Many of the comments below approach education as a vehicle for de-carceration and democratic possibility.

Malcom is a student that centered his identity around his family; his role as a father, and son. Intensely driven to make this family proud, he commented, “College is an opportunity to prove myself and to society that despite my situation I strive to better myself. This may be the last chance I have to do that.” Accordingly, William reflects on the opportunity community college provides.

Community college is about having a chance. That is a priceless tool for someone that does not want to re-offend. That I can still imagine a future outside these walls because I am able to develop skills and understanding that I would not be afforded without the college inside program... I feel that at least now, I will have a piece of paper that shows that I am not totally worthless.

The power of a second or third chance to prove one’s self-worth and self-esteem cannot be underestimated. Speaking to this point, Jared commented, “If I could have found a way to learn everything I have without coming to this institution, I would. Nonetheless, I still look at it as better than a second chance for me.” Within these statements is the capacity for participants to view access to college as a rehabilitative tool to remake themselves.

To my surprise, three participants acknowledged that their incarceration facilitated educational achievement that they had foreclosed as not obtainable. This was clearly expressed by TJ:

To me, God turned this prison curse into a blessing. I will graduate and hopefully transfer my credits for a career and do what I dreamed of doing and get paid for it. In addition to that, I have a story to tell when I go home and tell my sons and daughter.

Marcos shared a similar sentiment:

Had I not ended up here, I am not sure if I would be alive. For me, [College Inside] has been the missing piece of my intellectual development. I feel like I've develop a higher level of consciousness, the ability to think critically about everything and those traits, the people who possess them, they are the ones that make the different. I have learned more about the psychology of the types of people who persevere beyond their conditions and challenge norms by digging deeper. This helps me understand how the world works and see myself and my situation in it.

Three final excerpts eloquently summarize the impact of the program. These passages underscore the future re-entry of incarcerated populations. One of the oldest students in the course, William reflected on his experience in the program:

College Inside is giving me the opportunity to prove myself and to society that despite my situation, I've strived to better myself, in the hopes of bettering the lives of those around me; It is an opportunity to say that I went for it, that I took the most possible advantage of my incarceration. I owe that to myself, to my family and to every member of the community I will soon call home.

Resonant with William's statement, Elijah reflected:

I do believe that education and college classes provide men with a positive narrative. Through education, we begin to see ourselves as human beings and not just as "objects "of failure.

It is difficult to describe the impact of education when I deprived myself of school for so long. I doubted my ability to learn. My life used to consist of a two-block radius. The access to higher learning changed the ways I interact with others and how I respond to problems around me. School gave me the tools to solve problems. College Inside is an important program in reducing recidivism. Eventually, everyone locked up will get out of prison.

Finally, William eloquently stated:

I will continue forward, I am only human, who not unlike my peers, has made mistakes, and who is paying for them. My past has led me to my present, and the two phases of my life will work in tandem to define my future. My actions today will dictate the opportunities I create tomorrow.

In the context of neoliberal restructuring, driven by an unparalleled pursuit of profit, overriding the human cost, and the simultaneous dismantling of the welfare state, and the unprecedented warehousing of populations in prisons, William and his peers remind readers that their time in prison is temporal. In an Issue Brief fact sheet created by the Oregon Department of Corrections, between January 2016-December 2016 the average number of inmates released per month was 393. It is within this context that people who are experiencing incarceration are preparing for their futures beyond prison walls. Their words and experiences diminish the spatial, social, and ideological distance, that prisons reproduce. Despite the differences in location and experience, both incarcerated and non-incarcerated students identify education and college classes instrumental in the development of positive narratives, self-awareness, increased efficacy, and new possibilities.

Conclusion

In, *Beyond Mercy* (2014), founder of the Equal Justice Initiative Bryan Stevenson emphasized an institutional approach to understanding social inequality. Asking how

social institutions serve the most vulnerable members of our society, Stevenson's work parallels the basis of critical race theory; to amplify the knowledge and experiences of marginalized groups through a framework that shifts analysis away from the individual and toward institutions. From this perspective, I considered what access and participation in higher education means to a population of men who are incarcerated. Exploring how incarcerated students narrate their experiences in higher education, this chapter explored three main themes; first, how identities are managed in the context of prison education. Next, I discussed how access to community college classrooms, curriculum, and instructors impacted participants perceptions of their self-worth, recovery, selfhood, and freedom. Studying the impact of the Second Chance Pell Grant Piolet Program, this data illustrates how participants conceptualize their futures beyond the institution of the prison.

I conclude this chapter with a poignant reflection offered by Ramor when summarizing what he gained from the program. This statement also addresses the virtues associated with possessing a college degree.

I can tell you this; it is not just the walls surrounding this prison, the walls that obscure more than just my view of the horizon. In the nearly two decades that I have been here, times have changed. Today, hard work and perseverance are still crucial attributes for success in the world, but perhaps today more than ever, there is one more piece required to truly take advantage of all our nation offers; a college degree. In form a degree is just a piece of paper, but what it symbolizes says more about who obtained it than almost any other document. A holder of a college degree should demonstrate the core virtues necessary to be a valuable part of any company, but of society as a whole. These virtues are the ability to accept challenges, a willingness to learn, have initiative, motivation, responsibility, be able to engage with and learn from my peers and above all maintain perseverance.

Transcribing these words, I was struck by all that Ramor attributed to his two years with the College Inside Program. The mission of the program is to “create meaningful change through exposure to new concepts, experiences, and responsibilities. Through education in the correctional environment, we strive to break the cycle of incarceration and return these men to their communities better than they came in.” This chapter demonstrates how the College Inside Program measures up to this vision as well as how incarcerated men make sense of their lives, choices, and sacrifices to participate in community college and how these factors structure their expectations of what college might provide them in the future. In the next chapter, I discuss the summary of significant findings and implications of this research.

CHAPTER VI

IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMENDATIONS

Living in contradiction is not easy in a culture that ideologically purveys a distaste for it, preferring instead an apparent attachment to consensus... But we all know that living in contradiction is necessary if we are to create the asylums of identification and solidarity with and for one another without which our lives will surely wither (Alexander, 2005 p.204).

Introduction

According to J.M. Staples (2007), “critical consciousness is the sense-making employed to deconstruct the parameters and problematize the enactments of various implicit and explicit social structures (i.e. racial, cultural, linguistic, spatial, economic, religious, and sexual) used to subjugate, repress, empower or authorize individuals, groups and/or ideologies (p.378). Utilizing the principals of critical race theory, this study set out to understand the sense-making used by adult learners to reconcile contradictions about participating in higher education. As a community college instructor, I witnessed how ten years of economic downturn produced a new subjective experience of permanent uncertainty that impacted adult learners. I was interested in how adults who are also parents, veterans, survivors and displaced workers structure their expectations for success and achievement in the shadows of debt and precarity. A great deal of scholarly work examines the chronic uncertainty and insecurity wrought by the demise of “The American Dream” and the rise of neoliberal ideology and policy (Bourdieu, 1998; Cote et al., 2007, Molé, 2010, Silva, 2011). In light of these unprecedented economic and cultural transformations, I wanted to explore this process from the vantage point of adults who seek out higher education, despite considerable odds, to better themselves and their chances of securing a stable life. Turning to the one institution designed to help them, in

theory, more than in practice, this dissertation asked how, and non-incarcerated community college students make sense of their lives, choices, and sacrifices to participate in higher education and how these factors structure their expectations of what college might provide them. The analytical questions that informed this study were:

- What does it mean for working-class adults to participate in higher education in the context of precarity and incarceration?
- How do neoliberal discourses of meritocracy, individualism, and deficit function to normalize inequality and precarity within and beyond the academy?
- How do non-traditional students narrate possibility in the crafting of new subjectivities within and beyond institutions of higher education?
- How does the category "non-traditional" materialize in the allocation of resources and entitlements?
- How do the Oregon Promise and Second Chance Pell Grant impact adult-learners?

My conversations with the men and women in this study uncovered new contours of what access to community college education provides. I learned how engagement with higher education shapes their perception of past and current struggles, as well as their future, and agency. As the taken-for-granted pathways of education and work are no longer stable, adults with few places to go take refuge in community colleges. Some of the needs provided are social space, interaction, and clear expectations of what is expected in classroom settings. The purpose of this chapter is to highlight the significant

findings and their implications for research, policy, pedagogy, and areas for future research.

Summary of Findings

How do the Oregon Promise and Second Chance Pell Grant impact adult-learners?

This research evolved against the backdrop of two significant community college reform policies, The Oregon Promise and the Second Chance Pell Grant. Both policies stem from national movements for education reform. As discussed, the Oregon Promise and Second Chance Pell Grant address the issue of access to higher education. Paradoxically, The Oregon Promise disenfranchises adult learners, while The Second Chance Pell Grant reinstates access and opportunities for a subsection of adult learners, those experiencing incarceration. In the opening chapter I raised the question, what do community colleges do and for whom? Underscoring this question, I considered how the values of racialized-capitalism and neoliberalism perpetuate disenfranchisement and segregation for adult learners characterized as non-traditional students. In this section, I re-cap how participants made sense of these policies and contextualize their responses for policy implications.

In Chapter II, I stressed that while Oregon Promise directs much-needed attention to education equity and democratic inclusion for recent high-school graduates, it grossly denies eligibility to the statistical majority of community college attendees who are categorized as non-traditional students. The first cohort of 463 Oregon Promise recipients enrolled at Lane Community College in the Fall of 2016, six months before data collection. The following year in 2017, enrollment data shows, 2987 full and part-

time students 21 years and under and 5,859 students 22 and over. As I have discussed the Oregon Promise, emerged as part of a national movement to establish a college pathway through tuition relief for students straight out of high school. Moreover, proposals redefine the virtue of “responsibility” to young, able-bodied, non-parenting, documented, English-speaking, high-achieving, middle-class, recent high-school graduates. The coupling of “responsible” with “deserving” produces divisive experiences and politics that relegate public support of tuition reform to an evaluation of merit based on age and identity politics.

Commenting on the Oregon Promise, participants used words such as baffled, unfortunate, worthy, hard work, proving themselves, and effort. Kay expressed that she, “had felt more comfortable in the classroom until this year. This was the first time I felt old or outnumbered. It got more intimidating.” Shawna commented “I think that it is unfortunate... Also, I feel that it is benefiting middle-upper-class families that can already afford college. It is benefiting families that don't really need it as much financially, and at the same time, there is the largest enrollment and re-enrollment. It doesn't seem that it is serving the people that need it most financially.” Madrone suggested that the program “Is not that it takes away from other students, but it crowds the pond. It crowds out the non-traditional students.” Tasha who borrowed \$35, 000 exclaimed, “Now they want to offer free tuition? I am baffled. What about the \$35,000 I borrowed?” Responding to the Oregon Promise, Wendy asserted, “I can still produce. I am still productive.” Each of these comments demonstrates how students make sense of, internalize and resist structural inequities through a narrative of personal determination and value. Overall, 9 out of 24 participants critiqued the Oregon Promise by

characterizing the recipients as “young,” “undeserving,” “lacking motivation,” and “not ready to fully appreciate it.” I interpret these as critiques as individual rather than structural.

Even fewer students, 5 out of 24, responded by discussing structural factors. By structural, I mean, the ways different realities, in this case how access to tuition relief versus debt, are managed and maintained by institutional policies. The critique brought by Shawna draws attention to the allocation of resources and if the distribution is genuinely needs-based. Raising a different structural critique Mary suggests that the college gets, “a lot of money from profiting off other people’s hope.” Mallory expanded on this, asserting that college debt is a lot like a prison sentence. Her claim is, “it is a different kind of sentence—it follows you.

Listening to participants, I was reminded that there is a great deal of antipathy toward middle-aged men and women. The myth of meritocracy characterizes adults as living out the manifestation of their agency and effort. Forced to reconcile what it means to be both an adult and a student while negotiating displacement and uncertainty, participants attempted to reconcile participating in an institution that structurally neglects them. As the Oregon Promise attracts a younger demographic that “crowds out the pond” making classes and advisors less available, reforms aimed at improving access and retention need to support institutions’ capacity to support all students.

In this context, the Oregon Promise is a re-investment in a very specific demographic of young, non-parenting, economically-stable students. In Oregon, a State that in 2017, according to the U.S. Census, is 87.4% white, the policy is a reinvestment to protect the interests and wealth of a predominately white middle-class college-bound

demographic. This trend can also be linked to the national movement to create high school academies within community colleges. Discursively and materially America's College Promise for Responsible Students equates recent-high-school-graduate that can attend school full time. Doing so, these policies re-shape perceptions of who belongs in community college and who does not. It erodes the visibility of adult learners through disenfranchising the statistical majority of community college students, those labeled as non-traditional.

The Second Chance Pell Grant

Drawing the connections between higher education and prisons, I considered the growing field of carceral education. The Second Chance Pell Grant provides a significant opportunity to engage in honest reflection about the realities of prison life and the purpose of the institution. In a society defined by mass incarceration that houses 25% of the total world prison population (Alexander, 2010) we have reached a critical mass where it is no longer easy to take for granted prisons or the realities they produce. As discussed in Chapter IV, between January 2016-December 2016 the average number of inmates released per month was 393. Approximately 4,716 folks return from prison each year. I am reminded of how palpable these numbers are when I speak about prison reform in classes and conferences. Increasingly, the majority of participants in the room has a direct connection to the prison system. In this section, I consider now the Second Chance Pell Grant impact adult-learners.

One of the findings of this analytical question pertains to the quality of education provided through the Second Chance Pell Grant. In "Evaluating Prison Higher Education," Johnstone Campbell (1994) notes the distinction between learning and

education and the implications for educational practice in prison. Learning, he argues, is facilitated by the provision of materials and instruction—has always been a possibility within the prison, and it is that possibility that historically has provided the substance for claims about the role of education in prison” (p.15). What is seldom provided in prison, however, is learning whose social and symbolic meaning extends beyond the regulatory values of the institution and toward the development of the self in the context of society. Not only is the body confined in segregated isolation but, the mind is too. In his seminal work, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1979) Foucault stresses that the learning available to prisoners tends to be in service of the panoptic regime of discipline, surveillance, and control. That is, the re-production of militarized authority for coercion and control. Education, Foucault notes, like other institutions of the panoptic regime emphasized the internalization of delinquency as an objective attribute of offenders and “correctional” education as central to their reform. The Second Chance Pell Grant Pilot Program signals a departure from a model of segmented schooling in the service of socializing participants to the values of the institution toward deeper learning in the service of education.

Universally, all 24 participants shared the positive and transformative experiences associated with the program. Nine participants identified the program as the most impactful and rehabilitative experience during their incarceration. Commenting on the Oregon Promise, participants used words such as second chance, impact, priceless, blessing, and life-changing. William offered that "Community college is about having a chance. That is a priceless tool for someone that does not want to re-offend. That I can still imagine a future outside these walls because I am able to develop skills and

understanding that I would not be afforded without the College Inside Program." He reminds us that chances are pathways to "becoming" and crafting new futures. Elijah struggled to articulate the meaning of the program, "It is difficult to describe the impact of education when I deprived myself of school for so long. I doubted my ability to learn. My life used to consist of a two-block radius. The access to higher learning changed the ways I interact with others and how I respond to problems around me. School gave me the tools to solve problems." To my surprise, three participants interpreted their experience with incarceration as positive because it provided access to education. This was clearly expressed by TJ who commented, "To me, God turned this prison curse into a blessing. I will graduate and hopefully transfer my credits for a career and do what I dreamed of doing and get paid for it Marcos shared a similar sentiment. "Had I not ended up here, I am not sure if I would be alive. For me, [College Inside] has been the missing piece of my intellectual development. I feel like I've developed a higher level of consciousness, the ability to think critically about everything." Marcos and his peer's statements contradict the popular belief that people who are incarcerated are unable to transcend the trauma of incarceration. Sam described his experiences as, "One of the most meaningful experiences I have ever had. I set a goal to get a 4.0 at the beginning and with only four credits left at the end of this term, I think I am going to be able to do it. For the first time in my life, I am going to finish something. And 4.0 or not, that is a huge achievement and gives me confidence that I can be successful in the future."

The probability of Sam and his cohort's chances for success following incarceration requires institutional support beyond the prison. It is very probable that upon release, many of these men will turn to local community colleges for supplemental

training, support entering the labor market, health care, social support, and shelter.

Although both policies create contrasting institutional realities for adult learners, they draw attention to the space and place-based function of the community college. In the next section, I consider the geographic and social space of the community college institution and classroom.

Spatial Inclusion and Last Chance Institutions

In as much as this research is about the experiences of adult learners in two community college contexts, it simultaneously about the spatial restructuring of society. The term spatial restructuring addresses geographic segregation, criminalization of bodies occupying public space, spatial exclusion, and the material and ideological dispossession of the rights to social space. I locate this term with the work of political and cultural geographers who theorize space as an aspect of capital accumulation and neoliberal transformation (Berlant, 2011; Brown, 2005; Davis, 2011; Gilmore 2005, 2010, 2011; Harvey, 2001,2005, 2012; Lipman, 2012). For the men and women I spoke with, dislocation and displacement from homes, jobs, communities shaped their lives. During conversations, participants referenced how the unanticipated loss of housing and employment as well as changes in health and relationships, steered their lives in ways they had not prepared for. One of the findings of this study is the way participants identified community college as the remaining institution to turn to when the taken-for-granted pathways of affordable education and stable work are no longer available. Discussed in Chapter 1, today few public institutions bring together such a broad demographic with needs spanning from educational and career aspirations, to healthcare and necessary means for survival. In the most literal sense, for some, the physical space,

shelter, financial aid checks, and essential services are a stopgap and last place to go. The establishment of social services such as a food pantry, a free-thrift store, increased medical aid, and a warming center is a testament to the diverse needs that community colleges attend too. The populations who turn to community colleges as a means for survival are those who have historically carried the burden of dispossession as well as the recent arrivals—those for whom underemployment, displacement, and precarity were unanticipated specifically white working class, able-bodied, men and women.

For many of the participants I spoke with, at both research sites (67% of the College Inside respondents had attended community college before their current incarceration), their decision to enroll was informed by unanticipated life transitions. In the following conversations, the term “second chance or last chance” institution carried salience. Bea was 26 when we spoke. Returning to community college after an eight-year "break," she shared her story as,

The reason, I am back here is I have this history. I have anxiety being around groups of people, and during my first time in college, I started doing drugs and got addicted to heroin. After a few years, of doing that, I went to a methadone clinic and in recovery... So, it is a lot easier to hide out here now.

When I brought up the term last chance institution, Bea commented, "Community Colleges serve that purpose without there being much of a conversation. It is not where I wanted to go. I think that is true for a lot of people. We get here from a different route." Madrone echoed this point qualifying that, “a lot of the transitions {that bring people here} are not elective.”

Carlos referred to his first time in community college as a choice primarily based on, "Having a place to go. Where else can you go when you can't get a job, and you need to communicate to society that you have not given up?" Alisha added to this point commenting, "It is kinda like a last-ditch effort. I thought about applying to the University, but I knew they didn't want me [and] there is nothing else that I can really do...Where else do you go to learn a skill?" In a haunting comment, Sue who was 68 when we spoke asserted, "for a lot of us, *this is it.*" As the passages above reveal, the spatial inclusion offered by community colleges is a significant aspect of what the institution provides and how it is utilized.

What happens when we begin to understand community colleges through a spatial lens? In his captivating series of essays, *Times Square Red, Times Square Blue* (1999) Samuel Delany, looks to the criminalization of practices in Times Square to theorize the dismantling of institutions that promote contact and communication between classes. He reminds audiences of the necessity of institutions that support social contact and interclass encounters. Furthering Delany's point, we can view community colleges as one of the few remaining public institutions that support cross-class and cross-generational encounters. Speaking to this point Mercedes who was 34 when we spoke, commented,

Having a high-school student go to class with a grandmother is a pretty amazing thing for each of them I think that the high-school student could learn a lot more from the experience of being surrounded by people {who are} not just like them than the class itself. That is how I learned about the world, having friends of different ages throughout my life. "And where else can this happen?" Coming here you are in a situation where you are interacting with all these different types of people, and when you are in class doing the same task, it can be an equalizer in that it gives you a shared goal, and that is something that we don't do a lot of in society.

Capturing the rare experience and value of learning alongside and from people who are different, Madrone casts light on this unique feature of the institution. Similarly, Sam discussed how the College Inside program and the community college classroom facilitated conversations and friendships in the context of the highly segregated prison environment. “Access to this program and the college classes allows us a time and place to talk about our lives, fear, and hopes. Most people don’t consider how segregated prison life is. There are people who I couldn’t talk in the yard that I have gotten to know and relate to in these classes.” Kay summarized her experience in a poetic reflection, “For people to come here to community college and be in the arms of other people who struggle, we find a lot of support in one another.”

For Kay and other men and women I spoke to, the encounters experienced within the community college environment provided support that crosses identity politics and affiliations of age, class, and race divisions. In this section, I expanded on a research finding; that community college and by extension, the classroom offers a unique space for sociality. I highlighted the distinct encounters and sociality produced within the institution. I argue that the project of critical education must theorize the interrelationship between space, capitalist exploitation, criminalization and incarceration, to contend with the transformations defining our era. If community classrooms are magnets for people in transition how do adult learners collectively navigate the pervasive uncertainty that characterizes their lives? And what stories do they tell as they attempt to remake their lives within and beyond institutions of higher education?

Pedagogies of Repair: Therapeutic Discourses and Narratives of Recovery

In Chapter I, I introduced a theoretical framework *pedagogies of repair* which I define as the interpretive structures and stories used by adult learners to make sense of their past and potential futures amidst the normative neoliberal structures of hyper-individualism, accountability, and emotional management. Because higher education is a future-oriented endeavor that socializes participants toward new subjectivities and intelligible identities (i.e. the college graduate, the successful student, the full-time student), pedagogies of repair refers to the ways non-traditional students narrate possibility in the crafting of new subjectivities within and beyond institutions of higher education.

Since the inception of this study, I have been haunted by the question, “What happens when the world you were taught to believe in no longer exists?” What stories do we tell to suture the disjuncture between meritocracy and a highly stratified social structure? How are some of the most vulnerable and marginalized populations in higher education making sense of the world they inhabit?

In *Coming of Age: Working-class adulthood in an age of uncertainty* (2013) Silva, explores the circulation of therapeutic discourses to explain and define the remaking of the self.

The need to continuously recreate one's identity—whether after a failed attempt in college or an unanticipated divorce or a sudden career change—can be an anxiety-producing endeavor. In a world of rapid change and tenuous loyalties, the language and institution of *therapy*—and the self-transformation it promises—has exploded in American culture ... Inwardly directed and preoccupied with its own psychic and emotional growth, the therapeutic-self has become a crucial cultural resource for ascribing meaning and order to one's

life amid the flux and uncertainty of a flexible economy and a post-traditional social world (p.19).

In her qualitative study of the changing meaning and practices of adulthood in a neoliberal era, Jennifer Silva argues that rather than defining one's life through a title or role in the labor-based economy, contemporary working-class adults gain a sense of self by their location in, what she terms, the mood-economy. Within the mood-economy, *emotional management* has become the new currency of working-class adulthood as a way to achieve happiness and overcome tumultuous pasts.

It is within Silva's treatment of emotional management that I found cooling-out as a process that occurs within therapeutic modes of thinking. For many of the working-class adults I spoke to, trying to "make it" or "succeed" amidst profound economic and social instability, therapeutic language offers a strategic framework focused on remaking the self. Despite the aspects of their lives that had not gone as planned, focusing on the self and self-recovery allowed respondents to organize complicated feelings and experiences in a way that makes their lives comprehensible and meaningful. For example, when I interviewed Darcy, a fifty-four-year-old community college student who was attending school part-time and had "lost" her daughter to substance abuse and a prison sentence. Darcy explained that her community college education had taught her that she just needs to be "grittier" to "make it." Narrating her path forward as a pursuit of grit and resiliency became a way to cope with the structural realities that shaped her life. Moreover, it can be read as a tool to help Darcy cope with taking a loss or cool-out from her expectations of a more manageable life.

During interviews, participants from both research settings frequently referred to "emotional regulation" as an aspect of their education that they found invaluable. For

example, Sue who was 62 when we spoke, referred to community college as a space that helps her with “emotional regulation” elaborating that when in-class and on-campus she is “co-regulating and attuning to the people around her.” Managing her emotions—rather than the precariousness of the job market and her future—offers a strategy to get-by.

Marcos, a participant experiencing incarceration, reflected on the college classes as a space where, “I learned a lot about myself as far as being social, regulating my emotions, and working with others.” Blake referred to his experience in college as, “the first pro-social accomplishment I have achieved... Seeking my degree has provided me a structure with transparent and fair expectations, something to excel at and alleviated some of this shame.” Transforming shame and failure came up for Elijah who offered, “Through education, we begin to see ourselves as human beings and not just as “objects” of failure.” Because the process of transformation is tied to the stories we tell, TJ stressed that his college experience was about having, “a story to tell when I go home.” The experiences of participants highlight that “making it” or “success” requires emotional regulation in the face of unspeakable hardship and violence. As a process that incorporates cooling out and the re-structuring of subjective experiences, contemporary therapeutic discourse places emphasis on individual accountability and self-control through an erasure of structural analysis. In her critique of the obsession within popular culture with happiness and resilience, Barbara Ehrenreich explores this phenomenon in *Bright-sided: How positive thinking is undermining America* (2010) noting the ways therapeutic frameworks inform self-blame and a morbid preoccupation with personal choices and self-worth.

Weaving together the themes of spatial inclusion and therapeutic language, Madrone stressed, "For me, school gave me the sense of, 'I go somewhere, and I do something,' at a point when I was pretty unhinged at life." Madrone went on to say, "socializing with a cross-section of people has helped me recover. It helps me to see and meet other people who are doing a second or third run at life." Madrone's narrative of recovery from a time when she was feeling unhinged in life demonstrates how therapeutic language provides a "culturally available tool-kit for making sense of difficult emotions and helping put them 'to work' by eliciting a narrative of suffering and self-help" (Silva, 2013, p.122).

The profound need for predictability and structure are motivating factors to attend college. In Chapter IV, Alisha, Kay, Mercedes, and Bea's testimonies of needing a place to go are resonant with the vision outlined in the Truman Commission's Report, *Higher Education for American Democracy*, of 1947. That is, their statements resonated with the notion that community college was a holding place to keep them out of the labor market to, "strategically prepare them for the limited amount of jobs that would become available as the economy opened up" (Beach, 2011, p.45). Beach summarizes this process as, "holding the majority in school and out of the labor market long enough to adequately "adjust" the individual to a tightly constrained and inequitable economic order" (p.45). The "adjustment" needed to set student aspirations on terminal education occurs through the process of cooling-out that is, gradual institutionalized discouragement or soft denial, discussed in the previous chapter.

At the onset of this project, the notion of "cooling-out" seemed fitting to explain the significant attrition rates and the discrepancy between those who enter community

college wanting to transfer to 4-year universities and those that do. However, how that occurred discursively in the narratives of students was unclear. The following section introduces and highlights how therapeutic discourses shift the focus from educational achievement to self-help and recovery.

I asked Sue (62) a warm-up question at the beginning of our interview, “What are three terms you would use to describe community college?” She replied, “A lifesaver, survival, and a reason to keep functioning and hope for the future.” She also spoke of community college as a space that helps her with “emotional regulation” elaborating that when in-class and on-campus she is “co-regulating and attuning to the people around her.” Managing her emotions—rather than the preciousness of the job market and her future—offers a strategy to get-by. For Sue, Shawna, Bea, Mercedes, Madrone, and Mallory, attending classes and participating in higher education provides therapeutic elements.

Pedagogies of repair gives language to the process where adult-learners who are lacking the economic and social support and traditional pathways to achieve social and economic stability, a significant finding of this study is how adult-learners employ therapeutic discourses to insert ineligibility and a narrative arc of control and recovery in storytelling regarding the self. Eloquently stated in Eva Illouz’s, *Oprah Winfrey and the glamour of misery: An essay on popular culture* (2003), “the suffering person is compelled to make her pain a compelling narrative of identity, to work on it and make it into a meaningful life project” (161). Participants demonstrated how narratives of self-help are woven into the social fabric, how they are used in daily life to shape

relationships and cope with an uncertain social world. Because therapeutic discourse has dominated the language and logic used to address and examine ourselves.

Implications for Theory

Research and theory are inextricably linked. Following Solórzano and Yosso (2002) in “Critical Race Methodology: Counter-Storytelling as an Analytical Framework for Education Research,”

methodology as the overarching theoretical approach guiding the research...methodology is the nexus of theory and method in the way praxis is to theory and practice. In other words, methodology is the place where theory and method meet. Critical race methodology is an approach to research grounded in critical race theory (2002, pg. 38).

Accounting for power, ethics, and representation, critical race methodology is grounded in materialist realities for emancipatory results. This study utilized the principals and tools of critical race methodology in a setting predominantly composed of white-working class students. Using critical race theory and methods in majority white context exposes both tensions and intersections. The tensions came from an inability to center my findings on the racialized, gendered, and classed experiences of students of color (Solórzano and Yosso, 2002). Given the demographics I worked within, this was not a possibility. However, as I discussed in Chapter III the historical and contemporary factors that produce homogenous communities only emerges from years of racist policies and practices. Moreover, understanding higher education reform policies such as the Oregon Promise and by extension, the Mississippi and Tennessee Promise require analytical frameworks that attend to race and the "possessive investment in whiteness" (Lipsitz, 1998). I approach this reality as both a limitation of the study (see Chapter III) and an opportunity. The opportunity came from identifying the intersections between CRT and Whiteness

Studies. Associated with the pioneering work of W.E.B Du Bois (1890;1920), James Baldwin (1963), Theodore Allen (1973;1975), Franz Fanon (2004), George Lipsitz (1998) and David Roediger (1991), whiteness studies exposes the discursive, historical, and political structures that produce and re-produce white supremacy and privilege. An assertion within CRT is the notion of Whiteness as property (DeCuir, 2004). By rendering visible the ways Whiteness, power, and privilege manifest, whiteness studies and CRT share a commitment to dismantle oppressive structures through anti-racist research.

Both fields acknowledge the process of racial formation, emergence and maintenance of identity politics, and the psychological and material trauma endemic in a culture of white supremacy and racism. Shielded from this reality, working-class white folks often do not realize their stake in changing racist systems (Segrest, 2002). bell hooks (2014) stresses the danger of developing an analysis of shared victimization that re-centers whiteness. Instead, hooks calls for the necessity of solidarity based on, “one’s political and ethical understanding of racism and one’s rejection of domination” (p.14). Both CRT and whiteness studies recognize that,

Group interests are not monolithic, and aggregate figures can obscure serious differences within racial groups. All whites do not benefit from the possessive investment in whiteness in precisely the same ways; the experiences of members of minority groups are not interchangeable. But the possessive investment in whiteness always affects individual and collective life chances and opportunities (Lipsitz, 2006, p.79).

The intersections between Whiteness Studies and CRT attend to the social and political urgencies within these spaces and communities. Moreover, considering how CRT, developed by predominantly scholars of color in urban settings, can be applied to research

with working-class white students provides new theoretical tools to explore the contextual contours of daily life.

CRT shifts the research lens away from a deficit view of Communities of Color as places full of cultural poverty disadvantages, and instead focuses on and learns from the array of cultural knowledge, skills, abilities, and contacts possessed by socially marginalized groups that often go unrecognized and unacknowledged.

Implications for Pedagogy

Prior to and throughout this study, I have been fascinated by the pedagogical opportunity that exists within community college. As discussed earlier in this chapter, community colleges exist as a spatial and social phenomenon. I can think of no other public institution that brings together such a broad demographic with needs spanning from educational and career aspirations to health care, and basic means for survival. From a pedagogical standpoint, community college education, in the various environments classes occur, from rural satellite campuses, tribal reservations, in prisons, etc. are a unique educational landscape. This study was informed, in part, by my desire to understand the needs and means to extend the resources and rights of quality higher education to adult learners. Throughout this study, I was reminded that adults who return to community college are at the front-lines navigating the assaults of neoliberal policies. From the easily overlooked liminal spaces of their everyday-lives, non-traditional students arrive in community college classrooms from different roads and seek different destinations. In light of the differences and paradoxical nature of the category non-traditional, this section highlights pedagogical recommendations based on the data collected for this study. I begin

by situating my use of the term critical pedagogy. Next, I offer five recommendations for educators, administrators, and community college advocates.

In, “Pedagogy of the Depressed: Beyond the Politics of Cynicism,” Giroux, suggests that

Critical pedagogy must address the challenge of providing students with competencies they need to cultivate the capacity for critical judgment, to thoughtfully connect politics to social responsibilities and expand their own sense of agency in order to curb the excesses of dominant power, to revitalize a sense of public commitment and to expand democratic relations (2001, p. 20).

The objective of critical pedagogy manifests in commitments to democratic education as an agent for social change. I use the term pedagogy in a Freirean sense to address the social, political and philosophical context of learning as a social theory and method (Freire, 1970). For Freire, pedagogy was not limited to the classroom but a process of engagement that occurred continually. This tendency is commonly associated with popular education. Popular Education grew from Latin American liberation theology cultivating education as a tool mobilize political struggles of indigenous peoples (Cote, Day & de Peuter, 2007). Within liberation theology, popular education was a tool for emancipation. Grounded in the seminal work of Paulo Freire's, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1962). Insisting that education is a political force, Freire cultivated a radical pedagogy to unmask oppressive structures while mobilizing for liberation. In short, Freire emphasized praxis: reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it. Praxis is the essence of critical pedagogy. McLaren (1999) notes that Freirean pedagogy is vitally important for contemporary educators “to revisit, to build upon, and to reinvent

in the contextual specificity of today's sociopolitical context with its traumatizing inequalities." (p.55).

The men and women that I spoke to are on the front lines of navigating traumatizing inequality. As discussed, they often do so by developing meaningful narratives of recovery that resonate within a culture preoccupied with the management of the self. During conversations, I was struck by the frequency with which participants internalized the structural realities that shaped their lives by diverting their attention toward working on their "attitude," "emotional regulation," and "happiness." In calling us to withdraw into ourselves, writes Illouz, the therapeutic persuasion has made us abandon the great realms of citizenship and politics and cannot provide us with an intelligible way of linking the private self to the public sphere because it has emptied the self of its communal and political content, replacing this content with a narcissistic self-concern (2008, p.3). To this extent, therapeutic discourse is the antithesis of critical pedagogy. My point here is not to advocate for the emancipatory potential of critical pedagogy and critique the movement around the therapeutic self. Rather, I aim to place these frameworks into proximity with one another to consider the pedagogical implications of teaching in this cultural context. To do this, I will offer five recommendations informed by the data.

- *Providing adult-learners with relevant and affirming educational experiences that promote agency and connection.* Participants from both settings acknowledged the value and impact of having rigorous experiences in higher education. Their association with meeting the challenges of "authentic" or "real" curriculum became a source of pride. Additionally, important is having experiences where

their knowledge and life experiences were valued in collaborative experiences. As Mercedes commented, “Coming here you are in a situation where you are interacting with all these different types of people, and when you are in class doing the same task, it can be an equalizer in that it gives you a shared goal and that is something that we don’t do a lot of in society.”

- *Including adult-learners in the conversation.* Nearly all of the participants in this study view their success in higher education as an indicator of their self-worth, ascribing tremendous meaning to reaching their academic and personal goals. A ubiquitous discourse in education culture is that students are the future. This notion manifests in the Oregon Promise by placing significant investment in seventeen and eighteen-year-old students. However, younger students are not the only ones writing their own scripts. In uncertain times, I argue that we have a great deal to learn from how adults are re-writing their scripts within second, third, or “last chance institutions.” Thus, it is imperative to address age-bias and include adult-learners participating in education within and beyond prison walls as in the discourse of participating in the future.
- *Acknowledge the sacrifices adult-learners make to attend classes.* With the diverse range of student experiences, it is easy to overlook the sacrifices and costs involved in simply making it to class. Participants at Lane shared stories of missing their bus and spending money they did not have on a cab and struggling to find childcare when plans fell through. Students from the College Inside Program shared experiences of coping with news of the death of a loved one and threats to their safety prior to attending class as realities they had to hide before walking in the door.

As Madrone passionately conveyed, “Maybe that is one difference that I see with older students; we think of things in terms of money. It is not like, ‘Oh cool the instructor didn’t show up and I get to skip class.’ It is like, ‘I broke my neck to get here, and now the instructor didn’t show up!’”

- *Integrating best practices for the field of Trauma Based Learning.* In the past ten years, the field of trauma studies has proliferated. Education practitioners in this field coined the term “trauma-based learning” to address how experiences with, and cycles of, trauma influence student learning. According to Huang et. al, 2004, “Trauma-informed educators recognize students’ actions are a direct result of their life experiences. When their students act out or disengage, they don’t ask them, ‘What is wrong with you?’ but rather, ‘What happened to you?’ A pioneer in this field is Cara DiMarco, who has worked for 30 years in Lane Community College’s Women in Transitions program. DiMarco is developing trauma-based curriculum for adult learners who she refers to as displaced learners who experience disruptions (a blame neutral term) in the learning process.
- *Interrogate the impact of Institutional Branding and Messaging.* In an early iteration of this study, I was interested in a comparative approach that examined the narratives of adult-learners alongside the narratives offered by the institution. My interest was what discourses circulate in messages and branding and community college and what are the effects? Towards these ends, during interviews at Lane Community College, I asked respondents if they noticed the billboards at the campus entrances that announce, "Success Starts Here!" and "Your Future Starts Here" and what they thought of those statements. Several participants shared that they found the

statements obscure and confusing. "I don't know what notion of success they are talking about," Kay offered. "What they are really saying is that this isn't success, 'you might get there someday but, you haven't gotten there yet!'" These important critiques draw attention to the narrative landscape or habitus that students inhabit and the way institutional betrayal is transformed into a catchy slogan.

Implications for Policy

The Oregon Promise and the Second Chance Pell Grant raise the question, what do we mean by public education? They provide the moment to ask, what about public community college education do we wish to defend and what should be re-imagined? And "What kind of society do we want to cultivate in and through this uniquely situated institution?" In a passage from *Golden Gulag* (2001), Ruth Wilson Gilmore refers to the history of both prisons and education as a process of *reforming- reformed-reforms*. Similarly, Angela Davis in *Are Prisons Obsolete* (2011) reminds us that the term "reform" has become synonymous with our image of the prison, and by extension education. These scholars have taught me of the importance between a dialectical analysis between reform and abolition. As such, rather than focus on the effects and recommendations of policy and legislation, it is even more important to study the people, communities, and movements these policies are in reaction to (Ferguson, 2016).

In this case, contextualizing the programs inspired by President Obama's unveiling of "America's College Promise Proposal: Tuition-Free Community College for Responsible Students" Oregon, Tennessee, Louisiana, South Dakota, Arkansas, Detroit, San Francisco, and New York within local battles for access to tuition reform and higher education. Moreover, as statistics track the number of students applying for and receiving

Promise grants, it is equally important to track students who are disenfranchised by these policies. In this work, it is important to broaden the sources of knowledge beyond quantitative data. Failing to do so will contribute to the critique raised by Pierre Bourdieu and Jean Claude Passeron in their 1977 *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture*, that is, knowledge about and for the benefit of ruling and middle classes are considered valuable as cultural capital for the re-production of society.

Returning to one of the earliest definitions developed by the American Association of Junior Colleges in 1929, junior colleges would exist as “an institution offering two years of instruction of collegiate training and respond to the larger and ever-changing civic, social, religious, and vocational needs of the entire community.” (Cohen, 2003, p. 222). Uniquely situated to respond to the ever-changing needs of their constituency, community colleges are one of the only remaining publically subsidized institutions capable of fulfilling Jane Addams vision of democracy. For Addams, "it is not enough to passively believe in the innate dignity of all human beings. Such faith in the potentialities and possibilities of others carries with it the responsibility for providing conditions that will enable these capacities to reach fulfillment" (Siegfried, 2001 p.xi). In a historical moment of staggering inequality, re-segregation, a dismantling of the public, and criminalization of poverty, within community colleges, we see extraordinary levels of organizing to respond to the needs of the most vulnerable members of the campus community. The efforts of students, staff, and administrators to maintain an accessible health clinic, food pantry, warming center, counseling and other social services deserve greater public recognition and support. Reforms that perpetuate the erasure of these aspects of community college support should and disenfranchise some of the most

vulnerable students should be critiqued and replaced with policies that engage the democratic possibility of free community college for all students through the elimination of age and class segregation.

In line with my interest to draw attention to the people, communities, and movements these policies are in reaction to, The Second Chance Pell Grant is a reinstatement of the rights that were granted to incarcerated people from 1965 to 1994. The SCA was primarily informed by a 2014 study by the RAND foundation titled, "How Effective Is Correctional Education, and Where Do We Go from Here? The Results of a Comprehensive Evaluation." The study concludes that "incarcerated individuals who participated in high - quality correctional education — including postsecondary correctional education — were 43 percent less likely to return to prison within three years than prisoners who didn't participate in any correctional education programs. Furthermore, it is estimated that for every dollar invested in correctional education programs, four to five dollars are saved re-incarceration costs." The impact of access to meaningful corrections education is evidenced by the remarkable success of the College Inside program diminishing the rate of recidivism to a mere 6.7% compared to the Oregon state statistic of 38%. Motivated by social and capital interests, carceral education must be understood in reaction to the unprecedented work of state violence manifest through staggering incarceration rates. While the future of the three-year Second Chance Pell Grant Piolet program is unclear, it is inevitable that corrections education will grow. Accredited community colleges are well suited to meet this demand and provide resources for the student upon re-entry.

Future Research

I began the research for this project in the wake of the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression. Since 2008, public institutions have become an active theater for privatization vis-a-vis neoliberal restructuring. In an economic system characterized by grotesque suffering and the “accumulation of dispossessions” (Harvey, 2007), the plundering brought by disaster capital has been normalized through a political and ideological system where every aspect of social life has been commodified. Privatization and commodification of social life are normalized through discourses and practices that re-structure the spatial, social, political and personal dimensions of society.

The implications of these movements require new interdisciplinary analysis. To make sense of the erosion of public space and the spatial practices that afford people places to be and go, I turn to the concept of enclosure. According to Peter Linebaugh, in “Enclosures from the Bottom Up” the term,

Enclosure, like capital, is a term that is physically precise, even technical (hedge, fence, wall), and expressive of concepts of unfreedom (incarceration, imprisonment, immurement). In our time it has been a foundational interpretative idea for understanding neoliberalism, the historical suppression of women as in Silvia Federici, the carceral archipelago as in Michel Foucault's great confinement, or capitalist amassment as in David Harvey's accumulation by dispossession. In our time it has also been an important empirical fact (2010, p. 11).

Following Damien M. Sojourner (2106), the term enclosure encapsulates the "multifaceted process that has brought us to this current moment of mass incarceration, intense racialized policing, and full on assault of public education. The term underscores the trajectory of the nation-state's deployment of capitalism to enclose, commodify, and

transform the social services and relationships that are necessary for the long-term well-being of communities. It is within Sojourner's treatment of enclosures, that I apply the term to consider the spatial phenomenon of both prisons and the community college campus and classroom.

Whereas a field of scholarship has developed to highlight and make commonplace the relationship between the K-12 school to prison nexus (Giroux, 2001; Meiners, 2011; Meiners & Winn, 2010; Wald & Losen, 2003) this study opened a line of inquiry to consider the proximity of community colleges and prisons as similar institutions that absorb and manage displaced workers, economic refugees, and dispossessed adult populations. An aspect of this management is through the process cooling out which gives a name to how institutions structure failure through policies and pedagogies. Considering how the spatial, ideological, and material process of enclosures is an invitation to conceptualize the relationships between community colleges and prisons further and document the social and political dependencies. Towards this end, the next iteration of this research asks how what does education look like in the context of worldviews predicated on the therapeutic self?

Conclusion

In *Contradictory College: The Conflicting Origins, Impacts, and Futures of the Community College*, Kevin Dougherty (1994) stresses that while community colleges play a crucial role in American higher education and by extension American life, education scholars and lay people know little about them. As I have stressed, adults who are displaced learners are easily overlooked in mainstream conceptions of higher education. This reality is ever more salient for incarcerated students (Yates & Lakes,

2010). My hope is this study will facilitate greater generalizable knowledge and visibility for different communities while inspiring new and critical questions about community colleges, prisons, and the people they serve.

Community colleges are particularly relevant spaces of contradiction and irony, as the promise of neoliberalism and myths of meritocracy are preached to populations grossly affected by its forces. Amidst that process, students are also collaborators with the institution and one another to developing meaningful ways to articulate and anchor their experiences in dignity and possibility. *Pedagogies of Repair* is an attempt to make sense of this process and to understand how adults-learners grapple with the immense contradictions, hope, and faith needed to participate in higher education.

However, a catchy theoretical term born from years of graduate training may obscure the profound simplicity at the heart of this project. I was reminded of this one evening while organizing student papers on my living-room floor. With papers scattered all around, I was joined by my 11-year old daughter, Samara. Eager to participate, she asked, "Can I help?" Handing her a stack of papers, I invited her to alphabetize the papers by last names. After a few moments of silent shuffling, she asked me about my students. I explained that they were men who were incarcerated in the state prison where they were also enrolled in a college program. She paused and then responded with a question born of sincerity and love, "What do your students want to be when they get out of prison? And who will be there to help them?" The struggle for a different world writes Robin Kelly (2002), requires "the space to imagine and a vision of what it means to realize our humanity" (p.192) fully. Sitting on my living-room floor I was reminded of the radical imagination of this child who saw nothing but possibilities.

Ultimately this work is about that very question in a place of possibility where adults, carrying past and present traumas related to schooling, turn to re-make parts of their lives and stories. It is my belief that it is increasingly necessary to cultivate the imagination, determination, and courage to re-conceptualize the meaning and purpose of higher education, success, and wellbeing for all learners.

APPENDIX A

RESEARCH PROTOCOL AT LANE COMMUNITY COLLEGE



UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

DATE: December 30, 2016 **IRB Protocol Number: 02152016.018**

TO: Nadia Raza, Principal Investigator
Department of Education Studies

RE: Protocol entitled, "Pedagogies of Repair: Community College Through the Narratives of Non Traditional Students"

Notice of IRB Review and Approval
Expedited Review as per Title 45 CFR Part 46 # 6, 7

The project identified above has been reviewed by the University of Oregon Institutional Review Board (IRB) and Research Compliance Services using an expedited review procedure. This is a minimal risk study. This approval is based on the assumption that the materials, including changes/clarifications that you submitted to the IRB contain a complete and accurate description of all the ways in which human subjects are involved in your research.

This approval is given with the following standard conditions:

1. You are approved to conduct this research only during the period of approval cited below;
2. You will conduct the research according to the plans and protocol submitted (approved copy enclosed);
3. You will immediately inform Research Compliance Services of any injuries or adverse research events involving subjects;
4. You will immediately request approval from the IRB of any proposed changes in your research, and you will not initiate any changes until they have been reviewed and approved by the IRB;
5. You will only use the approved informed consent document(s) (enclosed);
6. You will give each research subject a copy of the informed consent document;
7. **If your research is anticipated to continue beyond the IRB approval dates, you must submit a Continuing Review Request to the IRB approximately 60 days prior to the IRB approval expiration date. Without continuing approval the Protocol will automatically expire on December 29, 2017.**

Additional Conditions: *Any research personnel that have not completed CITI certificates should be removed from the project until they have completed the training. When they have completed the training, you must submit a Protocol Amendment Application Form to add their names to the protocol, along with a copy of their CITI certificates.*

Approval period: December 30, 2016 - December 29, 2017

COMMITTEE FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN SUBJECTS • RESEARCH COMPLIANCE SERVICES
677 E. 12th Ave., Suite 500, 5237 University of Oregon, Eugene OR 97401-5237
T 541-346-2510 F 541-346-5138 <http://rcs.uoregon.edu>

An equal-opportunity, affirmative-action institution committed to cultural diversity and compliance with the Americans with Disabilities Act



UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

The University of Oregon and Research Compliance Services appreciate your efforts to conduct research in compliance with University of Oregon Policy and federal regulations that have been established to ensure the protection of human subjects in research. Thank you for your cooperation with the IRB process.

Sincerely,

Carolyn J. Craig, PhD, CIP
Senior Research Compliance Administrator

CC: Janna Goode, Faculty Advisor

COMMITTEE FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN SUBJECTS | RESEARCH COMPLIANCE SERVICES

677 E. 12th Ave., Suite 500, 5237 University of Oregon, Eugene OR 97401-5237

T 541-346-2510 F 541-346-5138 <http://rcs.uoregon.edu>

An equal-opportunity, affirmative-action institution committed to cultural diversity and compliance with the Americans with Disabilities Act

Informed Consent for Participation in a Research Project Titled: “Pedagogies of Repair”

Investigator: Nadia K. Raza

Adult Consent Form

Introduction

- You are invited to participate in a research study of the experiences of adult learners in community college.
- Thank you for expressing interest to a recruitment email or in class presentation
- We ask that you read this form and ask any questions that you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

Purpose of Study:

- The purpose of this study is to understand how non-traditional community college students negotiate the challenges, hopes, and expectations they have about attending community college.
- Participants in this study are from Lane Community College. The total number of subjects in this study is expected to be 20.

Description of the Study Procedures:

In this study, I will be asking you to participate in up to three activities over the next three months: an interview with me, an interview with a peer, and a focus group. Your participation is entirely voluntary, and you may withdraw from participation at any time for any reason.

- The first session will consist of an interview that will last 40-60 minutes and will be audio recorded. During the meeting, I will ask you 8-10 questions about your educational experience as a non-traditional student such as, “What are your goals with regards to your enrollment in community college? In other words, what brings you here? And do you identify as non- traditional community college student? If so, what does that mean to you? If not, why?”
- The second interview will consist of a focus group. During this session, I will facilitate a conversation about themes that came up during the first interviews with a group of participants. This meeting will convene for approximately 60-80 min. The focus group will be audio recorded.

Risks/Discomforts of Being in the Study:

- The risks associated with this study pertain to a breach of confidentiality if the protection and security of the transcripts and recordings were compromised. The likelihood of a breach of confidentiality is minimal. Audio files and transcripts will be stored on a password-protected hard drive.

Benefits of Being in the Study:

- The purpose of the study is to document how non-traditional community college students negotiate the challenges, hopes, and expectations they have about attending community college.
- There are no direct benefits to participating in this study.

Compensation:

- You will receive no payment or reimbursement for your participation in this study.

Costs:

- There is no cost to you to participate in this research study.

Confidentiality:

- The records of this study will be kept private. In any report, I publish no identifying information will be included.
- All electronic information will be coded and secured using a password-protected file. I will be the only person to access audio files.
- Access to the records will be limited to the researchers; however, please note that regulatory agencies, and the Institutional Review Board and internal University of Oregon auditors may review the research records.

Voluntary Participation/Withdrawal:

- Your participation is voluntary. If you choose not to participate, it will not affect your current or future relations with the University or your Community College.
- You are free to withdraw at any time, for whatever reason.
- There is no penalty or loss of benefits for not taking part or for stopping your participation. Withdrawing from this study will not compromise or jeopardize your grades or impact present or future faculty/school/University relationships

Dismissal from the Study:

- The investigator may withdraw you from the study at any time for the following reasons: (1) withdrawal is in your best interests (e.g. side effects or distress have resulted, or (2) you have failed to comply with the study requirements

Contacts and Questions:

- The principal investigator conducting this study is Nadia K. Raza. For questions or more information concerning this research, you may contact her at nraza@uoregon.edu. The faculty advisor for this study Dr. Joanna Goode can be reached at goodej@uoregon.edu

- If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact: Research Compliance Services, the University of Oregon at (541) 346-2510 or ResearchCompliance@uoregon.edu

Copy of Consent Form:

- You will be given a copy of this form to keep for your records and future reference.

Statement of Consent:

I have read (or have had read to me) the contents of this consent form and have been encouraged to ask questions. I have received answers to my questions. I give my consent to participate in this study. I have received (or will receive) a copy of this form.

Signatures/Dates

Study Participant (Print Name)

Date

Participant or Legal Representative Signature

Date

Research Questions for One on One Interviews

Project Title: Pedagogies of Repair

Instructions: During the next 40-60 min, I will ask a series of informal questions about your experience as a non-traditional community college student. Feel free to respond as you like. There are no wrong answers to any of these questions. If you want to go back to a question or skip a question that is fine. Simply, let me know. If you have any questions at any time or need to take a break let me know.

Interview questions:

1. Is this your first time in college? If no, when did you attend last and how would you define your experience?
2. What are three terms you would use to define your journey in higher education?
3. What motivated you to attend community college? In other words, what brings you here?
4. Do you identify as non- traditional community college student? If so, what does that mean to you? If not, why?
5. An aspect of education that I am interested in is the hidden curriculum—things that you are supposed to learn in school that might not be in the syllabus. One example is success. What ideas do you learn about how to be successful at your community college?
6. Do you agree with these ideas?
7. How do you define success?
8. How do you feel about the Oregon Promise and other reforms that make community college for some students?
9. Have you ever noticed the messages on billboards and posters around campus? If so, do you feel that the messages apply to you?
10. If you designed a slogan to promote student success at Lane community college, what would it be and why?
11. Is there anything else you would like to add?

APPENDIX B

RESEARCH PROTOCOL FOR THE COLLEGE INSIDE PROGRAM



UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

COMMITTEE FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN SUBJECTS
RESEARCH COMPLIANCE SERVICES

DATE: May 15, 2017 **IRB Protocol Number: 04032017.001**

TO: Nadia Raza, Principal Investigator
Department of Education Studies

RE: Protocol entitled, "College Inside: Reducing Recidivism through Inmate Education"

Notice of IRB Review and Approval Full Board Review as per Title 45 CFR Part 46

The project identified above has been reviewed and approved by the Committee for Protection of Human Subjects (CPHS), the University of Oregon Institutional Review Board (IRB). This research was reviewed by the fully convened IRB in accordance with HHS regulations on May 3, 2017. This research has been determined to be no greater than minimal risk and qualifies for **expedited review procedures** under Categories 6 and 7 for future reviews.

For this research, the following additional determinations have been made:

- The study as described satisfies the requirements for additional protections pertaining to research involving prisoners as subjects under 45 CFR Part 46.305 and is permissible under 46.306 (a)(2)(ii).

Contingency(ies):

- **Documentation of approval from Oregon State Penitentiary (OSP) for the conduct of this study will need to be submitted for file documentation to Research Compliance Services prior to initiating activities with participants. Should OSP review result in any changes to the approved procedures or materials, an amendment will need to be submitted to the UO IRB for review and approval prior to initiating research activities with participants.**

The IRB has approved the research to be conducted as described in the attached materials. As a reminder, it is your responsibility to submit any proposed changes for IRB review and approval prior to implementation.

Approval period: May 15, 2017 - May 02, 2018

If you anticipate the research will continue beyond the IRB approval period, you must submit a request for continuing review approximately 60 days prior to the expiration date. **Without continued approval, the protocol will expire on May 02, 2018 and human subject research activities must cease.** A closure report must be submitted once human subject research activities are complete. Failure to maintain current approval or properly close the protocol constitutes non-compliance.

You are responsible for adhering to the *Investigator Agreement* submitted with the initial application for IRB review. The responsibilities of the agreement are reiterated at the end of this

COMMITTEE FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN SUBJECTS • RESEARCH COMPLIANCE SERVICES

677 E. 12th Ave., Suite 500, 5237 University of Oregon, Eugene OR 97401-5237

T 541-346-2510 F 541-346-5138 <http://rcs.uoregon.edu>

An equal-opportunity, affirmative-action institution committed to cultural diversity and compliance with the Americans with Disabilities Act



UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

COMMITTEE FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN SUBJECTS
RESEARCH COMPLIANCE SERVICES

letter below. You are responsible for conduct of the research and must maintain oversight of all research personnel to ensure compliance with the IRB approved protocol.

The University of Oregon and Research Compliance Services appreciate your commitment to the ethical and responsible conduct of research with human subjects.

Sincerely,

Caitlin Alcorn, CIP
Senior Research Compliance Administrator

CC: Joanna Goode, Faculty Advisor

COMMITTEE FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN SUBJECTS • RESEARCH COMPLIANCE SERVICES

677 E. 12th Ave., Suite 500, 5237 University of Oregon, Eugene OR 97401-5237

T 541-346-2510 F 541-346-5138 <http://rcs.uoregon.edu>

An equal-opportunity, affirmative-action institution committed to cultural diversity and compliance with the Americans with Disabilities Act

Protocol Name: College Inside: Reducing Recidivism through Inmate Education

Protocol Number: 04032017.001

Principal Investigator: Nadia K. Raza

Version Date: May 8th 2017

PRISON RESEARCH CONTEXT

The proposed research will be conducted within the College Inside Program at the Oregon State Penitentiary (OSP). OSP is a maximum-security prison for men founded in 1886. The prison consists of two units. The main unit can house approximately 2,194 men. The Intensive Management Unit built in 1991 is considered a super-max unit and houses maximum custody inmates—those who are under disciplinary segregation, offenders with psychiatric problems, and inmates on death row.

There is a long history of education and work programs at OSP. Currently, the programs available to inmates are work force development and education. Education programs include Adult Basic Education, GED, English as a Second Language, and an automotive repair vocational training program. Inmates in the main unit who meet minimum requirements (good behavior and program compliance) may participate in education programs (at their own expense). In response to the higher education needs of inmates, in 2007, the College Inside program was founded through Chemeketa Community College. It is the only full college degree granting prison program in the state of Oregon.

There are three types of participants in this study: (a) students enrolled in Introduction to Sociology spring term (a course I am currently teaching), (b) College Inside students who are not enrolled in my course and are graduating the program in June 2017 (c) College Inside faculty and administrators. The methods for this study are based on qualitative ethnographic approaches; written responses to a class assignment and one-on-one interviews.

The inmates recruited for this study will be students enrolled in the College Inside Program. The first group of students will be enrolled in an Introduction to Sociology course (Soc. 204) that I am currently teaching Spring term 2017. The enrollment is set to 25 and students self-select into College Inside courses. If the course is full, priority is given to students who are in greater need of the course to complete their degree requirements. The second group of participants recruited are inmates who will be graduating the college inside program this June. There are no other criteria or factors that influence participant inclusion (e.g. related to prison sentence, behavior, duration of sentence, nature of crime, etc.). The proposed research will take place only with approval by the Oregon Department of Corrections IRB, University of Oregon IRB and approval with Chemeketa Community College Inside Program.

Introduction

The United States contains 5% of the world's population but houses 25% of the total world prison population (Alexander 2010; Pew Center on the States, 2008, Yates & Lakes, 2010). An estimated 2.3 million people are incarcerated in the United States. On any given day, more than one in 100 adults are in jail or prison and one out of every 31 U.S. adults is under some form of correctional control (Pew Center on the States 2008). Once under correctional control, both youth and adult offenders experience excessively high rates of recidivism. Research suggests that approximately six in ten formerly incarcerated people will end up back in prison within three years of release (BSJ 2009, Langan and Levin 2002).

In 2015, amid rising criticisms of mass incarceration, concerns over criminal justice reform, and policies aimed at reducing recidivism, the Obama Administration and Department of Education announced the Second Chance Pell Pilot Program. The program repealed a 1994 Congressional amendment to the Higher Education Act that eliminated Pell Grant eligibility for people in federal or state prisons. The Second Chance Pell Pilot Program aims to support new models of postsecondary education inside prisons with the goal of reducing recidivism and improve prison conditions. The program cites a 2013 study from the RAND foundation funded by the Department of Justice, which concluded that incarcerated individuals who participated in correctional education were 43 % less likely to return to prison within three years than prisoners who did not participate in any correctional education programs. RAND also estimated that for every dollar invested in correctional education programs, four to five dollars are saved on three-year re-incarceration costs (Davis, 2013).

In January 2016, Chemeketa Community College was selected as one of 67 colleges and universities to receive a three-year Second Chance Pell Pilot Program Grant. The College Inside program currently serves over 175 students at two prisons in Salem. Since 2007, the College Inside Program has graduated 179 individuals. Approximately 160 graduates of the program have been released from prison. According to Chemeketa, these students experience an incredibly low recidivism rate of 6 %. According to the Oregon Criminal Justice Commission the statewide recidivism rate for individuals released from prison or a felony jail sentence in 2012, 53% were arrested for a new crime within 3 years of release. There have been relatively few prison education programs in Oregon since 1994. The allocation of the Second Chance Pell Grant Pilot Program presents a significant opportunity to contribute to research on prison education, recidivism and research on community college corrections education.

Aims of the Study

The purpose of this study is to understand the effectiveness of the College Inside Program in supporting inmates' self-efficacy and identity as college students. This study is concerned with how students describe their experience in the

College Inside program. Specifically, I am interested in how participation in the program has improved the experiences, identities, and desires of students with regards to higher education. As discussed, the College Inside program has achieved remarkable success in decreasing recidivism. These statistics point to a striking phenomenon that should be considered through qualitative research. This study will contribute to scholarship on carceral education utilizing qualitative approaches to document student testimonies. While much has been written about students in carceral education, few studies center the voices of students. Given the unique opportunity to document the experiences of inmates receiving allocation of the Second Chance Pell Pilot Grant, this study aims for greater contribution to generalizable knowledge about prison education from the perspective of inmates in community college corrections education.

Specific Aim # 1: Understand how the College Inside Program supports participants' success, recovery, and well-being. While research on prison education is a growing field, many studies rely on quantitative evaluations of recidivism, student achievement, etc. This study will focus on how incarcerated students narrate their experience. Attention is given to dimensions of the program, curriculum and pedagogy that impact beliefs regarding success, recovery and well-being. Interest is placed on the practices and discourses within the College Inside Program. In other words, given the correlation between education and rehabilitation, what discourses do students encounter and internalize during their education inside?

Specific Aim # 2: Document the development of the College Inside Program within the growing movement of partnerships between community college and prisons. A Department of Education report on Corrections Education in 2009 concluded that, in a 50-state analysis of postsecondary correction education, 68% of all postsecondary correction education is provided by community colleges. However, little scholarship exists about the nuances and success of these programs.

Specific Aim # 3: Contextualize inmate education as an extension of non-traditional student services. According to the American Association of Community Colleges, nearly half of all U.S. undergraduate students (46%) attend a community college—approximately 58% of those students are nontraditional students. While re-entry students are considered non-traditional, the growing populations of students in corrections education programs are not reflected in that statistic (Yates & Lattes, 2011). As the Second Chance Act seeks to institute support for prisoner rehabilitation and education, such advocacy should be met with greater visibility of students in community college corrections education. This study classifies incarcerated students within the umbrella of non-traditional students. Doing so will contribute to research on non-traditional community college students.

Methods, Materials and Analysis

Specific Aim # 1: *Understand how the College Inside Program supports participants' success, recovery, and well-being*

- 1) Use of Student Writing: This activity pertains to students enrolled in the course I am teaching. Written assignments will be a part of regular coursework and only writing from students who have consented will be used for research purpose. During the term, I will assign one autobiographical-paper, which prompts students to reflect on their experience in higher education before and during the College Inside Program, and how their beliefs about success and self-efficacy have changed through their participation in the program. In the assignment, I will ask students to share a specific moment (in a class, conversation, assignment, reading) that was instrumental in supporting their view of success and self-efficacy. The writing prompt will focus on participant's experience in the College Inside program (parameters on information are intended to protect disclosure of sensitive information and/or and discomfort related to disclosure of personal information). The writing prompt is included in appendix A. The papers will be collected and graded pass/no pass for completion of the assignment.
 - a. Given the reflective nature of this assignment, it is likely that participants will disclose personal information. The instructions for the assignment will outline parameters on the extent of written responses. If sensitive information is disclosed that pertains to criminal offenses, I will ask the student to re-write the paper. Rewriting is a practice that I use in this course (regardless of assignment or research process) to support student learning. I do not want to retain any student data that may compromises students' safety. Given that the specific aims of this research are to document and understand how access to higher education impacts inmates, only the passages from student writing that pertain to the research questions will be collected and used for research purposes. Written passages that may disclose any personal information or markers will not be used for research purposes.
- 2) Interviews with Inmates: The following activity is designed with the consideration that free-time in prison is limited. Participation in this study should not impede on the time inmates must engage activities such as in work, laundry, access to exercise, etc. College Inside Students are given weekly access to a computer lab to conduct research and type papers. Often the computer lab is overcrowded and students must wait to use a computer. An opportunity to participate in a brief 20-30 min interview will be available for students waiting in the computer lab. Interviews will take place in the chapel located next to the computer lab. The chapel is located right next to the computer lab and students can move freely from classroom to computer lab to the chapel. Once in the education wing, students are free to move on the education floor. Scheduling arrangements will be made beforehand to work with the chaplain's schedule. If I am granted permission to bring in a digital audio recorder from the Oregon Department of Corrections (IRB pending) one-on-one interviews will be audio recorded. For the interview protocol please see Appendix B.

Specific Aim # 2: *Document the development of the College Inside Program within the growing movement of partnerships between community college and prisons and*
Specific Aim # 3: *Contextualize inmate education as an extension of non-traditional student services.*

- 1) Interviews with College Inside Faculty and Administrators: Interviews with College Inside Faculty and Administrators will occur outside the prison setting at Chemeketa Community College. Interviews will be approximately 40-60 minutes, will occur outside of the facility (not at OSP) at the participants' convenience. Interviews with faculty will be audio recorded and follow the interview protocol in appendix A.
- 2) Use of archival data: Analysis of archival data will consist of reviewing the grant submitted for the Second Chance Pell Grant Pilot Program and articles written about the program.

Analysis

All the data in this study will be analyzed using qualitative methods and results will be reported in narrative form. Qualitative data analysis involves the identification, examination, and interpretation of patterns and themes in textual data and determines how these patterns and themes help answer the research questions at hand (NSF, 1997). Guided by the theoretical framework of Critical Race Theory (CRT), emphasis is placed on narrative voice. CRT valorizes people's capacity to understand their own lives and give voice to their experiences. The epistemological and ontological premise of CRT is rooted in a theory of standpoint knowledge that elevates the importance of social location and experiential knowledge (Hill Collins, 2000).

Specific Aim # 1: *Understand how the College Inside Program supports participants' success, recovery, and well-being.*

Participant responses will be transcribed from written submissions. Participant responses that discuss student experiences in the College Inside Program will be analyzed for patterns and exceptions. Excerpts will be bracketed and used in the final write up. I discuss confidentiality of inmate data in the confidentiality section below.

Specific Aim # 2: Document the development of the College Inside Program within the growing sector of partnerships between community college and prisons and
Specific Aim # 3: Contextualize inmate education as an extension of non-traditional student services.

To respond to these questions, I will rely on interviews with College Inside faculty and administrators. Excerpts from interviews will be bracketed and highlighted against archival data.

Research Population and Recruitment Methods

There are three types of participants in this study: (a) students enrolled in Introduction to Sociology spring term (a course I am teaching), (b) students not enrolled in my course and who are graduating the College Inside program, and (c) College Inside faculty and administrators. The methods for this study are based on qualitative ethnographic approaches; written responses to interview questions and one-on-one interviews.

- (a) Students enrolled in Introduction to Sociology (activity - writing samples):
The first group of participants recruited for this study will be the 25 students enrolled in a College Inside Introduction to Sociology course (Soc. 204) during the Spring term 2017. Students self-select into College Inside courses. The only manipulation that may alter the self-selection process is made by the program prior to the start of the course. For this activity, students will be given a written assignment that is consistent with the length and expectations of other coursework. Please note, I assign a variation of this assignment in every class I teach regardless of institution and student population.

To recruit student participation, will read aloud the talking points script in Appendix A. After, I will pause for questions

After reading the script, I will distribute and read the consent forms. I will intentionally read the forms to ensure that students regardless of learning style and ability will understand the information

Next, I will answer questions in the classroom. Students will be reminded that I will be available for individual questions at the break or after class. Then, I will wait one week after distribution and discussion of the consent forms before the forms are collected. My hope is the extra time will afford potential participants the opportunity to ask questions.

Collection of the forms will occur in class. A manila envelope will circulate through the room and all students will return the completed form. The envelope will be sealed and accessed by the investigator only after the course has concluded and all papers have been graded.

- (b) College Inside Seniors (activity - interviews): I have developed this recruitment strategy with the College Inside Program Director Michael Budke. Participants will be recruited through an in-class announcement where I will share the scope and intentions of this study (see appendix B).
- (c) The announcement will be made in a class for College Inside Seniors. I will read the recruitment scrip in Appendix B. After reading the script, I will facilitate a conversation and answer student questions. After reading the script,

I will distribute and read the consent forms. I will intentionally read the forms to ensure that students regardless of learning style and ability will understand the information. Additionally, I will be available to answer questions during the class break and before and after the course I teach (students that are on the education floor talk to faculty and administrators at this time). Students can sign up at that time or later in the term (through direct conversation with me or the program director) The program director.

Mr. Budke has offered to help facilitate this research by arranging for classroom announcements, answering basic questions from participants in my absence, and helping to schedule individual interviews. His assistance is necessary given the nature of the research setting. His role will be limited to these activities and he will not assist with formal recruitment, consent, conduct of the research, or have access to identifiable participant data. He will know who schedules an interview given his role but has agreed to keep this information confidential as he is able. The limits of confidentiality related to Mr. Budke's involvement are disclosed to participants via the recruitment and consent process.

(d) Scheduling Interviews: College Inside Students are given weekly access to a computer lab to conduct research and type papers. Often the computer lab is overcrowded and students must wait to use a computer. An opportunity to participate in a brief 20-30 min interview will be available for students who have signed up for the study while they are waiting in the computer lab. Interviews will take place in the chapel which is located next to the computer lab. Scheduling arrangements will be made beforehand to work with the chaplain's schedule. The program director will assist in scheduling time to meet with participants that want to be involved in this study that I do not get a chance to talk to during computer lab overflow time.

(e) College Inside faculty and administrators will be recruited through email and personal requests.

The target population is 40 students and 5 faculty members and administrators.

Overview of participants and activities

- Inmates enrolled in Sociology 204: Student writing samples (goal of 25 writing samples)
- College Inside Seniors: One-on One interviews (15 participants)
- College Inside faculty and administrators: One-on-one interviews (5 participants)

Informed Consent

As a vulnerable population, research-involving prisoners requires significant consideration regarding coercion and limited capacity for voluntary informed consent. According to Moser et al. in "Coercion and informed consent in research involving prisoners" (2005), notions of coercion are complicated by research that found prisoners' main reasons for participating in research included avoiding boredom, meeting someone new, appearing cooperative in hopes of being treated better. While the prison setting most likely will influence inmates' decision to

participate in research, it is difficult to determine how the impact of the environment equates to coercion. This study is designed with careful consideration to the motivations for participation and inmates' rights to privacy and agency.

- (a) Students enrolled in my class will be recruited for participation in this study. Participation will consist of consent to use responses to a written assignment as data. After explaining the scope and goals of this research and responding to student questions, I will distribute consent forms and give students the option to participate or opt-out. The forms will be collected in a manila envelope and sealed until the term is over and grades are submitted. Students will be informed that I will not be aware of who opted-in or opted-out until the class is over. I will discuss the intentionality of remaining unaware of who "opted-in" to participate is an intentional strategy to mitigate any concerns that may arise from a conflict of interest, potential favoritism, impact of grade, etc.

The papers will be collected and graded pass/no pass for completion of the assignment. I will pass back the papers with comments and maintain a photo-copy of each paper. After grades are submitted, I will match consent forms to student papers and analyze consenting participant's responses as data. The approach of a blind data collection method aims to eliminate any conflict of interest and potential benefits or risks of participation. The student papers that are not linked to a consent form will be shredded and disposed of in confidential recycle bin on campus. This process will occur outside of OSP at my private office at home (primarily because, I do not have private office space at the facility and my permission to enter the institution will terminate when the academic term is over).

- (b) Prior to interviews with inmates, I will provide participants with consent information during the in-class announcement and again prior to interviews. I will be available during the class break to answer questions. If questions come up later, I will be available during the break for weekly classes. During break for weekly classes, students who are on the education floor will talk to faculty and administrators. My intent is to provide greater opportunity to answer any questions when I am on the education floor (before class, during breaks, and after class). The chaplain and College Inside Program director will also be available to answer questions participants have about this study.
- (c) Prior to interviews with faculty and administrators of the College Inside program, I will consent information. I will answer any questions in person or via email and ask individuals to sign consent forms prior to the interview.

Confidentiality

The limits of confidentiality will be explained repeatedly to participants, that is, there are no guaranteed means of ensuring privacy or confidentiality for this study. The limits of confidentiality are structured by the prison. Participants will be informed that all files and documents are subject to search. This circumstance however, is not abnormal from participants' daily risk of disclosing information in

other prison programs and groups. As an additional layer of protection, I will place parameters on the questions asked of participants. In other words, I will ask participants to refrain from sharing any information about rules violations. All the transcription of participant data will be done personally, no data will be outsourced for transcription.

Confidentiality of Inmate Data

Data from activity 1 (student writing) will be collected via self-reporting. Once consent forms are paired with student papers, a random assignment of a pseudonym will be used to differentiate responses. A master document linking participant's names with pseudonyms will be created and stored on a personal password protected computer that does not enter the facility. Transcription files will be stored on a hard drive in a locked file cabinet in my office for at least five years after the study is completed. No actual names of participants will be used in the results of the data. Additionally, de-identification of any personal information and identifiers (length of sentence, community of origin, etc.) will occur prior to data analysis to minimize any possibility of the subject being identified. Student papers that are not linked to a consent form will be shredded (of-site) and disposed of in a secure confidential recycle bin.

Data collected during interviews will not be linked to participants' identity. Participants names will not be recorded in written notes. Rather, participants will be assigned a pseudonym prior to the interview. Consent forms will be collected and stored in a locked file cabinet outside of the facility. Consistent with the methods above, a master document linking participant's names with pseudonyms will be created and stored on a personal password protected computer. Transcription files will be stored on a hard drive in a locked file cabinet in my office for at least five years after the study. No actual names of participants will be used in the results of the data. Additionally, de-identification of any personal information and will occur prior to data analysis to minimize any possibility of the subject being identified.

Because interviews will occur in a semi-private location in the chapel, it is possible for participants to be seen walking and in and out. Additionally, it is possible that the interview conversation could be overheard. This potential risk will be explained to participants and identified in the consent form.

Confidentiality of College Inside Faculty and Administrator Data

Data collected during interviews with faculty and administrators, interviews will occur outside of OSP at the participants' convenience. Audio recordings will be stored securely until the end of the research project as a reference if needed after the transcription process. During transcription, pseudonyms will be used. No actual names of participants will be used in the results of the data. Transcription files will be stored in on a hard drive in a locked file cabinet in my office for five years after the study is completed. After 5 years, the files will be erased/destroyed.

Potential Research Risks or Discomforts to Participants

The focus of this study is to explore the success of the College Inside program through students' experiences. Towards these ends, this research will consider

how participation in the program has improved the experiences, identities, and desires of inmates with regards to higher education. The activities proposed—a writing prompt and interviews about experiences in the program are within the scope of participation in higher education. The physical, psychological, social, legal and economic risks for inmates who participate in this study will not be any greater than their risk living in a prison every day. Precautionary measures taken to minimize risk include (a) safeguard factors in place to protect participants' confidentiality (blind opt-in/opt-out process, de-identifying participant data, the use of pseudonyms, and storage and destruction protocol for data files) (b) interview questions will focus on participant's experience in the College Inside program (parameters on information are intended to protect disclosure or trauma related to disclosure of sensitive information) (c) participants can speak to the College Inside program director and or the chaplain at any time about questions or concerns related to this study. Thus, this research presents minimal risks to participants.

Potential benefits

This study aims to benefit generalizable knowledge about inmate education and society as a whole. Given the significant increase in incarceration there is a growing need for scholarship in this area. Additionally, due to the reflective nature of this research, this study may increase participants' awareness of the influence of education programs and services on their identity and experiences.

Investigator Experience

As a 6th year doctoral student in the Critical Sociocultural Studies in Education program, I have taken great interest in the ethics and epistemological assumptions that produce research and bodies of knowledge. My doctoral program has provided a rich environment to explore the philosophical, ethical, epistemic, and ontological dimensions of research. I approach research from a dignity-centered orientation that is invested in protecting the rights and well-being of the people and communities that are willing to participate in my research. To prepare for my work in the prison setting I have observed various educational and rehabilitative programs at Oregon State Correctional Institute, namely, the Inside Out College Classes, and an "Empathy and Forgiveness" course. I have completed over 10 hours of trainings specific to working as a contracted worker for the Oregon Department of Corrections. As a result of my preparation to work in the prison setting, I have a heightened awareness that prisoners represent a vulnerable population that has limited capacity for voluntary informed consent. I have designed this study with the aforementioned issues in mind.

My graduate training has afforded me the opportunity to refine my research skills: from interviewing, collecting and analyzing data. In my MA research, I conducted an institutional ethnography of an environmental research organization. This work afforded me the opportunity to engage in a four-month ethnographic project. Following my thesis, I conducted two institutional evaluations of non-profit organizations. In this work, designed a mixed methods research process to

evaluate the strengths and constraints of each organization. Lastly, as a volunteer for project AVARY, a summer camp for children who have one or both parents incarcerated, I have worked with the organization and community partners to document the impacts of our work. In the summer of 2010, I assisted in individual interviews with youth about their life experiences and the significance of project AVARY.

Advisor Experience

Dr. Joanna Goode is an Associate Professor in the department of Education Studies. Dr. Goode's areas of study examine issues of access and equity for underrepresented students of color and/or females in computer science education. For the past several years, she has studied the institutional and psychological reasons preventing many underrepresented youth from entering the computer science pipeline in high school. As a former urban high school mathematics and computer science teacher, Goode considers the relationship between teacher development and opportunities to learn for students. She continues to serve as the director of a program aimed at preparing and supporting the efforts of LAUSD computer science educators in diversifying the high school computing pipeline.

Adult Informed Consent Form for Sociology 204 Written Activity
Project Title: College Inside: Reducing Recidivism through Inmate Education
Investigator: Nadia K. Raza

Context

This consent form will be distributed, read aloud and discussed after I review the talking points. See Appendix B for the writing assignment. Students will be given one week to complete the writing assignment. Once assignments are collected, I will review this consent form once again and answer any questions. At that time, I will ask all students to submit their consent forms in a sealed manila envelope. The envelope will be sealed until the end of the term when grades are submitted.

Introduction

In addition to my role as your instructor for Sociology 204, I am also a PhD student in the College of Education at the University of Oregon. My dissertation research considers the experiences of non-traditional community college students, like you. You are invited to participate in this research study. However, participation in the research is not a requirement of the course. Your choice to participate or opt out will not impact you in any way (positively or negatively). I ask that you read this form and ask any questions that you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

Purpose of Study:

- To document the experiences of College Inside students
- To understand how the College Inside Program has impacted you and your experiences in higher education.
- To explore what makes the College Inside Program successful.

Description of the Study Procedures:

Participation in this study is based on your consent for your “Higher Education Biography” paper to be used as data in this study. What this means, is after the term is over and with your consent, I will re-read your paper and identify excerpts that I will analyze and possible include in my dissertation findings.

To avoid any conflict of interest between my role as your instructor and a researcher, I will not be aware of who “opts in or out” of this study until the term is over and grades are submitted. After you submit your essay, I will circulate a manila envelope around the room to collect your consent form. You may sign the consent form to indicate that you are voluntarily participating or you can leave it blank indicating that you are not participating. The envelope will be sealed in class and will not be open until the term is over.

Once the term is over, I will retain the papers that I have received consent to use. Papers that will not be used will be shredded and disposed of in a secure manner.

Your participation is completely voluntary and you may withdraw from participation at any time for any reason.

Please note: your participation will not affect your grade or treatment in this class for any-reason.

Confidentiality

As a researcher, it is my responsibility to take every precaution to protect your confidentiality. However, given the context of prison rules, confidentiality is limited. In the following section, I explain the steps I will take to protect your confidentiality and identity as a participant in this study. Additionally, I discuss the potential for files to be searched and audited by the administration at OSP and the Department of Corrections.

- The essays that will be used will be stripped of all identifying information (name, age, affiliation, race, and community of origin) and pseudonyms will be assigned. No actual names of participants will be used in the results of the data.
- A master document linking participants' names with pseudonyms will be created and stored on a personal password protected computer.
- Transcription files of each essay will be stored on a hard drive in a locked file cabinet in my office for five years after the study is completed.
- All electronic information will be coded and secured using a password-protected file. I will be the only person to access these files. The files will be kept for 5 years after which point they will be deleted.

Limits of Confidentiality

- Given that we are in a prison, there are no guaranteed means of ensuring privacy or confidentiality for this study. The limits of confidentiality structured by OSP and the Department of Corrections.
- Your information will be handled, recorded and stored with care however all records and anything written could be subject to search from regulatory agencies.

Risks/Discomforts of Being in the Study:

- The risks associated with this study pertain to a breach of confidentiality if the protection and security of the transcripts were compromised or searched. While the likelihood of this is minimal, it is always a potential to consider.

Benefits of Being in the Study:

- The purpose of the study is to document the impact of the College Inside Program.
- While there are no direct benefits to participation in this study, you will be contributing to generalizable knowledge about inmate education and community college and prison partnerships.

Compensation & Costs:

- You will not receive any payment or compensation for your participation in this study.
- There is no cost to you to participate in this research study.

Voluntary Participation/Withdrawal:

- Your participation is voluntary. If you choose not to participate, it will not affect your current or future standing with the College Inside Program.
- Your participation will not be considered for parole or sentencing.
- You are free to withdraw at any time, for whatever reason.
- There is no penalty or loss of benefits for not taking part or for stopping your participation. Withdrawing from this study will not compromise or jeopardize your grades or impact present or future program relationships.

Dismissal from the Study:

- The investigator may withdraw you from the study at any time for the following reasons: (1) withdrawal is in your best interests (e.g. side effects or distress have resulted).

Contacts and Question:

- The principal investigator conducting this study is Nadia K. Raza. For questions or more information concerning this research you may speak to me before class or during a class break.
- You can also discuss any questions with the College Inside Program Director Michael Budke at your convenience or let him know if you have a question for me. While Michael Budke is available to answer basic questions or contact me with your questions, he is not part of this research and will not have access to research records outside of his role at the facility.
- The faculty advisor for this study Dr. Joanna Goode can be reached at goodej@uoregon.edu
- If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact: Research Compliance Services, University of Oregon at ResearchCompliance@uoregon.edu

Copy of Consent Form:

- You will be given a copy of this form to keep for your records and future reference.

Statement of Consent:

I have read (or have had read to me) the contents of this consent form and have been encouraged to ask questions. I have received answers to my questions. I give my consent to participate in this study. I have received (or will receive) a copy of this form.

Upon reviewing this document, I choose to (please select one):

- I DO consent to participate in this research. Ms. Raza MAY use my writing samples for her research.**
- I DO NOT consent to participate in this research. Ms. Raza MAY NOT use my writing samples for her research.**

Signature

Date

Writing Assignment

In this assignment, you are encouraged to critically reflect upon the development of your identity as a student and experiences in higher education.

In your response please reflect on the following questions:

- 1) Is this your first time in college?
 - a. If yes, how does it match or challenge your expectations?
 - b. If no, what are three words you would use to describe your last experience in college and why?
- 2) What does being in college mean to you at this time in your life?
- 3) What motivates you to participate and succeed in the College Inside Program?
- 4) What is one thing you can contribute to support a positive learning environment this term?
- 5) How would you describe your experience in the College Inside Program?
- 6) What do you identify as the most valuable things you have learned because of your participation in the College Inside Program? Why? (This can include curricular material, social or cognitive skills,

Due to the introspective nature of this assignment you are encouraged reflect on these questions prior to drafting your response.

Things to avoid:

Please edit your responses and stay focused on the questions. While, you may be compelled to share specific life experiences, please do not discuss any rules violations or criminal activity/involvement. Remember that anything you submit in a written assignment can be reviewed by the administration at OSP.

Your papers will be graded pass or revise and resubmit.

All written work should follow specific format outline below:

- 3 -5pages
- Edited
- Typed, double-spaced and in Times New Roman 12-point font.
- All papers must have a heading that includes the title of the assignment, your name, course, and date.

REFERENCES CITED

- Addams, J., & Oliver Wendell Holmes Collection. (1902). *Democracy and social ethics* (Library of American civilization ; LAC 15291). New York: Macmillan.
- Addams, J., & Seigfried, Charlene Haddock. (2002). *Democracy and social ethics*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Ahmed, S. (2004). *The cultural politics of emotion*. New York: Routledge.
- Alexander, M. (2010). *The new Jim Crow: Mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness*. New York: New Press.
- Alexander, M J. (2005). *Pedagogies of crossing: Meditations on feminism, sexual politics, memory, and the sacred*. Durham N.C: Duke University Press.
- Alexander, M. J., & Mohanty, C. T. (2012). Cartographies of Knowledge and Power. *Critical Transnational Feminist Praxis*, 23.
- Allen, T. (1994). *The invention of the white race* (Haymarket series). London ; New York: Verso.
- American Association of Community Colleges. (2014). What We Know About Developmental Education Outcomes. Community College Research Center, Teachers College, Columbia.
- Anzaldúa, G. (1987). *Borderlands : The new mestiza = La frontera* (1st ed.). San Francisco: Spinsters/Aunt Lute.
- Apa, Z. L., Bai, R. Y., Mukherejee, D. V., Herzig, C. T. A., Koenigsmann, C., Lowy, F. D., & Larson, E. L. (2012). Challenges and Strategies for Research in Prisons. *Public Health Nursing (Boston, Mass.)*, 29(5), 467–472.
- Apple, M. W. (2001). *Educating the "right" way: Markets, standards, God, and inequality*. New York NY: Routledge.
- Apple, M.; Weis, L. (1983) *Ideology and practice in education: A political and conceptual introduction*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Arvast, A. (2006). "From Community to Commodity College: Globalization, Neoliberalism and the New Ontario College Curricula" *Canadian Journal of Educational Administration and Policy*, (50), 1-21.
- Ayers, D. F. (2005). Neoliberal Ideology in Community College Mission Statements: A Critical Discourse Analysis. *Review of Higher Education*, 28(4), 527-549.

- Baker, G., Dudziak, Judy, & Tyler, Peggy. (1994). *A Handbook on the community college in America : Its history, mission, and management*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.
- Baldwin, J. (1972). *Notes of a native son*. New York: Bantam Books.
- Bauman, Z., & Haugaard, M. (2008). Liquid modernity and power: A dialogue with Zygmunt Bauman 1. *Journal of Power*, 1(2), 111-130.
- Beach, J. (2011). *Gateway to Opportunity: A History of the Community College in the United States*. Sterling, VA, USA: Stylus Publishing.
- Bell, D.A. (2009) Who's Afraid of Critical Race Theory? In Taylor, E., Gillborn, David, & Ladson-Billings, Gloria. (2009). *Foundations of critical race theory in education* (Critical educator). New York: Routledge.
- Bell, D. N., & Blanchflower. D. 2011. "Young People and the Great Recession." *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* 27 (2): 241–67.
- Bell, L.A. (2010) Learning through Story Types about Race and Racism: Preparing Teachers for Social Justice. In K. Skubikowski, C. Wright & R. Graf (Eds.), *Social Justice Education: Initiating Faculty to Change Institutions*. Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing.
- Bell, L. (2010). *Storytelling for social justice: Connecting narrative and the arts in antiracist teaching* (Teaching/learning social justice). New York: Routledge.
- Berlant, L. (2011). *Cruel optimism*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Boal, I. (2016). "Specters of Malthus: Scarcity, Poverty, Apocalypse." Retrieved April 17, 2016, from <https://www.counterpunch.org/2007/09/11/specters-of-malthus-scarcity-poverty-apocalypse>.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2006). *Racism without racists : Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in the United States* (2nd ed.). Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Bowen, R., & Muller, G. H. (1999). *Gateways to democracy: Six urban community college systems* (New directions for community colleges ; no. 107). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1984) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

- Bourdieu, P. & Passeron, C. (1986) *Reproduction in education, society, and culture*. London: Sage.
- Bourdieu, P. (2005). Habitus. In Hillier, J., & Rooksby, E. (Eds.). *Habitus: A sense of place*. Burlington, NC: Ashgate Publishing, 43-49.
- Brown, L., & Strega, S. eds. *Research as resistance: Critical, indigenous and anti-oppressive approaches*. Canadian Scholars' Press, 2005.
- Brown, W. (2003). Neo-liberalism and the end of liberal democracy. *Theory & Event*, 7(1).
- Bruner, J. (1991). The Narrative Construction of Reality. *Critical Inquiry*, 18(1), 1-21.
- Calleja, M. (2012). *The battle roar of silence : Foucault and the carceral system* (US edition. ed.). Malta: FARAXA.
- Chatterjee, P., & Maira, S. (2014). *The Imperial University: Academic repression and scholarly dissent*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Clark, R. B. The 'Cooling-Out' Function in Higher Education. *The American Journal of Sociology Vol. 65, No. 6 (1967): 569–76*.
- Cohen, A. M. (2008) *The American community college handbook*. New York, NY: Jossey-Bass.
- Cohen, A., & Brawer, Florence B. (1989). *The American community college* (2nd ed., Jossey-Bass higher education series). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Collins, H. P. (2000). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment* (Rev. 10th anniversary ed., Perspectives on gender). New York: Routledge Series. Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey, Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Cote, M., Day, R., & Peuter, G. D. (2007). *Utopian pedagogy: Radical experiments against Neoliberal globalization*. University of Toronto Press.
- Davies, B., Gannon, S. (2013). Collective biography and the entangled enlivening of being. *International Review of Qualitative Research*, 5, 357-376.
- Du Bois, W. (2007). *The souls of Black folk*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Davis, M. (1986). *Prisoners of the American dream : Politics and economy in the history of the US working class* (Haymarket series). London: Verso.
- Davis, A. Y. (1981) *Women, race, & class*. New York: NY, Random House.

- Davis, A. Y. (2003). *Are prisons obsolete?* (Open Media book). New York: Seven Stories Press.
- Davis, A. Y. (2005). *Abolition democracy: Beyond empire, prisons, and torture* (Seven Stories Press 1st ed.). New York: Seven Stories Press.
- Davis, A. Y. (2014). Deepening the Debate over Mass Incarceration. *Socialism and Democracy*, 28(3), 15-23.
- Davis, M. (2006). Planet of slums. *New Perspectives Quarterly*, 23(2), 6-11.
- Decena, C. (2011). *Tacit subjects : Belonging and same-sex desire among Dominican immigrant men*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- DeCuir, Jessica T., & Dixson, Adrienne D. (2004). "So When It Comes Out, They Aren't That Surprised That It Is There": Using Critical Race Theory as a Tool of Analysis of Race and Racism in Education. *Educational Researcher*, 33(5), 26-31.
- De Giorgi, A. (2008). Ruth Gilmore, Golden Gulag. Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California. *Critical Criminology*, 16(2), 157-163.
- DeLeon, A. P., & Ross, E. W. (Eds.). (2010). *Critical theories, radical pedagogies, and social education: New perspectives for social studies education*. Sense Publishers.
- Delgado, R. (1989). Storytelling for Oppositionists and Others: A Plea for Narrative. *Michigan Law Review*, 87(8), 2411-2441.
- Delgado, R. (1995). *Critical race theory : The cutting edge*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Dougherty, K. (1994). *The contradictory college : The conflicting origins, impacts, and futures of the community college* (SUNY series, frontiers in education). Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Duckworth, A. L., Peterson, C., Matthews, M. D., & Kelly, D. R. (2007). Grit: perseverance and passion for long-term goals. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 92(6), 1087.
- Duncan-Andrade, J. (2009). Note to Educators: Hope Required When Growing Roses in Concrete. *Harvard Educational Review*, 79(2), 181-194,399.
- Ehrenreich, B. (2010). *Bright-sided : How positive thinking is undermining America*. (1st Picador ed.). New York: Picador.
- Eells, W. C. (1941). *Why junior college terminal education?* (No. 3). American association of junior colleges.

- Elliott, J. (2005). *Using narrative in social research : Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. London ; Thousand Oaks: SAGE.
- Ellis, C. (2004). *The Ethnographic I: A methodological novel about autoethnography*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- Elshtain, J. B., & Elshtain, J. (2002). *Jane Addams and the dream of American democracy*. Basic Books.
- Eng, D., & Kazanjian, D., *Loss: The Politics of Mourning* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).
- Ewick, P., & Silbey, S. (1995). Subversive Stories and Hegemonic Tales: Toward a Sociology of Narrative. *Law and Society Review*, 29(2), 197.
- Ewick, P., & Silbey, S. (2003). Narrating Social Structure: Stories of Resistance to Legal Authority1. *American Journal of Sociology*, 108(6), 1328-1372.
- Fain, P. (2014). Reaction to three states' proposals for tuition-free community college @insidehighered. *Reaction to three states' proposals for tuition-free community college*. Retrieved from <http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2014/02/06/reaction-three-states-proposals-tuition-free-community-college#ixzz319QiE2r3>
- Fanon, F., Philcox, Richard, Sartre, Jean-Paul, & Bhabha, Homi K. (2004). *The wretched of the earth*. New York: Grove Press.
- Ferguson, R. (2012). *The reorder of things : The university and its pedagogies of minority difference* (Difference incorporated). Minneapolis: University Of Minnesota Press.
- Fine, M. (1990). "The Public" in Public Schools: The Social Construction/Constriction of Moral Communities. *Journal of Social Issues*, 46(1), 107-119.
- Fine, M. & Weis, L. (1998) Writing the 'wrongs' of fieldwork: Confronting our own research/writing dilemmas in urban ethnographies. In *Being reflexive in critical and educational social research*, ed. Shacklock and Smyth. London: Falmer.
- Fleetwood, J. (2016). Narrative habitus: Thinking through structure/agency in the narratives of offenders. *Crime, Media, Culture*, 12(2), 173-192.
- Foucault, M. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).
- Freire, P., & Ramos, Myra Bergman. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. (Continuum book). New York: Seabury Press.

- Freire, P. (1973). *Education for a critical consciousness*. New York: Seabury.
- Freud, S. (1917). Mourning and Melancholia. *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Volume XIV (1914-1916): On the History of the Psycho-Analytic Movement, Papers on Metapsychology and Other Works*, 237-258.
- Gans, H. (1995). *The war against the poor : The underclass and antipoverty policy*. New York, NY: BasicBooks, a division of HarperCollins.
- Garcia, N., López, N., & Vélez, V. (2017). QuantCrit: Rectifying quantitative methods through critical race theory. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 1-9.
- Grande, S. (2004). *Red pedagogy : Native American social and political thought*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Geertz, C., & American Council of Learned Societies. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures selected essays* (ACLS Humanities E-Book). New York: Basic Books.
- Goffman, E. (1952). On cooling the mark out; some aspects of adaptation to failure. *Psychiatry*, 15(4), 451-63.
- Goffman, E. (1956). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. (University of Edinburgh Social Sciences Research Centre. Monographs (No. 2). Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, Social Sciences Research Centre.
- Gorgol, L. E., & Sponsler, B. A. (2011). Unlocking Potential: Results of a National Survey of Postsecondary Education in State Prisons. Issue Brief. *Institute for Higher Education Policy*.
- Gilmore, R. W. (2007). *Golden gulag*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Giroux, H. A. (1999). Rethinking cultural politics and radical pedagogy in the work of Antonio Gramsci. *Educational Theory*, 49(1), 1-19.
- Giroux, H. A. (2001). Mis/Education and Zero Tolerance: Disposable Youth and the Politics of Domestic Militarization. *Boundary 2*, 28(3), 61-94.
- Giroux, H. A. (2001). "Pedagogy of the Depressed: beyond the politics of cynicism." *College Literature* 28, no. 3 p. 1-32.
- Giroux, H. A., Lankshear, C., McLaren, P., & Peters, M. (2013). *Counternarratives: Cultural studies and critical pedagogies in postmodern spaces*. London: Routledge.

- Giroux, H. A. (2014). "Beyond Orwellian nightmares and neoliberal authoritarianism." Retrieved from <http://www.truth-out.org/news/item/26817-henry-a-giroux-beyond-orwellian-nightmares-and-neoliberal-authoritarianism>.
- Gleiman, A. (2015). Fostering Belonging Key to Non-Traditional Student Success. Insidetrack Retrieved from <https://www.insidetrack.com/fostering-belonging-key-to-non-traditional-student-success/>.
- Goldin, C., & Katz, F. L. (1999). Human Capital and Social Capital: The Rise of Secondary Schooling in America, 1910—1940. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 29(4), 683-723.
- Gubrium, J., & Holstein, James A. (2002). Handbook of interview research : Context & method (A Sage reference title). Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Hacker, J. (2008). *The great risk shift : The new economic insecurity and the decline of the American dream* (Revised and expanded ed.). Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Harding, S. (1987). *Feminism and methodology : Social science issues*. Bloomington : Milton Keynes [Buckinghamshire]: Indiana University Press ; Open University Press.
- Harding, S. (1993). Rethinking standpoint epistemology: What is 'strong objectivity?' In L. Alcoff & E. Potter (Eds.) *Feminist epistemologies: Thinking gender*. New York, NY: Routledge, 49-82.
- Hartsock, N. C. (1983). The feminist standpoint: Developing the ground for a specifically Feminist historical materialism. *Discovering reality: Feminist perspectives on epistemology, metaphysics, methodology, and philosophy of science*. Netherlands: Springer, 283-310.
- Harvey, D. (2005). *A brief history of neoliberalism*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Herideen, P. (1998). *Policy, pedagogy, and social inequality : Community college student realities in post-industrial America* (Critical studies in education and culture series). Westport, Conn.: Bergin & Garvey.
- hooks, b. (1981). *Ain't i a woman : Black women and feminism*. Boston, MA: South End Press.
- hooks, b. (1993). Transformative pedagogy and multiculturalism. In T. Perry & J. Fraser (Eds.) *Freedom's plow* (pp. 91-97). Boston: Routledge Kegan Paul.
- hooks, b. (1994). *Teaching to transgress: Education as the practice of freedom*. Boston: Routledge Kegan Paul.

- Illouz, E. (2003). *Oprah Winfrey and the glamour of misery: An essay on popular culture*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Illouz, E. (2008). *Saving the modern soul : Therapy, emotions, and the culture of self-help*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Issue Brief Oregon Department of Corrections (January 2018). Retrieved from <http://www.oregon.gov/doc/OC/docs/pdf/IB-53-Quick%20Facts.pdf>
- Jackson, A., Mazzei, L. (Eds.) (2009) *Voice in qualitative inquiry: challenging conventional, interpretive, and critical conceptions in qualitative research*. London : Routledge.
- Jackson, A.Y. & Mazzei, L.A. (2012). Complicating Voice in a Refusal to “Let Participants Speak for Themselves.” *Qualitative Inquiry* 18:745 DOI: 10.1177/1077800412453017.
- Jones, L. R., d’Errico, P. & Williford, M., (1994). *Higher education in prison : A contradiction in terms?* (American Council on Education series on higher education). Phoenix, AZ: Oryx Press.
- Lather, P. (2009) Against Empathy, voice, and authenticity. In Jackson and Mazzei, eds. *Voice in qualitative inquiry: challenging conventional, interpretive, and critical conceptions in qualitative research*. London; Routledge.
- Kelley, R. (1997). *Yo' mama's disfunkcional! : Fighting the culture wars in urban america*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Kim, K. A. (2002). Exploring the Meaning of "Nontraditional" at the Community College. *Community College Review*, 30(1), 74-89.
- Kolesnikova, N., & Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis. (2009). *Community colleges : A route of upward economic mobility*. St. Louis, MO: Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis.
- Kozol, J. (1991). *Savage inequalities : Children in america's schools* (1st ed. ed.). New York: Crown Pub.
- Lane Community College, Institutional Research,. (2017). *Fast Facts*. Retrieved from https://www.lanecc.edu/sites/default/files/research/fast_facts_2017_ct.pdf
- Levin, J. (2007). *Nontraditional students and community colleges : The conflict of justice and neoliberalism* (1st ed.). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Levin, J. (2017). *Community colleges and new universities under neoliberal pressures : Organizational change and stability*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US.

- Lipsitz, G. (2009). *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness How White People Profit from Identity Politics, Revised and Expanded Edition*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Long, B. T. (2004). How have college decisions changed over time? An application of the conditional logistic choice model. *Journal of econometrics*, 121(1-2), 271-296.
- Lugones, M. (2007). Heterosexualism and the colonial / modern gender system. *Hypatia*, 22(1), 186-209.
- Macdonald, A., & Sánchez-Casal, Susan. (2002). *Twenty-first-century feminist classrooms : Pedagogies of identity and difference* (1st ed., Comparative feminist studies series). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- M., A., K., B., B., R., . . . F. (2004). Coercion and informed consent in research involving prisoners. *Comprehensive Psychiatry*, 45(1), 1-9.
- Matsuda, M. (1996). *Where is your body? : And other essays on race, gender, and the law*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Mauer, M., Potler, C., & Wolf, R. (1999). *Gender and justice: Women, drugs, and sentencing policy* (p. 5). Washington, DC: Sentencing Project.
- Mauer, M. (2000) United States. Commission on Human Rights. *The crisis of the young African American male in the inner cities : A consultation of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, April 15-16, 1999, Washington, D.C.* Washington, DC: The Commission.
- McLaren, P. (1999). A pedagogy of possibility: Reflecting on Paulo Freire's politics of education. *American Educational Research Association* , 28(2), 49-56.
- Meiners, E. (2007). *Right to be hostile : Schools, prisons, and the making of public enemies*. New York: Routledge.
- Meiners, Erica R. (2011). Ending the School-to-Prison Pipeline/Building Abolition Futures. *Urban Review: Issues and Ideas in Public Education*, 43(4), 547-565.
- Meiners, E., & Winn, M. (2010). Resisting the school to prison pipeline: The practice to build abolition democracies. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 13(3), 271-276.
- Molé, N. (2010). Precarious Subjects: Anticipating Neoliberalism in Northern Italy's Workplace. *American Anthropologist*, 112(1), 38-53.
- Moraga, C. (1983). *Loving in the war years : Lo que nunca pasó por sus labios*. Boston, MA: South End Press.

- Morrell, E. (2002). Toward a critical pedagogy of popular culture: Literacy development among urban youth . *Journal of Adolescent and Adult Literacy*, 46(1), 72-77.
- Moynihan, D. (1965). The negro family : The case for national action [by daniel patrick moynihan]. office of policy planning and research. united states department of labor . Policy planning and research (Office), Ed.). Washington: Government printing Office.
- Oregon Office of Student Access and Completion (2016). Oregon Promise Grant Information. Retrieved from <https://oregonstudentaid.gov/oregon-promise.aspx>
- Pearl, A. "Cultural and Accumulated Environmental Models," in Valencia, R. eds. (1997). *The evolution of deficit thinking : Educational thought and practice* (The Stanford series on education and public policy. London: Falmer Press.
- Pew Research Center, (2010) "Behind Bars in America" *Public Safety Performance Project* <http://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/reports/2008/02/28/one-in-100-behind-bars-in-america-2008>
- Philipose, L. (2007). The politics of pain and the uses of torture. *Signs*, 32(4), 1047-1071.
- Phillippe, Kent A., Ed., & Patton, Madeline. (2000). *National Profile of Community Colleges: Trends & Statistics. 3D Edition.*
- Prashad, V. (2005). Second-Hand dreams. *Social Analysis*, 49(2), 191-198.
- Pyke, K. (2018). Institutional Betrayal: Inequity, Discrimination, Bullying, and Retaliation in Academia. *Sociological Perspectives*, 61(1), 5-13.
- Richardson, L. & St. Pierre, E.A. (2005). Writing: A Method of Inquiry. In N.K. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.). *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (3rd ed.).(pp. 959-978). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Rose, M. (2008). *Possible lives: The promise of public education in America*. Penguin: New York.
- Rose, N. (2000). Community, citizenship, and the third way. *American behavioral scientist*, 43(9), 1395-1411.
- Rosenbaum, J., Deil-Amen, Regina, & Person, Ann E. (2006). *After admission : From college access to college success*. New York: R. Sage Foundation.
- Rosiek, J., & Kinslow, K. (2016). *Resegregation as curriculum : The meaning of the new segregation in U.S. public schools* (Critical educator). New York, NY: Routledge.

- Roediger, D. (1999). *The wages of whiteness : Race and the making of the American working class* (Rev. ed., Haymarket series). London ; New York: Verso.
- Semuels, A. (2016, July). The Racist History of Portland, the Whitest City in America. Atlantic. Retrieved from <https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2016/07/racist-history-portland/492035/>
- Senate Bill 81 Legislative Report. (December 2016). The First Term of the Oregon Promise. Retrieved from <http://www.oregon.gov/highered/research/Documents/Legislative/SB-81-Report-Oregon-Promise-1st-term-2016.pdf>
- Silva, J. (2012). Constructing Adulthood in an Age of Uncertainty. *American Sociological Review*, 77(4), 505-522.
- Silva, J. (2013). *Coming up short : Working-class adulthood in an age of uncertainty*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Simmons, L. (2014). Profiting from punishment: Public education and the school security market. *Social Justice*, 41(4 (138), 81-95.
- Smith, D. (2002) "Putting the practice into theory -- Institutional ethnography" in May, T. *Qualitative research in action*. London: SAGE.
- Smith, D. (2006). *Institutional ethnography as practice*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Smith, C., Freyd, J., & Anderson, Norman B. (2014). Institutional Betrayal. *American Psychologist*, 69(6), 575-587.
- Snyder, Thomas D., & Dillow, Sally A. (2015). *National Center for Education Statistics*, National Center for Education Statistics, 2015.
- Solórzano, D., & Yosso, T. (2002). Critical race methodology: Counter-storytelling as an analytical framework for education research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 6(1), 23-44.
- Sojoyner, D. (2016). *First Strike*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Spira, T. L. (2012). Neoliberal Captivities Pisagua Prison and the Low-Intensity Form. *Radical history review*, 2012(112), 127-146.
- Spira, T. L. (2014). Intimate internationalisms: 1970s 'Third World' queer feminist solidarity with Chile. *Feminist Theory*, 15(2), 119-140.

- Staples, J. (2008). Hustle & Flow : A critical student and teacher-generated framework for re-authoring a representation of Black masculinity. *Educational Action Research, 16*(3), 377-390.
- Steele, C. M. (2011). *Whistling Vivaldi: How stereotypes affect us and what we can do*. WW Norton & Company.
- Stern, K. (2014). *Voices from American prisons : Faith, education and healing*. Abingdon, Oxon ;New York: Routledge.
- Stokas, A. (2015). A Genealogy of Grit: Education in the New Gilded Age. *Educational Theory, 65*(5), 513-528.
- Sudbury, J. (2014). *Global lockdown: Race, gender, and the prison-industrial complex*. Routledge.
- Taylor, E., Gillborn, David, & Ladson-Billings, Gloria. (2009). *Foundations of critical race theory in education* (Critical educator). New York: Routledge.
- Thompson, A. (1997). For: Anti-racist education. *Curriculum Inquiry, 27*(1), 7-44.
- Tough, P. (2011). What if the secret to success is failure. *New York Times, 14*.
- Tuck, E., & Yang, K. W. (2013). *Youth resistance research and theories of change* (Critical youth studies). New York: Routledge.
- Valencia, R. (Ed.). (1997). The evolution of deficit thinking in educational thought and practice. New York: Falmer.
- Valencia, R., & Solórzano, D. (1997). Contemporary deficit thinking. In R. Valencia (Ed.), The evolution of deficit thinking in educational thought and practice (pp. 160-210). New York: Falmer.
- Vaughan, G., & American Association of Community Junior Colleges. (1985). *The community college in America : A short history* (3rd print., rev. ed.). Washington, D.C.: American Association of Community and Junior Colleges.
- Yates, Mark T., & Lakes, Richard D. (2010). After Pell Grants: The Neoliberal Assault on Prisoners. *Policy Futures in Education, 8*(1), 61-70.
- Walby, Kevin. "On the Social Relations of Research a Critical Assessment of Institutional Ethnography." *Qualitative inquiry 13*, no. 7 (2007): 1008-1030.
- Wald, J., & Losen, Daniel J. (2003). *Deconstructing the school-to-prison pipeline* (Nedirections for youth development ; no. 99). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

West, J. (2014). *The Reorder of Things: The University and Its Pedagogies of Minority Difference* Roderick A. Ferguson . Minneapolis : University of Minnesota Press , 2012. *Journal of American Culture*, 37(1), 114-115.