Beyond Litchfield: An Orange Epilogue

Examining The Role of Friendship in Women's Narratives of Community Re-Entry

by

Kaitlyn Rose Dick

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of Sociology
University of Alberta

ABSTRACT:

Canada's fastest growing incarcerated population is female offenders. While incarcerated, these women experience damage to their existing social networks and lose significant personal relationships, making the transition from carceral to community settings difficult. In the absence of effective social support at release, many offenders face re-incarceration, as they are unable to transition into lives as law-abiding citizens. Community reintegration is not simply the absence of recidivism, but also the transition to a law-abiding conventional lifestyle, including the maintenance of existing and acquisition of new social ties that discourage future criminality. Given the multifaceted nature of community reintegration and the competing theoretical understandings of crime and recidivism, there is a need for additional research and theorizing regarding how former inmates transition and adjust to life outside of prison. Motivated by this gap in the literature, this thesis research seeks to qualitatively assess the role of peer-to-peer relationships in the lived experience of community re-integration following incarceration for women in Edmonton, Alberta by analyzing 16 interviews conducted with 8 formerly incarcerated women. The definition of friendship was operationalized during data coding to include components of shared life experience, physical and emotional availability during times of need, opportunities for 'venting', and the provision of supportive words or words of encouragement. Friendships are primarily maintained through talking, shared hobbies and/or leisure activities, and shared criminal activity. The women interviewed expressed low expectations of their friendships, which was largely attributable to their feelings of low self worth and of being undeserving of friendship. Friendships were found to exert a positive influence on community reintegration through access to material and emotional resources, as well as a negative influence because they did not meet all of the former offenders' needs and in some cases

encouraged continued criminality. The women interviewed expressed mixed feelings towards their futures. Some felt negatively about their chances of successfully reintegrating because of reported loneliness, feelings of hopelessness, and stigmatization. Others felt more positively because of inspirational role models, renewed commitment to faith or culture, or simply aging out of crime.

PREFACE

This thesis is an original work by Kaitlyn Rose Dick. No part of this thesis has been previously published. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, "Community Reintegration: The Role of Friendship in Women's Narratives of Re-Entry Following Incarceration", Pro00048326, October 31, 2014.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS:

I would like to express my deep gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Sandra Bucerius, for her patience, advice, and guidance, throughout the entirety of this thesis process and the completion of my Master's degree. Her support and encouragement has been instrumental to my success at the University of Alberta and my desire to pursue further education.

To my committee, Dr. Amy Kaler and Dr. Jennifer Passey: Thank you for your engaging questions, invaluable feedback, and for taking the time to read and critically engage with this research. Learning from you both has been one of the most rewarding and valuable aspects of this work, and I am honored to have benefited from such a diverse and insightful committee throughout this process.

Thank you to Dr. Herbert Northcott and my peers Cassandra Copp, Neil Topinka, Janine Muster, and Chelsea Hawrelak for your help in the creation of my initial research proposal. And to the rest of the University of Alberta's Department of Sociology: Thank you for providing an environment of rigorous yet approachable collegiality among graduate students and faculty, that pushed me to learn and grow as both a scholar and an individual.

Finally, thank you to my friends and family who encouraged and supported me throughout this journey. To my parents, Rose and James Dick: thank you for supporting my ambitions of higher education in every way imaginable. Kelsi Barkway, Katherine Hancock, and Marta Urbanik: Thank you for leading by example and inspiring me to strive for more. You three have been incredible mentors. To Allie Detzler, Ali Smith, and Sarah Wolff: thank you for your enduring friendship over all these years. Lastly, to Nadia Popov: your unyielding support, encouragement, and love have been instrumental to my success throughout this process. I will always be grateful for you.

This research was funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC).

TABLE OF CONTENTS:

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The successful reintegration of released offenders into communities is not only a matter of public safety and federal economic prudence, but is also of considerable concern for the lived experiences of offenders (Burke and Tonry, 2006). In the absence of effective social support at release, many offenders face re-incarceration, as they are often unable to transition into lives as law-abiding citizens (Rakis, 2005). Effective community re-entry requires an understanding of the risk factors associated with criminal conduct (Andrews, Bonta, & Hoge, 1990). Some risk factors, referred to as dynamic risks, are amenable to change and thus are often the focus of community or policy intervention. Social relationships, in particular, have been identified as dynamic risk factors for criminalized individuals as they are likely to change over time and are responsive to intervention strategies (Latessa & Lowenkamp, 2005).

While incarcerated, many offenders experience damage to their existing social networks and lose significant personal relationships, making the transition from carceral to community settings difficult because they must navigate re-entry without established social support systems (Borzycki & Makkai, 2007). Social bonds and interactions are of particular concern for women, as their double marginalization[1] as female offenders has meant that existing social systems are not well equipped to support their reintegration (Correctional Service Canada, 2011). The assessment of available social supports for the reintegration of female offenders is crucial to the management of Canada's fastest growing incarcerated population (Elizabeth Fry Societies, 2006).

The nature of this study is not explicitly concerned with reducing recidivism rates for female offenders, but rather a nuanced understanding of the lived experience of community reintegration following incarceration. Historical research that has pursued the goal of understanding seemingly stagnant recidivism rates has been fraught with frustration (Martinson, 1974). I argue that this kind of narrowed focus on reducing recidivism rates alienates the researcher from the lived reality of offenders and thus ensures a disconnect between the research findings and the pragmatic implications for individuals. Instead, with this research, I seek to uncover the perceived processes, challenges, and successes of women navigating community re-entry following incarceration from the lived experiences of released offenders themselves. In sum, I seek to provide a detailed account of the role of friendship in the narratives of community

[1] Both women and offenders experience marginalization independently. Female offenders experience the compounding marginalization that can be attributed to both these identity statuses.

reintegration for women in Edmonton who have been released from prison that articulates 'friendship' as more than simply an interpersonal relationship, but also an expression of gender and personal identity. My objectives for this research project are to understand how criminalized women conceptualize their important peer-to-peer social networks/relationships during their re-integration experiences as well as identify how these peer-to-peer social networks/relationships emerge, develop, and are maintained through particular strategies. Specifically, my research seeks to develop an understanding of how the theoretical backbone of social bond theories relates to the narratives of criminalized women's experiences (Burawoy, 1979; Hirschi, 1969). In Chapter 2, I have identified four theoretical frameworks that are useful to synthesizing social bonds within the setting of community reintegration: i) Social Learning Theories, ii) Social Control/Bond Theory, iii) Cognitive Transformation Theory, and iv) Life Course Perspective. These four perspectives not only inform my research, but are highly influential within the existing literature on community reintegration and social bonds. To achieve these research goals, I will begin with the research question: What is the role of peer-to-peer relationships in the lived experience of community re-integration following incarceration for women in Edmonton, Alberta? In Chapter 3, I will outline my research methodology as incorporating elements of sociological hermeneutics and narrative analysis, as well as introduce my research sample. In Chapter 4, I will outline a research definition of the term 'friendship' that is grounded in both the substantive content of my interviews and the existing theoretical literature on friendship. In Chapter 5, I will discuss how post-release friendships emerge, develop, and are maintained through particular strategies and how these processes impact my interviewees' understanding of themselves and their reintegration processes. Finally, in Chapter 6 I will summarize my thesis findings, situate my research within the existing body of literature, discuss relevant limitations, and project forward to suggest future research in this area.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.01 Adult Women's Criminality in Canada

According to the available data resources[2], women account for a small minority of criminal offenders in Canada. Historically, this has meant that little research or policy decision-making time has been devoted to women's needs within the criminal justice system. As a result, criminalized women must navigate a system designed to contain, punish, and rehabilitate primarily male offender populations.

The most recent comprehensive report on female criminality in Canada was published by Statistics Canada in 2008, using data from the 2005 Uniform Crime Reporting Survey. Here it is reported that women account for 21% of police accusations of criminal misconduct (Kong & AuCoin, 2008). This proportion is comparable across all categories of crime, including violations against persons, property, and the administration of justice[3]. The most common reason women are accused of criminal misconduct is property offenses, predominantly theft and fraud, which make up 47% of all criminal accusations against women. The next largest classification of women's criminal conduct is violations against persons, predominantly physical and/or verbal assault, accounting for 28% of accusations. The remaining offenses are categorized as offenses against the administration of justice (17%) and other offenses such as weapons charges or prostitution (8%) (Kong & AuCoin, 2008). Interestingly, the rates of offenses against the administration of justice have substantially increased in the last two decades. For instance, in the period spanning from 1986-2005, bail violations have almost tripled, increasing from 33 per 100,000 to 103 per 100,000 (Kong & AuCoin, 2008). Although less common, when women commit crimes against persons, the victims are largely limited to acquaintances or family

[2] While women are responsible for a much smaller number of criminal offenses, this can partially be explained by the fact that police have traditionally prioritized the prosecution of male offenders.

[3] Violations against the administration of justice refer to bail violations, breaches of terms of probation, and failures to appear in court. The exception to this pattern is the crime of prostitution, where the rates of accusation are equal for men and women. This is because of the nature of the crime—an event occurring between two parties. Thus, accusation rates reflect criminalization of both the sex worker and their client (Kong & AuCoin, 2008).

members, accounting for 45% and 38% of crime victimization by adult women (Kong & AuCoin, 2008).

Statistics Canada longitudinal data from 1995-2005, including 422,500 cases, indicate that 72% of female offenders are classified as one time offenders, 21% are classified as repeat offenders with 2-4 criminal accusations, and 7% are classified as chronic offenders with 5 or more criminal accusations. Aboriginal women have increasingly been overrepresented in the Canadian criminal justice system, as reflected in the federal official statistics, which report that 25% of female prisoners in 2006 identified themselves as Aboriginal, compared to the 3.8% of Canadians who identified themselves as Aboriginal on the Census from 1996-2006 (Kong & AuCoin, 2008; Canadian Census, 2006). Aboriginal women are also likely to be accused of violent crimes, as 75% of Aboriginal women in custody in 2006 were charged with at least one violent offense (Kong & AuCoin, 2008).

It should be noted that the majority of women who are accused of criminal conduct do not face prison sentences. In 2003/2004 only 19% of women accused of violent offenses were convicted and imprisoned and 24% of the women accused of property offenses were convicted and received prison sentences (Kong & AuCoin, 2008). Despite the fact that imprisoned women represent the minority of criminalized women, there has been a dramatic shift in the characteristics of female offenders who do receive prison sentences since 2000, which warrants further investigation (Kong & AuCoin, 2008). In standard in-custody evaluations of female offenders' criminogenic needs, which involve assessments of offender personalities and personal life circumstances, there has been a growing trend of incarcerated women identified as being 'high risk' or 'high need'[4]. In 2006, 50% of incarcerated female offenders were classified as 'high risk' or 'high need' with reference to their employment/education, marital/family relationships, social interactions, substance abuse, housing/finances, victimization history/mental health, and personal attitude[5] (Kong & AuCoin, 2008). This represents a significant increase from

---

[4] "As a part of the comprehensive offender intake assessment process, all federal offenders are evaluated along a global continuum of risk and need (low, medium, or high). Re-assessments occur at approximately 6-month intervals thereafter, throughout the offender's incarceration and his or her period of community supervision" (Kong & AuCoin, 2008).

[5] "Structured risk/needs assessment is exemplified by the Offender Intake Assessment (OIA) process, an improved approach to penitentiary placement that represents the latest advance in risk

the same measure completed in 1997, which classified 26% of female prisoners as 'high risk' or 'high need' (Kong & AuCoin, 2008).

Nevertheless, in general the rate of criminal accusation for women has paralleled the decline in crime rates[6] in Canada during the period from 1995-2005 (Kong & AuCoin, 2008). Beginning in the early 1990's, the traditional crime rate[7] in Canada has been slowly declining (Statistics Canada, 2014). At its peak in the early 1990's, the traditional crime rate in Canada was more than 10,000 total offenses per 100,000 population (Boyce et al., 2013). The same measure completed in 2013 indicates that the crime rate has nearly halved with over 5,000 total offenses per 100,000 population (Boyce et al., 2013). Like the traditional crime rate, the Crime Severity Index (CSI), which accounts for both the volume and severity of crime, accounts for this overall

---

assessment technology. Information is obtained (through face-to-face interviews and file review) from internal and external sources including the courts, police, probation files, victims' reports, family, employers and offender self-reports. This may include supplementary assessments such as psychological, educational/vocational, substance abuse, family violence or psychopathy. Using a multidisciplinary team approach and case conferences, case managers at centralized intake units integrate the information into a comprehensive summary report. For each offender, case managers provide an overall risk/needs rating ranging from "low-low" to "high-high." The Intake Assessment Report uses a revolutionary automated format for recording information: details of the assessment are entered on-screen in the Offender Management System (OMS), the Service's mainframe computer network. In each area of the assessment, indicators (short statements describing a risk factor) — where present — are flagged, risk and need levels are rated, and a narrative text is provided to round off the analysis. This approach permits easy accessibility to precise statistical information related to offender needs and risk for management and research purposes" (Taylor, 2014).

[6] "The traditional crime rate has been used to measure crime in Canada since 1962, and is generally expressed as a rate per 100,000 population. The crime rate is calculated by summing all *Criminal Code* incidents reported by the police and dividing by the population. The crime rate excludes *Criminal Code* traffic violations, as well as other federal statute violations such as drug offences. To calculate the traditional police-reported crime rate, all offences are counted equally, regardless of their seriousness. For example, one incident of homicide is counted as equivalent to one incident of theft. As such, one limitation of the traditional crime rate is that it can easily fluctuate as a result of variations in high-volume, less serious offences, such as theft of $5,000 or under or mischief. In other words, a large decline in frequent, but less serious violations may cause the police-reported crime rate to decrease even when the number of more serious but lesser volume incidents, such as homicides or robberies, increases" (Boyce et al., 2013).

[7] "Since 1962, the traditional crime rate has measured the volume of crime, but does not take into account the severity of crimes" (Boyce et al., 2013).

decline as the CSI was 36% lower in 2013 than the same measure completed a decade earlier (Boyce et al., 2013). The high proportion of first time offenders, the overall decline in criminal misconduct accusations, and the tripling of technical violations suggest that a prominent issue for criminalized women in Canada is not simply reducing criminal offending, but rather supporting and facilitating the process of community reintegration to avoid technical offenses and returns to prison that are not related to the commission of another offense.

2.02 Community Reintegration

Community reintegration or re-entry is a multifaceted process that is not yet well understood in the academic literature (Healy & O'Donnell, 2008; Maruna, 2001; Maruna & Toch, 2005; Petersilia, 2005; Shinkfield & Graffam, 2009). This is because, community reintegration is not simply the absence of recidivism, but also the transition to a law-abiding conventional lifestyle, including the maintenance of existing, and acquisition of new, social ties that discourage future criminality (Bahr, Harris, Fisher, & Armstrong, 2010). Given the multifaceted nature of community reintegration and the competing theoretical understandings of crime and recidivism, there is a need for additional research and theorizing regarding how former inmates transition and adjust to life outside of prison (Laub & Sampson, 2001; Shover & Thompson, 1992). Motivated by this gap in the literature, my thesis research seeks to provide a qualitatively rich and theoretically nuanced understanding of existing social bond theories, as they are relevant to the experiences of women negotiating community reintegration in Edmonton, Alberta.

2.03 Social Learning Theories

The transition from prison to community settings is a particularly vulnerable time for former offenders, as their lack of stability with respect to factors such as employment and housing makes them highly susceptible to the influence of peers' attitudes and behaviors (Agnew, 1992). Within this section, there are two overlapping perspectives to consider: Social Learning Theory and Differential Association Theory.

Social Learning Theory is not limited to application within the field of criminology; it is a theory that seeks to explain all social behavior. The central tenet of Social Learning Theory is that all behaviors are learned within the context of social relationships—including techniques, attitudes, drives, and rationalizations for said behavior (Bandura, 1977). An important component

of Social Learning Theory is the concept of self-efficacy, which encompasses an individual's assessment of how well they can execute particular courses of action (Bandura, 1977, 1982). With respect to the context of community reintegration following incarceration, self-efficacy refers to one's belief that they can remain crime free and successfully transition to life as a law-abiding citizen within the community. According to Bandura, self-efficacy is key to any treatment plan or meaningful behavioral change, as those individuals who possess low self-efficacy will put very little effort into making changes, particularly when faced with obstacles (1977, 1982). When applied to criminology, we can posit that criminal inclinations are learned through associations with criminal others who possess attitudes that support deviance and criminality. When we extend this notion to community reintegration, we suggest that a former offender's ability to desist from future crime is in part dictated by the criminality of their social networks (Capaldi, Kim, & Owen, 2008; Giordano, Cernkovich & Rudolph, 2002; Schroeder, Giordano, & Cernkovich, 2008). Social Learning Theory is an important perspective to consider when analyzing the role of women's friendships in their narratives of community reintegration as these attitudes, drives, and rationalizations for behavior will in many ways dictate the tone of the narratives these women tell about their re-entry.

Differential Association Theory seeks to build on an understanding of behavior informed by Social Learning Theory and offer a nuanced perspective for application within the field of criminology. This perspective can help form an understanding of the formation of criminal attitudes and inclinations. Like Social Learning Theory, Differential Association Theory posits that criminal behavior is learned through interactions with others within intimate personal groups. The process of learning criminal behaviors involves identical mechanisms to learning any other behavior (Sutherland, 1947). Despite the fact that criminal behavior is an expression of general needs and values, this behavior cannot be explained by these needs and values, because non-criminal behavior is simply a different expression of those same general needs and values (Sutherland, 1947). This theory departs from biological or psychological perspectives of crime that attribute deviance and criminality to the individual by locating the cause of deviance and criminal behavior within a social context. Thus, this perspective seeks to provide a theoretical explanation of the proverbial phrase, "tell me who your friends are and I will tell you who you are," as it makes a connection between the individual self and the social influence of peers (Sutherland, 1947).

Differential Association Theory states that when criminal behavior is learned, this process includes both the practical techniques of committing particular crimes, and the motives, drives, attitudes, and rationalizations that promote criminal behavior (Sutherland, 1947). This kind of learning is accomplished through particular understandings or definitions of the legal codes and conventions as either favorable or unfavorable to breaking the law (Sutherland, 1947). Thus, an individual becomes delinquent (or criminal) because of an excess of definitions favorable to violation of the law over definitions unfavorable to violations of the law (Sutherland, 1947). These definitions are transmitted within these intimate personal groups via verbal and non-verbal communication (Sutherland, 1947). These differential associations or definitions vary in frequency, duration, priority, and intensity based on the nature of social relationships (Sutherland, 1947). For example, a close friendship will exert more 'sway' over an individual's behavior than a distant acquaintance. Similarly, the amount of time one spends with others is related to how influential the behaviors and beliefs of others become in one's own beliefs and behaviors.

Based on these ideas, Sutherland proposes two principles that seek to explain which individuals come to make up our social networks: the self-similarity principle and the proximity principle (1947). The proximity principle states that people with similar backgrounds and experiences, such as social class or educational attainment, tend to live in the same neighbourhoods and frequent the same public spaces, whereby increasing the likelihood of contact and connections with people of similar backgrounds (Sutherland, 1947). The self-similarity principle states that we tend to choose to associate with others who resemble us in terms of experience, training (education or career), and worldview (Sutherland, 1947). Echoing these sentiments, Blau's macro-structural theory:

> principally assumes that individuals form relations more frequently with similar individuals, because people with similar social positions draw on similar social experiences, occupy similar roles, and have similar traits and values. (1977, in Stauder, 2014, p. 235)

This self-similarity principle and Blau's macro-structural theory acquiesce with the theoretical notion of *homophily*, which states that, "people connect with others who are similar to themselves" (McPherson et al., 2001, in Stauder, 2014, p. 235). Generally speaking, friendships can be

understood as distinct from other social relationships precisely because they are principally constructed around notions of mutuality and equality (McWilliams and Howard, 1993; Suttles, 1970, in Galupo and Gonzales, 2013). Relevant similarities can be found across numerous identity markers such as gender, age, race/ethnicity, socio-economic status, and sexual orientation (Duck, 1991; Galupo, 2009; Rose, 1985; Ueno, 2010). Differential Association Theory, the self-similarity principle, the proximity principle, and homophily will inform my understanding of the social components of criminal activity and/or desistence from crime, but also provide insight into the process through which women seek out and develop friendships during community reintegration.

2.04 Social Control/Bond Theory

Social Bond/Control theory argues that indicators of successful re-entry such as employment and social ties reduce one's motivation to commit crimes as a result of either the experience of decreased structural strain or the perceived social costs of offending becoming higher than the potential benefits (Hirschi, 1969). Hirschi asserts that deviance is normal given our social conditions and conformity must be explained (1969). Hirschi understands 'a delinquent' to be an individual who does not possess the kinds of attachments, goals, and moral principles that encourage most people to follow social norms and laws. In other words, Social Bond/Control theories attribute deviance to weak or absent social bonds (Hirschi, 1969). Social Bond/Control Theory relies on four primary categories of social bonds: 1) attachment, 2) commitment, 3) involvement, and 4) belief (Hirschi, 1969). Hirschi's understanding of attachment is particularly salient for this research project on social ties and reintegration.

2.041 Attachment

'Attachment' refers to one's bond or affection for 'conventional' others, meaning those who are law-abiding citizens who have internalized the norms of society. Not all attachments are to conventional others, but with respect to Social Bond/Control theory 'attachment' is used to identify social bonds that promote desistence from crime and delinquency (Hirschi, 1969).

The role of peer attachment is a key component of criminality, as most criminal or delinquent acts are committed with others (Hirschi, 1969). Similarly, most delinquent individuals have comparably delinquent friends, as one's friends tend to be a good indicator of one's own

moral commitments and behavioral ideals (Hirschi, 1969). This is because individuals with a high accumulation of social and material capital are unlikely to befriend those who are perceived to have less at stake, as the latter are more likely to get into trouble with the law (Hirschi, 1969). It is unclear whether delinquent individuals seek out others with the same tendencies or if individuals with no criminal inclinations acquire them with exposure to delinquent peers, as there is evidence of both processes (Hirschi, 1969).

2.042 Commitment

Commitment refers to the idea that when an individual invests time and energy in a particular venture, for example earning a degree or earning a reputation for virtue, they will consider this effort when the opportunity to break the law arises. It is unlikely that people who have invested a lot in conventional behavior will risk losing this to participate in deviant acts, as their success is built within a society of social control (Hirschi, 1969). This understanding of commitment assumes that society is structured in such a way that conventional people accumulate goods, reputations, and opportunities that would be endangered by deviance (Hirschi, 1969). In this respect, ambition and aspiration play a large role in producing and reproducing conformity in society. In order to successfully produce social control, the rewards to be gained by participating in conventional society must be motivating for individuals, otherwise there is no deterrence from engaging in deviant activities (Hirschi, 1969).

Hirschi (1969) emphasizes the importance of commitment to education in desistence from criminal pathways. He states that the higher a student's educational aspirations and expectations for their own reality, the less likely they are to be classified as delinquent (Hirschi, 1969). Similarly, parental expectations regarding education and achievement are important in the prediction of delinquency in adolescents. Parents who have high expectations that are not met are more likely to have delinquent children because they have led them to value something they cannot attain (Hirschi, 1969).

2.043 Involvement

Involvement is specifically concerned with the degree of involvement in conventional activities, as this is thought to occupy an individual's time and thus provide fewer opportunities for delinquency (Hirschi, 1969). This part of social bond theory relates to an observation that

deviance tends to occur during an individual's idle or leisure time. The hypothesis here is that youth get into trouble when they do not have enough opportunities to pursue conventional activities with their time (Hirschi, 1969). The type of conventional activities Hirschi focuses on are primarily school-related activities, such as homework, but also activities such as school athletics or student government. Additionally Hirschi takes conventional employment such as a part time job into consideration as a potential factor that discourages criminal activity (Hirschi, 1969).

2.044 Belief

The final characteristic of Social Bond theory—"belief"—refers to the presence or absence of beliefs that effectively reduce criminality. Here, Hirschi (1969) draws on criminological theorists Merton and Sutherland. With respect to belief, Merton's strain theory states that initially structural strain creates a situation in which some people violate rules that they believe in. After many violations, Merton asserts that the rules simply erode away and are replaced with feelings of normlessness (Merton, 1938; Hirschi, 1969). Sutherland in his development of Differential Association Theory states that people become involved in crime when they have mainly positive and encouraging beliefs about delinquency and violations of the law (Sutherland, 1947; Hirschi, 1969). Here, Hirschi is concerned about individual's attitudes towards law or rule breaking and those actors entrusted to uphold the laws and rules such as teachers, parents, and police officers (1969).

"Attachment" is likely to be the most influential aspect of Social Bond Theory for this research on the community reintegration of formally incarcerated women in Edmonton, particularly given my emphasis on social bonds or friendships. Attachments to both pro-social peers who promote desistence from crime and anti-social peers who encourage criminality are likely to play simultaneous and competing roles in the narratives of community reintegration I collect.

2.05 Cognitive Transformation Theory

The kind of cognitive and behavioral changes required during the process of community reintegration following incarceration are likely to take a considerable amount of time to achieve (Giordano et al., 2002; Terry, 2003). Thus, according to Cognitive Transformation Theory, there

are four key components or stages required to achieve sustained criminal desistence (Giordano et al, 2002; Maruna, 2001; Shover, 1996; Terry, 2003). In order to successfully transform one's behavior, for example to transition from involvement in criminal activity to a law-abiding lifestyle, one must first adopt a willingness to change (Giordano et al, 2002). This begins by conceiving of change as a tangible possibility. In addition to personal attitudes and goals, there are particular 'hooks' that can encourage this disposition in released offenders. Some examples of 'hooks' are obtaining stable housing or employment in the formal economy, pursuing a relationship with a supportive partner, or attending addictions counseling (Giordano et al, 2002). The next step in cognitive transformation is the development of a 'conventional replacement self'. The conventional replacement self is another way of expressing the ability to see oneself in a new light. For example, an individual who was previously involved in criminal activity must be able to see themselves as someone who has progressed and changed from that stage in their life. The final step required to achieve cognitive transformation is the reinterpretation of formerly claimed identity statuses and behavior. For example, an individual involved in the drug trade must be able to reimagine the behavior as something they want to avoid because their participation in these activities is harmful to others, among other negative consequences. This theoretical perspective is important to consider alongside Social Learning theories and Social Bond/Control theory, as the latter theories tend to attribute criminal recidivism or desistence to the social milieu in which former offenders navigate their reintegration while downplaying the role of individual choice and motivation on the part of the former offenders. As a result of some degree of personal choice with respect to the creation of pro-social or anti-social friendships, this combination of perspectives becomes important to developing a more nuanced understanding of social bonds within the context of community reintegration for former offenders (Giordano et al., 2002; Giordano, Cernkovich, & Holland, 2003; Haynie, 2002).

Friendships are likely to play an important role in former offenders' beliefs regarding their abilities to transform into law-abiding citizens and their willingness to change. This is as a result of how friendships are likely to interact with individuals' self concept. The way former offenders think and feel about themselves is likely to be informed, at least to some degree, by the opinions of others around them, whom they deem significant or influential.

2.06 Life Course Perspective

Life Course Perspective can be interpreted as the synthesis of Social Learning Theories, Social Bond/Control Theory, and Cognitive Transformation Theory (Laub & Sampson, 2003; Bahr, Harris, Fisher, & Armstrong, 2010). This perspective primarily understands desistence from criminal activity as a process to be accomplished over time depending on routine/structured activities, social bonds/controls, and individual agency (Laub & Sampson, 2003; Bahr, Harris, Fisher, & Armstrong, 2010). Structured activities within this theory refers to the involvement in activities that limit or reduce the opportunities to engage in criminal behavior, for example employment in the formal economy (Laub & Sampson, 2003; Bahr, Harris, Fisher, & Armstrong, 2010). Employment can be a particularly important component to the community reintegration process as it not only provides diminished opportunities for deviance and the commission of crimes, but also offers the potential to provide pro-social role models who reinforce a conventional law-abiding lifestyle (Laub & Sampson, 2003; Bahr, Harris, Fisher, & Armstrong, 2010). Both these elements are key to the Social Learning Theories perspectives. In addition to recognizing the value of employment in the process of community reintegration, Life Course Perspective also draws an important connection between social bonds within relationships and sustained desistence from crime. Specifically, that the lack of satisfying relationships in general (familial, romantic, and peer) leaves individuals more susceptible to the influence of deviant peers because of the heightened appeal of these relationships to those lacking strong social bonds (Laub & Sampson, 2003). In sum, the Life Course Perspective understands community reintegration and sustained desistence from crime to be a multi-faceted process that occurs over an extended period of time (Laub & Sampson, 2003). This process simultaneously depends on individual agency and choice, the accessibility and creation of social support networks that insulate offenders from deviant influences, and the former offender's ability to, "develop new scripts for their future" (Bahr, Harris, Fisher, & Armstrong, 2010, p. 673). According to Bahr, Harris, Fisher, & Armstrong these factors can be synthesized in the following way:

> Associations provide models of and reinforcements for behavior. Through associations, individuals are influenced toward or away from certain behaviors. Bonds to work, family, and friends help to constrain behavior…Choice is an important element in this process as individuals decide whom they associate with,

> where they will live, and what job they will take. Their particular situations limit the range of their choices and as associations and bonds are developed future choices may be constrained or reinforced one way or the other (2010, p. 673).

Thus, life course perspective provides a theoretical space in which social learning, social bond/control, and cognitive transformation theories become complementary aspects to, "an integrated explanation of re-entry" (Bahr, Harris, Fisher, & Armstrong, 2010, p. 673). The life course perspective is important for this research on friendship and community reintegration, as the impact of social bonds on reintegration and desistence from crime is likely to be cumulative over a lifetime in the sense that pro-social and anti-social relational patterns seem likely to continue over time.

2.07 The Importance of Social Bonds

Building on these theoretical frameworks, this study will strictly be concerned with the role of peer-to-peer friendships in the lived experiences of women navigating the process of community re-integration. The research goals of this project primarily center on i) developing a working definition of the term *friendship* in the context of reintegration for women following their release from prison, and ii) working towards a more nuanced understanding of how these interpersonal relationships emerge, develop, and are maintained.

2.071 Definition of Friendship

Before conducting my fieldwork for this project, I was reluctant to impose boundaries upon this notion of 'friendship' or 'peer-to-peer relationships' as my objective to understand the role of social bonds/networks on offenders' experiences of community reintegration relies on their interpretation of who constitutes their relevant social networks. Given the potential for cross-cultural perspectives, it becomes particularly important to allow for socially and culturally situated understandings of these networks and relationships. Thus, a critical component of this research endeavor is to construct a nuanced understanding of the term 'friendship' in this context. Despite these reservations, I did approach this research with both a commonsense and theoretical understanding of how this concept of 'friendship' or connections, relationships, and networks between released offenders and others in the larger community has been taken up in the existing

literature (Granovetter 1973; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992).

In researching social bonds, it is important to note that friendship is a highly variable construct and is used to describe widely varying interpersonal relationships. On a basic level, the 'Peer Social Capital' framework understands the act of friendship as the development of, "supportive and close relationships with people similar to [oneself], built on trust, reciprocity, and a shared identity" (Skovdal and Ogutu, 2012, p. 243). Despite this understanding of the term, friendship is socially constructed, and thus is a highly gendered, culturally dependent endeavor on both an individual level as well as a macro-social level. Mason and Tipper (2008) elaborate on this notion of friendship:

> Commitments are negotiated implicitly and explicitly between two people who operate in different circumstances and under a range of constraints over their lifetimes, as well as in relation to certain sets of cultural understanding about what [friendship] is. (p. 137)

Pahl & Spencer's (2004) typology of friendship is helpful for conceptualizing the varied nature of these interpersonal relationships. Friendships range from very simple or 'fun friendships' that are limited to shared participation in common activities to highly complex relationships involving deep intersubjective ties (Pahl & Spencer, 2004 in Smart et al., 2012). The social networks of individuals are expected to be comprised of a mixture of simple and complex friendships without specified proportions (Spencer, 2004 in Smart et al., 2012). Along these lines, Skovdal and Ogutu (2012) draw a distinction between 'formalized friendship groups' and 'informal friendship groups'. Their perspective understands formalized friendship groups as those formed under the mutual understanding that members will support one another in times of hardship, such as the friendship groups formed through social programming like Alcoholics Anonymous (Skovdal and Ogutu, 2012). In contrast, informal friendship groups are more naturally occurring groups that form out of shared or mutual interests (Skovdal and Ogutu, 2012). While friendship is necessarily defined within an interpersonal context, friendship is also an intensely personal moral endeavor. This is because in addition to the requirements of interpersonal relationships, the 'moral regime' of friendship encompasses all of the obligations commensurate with these relationships (Smart et al., 2012). There are particular rights and responsibilities associated with the heightened status of

friendships when compared to less important social relationships, for example the obligation to help a friend out in their time of need (Smart et al., 2012).

2.072 Emergence of Friendships

The emergence of friendships within any context is a reflection of both individual agency and the intersecting forces of social structure, as neither is sufficient to describe or explain how and why two individuals form a relational bond with one another. Individuals exercise some degree of freedom in the choice of their significant interpersonal relationships; however, the interpersonal relationships that are available to choose from are defined and restricted to some degree by their position in the macro social structure. While this acknowledgement is important to a nuanced understanding, researchers caution against an overemphasis of the macro-level social structure that evaporates the role of the individual's micro-level involvements and personal decision making (Feld, 1981, 1982; Fischer et al., 1977; Fischer, 1982; Marsden, 1990; Verbrugge, 1979). For example, Stauder (2014) states that, "contact opportunities will depend only slightly on the social structure of society as a whole, but more on the structure and size of an individual's immediate social environment" (p. 234). In some ways, micro-level decision making on the part of individuals, such as which leisure activities to participate in, may exert a much more restrictive force on the social outcomes than macro-social structures, such as gender or ethnicity (McPherson and Smith-Lovin, 1987).

While remaining separate in much of the literature, these macro and micro levels of social structure are intrinsically connected. For example, these 'foci of activity' that comprise the micro-level social structure are defined as, "social, psychological, legal or physical entities around which joint activities are organized (e.g. workplaces, voluntary associations, hangouts, families)" (Feld, 1981, in Stauder, 2014, p. 236). The kinds of workplaces and social hangouts that are available to any individual are largely dependent on the macro-level social forces such as gender, race/ethnicity, and socio-economic status. For example, the foci of activity available to a university student, such as activist organizations, intercultural clubs, or education abroad programs will likely facilitate the opportunity to form different interpersonal connections than are available to an individual who was just released from prison and primarily concerned with obtaining stable employment and housing. Therefore, "since social activities are organized around foci, individuals do not meet completely randomly within the constraints of a given

macro-social structure" (Stauder, 2014, p. 236). Thus, an understanding of how friendships emerge, particularly within reintegration contexts, requires the synthesis of both micro-level personal agency as well as the driving macro-social forces that shape the kinds of social opportunities that become available to individuals.

2.08 Friendship in Reintegration Contexts

Recently, there has been a revived scholarly interest in a 'sociology of friendship' or more specifically in the significance of meaningful interpersonal relationships beyond family and kinship (Smart et al., 2012). In line with this push, my research investigates the historically neglected role of weak tie relationships, exemplified by peer-to-peer connections or friendships, on the lived experience of community re-entry for women (Granovetter 1973; Lin & Dumin 1986; Lin, Dayton, & Greenwald 1977). This research's focus on friendships is particularly salient for this population, as these women's simultaneous negotiation of sexism, (often) racism, and prejudice against former criminals puts them at odds with social norms (Weeks, 1995; Galupo and Gonzales, 2013). In these circumstances, it has been reported that, "social minorities, then, may rely on friendship to meet needs not otherwise met by larger society" (Galupo and Gonzales, 2012, p. 780).

Within criminology, there has been considerable research on the impact of women's social bonds occurring within family, intimate partner, and maternal relationships (strong tie bonds), on community reintegration and recidivism (Hebert 2005; McMurray 1993; Wolff & Draine 2004; McLean & Thompson 2007; Nelson et al. 1999; Visher et al. 2004; La Vigne et al. 2008; Naser & Visher 2006). A basic understanding of this literature is essential to my research's pursuit of similar research goals within the context of friendships (weak tie bonds).

One of the most consistent findings in the literature is that interpersonal relationships have a strong influence on the onset and persistence of criminal behavior (Elliot & Menard, 1996; Rebellion, Straus, & Medeiros, 2008). These findings point back to Social Learning Theory, which states that interpersonal associations are key in shaping pathways of criminal desistence or conversely recidivism. The literature states that the benefits of strong tie bonds for offenders' reintegration experiences are most often related to securing housing, financial support, employment, and childcare (Dodge & Pogrebin 2001; Leverentz 2006; McMurray 1993; Mills & Codd 2008; Nelson et al. 1999; Scroggins, 2012). As a result of the stigmatization associated

with a criminal record, many released offenders must rely on family members or partners who are willing to provide them with housing or help them obtain independent housing (Hebert, 2005; Nelson et al. 1999; Visher, La Vigne, & Travis 2004). As La Vigne, Wolf, and Jannetta (2004) explain, many offenders cannot quickly find stable and well paying employment, thus they must rely on their family or partners to supplement their income in order to meet basic needs (McLean & Thompson 2007; Nelson et al. 1999; Visher et al. 2004). These strong tie relationships also play an important role in providing transportation and childcare, which indirectly facilitate an ex-offender's ability to secure employment (La Vigne et al, 2008; Naser & Visher, 2006). Another often cited benefit of strong tie relationships for released offenders is emotional or psychological support during the process of community re-entry (Nelson et al. 1999; Mills; 2004). Supporting Hirschi's Social Bond/Control theory, social ties with law abiding partners and family members have been shown to provide ex-offenders with the guidance, encouragement, and support that may enable them to successfully reintegrate into the community (Nelson et al. 1999; Mills; 2004; Hirschi, 1969).

In the limited research that has been completed on community reintegration and the role of friendships (weak tie bonds), these types of relationships with peers have been shown to accomplish the same benefits as strong tie familial or romantic relationships, such as meeting basic needs and providing emotional or psychological support, in addition to facilitating greater access to material resources and employment opportunities (Lin and Dumin, 1986). Similarly, the presence of weak tie relationships have been shown to be more predictive of good mental health and happiness in general than the presence of strong ties in an individual's social network (Lin and Dumin, 1986).

2.09 Friendships—the 'Good' and the 'Bad'

In the existing literature on friendships across academic disciplines:

> Friendship tends to be valorized as a supportive, mutually beneficial relationship and the force of this depiction has often developed in the context of arguments about how friendships are chosen rather than imposed, and how they reflect shared interests and intimacy (see Giddens, 1991). Hence the idea that there may be unrewarding or 'poor' friendships has not been much explored even though it

> is well understood in the parallel field of family studies that close relationships can sometimes be experienced as enduringly problematic. (Smart et al, 2012, p. 92)

This trend is paralleled in the research on friendship within criminology. Specifically, the existing research on friendship and re-entry experiences has primarily focused on positive outcomes of these connections with respect to desistence from crime and achievement of a law abiding lifestyle (Hairston 1998; Dowden & Andrews, 1999; O'Brien, 2001; Petersilia, 2003; Sobell et al., 1993; Cobbina, 2009). My research will expand the literature to critically consider the positive *and* negative implications of friendships on women's re-entry experiences, such as increased support, access to resources, encouragement for continued criminality, or access to illicit substances.

This acknowledgement of both positive and negative influences is particularly important for women re-entering the community because there is substantial evidence linking women's introduction to crime with the criminality of their peer networks (Cobbina, 2009; Bonta, Pang, & Wallace-Capretta 1995; Brown, 2006; Danner et al., 1995; Griffin & Armstrong, 2003; Henriques & Manatu-Rupert, 2001; Leverentz, 2006; Simons et al., 2002). One can anticipate that if bonds of this nature are reconnected after release, criminally involved peers will continue to exert similarly negative influence over the future conduct of released female offenders. In this research, I want to move away from *a priori* assumptions about friendship as an always positive or always negative factor in the lives of criminalized women. Instead, I want to create a space for a more nuanced understanding of the lived experience of released offenders that is not invested in a sweeping categorization of the role of friendships as positive or negative in nature, but rather in considering them as part of the similarly fluctuating experience of community reintegration.

2.1 Friendship, Gender, and Identity

The function of friendship in female offenders' social networks has been under-theorized in academic literature. This research seeks to provide a detailed account of the role of friendship in the narratives of community reintegration for women in Edmonton, in such a way that articulates the notion of friendship as more than simply an interpersonal relationship, but also an expression of gender and personal identity.

Smart et al., (2012) assert that, "if doing friendship is part of the performance of gender, because doing friendship is part of the performance of self, then we cannot disentangle friendship and gender" (p. 106). Thus, in order to achieve a nuanced understanding of the role of friendship in the lives of women reintegrating back into the community following incarceration, this research must also carefully consider the gendered subtext that asserts itself within the narratives of community reintegration. A key component of synthesizing these concepts is an understanding of the way in which the self is constructed within social contexts (Burkitt, 2008). Burkitt suggests, "social relationships are the context in which we learn to reflect upon ourselves and to take an 'objective' view of ourselves by seeing ourselves as others see us" (2008). This assertion is supported by the interactionist traditions in sociology, which suggest that meaning is produced through individual level social interactions (Atkinson and Housley, 2003). Empirical research also supports this notion that strong bonds or friendships contribute to an individual's formation of identity and overall sense of self (Smart et al., 2012). Smart et al. (2012) in reflecting upon their research[8] process state:

> Precisely because the self is a reflexive narrative, and because self-narrating is a gendered process, the centrality of the self to friendship implies that the latter always actively involves gender. These experiences reveal the critical centrality of friendship as a medium for the social construction of (gendered) selves. (p. 107)

As a result of this, one must be cautious when seeking to speak about gender differences in this notion of friendship and re-entry, as the research process itself can generate and reinforce the very same gender divisions it sets out to explore (Smart et al., 2012).

Some existing research has suggested that social ties are of importance to women as a result of gender specific formulations of well-being that imply that women's friendships are more emotionally satisfying than men's (Jordan et al., 1991; Smart et al., 2012; Huggins, 2001, Severence, 2005, Huggins et al., 2006; Collica, 2010). Similarly, it has been suggested that women are more likely than men to actively seek out friendships after prison release, with the

[8] *Difficult friendships and ontological insecurity (2012).* "Based on written accounts submitted to the British Mass Observation Project, we analyze how friendship, when it goes wrong, can challenge one's sense of self and even produce ontological insecurity. Friendship, it is argued, is tied into the process of self-identification…" (Smart et al, 2012, p. 91).

intention that these bonds will provide emotional and psychological support during the process of re-entry (O'Brien, 2001). Continuing in this fashion, much of the existing literature on gender, friendship, and community reintegration fits within, "well-rehearsed arguments about the links of doing friendship and doing gender which imply that women's friendship bonds are based on stronger intersubjective ties than men's" (Chambers, 2006 in Smart et al., 2012, p. 104). Smart et al. (2012) states that stronger bonds are not necessarily more emotionally satisfying as they possess the potential to be more troubling and personally destabilizing when they go awry, because of the relationship between the intensity of the friendships and the engagement of the 'self' (Smart et al., 2012). Additionally, recent research has suggested that a negative and often overlooked factor in the interpersonal relationships of inmates and released offenders is relational aggression, or aggression that is intended to harm an individual's relationships with others, largely through rumors and gossip (Wulf-Ludden, 2013). Based on these findings, I also want to suggest that the relationship between friendship and gender is much more complex than much of the existing research would suggest (Smart et al., 2012, p. 104).

Part of this complexity is that despite many women's expressed need for relationships providing support, when compared to male ex-offenders, they are much less likely to have access to supportive individuals that possess the kind of social resources they would benefit from (Dodge & Pogrebin 2001; Hagan & Coleman 2001; Holtfreter, Reisig, & Morash 2004; Richie 2001). I should contextualize these findings within the 'Peer Social Capital' framework, which seeks to explain how vulnerable populations cope with hardship through social ties (Skovdal and Ogutu, 2012). Social capital, "is increasingly used to understand the social psychological resources that [individuals]—at a micro-level—invest in and actively negotiate access to in dealing with life circumstances" (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000; Morrow, 1999; Barry, 2011, in Skovdal and Ogutu, 2012, p. 242). In this model, surviving hardship such as poverty or grief requires the mobilization of peer networks (Skovdal and Ogutu, 2012). A key component of this mobilization is the acquisition of 'bridging social capital', "where [individuals] interact with social networks beyond their own social groups" (Skovdal and Ogutu, 2012, p. 243). Existing research on women's community reintegration and social ties suggests that there are profound barriers to this acquisition of 'bridging social capital' (Dodge & Pogrebin 2001; Hagan & Coleman 2001; Holtfreter, Reisig, & Morash 2004; Richie 2001). It has been found that the majority of ties women establish after prison release are likely to occur within a

single kinship network, or web of social relationships, that share similar socioeconomic disadvantage (Flavin, 2004).

Thus, in order to understand the role of social bonds for women reintegrating into the community, attention must be given not just to the existence of these bonds—their emergence, development, and maintenance—but also to the complex relationship between gender, self, and friendship throughout the transitional nature of re-entry.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Conceptual Framework

Paradigmatically, this research is informed by the principles of i) sociological hermeneutics and ii) narrative analysis. Resultantly, I interact with these perspectives both to guide my analysis of data and ascribe validity to my conclusions.

3.11 Hermeneutics

In sociology, hermeneutics is the understanding or interpretation of social events through the analysis of their meanings for the participants in those events. The central tenet of sociological hermeneutics is that it is only possible to know the meaning of an act or statement within the context in which it originates. Building on this principle, the hermeneutic circle states that understanding of any phenomenon requires relating the individual parts to the broader whole and the whole to back to the parts (Regan, 2012). For example in this research, my aim was to understand the phenomenon of community reintegration for women in Edmonton by synthesizing the meaning attributed to important friendships in this context. Analysis of this nature emphasizes both the social behavior and the context in which it occurs in such a way that illuminates the reciprocal relationship between the behavior and the context.

More specifically, the hermeneutic approach obeys the principles of 'dialogic validity', which means that it evaluates research in terms of how well it manages to capture the lived realities of others (Saukko, 2003). The emphasis on dialogic validity or 'dialogism' is in some ways a revival of the old ethnographic or anthropological project of capturing the 'native's point of view' (Saukko, 2003). Dialogism, however, does not claim to have a privileged or 'objective' point of view from which to describe the lives of others, as was a notable criticism of early ethnographic work. Instead of viewing research as a description of another world from the outside, dialogism understands research as an encounter or interaction between multiple worlds. Thus, the evaluation criteria for research of this nature are based on the principles of truthfulness, self-reflexivity, and polyvocality (Saukko, 2003).

First, truthfulness refers to the practice of allowing research participants to participate in how they are studied and represented (Saukko, 2003). In this research allowing participants to amend and approve of interview transcripts and research findings before thesis submission and

publication satisfied this criterion. Second, self-reflexivity refers to the practice of locating oneself within the research by identifying the kinds of socio-cultural and personal assumptions researchers bring with them (Saukko, 2003). In this research this criterion was satisfied by the completion of an interactive research journal where I reflected upon my theoretical, analytical, methodological, and personal thought processes through the year long completion of this project. Insights from this journal were used to shape and inform the findings of this research. Third, polyvocality refers to the existence of multiple voices or viewpoints within a single phenomenon such as 'community reintegration' or 'women's imprisonment' (Saukko, 2003). Polyvocality is essential both for sociological hermeneutics and narrative analysis, as narratives are highly subjective and represent a single of many possible lived realities. Within narratives, there are five levels of representation (experience, telling, transcribing, analyzing, reading), each which are laden with interpretive decisions on the part of the interviewer and interviewee. As a result, it is not possible to present a value neutral narrative, as even at the second level of representation there is an inevitable gap between experience and the ability to articulate it (Saukko, 2003).

The dialogic nature of my research dictates that I interact with the concepts of perception, intention, and experience of social relationships in such a way that privileges the lived experiences of my participants. Resultantly, participants' accounts of their experiences of community reintegration and social relationships are treated as true, without requiring external evidence in support of such claims. This is particularly important to acknowledge when working with narratives, as when people talk about themselves and their experiences they often exaggerate, become confused, remember things incorrectly, and are sometimes intentionally deceptive. Despite this potential for inconsistency, for the purposes of narrative analysis these narratives still reveal truths. The resultant truths are not to the standard of objectivity, but rather satisfy the truths of personal experience or lived reality (Alvermann, 2000). These truths gain meaning for this research through interpretation, by attending to the socio-cultural, political, and personal contexts that shape and inform them.

3.12 Narrative Analysis

Narratives take many forms, but the typical starting point for understanding what constitutes a narrative is based on Labov's criteria – an abstract (summary of the substance of the narrative), orientation (time, place, situation, participants), complicating action (sequence of

events), evaluation (significance and meaning of the action, attitude of the narrator), resolution (what finally happened), and coda (returns the perspective to the present) (Riessman, 1993). Similarly, narrative analysis can take on many forms, but is typically understood as either a method or a methodology.

'Narrative analysis' in this project refers to the *method* I utilized to collect, understand, and analyze the stories women told about their social relationships (Creswell, 2013, p. 70). Specifically, I collected stories about important friendships and analyzed, thematically, the role of these relationships in their larger narratives of re-entry (Creswell, 2013, p.72). Despite this focus on substantive content, my analysis also takes into account how stories are told and the shifting roles of the speaker and listener in the conversation; however, this is not with the same level of rigor as would be required in linguistic/conversational analysis of narratives.

Narratives are like photographs, as depending on the researcher's (or the artist's) beliefs, values, and intentions the same scene can be presented in vastly different ways. This is why the hermeneutical approach is key, as it calls for the acknowledgement of the researcher's role in the development of the narrative and the existence of multiple realities. I borrow from the Personal Narratives Group perspective, which places equal importance on the role of the interviewer in the construction of the narratives (Riessman, 1993). To achieve this understanding, one must analyze not only the interview texts, but also the power relations at play within the social contexts of the stories and also the interview context itself. This research treats the interview as a co-constructed text, that represents the unique conversation between two socially situated beings drawing on their historical perceptions, assumptions, and beliefs about the world (Riessman, 1993; Charmaz, 2001). This understanding of the interview process requires that I acknowledge my own 'situatedness' including, "the historical moment of the telling, the race, class, and gender systems that narrators manipulate to survive and within which their talk has to be interpreted" (Riessman, 1993, p. 21). Additionally, my analysis must emphasize that the interview itself is a non-exhaustive non-comprehensive always imperfect understanding of my interviewees' lived experiences. This approach views storytelling as a kind of performance, done primarily to convince the audience/researcher that something important occurred (Charmaz, 2001). This acknowledgement parallels my understanding of the research encounter and all texts produced from this encounter as co-constructed. The co-construction of interview texts is particularly important to acknowledge as, "human agency and imagination determine what gets included and

excluded…individuals construct past events in personal narratives to claim identities and construct lives" (Riessman, 2002).

These epistemological commitments are appropriate given the nature of my research questions, as narratives of lived experience are inherently important to women's perceptions of their reintegration experiences. The goal of this research project was to understand the lived realities of the women I interviewed, so the use of data in their own voices helped this research achieve this goal. Telling stories are typically how people organize and understand their life events and attribute meaning to their experiences; therefore, the analysis of friendship stories during community reintegration to achieve an understanding of what these experiences mean to my interviewees is an intuitive fit for my hermeneutical approach to research. Similarly, hermeneutical sociology's emphasis on dialogic validity aligns with narrative analysis's focus on lived experience, multiple realities, and co-construction of interview texts.

3.2 Research Goals & Questions

The goals/objectives of this research project were to:

1) Understand how criminalized women conceptualized their important peer-to-peer social networks/relationships during their re-integration experiences (ie. identify how they defined the term I refer to as 'friendship').
2) Identify how these peer-to-peer social networks/relationships emerged, developed, and were maintained through particular strategies.

To achieve these goals, I relied on the following research question to formulate my interview guide:

1) What is the role of peer-to-peer relationships in the lived experience of community re-integration following incarceration for women in Edmonton, Alberta?

3.3 Data Collection Method

Community reintegration is a process, not an event and as such, is best understood longitudinally. Despite this, it is often difficult to accomplish a longitudinal study of individuals released from prison as a result of recidivism, relocation, and lack of stable housing, which leads to unreliable follow up contact information. Laub & Sampson (1993) agree that prison reintegration is best accomplished longitudinally and have concluded that understanding the experiences of criminalized individuals in the community would benefit from a life course perspective that underlines the significance of particular life events and the interface between these events and social bonds. This life span perspective understands an individual's life experience as a series of intersections between biographical facts and historical forces, which interact to produce their unique lived experience (Belli, Alwin & Stafford, 2009).

Given these concerns, my use of retrospective interviewing techniques was an intuitive choice for this research. It recognized that the order and succession of life events over time is essential to understanding narratives of human lives, as past events may have a profound impact on present and future lived experience (Belli, Alwin & Stafford, 2009). Retrospective interviewing techniques involve asking questions about past events, including thoughts or feelings that occurred in the past to gain a more comprehensive understanding of an interviewee's current circumstances. The advantage of this method for my research is that it allowed participants to explain the wider social context of their reintegration experiences (Bui & Morash, 2010). The principle behind this is that, "an individual's life course can only be understood when it is placed in the context of the trajectory of their social life" (Fetterman, 1998, as cited in Bui & Morash, 2010). Laub and Sampson's (1993) research identifies four major transitions or stages that criminalized individuals face, including their life before incarceration, while incarcerated, prison release, and the process of community reintegration. In order to take advantage of the benefits of retrospective interviewing techniques I interviewed women who were navigating the process of community reintegration, the fourth stage experienced by criminalized individuals. This decision allows my research to account for the transitional nature of criminalized women's experiences of community reintegration and their perceptions of the role of friendship throughout this process. For the purposes of my thesis research, I limited the life narratives to the year before the individual's incarceration, except in cases where interviewees felt that a prior event or relationship was highly relevant to my understanding of their community reintegration. These

boundaries focused my interviews on the events and experiences that were directly relevant to my research objectives.

Before entering the field, I planned and prepared to utilize a calendar to aid in the creation of follow up questions that would lend themselves well to narrative analysis (Harris and Parisi, 2007). This technique is based on the idea that the physical presence of the calendar provides guidance for interviewers with respect to the formulation of questions, in addition to serving as a useful point of reference for respondents (Yoshihama, et al. 2002; Harris & Parisi, 2007). To prepare for this I completed three hours of pre-testing with two of my graduate student colleagues. During this pre-testing I asked my colleagues to act out approximately ten potential scenarios I could encounter in the field, including interviewees who were confused by the calendar or reluctant to interact with it. Each scenario was approximately 15 minutes, after which we de-briefed about what seemed to be working well and where I could make improvements. My impressions of the technique following the pre-testing were positive and I felt well prepared and comfortable interacting with the calendar in an interview setting. I completed two interviews in the field using this technique. I found that in practice utilizing the calendar was more cumbersome than it was helpful. My first interviewee did not tell her story in a linear fashion and quickly became confused when I referred to the calendar. After my first unsuccessful attempt to utilize this method, I reflected upon my interviewing technique and decided to use the calendar only as long as my second interviewee wanted to interact with it. Despite making a few changes in my approach, my second interview using this technique was also unsuccessful, albeit for different reasons. My second interview lasted nearly three hours as my interviewee became distracted by the particular dates that events or experiences occurred on. When she was unable to remember an exact date or sequence of events, she felt unable to quickly overcome this and immediately move forward with the interview. After listening to the tapes of these two interviews, I decided that using the calendar, while a novel technique, was not yielding the kind of interview environment I was hoping for and I opted to adopt a more informal approach in my remaining eight interviews. Ultimately I decided to exclude the two interviews completed using the calendar as a supplement from the analysis as they lacked the depth and distinct narrative quality of the interviews that were allowed to flow in a more casual conversational nature.

In order to elicit the kind of narrative necessary to achieve my research objectives, in my interview guide I identified five broad topics of interest for my research: definitions of friendship,

instances where friendships are experienced as helpful for reintegration, instances where friendships are experienced as unhelpful/harmful for reintegration, changing friendships, and activities of friendship. Building on these broad topics of interest, I developed a short list of questions I anticipated would be relevant. In my first 4 interviews, I found myself going through that set of questions quite formulaically with each of my interviewees. After I had become more comfortable in my role as the interviewer, I began to become more casual in my demeanor and allow the interview to unfold more naturally and in a way that was driven by the stories of the interviewees rather than my interview guide[9]. The more conversational nature of my interviewing technique, opened up the interview context to explore additional topics that were important to my interviewees individually. This kind of flexibility is acceptable for this research, as the nature of my research paradigm does not require my interview guide to be identical across interviewees.

The concept of co-construction is important for my research, as Holstein and Gubrium argue (2003), "interviews virtually impose particular ways of understanding reality upon subjects' responses". Given this assertion, my own social position is salient, as "the social milieu in which communication takes place [during interviews] modifies not only what a person dares to say but even what he thinks he chooses to say" (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003). The acknowledgement of the co-constructed nature of the interviews and narratives produced from the interviews, contrasts the life story interview as encompassing, "the narrative essence of what has happened to the person," (Atkinson, 2001). In fact, the narratives produced by my research represent the unique conversation between two socially situated beings drawing on their historical perceptions, assumptions, and beliefs about the world. This understanding of the interview process requires that I acknowledged my own 'situatedness' and emphasize that the interview itself is a non-exhaustive non-comprehensive understanding of my interviewee's lived experiences (Charmaz, 2001).

[9] Reflecting upon my fieldwork, I believe that my failure to successfully implement the calendar method in this research context was at least in part because of the fact that in these first two interviews my interviewing demeanor was less relaxed/casual than later interview sessions, as a result of being rather inexperienced as a qualitative interviewer. As a researcher, I am still interested in this methodology and would like to explore use of it in an additional research setting now that I feel I have become more comfortable with the process of qualitative interviewing because of my completion of 18 interviews with 10 women during the fieldwork for this project.

I anticipated that a life course narrative of this depth and emotional nature would be best suited to a multiple session approach to interviewing. I utilized one subsequent interview session not to assess change as is traditionally done in longitudinal studies, but rather for clarification and a deepened understanding of the women's lived experience. Out of respect for my participants' time and psychological well-being, I limited the interview sessions to no more than 2 hours (Bui & Monash, 2010). Additionally, with the written consent of my interviewees the interview sessions were tape recorded and transcribed verbatim.

With retrospective interviews, there is often apprehension about the accuracy of one's recollection of past events; however, it has been shown that this method is reliable when concerned with critical events or life transitions such as arrest and release from prison (Ruspini, 2002, as cited in Bui & Monash, 2010). Although retrospective interviews have shown reliability with respect to accurate recall of past events, my research is not tied to these objective conceptions of accuracy or reliability. With respect to objective accuracy or the idea that the things my interviewees talk about actually happened, my emphasis on dialogic validity regards perceptions of events as real and valid without needing objective confirmation. My position regarding the co-construction of interviews addresses possible concerns and/or criticisms about reliability. As each conversation is unique and dependent on both actors involved, it is acceptable that different interviewers or the same interviewers at different times could draw dissimilar conclusions. Reference to interviewer 'situatedness' contextualizes a narrative to ensure it is presented as a unique co-construction of subjective lived experience not an objective reality.

3.4 Population Access

In order to gain access to this population I initially relied on my existing contacts with the employees of the Elizabeth Fry Society of Edmonton and the Edmonton Institution for Women. Prior to beginning fieldwork, I had completed over 300 hours of volunteer work with Elizabeth Fry Society of Edmonton as an intake coordinator and receptionist, connecting released women with community resources and support. The women I encountered each week as a volunteer were currently navigating the experience of community reintegration, and were a good fit for participation in my research project. I had also spent several months volunteering at the Edmonton Institution for Women as a mentor to incarcerated women. I used these contacts to strategize the most appropriate forms of passive recruitment for interview participants. Based on

numerous conversations with employees in these settings, I decided that the most effective and non-intrusive form of passive recruitment was to advertise my study via informative posters placed strategically throughout the downtown core of Edmonton, Alberta.

After distributing the posters, I waited to be contacted by potential participants. Upon completion of the initial few interviews, I asked my participants to refer others to me if they thought they would be suitable for my project. These contacts were initiated passively by potential participants only. As much as possible I strived to limit the use of women within the social networks of existing participants to ensure confidentiality of my participants as in this situation it would be likely that a woman could be both one of my interviewees and a key social connection for another interviewee.

3.5 Sample

My sample for this research included the perspectives of 8 previously incarcerated women in Edmonton who were in the process of community reintegration. I have included brief biographies for each of the women I interviewed below to contextualize this research's findings and strengthen the narrative quality of the data presentation. All interviewees had the opportunity to choose a pseudonym for the purposes of this research. Biographical details have been anonymized in such a way that no participant in this research is identifiable.

3.51 Interviewee #1: Rosa

Rosa is a Filipina woman in her late 40's. Before being arrested and incarcerated, Rosa worked a full time job in the quick service food industry while living with her husband Erik and two young children. Her relationship with Erik was an abusive one, characterized by frequent physical and verbal outbursts fueled by Erik's longtime struggle with alcoholism. One year before Rosa was arrested she decided to leave Erik, with her children. For a few weeks, she stayed with a coworker whom she was close to, but she knew that this was not a permanent solution. Rosa was faced with not being able to provide for herself and her children on her small salary. To mitigate this, she reluctantly left her children in the care of her older sister in Red Deer, Alberta so that she could save money for an apartment security deposit.

Without stable housing and financial stability, Rosa was not able to maintain her job or obtain another one in the formal economy. This combination of circumstances left Rosa in a

position where she felt like she had no choice but to enter Edmonton's drug economy as a way to support herself. Although she began moving and selling drugs, by the time she was arrested and convicted she too was struggling with serious drug addictions. Rosa does not recall the night she was arrested but she tells me her conviction is for various drug offenses and assault.

I met Rosa for the first time in June 2014 when I was a volunteer receptionist and intake coordinator for the Elizabeth Fry Society of Edmonton. At this time, Rosa had just finished her sentence and has been released from prison to begin the process of community reintegration. In the months following our first meeting, we maintained casual bi-weekly contact with one another in the volunteer setting.

The first interview I conducted with Rosa occurred at the downtown branch of the Edmonton Public Library on November 10, 2014 beginning at 10:15am. This interview lasted 73 minutes. The second interview I conducted with Rosa occurred at Kinsmen Park on November 23, 2014 beginning at 2:30pm. This interview lasted 112 minutes. At the time of our last interview, Rosa was motivated to be reunited with her children and provide them a stable home in Edmonton. She had not yet been able to obtain steady employment, but has several good connections with a mentor and some social service agencies in the city. She is cautiously optimistic about her future as a law-abiding citizen, but feels she has many hurdles to still overcome.

3.52 Interviewee #2: Mikayla "Mik"

Mikayla "Mik" is a young Aboriginal woman in her mid 20's who grew up in the Edmonton area. After losing her family at a young age, she was placed in foster care as a toddler. None of the foster families she was placed with provided a stable living environment for Mik and she was transferred to different homes frequently. The majority of her foster families were unable or unwilling to nurture her traditional and cultural needs as a young Aboriginal girl. This left Mik with a great sense of social and cultural isolation. Ultimately this was a precipitating factor in her decision to leave her foster home at age 17. At this time she reached out for help, but was met with many barriers as her age meant that many of the agencies dedicated to assisting children in need could not offer her help. She connected with a group of other Aboriginal teens who were experiencing similar living conditions. While this peer group fostered some of her needs, particularly her desire to feel more connected to her Aboriginal ancestry; she was not able to

obtain stable housing or employment in the formal economy. Mik was involved in petty drug and property crime for several years before being arrested for aggravated assault. She spent over three years in prison, including multiple sentence extensions for violent and/or uncooperative behavior in prison.

I met Mik for the first time in our first interview session in November 2014. We had conversed on the phone twice in the week prior to our interview for scheduling purposes. Mik obtained my contact information and the nature of my research project from a flyer I had placed near Churchill Square in Edmonton. At this time, Mik had been out of prison for approximately six months and was well into the process of community reintegration.

The first interview I conducted with Mik occurred at a coffee shop in downtown Edmonton on November 10, 2014 beginning at 4:30pm. This interview lasted 89 minutes. The second interview I conducted with Mik occurred at the same coffee shop on November 25, 2014 beginning at 11am. This interview lasted 55 minutes. At the time of our last interview, Mik felt very hesitant to form any new friendships since being released from prison. This is because she finds herself gravitating towards women who have had similar experiences of incarceration, but she is nervous that making connections that are more substantial with other ex-offenders will make it more difficult for her to stay away from drugs and crime.

3.53 Interviewee #3: Andrea

Andrea is a Caucasian woman in her late 50's. She has been married to her husband for nearly three decades. Together they have two grown children who no longer live at home. Andrea grew up in Edmonton to a middle class family. As a youth and young adult, she formed friendships easily due to her outgoing nature and sense of humor. Before incarceration, her social network was comprised of close bonds with women she had known since childhood and coworkers from her office. Within these friendships, she felt comfortable asking for and providing emotional support to varying degrees.

In 2005, Andrea was arrested for various workplace and financial misconduct charges. This event surprised her family, friends, and coworkers as Andrea had no prior criminal record or any obvious outward indicators of involvement in criminal conduct of this nature. After being convicted, she spent 14 months in prison. Since her release almost 10 years ago, Andrea has been navigating the process of community reintegration in the home that she shares with her husband.

Due to the nature of her crimes she was unable to return to the workplace after she was released, thus her life and social network have changed dramatically. Today, her social network consists primarily of men and women she has met through church, volunteering, and hobby groups—all of which she became involved with after her release. She chooses not to disclose her incarceration to her new social network because she no longer feels like the commission of crimes is a salient aspect of her life and fears the reaction of others if they were to learn of her past. As a result of this decision, Andrea expresses that she sometimes feels emotionally isolated from the important people in her life now. Thus, Andrea's motivation for participation in this project was primarily because it offered her the opportunity to talk about her incarceration experience in a way that she did not feel comfortable within her existing social network.

Andrea contacted me after viewing a research flyer of mine in downtown Edmonton. We conversed briefly via text message before agreeing to meet and conduct an interview. The first interview I conducted with Andrea occurred at her home on Edmonton's north side on November 12, 2014 beginning at 12 pm. This interview lasted 62 minutes. The second interview I conducted with Andrea occurred at a coffee shop close to her home on November 28, 2014 beginning at 2:45 pm. This interview lasted 86 minutes.

3.54 Interview #4: Ofelia

Ofelia is an Asian woman in her late 40's. She is divorced and has two adult children; however, since her arrest and incarceration she has lost custody and the ability to visit her children. Ofelia was reluctant to talk about her life before her incarceration, so the majority of our conversations centered on her long time relationship with her mentor Sarah. After experiencing some disappointment with prior mentors because of lack of investment and/or poor connection, Ofelia was matched with Sarah. This mentorship continued for more than 15 years and has been maintained since Ofelia's release three months ago. Ofelia did not share the specific nature of her crime; however, she alluded to violence when she spoke briefly about her estranged family.

I was connected with Ofelia via my relationship with her mentor Sarah. Sarah and I shared an office for 1 month as volunteers at the Elizabeth Fry Society of Edmonton. During this time, we discussed her volunteer work in the prison and my research project. She shared that she had been mentoring Ofelia for many years and that she thought she would be a good interviewee for my project. Sarah passed my contact information onto Ofelia and described the nature of my

research project. A few days after this conversation, Ofelia called me and we discussed the details of the project and she agreed to participate.

The first interview I conducted with Ofelia occurred at her mentor's home in South Edmonton on November 16, 2014 beginning at 6 pm. At Ofelia's request, her mentor was present at this interview, although did not participate. This interview lasted 110 minutes. The second interview I conducted with Ofelia occurred in the same home on November 29, 2014 beginning at 6 pm. For this interview, her mentor was home and available for emotional support during and after the interview as needed, although she did not sit in on this interview, which lasted 56 minutes. At the time of our last interview, Ofelia was in the process of finding suitable housing and stable employment in the formal economy.

3.55 Interview #5: Layla

Layla is an Aboriginal woman in her late-twenties. She has been involved in petty crime since she was a youth. She recalls stealing cigarettes and committing property crime 'for fun', to amuse and entertain herself and her similarly delinquent peers. Layla was arrested over two years ago for a combination of drug and property offenses. She has been navigating the process of community reintegration in her hometown of Edmonton for almost six months.

Layla contacted me after having a conversation with another one of my interviewees who is an acquaintance of hers. We conversed briefly on the telephone before agreeing to meet and conduct an interview. The first interview I conducted with Layla occurred while walking in the Edmonton River Valley on November 16, 2014 beginning at 10 am. This interview lasted 98 minutes. The second interview I conducted with Layla occurred at a coffee shop close to my home on November 30, 2014 beginning at 3 pm. This interview lasted 42 minutes.

At the time of our last interview, Layla was living with her close childhood friend Stace and Stace's boyfriend Jason. Stace is the most consistent presence in Layla's life, as they met well before her arrest and were roommates before her incarceration. Layla has recently begun working on the streets again because she does not believe she will be able to find employment in other economies. The people in her social network, including Stace and Jason, support her poor outlook on her future and agree that her continued involvement in the sex industry is likely to be the only form of employment available to her. Despite Stace and Jason's involvement in street work and drugs themselves, Layla considers them a good influence in her life because they

provide her with a place to live and she feels they are honest and realistic about her future. Layla is adamant that she will end up back in prison regardless of her social networks because of the many barriers to stable employment she faces such as lack of knowledge about how or where to find employment and lack of basic interview skills such as resumé writing. Even when offered resources of this nature, she is resistant to imagine a future for herself that does not include addiction and future imprisonment, as she seems to have internalized feelings of hopelessness for her future.

3.56 Interview #6: Tamie

Tamie is a Caucasian woman in her early 30's who grew up in Fort McMurray, Alberta. She was raised in a home that was wrought with abuse and addictions. As she got older, she started to rely on both prescription drugs and alcohol to gain emotional distance from her home life. She credits early feelings of abandonment for her early introduction into sex work on the streets of Calgary and Edmonton. She expresses that much of her desire to participate in this kind of work was out of the need to fill a void her parent's lack of attention growing up had left her with. Tamie explains that sex work and street drug abuse are inevitably connected and she too struggled with addiction for many years while she was doing this kind of work. Her life before she was incarcerated was devoid of friendships she considered valuable or important. She recalls her focus was instead on simply making it through the next day, not on forming bonds or connections with others. During her time on the street, she gave birth to four children, but has not maintained contact with them or their respective adoptive parents.

Tamie was arrested in 1995 for crimes related to her gang involvement including prostitution and aggravated assault. She was released in 2007 after serving an extended sentence for violence in the prison. She has been navigating the process of community reintegration for the last 8 years.

Tamie and I had been acquaintances for more than 18 months in a volunteer setting before she expressed interest in participating in my research project. The first interview I conducted with Tamie occurred at Capilano Park in South Edmonton on November 15, 2014 beginning at 12:30 pm. This interview lasted 88 minutes. The second interview I conducted with Tamie occurred in a coffee shop in downtown Edmonton on December 1, 2014 beginning at 3:15 pm. This interview lasted 67 minutes. At the time of our last interview, Tamie was working in rehabilitative

programming at a volunteer organization in Edmonton—the same organization that she relied on in the early days of her community reintegration. She has stable employment, a suitable place to live, and has cultivated meaningful friendships with three coworkers.

3.57 Interview #7: Kim

Kim is a Caucasian woman in her late 40's. She was reluctant to speak about her life before incarceration, but alluded to a long history of drug abuse, violence, and involvement in the sex industry that saw her in and out of prison for most of her adult life. While she was in prison, she effectively cut ties with her previous social network, so when she was released she did not have any connections to rely on.

She recalls being released from prison about eight months ago and immediately falling back into old addictions and supporting her drug use with sex work. She considers herself homeless, but her friend Tom allows her to store some clothes and other possessions in his basement. Kim admits that some evenings she sleeps there, but she tries not to take advantage of Tom often. She expresses a deep fondness of Tom, whom she met when he stepped in and prevented a 'bad date' about a week after her release from prison. Kim even envisions her future when she is clean and no longer working on the streets to include Tom in a romantic capacity. Kim also expresses a particular fondness for a police officer working with Project KARE[10] who has helped her access some material resources in the community including meeting with a social worker.

Kim is optimistic for her future and acknowledges that she must make changes in her life if she does not want to end up back in prison or the victim of a serious violent crime. Her goals for the future include relocating to Calgary and completing a degree in Social Work. Despite these goals, she struggles with creating tangible change in her life and admits that she has not been able to stay clean for long since being released from prison.

[10] "The KARE Unit, a sub unit of "K" Division's Serious Crime Branch, was originally created to investigate the deaths of several vulnerable missing persons in the Edmonton area. Known to many as "Project KARE" since the unit's inception in 2003, KARE's mandate has expanded considerably. The unit, a model of which police organizations across the country have based their own vulnerable missing persons units on, investigates and reviews files of murdered or missing vulnerable persons throughout Alberta" (RCMP, 2015).

Kim and I met through my volunteer work with criminalized women. We spoke about the project and the interviews sporadically over several weeks before setting a date and conducting the first interview. The first interview I conducted with Kim occurred in the parking lot outside of the volunteer office on November 16, 2014 beginning at 8 pm. This interview lasted 94 minutes. The second interview I conducted with Kim occurred in a coffee shop in downtown Edmonton on December 1, 2014 beginning at 6:30 pm. This interview lasted 81 minutes.

3.58 Interview #8: Courtney

Courtney is a Caucasian woman in her late 20's. She began working on the streets in her early 20's while struggling with alcohol abuse and mental health issues. She admits that she is not able to recall what happened the night that she was arrested, but is not surprised with her assault charges because violence and breaking the law were everyday occurrences for her back then. She was prescribed medication for bi-polar disorder, but often failed or refused to take her medication. Courtney explains that her inconsistency with her medication made her angry, impulsive, and often violent. She also recalls struggling with self-harm and being hospitalized several times when she had attempted to take her own life. At the time, she was living with her mother, but her violent outbursts and self-harm damaged their relationship. A few months before Courtney was arrested and incarcerated, her mother forbade her from returning home unless she could commit to taking her prescriptions and obtaining stable employment.

Courtney was released from prison over three years ago. She admits that her first reaction when she was released was to return to her old social networks and way of life; however, after a brief period of relapse and a serious health scare she became motivated to improve her life. Despite their rocky relationship, Courtney lived at home with her mother for two years after she was released on the condition that she attended regular AA meetings and counseling sessions. Through counseling, she was put in touch with a social worker who helped her throughout the process of searching for employment and encouraged her to seek independence and take on increased levels of responsibility.

Courtney got in touch with me after being referred to me by another one of my interviewees, whom she considers a friendly acquaintance. We spoke about the project and the interviews via text message for several days before setting a date and conducting the first interview. The first interview I conducted with Courtney occurred in her mother's home in North

Edmonton on November 13, 2014 beginning at 9 pm. This interview lasted 75 minutes. The second interview I conducted with Courtney occurred in a coffee shop in downtown Edmonton on December 2, 2014 beginning at 8 am. This interview lasted 80 minutes.

At the time of our last interview, Courtney had been able to obtain stable employment in an entry level position in the food service industry and had recently moved into her own apartment on the North side of Edmonton. She is clean and completely removed from the sex industry and has no plans to return. Part of her confidence in her ability to stay on the right path is that she has severed ties with her old criminal social networks. She admits that she does not have many friends now and that she is lonely, but expresses much pride in her ability to change her life.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS & DISSCUSION PART I

The findings of this research seek to answer the over-arching research question, "what is the role of peer-to-peer relationships in the lived experience of community re-integration following incarceration for women in Edmonton, Alberta?" through the independent analysis of two interrelated research objectives: i) understand how criminalized women conceptualize/define their important peer-to-peer social networks/relationships during their re-integration experiences, and ii) identify how these peer-to-peer social networks/relationships emerge, develop, and are maintained through particular strategies.

4.1 Definition of Friendship

The critical starting point for this research on the role of friendship in women's narratives of re-entry following incarceration was the operationalization or research definition of the term 'friendship'. Friendship as a relational concept is rarely explicitly defined in daily life or the academic literature, despite our almost universal experience and interaction with the term (Caroline, 1993). Colloquially, there are numerous informal terms designed to communicate the kind of relationship referred to here as 'friend': peer, companion, comrade, confidante, buddy, among many others (Caroline, 1993). A testament to the ambiguous nature of these terms is the common practice of using linguistic modifiers to improve clarity, such as: *casual* friend, *close* friend, *best* friend, *true* friend, and more (Caroline, 1993). For some, friendship exists on a relationship continuum where intensity is the exclusive discriminator (Caroline, 1993). Thus, all friendships would develop along similar pathways, albeit not necessarily similar timelines[11], from acquaintanceship to friend and close/best/true friend. This raises the question of whether these distinctions between acquaintance and friend or friend and best friend are merely quantitatively different as measured by intensity, or *are there qualitative differences as well*? (Caroline, 1993). In casual observations of daily life it is not difficult to see that people interact with this term friendship in vastly different ways. Some people, for example, use the term friend rather loosely; bestowing it on individuals they have just met (Caroline, 1993). Others are much more selective

[11] One particular friendship may transition from acquaintance to best friend within months, while another may take years or not happen at all.

and careful in their usage of the term friend. This variability not only exists in informal observations of daily life, but also in the existing academic research on friendship.

Friendship exists largely as a theoretical concept and thus it is difficult to ascertain valid empirical criteria or evidence of the existence of said relationships. Thus, friendship is a largely respondent (self) defined concept, which introduces a problem for research (Caroline, 1993). For example, in evaluating existing research on friendship, it is difficult to establish the precise nature of the friendships respondents or interviewees are reporting (Caroline, 1993). As a result of this, it becomes more challenging, if not irresponsible, to hypothesize about whether the types of friendships described have an impact on the results of the research (Caroline, 1993). To mitigate these concerns and attribute significance to findings in this research context, I must first clarify the use of key terms and thereby establish the parameters of the data and the boundaries for application to other settings.

Before conducting fieldwork for this project, I was unwilling to formally operationalize the term 'friendship', based on my own commonsense and theoretical understanding of the construct, because this definition would be inseparable from my own 'situatedness' and privileged position as a researcher. My identity as a white, middle-classed, able bodied, educated, queer woman, without a criminal record contributes to my unique understanding of and interaction with the term 'friendship'. Acknowledging this has dictated that my epistemological approach to research adhere to the principles of critical reflexivity. This framework requires the formative conditions of knowledge production be turned upon themselves in the process of academic inquiry (Gray, 2008). It recognizes the historically and politically 'situatedness' of all social beings, and thus re-articulates the research encounter as a non-exhaustive understanding of sociological phenomena (Charmaz, 2003). In critical reflexive research, emotional engagement with a research topic has been re-imagined outside of the philosophical dichotomy of emotion/reason, and legitimated as a motivational factor in the design and conduct of research projects (Jenkins, 2006).

My research interests in this project are motivated in part by my own biography as an individual who is frequently in the process of developing interpersonal connections in new environments and in part by my volunteer work with criminalized women. In 24 years, I have lived in 11 different cities across 2 countries. These experiences have meant that I have become quite familiar with the process of arriving in a new environment and feeling like I am starting

from scratch. As someone who is quite introverted and shy, I have put a lot of emotional labor over the years into thinking—or rather stressing—about the creation of meaningful friendships in new environments. I have always been fascinated about the ways in which different friendships impact my life path and how my life and outlook would be significantly different had I formed connections with different people. I see community reintegration as a much more extreme and multifaceted version of my experiences of "being new", however my interest in the former derives heavily from personal experiences. While my interest in the creation and dynamics of friendships more generally has been longstanding, my specific interest in these relationships within a community reintegration context developed as a result of my criminology coursework as an undergraduate student, and my volunteer work at the Elizabeth Fry Society of Edmonton and the Edmonton Institution for Women. In volunteer settings, I empathized with the women I encountered as they spoke about the difficulties of re-entering the community and forming lasting interpersonal relationships, based on my own understanding of how difficult this had been for me in the past in much more accommodating circumstances. Now having acknowledged the personal and emotional backdrop of this research project, I want to clarify that my objectives for this research were not to analyze how women who have recently been released from prison understand and interact with friendships from my perspective. Instead, my aim was to conduct this analysis with a socially and culturally situated understanding of 'friendship' in this unique context.

While an important concept for me personally, friendship as a construct has also been recognized in the literature as almost universally important across the lifespan (Bukowski & Sippola, 2005; Hartup & Stevens, 1997). In many ways, friendship is considered to be the 'quintessential peer relationship' in addition to being a central feature of the human life span (Bukowski & Sippola, 2005; Hartup & Stevens, 1997). In a philosophical sense, friendship has always been an important academic investigation, because of the moral expectations, responsibilities, and construction of meaning embedded within this social endeavor (Badhwar, 1993). As a result of the breadth of friendship's influence, a model of peer-relationships that seeks to understand the nature and nuances of friendship must describe the functions, meanings, expectations, and emotions that comprise this interaction in addition to distinguishing friendships from other types of peer interactions (Hinde, 1995).

The definition of friendship that this research has informed was developed in a conversational and often implicit manner, as I found that simply asking interviewees, "what is your definition of friendship in your own life?" did not yield rich answers. Instead, this definition emerged through the process of analyzing how interviewees spoke about specific friendships and friendships more generally. The coding of the interview transcripts in NVivo 10 software yielded four notable components to the definition of friendship for interviewees in this research context: 1) shared life experience, 2) physical and emotional availability during times of need, 3) "venting", and 4) providing supportive words or words of encouragement. Upon analysis, the coding scheme that emerged from my interviewees seemed to overlap with some of the established definitional measures of friendship in the literature, including the McGill Friendship Questionnaire-Friend's Functions (MFQ-FF).

The MFQ-FF is a survey instrument that was designed to quantitatively assess the quality of adult interpersonal relationships based on six theoretically identified features of friendship: companionship, help, intimacy, reliable alliance, self-validation, and emotional security (Mendelson and Aboud, 1999). 'Companionship' involves the act of sharing experiences or time with one another (Demir & Weitekamp, 2007). 'Help' refers to the guidance or assistance one receives from one's friends (Demir & Weitekamp, 2007). 'Intimacy' requires the experience of personal emotional disclosures or sharing (Demir & Weitekamp, 2007). 'Reliable alliance' incorporates the requirements of trust and loyalty within relationships (Demir & Weitekamp, 2007). 'Self-validation' involves the perception of one's friends as being supportive of one's positive self concept (Demir & Weitekamp, 2007). Lastly, 'emotional security' refers to one's friends providing comfort or reassurance in the face of distress or conflict (Demir & Weitekamp, 2007). While the overlap in measures lends support to the validity of my coding scheme, the categories present on the MFQ-FF and those that emerged from coding my data differ for two important reasons. First, the categories on the MFQ-FF were theoretically designated through the principles of deductive reasoning; whereas, my coding scheme for this research operated inductively and sought to generate theory from the data. Second, the MFQ-FF is a quantitative measure, specifically a forced choice survey instrument, which yields categorically distinct results; whereas, this research is a qualitative study that seeks richness and understanding over strict categorization. Thus, by very nature the results of this research are somewhat different than the categories of the MFQ-FF would suggest.

4.11 Shared Life Experience

Most prominently, my interviewees expressed their understanding of friendship as the site of shared/similar important life experiences. The distinction between *shared*, *sharing,* and *similar* here is important to note for clarity. *Shared* life experiences were those that interviewees physically shared or experienced with others, such as the shared experience of running errands with a friend. *Sharing* life experiences, are those experiences that interviewees shared with others via verbal communication and emotional disclosure, such as telling a friend about an experience in the workplace. *Similar* life experiences occur when interviewees expressed having similar upbringings and experiences albeit having experienced them separately. For example, two individuals could be said to have similar life experiences if they were both independently raised in foster care. These three variations of 'shared' life experiences are analyzed here together, as they all were spoken about as means to accomplish the same interpersonal goals of increased emotional closeness and feelings of mutual understanding. For simplicity, these instances of shared, sharing, and/or similar life experiences will hereafter be referred to as 'shared life experiences'.

Having shared life experiences within friendships was expressed to be important to the nature or definition of friendship for four reasons across interviews: i) offering wisdom or advice based on past experiences, ii) the intrinsic understanding of one another, iii) facilitating communication and emotional intimacy within friendships, and iv) deriving value from shared experience. Across these four concepts, the goal or accomplishment of emotional intimacy was central to my interviewees' understanding of friendship.

4.111 Experience Based Wisdom

My interviewees expressed that shared life experiences act as a vehicle through which they can offer wisdom to one another within the context of a friendship. This was as a result of the idea that having these shared life experiences provides a sort of reserve of memories and experiences upon which one can draw on during interactions with others to promote emotional intimacy and connection. In the existing literature, several studies report that this kind of similarity underlies attraction within interpersonal relationships (Byrne & Griffit, 1966; Haselager, Hartup, van Lieshout, & Riksen-Walreaven, 1998; Liu & Chen, 2003; Poulin & Boivin, 2000; Poulin et al., 1997). These similarities have been observed across both pro-social

and anti-social dimensions (Haselager, Hartup, van Lieshout, & Riksen-Walreaven, 1998; Liu & Chen, 2003; Poulin & Boivin, 2000; Poulin et al., 1997). It is not convincingly evident whether said similarities are pre-existing or develop as a result of the interactions between friends, as there is evidence supporting both processes (Popp, Laursen, Kerr, Stattin, & Burk, 2008).

It is conceivable that the prevalence of this theme in my research is at least in part because of the processes of socialization by which we learn to prescribe particular ontological and epistemological limits to our lived experience. Beginning in the early writings of Bacon (1561-1626), Locke (1632-1704), and Hume (1711-1776), an epistemology of empiricism has been dominant in the Western World (Sternberg, 1990). Resultantly, "the success of empiricism in the epistemological domain [has] carried a number of social and political implications" (Sternberg, 1990, p. 23). In this ontological and epistemological context, knowledge or understanding by observable and/or sensory experience is given priority over less immediately tangible ways of 'knowing' (Sternberg, 1990). Thus, the prevalence of experience based wisdom within the context of friendship is not surprising given the dominance of empiricism.

In my interviews, TAMIE's interaction with this concept of experience based wisdom was particularly interesting, as she simultaneously expressed that she felt more comfortable and natural forming connections with others with whom she had shared experiences, that dissimilar life experiences helped facilitate new friendships in her life based on curiosity, and that shared experiences can play a key role in mentorship relationships outside of the boundaries of friendship. TAMIE's understanding of experience based wisdom reinforced the significance of this concept without providing a clear or directional link between experience based wisdom and friendship.

In some scenarios, TAMIE suggested that shared life experience was important in facilitating friendships based on the development of similar life perspectives from experiencing similar events and circumstances. This understanding of shared experiences and friendship is supported by the psychological theory stating that similarity leads to attraction[12] (Byrne, 1971). According to this perspective, individuals who are similar to one another will experience more rewarding interpersonal interactions and report being more attracted to one another than dissimilar individuals (Byrne, 1971). The existing research on similarity and friendship largely

[12] Attraction here is not limited to romantic attraction, and can best be understood as a favorable affinity towards another individual.

focuses on demographic similarities (Harrison, Price, & Bell, 1998; Harrison, Price, Gavin, & Florey, 2002; Riordan, 2000); however, some personality factors have also been considered (Barsade et al., 2000; Keinan & Koren, 2002; Schaubroeck & Lam, 2002; Strauss, Barrick, & Connerley, 2001). The specific role of experience based wisdom within friendships has been left largely unexplored in the sociological literature. Resultantly, my thesis research offers a unique insight into this under theorized area within the sociology of friendship.

In her current role in rehabilitative programming at a volunteer organization that assists criminalized women, TAMIE relies on her own experiences to connect with others who have gone through similar things:

> TAMIE: Yeah so I mean I'm not a bad listener…I know that…it's my job to listen…but I more like to tell people who are sort of like me you know…like I know what they're going through cause…you know…like…I've been there. I lived through that and look at me now…I made it.
>
> KAITLYN: So you rely on your experiences getting through tough situations to sort of tell other people that they can get through hard times too because you were once just like them? Is that right or have I got that wrong?
>
> TAMIE: Nah. That's perfect…That's what like…I was just trying to say.
>
> KAITLYN: Do you think what you're saying means more to those people because of what you went through? Like similar things and stuff?
>
> TAMIE: Oh yeah for sure. Like people actually listen to me cause I know what it's like. I've been there and lived it. Oh yeah they believe me.
>
> KAITLYN: Do you think actually physically and emotionally experiencing things like first-hand is important in being able to offer advice or be there for someone in these circumstances?

TAMIE: It's the only way. That's why I'm here. That's why they hired me. They know. Everybody knows. It's the only way.

KAITLYN: Okay so along those same lines…um…would you have a harder time listening to or like connecting with someone who didn't have those same kind of experiences?

TAMIE: Yeah. I mean look at you. I mean like no offense, but it's just different. Like you're never gonna know what I do probably. Like so yeah you're gonna have a harder time connecting to people. Like you'll have to find other things.

Here, TAMIE speaks about the role of shared life experience in facilitating positive interpersonal relationships with clients in her work environment. While this passage is key to understanding the role she feels this plays in the creation of a particular kind of intimacy and mutual understanding within work-based interpersonal relationships, it was not immediately clear how this influenced her outlook on friendships—conceivably more important relationships to her outlook on her community reintegration.

Generally speaking, when TAMIE talks about shared life experiences she refers to them as a catalyst in the creation of meaningful intimate personal connections. She explicitly makes the connection between shared life experience and experience based wisdom in the creation of these friendships:

TAMIE: Yeah…I've been through hell and back…somehow made it back. I don't know…I feel that I can be really helpful…I guess…Like wanna talk about working the streets? Got it. Wanna talk about depression? Yeah I got it. Wanna talk about your jerk off abusive boyfriend? Family shit? I got it all.

KAITLYN: By got it you mean you have experienced that in the past?

TAMIE: Yeah.

KAITLYN: And those experiences are what helps you talk to others going through that same kind of thing?

TAMIE: Yeah like maybe I can say something to help or…I don't know…Yeah.

KAITLYN: So like give advice? Would you call it that?

TAMIE: Umm…yeah advice…that's it.

In this sense shared or similar life experiences provide individuals with a sort of reserve of memories and experiences upon which to draw on during interactions with others to promote and facilitate friendship. In another research context, involving group rehabilitation of patients with brain injuries, "the participants expressed how the fact that they were attending a group programme where they shared experiences with other group members with similar problems was, in itself, helpful during their rehabilitation" (Lexell et al., 2013, p. 533). More specifically, participants in this study felt that the benefits they received from group rehabilitation were related to experience based wisdom of one another's life circumstances, namely the knowledge and experience of recovering from a brain injury (Lexell et al., 2013). This perspective is exemplified in the following passage from the qualitative interview transcripts from this project: "It felt good to talk to the others because we shared a similar experience...You could tell them about your problems…How you felt and ask what they think... It's good because you know you are not weird in any way" (Lexell et al., 2013, p. 533). Despite this general trend of shared life experience promoting closeness and friendship, when pressed to evaluate the role of shared life experience within her important relationships with Debbie and Tiffany, the role of experience based wisdom for TAMIE takes on a more flexible tone than always facilitating emotional intimacy or friendship.

TAMIE formed a close interpersonal relationship with Tiffany when they were both involved in the same rehabilitative programming in Edmonton. When talking about this relationship she oscillates between recognizing it as a friendship and more cautiously calling it a mentorship type of relationship based on their age difference. When they met several years ago, TAMIE was in her early 30's and Tiffany was just a young teenager. Despite this, TAMIE

acknowledges that their similar life experiences, and the opportunity these similarities provided for the transmission of experience based wisdom, were central to the development of their relationship:

> TAMIE: So well I guess I just looked at her and a saw someone who maybe was like me a little like me way back then.
>
> KAITLYN: Oh I see, so you connected with her on that level?
>
> TAMIE: Yeah I mean I wish I could go back to when I was that age and just have someone sit me down and be like look I know what you're going through and I know where you're headed and you need to stop cause I've been there and it's not too late to just turn around and not start down that path.

Thus, TAMIE's recognition of herself in Tiffany and the life experiences they share offers her the opportunity to transmit experience based wisdom within this interpersonal relationship. While perhaps not always fulfilling all the characteristics of a friendship in her eyes, as a result of the age and maturity differences, this relationship offers TAMIE the opportunity to reflect on her personal and reintegration progress in the way that a friendship would.

Contrary to TAMIE's friendly disposition towards Tiffany and clients in the workplace as a result of shared life experiences, her friendship with Debbie is evidence that sometimes the absence of shared life experiences can also facilitate a friendship. This theme is not currently well represented in the literature on friendship, and thus provides an interesting opportunity for a more nuanced understanding of how the presence or absence of shared life experiences shapes friendships in reintegration settings for women. The majority of the literature on the consequences of dissimilarity in interpersonal relationships has been conducted within romantic or workplace settings (Barsade, Ward, Turner, & Sonnenfeld, 2000; Elvira & Cohen, 2001; Jackson et al., 1991; Riordan & Shore, 1997; Shore, Cleveland, & Goldberg, 2003; Tsui, Egan, & O'Reilly, 1992; Tsui & O'Reilly, 1989; Tsui et al., 2002; W. G. Wagner, Pfeffer, & O'Reilly, 1984; Wesolowski & Mossholder, 1997; Wiersema & Bird, 1993). There is some existing evidence that seeks to unearth the prevailing assumption that similarity is the only vehicle

through which interpersonal attraction is expressed (Dryer & Horowitz, 1997; Leary, 1957). This research suggests that it is dissimilarity rather than similarity that leads to rewarding interactions; however, this research is largely limited to understanding the organizational psychology of the workplace (Dryer & Horowitz, 1997; Leary, 1957).

TAMIE has been friends with Debbie for the past 7 years. They met at a rehabilitative programming center in Edmonton soon after Debbie finished her undergraduate degree. Unlike many of my interviewees who expressed being drawn to particular friendships as a result of shared experiences, TAMIE recalls it was their dissimilar life experiences that drew her and Debbie to form a friendship:

> TAMIE: So I think maybe a lot of people were maybe intimidated by me in the beginning [at the rehabilitative programming center] or maybe kind of scared or something.
>
> KAITLYN: But not Debbie?
>
> TAMIE: Nope not at all. She was more just like interested in me, my life. Everything.
>
> KAITLYN: Had she had similar life experiences?
>
> TAMIE: Oh no. Not at all. Nope. God no. She's about the most straight laced as they come. A real nice lady.
>
> KAITLYN: Okay so what was her interest in that part of your life then?
>
> TAMIE: I think just that it was so different than anything before in her experiences. It was like a movie I guess…well not like I movie. I guess that sounds a little weird. Like it was just like things that only existed to her in movies.

KAITLYN: But working in that field, you know [in rehabilitative programming] and everything, hadn't she been exposed to all that before through work?

TAMIE: Not really no. She was new back then. Fresh out of university. I think maybe out of U of A too. Anyway she was just a kid. We both were I guess but we had real different lives I guess you could call it.

KAITLYN: So you said some of the other people were sort of scared to come up to you and things like that?

TAMIE: Yeah I mean you could tell that they had questions…you can just tell by looking at them. You know people get that weird ass look on their face like they just want to say something but maybe just don't know how to say it or if they can. Something like that.

KAITLYN: But Debbie was different?

TAMIE: Oh yeah completely. Just a firecracker. Walked right up to me and said something like so you used to be in a gang? What was it like?

KAITLYN: And how did you react to that? Was that a positive or a negative experience for you?

TAMIE: Oh it was great. I mean I think I'd react a bit differently now being where I'm at with everything, but back then it was just like that thing that nobody talked about before so it was like finally you know? Like somebody had to say it.

A striking contrast to the predominant theme of attraction as similarity, the unlikely[13] bond between TAMIE and Debbie pushes the boundaries of what we know about the definition and formation of friendship in reintegration contexts. While shared experiences are most often viewed as an intuitive pathway to emotional intimacy and friendship, my interview with TAMIE suggests that this relationship is much less linear than the majority of the existing research on friendship suggests. TAMIE's interaction with both the presence and absence of shared experience gives reason to explore this further in future studies on friendship in reintegration contexts.

4.112 Intrinsic Understanding of One Another

In my fieldwork, the idea of friendship as an effortless interaction as a result of some sort of intangible relational quality emerged across interviews. This intangible quality seemingly emerged effortlessly within certain important friendships. My interviewees gave the impression that this quality was either there or it was not and there was very little that could be done to amend this initial disposition (perhaps because of its intangible nature). While a familiar concept to my personal understanding and definition of friendship, this theme was markedly absent from the academic literature. Broader investigation of this concept yielded interesting results regarding the colloquial use of the term friendship in popular Western culture. Ideas of 'good' or 'true' friendship and the kind of effortlessness or intangibility my interviewees spoke about are pervasive across popular Western culture, spanning domains such as philosophy, literature, culture, and media. An informal investigation of how friendship is defined and valorized in popular Western culture revealed statements such as: "a friend is one that knows you as you are, understands where you have been, accepts what you have become, and still, gently allows you to grow" (William Shakespeare); "we cannot tell the precise moment when friendship is formed. As in filling a vessel drop by drop, there is at last a drop which makes it run over; so in a series of kindnesses there is at last one which makes the heart run over" (Ray Bradbury); "the real test of friendship is can you literally do nothing with the other person? Can you enjoy those moments of life that are utterly simple?" (Eugene Kennedy); "friendship is born at that moment when one person says to another: *What! You too? I thought I was the only one*" (C.S. Lewis); "there's not a

[13] Based on what would be expected given the existing literature (Byrne & Griffit, 1966; Haselager, Hartup, van Lieshout, & Riksen-Walreaven, 1998; Liu & Chen, 2003; Poulin & Boivin, 2000; Poulin et al., 1997).

word yet, for old friends who've just met" (Jim Henson); and "friendship is the hardest thing in the world to explain. It's not something you learn in school. But if you haven't learned the meaning of friendship, you really haven't learned anything" (Muhammad Ali). These statements are neither authoritative nor meant to be read as indicative of the results of a more rigorous content analysis of friendship in popular Western culture. Instead, these statements reflect some of the ways in which friendship is spoken about in the popular culture to fill in a noticeable gap in the academic literature regarding this intangibility or effortlessness that emerged in this research context. Within this limited context, as exemplified by the above passages, this idea of effortlessness or intangibility appears to be so central to the broader public discourses of friendships that it has become part of the very definition of the term and how individuals make important distinctions between interpersonal relationships.

In my interviews, this particular disposition was often expressed as the experience of 'just getting one another'. The distinct gap in the academic literature regarding this theme allows my interviews to begin the process of generating theoretical explanations for these findings. Upon analysis of my interview transcripts I want to tentatively suggest that this intangibility or effortlessness felt within friendships is at least in part attributable to shared or similar life experiences for women navigating reintegration contexts in Edmonton.

MIK, in particular, connects with the ideals regarding friendship that are evident in my selection of popular culture references. In our second interview, I ask her about which people she considers friends:

> KAITLYN: So umm…like in general what kind of people do you consider to be your friends?
>
> MIK: Definitely people who like get my life…you know like have been through the same stuff…we just get each other more…probably also someone who I like hanging out with you know? Like we get along.

MIK continues to express that this intangible or effortless connection with others is not only present in some of her important friendships, but also a highly desirable quality in her view on friendships in general:

KAITLYN: I understand. So before you were in prison what did you need most from your friends?

MIK: Just like someone who knew what I was going through…someone who got me.

One way that this intangible or effortless understanding of one another was expressed was through the value of simply acknowledging life experiences in such a way that conveyed experiential understanding. In other words, possessing shared or similar life experiences seemed to promote these feelings that there was some sort of positive intangible quality about the friendship that was highly desirable for my interviewees. MIK describes this in terms of not having to fill in all the details with her friends—that in some circumstances they already knew what she was thinking or feeling:

MIK: It's just like having people who know what you're going through…like they get it—you…because it's them too. You don't have to say everything they just know.

KAITLYN: Okay so it sounds like you are saying something along the lines of friendship means shared understanding…or like unspoken understanding? Is that right?

MIK: Yeah…that's it…yeah.

Like MIK, some of my other interviewees also spoke about shared experiences as being important to the creation and maintenance of important friendship bonds. Interestingly, most of my interviewees were reluctant or unable to specify the nature of these shared experiences unless prompted. More commonly, my interviewees simply referred to: 'going through the same things', '[he/she] just gets me', or '[the friendship] just working'. When prompted to elaborate on statements of this nature, some of my interviewees described common ethnicity, similar age, and shared hardship as being key components to this intangible or effortless quality of friendship.

Based on these connections made by my interviewees, I want to tentatively suggest that there may be a connection between shared life experiences and the development of an effortless or intangible connection with certain others.

These affinities for others who share similar demographic or personal characteristics is unsurprising as this phenomenon is well documented in the sociological literature (Sutherland, 1947; Blau, 1977; McPherson et al., 2001; Duck, 1991; Galupo, 2009; Rose, 1985; Ueno, 2010). Speaking broadly, most people have been found to prefer friends who are similar to them (Richardson, 1940; Lazarsfeld and Merton, 1954; Cohen, 1977; Verbrugge, 1977; Kandel, 1978). Fischer et al. (1977) explain:

> The social origins of associations are related to the nature and extent of homophily. They explain their findings as arising from the tendency for various social settings to "constrain choices" to sets of people which are disproportionately homogeneous in particular respects. (Feld, 1982)

Despite the well supported existence of homophily (Blau, 1977) and the self-similarity principle (Sutherland, 1947) within friendships in the academic literature, these theoretical explanations do not prioritize the lived experience of friendship in the way that this thesis research does. My research seeks not only to acknowledge that these theoretical and socio-structural principles regarding the nature of friendship exist for women navigating reintegration contexts in Edmonton, but also regard lived experience as valid, meaningful, and nuanced evidence of these processes.

Aligning with both the theoretical accounts of homophily/self-similarity principle and MIK's interviews, OFELIA agrees that shared ethnicity is an important factor in the development of her friendships. She suggests that this is at least in part as a result of the increased comfort she feels around other Asian women because of their shared ethnicity; although, she struggles to articulate what about shared ethnicity facilitates this feeling of increased comfort:

> KAITLYN: So do you think you connect because you share Asian ethnicity?
>
> OFELIA: Umm…Yeah I guess.

KAITLYN: Umm…uhh…yeah…I guess I just wanted to know if her also being Asian made it like easier or maybe more comfortable for you to form a friendship with her?

OFELIA: Oh yeah…well then yeah of course.

KAITLYN: Okay great. Can you describe why this is?

OFELIA: Nope. Just is….It's just like you feel like yourself and what you said…

KAITLYN: Comfortable?

OFELIA: Yeah.

Later in this interview, OFELIA continues by describing the similarly positive impact she feels sharing a similar age has on her ability to create friendship bonds with others:

KAITLYN: So you umm said that you shared your ethnicity in common. Is there anything else that you share?

OFELIA: Yeah she's older…well like me.

KAITLYN: So that was a significantly different experience for you than trying to form a friendship with the much younger student then?

OFELIA: Yeah. Not even close.

KAITLYN: Could you maybe think of how it was different? Even just like an example or something like that?

OFELIA: Umm… Well okay so like just like being out there in the world is different than being a kid and having people to take care of you.

KAITLYN: Okay yeah that's a great example. So basically just like general shared life experience that comes with being older makes it easier to connect and form a friendship?

OFELIA: Yeah.

The evidence seems to suggest that this increased affinity for others who have shared experiences (age, ethnicity) has less to do with tangible identity markers and is more concerned with how the embodiment of these identities promotes particular dispositions toward experiences. Interestingly, although some of my interviewees discussed shared ethnicity and similar age as important factors in the creation and comfort of friendships, none of my interviewees mentioned gender. I had anticipated, based on my own lived experience and my prior fieldwork[14] that the women I interviewed would talk about their shared connections with other women. Despite being strikingly absent from the interview transcripts, the vast majority of the friendships my interviewees expressed were important or meaningful to them were with other women. While this is not sufficient evidence to draw conclusions on the role of gender in the friendships of my interviewees, it is possible that gender plays a role in the creation of this intangible quality or effortlessness within some friendships. The acknowledgment of this possibility leaves me with the questions: *are my interviewees presupposing shared gender identity as a condition of friendship*? *Is shared gender identity so fundamental to the notion of friendship that it itself is 'effortless' 'intrinsic' or 'intangible'? How does gender shape friendship expectations?* While these questions cannot be answered within the context of this research project, same-gender vs. cross-gender friendship differences are well documented in the existing sociological literature.

[14] As part of my Master's course work at the University of Alberta, I completed a pilot project (sample size: 3) on institutional gender discrimination and intersectional marginalization for women in Edmonton, called *Narratives of Control: An Exploration of Women's Resistance Against Gender Discrimination, Exploration, & Abuse*. The results of this pilot study indicated that these women relied on their social networks with other women when faced with institutional discrimination based on their gender.

This theme is particularly saturated within the literature on childhood and adolescence, as this is when same gender preferences within friendships are most pronounced (McDougall and Hymel, 2007; Leaper, 1994; Eder & Hallinan, 1978; Lever, 1976; Van Brunschot, Zarbatany, & Strang, 1993). The existing literature supports the idea that gender is important to understanding the nature of friendships and suggests that same gender affiliations may be preferential in some circumstances; however, based on the limited evidence in my own research, any claims I could make regarding this would be merely speculative.

In addition to ethnicity and age, my interviewees also discussed shared experiences of hardship as important in the creation of friendship bonds. OFELIA, in particular, speaks about this when discussing her friendship with her mentor of more than 15 years, Sarah. She explains that hardships need not be similar in nature to promote emotional intimacy or closeness within relationships. It can simply be the shared experience of 'going through hard times' that provides an intangible or intrinsic sense of closeness within the relationship:

KAITLYN: Was there anything else that the two of you had in common that made it easier for you to form a bond with Sarah?

OFELIA: Umm…yeah…I guess so.

KAITLYN: What was it?

OFELIA: Well…she struggled too.

KAITLYN: Do you mean like with the law as well?

OFELIA: No. I mean…maybe…I don't know we never talked about that.

KAITLYN: Okay so if she didn't struggle with the law, in what sense did she struggle?

OFELIA: Like with money…she struggled a lot with that.

KAITLYN: Oh okay and this helped you connect?

OFELIA: Yeah…like people like that they just get it.

KAITLYN: Get what?

OFELIA: Just like this life…this grind…they get it.

This idea of shared hardship as a bridge to connect people functions in the same way as shared ethnicity or age in that it informs a particular outlook on the world that produces compatibility within friendship bonds.

Perhaps, as I have tentatively suggested here, shared lived experience is partly responsible for the emergence of this effortlessness or intangible quality of some friendships, but *is there another explanation?* The limited evidence in both my research and the sociological literature more broadly provides a unique opportunity for theorizing across academic disciplines. There is a rich historical tradition within Philosophy of theorizing about the nature of friendship. Interestingly, the number of interviewees that mentioned intangibility when speaking about their friendships in my research, points to some poignant distinctions made by philosophers on the topic of friendships.

In "The Nichomachean Ethics", Aristotle proposes three types of friendships: utility based, pleasure based, and virtuous friendships (Kraut, 2014). The nature of the first two types of friendships are rather intuitive and straightforward based on their categorization as they primarily concern utility and pleasure. These two categories of friendship are not inherently important for understanding the role of intangible connections for my interviewees. Similar to these distinctions, Kant in both his *Doctrine of Virtue* and his "Lecture on Friendship" identifies three categories of friendship that bear some resemblance to an Aristotelian understanding of friendship (Lynch, 2005). These categories are based on need, taste, and disposition, respectively (Lynch, 2005). Like Aristotle's friendship of utility, friendships based on need exist largely within the material sphere. These friendships are not enduring beyond mutually beneficial material conditions (Lynch, 2005). I believe that the third category of friendships, virtuous

friendships or friendships of disposition, offer some theoretical clues into this notion of intangible or effortless connection within friendships.

Within his conception of virtuous or 'good' friendships, Aristotle introduces the notion that one must feel and express affection for the other person solely for the sake of that other person (Kraut, 2014). Wanting what is good for the sake of the other person is referred to as *eunoia* or 'good will', and friendship then is reciprocated and recognized goodwill (Kraut, 2014). Perhaps it is the experience of shared hardships or life experiences that facilitates this *eunoia* in certain important friendships? Because friendship is self-referent and thus is always a reflection of one's relationship to oneself (Fromkin, 1970; Bailey et al., 1975; Swann & Read, 1981; Swann & Hill, 1982; Jones, 1973; Sherwood, 1970; Kelvin, 1977; Wright, 1984), *is it conceivable then that wanting the best for oneself also emerges as goodwill for similar others based on the recognition of the self in others? Is this intangible or intrinsic quality my interviewees talk about in their important friendships simply the recognition of themselves in others?* If this is true, then shared lived experiences become foundational to the nature of connection and friendship within interpersonal relationships.

The connection between friendship and the self has been explored in the existing literature, leading to the recognition of five important behavioral tendencies that function as self-referent motives that can be satisfied within the context of interpersonal relationships. First, a person behaves in ways that assert his or her sense of individuality and uniqueness (Fromkin, 1970; 1972). Second, a person behaves in a way that asserts his or her highly valued self-attributes (Bailey et al., 1975; Swann & Read, 1981; Swann & Hill, 1982). Third, in situations that encourage introspection and self-evaluation, a person will evaluate him or herself in a positive light (Jones, 1973). Fourth, over time a person will be directionally oriented to personal growth with respect to his or her self-attributes (Sherwood, 1970). Finally, a person will display a tendency to neutralize or avoid scenarios in which his or her self worth is questioned or threatened (Kelvin, 1977). There are a number of social and behavioral pathways to fulfill these criteria; however, interpersonal relationships have been recognized as among the most important contexts in which to exercise these self-referent behavioral tendencies (Wright, 1984). In this way, shared experiences may promote and define friendship based on the intrinsic understanding of one another that is derivative of the self-referent motives of interpersonal relationships.

4.113 Facilitating Communication Within Friendships:

Individuals have been shown to prefer to have smoothly running interpersonal relationships (Goffman, 1959). This desire has many implications for the nature of communication within interpersonal relationships and friendships. In order to best understand this phenomenon it is advisable to theorize about the nature of relationships when they are at their most uncertain and volatile—the first meeting or encounter. From here, we can draw conclusions about how the relationships that develop into friendships are different from those that remain at the level of acquaintances (Berger & Calabrese, 1975).

The psychological literature states that when strangers meet, one of their primary concerns is to reduce uncertainty by organizing the facts in ways that increase their ability to predict possible outcomes of the encounter (Berger & Calabrese, 1975). This assumption is consistent with the notion that individuals desire to 'make sense' of events in their immediate environment (Heider, 1958). Uncertainty in this context refers to possible actions of both the stranger and the self. In any social encounter one attempts to predict the most likely ways in which the other may behave and formulate possible responses to these potential scenarios (Berger & Calabrese, 1975). These tendencies are heightened in scenarios of high uncertainty, such as an initial meeting or the early stages of an interpersonal relationship. The complimentary process to proactive prediction is retroactive explanation (Berger & Calabrese, 1975). Retroactive explanation is one's unconscious and internal dialogue—asking 'I wonder what s/he meant by that?' during the course of interpersonal interactions (Berger & Calabrese, 1975).

One's ability to effectively predict and explain actions within a social encounter are mediated by several factors including environment and personal background (Berger & Calabrese, 1975). Many of my interviewees have indicated that they met their important friends in environmental scenarios that relate to their rehabilitation or while accessing resources for criminalized women. This factor is important in understanding communication within these relationships, as:

> The basal level of uncertainty a person has about a stranger can be modulated by the communication situation itself. In situations where uncertainty levels are reduced by the situation itself, conversations are likely to begin by focusing on content areas related to the situation. (Berger & Calabrese, 1975, p. 102)

If we assume that Goffman's assertion regarding an individual's preference for smooth and certain interpersonal interactions is true in this context, then this means that my interviewees are likely to feel most comfortable discussing criminalization and reintegration experiences with those whom they meet in contexts where they can assume that these experiences are shared. In this sense, the mediating factors of environment and personal background intersect to produce an ideal social scenario in which to reduce uncertainty. Similarities in background characteristics have been shown to be related to more accurate predictions regarding similarity on more crucial attitudinal issues, such as social and political affiliations. Predicted similarities in personal characteristics might also determine, "(1) whether or not the interaction system will continue to exist and/or (2) whether or not the interactants will engage in a discussion of more intimate issues" (Berger & Calabrese, 1975). Based on these principles, if two individuals predict that they possess widely dissimilar beliefs on intimate and consequential issues, they will likely avoid discussions of this nature or choose to discontinue future interactions (Berger & Calabrese, 1975).

The idea that similarity fosters friendship is well supported in the sociological literature. In fact, "most social psychological theories concerned with friendship formation have employed the notion of similarity as some sort of antecedent of liking" (Berger & Calabrese, 1975, p. 106). In general, similarities along attitudinal dimensions result in interpersonal attraction, while dissimilarly results in negative affect (Bryne, 1971; Duck, 1973; Homans, 1961; Newcomb, 1953; 1961). This thesis research did not examine attitudinal measures as part of the investigation of friendship; however, based on the analysis of my interview transcripts I want to tentatively posit that similar life experiences or hardships *may* result in the production of similar or at least complementary life outlooks and dispositions. In interviews my participants suggested that similar or shared life experiences functioned as material upon which a friendship could be built by providing content to begin conversations that would lead to a deeper emotional connection with others. ANDREA describes shared or similar life experiences as essential to her desire to spend time with and get to know others:

> KAITLYN: So my next question is what kind of people do you consider to be your friends? Or in other words…I mean there are so many people in this world,

how do you choose which people you want to spend more time with and call your friends?

ANDREA: Oh that's easy. I mean it's sort of like dating *(laughing)* I mean in some ways and obviously not in others….yeah well anyway what I meant to say is like you know how you just connect with some people that you're interested in…it's like the same…like it can be different for different people.

KAITLYN: What do you mean?

ANDREA: Like for some people it might be that you are in the same parts of your life…like me and Lindsay. We went to high school together…or maybe you like the same things or have similar lives…

KAITLYN: Do you think it makes it easier to be friends with someone who you have things in common with?

ANDREA: Definitely. Yeah I don't know if I have anyone in my life that I have nothing in common with…like why would you want to spend time with them?

MIK also expresses shared or similar life experiences as playing a key role in facilitating communication and intimacy within friendships when I ask her about her connection with others who have also been incarcerated when compared to those who have not:

MIK: Yeah…I do [feel a greater connection] cause we'd have shit to talk about you know…like compare experiences and just like knowing what each other has been through.

OFELIA's experiences also lend support to this conclusion as she describes the beginning of her friendship with her mentor Sarah:

KAITLYN: So what was it about your mentor…umm…your second mentor that you've had until now I mean…so what was it about her that clicked with you?

OFELIA: A lot of things. We had stuff in common.

It is evident in my interviews that similarities—often in the form of similar life experiences—are important in the initial stages of friendship formation. However, *what role do similar life experiences play in the communicative structures of more established friendships?* In my interviews, similar life experiences seemed to promote a sense of comfort and empathy within relationships that progressed the development of friendships by facilitating personal disclosures. Friendships are unique from other interpersonal relationships because they are likely to be more emotionally intense than other connections (Mesch & Talmud, 2006):

> Intensity is usually a feature that reflects the history of the relationship and refers to its duration (Lee & Campbell, 1992). A central characteristic of friendships is the development of a history of shared experiences that define a feeling of belonging and shared identity. In addition, the development of central characteristics of friendship such as trust and reciprocity are at least partially temporal processes. Trust develops through a process of mutual disclosure of personal information, and this requires time (McKenna & Bargh, 1998). (Mesch & Talmud, 2006, p. 139)

ANDREA describes the nature of these personal disclosures in the context of her friendship with Lindsay. ANDREA and Lindsay met in the third grade when they sat together in class and have remained close to varying degrees since then. Their shared experiences of raising children around the same time allowed them a sense of comfort to talk about more intimate issues such as relationships and financial hardship:

ANDREA: We talked about a lot…I mean day to day in that part of your life…kids is just what's happening with you. Kids and your marriage and money…trying to stay above water…you know the house is falling apart, job is

crazy…so yeah we talked about a lot more than the kids…but they were a big part of everything of course.

When I asked ANDREA to elaborate on her experiences of 'personal disclosures' or talking about intimate topics with Lindsay, she focuses on the validation that she receives in these contexts:

KAITLYN: So if you were having a rough time at work like with a coworker or your boss she would be someone that you would talk to about these things?

ANDREA: Oh for sure…All the time.

KAITLYN: And what was her response when you would bring up something that was bothering you like that example I gave?

ANDREA: Well…like first off she'd just let me talk and listen…she's a great listener…then I don't know she just basically makes me feel like I'm okay to have those feelings you know?

KAITLYN: Yeah I get that…it like validates that what you are upset about is an actual issue and you are allowed to be upset or angry or however you are feeling…for sure I get that.

ANDREA: Yeah. Definitely.

Emotional validation[15] communicates acceptance within interpersonal relationships. Validation does not require agreement or approval, but rather recognition and support. The essence of emotional validation is the recognition and acceptance of another person's thoughts,

[15] Based on the absence of an academic definition of this term in the relevant literature, I am using my own understanding of this term as it emerged in this research context. The way I describe 'emotional validation' in this section is based on the analysis of my interviews and the ways in which my participants described their experiences.

feelings, and/or actions as understandable given the facts of the situation and an understanding of their unique personal biography. For example, if ANDREA came to Lindsay with a work problem and Lindsay did not agree with how ANDREA handled the issue she could still provide important emotional validation by communicating the importance of the relationship or that ANDREA's feelings about the issue are meaningful, despite a difference in opinion. Similar experiences or life dispositions may facilitate a more rewarding and validating interaction when an individual brings up an intimate topic within a friendship. In fact, similarities, may dictate whether or not an individual feels comfortable communicating their thoughts or feelings regarding intimate topics. As Berger & Calabrese (1975) explain, our innate desire to reduce uncertainty in social scenarios paired with the vulnerability that accompanies intimate discussions, means that we are likely to seek emotional validation from those whom we can best predict will share and appreciate our perspective—predominantly those individuals who share important life experiences or personal characteristics.

Even when important similarities are present within friendships, this does not guarantee that either party will feel comfortable discussing more intimate topics. When I ask ROSA about personal disclosures within her friendships she reinforces this idea that levels of intimacy are variable within and between friendships:

> KAITLYN: What topics are topics that always come up when you're talking with your friends?
>
> ROSA: We talk about kids. A lot of my friends have kids. So that's easy. I don't share a lot about that cause well you know? Um…just general stuff like what happened or what we want to do…it's not really like we have a planned thing or anything. It just comes out.
>
> KAITLYN: Okay. I understand. So for example, if you were going through a rough time emotionally, how much of this would you share with your friends?
>
> ROSA: Umm. Well it depends…

KAITLYN: What does it depend on?

ROSA: Like the friend and like the situation

KAITLYN: Do you have friends that you feel more comfortable sharing this kind of emotional stuff with than others?

ROSA: Yeah. Probably.

KAITLYN: Do you know which friends you're more comfortable with…or um…like why you feel more comfortable with some than others?

ROSA: Yeah like if I've known you for longer I guess. Like there's trust there I think.

ROSA's explanation of this variability within her important interpersonal relationships points to the fact that intimacy in friendships is a multifaceted phenomenon and thus cannot be understood in a strictly linear fashion. Similarity between individuals will not always facilitate friendship, and friendship once achieved will not always lead to intimate emotional and personal disclosures. More factors must be considered to reach a nuanced understanding of the interpersonal dynamics of friendship.

4.114 Deriving Value from Experience:

Part of what separates friendships from other interpersonal relationships for my interviewees was the idea that sharing an experience with a friend simultaneously ascribes value to both the shared experience itself and their life in a broader sense.

OFELIA, for example, when asked about the purpose of friendship replies confidently, "someone to share your life with." When I prompt her to elaborate on this statement she asks rhetorically, "Well what would be the point of any of this…any of this life…if there wasn't anyone around to be there and see it and do it with you?"

ANDREA, echoes this perspective when asked the same question, "Well I guess the whole point is company. I mean it would be so lonely without someone to talk to and share your life with." More specifically, when asked about the nature of her friendship with Nancy[16] after her release she responded:

> ANDREA: Oh yeah…[being new to the church at the same time as Nancy] took a bit of the pressure off me I feel.
>
> KAITLYN: In what way?
>
> ANDREA: It's just more intimidating to be alone in something I think.
>
> KAITLYN: Do you think you could explain that or expand in any way?
>
> ANDREA: Yeah. I guess just like her being there…like maybe it wasn't even cause she was new, but just like having her to be there with me through all of that…like umm…yeah like it made it a better experience.
>
> KAITLYN: Better in what ways?
>
> ANDREA: Oh like like…it just wasn't some random thing. Like it actually meant something to have her there and like share that I guess…
>
> KAITLYN: So it made the experience more significant somehow?
>
> ANDREA: Yeah exactly. Like I don't know if I would even be sitting here talking about it or remember it at all without her there…like I remember her and like the

[16] ANDREA met Nancy through her involvement in her church following her release from prison. Nancy was also new to the church and they became close because of their dual outsider status and parallel transition to more established and active members of the church community.

stuff we would talk about or whatever…like I don't remember other things about that.

Positive relationships with other people are established components of adult well-being in the psychological literature (Ryff, 1995). In empirical studies of adult-well being, the scoring of this dimension of 'positive relations with other people' is as follows: a high scorer, "has warm, satisfying, trusting relationships with others; is concerned about the welfare of others; is capable of strong empathy, affection, and intimacy; understands give-and-take of human relationships," as compared to a low scorer who, "has few close, trusting relationships with others; finds it difficult to be warm, open, and concerned about others; is isolated and frustrated in interpersonal relationships; is not willing to make compromises to sustain important ties with others" (Ryff, 1995, p. 101).

While ANDREA interacts with this concept of value strictly within the boundaries of her friendship with Nancy, LAYLA also finds that an important component of friendship is the value it attributes to her life through the acknowledgement of her existence. When asked about what she appreciates or values about her friendship with Stace[17] she speaks of this recognition as the crux of this relationship:

LAYLA: You know we got each other's backs and stuff. She's out there with me and I'm out there with her. We ain't alone. Like somebody's gonna know if I don't come back.

KAITLYN: Oh wow. I didn't think of it like that before. Is that really important to you? This thing about having someone to know if something happened to you?

LAYLA: Yeah. I mean it's something I think about a lot. Like it happens.

[17] Stace and LAYLA have known each other as friends and roommates for many years before LAYLA's incarceration. They met when they were both working in Edmonton's sex industry. They remained in touch sporadically throughout LAYLA's incarceration, but reconnected when she was released and needed a place to stay. LAYLA now lives with Stace and her boyfriend Jason.

KAITLYN: And why is it important to you that someone knows if something happens to you?

LAYLA: I don't know really. Like I guess cause it makes me feel like I matter or something. I dunno. It's stupid I guess. I just…I just don't wanna like disappear and that's it. I'd want someone to care I guess.

KAITLYN: And Stace is that person for you?

LAYLA: Yeah.

In this sense, one is able to recognize the value of the self through the eyes of the other. This idea connects back to friendship as a space for self-referent behavior and validation (Wright, 1984).

4.12 Physical and Emotional Availability During Times of Need

In addition to expressing that shared life experience was an important component of how my interviewees conceptualized their friendships, all of the women I interviewed talked about how important a person's physical and emotional availability during their times of need was to their classification of that person as a friend. These conversations also sparked a discussion of the reciprocal nature of these responsibilities within the friendship, in which many women expressed their desire to be physically and emotionally available for their friends as well.

MIK speaks about the role of physical and emotional availability during her times of need within the context of her friendship with Brandon[18]:

KAITLYN: Okay great. And I know you said Parker[19] didn't really provide you with emotional support, but did Brandon?

[18] MIK and Brandon were friends for two years prior to her incarceration. They connected over shared experiences of foster care. They are no longer in touch. MIK believes they lost contact because Brandon is likely incarcerated. She still considers him an important friend and believes they will reconnect in the future.

MIK: Yeah I guess sort of. Like we didn't really talk that much…he wasn't much of a talker really, but he was there for me…just like him being there I knew…I knew he cared even though he kept back a lot of his feelings I think.

KAITLYN: Okay so it sounds like you two sort of had some sort of silent understanding about your relationship where you didn't really have to tell each other a lot but you knew that you meant a lot to each other. Am I understanding you alright?

MIK: Yeah that's right…like he was there for me…like I dunno if it was like a look he had or what but I just knew. He got me. He wasn't just gonna let me suffer through nothing without being there…yeah so to answer your question. Yeah.

MIK continues to speak about this kind of emotional and physical availability when I ask her about friendship more generally:

KAITLYN: Yup that makes perfect sense…So umm…when you think of a friend as someone who is there for you…what does that mean to you? What does being there for someone mean to you?

MIK: Like you make time for that person…if things are going bad…you make time…it's not so much about the good you know? Everyone wants to be there when you're on top of the world. Your friends are there when everything is bad and you don't even like yourself anymore…they're there.

[19] Parker is Brandon's younger brother. MIK and Parker were also friends for approximately 2 years before her incarceration. Parker was killed in an accident before MIK went to prison.

When LAYLA speaks about her long term friendship with her friend Meg[20], it becomes clear that the essence of their connection was built around this same kind of mutual sharing and trust that is encompassed by the expression 'emotional and physical availability in times of need':

KAITLYN: So how long had you known Meg?

LAYLA: Maybe like 3 years or something like that…I can't really remember to be honest. It just feels like she was always there.

KAITLYN: Was this before you were incarcerated?

LAYLA: Yeah. Way before.

KAITLYN: So how did you meet Meg?

LAYLA: High school.

KAITLYN: Were you close in high school or was that something that happened more recently? Like after your release.

LAYLA: Yeah. Real close…In high school…Yeah.

KAITLYN: What did you guys do together when you were close?

LAYLA: Just hung out you know?

KAITLYN: Did you mostly do activities together or was it more like talking?

LAYLA: Talking yeah.

[20] LAYLA's incarceration put a heavy strain on her relationship with Meg. They are no longer in contact.

KAITLYN: What kind of things did you talk about?

LAYLA: Everything.

KAITLYN: So you shared a lot? Like your feelings and stuff?

LAYLA: Yeah all that.

KAITLYN: So if you were upset about something you would tell her?

LAYLA: Yeah of course.

KAITLYN: And how would she usually react when you would share hard things that you were going through? Like would she give you advice or more just listen?

LAYLA: Just listen. She was real good at that.

KAITLYN: Was that the quality you most appreciated in your friendship? You know like her ability to be a good listener?

LAYLA: Probably yeah.

KIM says that the value of this kind of emotional availability in times of need is the creation of a particular closeness or intimacy that fights feelings of isolation or loneliness that often accompany hard times:

KIM: Cause….um….well…cause…I think because you are like in it together. Like everybody has problems and maybe you don't feel so alone if you talk about them with other people. Like if you just keep it all inside you then maybe you feel like no one else goes through this…but as soon as you tell someone they're like me too and then you don't feel like you are all by yourself.

While most of the women I interviewed spoke about the value of having someone to be there for them emotionally and/or physically in times of need, OFELIA's understanding of friendship extended this notion of friendship more abstractly to this idea of reliability as an important component of friendship:

KAITLYN: So what would you say the most important quality in a friend is?

OFELIA: Being there no matter what. That's what friends are.

KAITLYN: So like reliability of the relationship?

OFELIA: Yeah…for sure…just like knowing I guess…like you don't have to be all like hmm are they gonna come over if I call them or whatever it's just like yes because they are my friend.

When I asked TAMIE to speak about the role friendship plays in her life, she was very open about this kind of emotional/physical availability she feels is required of friendship:

KAITLYN: So would you say that most of friendship centers around this whole idea of being there for someone during tough times?

TAMIE: Yeah. I think I already said this before but yeah I mean like it takes nothing to be there when someone's got everything you know? Like who wouldn't want to be around for that? It's like anything. It doesn't really count if everything is going right you know…you gotta wait until everything is going wrong then you know?

KAITLYN: So you mostly consider people friends who have been there through these hard times or is there another way of being considered a friends of yours?

TAMIE: Well I don't know. I don't know if I've thought about this a lot…yes I guess you're right.

KAITLYN: It might be easier to think about if…if you think about your existing friendships…are those people that have been there with you through tough times or is there something else that makes them your friend?

TAMIE: Let me think for a bit.

KAITLYN: Yeah of course. Take your time. As much as you need you can just let me know when you're ready or just start talking. Whatever works for you.

TAMIE: Okay … No you're right. At least now anyway…I don't know if I really had friends before you know…I said that already sorry—

KAITLYN: No that's totally okay. No need to apologize.

TAMIE: Okay so yeah my friends today…they've been there through a lot like when I first got out and was getting clean and turning my life around and everything. Yeah.

More so than my other interviewees, TAMIE identified the positive rewards that one benefits from, as a result of this kind of support within friendships while also remaining quite pragmatic about the variable nature of interpersonal relationships:

TAMIE: Alright so now I'm depressed and it doesn't matter what they're going through. Like it could be a lot worse…I guess from like another person's or maybe from their perspective but it doesn't matter cause I'm so caught up in my own hell.

KAITLYN: Okay yeah I think I understand. So a lot of what friendship means to you is sort of centered around what happens when stuff is going really bad in your life or the life of the person you are friends with?

TAMIE: Yeah. I mean when you live that everyday there's no other way to really look at it. I mean if someone isn't gonna be there for you…if you're not gonna be there for somebody in the rough times then there are no other times. You could wait forever to have good times in this life you know?

KAITLYN: Yeah that makes a lot of sense as to why that would be so important to your definition of friendship.

TAMIE: You've gotta be realistic about it. I mean you can sit here and lie to yourself about all these friends you've got when times are good, but what's the point in that. That doesn't make me feel any better…I mean maybe some people like that but I'm not like that. I don't want any of that fake bullshit.

KAITLYN: That makes a lot sense actually. I like it. You know you can't get realer than being real with yourself.

Overall, the women I interviewed spoke extensively about the importance of "physical" and "emotional" presence in friendships, both in general and during times of need in particular. Despite their expressed emphasis of physical and emotional availability as key components to the very nature of friendships, the woman I interviewed had realistic understandings about the extent to which they could rely on friends. For example, they spoke about competing needs of the individual and others, in addition to recognizing that their friends may not be physically or emotionally available to the extent they might wish, due to personal life circumstances among other reasons.

4.13 The Role of Reciprocity in Defining Friendship

A review of the historical operationalization of friendship in the literature reveals the nearly universal agreement that the heightened requirement of reciprocity plays a considerable role in distinguishing friendships from other interpersonal relationships (Bukowski et al., 2001). In this context, reciprocity refers to the predisposition of individuals to act similarly—either in sequence or simultaneously—within close personal relationships (Hinde, 1979).

Fundamental to the nature of friendships, reciprocity is evident in both the affective and behavioral domains (Bukowski et al., 2001). For example, in response to receiving emotional support from a friend, an individual reciprocates by providing emotional support in a similar fashion. In either domain, reciprocity is typically demonstrated as actions or emotions directed toward a friend in response to a similar action or emotion (Ross, Cheyne, & Lollis, 1988). In this way, reciprocity incorporates responsivity, cooperation, and coordination on behalf of both parties (Bukowski et al., 2001).

TAMIE, ROSA, OFELIA, ANDREA, and MIK discuss the role of both emotional and behavioral reciprocity in how they conceptualize their important friendships during our interview sessions. TAMIE, ROSA, and ANDREA in particular attribute heightened importance to emotional reciprocity within important interpersonal relationships. For TAMIE, it was most natural for her to describe these self-imposed emotional requirements by referring to a time in which she felt she was unable to fulfill them, and thus in her eyes unable to be a friend to anyone:

KAITLYN: So in general what would you say the purpose of friendship is?

TAMIE: Well to be someone's friend you've got to be there you know?

KAITLYN: Like there for them? Do you mean physically or more like emotionally?

TAMIE: No like all there. Yourself. Like not fucked up on something or even just like too messed up emotionally.

KAITLYN: What do you mean by too messed up emotionally?

TAMIE: Like…okay so me…I have depression sometimes. And you know when I'm suffering then I can't be a friend.

KAITLYN: Why is that? I know quite a few people with depression and I don't think they would say that they are not able to be people's friends. I'm interested…I'm just trying to understand what led you to this perspective.

TAMIE: Well I don't know about anyone else you know? Like depression it's a beast but it's your beast. I know what it's like for me. I don't have a clue what it's like for you or whatever you know?

KAITLYN: Okay yeah fair enough. Okay so tell me about why you don't think you are able to be a friend when you are depressed?

TAMIE: Because if you're gonna be someone's friend then you gotta be able to put them first.

KAITLYN: All the time or sometimes?

TAMIE: Just sometimes. Like if they need you or something. Like sometimes maybe you're having a bad day or something but then your friend is having a worse day then you gotta put them ahead of you. But like it's good too cause then when you're going through something real bad then they do it back for you so it like all works out in the end.

KAITLYN: So it's sort of about sacrifice?

TAMIE: Yeah it's like anything. It can't be about you all the time. If it is then it's not friendship. I don't know what it is but it's not that…that's for sure.

This passage from my second interview with TAMIE illustrates the symmetry of responsiveness or reciprocity within friendships, as both individuals contribute to the partnership with neither individual's emotional needs dominating over time (Bukowski et al., 2001). While emotional reciprocity is prominently discussed in the academic literature, the specific strategies of negotiating such reciprocity are not yet well theorized (Bukowski et al., 2001; Ross, Cheyne, & Lollis, 1988; Hinde, 1979).

Speaking of reciprocity in this way, as a 'negotiation', 'give and take', or as TAMIE says 'sacrifice' perhaps suggests that emotional reciprocity is only deemed valuable as a result of the emotional support one can expect in between occasional requirements of providing support to others. ROSA's perspective on emotional reciprocity shows that for some, both the experiences of giving and receiving emotional support are beneficial and highly desirable. ROSA discusses these feelings within the context of her post incarceration friendship with Theresa. Theresa has also spent time in prison, but was released many years before ROSA. The two of them met at a rehabilitative programming center, about 4 months before our interview date, while accessing resources. They initiated their friendship over a shared cigarette and later learned of their similar life experiences. Now, in addition to emotional intimacy and reciprocity, Theresa provides ROSA with regular rides to the food bank. In our first interview session, I asked ROSA to explain her feelings about reciprocity in her friendship with Theresa:

> KAITLYN: So would you say that you are there for Theresa emotionally? Like does she confide in you or talk to you about her problems?
>
> ROSA: Oh yeah, like a ton. In her car sometimes I feel like I don't even say anything. Like I just get in the door and she starts complaining about her kids and her husband and everything. Yeah she talks about her problems a whole lot.
>
> KAITLYN: How does it make you feel when she confides in you like this?
>
> ROSA: It's um nice, you know? Like that someone needs me sort of. It makes me feel important on those days…like I have a reason to wake up or something. I used to feel like that way back when I was working. Like having a purpose. Not

just waking up to the same nothing all the time. Like why even get up when it's all bad?

ROSA's understanding of the value of both giving and taking in the emotional reciprocity of friendships is supported by the psychological literature on friendship (Sullivan, 1953). Research states that the experience of emotional exchange or reciprocity within interpersonal relationships promotes a sense of well-being and the development of positive self concept (Sullivan, 1953). For ROSA, this validation is derivative of her recognition of the positive esteem or regard Theresa holds her in. Through the eyes and treatment of Theresa, ROSA is able to attribute positive definitions to her self-concept such as 'important', 'needed', or 'purposeful'.

In our first interview, when I asked ANDREA about friendship more generally she initially cited receiving emotional support as central to her understanding of friendship's value as an interpersonal relationship:

ANDREA: And it makes it easier to like get through all of hard parts of life…you know having someone to listen to you and support you. Yeah so I guess there are a lot of reasons.

As our conversation progressed, it became clear that like ROSA, ANDREA's understanding of friendship included some level of reciprocity and that her self concept benefitted from the reciprocal nature of the emotional support within the context of important friendships:

KAITLYN: So in your friendships are you normally the one wanting support or are there ever times where you find yourself being the person who is doing the supporting?

ANDREA: Oh yeah. Um both.

KAITLYN: Okay um so…do you think that you are good at reassuring people and making them feel better?

ANDREA: Oh yes. Absolutely. It's always come pretty easy for me…I'm what do you call it again? Empathetic…sympathetic? One of them *(laughing)*

KAITLYN: How does it make you feel? You know like being about to provide support in this way?

ANDREA: Yeah I mean good obviously. Like who doesn't want to feel like they can make someone they care about feel better you know. It's nice. Being good at something for a change.

Like ROSA, ANDREA's explanation of how providing friends with emotional support makes her feel good about herself is qualitative evidence of the "self-validation" category on the MFQ-FF, which encompasses the belief or perception that one's friends contribute positively to one's self understanding (Demir & Weitekamp, 2007). Through reciprocal emotional engagement with and support of friends, one achieves a sense of success at doing friendship that has a positive impact on the way in which one views themselves (Demir & Weitekamp, 2007).

The stories of TAMIE, ROSA, and ANDREA provide evidence of emotional reciprocity within friendships; however, reciprocity within interpersonal relationships also has a behavioral component. The interview accounts of OFELIA and MIK provide some insight into the behavioral aspect of reciprocity in friendships. Both OFELIA and MIK talk about reciprocity within the context of friends actively "checking up" on one another. OFELIA opens up about the ways in which she "checks in" on her longtime mentor, Sarah, now that she has been released from prison. To contextualize this passage, OFELIA had been talking about the ways in which her mentorship-turned-friendship relationship with Sarah has changed in the 15 years since they were first matched as mentor and mentee. Although it is not standard practice for these types of mentorship relationships, Sarah and OFELIA have continued to remain in contact both in person and over the phone since OFELIA was released from prison:

KAITLYN: Do you call Sarah a lot?

OFELIA: No. Not a lot. We see each other every week now that I'm out so I only really call if I'm going through something real rough.

KAITLYN: Okay I understand.

OFELIA: Sometimes she calls me too.

KAITLYN: Really? To check up on you?

OFELIA: Well sometimes yeah. But like if she's going through something too.

KAITLYN: Oh so she relies on you for support too?

OFELIA: Yeah. Not so much in the beginning but now yeah for sure…She's going through a rough time.

KAITLYN: Oh I didn't know that.

OFELIA: Yeah she lost her house. It's been rough for her too.

KAITLYN: Oh yeah I bet. Have you found that the fact that you're both going through a rough time or a hard transition that it has made you closer?

OFELIA: In some ways yeah. I like being there for her after everything she's done for me over the years. It feels good to give back.

Like the other aspects of friendship, this concept of emotional/physical availability is reciprocal in nature. MIK explains her reciprocal responsibilities within the context of her friendship with Parker:

KAITLYN: Okay. Was your friendship with Parker similar to your friendship with Brandon or did the age difference make a difference?

MIK: It was different with him.

KAITLYN: Could you explain how so?

MIK: Yep…so he was more like a little brother to me you know? Like I didn't have real brothers and sisters…just like other foster kids and they always had their own thing going on.

KAITLYN: How did feeling like he was a little brother of yours change your relationship with him? Did you treat him differently than your other friends?

MIK: Well we didn't talk about the same things. Like if I got into trouble or anything I wouldn't ask him for help. I was the one looking out for him cause he was younger. I had to keep him safe and whatever…at any cost…*(looks down)*

My research raises questions about the allocation of finite emotional resources, because as TAMIE explains there is an element of 'give and take' within these negotiations: *What happens when both parties require emotional support? Can support be given simultaneously or must it be sequentially distributed? How are emotional conflicts prioritized? How is consensus reached when parties do not agree? Are these negotiations verbal or implicit?* While raising some important questions, my data does not yet generate answers that are beyond merely speculative. Answering the questions that this research has generated would require a much more focused interview guide regarding reciprocity and its nuances.

4.14 Venting

Initially I coded "venting" as merely an activity of friendship; however, in further analysis of interview transcripts "venting" seemed to be more appropriately understood as part of the definition of friendship as a construct. The act of venting emerged as something indicative of

a particular kind of emotional closeness and intimacy that distinguished friendships from more peripheral interpersonal relationships. Interviewees expressed that their friends were the people they felt comfortable venting to about others, events, or life circumstances, and that this act of venting was essential to the majority of their established friendships. Like, emotional and/or physical availability during times of need, the act of venting emerges as a space of reciprocity within friendships, where both parties engage in venting and listening as part of the relationship.

Inherent to venting is the act of talking, which is considered central to women's friendships in the literature (Green, 1998; Coates, 1996; Hey; 1997). According to Coates (1996), "the shared intimacy of women's talk and the sense of connection which it engenders, construct a 'collaborative tool' for exploring the world" (Green, 1998, p. 178). Hey (1997), "uses friendship as a social base for the elaboration of forms of social subjectivity, and an understanding of girls as 'cultural agents'. Her detailed empirical example of 'girls' talk', demonstrates how girls work through personal and intimate discourses to make sense of their gendered social world" (Green, 1998, p. 178). The interstitial space of friendship acts as the mediation space in which women construct, negotiate, resist, and revisit their various personal and social subjectivities (Hey, 1997, as cited in Green, 1998). Thus, it becomes evident that the role of talk in women's friendships is not simply an action, but, "a powerful medium in the process of friendship, the construction of personal identities, and the maintenance of gender divisions" (Green, 1998, p. 180).

When we talk of venting in particular, we are typically referring to a cathartic process that occurs within a social space. Throughout history, catharsis has been credited with a strong healing effect across medicine, psychology, religion, and as part of varied cultural healing rituals (Powell, n.d.). Today, Catharsis Theory states that venting one's emotions (often anger specifically) will result in a positive change in one's psychological and/or emotional disposition (Bushman, 2002). Similarly, the hydraulic model of emotions asserts that emotional distress, if not expressed, is stored and results in psychological tension (Powell, n.d.). The solution to this tension is the purging of negative affect through 'venting' (Powell, n.d.). Emotional expression of this nature has been characterized in the literature as a human necessity and an evolutionary process (Scheff, 2001).

TAMIE discusses how the act of venting distinguishes friendships from other interpersonal relationships, by contextualizing her present day friendships through reference to her absent friendships in the past:

> KAITLYN: What about emotional support? Is that something that you think is important for friends to give one another?
>
> TAMIE: Absolutely. That's what was missing before for me when I was using. I mean I had people that I talked to sometimes but they weren't there for me. Like I'm not gonna sit there and cry about my life to them or anything. I have that now though. Support.
>
> KAITLYN: That must be really nice to finally have.
>
> TAMIE: Oh yeah, you know as women…it's just something we need…someone to talk to. They don't have to do anything. Just listen and we feel better. Right?
>
> KAITLYN: Oh yeah for sure. I totally know what you mean. If you are going through something it feels good just to vent to someone.
>
> TAMIE: Yeah.

The nature of the act of venting dictates that it is an interpersonal process. In fact, emotional experiences in general, typically elicit interpersonal exchange and communication (Nils & Rimé, 2012). When individuals experience an emotion, "they systematically manifest an urge to talk about this episode and their related feelings and to share this experience with people around them (Rimé, 2009, as cited in Nils & Rimé, 2012, p. 672). In an existing study, the social sharing of emotion had been observed in 80-95% of emotional episodes (Rimé, Mesquita, Philippot, & Boca, 1991). This finding was held across cultures (Singh-Manoux & Finkenauer, 2001; Yogo & Onoe, 1998) and variations of emotions (Rimé, Finkenauer, Luminet, Zech, & Philippot, 1998).

My conversation with ANDREA on venting revealed that some of the importance placed on this act within a friendship is as a result of the emotional validation it provides and the development of positive self regard it promotes (Sullivan, 1953):

> KAITLYN: So if you were having a rough time at work like with a coworker or your boss she would be someone that you would talk to about these things?
>
> ANDREA: Oh for sure…All the time.
>
> KAITLYN: And what was her response when you would bring up something that was bothering you like that example I gave?
>
> ANDREA: Well…like first off she'd just let me talk and listen…she's a great listener…then I don't know she just basically agrees with me and it makes me feel like I'm okay to have those feeling you know?
>
> KAITLYN: Yeah I get that…it like validates that what you are upset about is an actual issue and you are allowed to be upset or angry or however you are feeling…for sure I get that.
>
> ANDREA: Yeah. Definitely.

COURTNEY assigns value to venting within friendships based on the emotional relief it provides her within her friendships with fellow former inmates[21]:

[21] COURTNEY describes two important friendships while she was in prison with fellow inmates Nikki and Bea. These friendships were primarily based around trying to obtain drugs in the institution, but also incorporated an 'us vs. them' mentality against the prison guards. While this research project is principally concerned with post-prison friendships, this passage was included for it's richness and insight regarding the definition of friendship more generally for COURTNEY.

KAITLYN: So what kinds of things would you and your friends talk about in relation to your hatred or relationship with some of the guards?

COURTNEY: It's real crude…you sure you wanna hear that?

KAITLYN: Oh believe me…I've heard a lot. I'm not gonna be bothered by something you say that's crude or whatever.

COURTNEY: Alright so I don't know we'd just shoot shit off like this guard is such a prick cause she's not getting any…you know like you know….like we'd say shit like go sit on a cock…

KAITLYN: Oh I see.

COURTNEY: Yeah just shit like that…you know it doesn't sound like much now that I say it out loud but like when you're in that situation…like when you can't really do anything at all…sometimes you've only got words you know…like just razzing on someone like that…it just lets off steam you know?

KAITLYN: Oh yeah, I totally know what you mean.

COURTNEY: Yeah it's just like you say shit and maybe you mean it and maybe you don't…whatever it doesn't even matter like that at all—

KAITLYN: It's just the act of saying something that you need.

COURTNEY: Yeah exactly.

COURTNEY's feelings about venting in this context are supported by the findings in the existing psychological literature that indicates that the negative affect associated with emotional traumas requires release (Bushman, 2002). This finding is especially pertinent to the emotional

experience of anger or frustration, such as the feelings COURTNEY recalls in relation to the prison guards (Bushman, 2002).

Along these same lines, TAMIE describes the nature of venting within her relationship with Debbie and her other co-workers at the rehabilitative organization she now works for:

> KAITLYN: Okay I understand. So what kinds of things did you and the other ladies talk about when you would take breaks together?
>
> TAMIE: Again. It was different all the time. Like sometimes we'd be talking about someone's husband or their kids or like their mom or their dog. I dunno.
>
> KAITLYN: So a lot of it was to do with key people in your lives though?
>
> TAMIE: Yeah of course. But also a lot of bitching about work too. You know the usual.

KIM also gives me details about the kinds of things she vents about with her friends[22]:

> KAITLYN: So what do you normally talk about with the girls? You know when you aren't fighting over turf or something like that?
>
> KIM: Honestly?
>
> KAITLYN: Yeah if you're comfortable yeah I'd love to hear your honest answer.
>
> KIM: Okay yeah so we mostly talk about clients.
>
> KAITLYN: Like what about clients?

[22] KIM did not feel comfortable talking about the specific details of these friendships, but stated that these were women with whom she shared experiences in Edmonton's sex industry.

KIM: Like if one of them does something weird or like says something to us, we'll talk about it.

KAITLYN: Can you give me an example of something you would share?

KIM: Yeah sure.

KAITLYN: Okay great.

KIM: Um so maybe I would say something if a guy asked me to do something real fucked up.

KAITLYN: What would count as that?

KIM: Like nothing dangerous or whatever but like if he has a weird fetish or something or like talks too much or like if he cried or something like that. Like not stuff you see everyday.

KAITLYN: But this is all stuff that you've experienced?

KIM: Yeah like me and the other girls too just from talking and stuff.

KAITLYN: So is there anything else you talk about besides clients?

KIM: Um well we like bitch about other stuff too I guess.

KAITLYN: Like what kind of stuff?

KIM: Everything probably.

KAITLYN: Um do you think you could give me an example? Everything is pretty broad and I don't want to make assumptions about your life.

KIM: Okay yeah sure. Um just like girl stuff I guess like…I don't know like I feel so fat today or I wish I could afford new clothes or like cramps and stuff. You know just like anything that maybe you're not really feeling all that good about.

One function of friendships for my participants is that they promote feelings of relief and psychological support because of having someone to vent to, and having someone to vent with. However, besides feeling supported by being able to vent to someone else (and receiving some validation of their grievances), mutual venting also fosters a particular kind of cohesiveness among the women and their friends.

4.15 Words of Encouragement

Words of encouragement or support within friendships emerged as not only an important component of the way my interviewees interacted with the term friendship, but also had significant impact on their personal identity, sense of self, and outlook for their future within reintegration contexts. In the psychological literature, there are many theories of the processes by which an individual comes to regard particular attributes as characteristic of the self, such as modeling and social learning (Bandura, 1977), symbolic interactionism (Webster & Kobieszek, 1974), and self-perception (Bem, 1972). Although these approaches prioritize different criteria, they are not inherently contradictory to a nuanced understanding of self concept (Gecas et al., 1974). The formation of self is an iterative multi-faceted process that occurs across the lifespan, and thus is best understood through several theoretical lenses simultaneously (Gecas et al., 1974). In this spirit, the observation of behavioral models, in addition to the more direct encouragement from important others, together cue an individual to act in particular ways which inevitably shape the kind of person they are (Wright, 1984). An individual's attempts to behave in these types of ways may or may not be reinforced by important others, which either promotes or discourages continued behavior of this nature in the future (Wright, 1984). This continual process of cues and feedback is central to an individual's conception of self, or what he or she is like in actuality (Wright, 1984).

As elaborated on earlier in this chapter, the connection between friendship and the self has been explored in the existing literature, leading to the recognition of five important behavioral tendencies that function as self-referent motives that can be satisfied within the context of interpersonal relationships: (1) behaviour that reaffirms a sense of uniqueness or individuality; (2) behaviour that reaffirms important or highly valued self attributes; (3) behaviour that encourages positive self evaluation; (4) behaviour that encourages growth or positive elaboration to the self; and (5) behaviour that avoids events that threaten the well-being or worth of the self (Wright, 1984). Specifically, an individual's self-referent tendency to evaluate his or herself in a positive light can be facilitated by a friend who has *ego support value* and/or *self affirmation value* (Wright, 1984). Ego support value is best understood as being possessed by a friend whom an individual regards as supportive and encouraging of a self image of competence, meaning, and value (Wright, 1984). Self affirmation value is similar to this concept, but requires a behavioral disposition on the part of the friend that allows an individual to express their highly valued self attributes (Wright, 1984).

KIM talks about the role of encouragement and supportive dispositions in the creation of her friendship with several women also involved in church programming while incarcerated:

> KAITLYN: Okay why don't you tell me about the other inmates who you made friends with in the church programming?
>
> KIM: Okay but what?
>
> KAITLYN: Did you see each other outside of the programming at all?
>
> KIM: Yeah some of them. Cause like people are coming from everywhere so maybe you live with someone or see someone at meals.
>
> KAITLYN: Would you say that you were close with the other women in the group?
>
> KIM: Like in church or like all the time?

KAITLYN: Um I was thinking just like in general, but is there a big difference between how you act in church and how you act everyday?

KIM: Oh yeah. Huge.

KAITLYN: Could you tell me a little bit about that difference? It surprises me that it's so different.

KIM: Yeah sure so like church and stuff…it's got rules. Like you have to be nice and shit or you can't come back.

KAITLYN: Nice in what sense?

KIM: Huh?

KAITLYN: Like did you…er were you forced to say nice things or what? Explain it to me please if you could.

KIM: Oh like you know the same as if you're at AA or something. Like you have to respect what people say and create a safe space and all that even if you don't agree or like someone.

KAITLYN: Oh I see.

KIM: Yeah.

KAITLYN: So that doesn't continue to outside the church environment?

KIM: No not really.

KAITLYN: So when you are in church what do your friendships look like?

KIM: Well we have to be positive right? So like if someone is talking about cleaning their life up or something and you don't believe them….well you have to try hard to be supportive of them.

KAITLYN: Oh I see. I bet that environment is a lot different than the rest of the prison then?

KIM: Yeah like not even close.

KAITLYN: So other than talking about wanting to be better for the future and stuff like that…what else did you talk about?

KIM: Oh like a lot of emotional stuff…like about your past and stuff…

KAITLYN: Oh so pretty heavy stuff mostly?

KIM: Yeah you have no idea…a lot of these women have had it real rough…sounds crazy but sometimes listening to them would make me grateful for my lot in life.

In addition to the emotional benefits that this kind of support and encouragement provides, there is also a material component, as OFELIA explains:

KAITLYN: Okay so how do you think that your re-entry process would've been different if you didn't have your relationship with your mentor Sarah?

OFELIA: I can't even imagine.

KAITLYN: Yeah I bet that would be hard to think about.

OFELIA: No I mean I don't even think I ever would've got paroled without her.

KAITLYN: What do you mean?

OFELIA: Well she was pretty key in my court…I don't know what you call it…umm hearing.

KAITLYN: Did she act as a witness or something?

OFELIA: Yeah sort of yeah I think it was a parole hearing…they haven't done one like mine before for a woman who…well anyway yeah so it was new.

KAITLYN: And so Sarah helped you get paroled how?

OFELIA: Well she testified on my behalf.

KAITLYN: What did she testify about? If you are comfortable sharing of course. I don't want you to share anything you aren't supposed to.

OFELIA: I won't. I'm not about to mess that up for me.

KAITLYN: Okay great. So just tell me whatever you're comfortable sharing.

OFELIA: So she just vouched for me. Like she's been there through almost all of it. She's seen me change. I'm not that person anymore. I committed to this mentoring program.

KAITLYN: That's great that she was able to do that for you.

ROSA talks about needing encouragement from her friends as both crucial to her friendships and important to fostering a positive outlook on her community reintegration:

KAITLYN: What is the most important thing you need from your friends during this hard time?

ROSA: Support. Like believing in me. That I can do it. That I'm not the same person as before. That I won't go back. I wanna see my kids again you know?

KAITLYN: How can your friends show you this support and belief that you need?

ROSA: I don't know *(shaking head)* …I just don't know.

KAITLYN: Would you say you need for example quality time spent with friends or verbal support and encouragement or maybe some sort of financial support?

ROSA: Like saying I can do it and stuff. Yeah…what you said…um verbal support?

MIK describes the positive feelings and improvements in self esteem she attributes to the encouragement she experiences within her friendship with Kendall[23]:

KAITLYN: Can you tell me a little about your friendship in the beginning. What made you want to be friends with her?

MIK: She just saw a different part of me I guess.

KAITLYN: What do you mean by that?

MIK: I don't know…umm…like she didn't see me as some piece of shit con…she thought I was sweet…I felt sweet around her…I know I'm sounding stupid.

[23] MIK and Kendall met in prison. MIK has attempted to maintain contact with Kendall since being released but this desire has not been reciprocated by Kendall.

KAITLYN: No. No. Don't worry. So basically she saw you for more than just someone who was in prison who got in trouble?

MIK: Yeah…I just…I liked the way she saw me you know? Like she helped me see myself as something more too. She believed in me…it was different for me.

KAITLYN: Yeah I can imagine that would have been a really different experience for you.

MIK: Yeah.

KIM echoes these feelings:

KAITLYN: So now you're ready to see yourself in a different way, like you could be living a different kind of life in the future.

KIM: I'm working on it. Everyday I have to tell myself about it. And Tom he really helps too. Like telling me that I can do it and I'm a good person yeah stuff like that.

Overall, the women I interviewed attributed multi-dimensional importance to words of support or encouragement within their friendships. The way these women spoke about this important aspect of their friendships spanned individual notions of personal identity, their 'sense of self', and overall outlook for their future as individuals reintegrating back into their respective communities.

4.2 Moving Beyond Definitions—On Making and Keeping Friends

While this chapter began with an attempt to discover and define the term friendship, it concludes with a reorientation of the essential question. Derrida explains that all quests for the origins and end of meaning—definitions that is—necessarily fall short (1993, as cited in Lynch, 2005). He states that meaning is always 'under erasure' or in other words it is endlessly deferred

and fluid; so that 'all the categories and axioms which constitute the concept of friendship in its history have let themselves be threatened with ruin' (Derrida, 1993, as cited in Lynch, 2005, p. 4). In this vein, one must no longer ask: 'what is the definition of friendship?' Rather the goal should be to ascertain: 'who is the friend?' (Derrida, 1993, as cited in Lynch, 2005). In this respect and after careful analysis of my interview transcripts, I agree with Derrida's assessment of this endeavor to define friendship.

Existing theoretical analyses of the nature of friendship struggle to make a clear connection between the relational aspects of friendship and the moral rights and obligations that friendship demands (Lynch, 2005). This chapter's examination of interview transcripts within the historical discourse on friendship has:

> Been intended to indicate the difficulty of distilling essential criteria definitive of friendship from considerations of relations between those regarded as friends. In fact, considerations of etymology and the philosophical literature only indicate the complexity of the concept. Cicero's reference to friendship as 'a kaleidoscope' captures the fluidity and complexity of the cluster of characteristics that emerge in analyses of friendship (Lynch, 2005, p. 20).

Moving forward, the next chapter of this research will move away from defining friendships within reintegration contexts and examine how these peer-to-peer social networks/relationships emerge, develop, and are maintained through particular strategies. The analysis of the lived experience of friendships and the interactions that are encompassed by these relationships is essential to my research goals as:

> Our experience of the actual friend will inform, transform, and enrich what we receive from the philosophical heritage. It is via our enquiry into the nature of the friend, our understanding and expectations of the other and of ourselves as friends that we will come to any understanding of our relations with friends. (Lynch, 2005, p. 4)

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS & DISCUSSION PART II

This chapter seeks to deepen my understanding of the role of peer-to-peer relationships in the lived experience of community re-integration following incarceration for women in Edmonton, Alberta by addressing my second research objective: identify how peer-to-peer social networks/relationships emerge, develop, and are maintained through particular strategies. This understanding will be framed by an analysis of: i) the activities of friendship, ii) the expectations of friendship, iii) the influence of friendship on re-integration attitudes and, iv) future life outlook.

5.1 Activities of Friendship:

The discussions of friendship in my interviews primarily centered around three broad categories of 'friendship activities': 1) talking, 2) hobbies and/or leisure activities, and 3) criminal activity. These categories were developed through coding in NVivo 10 based on the answers to questions such as: *What kinds of things do you do with your friends?* or *How do you and _____ spend your time together?* In the previous chapter, the operationalization of the term friendship required me to include notions of friendship that extended backwards prior to the reintegration process, as my interviewees' interaction with the term required an understanding of how their past informed their current outlook and understanding of important peer relationships. In this chapter, I will be narrowing the scope of my research endeavor to strictly address friendships that are current or ongoing in my interviewees' re-integration experiences.

5.11 Talking

Interpersonal communication, exemplified by talking, has been emphasized in the literature on how women experience community and social bonds. The literature states, "the development of social support networks, both formal and informal, relies heavily on the ability to communicate" (Anders & Tucker, 2000, as cited in Kimbrough et al., 2013). Particularly for women, verbal communication is explicitly used, "as a tool to enhance social connections and create relationships" (Leaper, 1991; Maltz & Borker, 1982; Wood, 1996; Mason, 1994, as cited in Merchant, 2012). While incarcerated, many offenders experience damage to their existing social networks as a result of failure to maintain communication. Consequently, many offenders

lose or suffer considerable degradation to significant personal relationships, making the transition from carceral to community settings difficult (Borzycki & Makkai, 2007). A rich understanding of the role talking plays in women's characterization of their social bonds is particularly important for female offenders navigating the process of community re-entry given their relative social isolation while incarcerated and the importance of social bonds in community re-integration (Hirschi, 1969). Verbal communication is a strategy in which many women express these kinds of pro-social attachments to society, which discourages them from breaking the law and norms of said society (Hirschi, 1969). The concept of talking or verbal communication in a general sense was explored extensively in Chapter 4, thus I will not devote much space here to repeating that information. This section primarily serves to recognize that talking is not only seen as an essential component of the definition of friendship, but also as an important activity of friendships.

ROSA explains that talking is a common friendship activity in her lived experience of friendships during the process of community re-integration, but that the nature of her conversations with friends is highly variable:

> KAITLYN: I know we talked about some of these things, but in general what kinds of things do you like to do with your friends when you spend time with them?
>
> ROSA: A lot of it is talking. That's how women bond, you know? …We talk a lot…I go on walks with my friends. Like around downtown. The river valley sometimes. Just to get away.
>
> KAITLYN: What topics are topics that always come up when you're talking with your friends?
>
> ROSA: We talk about kids. A lot of my friends have kids. So that's easy. I don't share a lot about that cause well you know? Um…just general stuff like what happened or what we want to do…It's not really like we have a planned thing or anything. It just comes out.

KAITLYN: Okay. I understand. So for example, if you were going through a rough time emotionally, how much of this would you share with your friends?

ROSA: Umm. Well it depends…

KAITLYN: What does it depend on?

ROSA: Like the friend and like the situation.

KAITLYN: Okay. What about trouble with a romantic partner? Like a serious argument or abuse of some kind?

ROSA: Umm…I'd probably tell Shauna cause we share a room and everything and she wouldn't tell anyone.

During this conversation with ROSA, I became particularly interested in whether or not she disclosed and/or discussed her prison experience with friends and what role that did or did not play in her reintegration experience:

KAITLYN: Do you share your prison experience with the friends you've made on the outside?

ROSA: Yeah it comes up…I mean there's not a lot else to talk about you know? Like I was in there for a long enough time. Like everything I have to say somehow goes back to there.

For ROSA, it appears that her prison experience is not distinguishable from her past life experience in general. ROSA, like all of the women in my sample, spent well over a year incarcerated, meaning that a significant portion of her recent experiences and memories occurred while she was incarcerated. Under these circumstances, it seems inevitable that these women share parts of their prison experience with friends in order to communicate and facilitate these

relationships. The act of sharing these experiences may in fact be part of the re-socialization process these women must undergo in the community after experiencing total institutionalization for a sustained period of time in the prison setting (Goffman, 1961).

Most individuals conduct their lives in a variety of living, working, and leisure spaces, allowing a variety of social interactions and authority structures to be experienced (Goffman, 1961). A total institution, by comparison, interrupts this basic ebb and flow of social arrangements, as it encompasses the entirety of one's existence within a singular physical space under uniform authority (Goffman, 1961). Thus, the central feature of a total institution is the blurring of the lines between the different spheres of life—those that would normally be conducted in separate physical and social spaces (Goffman, 1961). Secondarily, under the circumstances of a total institution, all individuals are required to behave in a regimented manner and are treated alike as if there were no differences between one and another (Goffman, 1961).

When an individual arrives at a total institution, such as a prison, they bring with them their sense of individuality and attachments to the outside world (Goffman, 1961). The first task of the total institution is to strip or 'mortify' the individual of these personal and social attachments, often through repeated humiliation or degradation and the removal of personal artifacts (Goffman, 1961). Contact with the outside world is strictly controlled or restricted completely. After this process has occurred individuals, or in this case inmates, begin to learn and internalize a new set of rules and operating procedures that will dictate their life in the prison (Goffman, 1961; Foucault, 1977). This is called re-socialization as it alters an individuals beliefs, values, and self-concept in a way that ultimately serves the goals of the institution (Goffman, 1961). For some of my interviewees, the consequences of this re-socialization were far reaching and contributed to their perceptions of heightened difficulty re-integrating into the community when they were released from prison.

My interviews with OFELIA were particularly salient to my understanding of total institutionalization and re-socialization as she spent more than 15 years incarcerated and thus experienced the most sustained period of total institutionalization in my sample. Although she did not open up about these feelings while the tape recorder was turned on, in an informal discussion following our interview with Sarah [24] and myself, OFELIA spoke candidly about this

[24] OFELIA's mentor (whom she connected with while incarcerated through a mentorship program facilitated by the prison), who was present during our first interview together.

experience[25]. She admitted that when she was initially released she relied heavily on Sarah's mentorship to navigate the now unfamiliar social setting of the community. OFELIA recalls talking to Sarah about her fears, anxieties, and frustrations with her sense that she no longer knew 'how the rules worked' on the outside. I asked OFELIA what kinds of things she did or wanted to do with Sarah during this time to ease her transition and she responded that their interactions primarily centered on her talking, venting, and sharing her feelings about the experience. She explained that sharing in this way not only made her feel a little more secure during this process, but also deepened the feelings of affection and intimacy within her friendship with Sarah. As I mentioned in Chapter 4 when discussing reciprocity in friendships, after some time passed Sarah also began to share and seek support for things that were troubling her in her life as well.

The dynamics of OFELIA and Sarah's friendship are mirrored in many ways in relationships my other interviewees spoke about during their interviews. TAMIE for example, has primarily made friendships with coworkers at her place of employment. In these circumstances, the principal activity of these friendships is talking—either while working or during meal and rest breaks:

> KAITLYN: Okay I understand. So what kinds of things did you and the other ladies talk about when you would take breaks together?
>
> TAMIE: Again. It was different all the time. Like sometimes we'd be talking about someone's husband or their kids or like their mom or their dog. I dunno.
>
> KAITLYN: So a lot of it was to do with key people in your lives though?
>
> TAMIE: Yeah of course. But also a lot of bitching about work too. You know the usual.

[25] OFELIA gave her explicit and informed consent to have this conversation paraphrased and included in this research report.

Like OFELIA, said about her friendship with Sarah, TAMIE acknowledges that talking and sharing in this way is not merely an activity of friendship, but also a vital component of the development, maintenance, and value of these interpersonal relationships:

> TAMIE: Oh yeah, you know as women…it's just something we need…someone to talk to. They don't have to do anything. Just listen and we feel better. Right?

Unlike most of my other interviewees, TAMIE makes the explicit connection between talking within the context of friendships and her gender identification as a woman. This connection is well supported in the literature on both friendship and talking as it relates to gender (Leaper, 1991; Maltz & Borker, 1982; Wood, 1996; Mason, 1994, as cited in Merchant, 2012).

KIM explains that her friendship with her "landlord" Tom developed through many conversations they shared. Talking over drinks is primarily how they cultivate and maintain this friendship today:

> KAITLYN: Oh I see. So what do you do with [Tom] besides staying at his place?
>
> KIM: Well he takes me out to this pub on 118th.
>
> KAITLYN: For drinks?
>
> KIM: Yeah mostly. Sometimes he buys me a beer after work or something like that.
>
> KAITLYN: Okay I see. What kinds of things do you usually talk about?
>
> KIM: Oh everything. I tell him about my night.
>
> KAITLYN: Like details of your dates and things like that?

KIM: Well no not really like that I guess…well I mean if something funny happens or like a joke I have then I tell him.

KAITLYN: What about if something bad or stressful happens? Would you tell him then?

KIM: Well I don't know. Some things yeah probably other things I don't I don't know…It's not like I sit here all day thinking about what I'm gonna tell him and what I'm not. It's not like that at all.

KAITLYN: Okay I understand. How is it then?

KIM: It's not even like a thing. I just tell him things I feel like telling and don't when I don't. It's not like this huge big deal.

As was discussed in Chapter 4, KIM credits talking and sharing of this nature within friendships as being essential to feelings of companionship and support she associates with designations of friendship.

While ANDREA asserts that she met her friend John in a leisure context, it is primarily the act of talking that she credits the development and maintenance of their friendship to:

KAITLYN: Okay great and how did you meet John?

ANDREA: He's in that walking group that I was telling you about.

KAITLYN: Okay so he's an older gentleman?

ANDREA: Yes. Quite a bit older actually.

KAITLYN: And other than being in the walking group together, how did the two of you form a friendship?

ANDREA: Well you know how walking is…you feel safe while you're walking…you can say anything almost…he really opened up to me you know?

KAITLYN: Opened up to you about what?

ANDREA: He had recently lost his wife.

Like ANDREA, COURTNEY also met her friends Cindy and Sam in a leisure context, but it is again the act of talking that she highlights as the principal friendship activity responsible for the development and maintenance of this relationship:

KAITLYN: Okay great can you tell me a little bit about how your relationships changed, or like what you meant when you said that you got closer to them.

COURTNEY: Yeah so I guess we started spending more time together and talking a lot.

KAITLYN: What did you mostly do when you would spend time with each other?

COURTNEY: Well there was this one bar that we would hang out in…it had pool and stuff…it wasn't a nice place or anything like that but you know it worked.

KAITLYN: Okay and did you mostly just talk and play pool?

COURTNEY: Yeah.

KAITLYN: Okay I see. So what sorts of things would you talk about when you spent time with Cindy and Sam?

> COURTNEY: Oh mostly just about what happened[26] and how it was awful it was that we couldn't do anything about it…like he was still on the streets still doing that to god knows how many other women…it's just disgusting.

Like many of my interviewees have expressed, the literature states that the expressive domain of friendships, such as talking and/or sharing, becomes much more important than the instrumental domain of friendships during later life (Adams, 1987, Blieszner & Adams, 1992; Roberto, 1997). One study in particular found that older women gave less material or instrumental assistance to their friends, but reported enjoying participating in activities that allowed for conversation (Roberto, 1996). These findings are salient to this research context as half of the women[27] I interviewed are in their late 40's to 50's.

5.12 Hobbies and/or Leisure Activities

In past quantitative work on the demographic nature of adult friendships there has been shown to be a consistent relationship between 'similarity of interests'—particularly similarity of leisure activities—and self-reports of friendship (Johnson, 2001). Interestingly, some qualitative work on friendship and leisure activities, particularly quilting, suggests that the leisure activity primarily functions as a space to facilitate social connections (Piercy and Cheek, 2004). One quotation from the interviews completed for this research on friendship and quilting, exemplifies the social potential of leisure activities: "Another teacher of quilting classes affirmed the friendship-making potential of such classes when she observed that 'People take classes for different reasons. Sometimes you take them to get away from the house and kids, to meet a friend. . . . They don't take the class to make a quilt' " (Piercy and Cheek, 2004, p. 30).

Some of my interviewees, expressed that walking (either with an established friend or within an organized walking group) was an important shared leisure activity in their friendships. ANDREA in particular found walking together to be central to the development of new friendships once she was released from prison:

[26] COURTNEY, Cindy, and Sam initially bonded over sharing the experience of sexual violence in the context of their work on the Edmonton streets.
[27] ROSA, ANDREA, OFELIA, and KIM.

KAITLYN: So you basically had to start over with your friend group when you were released?

ANDREA: Yeah.

KAITLYN: How did you go about doing that?

ANDREA: Like how did I make friends?

KAITLYN: Yeah.

ANDREA: The same way anyone else does *(laughing)*

KAITLYN: Sorry yeah of course. I didn't mean to offend you or anything…but just for the purposes of the interview could you humor me? Just because part of my project is about how people who are released from prison make new connections and friendships once they are released.

ANDREA: Okay yeah. So I joined some groups for older women like me.

KAITLYN: What kind of groups?

ANDREA: Well there is this walking group for the elderly…I'm a bit young still for it but I like going.

In addition to facilitating the development of new friendships, ANDREA also found that walking helped her to maintain and develop existing social ties:

KAITLYN: So what did you do with Lindsay when you were first released and what about now?

ANDREA: When I was first released we did a lot of walking.

KAITLYN: Walking?

ANDREA: Yeah like in the river valley. I was released in the summer and it's so beautiful there then…it was something I really missed in prison. Nature…the space.

KAITLYN: Okay. I can totally understand that. I love going for walks too.

ANDREA: It's almost spiritual sometimes you know?

KAITLYN: In what sense?

ANDREA: Like just being there amongst nature. It feels right. I feel more myself…freer I guess.

KAITLYN: Freer how?

ANDREA: Free from judgment. I don't have to hide myself. Nothing there to care if I was in prison or not.

As ANDREA mentions here, nature also emerged consistently in discussions of friendship and leisure activities for some of my other interviewees. MIK in particular talks about how an outdoor space facilitated both leisure activities and intimacy within her friendship with Randall:

KAITLYN: Okay. And what kind of things did you do with Randall?

MIK: Randall and me…we…our thing was…well so there's this place sort of in the river valley but like east I guess it would be…it's like by a golf course I think…

KAITLYN: Okay I can imagine around where you might be talking about.

MIK: Yeah so there's this spot and it's like open and grassed…we would spend a lot of time there in the summer when it was nice…you can see the city…but everything looks so nice and quiet.

KAITLYN: I can imagine that would be very peaceful.

MIK: Yeah…yeah…it was.

KAITLYN: What did you do together when you were there?

MIK: Well Randall…he was an artist

KAITLYN: Oh wow…that's awesome.

MIK: Like not a professional or anything like that but yeah he was good.

KAITLYN: What type of art did he do?

MIK: A lot of different things…umm…beading…he was really good at beading…he would sing…yeah so that's what I was saying….umm…so yeah he would go with me to this place…we'd go there and he'd sing and sometimes I would too but I wasn't good.

KAITLYN: What kinds of songs did you sing? Did you write your own songs or sing other songs?

MIK: No we didn't write…that's…I don't know…that's just different.

KAITLYN: Okay so you sang other people's songs? Which songs did you choose?

MIK: Well…so he had this memory…it was so good…I don't know what you call it but like he could hear a song and just know it…so he'd hear songs around…you know like on the radio or in the mall or…really well anywhere…and so yeah he'd just sing them.

As MIK mentions here, artistic pursuits such as beading or crafting often facilitate friendships within a leisure setting. The literature on quilting and friendship also supports this finding (Piercy and Cheek, 2004). LAYLA asserts that many of her important post-prison friendships were formed through connections she made at various kinds of programming offered to her by non-profit organizations in Edmonton. She specifically mentions the act of making Dream catchers with others as a valuable bonding activity with other women.

In addition to activities such as walking, spending time in nature, and artistic or crafting activities, some of my interviewees expressed getting together for a meal or drinks as an important activity to maintain their friendships. TAMIE, in our second interview, says, "yeah it's nice you know having someone over for dinner sometimes or having someone to go on break [at work] with. Just like spend time with I guess." Similarly, COURTNEY mentions that she primarily meets her two friends Cindy and Sam at a bar for a meal and/or drinks. While this idea of food as central to friendship is very familiar in my own lived experience, I struggled to find academic literature that examined the relationship between food as an activity and the development and maintenance of friendships. An article in New York Magazine titled 'When Did Young People Start Spending 25% of Their Paychecks on Pickled Lamb's Tongues' examines the rise and transformation of 'foodie culture' in modern Western society (Idov, 2012). This article offers some insight to this gap in the academic literature, while still leaving some questions unanswered for this specific research context. Traditionally, the act of enjoying food as a hobby or social event (as opposed to strictly for nutritional purposes) has been limited to older, white, and affluent social groups (Idov, 2012). In the last decade, food as a cultural endeavor has expanded to other social groups—particularly youth (Idov, 2012). It is unclear the impact that this cultural transformation has had on marginalized groups such as low income or criminalized

populations. While my research does tentatively point to the significance of sharing food for the maintenance of friendships among some marginalized individuals, such as TAMIE and COURTNEY from my interview sample, it does not examine how these individuals conceptualize food as a facilitator for social affiliation. Instead, my research merely identifies the existence of a relationship between sharing food and friendship. There is some existing research on the nature of this relationship between food and friendship that identifies relational affiliations as key to food-consumption decision-making (Cruwys et al., 2012; McFerran, Dahl, Fitzsimons, and Morales 2009). With respect to food preferences, research states that friendship affiliations promote similarity in these decision-making activities (Cruwys et al., 2012; McFerran, Dahl, Fitzsimons, and Morales 2009). Interestingly, Woolley & Fishbach's research (2014) documents that similarities in food preferences and choices may also promote and facilitate the existence of friendships; in essence that individuals infer social bonds based on their similar food consumption. This concept is not necessarily intuitive as similarity in food preferences and consumption styles is not inherently indicative of friendship qualities. Upon further examination, however, Woolley & Fishbach (2014) found that people often treat it as such. By identifying this particular tendency, we can begin to understand how, "food serves as a social lubricant; by consuming similarly, people can immediately begin to feel camaraderie and develop a bond, leading to smoother transactions from the start" (Woolley & Fishbach, 2014, p. 748).

5.13 Criminal Activity

The role of peer influence in criminal activity is well supported by the sociological and criminological literature, particularly with youth. Alongside other factors such as family and neighbourhood characteristics, social networks and peer groups exert a dominant influence over both the introduction to and sustained involvement in criminal activity, including drug use (Ford, 2009; Jang & Johnson, 2011; Bousman et al., 2005; Crockett, Raffaelli, & Shen, 2006; Morenoff and Harding, 2014; Bucerius; 2014). Individuals are often depicted in the literature as existing within a peer pressure framework where they are initiated into a culture of crime and deviance by 'deviant peers' and pressured to conform to the anti-social norms of their peer group by committing crimes (Drapela, 2006; Martino et al., 2011; Svensson, 2003). Contrary to this, relationships with 'pro-social' peers are shown to act as a protective factor against participation

in crime and deviance (Martino et al., 2011; Rice, Milburn, & Rotheram-Borus, 2007; Tyler, 2008).

While many of my interviewees expressed that returning to old criminal social networks was a concern for their re-integration outcomes upon release, most of the women did not speak of deviance or criminal activity as an important component in the development or maintenance of friendships when they were released. MIK and COURTNEY, however, expressed that bonding over crime and/or deviance was one of the principal ways that they knew how to form connections with others. MIK begins by discussing criminal activity in the context of her pre-prison friendship with Parker, but extends these notions to post-release friendships and friendships more generally:

> KAITLYN: So before you were in prison, when you were hanging out with Parker what kinds of things did you do together?
>
> MIK: Umm…lots of stuff…I taught him how to smoke weed and you know just little stuff like break bike locks or whatever…kids' stuff…sometimes I'd sneak into the movie theater downtown with him cause his family…they would never take him…could afford to.
>
> KAITLYN: Okay I understand. So your relationship mainly consisted of doing activities together or you teaching him how to do things that you thought were important?
>
> MIK: Yeah. Yeah…that's it.
>
> KAITLYN: Were most of the things you did together breaking the law or like doing things you knew you weren't supposed to?
>
> MIK: Yeah…yeah I guess they were *(laughing)*.

KAITLYN: Did this make you feel closer or like encourage your friendship in any way?

MIK: Oh yeah for sure. Like you feel like it's you against everybody else. Like you're in it together and like stickin' it to everybody. I don't know it sounds dumb now that I say it, but yeah…

KAITLYN: No, no it's okay. I get it…So is sharing the experience of crime still something that is important and desirable to you now that you've been released?

MIK: Well yeah. That's what I've been saying. Like I don't wanna get close to no one cause like yeah I know I don't think I can really have friends like without that bond you know? But I don't want to cause I'm tryna stay out and everything.

KAITLYN: So you think that it would be harder or almost impossible you said to make friendships without them involving crime or breaking the law?

MIK: Yeah. Pretty much.

KAITLYN: How come?

MIK: Cause those are the people I like and they get me I get them. It just is what it is.

Like many of my other interviewees, COURTNEY's friendships before her release from prison primarily centered around criminal activity. Her understanding of how friendships form and develop is still rooted in these anti-social behaviors, but much like MIK she experiences heightened awareness of this and in many ways now avoids forming social connections out of fear that she will relapse and recidivate:

KAITLYN: Okay so now tell me a little bit more about your friendships in the prison.

COURTNEY: Yeah I mean cause everyone in there is gonna be there for a while so it's not so much chaos [versus her experience in jail]…I mean aside from all the prison things…it's kind of a normal life…like in terms of like friends and stuff…well I don't know…what the hell do I even know about a normal life…I take that back…it was okay you know…I probably had as many friends in there as I did on the streets…not that that is saying at lot…fuck I don't know

KAITLYN: Okay so you said there was a group of you that sort of bonded together over all of you trying to find a way to get drugs out of stuff available to you in the prison?

COURTNEY: Oh yeah for sure. Always.

KAITLYN: Was or is connecting with people in this way something you're used to?

COURTNEY: Yeah. Yeah. Like I always end up with people like that. Like me I guess. Like addicts or law breakers or whatever. It's like we just know. Like you look at someone and you just know. Like they're gonna be a good time. We're gonna get along.

KAITLYN: Do you feel this is the only way you know how to connect with people?

COURTNEY: No…well maybe…I don't know. I mean maybe that's why I ain't got no one really anymore now. Cause I'm not trying to be in that life. Like I just don't have anyone anymore. Like I could go back to my friends if I wanted.

> They'd take me back but I don't know...I'm just trying to be on the right path now.

The friendships of both COURTNEY and MIK appear to me mediated by both criminal activity and drug use. Some research supports the connection between shared drug use and feelings of increased intimacy that both these women expressed in their interviews. In an Australian study of young women who use drugs together, Martin (2010) found that shared drug use was experienced as a bonding activity that promoted feelings of 'closeness' or 'comfort' in interpersonal relationships. Martin (2010), asserts that for the women whose life histories were characterized by alienation and social exclusion, the experience of heightened intimacy from doing and sharing drugs with other women provided a sense of belonging and normalcy that they had been unable to obtain through conventional avenues. "Corporeal or emotional connection with another person," is so idealized as the center of the human condition that the feelings of strengthened intimacy as a result of shared drug use or criminal activity may offer socially marginalized individuals a glimpse of 'normalcy' in their daily lives (Martin, 2010, p. 521).

In response to their desire to avoid relapse and recidivism, both MIK and COURTNEY expressed that they electively choose to avoid close relationships for fear that friendships with others will encourage the lifestyle they are trying to move away from. Interestingly and along these same lines, many social theorists have argued that friendship is declining in significance (or taking on new forms) in modern society (Giddens, 1991; Bauman, 1995, 2004). In contrast, to pre-industrial societies, modern friendships are conceptualized as much more elective as compared to strictly necessary (Joas, 2004). Pre-industrial social relationships were formed to promote social solidarity and survival, whereas modern relationships are primarily pursued to confirm our conceptions of identity and individuality, thus are chosen and terminated at will (Pahl, 2002, Bauman, 1995; Joas, 2004).

5.2 Expectations of Friendship:

The discussions of moral, emotional, and material expectations of friendship in my interviews primarily centered around discussions of trust, either earned or unearned, and self worth which manifested in feelings of being undeserving of true or good friendships. While the general consensus in my interview sample was quite negative and demonstrative of lack of trust

and feelings of self worth, two interviewees—OFELIA and ANDREA—did report that they had developed feelings of trust, and the associated benefits and obligations of said feelings, within a friendship. This section will approach the 3 emergent themes of friendship expectations sequentially: 1) being mistrustful of others; 2) successfully earning trust; and 3) feeling undeserving of friendship.

5.21 Being Mistrustful of Others

Trust is a highly valorized and coveted quality of all social relationships (Holmes, 1991; Lewicki & Bunker, 1995; Zak, Gold, Ryckman, & Lenney, 1998). This factor is highly correlated with both relational satisfaction and stability of relationships over time (Campbell, Simpson, Boldry, & Rubin, 2010). Research has shown that few social relationships can achieve any sort of longevity without the establishment and nurturance of trust (Fletcher, Simpson, & Thomas, 2000; Campbell, Simpson, Boldry, & Rubin, 2010). Boon & Holmes (1991) assert:

> The weaving together of two lives is a complex process, fraught with the potential for conflicts of interest and bounded on all sides by people's vulnerabilities and fears. The capacity to trust is an essential ingredient in fulfilling the promise of such relationships. (p. 201)

Trust is not only shown to develop over sustained periods of time, but also incorporate and manifest in trust-strengthening behaviors (Lewicki & Bunker, 1995). Behaviors of this nature allow social relationships to progress in meaningful ways, from situational levels of trust to shared core values and identities (Lewicki & Bunker, 1995). Trust has been said to progress across 3 distinct stages of development: calculus-based trust, knowledge-based trust, and identification-based trust (Lewicki & Bunker, 1995). Calculus based trust is rooted in a social exchange perspective where trust is the result of ongoing cost-benefit analyses of maintaining versus severing the relationship (Lewicki & Bunker, 1995). At this stage of the relationship, trust is driven by situational factors and is highly volatile (Lewicki & Bunker, 1995). As the relationship develops and deepens, trust becomes more stable and predictable as it begins to be based on the interpersonal familiarity that results from sustained interaction (Lewicki & Bunker, 1995). Knowledge based trust utilizes patterned information gathered about another person that

enables one to accurately predict behavior and responses (Lewicki & Bunker, 1995). For example, if a friend consistently makes time to speak on the phone with me when I need emotional support, I am likely to trust that they will be there for me in that capacity in the future based on their history of being there for me in the past. As long as behavior remains predictable over time, trust can develop and reach the last stage—identification based trust (Lewicki & Bunker, 1995). At this stage, the desires and intentions of another are fully internalized which promotes the mutual feelings of a strong emotional bond, similar values, and comfort performing self-disclosures (Lewicki & Bunker, 1995).

Despite the explicit importance of trust in the emergence and maintenance of social relationships, four of my interviewees—ROSA, LAYLA, TAMIE, and OFELIA— discussed their lack of trust in others to varying degrees. These discussions primarily centered around being mistrustful of others' ability to consistently fulfill the obligations and expectations of friendships, as discussed in Chapter 4, such as physical and emotional availability during times of need and providing supportive words or words of encouragement.

ROSA traces her current feelings of mistrust in others, and the subsequently negative outlook on her post-prison friendships, back to her abusive relationship with her ex-husband Erik and the feelings of abandonment she felt when she was let down by her pre-prison friend Lena[28]:

> KAITLYN: How did it feel that Lena wasn't there for you when you needed her?
>
> ROSA: I don't know. It was like whatever. I don't really get close to people anymore. They just leave or let you down. I mean it sucked but like I guess I was expecting it. I don't know maybe not with her but yeah.
>
> KAITLYN: Why do you think you don't get close to people anymore? Were you always this way?

[28] ROSA and Lena were coworkers at her quick service food industry job before she was arrested. They were close and shared feelings and experiences regarding their romantic relationships—particularly Erik's abusiveness—and their children. When ROSA left Erik she stayed with Lena for a few weeks before feeling like she was no longer welcome to continue to reside there. After her arrest and imprisonment Lena disappeared from ROSA's life, which was extremely hurtful to ROSA who felt that they were much closer friends than that.

ROSA: No probably not always…I guess Erik really messed me up.

When I ask ROSA if this disposition towards friendship is limited to her outlook on her past relationships with Erik and Lena or if these feelings impact her approach to friendships more generally. She admits that she feels like people will always be inconsistent or absent during her times of need. In response to not wanting to experience this kind of emotional vulnerability again, she says, "like I've only got myself. It's nice to have people to talk to and stuff but like they just come and go. It's always just me." Following this, I ask her to elaborate on how this influences her outlook and expectations of friendships in her community reintegration:

KAITLYN: Do you think you will ever be able to develop more stable and consistent friendships?

ROSA: I don't know. It's like I don't trust people. I have no reason to. They just hurt me or leave me to rot in prison….

KAITLYN: Okay—

ROSA: Like who needs those people. I've got me.

Like ROSA's negative experience with Lena, LAYLA reports a similarly negative experience with her friend Meg that has led to her current mistrustful disposition. LAYLA and Meg were friends from high school for 3 years before LAYLA's incarceration. LAYLA recalls that when she began to experience personal and family traumas that she feels in some ways precipitated her criminal deviance, Meg began to pull away from the friendship. LAYLA says of this process, "she listened but I dunno I think it freaked her out…you know everything that I was saying about my life". Also similar to ROSA, LAYLA expresses desire to avoid this kind of emotional vulnerability and hurt in her present and future based on this negative experience:

LAYLA: Yeah. I didn't make that mistake again though.

KAITLYN: What do you mean mistake?

LAYLA: You know like talking to someone about everything.

I ask her to elaborate on these feelings, sensing that these trust issues extend to her current outlook and expectations of friendship during her community reintegration:

KAITLYN: So would you say that you just don't really trust people as much anymore after what happened with Meg?

LAYLA: Yeah I guess you could call it that.

KAITLYN: What would you call it? I want this to be in your words and your perceptions of things not mine okay?

LAYLA: Alright so I dunno maybe it's trust like you said but I kind of think about it different than that.

KAITLYN: How do you think about it?

LAYLA: Like maybe I just am in this by myself. Like I don't need nobody.

KAITLYN: Oh I see so you learned not to rely on people anymore? Is that right?

LAYLA: Yeah like ain't nobody gonna be there for me like I'm a be there for me.

KAITLYN: And that way you can't be hurt if someone isn't there for you when you needed them?

LAYLA: Yeah. If you don't need nobody there ain't nothing to be upset about.

It appears that although LAYLA is at least to some degree reluctant to admit that she has trouble trusting others, she is more comfortable portraying this disposition as independence or self-sufficiency. Despite this, when these assertions are examined within the more holistic context of our two interview sessions, it becomes more clear that given the expectations LAYLA has of the term 'friendship' that these feelings of self-sufficiency or independence by not needing others may be rooted in her fear that said others will not be there for her consistently or in her times of need.

TAMIE has successfully cultivated 3 meaningful friendships with coworkers in the 8 years since her release; however, she still expresses reluctance to become emotionally vulnerable to others by extending those friendships beyond the sphere of the workplace. TAMIE traces this reluctance to be vulnerable in this way, or generalized mistrust of others, to the time she spend in the gang where she was disposable:

KAITLYN: That's true. So you said that your relationships within the gang were different than what a lot of people normally think?

TAMIE: Yeah.

KAITLYN: Can you tell me a bit about what those relationships were like?

TAMIE: In the gang?

KAITLYN: Yeah. Especially what your friendships were like. Did you um have friendships in the gang?

TAMIE: Well I guess. I don't know. I wouldn't really call it that.

KAITLYN: What do you mean?

TAMIE: I wouldn't trust none of them.

KAITLYN: Really?

TAMIE: Not as a woman no. Nope you're just one bad deal, one anything away from beat up, dead. Whatever they feel like. You don't matter. You are an object to the gang. When you stop being useful to them then you just stop being around if you know what I mean.

Given the extreme circumstances of TAMIE's relationship with trust and others it is understandable that after more than 10 years of living under these conditions she still compartmentalizes her life and relationships in some ways as a mechanism of protection.

Even though OFELIA does assert that she has been able to develop trusting relationships with others since her release from prison she begins each encounter with a new individual by assuming she cannot trust this person:

KAITLYN: So let's talk about what it was like in the beginning stages of talking to your mentor. Um did you immediately sense that she was a person that you could trust or did she have to earn it?

OFELIA: No. You don't trust no one right away.

KAITLYN: Even volunteers? It seems like they would be a pretty trustworthy group of people, no?

OFELIA: Yeah…you gotta worry about everyone.

Thus, OFELIA, while still expressing a similarly mistrustful disposition to social relationships like ROSA, LAYLA, and TAMIE, she does allow for the possibility that individuals may defy her initial expectations and eventually earn her trust, as she did with her longtime mentor Sarah.

5.22 Successfully Earning Trust

OFELIA's understanding of trust as an expectation and requirement of friendship is particularly interesting as a result of the way her mistrustful disposition is amenable to change if given favorable circumstances. Her friendship with her longtime mentor Sarah is the best example of this. OFELIA recalls the moment in which this change occurred within this friendship:

KAITLYN: So um…was there a moment or a time where something happened between you and your mentor that really earned your trust?

OFELIA: Ummm…yeah actually.

KAITLYN: Would you feel comfortable sharing that time or moment with me?

OFELIA: Um…yeah…Alright so for some reason I missed a couple of meetings…like with her. I don't remember why. I could've been in trouble or maybe I just didn't feel like coming out. Yeah I don't remember which one.

KAITLYN: That's okay so you missed some meetings and then what?

OFELIA: When I finally showed up she was real pissed.

KAITLYN: Pissed at you?

OFELIA: Yeah she told me that if I was gonna miss another meeting then she was gone. She drives a long way so she said she just wasn't gonna do it anymore if I wasn't going to show up.

KAITLYN: How did it make you feel when she said that?

OFELIA: Umm. At first I think I was angry…like nobody wants to be threatened.

KAITLYN: What did you say or do in response to that ultimatum?

OFELIA: Well I don't think I responded real well. I don't remember what I said or anything but Sarah…she…I remember her saying something like to think on it and let her know if I was in or out next time she came…yeah something like that.

KAITLYN: So I obviously know that you chose to commit to this mentorship. But um…was that an easy decision or did you really have to think about it?

OFELIA: Well so like I said I was pissed. So I sort of was like that for awhile. But then I don't know I guess I realized it was kind of nice.

KAITLYN: Her threatening not to come anymore was nice? I'm sorry I'm a bit confused.

OFELIA: Like to have someone care enough to get mad if you don't show up.

KAITLYN: Oh I see now. So like it was a way that she could show you that she was invested and committed to seeing you?

OFELIA: Yeah.

KAITLYN: Did realizing that help you open up to her and start to trust her more?

OFELIA: Yeah.

For OFELIA it required a particular event in order for her to break her pattern of mistrust in others, in this case it was Sarah's display of 'tough love' that communicated to OFELIA that she was safe to trust. Although this idea of having to earn one's trust is within commonsense understandings of social relationships including my own, it is likely that individuals who have

had their trust betrayed in significant ways, such as OFELIA, are likely to require a grand gesture or sustained period to feel safe trusting a friend. ANDREA did not express a singular event or friendship that betrayed her trust such as ROSA or TAMIE; however, she does describe feeling uncomfortable with vulnerability in social relationships—even when the vulnerability is on the part of the other person:

> KAITLYN: Okay. So how did it feel when John[29] trusted you with his feelings like that?
>
> ANDREA: In the beginning really weird…like I was uncomfortable. I wasn't used to it. Like the vulnerability.
>
> KAITLYN: And did you get past those feelings of weirdness?
>
> ANDREA: Yeah.
>
> KAITLYN: So how do you feel now?
>
> ANDREA: It's good. Really good. To have him look at me as someone who has something to offer…no maybe offer is the wrong word…give…something to give…you know for so long I just felt like everybody just saw me as someone who takes. It made me feel good inside.

Like OFELIA, ANDREA was also able to move beyond this initial resistance to vulnerability (or the vulnerability of others) within the context of her friendship with John.

[29] ANDREA and John met in a walking group when she was released from prison. This friendship allowed ANDREA the opportunity to develop an understanding of reciprocity within relationships when John disclosed the trauma of losing his wife to her.

5.23 Feeling Undeserving of Friendship

Two of my interviewees—KIM and COURTNEY—expressed feelings of low self worth as exemplified in their feelings that they were undeserving of friendship. In the interviewees I conducted with both KIM and COUTNEY, relationships with others appeared to be the catalyst for these feelings of low self worth. Based on the data I have collected it is unclear whether these negative self attitudes are limited to social interactions or if they are more stable and vast than that. Given the narrow context of this research project, I will limit my discussion of self worth to within the sphere of interpersonal relationships.

'Self worth' or 'self-esteem' typically refers to one's attitude and perceptions of oneself (Hermann, Lucas, & Friedrich, 2008). Complementary to this is *perceived* self-esteem, which refers to one's perception of how they are viewed by others—how positively or how negatively (Hermann, Lucas, & Friedrich, 2008). Like other marginalized groups such as those individuals with disabilities, the prevalence of perceived stigma associated with criminalized status means that perceived self esteem is a critical outcome for my research sample (Green, 2007). This assertion is supported by the literature that states perceived self-esteem is positively correlated with both self-esteem and overall life satisfaction in adults across cultures (Hermann et al., 2008).

A number of social theorists have suggested that social interactions and their subsequent affective experiences are internalized into relational schemata that assist individuals in orienting themselves within environmental, social, and personal demands (Hartup & Laursen, 1999; Hinde, 1997). The existing literature states that the 'global self worth' of individuals (particularly adolescents and young adults) is correlated with perceived friendship competence and social acceptance (Aken & Asendorpf, 1997; Connolly & Konarski, 1994). In other words, individuals are likely to feel better about themselves if they believe they are competent in social scenarios and 'fit in' in the eyes of others. In studies of adolescents, those individuals whose social networks were primarily comprised of supportive relationships with peers reported higher global self worth than their counterparts with primarily unsupportive peer groups (Rosenfeld et al., 2000; Scholte et al., 2001; van Aken & Asendorpf, 1997). While for adolescents, positive relationships with parental figures remain a key predictor of global self worth, relationships with peers take on heightened significance for adults (Barrera et al., 1993; Windle, 1992; Connolly & Konarski, 1994).

In the interviews I conducted for this research, KIM states that she believes her status as a woman who is or has previously been homeless, addicted to drugs, and involved in the sex industry means that she is not worthy of the benefits associated with friendship, even though she no longer primarily identifies with these statuses of her post-prison behavior:

> KIM: Alright well I just think anyone like me if they say they've got friends they're lying. Their ain't nothing like that for me in this life. For no one like me.
>
> KAITLYN: What do you mean someone like you?
>
> KIM: Like an addict. A sex worker. Mostly homeless. All of that.
>
> KAITLYN: How come? Can you explain that a bit more for me?
>
> KIM: What do you want to know? It's just it. That's just the way it is.
>
> KAITLYN: Okay so what about you being all of those things makes it so you can't really have friends?
>
> KIM: Well we're all just you know trying not to get killed some days…some days we just wanna get high you know. Like you talk to whoever is there with you that day. You don't really think too much about anyone you can't see in front of your face.
>
> KAITLYN: Okay I understand that. Are you referring to your present situation or more your past? Like being an addict and all that stuff?
>
> KIM: Oh the past for sure the past…well yeah mostly. No I don't really do that anymore.

KIM appears to have a difficult time disassociating with her past identity as an addict, homeless individual, and sex worker even though since her release from prison she has made

some meaningful changes in her behavior. Throughout both of our interviews KIM oscillated between speaking of herself as though she was a completely different person than before her arrest and incarceration, for example, when she talks of obtaining her Bachelor's degree in the future, and being unable to see the progress she has made since leaving prison. During the interviews I was at times quite unclear whether KIM was still involved in the sex industry or if she had completely left that life behind her.

To understand KIM's perspective I believe it is beneficial to examine the nature of involvement in sex work and the difficult process of leaving this work behind. One of the most crucial elements of this understanding is ascertaining why women get involved in sex work in the first place. There is considerable sociological literature that supports that marginalized individuals or those individuals who come from disadvantaged socioeconomic backgrounds have limited potential career prospects in the formal economy (Delacoste and Alexander, 1998). For example, in *Nickel and Dimed,* Barbara Ehrenreich seeks to explore the feasibility of surviving on low-wage jobs in the formal economy—jobs that an individual like KIM would likely possess if she were not involved in the sex industry. While there are heightened risks to working in the sex industry or the informal drug economy, there is also the potential to earn much more income than at these low wage jobs in the formal economy. In fact, "certain researchers even argue that working in prostitution is a very rational (rather than irrational) decision for those who come from lower socioeconomic statuses and backgrounds" (Oselin, 2014, p. 4).

While the transition out of sex work is an under-theorized area, scholars who do study this area suggest that there are 3 pathways out of sex work: (1) imprisonment, (2) self motivated change, and (3) the help of 'prostitute-serving organizations' (Dalla, 2000). The motivation to pursue an exit pathway is typically related to: "health crises, hitting rock bottom, experiencing life changing events, regaining custody of their kids, the changing street-level subculture of prostitution, and spiritual awakening" (Dalla, 2006; Mansson and Hedin, 1999; Sanders, 2007, as cited in Oselin, 2014, p. 4). Even when individuals are committed to transitioning out of sex work for any number of reasons, scholars assert that an initial breakaway, re-entry into the industry, and subsequent breakaways are part of the exit process (Mansson and Hedin, 1999; Baker, Dalla, and Williamson, 2010). Despite these theoretical models of transition, there is limited scholarly understanding of the social-psychological stages of change that occur for individuals undergoing this process.

Social roles or statuses, such as *sex worker* or *criminal*, are psychologically salient to this process—specifically in KIM's case where she seemingly has difficulty divorcing her current transformative actions from her past identity as a sex worker and a criminal. Individuals occupy many different social roles throughout their life, for example in my own life I have made the role transition from child to adult and will likely make the transition from student to employee and from girlfriend to wife in my lifetime. As individuals transition into new roles they undergo a process called 'role exiting'. Much research attention has been devoted to how individuals internalize their new social roles; however, understanding how these same individuals exit and abandon their previous roles has been neglected in the literature (Howard, 2006). As a result of the influence social roles exert over personal identity, the transition from one role to another—such as from sex worker to university student as KIM aspires to achieve—marks a profound personal identity transformation (Ebaugh, 1988; Stryker, 1980). The nature of particular social roles, such as those that are deemed deviant or criminal by society, are especially salient for individuals as these statuses overshadow other aspects of their identity. Oselin (2014) states, "when labeled individuals attempt to leave such roles, they often experience greater difficulty due to the lingering effects of stigmatization" (Hagan and Wheaton, 1993; Snow and Anderson, 1987; Uggen, Manza, and Behren, 2004; as cited in Oselin, 2014, p. 8).

COURTNEY believes her stigmatized status as an individual suffering from depression prevents others from wanting to associate with her in a friendship capacity. She expresses these feelings in the context of explaining why she feels she does not have any close friendships at present date. She understands her current circumstances through the lens of her past experiences with friendship (or rather lack of friendships):

KAITLYN: Did you always not have close friends?

COURTNEY: No I was pretty much a loner growing up…I mean I've always struggled with depression…probably since I was like eleven or something like that.

KAITLYN: That's rough I'm sorry. I know how that can be.

COURNTEY: Yeah so it's kind of hard…like nobody wants to be around the girl that doesn't even want to be around herself.

It is often assumed that people are motivated to feel positive sensations and emotions (Hirt and McCrea, 2000). Thus, when an individual feels negatively about themselves or a situation it seems likely that said person will engage in 'mood repair' to restore their emotions to the positive side of the spectrum (Hirt and McCrea, 2000). In the current research context, this could be interpreted as: when COURTNEY feels negatively about herself she is more likely to reach out to others or complete activities that restore a more positive self image. Despite this theoretical assertion, in practice COURTNEY remains withdrawn from relationships or activities that would promote a more positive self image precisely because she has a negative self image. Recent research has yielded conclusions that align with what emerged in my interview context (Wood, Heimpel, & Michela, 2003). It has been suggested that individuals with low self-esteem are less motivated to improve negative moods and experiences than individuals with high self-esteem (Heimpel, Wood, Marshall, & Brown, 2002). Underlying this counterintuitive mechanism of sustained negative affect are one's beliefs about one's own deservingness of positive emotions, experiences, and relationships (Wood, Heompel, Manwell, & Whittington, 2009). Research states that individuals with low self-esteem feel less deserving of these positive emotions, experiences, and relationships and these feelings reduce their motivation to lift their negative mood (Wood, Heompel, Manwell, & Whittington, 2009).

This principle of deservingness as an explanation for this affective phenomenon is articulated within the Social Justice Perspective, which asserts that judgments regarding deservingness are typically rooted in conceptions of merit (Wood, Heompel, Manwell, & Whittington, 2009). When people make judgments about what others deserve out of life, qualities such as honor and likeability are related to positive assessments and desirable outcomes (Callan, Ellard, & Nicol, 2006; Lerner, Miller, & Holmes, 1976; Hafer & Olson, 2003). The way in which individuals make judgments about their own deservingness follow the same principles—if individuals regard themselves as possessing positive characteristics such as honor and likeability, they subsequently should believe they are deserving of positive or desirable outcomes (Callan, Ellard, & Nicol, 2006; Lerner, Miller, & Holmes, 1976; Hafer & Olson, 2003).

We can rely on Sociometer Theory to understand how one makes assessments about whether one possesses said positive characteristics (Leary & Downs, 1995). This theory states that one's self worth or self-esteem is largely based on one's perception of how others see them (Leary & Downs, 1995). In this sense, people make assessments about their own worth by appraising their value to the social community (Leary & Downs, 1995). These internal appraisals are relatively resistant to change, with the exception of social rejection acting as a catalyst for feelings of un-deservingness (Leary & Downs, 1995). Social rejection of this nature, "is a powerfully painful experience because it conveys that one is unacceptable or unlovable. It's far-reaching effects include sadness, lowered self-esteem, impaired self-regulation, and decreased pro-social behavior, such as willingness to help others and to cooperate" (Leary, Haupt, Strausser, & Chokel, 1998; Baumeister, DeWall, Ciarocco, & Twenge, 2005; Twenge, Baumeister, DeWall, Ciarocco, & Bartels, 2007; as cited in Wood, Heompel, Manwell, & Whittington, 2009). A study by Ellis, Robins, Bennison, and Kavanagh (2005) supports this reasoning, as they found that participants showed less interest in getting to know a new person after experiencing social exclusion. In this research scenario, it is plausible that social rejection made participants feel less deserving of the new person's attention and acceptance, thus they showed less attention to them. Wood, Heompel, Manwell, & Whittington (2009) assert that social rejection or exclusion may trigger feelings that one is underserving of not only positive social interactions but also positive emotions and experiences more generally. In my thesis research, it appears that COURTNEY believes she is undeserving of positive or meaningful interpersonal relationships as a result of her appraisal that others do not see her in a positive or desirable light because of her struggle with depression.

5.3 The Influence of Friendship on Re-Integration Attitudes:

In my interviews, I asked questions about both helpful and unhelpful influences of friendship on re-integration attitudes. The majority of the existing research on friendship and community reintegration indicates that social bonds exert a helpful influence on reintegration outcomes such as desistence from crime and the achievement of a law abiding lifestyle (Hairston 1998; Dowden & Andrews 1999; O'Brien 2001; Petersilia 2003; Sobell et al. 1993; Cobbina, 2009). Some of the women I interviewed align with this position, while other interviewees indicated that friendship played a neutral or unhelpful role in their reintegration experiences. This

position is also supported in the academic literature, as there is substantial evidence linking women's introduction to crime with the criminality of their peer networks (Cobbina, 2009; Bonta, Pang, & Wallace-Capretta 1995; Brown 2006; Danner et al. 1995; Griffin & Armstrong 2003; Henriques & Manatu-Rupert 2001; Leverentz 2006; Simons et al. 2002). Both positions will be explored in this section.

5.31 Friendship as Unhelpful to Community Reintegration

Criminal activity and community reintegration are both inherently social processes. Social Learning Theory states that criminal inclinations are learned through associations with others who possess attitudes that support criminality. Extending this to community reintegration, it can be said that a former offender's ability to desist from future crime is in part dictated by the criminality of their social networks (Capaldi, Kim, & Owen, 2008; Giordano, Cernkovich & Rudolph, 2002; Schroeder, Giordano, & Cernkovich, 2008). Social Learning Theory is an important perspective to consider when analyzing the role of women's friendships in their narratives of community reintegration as these attitudes, drives, and rationalizations for behavior will in many ways dictate the tone of the narratives these women tell about this process of re-entry. Similarly, peer influence on individual's self-efficacy is likely to play a central role in interpreting the narratives. The ways in which five of my interviewees—ROSA, LAYLA, MIK, OFELIA, and COURTNEY—spoke about friendship as unhelpful to their community reintegration experiences was either because their friendships explicitly encouraged continued deviance and criminality or because their friendships did not meet their needs during this time in their lives.

5.311 Encouraging Deviance

Of the two ways in which my interviewees spoke about their friendships being unhelpful to their reintegration experiences, 'encouraging deviance' was the most outwardly negative. ROSA feels her friendship with Cherie[30] is unhelpful to her reintegration because she vocally

[30] Cherie and ROSA have known each other since before ROSA was arrested. Cherie was also involved in Edmonton's sex industry. Like ROSA she has spent time in prison. She is currently still working on the streets.

doubts ROSA's ability to achieve a law-abiding lifestyle, which promotes self-doubt in her own ability to accomplish these goals:

> KAITLYN: So you um…you brought this up when I asked about anyone in your life who had a negative impact on your re-entry experience and you brought up Cherie. Do you think that she has a negative impact on you?
>
> ROSA: Yeah *(looks down)*
>
> KAITLYN: Can you explain a little bit of why this is?
>
> ROSA: Yeah…umm…she just like…well so she knew me before when I wasn't on a good path…like using…stealing…you know? Spending time with Johns…She just laughed at me. Like when I told her what I was doing and stuff. Like getting clean.
>
> KAITLYN: So she doesn't believe that you can stay on the right path?
>
> ROSA: No. She says I'm not fooling anyone. That I'll be back. Just like her. I'll never do it. That I'm just…trash…a whore.
>
> KAITLYN: How does it impact you when she says these things to you?
>
> ROSA: It's hard you know. Like deep down I feel like she's right. I'm trying to push it all down. Never do it again. But like her saying it like that…it's just screaming at me. I can't make it stop. This voice. Her voice. It's been following me.
>
> KAITLYN: So what she said makes you doubt yourself?
>
> ROSA: Yeah.

KAITLYN: How are you going to handle this?

ROSA: I don't know…I don't know.

KAITLYN: That's okay.

ROSA: I mean I don't want to see her. But I will probably. Edmonton is a lot smaller for people like us.

KAITLYN: Would you say that these doubts that Cherie brought up in you are the biggest challenge that you are facing now?

ROSA: Yeah I mean probably. Today yes…it just makes me question a lot…like I can't get a job…maybe she's right. I just…yeah…I'm full of just things that say I can't.

Similar to ROSA's experience of being doubted by an important and influential friend, LAYLA expresses also battling these feelings of skepticism from others:

KAITLYN: Okay I understand. How did you get the idea that this criminal activity…umm whatever it is would be a good way to make enough money to get by?

LAYLA: Well I mean my friends do it.

KAITLYN: The ones you live with or other friends?

LAYLA: No. The ones I live with[31]. Yeah…Them.

[31] Stace and Jason.

KAITLYN: Have you been participating in these types of activities since you got out from prison or is this a newer thing I guess you could call it?

LAYLA: Well I mean not the day I got out but yeah basically. It was soon

KAITLYN: Alright so you said that maybe other people told you that you might have a hard time finding a job in the workforce. Could you describe your experiences with that a bit for me?

LAYLA: Yeah so I dunno it was like a lot of different people saying things. Not just like one person said I couldn't do it.

KAITLYN: Okay so maybe tell me about some of the different people in your life that were encouraging this belief that you would have a really hard time finding a job when you got out of prison?

LAYLA: Well I mean so there's the other women in prison.

KAITLYN: They would tell you that you weren't gonna be able to get a job when you were released?

LAYLA: Yeah.

KAITLYN: Everyone or just a select group of people?

LAYLA: Nah not everyone. Just the ladies who had been out and then got taken back in.

KAITLYN: Were they speaking from their own personal experience?

LAYLA: Yeah. Like any time anyone would be saying something about getting out and getting on the right track with a job or whatever they'd just sorta be like good luck. There isn't jobs for people like us. They were just like yeah right I'll see you back here…like I'll keep the bed warm kind of thing.
KAITLYN: Oh that must be really hard hearing that from your peers?

LAYLA: Yeah. I mean you believe them. Of course you believe them.

KAITLYN: Alright so you were saying that a couple of different groups of people sort of gave you a hard time about your chances of finding a job when you got out. So far we talked about other women in prison and then also some prison guards.

LAYLA: Yeah.

KAITLYN: Are there any other people that gave you a hard time about that or is that it?

LAYLA: No. Also my friends now. The ones I live with.

KAITLYN: How do they give you a hard time?

LAYLA: Well they just like ask me what are you gonna put on your resumé you know? Like are you gonna put that you were a hooker cause nobody is gonna want you.

KAITLYN: Oh I see. That must be hard.

LAYLA: Well it's no different than anyone.

KAITLYN: Still. That definitely doesn't help.

Differential Association Theory states that when criminal behavior is learned, this process includes both the practical techniques of committing particular crimes, and the motives, drives, attitudes, and rationalizations that promote criminal behavior (Sutherland, 1947). This passage from my interview with LAYLA illustrates the ways in which attitudes and rationalizations for criminal behavior are communicated within friendships, as Stace and Jason remind her that crime is her only option to make money. Even though this assertion is likely untrue, because of the close nature of LAYLA's friendships with Stace and Jason, she is likely to be highly influenced by their perspectives. This is because these differential associations or definitions vary in frequency, duration, priority, and intensity based on the nature of social relationships (Sutherland, 1947). For example, a close friendship such as a roommate will exert more 'sway' over an individual's behavior than a distant acquaintance. Similarly, the amount of time one spends with others is related to how influential the behaviors and beliefs of others become on one's own beliefs and behaviors.

While ROSA's social network primarily passively encourages her continued criminality once she was released from prison, LAYLA's social network exerts both passive and active influence over her continued deviance. In addition to her roommates'[32] skepticism of her ability to change her life to that of a law abiding citizen, Stace also actively encourages her to return to work in the sex industry:

> LAYLA: So like cause she's in the sex industry too…it was easy to go back to that. Like she told me to go back to that.
>
> KAITLYN: And being involved in the sex industry increases your chances of going back to prison?

[32] Stace and LAYLA have known each other as friends and roommates for many years before LAYLA's incarceration. They met when they were both working in Edmonton's sex industry. They remained in touch sporadically throughout LAYLA's incarceration, but reconnected when she was released and needed a place to stay. LAYLA now lives with Stace and her boyfriend Jason.

LAYLA: Well yeah.

KAITLYN: Do you think you would've gone back to the sex industry eventually anyway if it wasn't for Stace's influence?
LAYLA: Yeah.

KAITLYN: So having her as your roommate just made that decision to go back easier and faster than maybe it would've if you were in a different living situation or something like that?

LAYLA: Yeah I think so.

Like LAYLA, whose friendship network overlaps with her criminal network in ways that encourage continued criminality, COURTNEY partially credits her social network with her initial drug relapse when she was first released from prison:

KAITLYN: Like did you go back to your old networks [when released from prison] at all or make all new friends?

COURTNEY: Um well like in the beginning I obviously went back to the same people you know then I relapsed.

This interview passages I have included here, lend support to the existing literature that notes a correlation between deviant or criminal peers and a former offender's continued involvement in crime once released from prison (Capaldi, Kim, & Owen, 2008; Giordano, Cernkovich & Rudolph, 2002).

5.312 Not Meeting Needs

Andrews and Bonta (2010) have identified 8 criminogenic risk factors for criminal behavior and their subsequent need factors. The risk factors are: 1) History of Antisocial Behavior, 2) Antisocial Personality Pattern, 3) Antisocial Cognition, 4) Antisocial Associates, 5)

Family/Marital Circumstances, 6) School/Work, 7) Leisure/Recreation, and 8) Substance Abuse. These risk factors are used to assess the level of treatment or intervention required to reduce the risk of future criminal behavior and involvement in crime (Andrews and Bonta, 2010). The criminogenic needs related to the relevant risks should be the focus of treatment and intervention plans for community reintegration (Andrews and Bonta, 2010).

For the first risk factor, 'History of Antisocial Behavior', the need factor is targeted at encouraging non-criminal responses to high-risk or stressful situations and building self-efficacy or positive reliefs regarding reform and reintegration (Andrews and Bonta, 2010). Specific strategies to address this need include identifying high-risk scenarios that promote criminal actions, writing and practicing an 'avoidance plan' for these scenarios, and practicing new pro-social skills until they become habits (Andrews and Bonta, 2010).

The second risk factor, 'Antisocial Personality Pattern' is related to behavioral tendencies that are impulsive, aggressive, and disregard the well-being and needs of others (Andrews and Bonta, 2010). To address this risk factor, attention must be given to impulse control and anger management strategies (Andrews and Bonta, 2010). Specifically, role playing self-control strategies and developing more pro-social interpersonal skills are effective interventions to address this criminogenic risk factor (Andrews and Bonta, 2010).

The third risk factor, 'Antisocial Cognition' is similar to the understanding of criminal activity as presented in Differential Association theory, as it relates to beliefs, values, and attitudes that are favorable to breaking the law (Sutherland, 1947; Andrews and Bonta, 2010). The need factor for this risk is targeted at reducing this type of thinking and replacing these thoughts with pro-social ones (Andrews and Bonta, 2010). Specific examples of interventions include identifying 'thinking errors' such as assuming the worst in a situation or blaming others, and using role playing to correct thinking errors and hostile interpretations of scenarios that lead to criminal activity (Andrews and Bonta, 2010).

The fourth risk factor, 'Antisocial Associates' includes the association with criminal others and the absence of pro-social associations (Andrews and Bonta, 2010). The need factor to target this risk factor is to reduce anti-social associations and promote pro-social relationships (Andrews and Bonta, 2010). The specific techniques to promote this include spending time in structured pro-social activities such as hobbies or clubs, while reducing contact with antisocial peers (Andrews and Bonta, 2010).

The fifth risk factor, 'Family/Marital Circumstances' refers to poor quality family and/or romantic relationships that exert neutral or negative impact on an individual's pursuit of a pro-social lifestyle (Andrews and Bonta, 2010). The need factor in response to this relates to nurturance and behavioral monitoring/supervision (Andrews and Bonta, 2010). Some potential interventions for this risk factor include improving family relationships, reward based behavioral modeling within these relationships, and practicing positive social interactions within the family and/or marriage (Andrews and Bonta, 2010).

The sixth risk factor, 'School/Work' refers to low levels of performance, involvement, and investment in the school or work spheres (Andrews and Bonta, 2010). Reciprocally, the need factor associated with this risk is to increase an individual's performance, involvement, and investment in their school or work (Andrews and Bonta, 2010). This is done by obtaining meaningful employment or enrollment in education, identifying individual deficits and providing accommodations while focusing on strengths, and practicing pro-social interpersonal skills in the school or workplace environment (Andrews and Bonta, 2010).

The seventh risk factor, 'Leisure/Recreation' essentially refers to lack of involvement in fulfilling non-criminal leisure pursuits (Andrews and Bonta, 2010). Again, targeting this need requires an individual to increase their involvement in non-criminal leisure pursuits (Andrews and Bonta, 2010). Specifically, interventions must encourage participation in pro-social leisure activities and ensure that one possesses the requisite skills needed to engage in these activities (Andrews and Bonta, 2010).

The eighth, and final, risk factor, 'Substance Abuse' includes problems associated with both drug and alcohol abuse (Andrews and Bonta, 2010). The need factor associated with this risk requires that substance abuse be reduced (ideally eliminated); including all of the interpersonal supports that encourage or facilitate continued substance abuse (Andrews and Bonta, 2010). Some sample interventions include the creation of new and non-drug/alcohol related coping skills, in addition to attending a drug/alcohol rehabilitation facility (Andrews and Bonta, 2010).

ROSA explains that her greatest need in her process of community reintegration is to find stable employment in the formal economy—something that she is unlikely to receive from her social network. Thus, ROSA's social network is not adequately meeting her needs relating to the sixth risk factor of 'School/Work' (Andrews and Bonta, 2010):

KAITLYN: I completely understand. So in terms of your life right now…what do you need most from your friends right now? It could be something that you are currently getting from one or more of your friends or something you aren't getting but need.

ROSA: I need a job. I need someone to help me find a job…yeah…that's what I need right now. It's like I can't do that…er…I can't do anything until I do that. I feel like stuck.

KAITLYN: Yeah that makes sense? Do you think you need a friend to help you out or is there someone else or another way that you can see yourself getting a job?

ROSA: Well I sort of think I need a friend to help me out cause like who else would stick their neck out like that for me…I mean…I guess there might be a program or something for people like me but I don't know about it.

Like ROSA, LAYLA agrees that obtaining employment is an area in which she could use assistance. Both women believe that they need a connection or a friend's help to do so but do not possess the kind of relationships necessary to meet this need:

KAITLYN: Is there anyone in your life…like maybe one of your friends or something that could show you how to do that [apply for jobs]?

LAYLA: Nah. If they could do that then we'd probably all have jobs by now. Ain't nobody no how to do that. How are you supposed to learn?

KAITLYN: Okay I understand. So basically you are facing a lot of barriers to getting a job and when they are all put together they give you this feeling of

hopelessness? Like it's never going to happen for you and you'll always have to commit crimes just to survive. Is that about right?

LAYLA: Yeah.

In both my interviews and the existing literature, obtaining stable employment in the formal economy has been associated with desistence from future criminal activity as well as more positive (or pro-social) reintegration outcomes (Hirschi, 1969). Interestingly, in my interviews the process of obtaining employment appears to be embedded within a former offender's social networks. This finding is consistent with the literature, as unemployed individuals, particularly marginalized or criminalized populations such as the women in my sample, may need to rely more heavily on social networks as they simultaneously negotiate sexism, (often) racism, and prejudice against former criminals puts them at odds with social norms (Weeks, 1995; Galupo and Gonzales, 2013). In these circumstances, it has been reported that, "social minorities, then, may rely on friendship to meet needs not otherwise met by larger society" (Galupo and Gonzales, 2012, p. 780).

Research on employment suggests that a significant proportion of jobs are acquired through interpersonal connections such as friends and family members (Granovetter, 195l; Schwab, Rynes, & Aldag, 1987). This pattern is consistent across different types of employment sectors and potential job candidates (Reid, 1972; Rosenfeld, 1975; Granovetter, 1995; Stevens, Timauer & Turban, 1997). Granovetter (1995) estimated that between 60-90% of unskilled or semi-skilled labor placements are obtained as a result of relevant networking contacts with friends and/or family members. The literature emphasizes the importance of social networking in the job search process, which requires individuals to contact others (largely friends, family, and acquaintances) for the purpose of obtaining information, referrals, and/or advice on employment (Lowstuter and Robertson, 1995; Beatty, 1988; Krannich & Krannich, 1996; Moock, 1996).

In addition to friendships not meeting material needs such as obtaining employment, OFELIA and MIK express that their current friendships are not meeting their emotional needs throughout their community reintegration. MIK expresses being disappointed by her role

providing unpaid childcare for Lisa and Ruby[33] in exchange for having a place to stay as she feel it renders her post-prison growth and development stagnant:

> KAITLYN: So how has your life been since you were released? How is living with Lisa and Ruby?
>
> MIK: Well…it's hard to say…I mean…I just don't wanna be ungrateful…cause like they let me stay and I don't pay nothing…but I mean…I don't know…I'm not happy there.
>
> KAITLYN: How come?
>
> MIK: It's just not the way I thought it was supposed to be…like I had all these dreams of what I would do when I got out and instead I'm stuck all day everyday taking care of their kid…I love that kid but come on…it's like a different prison.
>
> KAITLYN: Okay so you take care of the baby as a way of paying your rent?
>
> MIK: Yeah I guess sort of…like we never said that really but they both got jobs…and I can't get nothing…so yeah I mean it just fits…but yeah it's not the same as what I thought.
>
> KAITLYN: I could see how that would be disappointing for you.
>
> MIK: Yeah.
>
> KAITLYN: Have you thought about moving out or changing your situation?

[33] Lisa and Ruby are sisters whom MIK befriended shortly before her incarceration. MIK connected with them as a result of their shared Aboriginal heritage and their similar experiences growing up in foster care. Both Lisa and Ruby maintained contact with MIK throughout her incarceration and offered her a place to stay when she was released.

MIK: Yeah…all the time…but like I can't…I don't have that kind of money…what am I supposed to do…there are days…real dark days…where I miss prison…I hate to say that…I hate myself for saying that…but yeah…there are days like that.

MIK is unhappy with her perceived lack of progress on the ambitions she had for her community reintegration while she was in prison, in addition to feeling isolated from the community she developed while incarcerated. She feels that these feelings of longing for community and social connections are directly related to her ability to stay out of prison and maintain a law-abiding lifestyle:

KAITLYN: I understand…Okay what about any ways that your friendships have made it harder for you to stay out of prison again?

MIK: Well…like I said…I'm isolated…I get lonely…I miss that community in prison…here I don't feel that…

While OFELIA does not make explicit reference to loneliness during her community reintegration in the way that MIK does, she does express that she has needs that require more attention than her current social supports can provide:

KAITLYN: Great. What kinds of things do you need most from friends these days?

OFELIA: Well a lot lately because of you know everything going on with the release and all that.

KAITLYN: So like emotional, and financial and all that kind of support?

OFELIA: Yeah.

KAITLYN: Do you feel like you are getting this kind of support from Sarah and the other people in your life?

OFELIA: Some days yeah.

KAITLYN: But not others?

OFELIA: I mean they've got lives and problems and stuff too.

The literature states that the benefits of strong tie bonds (or romantic/familial bonds) for offenders' reintegration experiences are most often related to securing housing, financial support, employment, and childcare (Dodge & Pogrebin 2001; Leverentz 2006; McMurray 1993; Mills & Codd 2008; Nelson et al. 1999; Scroggins, 2012). In the limited research that has been completed on community reintegration and the role of friendships (weak tie bonds), these types of relationships with peers have been shown to accomplish the same benefits as strong tie familial or romantic relationships, such as meeting basic needs and providing emotional or psychological support, in addition to facilitating greater access to material resources and employment opportunities (Lin and Dumin, 1986). The research I conducted lends support to the existing literature in some ways, as the friendships the women in my sample spoke about did provide access to some important material resources such as housing; however, it appears that the weak tie relationships of the women I interviewed were not sufficient to meet all of their emotional and material needs upon release from prison[34].

5.32 Friendship as Helpful to Community Reintegration

5.321 Material Resources

When offenders who have been confined in correctional institutions are released, they are confronted with a number of social, economic, personal, and emotional challenges on their way to successfully reintegrating back into the community as law-abiding citizens (Public Safety

[34] Weak tie relationships were not compared to strong tie relationships in my research, so it is not possible to make comparative claims between the two types of interpersonal relationships.

Canada, 2007; Borzycki and Baldry, 2003; Visher, Winterfield, and Coggeshall, 2005). These challenges are in part a result of the detrimental effects of incarceration and in part a result of the former offenders' past experiences, such as poverty, lack of education, unemployment, substance abuse, or homelessness (Public Safety Canada, 2007; Borzycki, 2005). In addition to these factors, many former offenders are lacking 'soft skills' that will make it more difficult for them to thrive in community settings, such as: underdeveloped interpersonal skills, poor financial management skills, or illiteracy/innumeracy (Public Safety Canada, 2007).

The immediate challenges faced by former offenders when they are released are: finding suitable housing, obtaining employment, accessing everyday necessities, and accessing specific support/services for their unique needs (Public Safety Canada, 2007). These challenges are potentially exacerbated by 'collateral effects' of incarceration, including the loss of personal belongings, housing, and important social relationships (Borzycki, 2005; Borzycki and Makkai, 2007; Harper and Chitty; 2004). Among marginalized groups, friendship has often acquired the increased significance of providing basic survival resources such as those listed above (Stack, 1974; Liebow; 1967; Adams & Allan; 1998). In other words, in 'economies of scarcity' friendships take on a much more instrumental character than in other circumstances (Stack, 1974; Liebow; 1967; Adams & Allan; 1998). The literature supports this assertion, as in many scenarios friendship dyads have depended on material exchanges with one another for survival and improved quality of life (Binns and Mars, 1984; Wallace, 1987; Morris, 1990; Hochschild, 1973).

Despite the predominant themes of my interviews being talking and other expressions of emotional resources and/or intimacy, six of my interviewees—ROSA, MIK, OFELIA, KIM, ANDREA, and LAYLA—discussed friendship as explicitly helpful for their reintegration as a result of access to material resources. ROSA mentions two friendships, with her student mentor Megan, and Theresa[35], which provide her with material resources that she associates with positive reintegration outcomes. I ask ROSA to discuss what her friendship with Megan means for her reintegration success indirectly by inquiring how her life and her community reintegration would be different if Megan was not involved:

[35] ROSA met Theresa at a drop in center for second hand clothing at a rehabilitative programming center in Edmonton shortly after her release from prison.

KAITLYN: Sorry…um what I meant is like if Megan were to disappear from your life for some reason, do you feel like you would be able to keep on moving forward with your life in the community and stay out of trouble or do you still feel like this relationship is very important to your success in the community?

ROSA: Um well I think it would be really hard without her. Like a lot of the other girls that I see all the time. They're you know like me. So I don't know how I would end up finding a job without her help…I…um…I mean it's not like I don't know how to get a job. I had one before. I just mean like with a record. Like I don't know where to look for people who are like willing to look past that I guess. That's where she helps…cause like through school and stuff I guess…she just knows more. Like people who can help and stuff—the right connections.

ROSA also explains that in addition to Megan's assistance in helping her find a job, Theresa provides some transportation and would offer her a place to stay if it was an emergency:

KAITLYN: Are there any ways that your friendship with Theresa helps you out?

ROSA: Yeah um she has a car and she gives me a ride to the food bank every week when she goes.

KAITLYN: So um what about housing? Does Theresa help you out at all finding housing?

ROSA: No. She'd let me stay with her for like a night if I needed it on her couch, but she's already so crowded. She's got four kids and her and her husband in a tiny one bedroom place so she can't really help me out.

Like I did for her relationship with Megan, I ask ROSA to discuss what her friendship with Theresa means for her reintegration success indirectly by inquiring how her life and her community reintegration would be different if Theresa were absent:

KAITLYN: Okay. Yeah. I understand how that would be different for you then. So…How do you think your reintegration experience would be different without Theresa in your life?

ROSA: It would be real different. Like without that ride to the food bank. I'd have to walk and like in the winter that would be real bad. I don't know if I could do it—well I'd have to so yeah I guess I would…it would be easier—I mean I hate to say this after everything but I could see myself you know like getting back into the old life.

KAITLYN: So it sounds like these rides from Theresa to the food bank are really keeping you on track?

ROSA: Yeah. Like I know someone is coming for me every week. She shows up so I gotta show up too. Like I can't do anything for her really so the least I can do is like show her that I'm trying…I'm trying to get clean and be better. She knows I have kids. I think she feels real awful that I can't see them. Like she doesn't say it really to me, but I just know…I guess she's got that look or something. Like she can't stop being a mom.

MIK also expresses that one of the most important or helpful aspects of her friendships, specifically with Lisa and Ruby, was the fact that they offered her a place to stay when she was released from prison:

KAITLYN: So what kind of things would they[36] tell you to try to get your life back on track after you got out of prison?

MIK: It wasn't like they were telling me too much…I don't know…they offered me a place to stay while I was getting back on my feet. That meant a lot you

[36] Lisa and Ruby.

know? Like there's a lot of stress about what the hell you're going to do when you're out. A lot of girls end up back cause they don't have a place to go so they're back into drugs or whatever…it's tough.

KAITLYN: Yeah I can understand how hard that would be to start from nothing.
MIK: Yeah…it doesn't work…like that…from nothing…it doesn't work…so many times I've seen that it doesn't.

KAITLYN: Yeah. Okay…a lot of people say the same thing…that you need to get your foot in the door somehow…like you need someone somewhere to open a door for you.

MIK: Yeah…like how are you supposed to make it work by yourself?

KAITLYN: Oh yeah I can see that. So well that's great that you were able to find housing with them. I know that's a big challenge for a lot of people when they get released from prison.

MIK: Yeah it's real hard cause no landlord is gonna rent to you in this city…it's real hard to find a place…you've gotta have a lot saved up before you can even look.

KAITLYN: Yeah I know what you mean…for like the deposit and everything.

MIK: Yeah.

When pressed MIK expresses that this help obtaining stable housing was the most valuable asset thus far in her reintegration experience:

KAITLYN: In what way do you think the friendships you have have been most helpful in keeping you on the right track after prison?

MIK: Giving me a place to stay…yeah definitely…I don't know what I would do…I don't know how people can do it on their own… *(shaking head)*…yeah I just don't know.

Like MIK expresses in the above passage, LAYLA also speaks about the role that access to housing played in her community reintegration experience—particularly how helpful it was to have the opportunity to live with Stace and her boyfriend Jason:

LAYLA: Like cause she gave me a place to stay you know? Like right away that's slowing it down. Like if I was on the streets I would be right back in prison probably like the next week.

KAITLYN: So did you expect that you were going to be able to stay with Stace sort of no matter what her living situation was? Like is that an expectation of friendship?

LAYLA: Well yeah. What's she gonna do? Just let me be homeless? No I don't think so. Not unless we're out there together.

Interestingly, Stace and Jason exert both positive and negative influence over LAYLA's reintegration experience as they provide her with housing, but also increase her exposure to Edmonton's sex industry and discourage her belief that she can successfully reform.

When I asked KIM about positive or helpful influences that her friendships had on her reintegration experience she brought up her friendship with Tom and her friendly relationship with a police officer who works for Project KARE. With respect to her relationship with Tom, KIM is very grateful for his help in providing her with a storage space for her possessions:

KAITLYN: Alright great and so do you have a place to stay now?

KIM: Um sort of. Well I mean I'm homeless. But this guy well I call him my landlord even though I'm homeless. He lets me stay sometimes in his garage.

KAITLYN: So is there like an apartment in the garage or something like that?

KIM: No no. None of that…it's more like…well it's storage basically.
KAITLYN: And you just kind of crash there sometimes?

KIM: Yeah mostly just my stuff.

KAITLYN: Do you have a lot of things that you keep there?

KIM: What do you think?

KAITLYN: Well probably not but I'm asking you.

KIM: Well no I don't have a lot of things. Just some clothes mainly. It's just a bag of stuff but it's nice to have it somewhere and not have to carry it around all the time.

KAITLYN: Oh yeah for sure. I can imagine that that would be really annoying to have to take everything everywhere.

It is unsurprising that many of my interviewees cited obtaining housing as one of their primary concerns after their release, as homelessness in particular puts former offenders at increased risk for recidivism and subsequent re-incarceration (Arnull, et al., 2007). Landlords in Alberta, Canada are bound by the Personal Information Protection Act (PIPA), which governs how they collect, use, and disclose personal information of their tenants and prospective tenants. Particularly, this act requires landlords to have a reasonable purpose for the collection, use, and disclosure of said information (PIPA, sections 7, 11, 16, & 19). According to Section 7(2) of PIPA, a landlord is not able to demand a potential tenant provide them with their criminal record. However, they are allowed to request references, past pay slips or T4's, social insurance number, credit reports, if they have reasonable justification for doing so. These pieces of information are

likely to be as detrimental as a criminal record check to a former offender's ability to obtain housing, as they will likely indicate unstable financial and employment histories that would position them as highly undesirable rental candidates. In addition to these potential obstacles, the economic climate in Edmonton—fueled by rising employment and migration—means that the rental vacancy rate sits at approximately 1.7% within the city limits and 2.1% province wide (Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 2014)[37]. In these economic circumstances, even the most competitive applicants may have difficulty obtaining housing, thus it seems unlikely that individuals who have just been released from prison will find this process to be unproblematic.

In addition to the material support that Tom provides KIM with, she has obtained access to other resources that are important for her reintegration via her friendly relationship with the police officer from Project KARE. Of this relationship, KIM says:

> KIM: Yeah and this one officer, my friend…he really went like way out of his way to help me and everything.
>
> KAITLYN: What kinds of things did he do for you?
>
> KIM: Well he was really trying to get me off the street. He hooked me up with this social worker and everything.

What KIM describes here and at other times throughout our interviews are the ways in which an officer of the law promoted the mobilization of her own intrinsic motivations to reform. Traditionally, police officer-offender relations have been portrayed in a negative light by the media. Despite this, there is a growing body of literature that conceptualizes the relationship between police officers and (former) offenders as a 'working alliance' with some optimistic findings. The goal of officer-offender relations is most often to promote compliance (with the law or conditions of release). According to the literature, this compliance is more likely to be elicited by the creation of this 'working alliance' between officer and offender than more restrictive and punitive models of policing (Bottoms, 2001; Burnett and McNeill, 2005). This is because this

[37] Compared to 1.5% in British Columbia, 4.1% in Saskatchewan, 2.5% in Manitoba, 2.3% in Ontario, and, 3.7% in Quebec (Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation; 2014).

'normative compliance' is based on the offender's sense of moral obligation to the officer, a desire to maintain the alliance, and the perceived legitimacy of the conditions imposed, rather than perceiving the officer as strictly confrontational and punitively motivated (Bottoms, 2001; Burnett and McNeill, 2005). We can understand normative compliance more effectively by contrasting it with 'instrumental compliance', which consists of an extrinsic system of incentives and deterrents (Bottoms, 2001; Burnett and McNeill, 2005). While largely still speculative within the field of criminology, research within the mental health field has found the creation of such an alliance is commonly attributed with the success of behavioral interventions (Burnett and McNeill, 2005; Horvath and Greenberg, 1994; Norcross, 2002; Rogers 1957; Hubble et al., 1999; Lambert and Ogles, 2004). While officers of the law are not trained therapists, they do share a similar objective of promoting pro-social behavioral adjustments that often span both social relationships and mental health issues (Bottoms, 2001). While there is evidence supporting officer-offender relationships of this nature, research regarding desistence from crime still reports that these relationships alone are not sufficient to prevent recidivism (Bottoms, 2001).

ANDREA expresses that it is not necessarily the act of providing material support that is helpful to community reintegration, but simply the acknowledgement that a friend would help if necessary. She discusses this in the context of her friendship with Rose[38]:

> KAITLYN: Oh yeah. Completely…so um are you close to Rose?
>
> ANDREA: Yeah of course. She's someone I can count on for anything…she might not be the most talkative, but she is reliable as all hell. She's the one you call if your car is stuck in the snow or you need a last minute anything. She'll be there in a heartbeat that woman. Bless her soul.

This notion of 'reliability' within friendship as helpful to ANDREA's reintegration experience connects back to the ways in which my interviewees conceptualized the very nature of friendship in the previous chapter, as what reliability means in this context is 'physical and emotional availability during times of need.'

[38] ANDREA met Rose at the church she began to attend when she was released from prison. She primarily spends time with her while organizing and volunteering for church sponsored activities.

OFELIA experiences perhaps the most tangibly helpful impact on her reintegration experience as a result of her friendship with her longtime mentor, as Sarah was integral in her success in obtaining release in the first place:

KAITLYN: Okay so how do you think that your re-entry process would've been different if you didn't have your relationship with your mentor Sarah?

OFELIA: I can't even imagine.

KAITLYN: Yeah I bet that would be hard to think about.

OFELIA: No I mean I don't even think I ever would've got released without her.

KAITLYN: What do you mean?

OFELIA: Well she was pretty key in my court…I don't know what you call it…umm hearing.

KAITLYN: Did she act as a witness or something?

OFELIA: Yeah sort of yeah I think it was a parole hearing…they haven't done one like mine before for a woman who…well anyway yeah so it was new.

KAITLYN: And so Sarah helped you get paroled how?

OFELIA: Well she testified on my behalf.

KAITLYN: What did she testify about? If you are comfortable sharing of course. I don't want you to share anything you aren't supposed to.

OFELIA: I won't. I'm not about to mess that up for me.

KAITLYN: Okay great. So just tell me whatever you're comfortable sharing.

OFELIA: So she just vouched for me. Like she's been there through almost all of it. She's seen me change. I'm not that person anymore. I committed to this mentoring program.

The interviews I conducted lend support to the some of the existing literature as the friendships the women in my sample spoke about did provide access to some important material resources such as housing and transportation (Dodge & Pogrebin 2001; Leverentz 2006; McMurray 1993; Mills & Codd 2008; Nelson et al. 1999; Scroggins, 2012).

5.322 Emotional Resources

The ways in which my interviewees spoke about friendships as helpful for their community reintegration based on the provision of emotional resources mirrored the ways in which they talked about the nature of friendships in Chapter 4. To avoid being repetitive in this section, I will instead briefly summarize the relevant key findings from the previous chapter here. I have referenced the specific page numbers in Chapter 4 that include relevant interview transcripts and discussion of the key themes that are summarized here. Important friendships provide emotional support during reintegration through 3 main avenues: a) providing physical and emotional availability during times of need (see p. 70)[39], b) providing opportunities for 'venting' (see p. 83), and c) providing supportive words or words of encouragement when necessary (see p. 90).

a) Physical and Emotional Availability During Times of Need: As mentioned above, providing physical and emotional availability during times of need is not only indicative of reliability within friendships, but also of intimacy—both key qualities of friendship. In particular, the intimacy promoted by availability of this nature was stated to fight feelings of loneliness and/or isolation that often accompany hard times such as community reintegration.

b) Providing Opportunities for 'Venting': Like physical and emotional availability during times of need, the act of venting within friendships provided a particular type of emotional

[39] Physical and emotional availability in times of need can be interpreted as providing both material and emotional resources to reintegrating offenders as is displayed in this chapter.

closeness and intimacy that was helpful to my interviewees' experiences of community reintegration. My interviewees expressed that venting about people, events, and life circumstances was important to their emotional well-being upon release from prison, which is inherently related to more positive reintegration outcomes. In addition to promoting emotional well-being, venting (and physical and emotional availability) provides a space of reciprocity within friendships, where both parties engage in venting and listening as part of the relationship (or being there in times of need). My interviewees expressed that reciprocity also promoted an importance sense of emotional well-being based on the development of a positive self concept as a result of being seen as 'important', 'needed', or 'purposeful' (Sullivan, 1953). To understand how this positive self-concept relates to helpfulness during community reintegration or more positive reintegration outcomes, we must reiterate the discussion of self-efficacy from Chapter 2 (see p. 7). Self-efficacy is related to an individual's personal assessment of how well they can execute a particular course of action, such as successfully reintegrating into the community after being released from prison (Bandura, 1977, 1982). Individuals with low self-efficacy are unlikely to put in the effort required for success when faced with obstacles (Bandura 1977, 1982). This distinction is key for this research, as individuals who are navigating the process of community reintegration are likely to encounter many challenges throughout this process (Andrews and Bonta, 2010). My interviewees expressed that feeling 'important', 'needed', and 'purposeful' as a result of their positive interactions with their friends was related to higher self-efficacy, or the belief that they could be successful in their goal to reintegrate back into the community.

c) Providing Supportive Words or Words of Encouragement: According to my interviewees, words of encouragement within key friendships provided helpfulness of the same nature as did venting, because of the impact these interactions had on my interviewees' personal identity, sense of self, and outlook on their future.

5.4 Future Life Outlook (based on friendships):

While it is not within the scope of this thesis research to complete a longitudinal assessment of the progress of these women over time, it seems fitting to conclude my findings with a discussion of how my interviewees conceptualize their future. As a result of the nature of my research, I will be specifically focusing on how important friendships have shaped the future life outlook of my interviewees. In the following section, I will describe my interviewees' future

life outlooks, by categorizing them as positive, negative, or neutral overall, and organizing the responses thematically.

5.41 Poor/Negative Future Outlook

Three of my interviewees—MIK, TAMIE, and LAYLA—reported feeling negatively about their future with respect to their community reintegration outlook. MIK states that in some ways being released from prison has been disappointing and overwhelming, particularly as a result of the loss of her social supports from prison:

> MIK: Yeah…it is…it's hard to stay here.
>
> KAITLYN: You mean like out of prison?
>
> MIK: Yeah.
>
> KAITLYN: How so?
>
> MIK: Like I mean while I was there…I like had purpose I guess you could say. Like I had a relationship…I was learning about my culture…I was gaining respect…it was just different…I had hope…for my future…that I could be something…but all that is different now.
>
> KAITLYN: How are things different?
>
> MIK: Well when I got out it was like the best day of my life…like freedom…this thing I wanted for so long…I didn't even know what to do with myself…it was almost too much…like the reality was scary…it wasn't just an idea anymore…I had to go out and live my real life…not what was up in prison.
>
> KAITLYN: Yeah I could see how that would be overwhelming for someone to go through.

MIK: Yeah…that's a good way to put it…it was just too much of everything…I just needed help.
KAITLYN: Yeah I get that. So you feel like most of your social network is in prison?

MIK: Most of everything is there…like my whole life…I wasn't supposed to do nothing but go to prison…I ain't got parents…stupid fucked up foster care you know? Like everything was telling me that that was where I belonged…all my friends…we all did it…all of us fucked up.

KAITLYN: So in some ways you feel like you don't belong outside of prison?

MIK: Yeah…exactly…I hate how people look at me out here…makes me just wanna stay in the house you know?

KAITLYN: How do they look at you?

MIK: Like the same as when I was just a fucked up kid…like all I can do is mess up and break the law…like I ain't got nothing else to offer.

The experience of loneliness or disappointment after release from prison is unsurprising given the nature of this life change. The negative outlook on her future that MIK expresses as a result of her loneliness upon release from prison is consistent with the literature that correlates loneliness with reports of negativity, dissatisfaction, unhappiness, and pessimism (Perlman et al., 1978; Russell et al., 1978 as cited in Perlman and Peplau, 1981). The literature on loneliness conceptualizes this affective state as a profound discrepancy between one's desired and achieved social relations (Peplau et al., 1979; Perlman and Peplau, 1981). This understanding is key, as too often social scientists have mistakenly isolated an individual's achieved level of social contact without an understanding of the level of social contact desired as an important factor in conceptualizing loneliness (Perlman and Peplau, 1981).

In the literature, loneliness has been described as 'unpleasant', 'painful and frightening', as well as being frequently associated with depression, dissatisfaction, anxiety, boredom, and hostility towards others (Reichmann, 1959; Rubenstein et al., 1979; Moustakas, 1961; Weiss, 1973; Zilboorg, 1938 as cited in Perlman and Peplau, 1981). Loneliness of this nature results from the termination, physical separation, status change, developmental change, situational change, change in expectations, change in quality, and/or change in quantity of social relations (Perlman and Peplau, 1981). The most likely factors to be at play for my interviewees, including MIK, are termination, physical separation, status change, and change in quantity of social relations with respect to their transition from incarceration to the community. Physical separation from others[40] (and at the most extreme end of this, termination) reduces or eliminates the frequency of social interactions. This also reduces or eliminates the emotional and social satisfaction provided by the relationship, thus weakening or dissolving the relationship entirely (Perlman and Peplau, 1981).

In the above passage from my interview transcripts, MIK expresses that the experience of being released from prison has caused her to have lower self-esteem than when she was incarcerated. Part of the reason she is feeling this way may be attributable to her experience of loneliness. There has been longstanding academic support of the association between loneliness and low self-esteem (Loucks, 1974; Sermat, 1980; Eddy, 1961 as cited in Perlman and Peplau, 1981). This correlation between loneliness and self-esteem is reciprocal in the sense that low self-esteem may promote loneliness, but simultaneously, individuals with low self-esteem may participate in a cycle of self-blame for their 'social failures' that reinforces their low self regard (Perlman and Peplau, 1981).

LAYLA's friendships with Stace and her boyfriend Jason are complicated as they provide her with housing, but also in some ways promote her low self-efficacy by doubting her ability to obtain employment in the formal economy. In our first interview, I tried to clarify how she felt these friendships impacted her community reintegration:

[40] My interviewees would have experienced physical separation from their community social networks when they were initially incarcerated, and then experienced physical separation from their prison social networks when they were released back into the community.

KAITLYN: Okay sorry so basically what I mean by that is do you think that Stace encourages you or helps you stay out of prison in the future or do you think hanging out with her or being friends with her increases the chances you will commit more crimes and end up in prison again?
LAYLA: So like is she a bad influence or not?

KAITLYN: Yeah basically. Yup that's pretty much what I'm asking.

LAYLA: Well I don't know how to answer that.

KAITLYN: How come?

LAYLA: Cause I'm gonna end back up in prison with or without Stace you know?

KAITLYN: How are you so sure of that?

LAYLA: It's just my path. People have paths like look at you. You're in school. That's your path. This is mine.

KAITLYN: Was this something you were told?

LAYLA: I don't know. Maybe.

KAITLYN: Have you always felt this way?

LAYLA: I mean probably not forever. But for a long time. For a long time I've just known. This is my path.

Like LAYLA, many women upon leaving prison feel that the barriers to successful reintegration are insurmountable. Some feminist scholars argue that these feelings regarding

criminality and recidivism are in many ways shaped by victimization, the 'feminization of poverty', the structural economic marginalization of minority groups, and the lingering effects of substance abuse (Greenfeld and Snell, 1999; Chesney-Lind, 2002; Daly, 1998; Richie, 1996; Owen and Bloom, 1995; Gilfus, 1992; Arnold, 1990; Holtfreter et al., 2004; Heimer, 2000; Steffensmeier, 1993; Philips and Votey, 1984; Mallik-Kane and Visher, 2008; Dowden and Brown, 2002; Harm and Phillips, 2001; Uggen and Kruttschnitt, 1998).

There is sufficient academic literature that supports both the claims that female offenders are disproportionately impacted by physical and/or sexual abuse *and* that victimization in childhood and adulthood is linked to continued offending patterns (Greenfeld and Snell, 1999; Chesney-Lind, 2002; Daly, 1998; Richie, 1996; Owen and Bloom, 1995; Gilfus, 1992; Arnold, 1990). The 'feminization of poverty' refers to the high concentration of poverty among women, which for some drives their involvement in economically beneficial crimes such as sex work (Holtfreter et al., 2004; Heimer, 2000; Steffensmeier, 1993). Providing support for this notion, Holtfreter et al. (2004) demonstrated a relationship between poverty status and increased instances of re-arrest in women who have been released from prison. Among multiply marginalized groups, such as Aboriginal women—like LAYLA and MIK—the impacts of structural poverty and economic disadvantage are enhanced as result of their perceived status in society (Philips and Votey, 1984). In a relevant study on feelings of hopelessness (economic and otherwise) among African American women in the United States, it was found that their opportunities for employment in the formal economy were narrowed by the intersection of racism, classism, and sexism (Dressel; 1994 as cited in Cobinna, 2009). Reasons of this nature have led many scholars to conclude that re-offending in released female offenders is related to lack of legitimate employment or economic opportunities (Heimer, 2000; Steffensmeier, 1993).

In addition to these economic explanations, some scholars assert that past and current drug use is one of the most important correlates of re-offending and re-incarceration (Mallik-Kane and Visher, 2008; Dowden and Brown, 2002; Harm and Phillips, 2001; Uggen and Kruttschnitt, 1998). Many of my interviewees spoke about their drug use prior to incarceration and their struggle to remain clean upon release. As mentioned above, the 'feminization of poverty' leads some women into economically motivated offending such as sex work or drug sales (Holtfreter et al., 2004; Heimer, 2000; Steffensmeier, 1993; Chesney-Lind, 1997; Daly, 1998).

TAMIE explains that her poor outlook for her future and community reintegration is largely based on the stigma and negativity directed towards her by the public:

KAITLYN: So people in general don't want to see you get your life on track? Is that your experience?

TAMIE: Yeah. Most people yeah.

KAITLYN: Are you talking about the general public or a specific group of people?

TAMIE: Just everyone. The public or whatever you said.

KAITLYN: And what do they do or say that makes you feel like they have these feelings towards you or other criminalized women?

TAMIE: Just things they say…like not too us mostly. Like under their breath wherever you try to go.

KAITLYN: Okay, okay.

TAMIE: And like the way they just look at you. Like they're just disgusted.

KAITLYN: With you?

TAMIE: Yeah like you're trash. Like no matter what you do you've just got that look about you. People don't like seeing people like us around.

When I ask her to elaborate on these feelings she connects these feelings of doubt and negativity to her past status as an offender and her current status as a low income individual. In

many ways, TAMIE still feels the residual effects of her drug use in the stigma she faces in the community:

> TAMIE: Yeah probably. It's hard right? They just want you to go away. They don't want you serving coffee or like doing anything. Actually you know what just everyone in prison would probably be good for them.
>
> KAITLYN: That's really horrible.
>
> TAMIE: Yeah maybe, but that's my whole life. Like how I am I gonna get hired at any other places even now when I've got these *(pointing at track mark scars on her arms)*. They give me away as soon as someone looks at me.
>
> KAITLYN: Okay yeah so even though you've completely changed your life and everything like that you still have certain maybe physical markers that give away your previous status as a criminalized individual?
>
> TAMIE: Yeah and if not that I mean I still look poor. I am poor. Like there are college kids working here making almost nothing like yeah of course I'm not gonna be doing well either. Like I've got enough for my place and some other stuff, but it's not like I can wear the right clothes or nothing like that. So it's not even just like people who went to jail or addicts or street workers or none of that. It's poor people too. It's the same thing with them almost. We're all the people nobody wants around.

Stigmatization occurs when a social group attributes a negative social label (such as 'criminal', 'sex worker', 'drug addict', or 'homeless') to an individual that has the potential to radically change that individual's social identity and self-identity (Goffman, 1959). When an individual is stigmatized, they are reduced to merely the negative identity that the group ascribes them with (Goffman, 1959). This reduction of identity is what TAMIE is experiencing when she describes her difficulty obtaining employment because of her track marks which act as physical

markers of her former status as a drug user which carries with it stigmatization. Furthermore, TAMIE says that she not only faces stigmatization from her status as a former drug user, but also now as a low-income individual.

5.42 Positive Future Outlook

Of my interviewees who spoke about their future outlook positively—TAMIE, KIM, MIK, ANDREA, and OFELIA—it was for 3 main reasons: (a) being inspired by a friend, (b) finding religion and/or culture, or (c) aging out of crime.

5.421 Being Inspired by a Friend:

Two of my interviewees—TAMIE and KIM—reported that in developing a positive outlook for their future they drew inspiration from their post-release interpersonal relationships. Despite expressing a negative outlook on her future in our first interview, in our second interview TAMIE seemed to feel much more positively when she spoke about her relationship with Tiffany[41].

> KAITLYN: Yeah I bet. So basically what changed your perspective on your life and your future and everything was mentoring Tiffany?
>
> TAMIE: Yeah big picture yeah, but it didn't all start out like that you know.
>
> KAITLYN: Okay so maybe you could tell me how it sort of got that ball rolling in your life?
>
> TAMIE: So like I was saying I met her in programing and just sort of had this feeling you know like I don't want this kid turning out like me.
>
> KAITLYN: Why did you care about what happened to her? I know that sounds sort of silly, but she was a stranger and you had your own stuff going on in your

[41] TAMIE and Tiffany met through a program that was designed to help women stop shoplifting through psychological and behavioral interventions.

life trying to get on the right track and whatnot. So what compelled you…er…what made you want to help her?

TAMIE: I think I just said this but like because I saw myself in her…or her in myself. I can't remember which way it goes…it was sort of selfish in some ways I think…but yeah so it kind of kept me on track too cause you know when I would skip you know the typical teenager she was all pissed off like you can't tell me what to do if you can't even do it yourself.

KAITLYN: *(laughing)* Well that's sort of fair enough.

TAMIE: Yeah I mean I didn't like to be called out like that by a kid, but yeah. So I started showing up more. I guess part of it was just to spite her *(laughing)*.

KAITLYN: That makes sense for sure. So wanting to prove something to her kind of helped you see yourself in a different way?

TAMIE: Um yeah sort of I guess.

KAITLYN: Well I don't want to put words in your mouth so if it's not like that could you explain it to me?

TAMIE: Well I don't know if it was like wanting to prove something. That doesn't sound right.

KAITLYN: Okay.

TAMIE: Maybe it was more like seeing that I could actually be a role model for someone. Like that she listened to me. She looked at me like I was strong and smart and it made me feel like that too.

Like TAMIE's relationship with Tiffany, KIM's relationship with Tom acted as the catalyst for her renewed belief in herself and her ability to be successful in her community reintegration:

KIM: That's from Tom I tell you. He helped me just look at everything differently.

KAITLYN: What else did he change about how you look at things?

KIM: Just like everything. He always tells me you're not a whore, you're not a whore, don't let anyone tell you you're a whore. That's where I get that. I told you that. That's where I get that from. It's from Tom.

KAITLYN: Oh I see…so it sounds like he has had a big impact on how you see yourself too?

KIM: Yeah, yup.

KAITLYN: That's really great to hear.

KIM: I mean if wasn't for him telling me that I could do it and like I deserved it and I wasn't just gonna be on the street forever then yeah I don't know. Calgary and like me getting my bachelor's degree….yeah none of that would even be on my mind.

KAITLYN: So now you're ready to see yourself in a different way, like you could be living a different kind of life in the future.

KIM: I'm working on it. Everyday I have to tell myself about it. And Tom he really helps too like telling me that I can do it and I'm a good person yeah stuff like that.

These interviews support Sutherland's Differential Association Theory, albeit in a way that reverses the typical application of this theory to crime/criminal activity (1974). Sutherland argues that criminality is learned and influenced by your peers/those who act as teachers and 'inspire you' in your criminal career (1974). My research supports a similar line of thinking, but instead of relying on criminal inspiration, some of my interviewees rely on role models or inspiration from friends to change their lives in positive ways—including desistence from crime.

5.422 Positive Outlook Based on Finding Religion and/or Culture

Two of my interviewees—MIK and ANDREA—speak about their outlook for their future as positive as a result of finding religion and/or culture throughout the process of incarceration and community reintegration. Through her friendship with Dallas, another Aboriginal woman in prison, MIK was able to get in touch with her traditional Cree ancestry in a way that promoted a positive outlook on her future:

> MIK: Okay yeah…umm….I was telling you this before…like how I got in touch with my culture in prison…like spiritual or whatever…yeah I guess that was the change…
>
> KAITLYN: Was this through the friendships you made in prison? With other Aboriginal women?
>
> MIK: Yeah. That was a lot of it…yeah.
>
> KAITLYN: Let's start with something you mentioned in our last interview…so you said you didn't really learn about…or maybe know about or connect with your Aboriginal culture before going to prison…you said you found out most of that in prison…will you talk about that a bit more?
>
> MIK: Yeah for sure…so umm there are a lot of other Aboriginal women in prison…it feels like most of them almost. Yeah so anyway…I was in tight with a lot of those girls.

KAITLYN: Okay so when you said in our first interview that you only really became a spiritual person in prison, it was Dallas who really brought that out in you?

MIK: Well okay…so she helped me a lot…like tapping into my traditional Cree way which would've been teachings shared with me by my elder to me.

KAITLYN: Okay so these are teaching that you would've or should've got when you were a child growing up?

MIK: Yeah…so if I was in a better home situation…like being raised by my people and not in foster care…yeah so the elders would hand down stories and prayers to the youth.

KAITLYN: Do you think that impacted your life? Not having this spiritual and cultural side of you being fulfilled.

MIK: Yeah. Yeah. I mean it's hard to say what if's right? Like what if that or this…I don't know…I can't really say for sure…but yeah I think it would be different.

KAITLYN: Okay. I totally understand. So tell me how tapping into your traditional Cree way changed your life in prison?

MIK: Well…I still don't know everything to know…everyday I learn…but I feel like I can gain strength from learning more about my ancestors…The power of prayer is incredible.

KAITLYN: So did prayer become a big part of your life when you were in prison after you started to be friends with Dallas?

MIK: Yeah. A huge part…the biggest part probably…I think it doesn't matter what God you believe in…this whole having faith…it's very powerful in so many ways.

KAITLYN: Can you name some of the ways that faith has been powerful in your life?

MIK: I think just having something to believe in for once…I was so hopeless before…I was just out of control. It's so important…faith is.

As a result of not being able to maintain her pre-prison friendships when she was released, ANDREA was forced to explore new social connections upon release. She found that attending church and volunteering at church activities was a particularly good strategy for obtaining new pro-social friendships that promoted a positive outlook on her reintegration[42]:

KAITLYN: Was the church a big part of your life before prison as well or is this a change that you've made since being released?

ANDREA: I was raised Catholic…but wasn't practicing. I hadn't been to church in ages…since high school maybe…wow that's a long time.

KAITLYN: What inspired you to regain your faith?

ANDREA: Getting out…it was an almost spiritual experience you know…well I guess before that too…being alone for so long…it was a lot of time to think, to feel. There were moments where I was so lost.

KAITLYN: Did you turn to God or your faith in those moments?

[42] Despite ANDREA's decision not to disclose her past incarceration to her new friends, she still felt that their influence in her life had a positive impact on her future outlook.

ANDREA: Strangely yes…I didn't even really consider myself a religious woman at the time…but I would pray to someone to get me out of there okay…it didn't sink in for awhile, but I realized I was praying to God.

A sensationalized version of this type of resurgence or renewal of faith or culture after a period of incarceration is often portrayed in the media because of its public appeal, *but what does sociology/criminology make of these transformations?* Criminologists have investigated this question from an intervention angle, where 'faith based' treatments are tested for their ability to reduce recidivism and promote pro-social coping skills for environments of incarceration (Johnson & Larson, 2003; Kleiman, 2003; Sumter & Clear, 1998; Koenig, 1995). Yet, the topic of 'jailhouse conversions' outside of specific outcome measures has been largely under-theorized in the academic literature (Maruna, Wilson, & Curran, 2006).

Part of daily human life is the negotiation of self-identity status distinctions and social relationships (Goffman, 1961). Particularly in light of new experiences, such as imprisonment and subsequent release, individuals habitually engage in the redefinition of self-identity (Giddens, 1991; McAdams, 1993). In this light, religious conversion under the circumstances of incarceration and release can be understood as a larger manifestation of the routine activity of re-evaluation and re-definition of self (Maruna, Wilson, & Curran, 2006). When individuals report new or renewed faith following a period of incarceration, they often make claims about the ways in which their faith has altered their attitudes, thoughts, and behaviors to align with those of law-abiding citizens (Maruna, Wilson, & Curran, 2006). These claims of remarkable change are often met with much skepticism from the public and sociologists who study imprisonment (Maruna, Wilson, & Curran, 2006; Mannheim, 1965).

Despite some criticisms, sociologists state that religious beliefs of this nature do hold value for those who face imprisonment as, "strong religious convictions [serve] to insulate the true believer against the assaults of the total institution" (Goffman, 1963, p. 91). The prison setting is considered an extreme or exaggerated environment that is likely to produce similarly exaggerated evaluations of self and identity (Maruna, Wilson, & Curran, 2006). The nature of the prison as a total institution promotes this process of self-questioning, as a result of the mortification or identity-stripping process that occurs upon one's entrance to such an institution

(Bettleheim, 1960; Goffman, 1963). In addition to being classified as a total institution, Berger and Luckmann (1966) would categorize the prison setting as a 'marginal situation' in which the boundaries of everyday life and assumptions are undermined. Researchers state that these marginal situations are particularly encouraging of re-socialization, such as finding religion, as individuals must become open to new ways of envisioning themselves and their lives (Musgrove, 1977; Berger and Luckmann, 1966).

When an individual is released from prison, they are forced to face 'the pains of imprisonment' as they have likely lost their home, job, and meaningful social connections (Sykes, 1958; Liebling & Maruna, 2005). In addition to these tangible effects, when an individual is released from prison they often face crises of a more existential nature (Cohen & Taylor, 1972). In response to these challenges and in order to achieve successful reintegration outcomes, newly released individuals must construct coherence within their lives to maintain their positive self-concept (Maruna, Wilson, & Curran, 2006). Some individuals, such as MIK and ANDREA in my sample, construct personal narratives of reform and religious rebirth as a method of coping with not only the pragmatic changes that accompany prison release, but also the challenges of identity and meaning (Maruna, Wilson, & Curran, 2006).

5.423 Aging Out of Crime[43]

According to the criminological literature, age is one of the most predictive correlates of crime[44] (Hirschi and Gottfredson, 1983). Evidence supporting the 'age-crime curve' suggested by Hirschi and Gottfredson (1983) has been obtained across samples of different historical eras, national origins, and ethnicities (Farrington 1986; Farrington et al. 2013; Moffitt 1993; Piquero et al. 2003, 2007). The replicability of this relationship across these varied contexts have led criminologists Hirschi and Gottfredson (1983) to label this relationship 'invariant' meaning that it

[43] In the criminological literature, there is a debate regarding the marked decline in crime/criminal activity with age. One perspective, supported by the research of Hirschi and Gottfredson (1983) argues that "aging out of crime" is responsible for the decline in crime rates with age. The other perspective, supported by the research of Sampson and Laub (1993) suggests that "life course events" that are related to age (such as marriage and having children) are in fact responsible for this decline in criminality with age. The analysis in this research aligns with the former perspective, arguing that phenomenon of "aging out of crime" is supported by my data.

[44] Criminal activity has been found to increase during adolescence and decline as individual's transition into adulthood. Criminal involvement tends to peak around age 17 (earlier for property crime, when compared to violent crime) (Sweeten, Piquero, and Steinberg, 2013).

cannot be explained by other factors, sociological or otherwise. Instead, they claim that age produces a *direct* effect on crime (Hirschi and Gottfredson, 1983). There has been much criticism of this bold claim (Blumstein et al., 1986; Greenberg, 1985; Tittle, 1988), yet no study thus far has been able to successfully refute Hirschi and Gottfredson's (1983) age-crime curve.

For this thesis research's purposes, Hirschi and Gottfredson (1983) made 3 important claims about the correlation of age and crime. First, and based on the patterns across demographics and history, they claimed that the relationship between age and crime is invariant—*the invariance hypothesis* (Hirschi and Gottfredson, 1983). Second, that the covariates of crime are uniform for all age groups—*the non-interactive hypothesis* (Hirschi and Gottfredson, 1983). Theoretically speaking, "the non-interactive hypothesis implies symmetrical causation: the cause(s) of crime initiation must be the same as the cause(s) of continuing to commit crime and desistance from crime (Uggen and Piliavin, 1997)" (Sweeten, Piquero, and Steinberg, 2013, p. 923). Third, that the age distribution of crime cannot be explained by any other variable or combination of variables—*the inexplicability hypothesis*. OFELIA articulates this perspective in her own experience of getting older and getting out of a life of crime:

> KAITLYN: How do you feel that you have changed because of being part of the mentoring program while you were in prison?
>
> OFELIA: So much. I'm not even that same person. But I don't know if it's cause of the mentoring or just you know time. Getting older changes you too.
>
> KAITLYN: Okay I'll be sure to include that in whatever I write up. So maybe just generally speaking then how you feel like you've changed since you were incarcerated?
>
> OFELIA: Well I deal with my anger better now.
>
> KAITLYN: How so?

OFELIA: Well like before I don't know I just felt like I was wronged you know and was gonna let everybody hear about it.

KAITLYN: Wronged in what sense?

OFELIA: I don't know. Just wronged. Like all this has been way too hard.

KAITLYN: Are you referring to how your life was before you were incarcerated?

OFELIA: Yeah.

KAITLYN: Okay and how are you different now?

OFELIA: Well I'm calmer for sure. That's one thing.

KAITLYN: Is there anything else?

OFELIA: Yeah. I just feel different. I have a different way of looking at things.

Unlike the majority of my interviewees who were happy to discuss their futures with me, ROSA and COURTNEY declined to comment on their future outlook at the time of our last interviews[45].

[45] I suspect that ROSA was not interested in speaking about her future, as a result of the instability of her current situation. She expressed that she has been unable to obtain stable employment, which was a large determining factor in her initial introduction to crime and subsequent incarceration. I was surprised that COURTNEY did not want to comment on her feelings towards her future outlook as a result of her success in finding a job and becoming clean. She does express that she does not have strong social connections now and perhaps she does not wish to elaborate on this, given the heightened importance I have placed on them in this project about social ties.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

This thesis set out to address two objectives:

1) To understand how criminalized women conceptualize their important peer-to-peer social networks/relationships during their re-integration experiences (ie. identify how they define the term I refer to as 'friendship').
2) To identify how these peer-to-peer social networks/relationships emerge, develop, and are maintained through particular strategies.

By way of conclusion, I will address each of these objectives in turn, beginning with a discussion of the operationalization or definition of the term friendship in this research context. I will then discuss how these friendships emerged, developed, and were maintained for my interviewees and the impact these processes had on their self-concept and future life outlook. As I summarize my findings I will discuss where the results of this study fit into the overall literature on community reintegration and friendship, identify study limitations, and suggest what future studies are needed in order to advance the work accomplished thus far.

6.1 Definition of Friendship

The starting point for this research on the role of friendship in women's narratives of community reintegration following incarceration was the definition of the term 'friendship'. The definition of friendship was operationalized during data coding to include components of shared life experience, physical and emotional availability during times of need, opportunities for 'venting', and the provision of supportive words or words of encouragement.

Most prominently, my interviewees expressed their understanding of friendship as the site of shared/similar important life experiences, which promote increased emotional closeness and feelings of mutual understanding. Sharing experiences as part of the definition of friendship was expressed in four ways across interviews: i) offering wisdom or advice based on past experiences, ii) the intrinsic understanding of one another, iii) facilitating communication and

emotional intimacy within friendships, and iv) deriving value from shared experience. I will summarize each in turn here.

Shared life experiences as a vehicle through which one can offer wisdom to another within a friendship was most often embodied by the idea that having these shared life experiences provided a sort of reserve of memories and experiences upon which one can draw on during interactions with others to promote emotional intimacy and connection. According to this perspective, individuals who are similar to one another will experience more rewarding interpersonal interactions and report being more attracted to one another than dissimilar individuals (Byrne, 1971).

The existing research on similarity and friendship largely focuses on demographic similarities (Harrison, Price, & Bell, 1998; Harrison, Price, Gavin, & Florey, 2002; Riordan, 2000); however, some personality factors have also been considered (Barsade et al., 2000; Keinan & Koren, 2002; Schaubroeck & Lam, 2002; Strauss, Barrick, & Connerley, 2001). The specific role of experience based wisdom within friendships has been left largely unexplored in the sociological literature. Resultantly, my thesis research offers a unique insight into this under theorized area within the sociology of friendship.

In my fieldwork, the idea of friendship as an effortless interaction as a result of some sort of intangible relational quality emerged across interviews. This intangible quality seemingly emerged effortlessly within certain important friendships. My interviewees gave the impression that this quality was either there or it was not and there was very little that could be done to amend this initial disposition (perhaps because of its intangible nature). Within this limited context, this idea of effortlessness or intangibility appears to be so central to the broader public discourses of friendship that it has become part of the very definition of the term and how individuals make important distinctions between interpersonal relationships.

One way that this intangible or effortless understanding of one another was expressed was through the value of simply acknowledging life experiences in such a way that conveyed experiential understanding. In other words, possessing shared or similar life experiences seemed to promote these feelings that there was some sort of positive intangible quality about the friendship that was highly desirable to my interviewees. Interestingly, most of my interviewees were reluctant or unable to specify the nature of these shared experiences unless prompted. More commonly, my interviewees simply referred to: 'going through the same things', '[he/she] just

gets me', or '[the friendship] just working'. When prompted to elaborate on statements of this nature, some of my interviewees described common ethnicity, similar age, and shared hardship as being key components to this intangible or effortless quality of friendship. Based on these connections made by my interviewees, I suggested that there *may* be a connection between shared life experiences and the development of an effortless or intangible connection with certain others. This concept is not yet well explored in the academic literature, allowing this research to begin the process of generating theoretical explanations for these findings. Upon analysis of my interview transcripts I suggested that this intangibility or effortlessness felt within friendships is at least in part attributable to shared or similar life experiences for women navigating reintegration contexts in Edmonton.

In this section I relied on Goffman's assertion that individuals prefer smooth and certain interpersonal interactions to explain the reason my interviewees expressed that they felt most comfortable discussing criminalization and reintegration experiences with those whom they meet in contexts where they can assume that these experiences are shared. Many of my interviewees expressed beginning friendships in environments relating to their criminalized status such as in rehabilitative programming. In this sense, the mediating factors of environment and personal background intersected to produce an ideal social scenario in which uncertainty was reduced.

The idea that similarity fosters friendship is well supported in the sociological literature (Berger & Calabrese, 1975). In general, similarities along attitudinal dimensions result in interpersonal attraction, while dissimilarity results in negative affect (Bryne, 1971; Duck, 1973; Homans, 1961; Newcomb, 1953; 1961). This thesis research did not examine attitudinal measures as part of the investigation of friendship; however, based on the analysis of my interview transcripts I posit that similar life experiences or hardships *may* result in the production of similar or at least complementary life outlooks and dispositions. In interviews my participants suggested that similar or shared life experiences functioned as material upon which a friendship could be built by providing content to begin conversations that would lead to a deeper emotional connection with others. In my interviews, similar life experiences seemed to promote a sense of comfort and empathy within relationships that progressed the development of friendships by facilitating personal disclosures. In fact, similarities, may dictate whether or not an individual feels comfortable communicating their thoughts or feelings regarding intimate topics. As Berger & Calabrese (1975) explain, our innate desire to reduce uncertainty in social scenarios paired

with the vulnerability that accompanies intimate discussions, means that we are likely to seek emotional validation from those whom we can best predict will share and appreciate our perspective—predominantly those individuals who share important life experiences or personal characteristics.

Generally speaking, this study's results aligned with the predominant theme in the literature that similarity and friendship are related; however, some the responses from some of my interviewees indicated that intimacy in friendships is a multifaceted phenomenon and thus cannot be understood in a strictly linear fashion. Similarity between individuals did not always facilitate friendship, and friendship once achieved did not always lead to intimate emotional and personal disclosures. In fact, the interviews I conducted suggest that communication within friendships was facilitated by both the presence and the absence of shared experiences. Despite the well supported existence of homophily (Blau, 1977) and the self-similarity principle (Sutherland, 1947) within friendships in the academic literature, these theoretical explanations do not prioritize the lived experience of friendship in the way that this thesis research does. This acknowledgment is likely why my research produced much less linear results than the literature reports. In fact, the results of my research indicated that more factors must be considered to reach a nuanced understanding of the interpersonal dynamics of friendship.

Part of what separates friendships from other interpersonal relationships for my interviewees was the idea that sharing an experience with a friend simultaneously ascribes value to both the shared experience itself and their life in a broader sense. Positive relationships with other people are an established component of adult well-being in the psychological literature (Ryff, 1995). Similarly, the literature on friendship suggests that positive self-concept and validation can be achieved within the emotional space of friendship, which also contributes to feelings of well-being (Wright, 1984).

In addition to expressing that shared life experience was an important component to how my interviewees conceptualized their friendships, all of the women I interviewed talked about how important a person's physical and emotional availability during their times of need was to their classification of that person as a friend. These conversations also sparked a discussion of the reciprocal nature of these responsibilities within the friendship, in which many women expressed their desire to be physically and emotionally available for their friends as well.

The act of venting emerged as something indicative of a particular kind of emotional closeness and intimacy that distinguished friendships from more peripheral interpersonal relationships. Interviewees expressed that their friends were the people they felt comfortable venting to about others, events, or life circumstances, and that this act of venting was essential to the majority of their established friendships. Like emotional and/or physical availability during times of need, the act of venting emerges as a space of reciprocity within friendships, where both parties engage in venting and listening as part of the relationship. These findings lend additional support to the literature that states verbal communication or 'talking' is central to women's friendships, while narrowing the scope of 'talking' or 'verbal communication' to the distinct act of 'venting' in a way the literature has not yet done (Green, 1998; Coates, 1996; Hey; 1997).

Words of encouragement or support within friendships emerged as not only an important component of the way my interviewees interacted with the term friendship, but also had a significant impact on their personal identity, sense of self, and outlook on their future within reintegration contexts. This connection between friendship and the self has been explored in the existing literature, leading to the recognition of self-referent behavioral tendencies that can be satisfied within the context of interpersonal relationships (Wright, 1984).

6.2 Emergence, Development, & Maintenance of Friendships

Friendships were found to be primarily maintained through talking, shared hobbies and/or leisure activities, and shared criminal activity. In addition to being an important component of the definition of friendship itself, talking also emerged as an activity of friendship and a tactic to initiate, develop, and maintain interpersonal relationships. Given the isolating and emotional nature of my interviewees' experiences of criminalization, the act of sharing these experiences appeared to be part of the re-socialization process that they underwent in the community after experiencing total institutionalization for a sustained period of time in the prison setting (Goffman, 1961).

Leisure activities such as walking, spending time in nature, crafting or other artistic pursuits, and eating meals together were the ways my interviewees chose to spend time with their friends. My findings were supportive of the literature on friendship and leisure activities that suggests that leisure activities present a space to facilitate friendships that are ultimately more valued and more meaningful than the leisure activities themselves (Piercy and Cheek, 2004).

The role of peer influence in criminal activity is well supported by the sociological and criminological literature, particularly with youth. Alongside other factors such as family and neighbourhood characteristics, social networks and peer groups exert a dominant influence over both the introduction and sustained involvement in criminal activity, including drug use (Ford, 2009; Jang & Johnson, 2011; Bousman et al., 2005; Crockett, Raffaelli, & Shen, 2006). While many of my interviewees expressed that returning to old criminal social networks was a concern for their re-integration outcomes upon release, most of the women did not speak of deviance or criminal activity as an important component in the development or maintenance of friendships when they were released.

The women interviewed expressed low expectations of their friendships, which was largely attributable to their feelings of low self-worth and of being undeserving of friendship. Some of my interviewees felt that their social roles or statuses, such as *criminal* or *poor,* indicated that they were not worthy of the benefits associated with friendship. These social roles are psychologically salient to community reintegration, as when individuals transition into new roles they undergo a process called 'role exiting', which requires individuals to abandon previous roles and adopt and internalize new ones (Howard, 2006). There is significant literature that seeks to understand how individuals internalize their new roles, but this literature has not taken up the project of understanding how these same individuals exit and abandon their previous roles (Howard, 2006). This thesis research takes a step in that direction by finding that the impact these social roles have on an individual's self worth and self-concept lingers beyond the duration of the role itself. In addition to having difficulty dissociating from old and problematic social roles, some of my interviewees remained withdrawn from social interactions as a result of their perceived negative self-concept. In previous literature, it has been assumed that people are motivated to feel positive sensations and emotions (Hirt and McCrea, 2000). Thus, when an individual feels negatively about themselves or a situation it seems likely that said person will engage in 'mood repair' to restore their emotions to the positive side of the spectrum (Hirt and McCrea, 2000). My research findings are instead consistent with a smaller more recent body of research that indicates that individuals with low self-esteem are less motivated to improve negative moods and experiences than individuals with high self-esteem (Heimpel, Wood, Marshall, & Brown, 2002). Underlying this counterintuitive mechanism of sustained negative

affect are one's beliefs about one's own deservingness of positive emotions, experiences, and relationships (Wood, Heompel, Manwell, & Whittington, 2009).

Friendships were found to exert a positive influence on perceptions of community reintegration through their facilitation of access to material and emotional resources. The ways in which my interviewees spoke about friendships as helpful for their community reintegration based on the provision of emotional resources mirrored the ways in which they talked about the nature of friendships—as providing physical and emotional availability during times of need, providing opportunities for 'venting', and providing supportive words or words of encouragement when necessary.

The immediate material challenges faced by former offenders when they are released are: finding suitable housing, obtaining employment, accessing everyday necessities, and accessing specific support/services for their unique needs (Public Safety Canada, 2007). These challenges are potentially exacerbated by 'collateral effects' of the incarceration including the loss of personal belongings, housing, and important social relationships (Borzycki, 2005; Borzycki and Makkai, 2007; Harper and Chitty; 2004). Among marginalized groups, friendship has often acquired the increased significance of providing basic survival resources such as those listed above (Stack, 1974; Liebow; 1967; Adams & Allan; 1998). The material resources that my interviewees were able to obtain within the context of their friendships were primarily limited to housing and transportation, with some of my interviewees benefitting from increased access to social services as a result of alliances with volunteers, mentors, and officers of the law.

Friendships were also found to exert a negative influence on my interviewees' perceptions of their community reintegration because they did not meet all of the offenders' needs, and in some cases encouraged continued criminality. My interviewees expressed their experiences of this negativity both actively and passively, as some social networks encouraged deviance through vocal skepticism or doubt of my interviewees' ability to be successful and others explicitly encouraged continued criminality. The latter process has been well-documented in the academic literature on deviance and peer influence (Capaldi, Kim, & Owen, 2008; Giordano, Cernkovich & Rudolph, 2002; Schroeder, Giordano, & Cernkovich, 2008). The former passive process has largely been unexplored by the academic literature. This thesis research indicates that the passive influence of peer networks—through opinions, thoughts, skepticism, and doubt—in many ways mimics more explicitly active encouragement of crime and deviance. Further research would be

required to make any kind of comparative statements between active and passive forms of peer group influence on criminality.

The research I conducted lends support to the existing literature in some ways as the friendships the women in my sample spoke about did provide access to some important material resources such as housing; however, it appears that the weak tie relationships of the women I interviewed were not sufficient to meet all of their emotional and material needs upon release from prison. The most common way that my interviewees spoke about their friendships as 'not meeting their needs' was in their inability to provide them with a legal means of employment. In both my interviews and the existing literature, obtaining stable employment in the formal economy has been associated with desistence from future criminal activity as well as more positive (or pro-social) reintegration outcomes (Hirschi, 1969). Interestingly, in my interviews the process of obtaining employment appears to be embedded within a former offender's social networks. This finding is consistent with the literature, as among unemployed individuals particularly marginalized or criminalized populations such as the women in my sample, may need to rely more heavily on social networks as they simultaneously negotiate sexism, (often) racism, and prejudice against former criminals puts them at odds with social norms (Weeks, 1995; Galupo and Gonzales, 2013).

The women interviewed expressed mixed feelings towards their futures. Some felt negatively about their chances of successfully reintegrating because of reported loneliness, feelings of hopelessness, and stigmatization. Others felt more positively because of inspiration by a friend, renewed commitment to faith or culture, or simply aging out of crime.

6.3 Limitations

Although neither the nature of my research paradigm nor the conclusions I have drawn require my sample to be representative, I believe the composition of my research sample is worth noting here. Based on my theoretical knowledge of criminology and my personal experience in this setting as a volunteer, I anticipated that a large number of the women I interviewed would be Aboriginal. My sample that is presented in this thesis is composed of 2 Asian women, 2 Aboriginal women, and 4 Caucasian women, which is quite different than I anticipated before entering the field. Based on my personal experiences as a volunteer in multiple settings involving criminalized populations, I anticipated that my status as a white woman would impact the

willingness of some potential interviewees of other cultures/ethnicities to participate in my research. Reflecting on the research process now that it is complete, I do believe that my access to Caucasian women in this population was in some ways facilitated by our shared ethnicity and my access to women of other ethnicities in this population was in some ways hindered by the perception of difference.

In my research design I chose to leave my sampling procedures open to heterogeneity for both pragmatic and theoretical justifications, this decision did problematize some aspects of data analysis and presentation. The varied perspectives of the 8 women I interviewed made the task of narrowing my data to produce a cohesive narrative much more difficult than I had anticipated before beginning the fieldwork for this project. As many qualitative researchers do, I approached this project with the goal of reaching thematic saturation before exiting the field and beginning my data analysis (Small, 2009). Upon further reflection of this concept within the context of this research project, I believe thematic saturation, particularly within my framework of hermeneutics and narrative analysis, is not truly possible, nor necessarily desirable for my research goals. It is debatable what data saturation really means for qualitative researchers. Instead, this idea of thematic saturation seems more applicable to quantitative research that seeks to produce highly generalizable results (Small, 2009). This assumption of generalizability (i.e. that other female offenders would exhibit the same empirical characteristics as my sample) is not consistent with the goals outlined by my epistemological paradigm. Narrative analysis assumes that identity is derived from personal experience. In this light, This assumption implies that whether other formerly incarcerated women navigating the process of re-entry would exhibit the same understanding of friendship and reintegration, would not only be besides the point of the epistemological conditions of my research paradigm, but also presume that I could simply remove the characteristics of these women's friendship attitudes from the unique context in which they experienced them, and expect the same processes, characteristics, and attitudes to develop elsewhere (Small, 2009). While I do recognize that certain shared conditions or experiences, such as incarceration or community reintegration, can impact an individual's perspective, their life narrative is based on the accumulation of experiences over time, which is unique to them.

The short time span that I conducted my interviews in[46] lends significant limitations to the conclusions I can make in this research context. Before beginning my fieldwork, I anticipated that in it would be difficult (in the time and scope allotted for a Master's degree) to reach a nuanced understanding of the reintegration process as it is accomplished longitudinally. To mitigate these concerns I utilized retrospective interviewing techniques and strategically chose to interview women who were navigating the final stage of the reintegration process. Despite these methodological decisions, I still believe that a much better understanding of the reintegration process for these women could be accomplished with a follow up study to assess their progress over a significant period of time. While a longitudinal study of this nature is ideal, it would not come without its own problems. For example, even within the 2 week span of my field work I found it difficult to maintain contact with my interviewees for my follow up interview 1-2 weeks later. When conducting research across a significant period of time (such as years as is typical of longitudinal work) maintaining contact becomes even more difficult[47].

In addition to these methodological limitations, I believe there were some weaknesses regarding the construction of my interview guide and my interviewing strategies and techniques. Throughout the interviewing process I found I had more success in asking questions indirectly than when I was more up front with my interests. For example, I gained much richer data concerning the positive and negative influence of friendships on reintegration when asking anecdotal questions or clarifications than when I asked my research questions more directly. Based on my experience doing this research I would encourage a similarly indirect approach when seeking to complete interviews with other samples similar to the one I selected for this research. I believe that many of these limitations are traceable to my inexperience as an interviewer in the field. Despite exhaustive pre-testing with my graduate student colleagues before entering the field, there were times where I felt unprepared for the ways in which my interviewees responded to my questions. In re-reading the interview transcripts for data analysis and presentation, I can now recognize research opportunities that were lost because at times I remained too focused on my research questions and the assumptions I brought to my research, when instead I had an opportunity to follow an interesting tangent or story that was unique to a

[46] All interviews were conducted between November 10, 2014 and December 2, 2014.
[47] Particularly when recidivism is taken into account.

particular interviewee. Some of these lost research opportunities form the basis of my recommendations for further research that follow.

6.4 Future Research

This thesis is the first step in attempting to demonstrate that friendship plays an important role in the perceptions and experiences of community reintegration for women who have formerly been incarcerated. My argument for this position has developed out of a broad literature review of psychological, sociological, and criminological theories of community reintegration, the sociology of friendship, and gender specific formulations of both processes. I have argued that friendship as a construct incorporates shared life experience, physical and emotional availability, verbal communication, personal disclosures, and reinforcement. In this study, I have demonstrated that friendship is neither an always positive nor always negative influence on community reintegration outcomes and attitudes, and that the impact of friendships reach beyond the dyadic relationship to encompass areas such as self-esteem and future outlook for women currently negotiating the process of community re-entry. These assertions are not indicative of objective 'proof' or 'truth' in my position, but they do provide a strong foundation for future studies of this nature. While this study focused on a single location—Edmonton, Alberta—I believe that similar results will be found in studies of other formerly incarcerated populations across geographical boundaries.

There are several areas that were not fully developed in the context of this thesis, yet I believe hold particular promise as future research questions to advance the findings of my research. These areas are related to self worth and personal identity, friendship as an intangible construct, and the reciprocity of these relationships. My thesis research was primarily focused on the research objectives of operationalizing the concept of friendship in this context and understanding the positive and negative impacts of friendship on community reintegration. In the pursuit of these goals I discovered that the notion of friendship is tied to personal identity in a number of ways, as friendship both impacts and is informed by an individual's personal identity or sense of self (including self worth). While not within the scope of this research project to fully explore, this relationship between friendship and personal identity emerged with multifaceted significance in the interviews I conducted. Some questions that I am now interested in pursuing in future research are: *how do specific friendships or group memberships inform personal identity*

for women who are navigating the process of community reintegration? What is the relationship between self worth evaluations and the friendships criminalized women seek out?

In addition to these questions relating to self worth and personal identity, the notable gap in the literature regarding the intangibility or inexplicability of friendship forced me to consider more colloquial understandings of friendship derived from other disciplines, popular culture, and the media. This process yielded some interesting results that I believe indicate the need for a more rigorous content analysis of friendship to supplement the findings I present here.

Based on the findings of my research, there is room for a more direct connection to be made between gender and friendship, as my interviewees largely excluded discussions of gender from their responses despite primarily speaking about friendships with other women. While there is not sufficient evidence to draw conclusions on the role of gender in the friendships of my interviewees, it is possible that gender plays a role in the creation of this intangible quality or effortlessness within some friendships. The acknowledgment of this possibility leaves me with the questions: *Are my interviewees presupposing shared gender identity as a condition of friendship*? *Is shared gender identity so fundamental to the notion of friendship that it itself is 'effortless' 'intrinsic' or 'intangible'? How does gender shape friendship expectations?*

My research also raises questions about the allocation of finite emotional resources, within the context of reciprocity within friendships. In reflecting back on my interviewing related to this topic of reciprocity, some of the questions I wish I had answers to are: *What happens when both parties require emotional support? Can support be given simultaneously or must it be sequentially distributed? How are emotional conflicts prioritized? How is consensus reached when parties do not agree? Are these negotiations verbal or implicit?* While raising some important questions, my data does not yet generate answers that are beyond merely speculative. Answering the questions that this research has generated is instead a project for future research and would require a much more focused interview guide regarding reciprocity and its nuances.

6.5 Conclusion and Recommendations

In addition to being of considerable theoretical interest to myself and a requirement for the completion of my Master's degree, one of my main goals in the completion of this research was to produce a number of recommendations based on my findings that could be passed on to

relevant agencies in the community for the purpose of assisting the community reintegration of women in Edmonton, Alberta. It should be acknowledged in reading these recommendations that the sample size of this study is smaller than would be ideal when making recommendations; however, what follows represents my impressions and suggestions based on both this research and my extensive volunteer work in the field.

In this section, I believe reference to Andrews and Bonta's (2010) risk/needs model is appropriate (see p. 137). Based on my analysis of the results of this study, I conclude that the first, fourth, and sixth risk factors (history of antisocial behavior, history of antisocial associates, and school/work) were most applicable to my research sample.

To address the risk of historical (and continued) antisocial behavior, I would recommend programs and interventions that seek to build self-efficacy or positive beliefs regarding reform and reintegration. Based on this research, and my experience as a volunteer with criminalized women in multiple settings, I believe that to be effective, interventions of this nature are necessary prior to release from prison. Specifically in my research, some of my interviewees reported that relationships with mentor figures accomplished these goals of self-efficacy and positive beliefs regarding their own reform and community reintegration. Particularly OFELIA, who has benefited from a mentorship relationship of more than 15 years and credits much of her positive outlook on her reintegration to her relationship with her mentor Sarah. As someone who went through the mentorship training course at the Edmonton Institution for Women, I believe I can offer some insights for improving this program to better suit the needs of women like the ones I interviewed for this project. Before individuals, like myself, are allowed to become mentors at this institution they must agree to a number of qualifications as outlined in the volunteer handbook[48]. While I do recognize the value of the second qualification—that

[48] "1) A volunteer must be dependable; if you commit yourself to a program, you must be willing to follow through. Offenders have been let down in the past, so if you make promises, be prepared to keep them. 2) Volunteers must be stable persons themselves. Persons who become involved in such work should be people who have worked out or overcome their own problems. Persons who have unsolved problems (family, drugs, alcohol, etc.) themselves, will likely have trouble helping others. 3) A volunteer must have genuine concern for others. Empathy is better than sympathy. Try to genuinely understand but do not be naive. Appreciate the problems of the women you work with but don't make them your own. 4) A volunteer must be able to communicate with others. This means listening as well as talking. It means being open towards the other person" (Fisher, n.d.).

volunteers be stable good role models—both intrinsically and from the interviews conducted in this thesis research, I do think that there is room for a more nuanced interpretation of what it means to be *stable* and a *good role model*. During my training as a mentor at the Edmonton Institution for Women, the majority of the prospective mentors were demographically similar to me: female, white, employed, possessing a university education, and never having been incarcerated. In my thesis research many of my interviewees expressed that it was much easier for them to form friendships or social bonds with individuals with whom they shared experiences or personal circumstances. I believe that this notion is also highly applicable to successful mentorship relationships. Some of the most positive social ties that were spoken about during this research were the ties women formed with other formerly criminalized women who had successfully reintegrated back into the community following their release from prison. For example, Tamie articulates this perspective from her experience in a mentorship capacity at her workplace, where she helps other criminalized women navigate the process of community re-entry in the same way she did. She feels her former offender status places her in a uniquely qualified position to help and that the women she encounters recognize and appreciate this. I believe that in addition to promoting the inclusion of stable positive role models in the traditional sense[49], carceral institutions should consider making room for other types of role models who incarcerated women might possess a higher affinity for. I believe that incarcerated women would gain great value from speaking to and being mentored by women who have been in their similar circumstances and have successfully achieved the goals they wish to in the future. As well meaning as mentors are, my findings in this research suggest that there is high value in experiential knowledge that could be passed onto women seeking mentors from women who have already successfully navigated these processes.

To address the risk of antisocial associates, I would recommend increasing the availability of hobby or leisure activities that facilitate friendships with pro-social others. I believe that this recommendation can primarily be accomplished outside of the prison system; however, institutional cooperation would likely have a positive impact on the implementation of such recommendations. Some of my interviewees expressed successful outcomes from joining

[49] Citizens who are law-abiding and likely always have been, in addition to successfully accomplishing other socially prescribed goals such as education, employment, and positive social relationships.

walking groups and/or religious affiliations. For example, the majority of ANDREA's positive social connections were developed in the leisure setting of a church volunteer group. I believe that access to these types of resources could be successfully facilitated through agencies such as the Elizabeth Fry Society. The most effective way to implement access to religious institutions, walking groups, and other pro-social leisure activities is likely through a combination of word of mouth and/or bulletin board advertisements at the drop in center. In my experience as a volunteer at the Elizabeth Fry Society of Edmonton drop in center, I noticed that most women would look at the advertisements on the bulletin board at some point during their visit. I believe advertising pro-social activities in this way would be an effective way to reach the target audience. In addition to advertisement, another key consideration is implementation. The majority of women who frequent agencies such as Elizabeth Fry do not have access to reliable transportation, which limits their ability to participate in social activities that are held outside of Edmonton's downtown core. To encourage the highest number of participants, activities should be limited to geographic spaces that are accessible by foot or bus, or transportation should be provided. Based on my volunteer experience, I know that the Elizabeth Fry Society provides free bus tickets to women when they are going to doctor's appointments or for job interviews. Based on the thesis research I conducted, I believe that the formation of pro-social ties through leisure activities should be promoted with similar importance. Thus, I believe there is a strong case to be made for providing transportation to leisure activities that promote desistence from crime through pro-social attachments and connections.

In addition to advertising and facilitating pro-social leisure activities, I believe that my research sheds light on an area in which programming is lacking at agencies such as Elizabeth Fry. Currently at the Elizabeth Fry Society of Edmonton, there are a number of programs that seek to address very specific and measurable aims, such as the Financial Literacy Program[50], the Record Suspension Program[51], and the Legal Clinic Program[52] (Programs and Services, n.d.).

[50] "The Women's Financial Literacy Program fosters women's self-worth through group and individual support with skills such as budgeting, debt reduction, goal setting, building assets, coping strategies, and stress management. The financial literacy workshops and individual support through this program help women to thrive in the community" (Programs and Services, n.d.).

[51] This program, "helps women with the process of applying for a record suspension. A record suspension will seal the criminal record increasing employment, school and volunteer opportunities" (Programs and Services, n.d.).

Based on the findings of my research, I believe that this agency (as well as other agencies with similar goals) could benefit from is a less goal targeted program that acts as a support group or sharing circle for women who are reintegrating back into the community. A program like this could be facilitated by an existing employee or a qualified volunteer, but would primarily be run by the women themselves. Given the emphasis my interviewees placed on talking and sharing within social relationships, I believe that a program of this nature would provide a space in which women in similar circumstances could share their frustrations, hardships, and triumphs among peers who are in a position to offer emotional validation, support, and praise. I also think a program like this would promote and facilitate self-efficacy and positive beliefs regarding reform and reintegration by empowering the women within a group of their peers.

To address the risk of work/school, I would recommend continued emphasis on programming directed at education and employment, such as workshops building 'soft skills' or information sessions on educational programs/scholarships of interest. The attention of policy makers in this area has primarily been given to employment over education, which is problematic given an understanding of the 'feminization of poverty'. For example, at the Elizabeth Fry Society of Edmonton—arguably one of the most valuable portals for resources and programming for criminalized women in Edmonton—there is a noticeable lack of programming directed at education. For example, KIM has a desire to pursue a Bachelor's Degree in Social Work, but does not receive any assistance in obtaining this goal, which makes her success less likely. Limiting educational or other vocational training opportunities in many ways restricts the progress and future outcomes of women who are reintegrating back into the community. In addition to this, the focus of Elizabeth Fry's employment programming[53], while well meaning,

---

[52] "The Legal Clinic Program assists federally sentenced women at Edmonton Institute for Women by addressing their legal needs. A group of lawyers who volunteer their time to this program meet one on one with the women in the federal prison and they provide: legal information; referrals to Legal Aid, Student Legal Services, or other agencies; and follow up" (Programs and Services, n.d.).

[53] "The Employment Services Program offers services to women who have been, are at risk of, or are currently in contact with the legal system. Women accessing employment services face a variety of barriers such as poverty, mental health issues, addiction issues, child welfare issues and child care concerns, criminal records, isolation, illiteracy, lack of education and training and discrimination. Working with each woman's unique situation and goals in collaboration with other community agencies. The "Work 4 Women" Employment Program seeks to reduce these

seems best suited for helping women obtain unskilled or semi-skilled low wage labor which may not provide a long term solution against continued criminality, given the higher wages many of these women could make by returning to the sex industry. Despite a stated goal of referring women to appropriate training programs and educational institutions, it was my experience as a volunteer that women were more often than not encouraged to pursue short term solutions to their problems by applying to manual labor positions or openings in the service industry, rather than pursuing educational or training pursuits that require much more commitment. I agree that these actions are important in the short term, but long term solutions must also be part of any effective reintegration plan. It is not the responsibility of already over extended agencies such as Elizabeth Fry to solely take on these challenges. I believe it requires the commitment and involvement of the educational, trades, or vocational institutions themselves to implement solutions such as what I am suggesting here. In my experience as a volunteer in Langa township in South Africa in the summer of 2015, I was exposed to a successful program that I believe would be equally beneficial in this context. Eziko Restaurant and Coffee Corner in Langa Township, provides marginalized youth[54] with vocational skills and employment in cooking, catering, and hospitality through a cooking school education that is funded by the profits of the restaurant and coffee shop (Supporting Education and Employment Opportunities, n.d.). The mission of this project is to empower these youth, "to find employment that will enable them to provide for themselves and their families and thereby take a practical route out of poverty" (Supporting Education and Employment Opportunities, n.d.). This program has been largely successful in Langa Township to date, with a placement rate of 80% to positions of permanent employment following the completion of Eziko Cooking and Catering programme (Supporting Education and Employment Opportunities, n.d.). In the informal conversations that I shared with students at this cooking school during my residence in Langa township, the students showed great pride in their work,

---

barriers by: (1) Identifying individual barriers and personal strengths and goals; (2) Developing a collaborative, personal and achievable action plan; (3) Offering one-to-one resume development, life skills counseling sessions and providing access to job readiness workshops; (4) Providing job search tools including access to daily newspapers, Internet Job Banks, computers, telephones, photocopier and fax machines (5) Advocating for women on issues related to Labour Standards and Human Rights; (6) Referring women to training programs, educational institutions and other community resources to address basic living needs (7) Assisting women to access employment opportunities and work clothing through Bissell Centre" (Programs and Services, n.d.).

[54] The students of Eziko Restaurant and Coffee Corner have all experienced homelessness.

their progress from situations of homelessness, and their hope and desire to continue to succeed in the future. I believe that a program of this nature (with the cooperation of a motivated individual or community partner) would offer great benefits to the criminalized women in Edmonton who are navigating the process of community reintegration in addition to providing the community with an opportunity to learn about the lives of criminalized individuals in a highly accessible environment that is likely to facilitate positive exchanges.

REFERENCES:

Adams, R. G. (1987). Patterns of network change: A longitudinal study of friendships of elderly women. *The Gerontologist*, 27, 222-227.

Adams, R., & Allan, G. (1998). Placing friendship in context. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Agnew, Robert. (1992). "Foundation for a General Strain Theory of Crime and Delinquency." Criminology 30(1): 47-87.

Atkinson, P. and Housley, W., (2003) *Interactionism*, London: Sage.

Atkinson, R. (2001) "The Life Story Interview." In Gubrium, Jaber F. and James A. Holstein, eds. Handbook of Interview Research. Thousand Oaks: SAGE. [electronic book]

Alvermann, D. (2000). *Handbook of reading research* (Vol. 3). Lawrence Erlbaum.

Andrews, D. A., & Bonta, J. (2010). The psychology of criminal conduct (5th ed.). New Providence, NJ: LexisNexis Matthew Bender.

Andrews, D. A., Bonta, J., & Hoge, R. D. (1990). Classification for effective rehabilitation: Rediscovering psychology. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 17, 19-52.

Arnold, R. A. (1990). Processes of victimization and criminalization of black women. *Social Justice*, 17: 153-166.

Arnull, E., S. Eagle, A. Gammampila, D. Archer, V. Johnston, K. Miller and J. Pitcher. (2005). Persistent Young Offenders: A Retrospective Study. London, UK: Youth Justice Board for England and Wales.

Asendorpf, J., & Aken, M. (2003). Personality-Relationship Transaction in Adolescence: Core Versus Surface Personality Characteristics. *Journal of Personality*, 629-666.

Badhwar, N. K. (1993) The nature and significance of friendship. *Friendship: A philosophical reader.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Bahr, S., Harris, L., Fisher, J., & Armstrong, A. (2010). Successful Reentry: What Differentiates Successful and Unsuccessful Parolees? *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 51*(5), 667-692.

Bailey, R. C., Finney, P., & Helm, B. (1975). 'Self concept support and friendship duration'. *Journal of Social Psychology* (96), 237-43.

Baker, L., Dalla, R., and Williamson, C. (2010). "Exiting Prostitution: An Integrated Model."

Violence Against Women 16(5): 579-600.

Bandura, A. (1977). Self-efficacy: Toward a unifying theory of behavioral change. *Psychological Review*, 84, 191-215.

Bandura, A. (1982). Self-efficacy mechanism in human agency. *American Psychologist*, 37, 122-147.

Barrera, M., Jr., Chassin, L., & Rogosch, F. (1993). Effects of social support and conflict on adolescent children of alcoholic and nonalcoholic fathers. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 64, 602-612.

Barry, M. (2011). 'I realized I wasn't alone': The views and experiences of young carers from a social capital perspective. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 14 (5), 523-539.

Barsade, S. G., Ward, A. J., Turner, J. D. F., & Sonnenfeld, J. A. (2000). To your heart's content: A model of affective diversity in top management teams. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 45, 802– 836.

Bauman, Z. (1995). Life in Fragments: Essays in Postmodern Morality. Cambridge: Blackwell.

Bauman, Z. (2004). Liquid Modernity. Cambridge UK: Polity Press

Baumeister, R. F., DeWall, C. N., Ciarocco, N. J., & Twenge, J. M. (2005). Social exclusion impairs self-regulation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *88*, 589-604.

Beatty, R. H. (1988). *The complete job search book*. New York: Wiley

Belli, R., Alwin, D., & Stafford, F. (2009). The Application of Calendar and Time Diary Methods in the Collection of Life Course Data. In R. Belli, D. Alwin, & F. Stafford (Eds.), *Calendar and Time Diary*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Bem, D. J. (1972). 'Self-perception theory'. In L. Berkowitz (ed.) *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*. Vol 6. Academic Press: New York.

Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. (1966). *The social construction of reality*. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin.

Berger, C., & Calabrese, R. (1975). Some Explorations In Initial Interaction And Beyond: Toward A Developmental Theory Of Interpersonal Communication. *Human Communication Research,* 99-112.

Bettleheim, B. (1960). *The informed heart*. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin.

Bigelow, B. J. (1977). Children's friendship expectations: A cognitive developmental study. *Child Development*, 48, 246-253.

Binns, D. and Mars, G. (1984). 'Family, community and unemployment: a study in change', *Sociological Review*, 32: 662-95.

Blau, P. M., (1977) Inequality and Heterogeneity. *A Primitive Theory of Social Structure*. Free Press, New York.

Blieszner, R., & Adams, R. G. (1992). Adult friendship. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Bonta, James, Bessie Pang, and Suzanne Wallace-Capretta. (1995). "Predictors of Recidivism Among Incarcerated Female Offenders." Prison Journal 75: 227-294.

Boon, S. D., & Holmes, J. G. (1991). The dynamics of interpersonal trust: Resolving uncertainty in the face of risk. In R. A. Hinde & J. Groebel (Eds.), Cooperation and prosocial behavior (p. 190-211).Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. (1986). "The Forms of Capital." Pp. 241-258 in John G. Richardson (Ed.) Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education. Richardson. New York: Greenwood.

Bourdieu, Pierre and Loic J.D. Wacquant. (1992). An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bousman, C. A., Blumberg, E. J., Shillington, A. M., Hovell, M. F., Ji, M., Lehman, S., & Clapp, J.(2005). Predictors of substance use among homeless youth in San Diego. Addictive Behaviors, 30(6), 1100–1110, doi:10.1016/j.addbeh.2004.10.006.

Borzycki, M. 2005. Interventions for Prisoners Returning to the Community. A Report Prepared by the Australian Institute of Criminology for the Community Safety and Justice Branch of the Australian Government Attorney General's Department. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology. Retrieved from http://www.aic.gov.au/publications/reports/2005-03-prisoners.html

Borzycki, M. and E. Baldry. (2003). "Promoting Integration: The Provision of Prisoner Post-release Services", Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice, No. 262, Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology. Retrieved from http://www.aic.gov.au/publications/tandi2/tandi262.html

Borzycki, M., & Makkai, T. (2007). Prisoner reintegration post-release, *Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology.*

Bottoms, A.E. (2001) 'Compliance and Community Penalties', in A. Bottoms, L. Gelsthorpe and S. Rex (eds) Community Penalties: Change and Challenges. Cullompton: Willan.

Boyce, J., Cotter, A., & Perreault, S. (2013, January 1). Police-reported crime statistics in Canada, 2013. Retrieved April 8, 2015, from http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-002-x/2014001/article/14040-eng.htm#a1

Brown, Marilyn. (2006). "Gender, Ethnicity, and Offending Over the Life Course: Women's Pathways to Prison in the Aloha State." Critical Criminology 14: 137-158.

Bucerius, S. (2014). *Unwanted: Muslim immigrants, dignity, and drug dealing*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bui, Hoan N. and Merry Morash. (2010). "The Impact of Network Relationships, Prison Experiences, and Internal Transformation on Women's Success After Prison Release." Journal of Offender Rehabilitation 49(1): 1-22.

Bukowski, W. M. (2001). Friendship and the worlds of childhood. In D. Nangle & C. Erdley (Eds.), *The role of friendship in psychological adjustment: New directions for child and adolescent development* (No. 91, pp. 93-106). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Bukowski, W. M., & Adams, R. (2005) Peer relations and psychopathology: Markers, mechanisms, mediators, moderators, and meanings. *Journal of Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology*, 34, 3-10.

Bukowski, W. M., & Hoza, B. (1989). Popularity and friendships: Issues in theory, measurement, and outcome. In T. J. Berndt & G. W. Ladd (Eds.), *Peer relations in child development* (pp. 15-45). New York: Wiley.

Bukowski, W.M., Motzoi, C., & Meyer, F., in Friendship as a Process, Function, and Outcome. (2011). In K. Rubin, W. Bukowski, & B. Laursen (Eds.), *Handbook of Peer Interactions, Relationships, and Groups*. Guilford Press.

Bukowski, W. M., & Sippola, L. K., (2005). Friendship and morality: (How) are they related? In W. M. Bukowski, A. F. Newcomb, & W.M. Hartup (Eds.), *The company they keep: Friendship during childhood and adolescence* (pp. 238-261). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Blumstein, A., Cohen, J., Roth, J. A., & Visher, C. (Eds.). (1986). Criminal careers and ‘‘career criminals’’ (Vol. 1). Washington, DC: National Academy Press.

Burawoy, M. (1979) *Manufacturing consent*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Burke, P., & Tonry, M. (2006). Successful transition and reentry for safer communities: A Call to Action for Parole. Silver Spring, MD: Center for Effective Public Policy.

Burkitt, I., (2008), Social Selves: *Theories of Self and Society*, 2nd edn, London: Sage.

Burnett, R., & McNeill, F. (2005). The place of the officer-offender relationship in assisting offenders to desist from crime. *Probation Journal*, 221-242.

Bushman, B.J. (2002). Does venting anger feed or extinguish the flame? Catharsis, rumination,

distraction, anger and aggressive responding. *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin*, 28(6), 724-731.

Byrne, D. E. (1971). *The attraction paradigm*. New York: Academic Press

Byrne, D., & Griffet, W. (1966). A developmental investigation of the law of attraction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 4(6), 699-702.

Callan, M. J., Ellard, J. H., & Nicol, J. E. (2006). The belief in a just world and immanent justice reasoning in adults. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*,*32*, 1646-1658.

Campbell, L., Simpson, J. A., Boldry, J. G., & Rubin, H. (2010). Trust, variability in relationship evaluations, and relationship processes. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 99, 14-31.

Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (Fall 2014). Rental Market Report.

Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies, (2006). *Criminalized and imprisoned women*

Capaldi, D. M., Kim, H. K., & Owen, L. D. (2008). Romantic partners' influence on men's likelihood of arrest in early adulthood. *Criminology*, 46, 267-299.

Caroline, H. (1993). Explorations of Close Friendship: A concept analysis. *Archives of Psychiatric Nursing, 7*(4), 236-243.

Chalk, H. (2015). Disability Self-Categorization in Emerging Adults: Relationship with Self-Esteem, Perceived Esteem, Mindfulness, and Markers of Adulthood. *Emerging Adulthood*.

Chambers, D. (2006) *New Social Ties*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Charmaz, K. (2001) "Qualitative Interviewing and Grounded Theory Analysis." In Gubrium, Jaber F. and James A. Holstein, eds. Handbook of Interview Research. Thousand Oaks:SAGE. [electronic book]

Chesney-Lind, M. (2002). Imprisoning women: The unintended victims of mass imprisonment. *In Invisible Punishment: The Collateral Consequences of Mass imprisonment*, eds. Marc Mauer and Meda Chesney-Lind. New York: The New Press.

Coates, J. (1996) Women Talk, Blackwell, Oxford.

Cobbina, Jennifer. (2009). "From Prison to Home: Women's Pathways In and Out of Crime." PhD dissertation, Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice, University of Missouri-St. Louis.

Cohen, J. M. (1977). "Sources of peer group homogeneity." *Sociology of Education* 50:227-41.

Cohen, S., & Taylor, L. (1972). *Psychological survival: The experience of long-term imprisonment*. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin.

Coleman, James S. (1988). "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital." American Journal of Sociology 94: S95-S120.

Collica, K. (2010). "Surviving incarceration: Two prison-based peer programs build communities of support for female offenders." Deviant Behavior 31: 314–347.

Connolly, J. A., & Konarski, R. (1994). Peer self-concept in adolescence. Analysis of factor structure and associations with peer experience. *Journal of Research in Adolescence*, 43, 385—40

Correctional Service Canada, Women's Corrections. (2011). *Community strategies for women offenders*

Creswell, John W. (2013) "Five Qualitative Approaches to Inquiry." Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches. Los Angeles: SAGE.[TBA]

Crockett, L. J., Raffaelli, M., & Shen, Y.-L. (2006). Linking self-regulation and risk proneness to risky sexual behavior: Pathways through peer pressure and early substance use. Journal of Research on Adolescence, 16(4), 503–525, doi:10.1111/j.1532-7795.2006.00505.x.

Cruwys, Tegan, Michael J. Platow, Sarah A. Angullia, Jia Min Chang, Sema E. Diler, Joanne L. Kirchner, Charlotte E. Lentfer et al. (2012), "Modeling of Food Intake is Moderated by Salient Psychological Group Membership," *Appetite*, 58, 754-57.

Dalla, R., (2000). "Exposing the 'Pretty Woman' Myth: A Qualitative Examination of the Lives of Female Streetwalking Prostitutes." *Journal of Sex Research* 37 (4): 344-66.

Dalla, R. (2006). *Exposing the 'Pretty Woman' Myth: A Qualitative Investigation of Street Level Prostituted Women*. Lanham, MD: Lexington.

Daly, Kathleen. (1998). *Gender, crime, and criminology*. In The Handbook of Crime and Justice, ed. Michael Tonry. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Danner, Terry.A., William.R. Blount, Ira J. Silverman, and Manuel. Vega. (1995). "The Female Chronic Offenders: Exploring Life contingency and Offense History Dimensions for Incarcerated Female Offenders." Women and Criminal Justice 6(2): 45-66.

Delacoste, F., and Alexander, P. (1998). *Sex Work: Writings by Women in the Sex Industry.* Berkeley, CA: Cleis Press.

Demir, M., & Weitekamp, L. (2007). I am so Happy 'Cause Today I Found My Friend: Friendship and Personality as Predictors of Happiness. *Journal of Happiness Studies,* 181-211.

Derrida, J. (1993). Politics of Friendship, *American Imago*, 50:3.

Dodge, Mary and Mark R. Pogrebin. (2001). "Collateral Costs of Imprisonment for Women: Complications of Reintegration." The Prison Journal 81: 42-54.

Dowden, C., and D.A. Andrews. (1999). "What Works for Female Offenders: A Meta-Analytic Review." Crime and Delinquency 45: 438-452.

Dowden, C., and Brown, S. L. (2002). The role of substance abuse factors in predicting recidivism: A meta-analysis. Psychology, *Crime and Law*, 8: 243-264.

Drapela, L. A. (2006). Investigating the effects of family, peer, and school domains on postdropout drug use. Youth & Society, 37(3), 316–347, doi:10.1177/0044118x05278264.

Dryer, D. C., & Horowitz, L. M. (1997). When do opposites attract? Interpersonal complementarity versus similarity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 72, 592– 603

Duck, S. (1973). *Personal relationships and personal constructs: A study of friendship formation.* New York: Wiley.

Duck, S. (1991) *Understanding relationships*. New York: Guilford.

Ebaugh, H., (1988). *Becoming an Ex: The Process of Role Exit.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Eder. D., & Hallinan, M. T. (1978). Sex differences in children's friendships. American Sociological Review, 43, 237-250.

Elliott, D. S., & Menard, S. (1996). Delinquent friends and delinquent behavior: Temporal and developmental patterns. In J. D. Hawkins (Ed.), *Delinquency and crime: Current theories* (pp. 28-67). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Ellis, B. J., Robins, S., Bennison, T. E., & Kavanagh, P. S. (2005). *Social exclusion, self-esteem, and relationship behavior: Tests of a functional model*. Unpublished manuscript, University of Arizona.

Elvira, M. M., & Cohen, L. E. (2001). Location matters: A cross-level analysis of the effects of organizational sex composition on turnover. *Academy of Management Journal*, 44, 591–605.

Ehrenreich, B. (2001). Nickel and Dimed: on (not) getting by in America. New York: Metropolitan Books.

Farrington, D. P. (1986). *Age and crime*. In M. Tonry & N. Morris (Eds.), Crime and justice: An annual review of research (Vol. 7, pp. 189–250). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Farrington, D. P., Piquero, A. R., & Jennings, W. G. (2013). *Offending from childhood to late middle age: Recent results from the Cambridge study in delinquent development.* New York: Springer.

Feld, S. L., (1981). The focused organization of social ties. *Am. J. Sociol*. 86. 1015-1035.

Feld, S. L., (1982). Social structural determinants of similarity among associates. *Am. Sociol. Rev.* 47. 797-801.

Fetterman, D. M. (1998). Ethnography: Step by step (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Fischer, C. S. (1982). *To Dwell Among Friends: Personal Networks in Town and City.* University of Chicago Press, Chicago [USA].

Fischer, C. S., Jackson, R. M., Stueve, C. A., Gerspn, K., McCallister Jones, L., Baldassare, M., (1977). *Networks and Places. Social Relations in the Urban Setting*. The Free Press, New York.

Fisher, A. (n.d.). Mentoring Program at the Edmonton Institution for Women. Retrieved August 24, 2015.

Flavin, Jeanne. (2004). "Employment Counseling, Housing Assistance...And Aunt Yolanda? How Strengthening Families' Social Capital Can Reduce Recidivism." Criminology & Public Policy 3(2): 209-216.

Fletcher, G. J. O., Simpson, J. A., & Thomas, G. (2000). The measurement of perceived relationship quality components: A confirmatory factor analytic approach. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 26, 340-354.

FOODIE-ISM, AS YOUTH CULTURE. By: Idov, Michael, New York, 00287369, 4/2/2012, Vol. 45, Issue 10

Ford, J. A. (2009). Nonmedical Prescription Drug Use Among Adolescents. Youth & Society, 40(3), 336–352. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0044118x08316345

Foster, K., & Spencer, D. (2013). 'It's just a social thing': Drug use, friendship and borderwork among marginalized young people. *International Journal of Drug Policy*, 223-230.

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Fromkin, H. L. (1970). 'The effects of experimentally aroused feelings of indistinctiveness upon valuation of scare and novel experiences'. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* (16), 521-9.

Fromkin, H. L. (1972). 'Feelings of interpersonal undistinctiveness: an unpleasant affective state'. *Journal of Experimental Research in Personality* (6), 178-85.

Furman, W., & Buhrmester, D. (1985). Children's perceptions of the personal relationships in their social networks. *Developmental Psychology*, 21, 1016-1024.

Galupo, M. (2009). Cross-category friendship patterns: comparison of heterosexual and sexual minority adults. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 26, 811-831.

Galupo, M., & Gonzales, K. (2013). Friendship values and cross category friendships: Understanding adult friendship patterns across gender, sexual orientation, and race. *Sex Roles, 68*, 779-790.

Gecas, V., Calonica, J.M., & Thomas, D.L. (1974). 'The development of self-concept in the child: mirror theory versus model theory'. *Journal of Social Psychology* (92), 67-76.

Giddens, A., (1991), *Modernity and Self-Identity*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gilfus, Mary E. (1992). From victims to survivors to offenders: Women's routes of entry and immersion into street crime. *Women and Criminal Justice*, 4: 63-90.

Giordano, P. C., Cernkovich, S. A., & Holland, D. D. (2003) Changes in friendship relations over the life course: Implications for desistance from crime. *Criminology*, 41, 293-327.

Giordano, P. C., Cernkovich, S. A., & Rudolph, J. A. (2002) Gender, crime, and desistance: Toward a theory of cognitive transformation. *American Journal of Sociology*, 107, 880-1064.

Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. New York: Doubleday Press.

Goffman, E. (1961). *Asylums: Essays on the social situation of mental patients and other inmates.* New York: Doubleday.

Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma: Notes on the management of spoiled identity*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall

Granovetter, M. S. (1951). *Getting a job* (2nd ed.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Granovetter, M. S. (1973). "The Strength of Weak Ties." American Journal of Sociology 78(6): 1360-1380.

Gray, B. (2008). Putting Emotion and Reflexivity to Work in Researching Migration. *Sociology, 42*(5), 935-952.

Green, E. (1998). 'Women Doing Friendship' : An analysis of women's leisure as a site of identity construction, empowerment and resistance. *Leisure Studies, 17*, 171-185.

Green, S. E. (2007). Components of perceived stigma and perceptions of well-being among university students with and without disability experience. *Health Sociology Review*, 16, 328–340.

Greenberg, D. (1985). Age, crime and social explanation. *American Journal of Sociology*, 91, 1–21.

Greenfeld, Lawrence A. and Tracy L. Snell. (1999). *Women Offenders*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics.

Griffin, Marie L. and Gaylene S. Armstrong. (2003). "The Effects of Local Life Circumstances on Female Probationers' Offending." Justice Quarterly 20: 213-239.

Hafer, C. L., & Olson, J. M. (2003). An analysis of empirical research on the scope of justice. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *7*, 311-323.

Hagan, John and Juleigh Petty Coleman. (2001). "Returning Captives of the American War on Drugs: Issues of Community and Family Reentry." Crime & Delinquency 47(3): 352-367.

Hagan, J., and Wheaton, B. (1993). "The Search for Adolescent Role Exits and the Transition to Adulthood." *Social Forces* 71(4): 955-79.

Hairston, Creasie Finney. (1998). "The Forgotten Parent: Understanding the Forces that Influence Incarcerated Fathers' Relationships with Their Children." Child Welfare 77(5): 617-639.

Harm, N. J., and Phillips, S., D. (2001). You can't go home again: Women and criminal recidivism. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 32: 3-21.

Harper, G. and C. Chitty. 2004. "The Impact of Corrections on Re-offending: A Review of 'What Works'." Third edition. London, UK: Research, Development, and Statistics Directorate, Home Office. Retrieved from http://www/homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs04/hors291.pdf

Harris, D., & Parisi, D. (2007). Adapting Life History Calendars for Qualitative Research on Welfare Transitions. *Field Methods, 19*(40-58).

Harrison, D. A., Price, K. H., & Bell, M. P. (1998). Beyond relational demography: Time and the effects of surface- and deep-level diversity on work group cohesion. *Academy of Management Journal*, 41, 96 –107.

Harrison, D. A., Price, K. H., Gavin, J. H., & Florey, A. T. (2002). Time, teams, and task performance: Changing effects of surface- and deep level diversity on group functioning. *Academy of Management Journal*, 45, 1029 –1045.

Hartup, W. W., & Laursen, B. (1999). Relationships as developmental contexts: Retrospective themes and contemporary issues. In W. A. Collins & B. Laursen (Eds.), *The Minnesota Symposia on Child Psychology* (Vol. 30). Relationships as developmental contexts (pp. 13-35). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Hartup, W. W., & Stevens, N. (1997) Friendships and adaptation in the life course. *Psychological Bulletin*, 121, 335-370.

Haselager, G. J. T., Hartup, W. W., van Lieshout, C. F. M., & Riksen-Walraven, J. M. A. (1998). Similarities between friends and nonfriends in middle childhood. *Child Development*, 69, 1198-1208.

Haynie, D. L. (2002) Friendship networks and delinquency: The relative nature of peer delinquency. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 18, 99-134.

Healy D., & O'Donnell, I. (2008) Calling time on crime: Motivation, generativity and agency in Irish probationers. *Probation Journal*, 55, 25-38.

Hebert, Tony. (2005). The Invisible Tenant: Living in Federally Assisted Housing after Prison. New York: Family Justice.

Heider, F. (1958). *The psychology of interpersonal relations.* New York: Wiley.

Heimer, K. (2000). Changes in the gender gap in crime and women's economic marginalization. In *Criminal Justice 2000: The Nature of Crime, Continuity and Change*, Vol. 1, ed. Gary LaFree. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.

Heimpel, S. A., Wood, J. V., Marshall, M. A., & Brown, J. D. (2002). Do people with low self-esteem really want to feel better? Self-esteem differences in motivation to repair negative moods. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *82*, 128-147.

Henriques, Zelma Weston and Norma Manatu-Rupert. (2001). "Living on the Outside: African American Women Before, During, and After Imprisonment." The Prison Journal 81(1): 6-19.

Hermann, A. D., Lucas, G. M., & Friedrich, J. (2008). Individual differences in perceived esteem across cultures. *Self and Identity*, 7, 151–167.

Hey, V. (1997) The Company She Keeps: an Ethnography of Girls' Friendships, Open University Press, Buckingham

Hinde, R. A. (1979). *Towards understanding relationships*. London: Academic Press.

Hinde, R. A. (1987). *Individuals, relationships, and culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hinde, R. A. (1995). A suggested structure for a science of relationships. *Personal Relationships*, 2, 1-15.

Hinde, R. A. (1997). Relationships: A dialectical perspective. Hove, UK: Psychology Press.

Hirschi, T. (1969). *Causes of delinquency.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Hirschi, T., & Gottfredson, M. R. (1983). Age and the explanation of crime. *American Journal of Sociology*, 89, 552–584.

Hirt, E. R., & McCrea, S. M. (2000). Beyond hedonism: Broadening the scope of affect regulation. *Psychological Inquiry*, *11*, 180-183.

Hochschild, A. R. (1973). *The Unexpected Community*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall.

Holmes, J. G. (1991). Trust and the appraisal process in close relationships. In W. H. Jones, & D. Perlman (Eds.), *Advances in personal relationships* (pp. 57-104). Oxford, England: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Holstein, J. Gubrium, J. (2003) "Inside Interviewing: New Lenses, New Concerns" In Inside Interviewing. J.A. Holstein and J. F. Gubrium (eds.) Thousand Oaks: SAGE. [electronic book]

Holtfreter, K., M.D. Reisig, and M. Morash. (2004). "Poverty, State Capital, and Recidivism Among Women Offenders." Criminology and Public Policy 3: 185-208.

Homans, G. C. (1961). Social behavior: Its elementary forms. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc.

Horvath, A.O. & Greenberg, L.S. (eds) (1994) The Working Alliance: Theory, Research and Practice. New York: Wiley

Howard, J. (2006). "Expecting and Accepting: The Temporal Ambiguity of Recovering Identities." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 69(4): 307-24.

Hubble, M.A., Duncan, B.L. & Miller. S.D. (eds) (1999) *The Heart and Soul of Change: What Works in Therapy*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Huggins, D. (2001). "A study of family units formed in female correctional facilities in the state of Texas (Unpublished doctoral dissertation).", Texas Woman's University, Denton, Texas.

Huggins, D. W., L. Capeheart, and E. Newman. (2006). “Deviants or scapegoats: an examination of pseudofamily groups and dyads in two Texas prisons.” The Prison Journal 86 (1): 114–139.

Jackson, S. E., Brett, J. F., Sessa, V. I., Cooper, D. M., Julin, J. A., & Peyronnin, K. (1991). Some differences make a difference: Individual dissimilarity and group heterogeneity as correlates of recruitment, promotions, and turnover. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 76, 675– 689.

Jang, S. J., & Johnson, B. R. (2011). The effects of childhood exposure to drug users and religion on drug use in adolescence and young adulthood. *Youth & Society*, 43(4), 1220–1245, doi:10.1177/0044118X10393483.

Jenkins, T. (2006) ‘Bourdieu’s Bernais Ethnography’, Theory, Culture and Society 23(6): 45–72.

Joas, H. (2004). Morality in an age of contingency. *Acta Sociologica*, 47(4), 392–399, doi:10.1177/0001699304048675.

Johnson, B. R., & Larson, D. B. (2003). *The Inner Change Freedom Initiative: A preliminary evaluation of a faith-based prison program.* Philadelphia: Center for Research on Religion and Urban Civil Society, University of Pennsylvania

Jones, S.C. (1973). ‘Self and interpersonal relations: esteem theories versus consistency theories’. *Psychological Bulletin* (79), 185-99.

Jordan, Judith V., Alexandra G. Kaplan, Jean Baker Miller, Irene P. Stiver, and Janet L. Surrey. (1991). Women's Growth in Connection: Writings from the Stone Center. New York: Guilford Press.

Kandel, D. B. (1978) “Homophily, selection and socialization in adolescent friendships.” *American Journal of Sociology* 84:427-36

Keinan, G., & Koren, M. (2002). Teaming up Type As and Bs: The effects of group composition on performance and satisfaction. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 51, 425–445.

Kelvin, P. (1977). ‘Predictability, power, and vulnerability in interpersonal attraction.’ In S.W. Duck (ed.). *Theory and Practice in Interpersonal Attraction*. Academic Press: London.

Kimbrough, A., Guadagno, R., Muscanell, N., & Dill, J. (2013). Gender differences in mediated communication: Women connect more than do men. *Computers in Human Behavior*, *29*

Kleiman, M. A. R. (2003). Faith-based fudging: How a Bush-promoted Christian prison program fakes success by massaging data. *Slate*.

Koenig, H. G. (1995). Religion and older men in prison. *International Journal of Geriatric Psychology*, 10, 219–230.

Kong, R., & AuCoin, C. Statistics Canada, (2008). *Female offenders in canada* (85-002-XIE) Juristat Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics.

Krannich, C. R., & Krannich, R. L. (1996). *Dynamite networking for dynamite jobs*. Manassas Park, VA: Impact.

Kraut, Richard, "Aristotle's Ethics", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2014 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2014/entries/aristotle-ethics/>.

Lambert, M.J. & Ogles, B.M. (2004) 'The Efficacy and Effectiveness of Psychotherapy', in M.J. Lambert (ed.) Bergin & Garfield's Handbook of Psychotherapy and Behavior Change, 5th edition. New York: Wiley.

Latessa, E.J., & Lowenkamp, C.T. (2005) The role of offender risk assessment tools and how to select them. *For the Record* 4th Quarter, 18-20

Laub, J., & Sampson, R. (1993). Turning points in the life course: Why change matters to the study of crime. *Criminology*, *31*(3)

Laub, J., and Sampson, R. (2001). Understanding desistance from crime. *Crime and Justice* 28: 1-69.

Laub, J., & Sampson, R. (2003). Shared beginnings, divergent lives: Delinquent boys to age 70. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Laub, John H., Daniel S. Nagin, and Robert J. Sampson. (1998). "Trajectories of Change in Criminal Offending: Good Marriages and the Desistance Process." American Sociological Review 64: 225-38.

Laursen, B., Furman, W., & Mooney, K. (2006). Predicting Interpersonal Competence and Self-Worth From Adolescent Relationships and Relationship Networks: Variable-Centered and Person-Centered Perspectives. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, 572-600.

La Vigne, Nancy, Samuel J. Wolf, and Jesse Jannetta. (2004). Voices of Experience: Focus Group Findings on Prisoner Reentry in the State of Rhode Island. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.

Lazarsfeld, P. F. and R. K. Merton (1954) "Friendship as social process: a substantive and methodological analysis." Pp. 18-66 in Morroe Berger, Theodore Abel, Charles H. Page (eds.), Freedom and Control in Modern Society. New York: Octagon Books.

Leaper, C. (1994). Exploring the consequences of gender segregation on social relationships. In C. Leaper (Ed.), Childhood gender segregation: Causes and consequences (pp. 67-86). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Leary, T. (1957). *The interpersonal diagnosis of personality: A functional theory and methodology for personality evaluation*. New York: Ronald Press Company.

Leary, M. R., & Downs, D. L. (1995). Interpersonal functions of the self-esteem motive: The self-esteem system as a sociometer. In M. Kernis (Ed.), *Efficacy, agency, and self-esteem* (pp. 123-144). New York: Plenum Press.

Leary, M. R., Haupt, A. L., Strausser, K. S., & Chokel, J. T. (1998). Calibrating the sociometer: The relationship between interpersonal appraisals and the state self-esteem. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *74*, 1290-1299.

Lee, B., and Campbell, K. E. (1992). Sources of personal neighbor networks: social integration, need, or time? *Social Forces* 70:1077– 1100.

Lerner, M. J., Miller, D. T., & Holmes, J. G. (1976). Deserving and the emergence of forms of justice. In L. Berkowitz & E. Walster (Eds.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 9, pp. 133-162). New York: Academic Press.

Lever, J. (1976). Sex differences in the games children play. Social Problems, 23, 478-487

Leverentz, Andrea M. (2006). "People, Places, and Things: The Social Process of Reentry for Female Ex-Offenders." PhD dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago.

Lexell, E., Alkhed, A., & Olsson, K. (2013). The group rehabilitation helped me adjust to a new life: Experiences shared by persons with an acquired brain injury. *Brain Injury,* 529-537.

Lewicki, R. J., & Bunker, B. (1995). Trust in relationships: A model of trust development and decline. In B.Bunker & J. Rubin (Eds.), *Conflict, cooperation and justice* (pp. 133-173). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Liebling, A., & Maruna, S. (Eds.). (2005). *The effects of imprisonment*. Cullompton, England: Willan Books.

Liebow, E. (1967). *Tally's Corner*, Boston: Little, Brown.

Lin, Nan and Mary Dumin. (1986). "Access to Occupations through Social Ties." Social Networks 8: 365-385.

Lin, Nan, Paul Dayton and Peter Greenwald. (1977). "The Urban Communication Network and Social Stratification." Pp. 107-19 in B. Ruben (Ed.) Communication Yearbook I. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Book.

Liu, M., & Chen, X. (2003) Friendship networks and social, school, and psychological adjustment in Chinese junior high school students. *Psychology in the Schools*, 40, 5-17.

Lowstuter, C. C, & Robertson, D. P. (1995). *Network your way to your next job: Fast.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Lynch, S. (2005). *Philosophy and friendship*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Mallik-Kane, K., and Visher, C., A. (2008). Health *and Prisoner Reentry: How Physical, Mental, and Substance Abuse Conditions Shape the Process of Reintegration.* Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.

Mannheim, C. (1965). *Comparative criminology*. New York: Houghton-Mifflin.

Mansson, S., and Hedin, U., (1999). "Breaking the Matthew Effect—On Women Leaving Prostitution." *International Journal of Social Welfare* 8(1): 67-77.

Mason, J. and Tipper, B., (2008), 'Children and the making of kinship configurations' in Widmer, E. and Jallinoja, R (Eds), *Beyond the Nuclear Family: Families in a Configurational Perspective*, Oxford: Peter Lang.

Marsden, P. V., (1990). Network diversity, substructures, and opportunities for contact. In: Calhoun, C., Meyer, M. W., Scott, R. W. (Eds). Structures of Power and Constraint: Papers in Honor of Peter M. Blau. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 397-410.

Martin, F. S. (2010). Becoming vulnerable: Young women's accounts of initiation to injecting drug use. Addiction Research and Theory, 18(5), 511–527, doi:10.3109/16066351003611653

Martino, S., Tucker, J., Ryan, G.,Wenzel, S., Golinelli, D., & Munjas, B.(2011). Increased substance use and risky sexual behavior among migratory homeless youth: Exploring the role of social network composition. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 40(12), 1634–1648, doi:10.1007/s10964-011-9646-6.

Martinson, R. (1974). "What Works? - Questions and Answers About Prison Reform," *The Public Interest*, pp. 22-54.

Maruna, S. (2001) *Making good: How ex-convicts rebuild their lives.* Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Maruna, S., & Toch, H. (2005) The impact of imprisonment on the desistance process. In J. Travis & C. Visher (Eds.), *Prison reentry and crime in America* (pp. 139-178). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Maruna, S., Wilson, L., & Curran, K. (2006) Why God is Often Found Behind Bars: Prison Conversions and the Crisis of Self-Narrative. *HRHD Research in Human Development*, 161-184.

McAdams, D. P. (1993). *The stories we live by: Personal myths and the making of the self.* New York: Morrow.

McDougall, P., & Hymel, S. (2007). Same-Gender versus Cross-Gender Friendship Conceptions: Similar or Different? *Merill-Palmer Quarterly,53*(3), 347-380.

McFerran, Brent, Darren W. Dahl, W., Gavan J. Fitzsimons, and Andrea C. Morales, (2010), "I'll Have What She's Having: Effects of Social Influence and Body Type on the Food Choices of Others," Journal of Consumer Research, 36, 915-29.

McKenna, K. Y. A., and Bargh, J. A. (1998). Coming out in the age of the Internet. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 75:681–694.

McLean, Rachel L. and Michael D. Thompson. (2007). Repaying Debts. New York: Council of State Governments Justice Center.

McMurray, Harvey L. (1993). "High Risk Parolees in Transition from Institution to Community Life." Journal of Offender Rehabilitation 19: 145-161.

McPherson, J. M., Smith-Lovin, L., (1987). Homophily in voluntary organizations: status distance and the composition of face-to-face groups. *Am. Sociol. Rev.* 52, 370-379.

McPherson, J. M., Smith-Lovin, L., Cook, J. M., (2001) Birds of a feather: homophily in social networks, *Annu. Rev. Sociol*. 27, 415-444.

McWilliams, S. & Howard, J. A. (1993) Solidarity and hierarchy in cross-sex friendships. *Journal of Social Issues*, 49, 191-202.

Mendelson, M.J. and F.E. Aboud: 1999, Measuring friendship quality in late adolescents and young adults: McGill Friendship Questionnaires, Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science 31, pp. 130–132.

Merchant, K., How Men And Women Differ: Gender Differences in Communication Styles, Influence Tactics, and Leadership Styles (2012). *CMC Senior Theses*. Paper 513. http://scholarship.claremont.edu/cmc_theses/513

Merton, Robert. 1938. "Social Structure and Anomie." American Sociological Review 3: 672-682.

Mesch, G., & Talmud, I. (2006). The Quality Of Online And Offline Relationships: The Role Of Multiplexity And Duration Of Social Relationships. *The Information Society,* 137-148.

Mills, Alice. (2004). "Great Expectations? A Review of the Role of Prisoners' Families in

England and Wales." Presented at the British Criminology Conference, July 6-9, Portsmouth, England.

Mills, Alice and Helen Codd. (2008). "Prisoners' Families and Offender Management: Mobilizing Social Capital." Probation Journal 55(1): 9-24.

Moffitt, T. E. (1993). 'Life-course-persistent' and 'adolescence-limited' antisocial behavior: A developmental taxonomy. *Psychological Review*, 100, 674–701

Moock, R. T., Jr. (1996*). Get that interview! The indispensable guide for college grads.* Hauppauge, NY: Banon's Educational Series

Morenoff, J., & Harding, D. (2014). Incarceration, Prisoner Reentry, and Communities. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 411-429.

Morris, L. (1990). *The Workings of the Household*, Cambridge: Polity.

Morrow, V. (1999) Conceptualizing social capital in relation to the wellbeing of children and young people: a critical review. *The Sociological Review*, 47 (4), 744-765.

Moustakas, C. E. (1961). *Loneliness*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Musgrove, F. (1977). *Margins of the mind*. London: Methuen.

Naser, Rebecca L. and Christy A. Visher. (2006). "Family Members' Experience with Incarceration and Reentry." Western Criminology Review 7(2): 20-31: 2006.

Nelson, Marta, Perry Deess, and Charlotte Allen. (1999). The First Month Out: Post-Incarceration Experience in New York City. New York: Vera Institute of Justice.

Newcomb, T. (1953). An approach to the study of communicative acts. *Psychological Review*, 1953, 60, 393-404.

Newcomb, T. (1961). *The acquaintance process*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Newcomb, A. & Bagwell, C. (1995). Children's friendship relations: A meta-analytic review. *Psychological Bulletin*, 117, 306-347.

Nils, F., & Rime, B. (2012). Beyond the myth of venting: Social sharing modes determine the benefits of emotional disclosure. *European Journal of Psychology*, (42), 672-681.

Norcross, J.C. (ed.) (2002) *Psychotherapy Relationships that Work: Therapist Contributions and Responsiveness to Patients*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Norton, A., & Baptist, J. (2014). Couple boundaries for social networking in middle adulthood: Associations of trust and satisfaction. *CP Cyberpsychology: Journal of Psychosocial*

Research on Cyberspace.

O'Brien, Patricia. (2001). "'Just Like Baking a Cake': Women Describe the Necessary Ingredients for Successful Reentry After Incarceration." Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Human Services 82(3): 287-295.

Oselin, S. (2014). Introduction: Leaving the Tricks and the Trade. *In Leaving prostitution: Getting out and staying out of sex work* (pp. 1-19). New York and London: New York University Press.

Owen, B., and Bloom, B. (1995). Profiling women prisoners: Findings from the national surveys and the California sample. *Prison Journal*, 75: 165-185.

Pahl, R. (2002). Towards a more significant sociology of friendship. *European Journal of Sociology*, 43(03), 410–423. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0003975602001169

Pahl, R. and Spencer, L. (2004), 'Personal communities: not simply families of "fate" or "choice" ', *Current Sociology* , 52 (2): 199-221/

Peplau, L. A., Russell, D., & Heim, M. (1979) The experience of loneliness. In I. Friese, D. Bar-Tal, & J. Carroll (Eds.), *New approaches to social problems: Applications of attribution theory.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Perlman, D. and Peplau, L. A., (1981) 'Toward a Social Psychology of Loneliness. (1981). In S. Duck & R. Gilmour (Eds.), *Personal Relationships*. London: Academic Press.

Personal Information Protection Act, (2004). Retrieved from http://servicealberta.ca/pipa/documents/PIPAcompared.pdf

Petersilia, Joan (2003). When Prisoners Come Home: Parole and Prisoner Reentry. New York: Oxford University Press.

Petersilia, J. (2005). From cell to society: Who is returning home? In J. Travis & C. Visher (Eds) *Prison reentry and crime in America* (pp. 15-49). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Phillips, L., and Votey, H., L. (1984). Black women, economic disadvantage and incentive to crime. *American Economic Association Papers and Proceedings*, 74: 293-297.

Piercy, K., & Cheek, C. (2004). Tending and Befriending: The Intertwined Relationships of Quilters. *Journal of Women & Aging*, 17-33.

Piquero, A. R., Farrington, D. P., & Blumstein, A. (2003). *The criminal career paradigm.* In M. Tonry (Ed.), Crime and justice: A review of research (Vol. 30, pp. 359–506). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Piquero, A. R., Farrington, D. P., & Blumstein, A. (2007). *Key issues in criminal careers research: New analysis from the Cambridge study in delinquent development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Popp, D., Laursen, B., Kerr, M., Stattin, H., & Burk, W. (2008). Modeling homophily over time with an actor-partner interdependence model. *Developmental Psychology*, 44, 1028-1039.

Poulin, F., & Boivin, M. (2000). The role of proactive and reactive aggression in the formation and development of boys; friendships. *Developmental Psychology*, 36, 233-240.

Poulin, F., Cillessen, A., Hubbard, J., Coie, J. D., Dodge, K. A., & Schwartz, D. (1997). Children's friends and behavioural similarity in two social contexts. Social Development, 6, 244-236.

Powell, E. (n.d.). *Catharsis in psychology and beyond: A historic overview*. Primal Page. Retrieved from http://primal-page.com/cathar.htm

Programs and Services. (n.d.). Retrieved August 24, 2015 from http://efryedmonton.ab.ca/

Public Safety Canada (2007). The Social Reintegration of Offenders and Crime Prevention. (Research Report 2007-2). Ottawa: ON: Canada The International Centre for Criminal Law Reform and Criminal Justice Policy.

Putnam, Robert. (2000). Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Rakis, J. (2005). Improving the employment rates of ex-prisoners under parole. *Federal Probation*, 69(1), 7-12.

Rebellion, C. J., Straus, M. A., & Medeiros, R. (2008). Self-control in a global perspective. *European Journal of Criminology*, 5, 331-362.

Regan, P. (2012). Hans-Georg Gadamer's philosophical hermeneutics: Concepts of reading, understanding and interpretation. Meta: Research in Hermeneutics, Phenomenology, and Practical Philosophy*, 4*(2), 286-303.

Reid, G. L. (1972). Job search and the effectiveness of job-finding methods. *Industrial and Labor Relations Review,* 25, 479-495.

Rice, E., Milburn, N. G., & Rotheram-Borus, M. J. (2007). Pro-social and problematic social network influences on HIV/AIDS risk behaviours among newly homeless youth in Los Angeles. AIDS care, 19(5), 697–704, doi:10.1080/09540120601087038.

Richardson, H. M. (1940) "Community of values as a factor in friendships of college and adult women." *Journal of Social Psychology* 11:303-312.

Richie, Beth E. (1996). *Compelled to Crime: The Gender Entrapment of Battered Women Black Women*. New York: Routledge.

Richie, Beth E. (2001). "Challenges Incarcerated Women Face as They Return to Their Communities: Findings From Life History Reviews." Crime & Delinquency 47: 368 389.

Riessman, C. K. (1993). Narrative Analysis . Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Riessman, Catherine K. (2002) "Narrative Analysis." In A. M. Huberman and M. B. Miles (eds.) The Qualitative Researcher's Companion. Los Angeles: SAGE. [electronic book] http://www.library.ualberta.ca/permalink/opac/6043896/WUAARCHIVE

Rimé, B. (2009). Emotion elicits the social sharing of emotion: Theory and empirical review. *Emotion Review*, 1, 60–85.

Rimé, B., Finkenauer, C., Luminet, O., Zech, E., & Philippot, P. (1998). Social sharing of emotion: New evidence and new questions. In W.Stroebe & M. Hewstone (Eds.), *European review of social psychology* (Vol. 9, pp. 225–258). Chichester: Wiley.

Rimé, B., Mesquita, B., Philippot, P., & Boca, S. (1991). Beyond the emotional event: Six studies on the social sharing of emotion. *Cognition and Emotion*, 5, 435–465.

Riordan, C. M. (2000). Relational demography within groups: Past development, contradictions, and new directions. In G. R. Ferris (Ed.), Research in personnel and human resource management (Vol. 19, pp. 131–173). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Riordan, C. M., & Shore, L. M. (1997). Demographic diversity and employee attitudes: An empirical examination of relational demography within work units. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 82, 342–358.

Roberto, K. A. (1996). Friendships between older women: Interactions and reactions. *Journal of Women & Aging*, 8, 3/4, 55-73.

Roberto, K. A. (1997). Qualities of older women's friendships: Stable or volatile? *International Journal of Aging and Human Development*, 44, 1-14.

Rogers, C. (1957) 'The Necessary and Sufficient Conditions of Therapeutic Personality Change', Journal of Consulting Psychology 21 (2): 95–103.

Rose, S. (1985). Same and cross sex friendships and the psychology of homosociality. *Sex Roles*, 12, 63-74.

Rosenfeld, C. (1975). Job seeking methods used by American workers. Monthly Labor Review, 98, 39-42.

Rosenfeld, L. B., Richman, J. M., & Bowen, G. L. (2000). Social support networks and school outcomes: The centrality of the teacher. *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal*, 17, 205-226.

Ross, S. H., Cheyne, J. A., & Lollis, S. P. (1988). Defining and studying reciprocity in young children. In S. Duck (Series Ed.) & S. Duck, D. H. Hay, S. E. Hobfoll, W. Ickes, & B. M. Montgomery (Vol. Eds.), *Handbook of personal relationship: Theory, research, and interventions* (pp. 143-160). London: Wiley.

Ruspini, E. (2002). Introduction to longitudinal research . London, England: Routledge.

Ryff, C. (1995). Psychological Well-Being in Adult Life. *Current Directions in Psychological Science, 4*(4), 99-104.

Sampson, Robert J. and John H. Laub. (1993). Crime in the Making: Pathways and Turning Points through Life. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Sanders, T. (2007). "Becoming an Ex-Sex Worker: Making Transitions Out of a Deviant Career." *Feminist Criminology* 2(1): 74-95.

Saukko, Paula (2003) "Combining Methodologies in Cultural Studies." In Doing Research In Cultural Studies: an Introduction to Classical and New Methodological Approaches. London: SAGE.
[online]http://www.library.ualberta.ca/permalink/opac/6043655/WUAARCHIVE

Scheff, T.J. (2001). *Catharsis in healing, ritual, and drama*. Lincoln, NE: iUniverse.com.

Schaubroeck, J., & Lam, S. K. (2002). How similarity to peers and supervisor influences organizational advancement in different cultures. *Academy of Management Journal*, 45, 1120 –1136.

Scholte, R. H. J., van Lieshout, C. F. M., & van Aken, M. A. G. (2001). Perceived relational support in adolescence: Dimensions, configurations, and adolescent adjustment. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 11, 71-94.

Schroeder, R. D., Giordano, P. C., & Cernkovich, S. A. (2008). Drug use and desistance processes. *Criminology*, 45, 191-222.

Schwab, D. P., Rynes, S. L. & Aldag, R. J. (1987) Theories and research on job search and choice. *Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management*, 5, 129-166.

Scroggins, Jennifer Rhiannon, "Gender, Social Ties, And Reentry Experiences. " PhD diss., University of Tennessee, 2012. http://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_graddiss/1455

Severance, T. A. (2005). "'You know who you can go to': cooperation and exchange between incarcerated women." The Prison Journal 85 (3): 343–367.

Sherwood, J.J. (1970). 'Self-actualization and self-identity theory'. *Personality* (1), 41-63.

Shinkfield, A. J., & Graffam, J. (2009). Community reintegration of ex-prisoners: Type and degree of change in variables influencing successful reintegration. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 53, 29-42.

Shore, L. M., Cleveland, J. N., & Goldberg, C. B. (2003). Work attitudes and decisions as a function of manager age and employee age. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 88, 529 –537.

Shover, N. (1996). Great pretenders: Pursuits and careers of persistent thieves. Boulder, CO: Westview.

Shover, N. and Thompson, C. Y. (1992), Age, Differential Expectations, and Crime Desistance. Criminology, 30: 89–104

Simons, Ronald L., Eric Stewart, Leslie C. Gordon, Rand D. Conger, and Glen H. Elder Jr. (2002). "A Test of Life-Course Explanations for stability and Change in Antisocial Behavior from Adolescence to Young Adulthood." Criminology 40: 401-434.

Singh-Manoux, A., & Finkenauer, C. (2001). Cultural variations in social sharing of emotions: An intercultural perspective on a universal phenomenon. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32, 647–661.

Skovdal, M., & Ogutu, V. (2012). Coping with hardship through friendship: The importance of peer social capital among children affected by HIV in Kenya. *African Journal of AIDS Research, 11*(3), 241-250.

Small, M. (2009). 'how many cases do i need?' on science and the logic of case selection in field-based research. *Ethnography*, *10*(1), doi: 10.1177/1466138108099586

Smart, C., Davies, K., Heaphy, B., & Mason, J. (2012). Difficult friendships and ontological insecurity. *The Sociological Review, 60*(1), 91-109.

Snow, D., and Anderson, L., (1984). "The Sociology of Conversion." *Annual Review of Sociology* 10: 167-90.

Sobell, Linda C., Mark B. Sobell, Tony Toneatto, Gloria I. Leo. (1993). "What Triggers the Resolution of Alcohol Problems Without Treatment?" Alcoholism: Clinical and Experimental Research 17: 217-224.

Stack, C. (1974). *All Our Kin*, New York: Harper and Row.

Statistics Canada. (2006). *2006 Census of Canada,* Aboriginal Peoples Highlight Tables. (Catalogue number 97-558-XWE2006002). Retrieved April 3, 2014 from Statistics Canada: http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/hlt/97-558/index.cfm?Lang=E

Stauder, J. (2014). Friendship networks and the social structure of opportunities for contact and interaction. *Social Science Research, 48*, 234-250.

Strauss, J. P., Barrick, M. R., & Connerley, M. L. (2001). An investigation of personality similarity effects (relational and perceived) on peer and supervisor ratings and the role of familiarity and liking. Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, 74, 637–657.

Steffensmeier, Darrell J. (1993). National trends in female arrest, 1960-1990: Assessments and recommendations for research. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 9: 411-441.

Stevens. C. K., Timauer, D. C. & Turban, D. B (1997, August). *A qualitative study of job seekers' decision processes.* Paper presented at the meeting of the Academy of Management, Boston. MA

Stryker, S. (1980). *Symbolic Interactionism: A Social Structural Version*. Menlo Park, CA: Benjamin-Cummings.

Sullivan, H. S. (1953). *The interpersonal theory of psychiatry*. New York: Norton.

Sumter, M. T., & Clear, T. R. (1998). *An empirical analysis of literature examining the relationship between religiosity and deviance since 1985.* Unpublished manuscript, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL.

Supporting Education and Employment Opportunities. (n.d). Retrieved August 25, 2015, from http://www.ezikorestaurant.co.za/index.php/about-us.

Sutherland, E. H. (1974). Criminology (9th ed.). Philadelphia: Lippincott.

Suttles, G. (1970) Friendship as a social institution. In G. J. McCall, N. K. Denzin, G.D. Suttles & S. B. Kurth (Eds.), Social relationships (pp. 95-135). Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co.

Svensson, R. (2003). Gender differences in adolescent drug use. Youth & Society, 34(3), 300–329, doi:10.1177/0044118x02250095.

Swann, W. B., & Read, S. J. (1981). 'Self-verification processes: how we sustain our self conceptions'. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology (17), 351-72.

Swann, W. B., & Hill, C. A. (1982). 'When our identities are mistaken: reaffirming our self-conceptions through social interaction'. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* (43), 59-66.

Sweeten, G., Piquero, A. & Steinberg, L. (2013). Age and the Explanation of Crime, Revisited. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 921-938.

Sykes, G. M. (1958). *The society of captives*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Taylor, G. (2014, January 1). Forum on Corrections Research. Retrieved April 8, 2015, from http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/research/forum/special/espe_g-eng.shtml

Terry, C. M. (2003). *The fellas: Overcoming prison and addiction.* Belmont: CA: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning.

Tittle, C. R. (1988). Two empirical regularities (maybe) in search of an explanation: Commentary on the age/crime debate. *Criminology*, 26, 75–85.

Tsui, A. S., Egan, T. D., & O'Reilly, C. A., III. (1992). Being different: Relational demography and organizational attachment. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 37, 549 –579.

Tsui, A. S., & O'Reilly, C. A., III. (1989). Beyond simple demographic effects: The importance of relational demography in superior subordinate dyads. *Academy of Management Journal*, 32, 402– 423.

Tsui, A. S., Porter, L. W., & Egan, T. D. (2002). When both similarities and dissimilarities matter: Extending the concept of relational demography. *Human Relations*, 55, 899 –929.

Twenge, J. M., Baumeister, R. F., DeWall, C. N., Ciarocco, N. J., & Bartels, J. M. (2007). Social exclusion decreases prosocial behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *92*, 56-66.

Tyler, K. A. (2008). Social network characteristics and risky sexual and drug related behaviors among homeless young adults. Social Science Research, 37(2), 673–685, doi:10.1016/j.ssresearch.2007.09.004.

Ueno, K. (2010) Patterns of cross-orientation friendships in high schools. *Social Science Research*, 39, 444-458.

Uggen, C., Manza, J., Behren, A., (2004). "Less than the Average Citizen: Stigma, Role Transition, and the Civic Reintegration of Convicted Felons." In *After Crime and Punishment: Pathways to Offender Reintegration*, edited by Shadd Maruna and Russ Immarigeon, 258-90. Devon, UK: Willan Publishing.

Uggen, C. and Kruttschnitt, C. (1998). Crime in the breaking: Gender differences in desistance. *Law and Society Review*, 32: 339-366.

Uggen, C., & Piliavin, I. (1997). Asymmetrical causation and criminal desistance. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 88, 1399–1422.

Van Brunschot, M., Zarbatany, L., & Strang, K. (1993). Ecological contributions to gender differences in intimacy among peers. Presentation at SRCD, New Orleans. Louisiana

Verbrugge, L. M. (1977). “The structure of adult friendship choices.” *Social Forces* 56:576-97

Verbrugge,L. M., (1979). Multiplexity in adult friendships. *Soc. Forces*, 57, 1286-1309.

Visher, Christy, Nancy G. La Vigne, and Jeremy Travis. (2004). Returning Home: Understanding the Challenges of Prisoner Reentry. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.

Visher, C. A., L. Winterfield, and M. B. Coggeshall. (2005). “Ex-offender Employment Programs and Recidivism: A Meta-analysis.” Journal of Experimental Criminology, 1(3), 295-315.

Wagner, W. G., Pfeffer, J., & O’Reilly, C. A., III. (1984). Organizational demography and turnover in top-management groups. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 29, 74 –92.

Wallace, C. (1987). *For Richer, For Poorer: Growing up in and out of Work*, London: Tavistock.

Webster, M., & Kobieszek, B. (1974) *Sources of Self-evaluation*. Wiley: New York.

Weeks, J. (1995) *Invented moralities: Sexual values in an age of uncertainty.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Weiss, R. S. (1973). *Loneliness: The experience of emotional and social isolation.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Weiss, R. S. (1974). The provisions of social relationships. In Z. Ruibin (Ed.), Doing unto others (pp. 17-26). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Wesolowski, M. A., & Mossholder, K. W. (1997). Relational demography in supervisor–subordinate dyads: Impact on subordinate job satisfaction, burnout, and perceived procedural justice. Journal of Organizational Behavior, 18, 351–362.

Wiersema, M. F., & Bird, A. (1993). Organizational demography in Japanese firms: Group heterogeneity, individual dissimilarity, and top management team turnover. Academy of Management Journal, 36, 996 – 1025.

Windle, M. (1992). A longitudinal study of stress buffering for adolescent problem behaviors. Developmental Psychology, 28, 522-530.

Wolff, Nancy and Jeffrey Draine. 2004. "Dynamics of Social Capital of Prisoners and Community Reentry: Ties that Bind?" Journal of Correctional Health Care 10(3): 457-490.

Wood, J. V., Heimpel, S. A., Manwell, L., & Whittington, E. (2009). This mood is familiar and I don’t deserve to feel better anyway: Mechanizms underlying self-esteem differences in motivation to repair sad moods. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 363-380.

Wood, J. V., Heimpel, S. A., & Michela, J. L. (2003). Savoring versus dampening: Self-esteem differences in regulating positive affect. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *85*, 566-580.

Woolley, K., & Fishbach, A. (2014). Food and affiliation: A recipe for friendship. *Advances in Consumer Research*, 42.

Wright, P. (1984) Self-Referent Motivation and the Intrinsic Quality of Friendship. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 1*(1), 115-115.

Wulf-Ludden, T. (2013). Interpersonal relationships among inmates and prison violence. *Journal of Crime and Justice, 36*(1), 116-136.

Yoshihama, M., K. Clum, A. Crampton, and B. Gillespie. 2002. Measuring the lifetime experience of domestic violence: Application of the life history calendar method. Violence and Victims 17 (3): 297–317.

Zak, A. M., Gold, J. A., Ryckman, R. M., & Lenney, E. (1998). Assessments of trust in intimate relationships and the self-perception process. The Journal of Social Psychology, 138, 217-228.

APPENDIX I: CONSENT FORM

INFORMATION & CONSENT FORM

Study Title: Community Reintegration: The Role of Friendship in Women's Narratives of Re-Entry Following Incarceration

Research Investigator: Kaitlyn Dick, Graduate Student, University of Alberta
Email: krdick@ualberta.ca Ph: 587.338.5400
4-19 HM Tory Building
University of Alberta
Edmonton, AB, T6G 2H4

Supervisor: Dr. Sandra Bucerius, University of Alberta
Email: bucerius@ualberta.ca Ph: 780.709.7954
6-20 HM Tory Building
University of Alberta
Edmonton, AB, T6G 2H4

Introduction & Project Summary:

Hello, my name is Kaitlyn Dick and I am a student at the University of Alberta doing research on women's imprisonment. The study you have been asked to participate in seeks to understand the experiences of women after they have been released from prison in Edmonton, Alberta. This study will look at the friendships of women before, during, and after being in prison. You have been asked to participate in this study because you are currently going through the experience of community re-entry after being released from prison. While this study is helping me to fulfill requirements for completion of my thesis, the findings may also be used in other research publications about the experiences of women who have been in prison in Edmonton, Alberta. This research has been funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

The purpose of this study is to understand the everyday experiences of women after they are released from prison in order to provide an understanding of what it is like to re-enter the community after being incarcerated. This study seeks to improve the experiences and conditions of women re-entering the community after incarceration. I hope that this interview and telling your story will be a positive experience for you.

Interview:

I am asking for approximately 2 hours of your time for this interview session and an additional 2 hours of your time at a later date for a second interview session. Your total expected time commitment for this project is 4 hours. This interview will not be formal. I have prepared some questions to get the conversation started, but you are free to talk about whatever is important for me to know to understand your story. This interview will focus on your life experiences after being released from prison. If you are okay with it, I will tape record the interview. After the interview, I will type up your answers. Only I will be able to listen to this tape. If you would like, I can give you a typed copy of your answers to make sure they are correct.

You may benefit from participating in this research as a result of positive feelings associated with sharing your story, contribution to your community, and improving the conditions for other criminalized women in your circumstances. The risks associated with participation in this study are expected to be minimal. Some participants may experience strong emotions as a result of talking about their experiences of being released into the community.

As a thank you for your time and participation you will receive a $20 gift card to a local grocery store for each interview, for a maximum of 2 interviews ($40 total).

Anything you say during the interview will be confidential. Your name will be changed immediately and only I will know your real name. You may choose the name you wish to be called by in the research or I can give you one. I will remove any information that would identify you to the public.

You may decline to answer any of the questions and you are allowed to stop the interview at ANY time even if you have already agreed to participate. You can also say something "off the record", which means I will not include these answers in any report or repeat this information to anyone. If you would like to withdraw your interview from this study after it has been completed, you may contact the Research Investigator within 7 days of the interview's completion.

The hard copies of the data will be kept in a locked filing cabinet and electronic data will be password protected. Data will be kept in a secure place for a minimum of 5 years following the completion of the research and when appropriate destroyed in a way that ensures privacy and confidentiality.

If you have any questions regarding this study or the interview, please ask me now. If questions come up after the interview is over, you can call or email my supervisor or I (see the information above).

This study has been approved by Research Ethics Board 1 at the University of Alberta. If you have questions about this please call (780) 492-2615, the interviewer, Kaitlyn Dick at (587) 338-5400 or krdick@ualberta.ca, or Dr. Sandra Bucerius at (780) 709-7954 or bucerius@ualberta.ca.

Consent:

By signing below, I am saying that I have read and understood the above information, and that I consent to participate in this research project.

_____	_____	_____
Interviewee's Name	Interviewee's Signature	Date

Signature of Researcher_____ Date_____

APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW GUIDE

1) I'd like to know a little bit more about you, can you tell me about yourself, generally speaking?

- **Definition of Friendship**
  - What is the purpose of friendship?
  - What kind of people do you consider your friends?
  - What does being there for someone mean to you?
  - What kinds of things do you expect from your friends?
    - Emotional Support?
    - Material Support?
  - What do you need most from your friends these days?
  - What is the most important quality in a friend?
  - What kinds of things do you do for your friends that you don't do for people who aren't your friends?
  - What is your best quality as a friend?

- **Instances Where Friendships are Experienced as Helpful for Reintegration**
  - In what ways have some of your friendships helped you since being released from prison?
  - Do any of your friendships provide you with positive emotional support?
  - Do any of your friendships provide you with help finding housing?
  - Do any of your friendships provide you with help finding a job?
  - How do these friendships impact your outlook on your own reintegration?
  - How do you think your reintegration experience would be different if you didn't have these friends?
  - How important has friendship been to your throughout your experience of being in prison and now that you are released?

- **Instances Where Friendships are Experienced as Unhelpful/Harmful for Reintegration**
  - In what ways have some of your friendships make re-entering the community harder?
  - Do you have friends that are not supportive of you becoming a law-abiding citizen?
  - How do you handle friendships that have a negative impact on your re-entry?
  - What is the biggest challenge you face with your friends and re-entry?
  - How do these friendships impact your outlook on your own reintegration?
  - How do you think your reintegration experience would be different if you didn't have these friends?

- **Changing Friendships**
  - How have your friendships changed since you were incarcerated?

- Have any of the people you thought were your friends turned out not to be after you were incarcerated?
- Have any new friendships emerged because you were incarcerated?
- How are your friendships on the outside different from your friendships in prison?

- **Activities of Friendship**
  - When you were in prison did you have contact with any of your friends on the outside?
    - If yes, how did they contact you and how often?
      - What was the impact of these connections on your experience of prison?
    - If no, what was the impact of not maintaining these friendships on your experience of prison?
      - Did you reconnect with these people after you were released?
      - How did your friendships with these people change because they did not maintain contact?
  - What do you do with your friends when you hang out?
  - What kinds of things do you talk about with your friends?
  - If you were going through a hard time emotionally, how much would you share with your friends?
  - Do you share your prison experience with your friends on the outside?
  - How often do you see your friends now?
  - How did you form friendships with people while you were in prison?