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Religion in Incarcerated, Jewish, Female Inmates

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Religion in Incarcerated, Jewish, Female Inmates

by

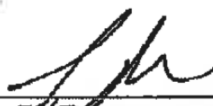
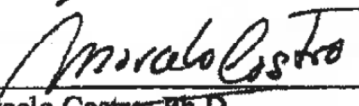
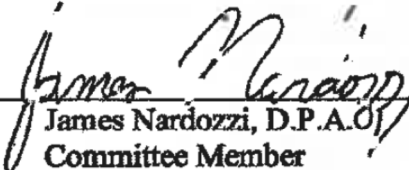
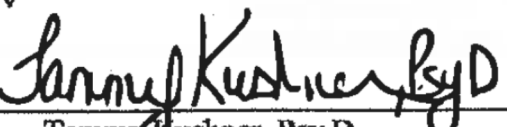
Marcia Janine Kesner

An Applied Dissertation to the
Abraham S. Fischler College of
Education
and School of Criminal Justice in
Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Approval Page

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I declare the following:

I have read the Code of Student Conduct and Academic Responsibility as described in the *Student Handbook* of Nova Southeastern university. This applied dissertation represents my original work, except where I have acknowledged the ideas, words, or material of other authors.

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Marcia Janine Kesner

July, 25, 2019

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“Every saint has a past; every sinner has a future.” *Oscar Wilde*

I would like to acknowledge the correctional chaplains who shared their time, experiences, and their passion for their work with me. Their experiences allowed me to fashion this work into what it is and I hope I have done their stories justice. Learning of their work and hearing their stories has forever changed me.

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Abstract

Religion in Incarcerated, Jewish, Female, Inmates, Kesner, Marcia Janine 2019; Applied Dissertation, Nova Southeastern University, Abraham S. Fischler College of Education and School of Criminal Justice. Keywords: Jewish, incarcerated, religion, anti-Semitism, correctional chaplains,

This study explored the role religious belief and practice played amongst Jewish, female inmates during their incarceration. A group of ten correctional chaplains who work with Jewish, female, inmates and a comparison group of ten chaplains who work with Protestant, female inmates were interviewed. The study determined the reasons for and benefits of religious observance among these inmates and included assisting in dealing with fear, providing a sense of peace, and deceitful motives for personal gains. Religious practice also assisted inmate populations in healing from trauma, improving self-respect and self-esteem, building support systems, and additionally for Jewish, female inmates constructing or enhancing a sense of their religious identity.

The study found while the Protestant sample had a significant history of involvement in their churches, Jewish inmates typically had little, if any religious background or practice prior to their incarceration and these trends continued during incarceration for both groups. The study also explored if anti-religious or anti-Semitic biases played a part in their religious observance while incarcerated and found no instances of biases reported for either group of inmates. The study did; however, find anecdotal instances of anti-Semitism reported by Jewish, male chaplains, from correctional staff towards them, but none by Jewish, female chaplains.

Also explored was how working with these populations affected the chaplains personally, professionally, and in their religious lives, finding significant positive benefits for both study groups, which included a tendency to be less conservative in their views on the criminal justice system and more compassionate towards inmates and humanity in general. A history of trauma prior to this employment was noted in both study groups.

Table of Contents

Approval Page	3
Acknowledgements	5
Abstract.....	6
List of Tables	13
List of Figure	13
Chapter 1: Introduction	14
Problem Statement.....	16
Relevance and Significance	19
Study Feasibility	19
Barriers and Issues	23
Purpose Statement	25
Definition of Terms.....	28
Chapter 2: Literature Review.....	34
Studies of Religion in Prison	35
Prison Adjustment and Mental Health.....	36
Behavior Infractions.....	41
Religious Practices Among Varying Sects in Incarcerated Populations	43
The Prevalence of Religion in America.....	44
Religious Identity Formation	46
Developmental Theories	46

Parental, Communal, and Educational Influences on Identity Throughout the Lifespan	54
Religious Identity in Incarcerated Populations	57
Religious Identity Among Protestants	59
The Use and Impact of Religious Coping	61
Religious Coping Among Protestants	70
Religious Coping Among Jews	72
Studies Comparing Coping Among Protestants and Jews	74
Anti-Religious and Anti-Semitic Attitudes in Penal Institutions	78
History of Using Bible Studies and Stories in Prison	83
Correctional Chaplaincy and Positive Influences on Healing and Rehabilitation	84
Tasks and Duties of Correctional Chaplains	87
Why Choose Correctional Chaplaincy as a Career?	89
Conflict in the Service of Prison Chaplaincy	90
Diminishing Staff	91
The Religious Con and Providing Service	91
Budget Concerns and the Consequences for Correctional Chaplaincy	92
The Toll Prison Chaplaincy Takes on Religious Workers	94
Theoretical Frameworks for Correctional Counseling	96
Volunteers	98
Research Questions	100
Chapter 3: Methodology	102
Participants and Recruitment	102

Instrumentation	103
Procedures	104
Research Design.....	104
Data analysis and coding procedures.....	111
Coding Procedures	113
Comparison of Findings Between Groups	114
Limitations.....	115
Milestones	116
Chapter 4 Findings	118
Research Questions	118
Recruitment of Subjects.....	121
Confidentiality	125
Chaplains Who Work with Incarcerated, Jewish, Female, Inmates	127
Chaplains Who Work with Protestant, Female, Inmates	128
City and County facilities	130
State and Federal Facilities	131
Interview Protocol.....	135
Data Analysis and Coding Procedures.....	136
Comparison of Findings Between Groups.....	137
Incarcerated Women and Religion.....	138
Research Questions.....	139
Dealing with Fear and Providing a Sense of Peace	140

Providing a Sense of Hope and Stability	143
Faithless Motives	145
Switching Religions	154
Healing from a History of Trauma.....	157
Self-Esteem	162
Identity for Jewish, Female Inmates	165
Incarcerated, Protestant, Female inmates.....	174
Incarcerated, Jewish, Female Inmates	175
Kosher Food.....	177
Sabbath and Holiday Observances.....	182
Personal and Communal Prayer.....	183
Jewish Learning	184
General Strife Between Groups	188
Lawsuits	193
Divinely Flawed and Human	196
Distrust and suspicion	199
Changes in the Chaplain's Professional Views and Concerns Safety and Security ...	200
Rules, regulations and bureaucracy	202
Personal Religious Practice.....	205
Advice to CPE students considering a career in correctional chaplaincy.....	209
Chapter 5 Discussion	212
Purpose of the study and rationale	212
Are there really incarcerated, Jewish women in jail and prison?	213

How many incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates are there?	214
Recruitment Method and Study Methodology.....	215
Interview Procedures	216
Data Analysis and Coding Procedures.....	217
Summary of Research Findings	217
Incarcerated, Protestant, Female Inmates	223
Comparison to Findings in Previous Studies.....	227
New Findings in This Research	231
Strengths and Limitations of This Research Study	232
Strengths	232
Limitations	233
Interesting and Unexpected Findings.....	235
Reflexivity.....	237
Implications of Findings and Recommendations for Future Research and Practical Applications	238
Recommendations for Future Practice.....	239
Summary	241
References	244
Appendix A (Section 1).....	274
Chaplain Interview Guide.....	274
Appendix A (Section 2).....	278
Appendix B	280

Post-Interview Comment Sheet	280
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List of Tables

Table 1 RQ1 Related Interview Questions.....	104
Table 2 RQ2 Related Interview Questions.....	105
Table 3 RQ3 Related Interview Questions.....	105
Table 4 RQ4 Related Interview Questions.....	106
Table 5 RQ5 Related Interview Questions.....	109
Table 6 RQ6 Related Interview Questions.....	110
Table 5 Chaplains Interviewed	113

List of Figure

How Study Subjects Were Recruited	108
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Chapter 1: Introduction

The right of religious freedom is guaranteed to all citizens under the First Amendment to the United States Constitution (US Constitution). This right is extended to the public at large, as well as those who are incarcerated. Since the 1960's a variety of prisoner lawsuits, have been aimed at challenging and enhancing prisoner's rights on to religious practice (Roberts, 2010). Traditionally, penal facilities maintained financial issues, and security risks made it unfeasible to accommodate religious practices. Despite the difficulties cited, these lawsuits have, overall, been successful at improving prisoner's rights (Solove, 2006). These suits have resulted in courts ordering penal facilities to find ways to accommodate religious practice and not place burdensome restrictions on worshipers. Like it or not, the practice of religion is alive and well in the American penal system. There have been few studies on the role religious belief and practice play among incarcerated populations in the United States. The majority, if not all of these studies have focused on Christian and Muslim inmates; with no studies specific to Jewish inmates, and undeniably none published, which specifically explore the role religion, has played in the lives of Jewish, female inmates. A study of Jewish, female inmates will help to complete the body of research on religious observance among incarcerated populations.

There is a common fallacy that there are few if any Jews who are incarcerated; and while this is the not the case it is accurate to say their rates are relatively low, in comparison to other religious groups. Obtaining accurate numbers of incarcerated Jews is complicated and is imprecise based on the definition of "Jewish" being used (Jewish Prisoner Services Institute, 2018). The most recent figure obtainable from the United

States Bureau of Prisons in 1999 showed 1,325 Jewish prisoners, making up 1.423% of prisoners incarcerated at the time (Federal Bureau of Prisons, 2018).

The Aleph Institute, the largest organization, dedicated to assisting Jews with their religious practice while incarcerated, maintains the number of Jews currently incarcerated in the United States at somewhere around 4,200. The only other identified and accredited organization providing religious services specifically to Jews, Jewish Prisoner Services (<http://www.jpsi.org>) believes there are between 12,000 and 15,000 Jewish inmates in the United States (<http://www.jpsi.org>). The enormous disparity in numbers can be attributed to the varying levels of observance within the Jewish religion and each organization's criterion used to define "Jewish". In addition, because of threats of anti-Semitism in the prison culture, it is believed many Jewish prisoners do not openly acknowledge their faith behind bars and if they practice, do so in isolation and unobtrusively (Alpha Institute, 2018). Data published in 2014 by New York State in Under Custody Report: Profile of Inmate Population showed 7.5% or 4,048 out of 54,142 of all inmates in New York State were Jewish. This number has undoubtedly grown since that time, as the total number of inmates has risen dramatically since the data were published. In contrast, this same report indicated the largest group of female inmates in New York State identified themselves as Protestant, comprising 998 women or 43.4 of the state's prison population (http://www.doccs.ny.gov/Research/Reports/2014/UnderCustody_Report_2014.pdf).

While not specifically targeting Jewish prisoners, one of the most pertinent studies was completed with 70 inmates from two prisons by Clear, Hardyman, Stout, Lucken and Dammer (2000). In this study, research was conducted with a series of male

inmates and determined religion held intrinsic meanings and explored how its practice assisted inmates while incarcerated. The researchers' conclusions included religion as helping inmates in dealing with guilt, finding a new way of life, dealing with losses; especially loss of freedom, and providing a sense of physical safety (Clear et al., 2000).

Jang and Johnson (2005) conducted one of the few studies, which included religious practice amongst female inmates. Studying both male and female African American prisoners, they reported during a one-year period, 50% of male inmates attended at least one religious service or activity. During this same time period, female inmates reported their attendance at 85%. This is a strikingly significant number of inmates who participate in religious programming, with the researchers noting religious programming is by far the most widely attended program or activity by all inmates, including educational programming (Jang & Johnson, 2005). It is clear religious practice plays an important role in the lives of those who practice it while incarcerated. Despite studies on other religious beliefs and practices, there exists no published research on Jewish, female inmates in the United States and the role religion plays in their lives behind bars.

Problem Statement

Adjustment to life inside a correctional facility can be difficult for even the most emotionally healthy inmates and yet, studies consistently indicate prior to incarceration, most arrested persons emerge from profoundly dysfunctional systems; many of them, with pre-existing and untreated mental health issues (Dye, Aday, Farney & Raley, 2014). A national profile of female offenders indicated these offenders frequently suffer from a history which includes having other family members also involved with the criminal

justice system, are often survivors of physical or sexual abuse as children and/or adults, have significantly fragmented family histories and significant physical and mental health issues (Bloom & Covington, 2003; Covington, 1998). Once incarcerated, inmates are exposed to additional stress (Thomas & Zaitow, 2006). Today's penal institutions are a breeding ground for many of society's most complicated and difficult issues. These stresses include interpersonal violence, gangs, unwanted sexual advances, drug use, and suicide (Thomas & Zaitow, 2006).

There is ample evidence to suggest adjustments to and incarceration in a penal facility are some of the most dangerous and difficult experiences many may ever encounter (Thomas & Zaitow, 2006). Both entry into the penal system and everyday routine are emotionally demanding and inmates may experience much of their daily existence as dehumanizing (Sumter, 2006). Faith-based prison programs provide correctional administrators another tool to bring about change in the lives of those inmates they are charged to care for (Hewitt, 2006).

Few studies have been conducted with female inmates involving the practice of religion while incarcerated. No studies have been conducted on the practice of religion among Jewish inmates. This proposed study will be the first of its kind and play an important role in studying this population. Additional studies about the benefits of religious practice among prisoners are necessary to assist prison administrators, correctional staff and inmates in maximizing these opportunities for practice, and the resulting benefits.

Further studies of correctional chaplains provide an opportunity to gain better insight into the operations of correctional facilities, the nature of rehabilitation and faith

(Sundt & Cullen, 2007). In addition, correctional chaplains are deserving of a study of their own in order to be included in the general scholarship of correctional work (Sundt & Cullen, 2007). As noted by both Sundt, Dammer and Cullen (2002) and Hicks (2012) correctional chaplains remain an understudied group in the correctional community (Hicks 2012; Sundt, Dammer & Cullen 2002).

This overlooking and neglect of the correctional chaplaincy occurs despite the statistic that virtually every prison and most jails have at least one chaplain on staff, with the American Correctional Chaplains Association listing its membership in the hundreds of chaplains employed in the United States (Sundt, 1998). In general, little academic attention has been paid to correctional chaplaincy. These roles have been most often seen as facilitating adjustment to incarceration, visiting prisoners in isolation, counseling and assisting inmate's families during their incarceration, providing religious education conducting religious services and helping inmates plan for their release (Sundt, 1998).

In her 2014 writings, Brault states, "a review of pastoral literature geared toward the prison population is scarce at best" (Brault, 2014). There is certainly a deficit of scholarly research on correctional chaplaincy in general. In specific, there exist essentially no scholarly research articles, which specifically examine Jewish correctional chaplaincy. This research is aimed to provide insight into the critical population and shed light on this understudied population. It is hoped the knowledge gained will be a first step in understanding Jewish, female inmates as compared to Protestant inmates and serve as a window into how prison chaplaincy affects the clerical workers who work with these populations.

Relevance and Significance

Exploring the role religious observance plays amongst Jewish, female inmates will play a part in completing the larger body of research on the benefits and role religious observance plays among female inmates. If faith-based or religious programs can enhance adjustment to incarceration, reduce the rates of depression or suicide, decrease levels of interpersonal violence, provide hope and a sense of security, penal facilities should utilize these programs whenever possible.

It is clear religious practice plays an important role in the lives of those who practice it while incarcerated. Despite some limited studies on other religious practices, there exists no published research on Jewish, female inmates in the United States and the role religion plays in their lives behind bars. In order to best serve those incarcerated, it is crucial to have an understanding of what all religions can offer in the ways of rehabilitation and healing. Further studies on the practice of religion in prison can only facilitate a better understanding of the role it plays among incarcerated populations.

Study Feasibility

Typically research subject matter in penal facilities is limited to four areas: prisons as institutions or prisoners as incarcerated persons, medical conditions which affect prisoners as a group, practices with the intent of improving the health or well-being of incarcerated persons, and the causes and effects of incarceration (Bryne, 2005). Nova Southeastern University's policy on research with prisoner's states the study must "present no more than a minimal risk and no more than inconvenience to the subject" (Nova Southeastern University, 2013).

City of New York University researchers McQuaide and Ehrenreich (1998) state if the knowledge of female prisoners as a group is sorely lacking, stating “knowledge of the strengths and differences of female prisoners of different racial and ethnic backgrounds, the unique needs of particular groups of female offenders, or the interactions between racial or ethnic identity, and the prison experience is all but non-existent” (McQuaide & Ehrenreich, 1998, p. 233). These researchers note typical evaluative methods of conducting research such as broad surveys and psychometric testing, with this population are incomplete and do not adequately capture female inmates’ experiences while incarcerated (McQuaide & Ehrenreich, 1998). Studies with this population must probe more deeply to adequately understand and address these issues. In writing on research in correctional environments, Liebling (1999) points out “observation” does not adequately capture the experience of being present in other’s worlds. This is important to understand in regards to prisoner’s experiences and their day-to-day existence. Liebling then stresses the importance of qualitative research with prison populations stating, “the pains of imprisonment are tragically underestimated by conventional methodological approaches to prison life” (Liebling, 1999). It is clear research on female prisoners is woefully inadequate.

This proposed research study was designed to understand how women practice their religion while incarcerated and better understand how to assist them both during and post-incarceration. The outline for this study has been developed in accordance with these guidelines, using composites of the Jewish and Protestant inmates each correctional chaplain has worked with and did not divulge any particular identifying names, numbers or facts regarding any inmate. Since the initial permission to conduct research inside

penal facilities in New York State was not granted, all interviews with correctional staff occurred outside of any correctional facility and was not subjected to the intense strictures of conducting research within correctional facilities and correctional chaplain interviews were conducted only outside of correctional facilities. The secondary line of inquiry regarding how working with inmate populations has affected the chaplains in the professional, personal and spiritual lives also adhered to regulations listed in the Belmont Report (Beauchamp, 2008).

The numbers of women in prison have risen dramatically over the past few decades and continue to rise. The number of In New York State alone, more than tripled from 1982-1990, rising from 800 to more than 2700 in 1991 (Lord, 1995). In 1995, the former Warden at Bedford Hills, Elaine Lord made an impassioned plea for researchers to ask questions about women, and how they became whom they are, not simply focusing on crime. In her writings, she goes on to say “Work with women involves bearing witness so they can examine their life histories in a safe setting in which they can sort out the pathways that took them to prison, come to be aware of themselves in terms of these life histories, and finally accept and examine their own responsibility for their actions” (Lord, 1995).

Lord (1995) also pointed out rehabilitation and healing is different for men and women and continued to note, *women do their time differently than men*. Men concentrate on “doing their own time relying on their individual inner strength to endure outside pressures and deal with their struggles while incarcerated (p. 26). Women; however, remain interconnected and intimately woven into the fabric of other’s lives,

primarily those of their children and their own mothers who often bear the responsibility for childcare during their incarceration.” (Lord, 1995, p. 266)

Incarcerated women continue significant caretaking roles, even while imprisoned (Lord, 1995). A study of religion can only assist and enhancing these unique roles women play in their own lives and that of others both during and post-incarceration.

Initially the Commissioner of Corrections in the New York State Department of Corrections was contacted regarding the potential for this study and voiced his support for the project. Unfortunately, after months of negotiations with the New York State Department of Research and Planning, it was clear approval to conduct any interviews that required direct contact with inmates in any New York State correctional facility would not be granted. At this juncture, essentially any research, which requires direct contact with inmates, is prohibited in New York State correctional facilities. A far more practical approach to conducting this research involved surveying correctional chaplains regarding the incarcerated congregants they serve and added areas of research into how this ministry affects them in their personal, professional and religious lives. With this in mind, this study was amended to utilize correctional chaplains who work with either Jewish or Protestant females as sample populations. The sample populations are hoped to be drawn primarily from correctional chaplains in the northeast quadrant of the United States, especially New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. This region of the United States tends to have a larger Jewish population and consequently a more significant population of Jewish inmates and correctional chaplains that attend to them (Horowitz, 1993).

Barriers and Issues

Prior to 1978, research studies in correctional facilities often exploited vulnerable incarcerated persons (<https://nij.gov/journals/269/Pages/research-in-prisons.aspx>) In response to these exploitive practices, institutional review boards (IRB's) have been established and requisites for research with prisoners have become increasingly strict (Bryne, 2005). For example, IRB panels in penal facilities must now include an inmate representative (Wakai, Shelton, Trestman & Kesten, 2009). Gaining approval from multiple IRBs from each institution involved can delay research for months, as any change in any institution can compel subsequent reviews at the institutions involved (Wakai et al., 2009). This proved to be true in the original research proposal. It was hoped this amended proposal and study population would be easier to access and interview. The organizational structure of prisons is primarily concerned with the minimization of risk to prisoners and staff, and is focused on firstly on security. Some researchers believe the safeguarding of prisoners as a protected class has become too stringent and has instead overprotected these subjects to the point of discouraging their participation in studies, which may have beneficial implications for their welfare (Bryne, 2005).

In addition, Bosworth, Campbell, Demby, Ferranti and Santos (2005) have also focused on building trust and increasing dialog with all parties involved in prison research (Bosworth, Campbell, Demby, Ferranti, & Santos 2005). Apa et al. (2012) advised emphasizing mutual goals with all parties involved. Liebling (1999) suggested openness and collaboration may be enhanced through interviews, which are prepared,

arranged and introduced with these goals in mind. This strategy was also hoped to facilitate contact, candid interviews and insights into correctional chaplains as well.

Swidler (1986) has suggested an individual's cultural beliefs shape their values and these values prompt them to act. It was crucial for the researcher to understand his or her, own position or role in the research process. The researcher's race, class, gender, and personality may especially impact their perception of incarcerated subjects and vice versa. In addition, while researching incarcerated populations, the researcher must look within themselves to understand if they look at incarcerated persons as victims, victimizers or both (McQuaide & Ehrenreich, 1998). When researchers are aware of potential pitfalls, they can act proactively to avert them. As noted, these preemptory actions included respect for the subjects and their concerns for confidentiality awareness of the potential biases and perceptions both from the researcher and subjects' impressions regarding the researcher.

In this research, the most significant barriers were privacy and concerns that research subjects may not speak openly or honestly. It was important the subjects were afforded privacy during the interview process and assured no particular, identifying, individual descriptions of incarcerated persons would be revealed in this research. The subjects were also allowed to request personal confidentiality in which any personal comments they make regarding themselves or their work situations be disguised and kept confidential.

Subjects may have many reasons for agreeing to participate in research; some motivations genuinely altruistic, some in hopes of advocating for additional staff or enhancing their positions. Chaplains with an altruistic motivation were perhaps the best

candidates for research participation in this study, as their personal agenda may be solely to assist in the welfare of prisoners or other chaplains or correctional staff who may ultimately benefit from the study results. Some study subjects might have been hopeful their statements and responses might somehow have manipulated correctional policy if study results were shared with correctional officials. It is important the researcher was mindful of the subject's motivation for participation and took care to actively listen to respondents. While there is no foolproof way to ensure honest responses from these study subjects, it was hoped by active listening; the researcher was better able to determine if the subjects' responses were candid. Should the researcher have sensed the subject's responses were not honest, the researcher restated the question, returned to the question later or probed more deeply into the subject's responses to clarify their response.

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this study was to explore the role religious belief and practice played among Jewish, female inmates during their incarceration. A comparison group of Protestant female inmates was used as a comparison group and obtained through interviews with the correctional chaplains who have provided services to them. These interviews were hoped to provide a composite profile of each group of inmates, using aggregate interview data to form a richer picture of each group, its qualities and challenges while incarcerated. Further studies on the practice of religion in prison are needed to enable a better understanding of the role it plays among incarcerated populations. In addition, continuing the study of religion among prisoners may yield important data, and help to assist in more effective religious programming and decrease behavior infractions while incarcerated, while at the same time enhancing rehabilitation

A secondary avenue of inquiry in this study explored how the practice of working with these incarcerated individuals affected the correctional chaplains who worked with each population. Jewish and Protestant chaplains were interviewed to learn how working with correctional populations impacted these faith workers both personally and professionally; in their personal practice of religion and their view of humankind. There has been a gap in professional literature regarding how provision of services to the incarcerated affects religious workers. It was hoped this inquiry would expand on this and the topic of providing correctional chaplaincy services to incarcerated populations. In addition, there has been no professional research studies conducted with Jewish chaplains, working inside correctional facilities, and certainly none comparing and contrasting those experiences with those of Protestant correctional chaplains.

In order to measure religious observance, it must first be defined. Cei (2010) posited one of the simplest and most efficient definitions of religious practice. In this work Cei described faith-based strategies and programming as being "rooted in religious values and moral concepts found in the Bible, the Koran, and other spiritual texts". "The consensus being these strategies conform to principles such as honesty, truthfulness, nonviolence and service to their community" (Ce, 2010). While each religion may have features, which are unique to their practice, Kerley Matthews and Blanchard, (2005) noted "norms of civility" are found in nearly all major religions, along with an emphasis on compassion, and are based on a moral framework.

Studies of teleological reasoning (the human tendency to reason about things and events in terms of their purpose) suggest humans seek meaning and purpose to understand themselves and explain the world around them (Roehlkepartain, 2006).

Pargament (1997) defined religion as “a search for significance in ways related to the sacred” and went on to suggest this assumption people are goal directed and actively seek what it is they hold to be of significance (Pargament, 1997). Furthering this definition is the sense that religion is broad enough to include the negatives as well as the positives, the “noble as well as the nefarious” (Zinnbauer, Pargament, & Scott, 1999). It has been proposed that in and of itself, religion is neither adaptive nor maladaptive. Instead, certain facets of religion can be valuable and advantageous, while others may exacerbate symptoms of distress (Ellis, 2000; Rosmarin, Krumrei and Andersson, 2009).

Although some people distinguish important differences between spirituality and religion, most do not. George et al. (2000) delineated the difference between spirituality stating that both spirituality and religion "focus on the sacred or divine beliefs about the sacred, the effects of those beliefs on behavior, practices used to attain or enhance a sense of the sacred and experiences of a spiritual or religious state of consciousness" (George et al., 2000; Wulff, 1997).

In his studies, Pargament noted that the major difference is that religion is viewed as being linked to formal religious institutions, whereas spirituality does not depend upon a collective or institutional context (George et al., 2000; Pargament, 1997). Spirituality can be defined in many ways, and yet can be distinguished from religiosity in that spirituality as opposed to religiosity reflects inner, individual experiences rather than the outward observance of dictates or customs tied to a faith (Cartwright, 2001; Sinnott, 1998). Finally, not everyone avows membership to a particular religion but may still view themselves as upright, good and principled people.

Religiousness is a multi-dimensional construct and involves ideological, ritualistic, experiential, \intellectual and consequential dimensions (Pergament et al., 1990). To be succinct; religion certainly interacts with other human processes, yet extensive empirical and theoretical evidence suggests religion is a distinctive unique and dimension (Pargament & Raiya, 2007).

Definition of Terms

When discussing the Jewish religion and of who is Jewish, it is important to have an understanding of the various levels of religious observance. Typically, the Jewish religion has divided worshipers into one of three basic categories: reform, conservative, and orthodox. While there is some overlap and other smaller branches of Judaism, these are the largest groups and help to provide a framework for understanding various religious practices.

The most traditional branch is that of orthodox Judaism. Orthodox Judaism stresses the importance of both moral and ritual obligations. These ritual obligations take many forms and demand strict Sabbath observance, maintaining the laws of kosher, modest dress, laws of family purity and entail many other strictures. In the United States, orthodox Jews account for approximately 8% of all Jews (Donin, 1991; Goldstein, 1992; Lazerwitz & Harrison, 1979).

Reform Judaism is the largest branch and accounts for approximately 30% of all Jews. In reform theology, an emphasis is placed on ethical behavior and concepts of morality and social justice. There is much less emphasis on what they do not consider obligatory practices, such as strict Sabbath observance and laws of kosher (Goldstein, 1992; Lazerwitz & Harrison, 1979).

Conservative Judaism occupies a middle ground between the orthodox and reform branches and makes up approximately 28% of all Jews in the United States. Conservative Judaism attempts to preserve the structure and content of traditional, orthodox Judaism while making accommodations for modern life in ritual observance (Klein, 1992; Lazerwitz & Harrison, 1979).

The remaining 34% of Jews includes those who do not identify with any particular branch of Judaism, members who affiliate with other smaller branches of Judaism, or those born to Jewish mothers (Goldstein, 1992; Lazerwitz & Harrison, 1979). It is important to note that among Jews, there is significant disagreement about what constitutes being Jewish. Most Jewish authorities agree persons undergoing a formal religious conversion to Judaism are Jewish. Despite this, there is conflict regarding the level of learning, commitment and other particulars one is required to adhere to in order to comply with Jewish law on conversions. Most branches of Judaism specify anyone born to a Jewish mother is Jewish; yet, some members of the reform branch extend this definition to those born to non-Jewish mothers and Jewish fathers. The failure to identify with or practice Judaism does not diminish or remove one from being considered Jewish by most Jewish authorities (Horowitz, 2000).

Based on the most recent data available in the United States in 2016, approximately 46% of Americans identify themselves as Protestant, making up the largest sect of worshipers in the United State (<http://www.pewforum.org/religious-landscapestudy/>.) The Protestant faith is comprised of multiple branches of Christianity and includes primarily the Methodist, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Baptist, Evangelical and Pentecostal churches, along with a few smaller branches. While the branches of the

Protestant religion may have subtle differences between themselves, they all differ from Catholicism in two fundamental ways. These major differences include a reliance on scripture alone; with no need for a pope or priest as a guide to the Bible's meaning and forgiveness, repentance, and salvation through faith alone, without the need for ritual sacraments (Bowker, 2006).

The Protestant faith can be examined by examining the sect in two factions; *conservative* Protestants and *moderate* Protestants. While there is much overlap between the two factions, there are notable differences. *Conservative* Protestants may be considered less liberal than those Protestants who hold a moderate view of Protestant doctrine. *Conservative* Protestant adherents are typically more in favor of only heterosexual marriage and what is considered a classic family unit or nuclear family (Edgell, 2006). *Moderate* Protestants also endorse traditional family views; yet, are more flexible in their viewpoints regarding family structure and gender roles (Edgell, 2006).

There are many varieties of religious belief and practice, some distinctively different and yet; others, with considerable overlap. The word *religion* is derived from the Latin word *religion* which indicated a bond between "humanity and some greater-than-human power" (Hill, et al., 2000). The term *religion* is also said to have been derived from the Latin term *religio* to describe an effort to bind back together or restore to unity what was separated (Volna, 2000).

For this research study, a practical, working definition of *religion* was considered as those principles and practices which are based in religious values and beliefs, a search for what is sacred or a belief in a super-human deity; one in of control of human destiny (Hill, et al., 2000).

The terms *prisoner* and *inmate* are often used interchangeably throughout the legal system and writings and refers to an incarcerated person involved in the criminal justice system; whether or not they are awaiting trial, have been found guilty, or sentenced.

A *jail* is defined as a detention facility for local or county prisoners and is designed to detain persons awaiting either trial or adjudication. Jails are typically located within the municipality they serve. Prisoners serving sentences of one year or less for misdemeanors are typically housed in jails (Clapp, 2000).

Prison refers to a building or complex of building, designed by law for the confinement of those persons who are judicially ordered into custody. Prisons exist at the state and federal levels and range from minimum, medium to maximum security and more recently super-max. Most prisons are strategically kept out of sight and built in rural settings (Clapp, 2000).

Christianity and Judaism use the terms *hope*, *grace* and *forgiveness* differently and assign different meaning to the process of each. The clearest difference is Judaism does not use the term *grace* specifically but instead substitutes and emphasizes *compassion* and *forgiveness* (McCullough, Pargament & Thoreson, 2000). According to Williams, (1993), forgiveness is at the religious, theological and ethical core of Christian tradition. Williams goes on to say that forgiveness epitomizes the possibility and reality of transformation of an individual in relation to others and others in relation to that individual (Williams, 1993).

Carder (2006) speaks of *prevenient grace*. Prevenient grace as Carder defines it is a Christian concept in which divine grace is given and precedes human decision, in other

words God's love is given without a decision by humans to ask for or receive kindness from a benevolent and loving deity (Carder, 2006). Pounder (2008) states "Hope is in God's forgiveness." "As Christians we believe we can do nothing to earn righteousness of forgiveness of sin. It is God's gift of grace received through faith (Rom 3.21-24) (Pounder, 2008).

Again, Judaism does not use the term "grace" but instead underscores God's consideration and mercy (McCullough, Pargament & Thoreson, 2000), along with forgiveness. With respect to Jewish forgiveness, the most common Hebrew words for "forgiveness" are *mehilla* and *selihah*. These words are often used interchangeably; however, technically *mehilla* connotes the wiping away of a transgression, or 'forgiveness', while *selihah* connotes reconciliation (Dorff, 1998), (McCullough, Pargament & Thoreson, 2000).

In general, Judaism traditionally does not look favorably on "free" forgiveness and instead insists those who transgress must earn forgiveness by going through a return process, known as *teshuva*. *Teshuva* requires the following steps as outlined in Maimonides Laws of Forgiveness: Acknowledgement that one has done something wrong, public confession of the wrongdoing to both the community and to God, public expression of remorse, announcing publicly the offender's resolve to not repeat the sin, compensation for the victim's injuries, accompanied by acts of charity to others, since request of forgiveness from the victim, avoiding similar situations and if confronted with similar situations, acting differently (Dorff, 1998; Levine, 1999). Judaism also places some responsibility on the victim to forgive, and finds for victims to "withhold forgiveness unreasonably from offenders who have done all they can to expiate their

guilt” a moral failing on the part of the victim (Levine, 2000). Repentance and prayer on Yom Kipper only atone for sins between humans and God. Wrongs between people may not be forgiven until the wrongdoer makes the injured party whole and asks for forgiveness (Levine, 2000). Offended parties, who refuse to provide forgiveness after what may be considered a reasonable time, may be seen as affording extreme punishment to the offender. That said, Rabbi Avraham Yitzchak Ha Cohen Kook argues punishment cannot only be for the sake of revenge (Yanklowitz, 2007).

Since Yom Kipper, the Jewish Day of Atonement, is viewed as the holiest day of the Jewish liturgical year, forgiveness is clearly a central theme in Judaism. The ultimate theological basis for forgiveness in Judaism is that God himself is forgiving. Consequently, we in imitation of God, require we must be forgiving as well (Wolff, 1974).

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The United States has the second highest prison population in the world with more than 2.2 incarcerated persons, which includes pretrial detainees and persons on remand (Institute for Criminal Policy Research, 2015). In 2014, about one in 52 American adults were under some form of community supervision (Kaeble, Maruschak & Bonczar, 2015). Studies show approximately 95% of inmates will be released from prison, back into society (Gibbons & Katzenbach 2006). In addition, more than half of all prisoners serve sentences fewer than three years (Thomas & Zaitow, 2006).

Noting these facts, incorporating the benefits of religious observance, coping skills and self-improvement becomes increasingly important to the inmate population, as well as society at large. At this juncture, little research has been conducted solely on female inmates and the meaning of religious observance. Essentially no studies have been published in the United States with respect to Jewish inmates; much less, Jewish female inmates and the benefits of religious observance.

In the interests of the overall health and safety of inmates and correctional staff, prison administrators are perennially attempting to identify resources and strategies to help inmates cope with the struggles of incarceration (Kerley & Copes 2008). Communal religious programs and communal religious observance by inmates may facilitate this goal at little to no financial cost and with great behavioral and social rewards for inmates and staff.

Religious observance has been shown to facilitate prison adjustment, enhance coping skills, improve self-image, and reduce rates of suicide among prisoners. Religious observance has also been shown to give hope and meaning to personal struggles, provide

insight, understanding, and a framework for rehabilitation and healing for those who engage in it (Dammer, 2002; Lonczak, Clifasefi, Marlatt, Blume & Donovan, 2007). In his legal arguments before the Supreme Court of the United States for the practice of religion among the incarcerated, Blistak wrote in *O'Lone v. Shabazz* (1987) allowing prisoners to practice their religion would provide "significant benefits to the prison system and society" among these are providing rehabilitation, creating transformational tools and assisting with behavior management while behind bars.

Studies of Religion in Prison

Academic research on religiosity, prison coping, and faith-based initiatives is still its infancy, with only a handful of studies having been conducted (Kerley, Allison & Graham, 2006). Even fewer studies have involved religious practice and female inmates. While both prison and religion have been subjected to considerable independent study, little has been found about religion in prison with respect to offenders' psychological adjustment to incarceration or a decrease in behavior infractions (Clear & Sumpter, 2002). There is a literature gap, to say the least when looking at the impact of religious faith and its effect on incarcerated females.

Not related specifically to incarcerated populations, Jacobs argues, "religiosity can prevent and/or attenuate cognitively and affectively, the negative effects of guilt and/or shame directly" by supplying believers with a sense of meaning, enhancing self-esteem and providing a sense of control (Jacobs, 1992). Also, not specific to incarcerated persons, but relevant to the study of religious practice and its benefits, Ellison examined the many-sided relationships between religious involvement and subjective well-being. He noted that religion may enhance individuals in at least four ways. These areas of

personal enhancement include social integration and support, establishing a personal relationship with a divine other, providing systems of meaning, and promoting a more specific lifestyle pattern (Ellison, 1991).

Essentially all of the research on inmate's religious practice has fallen into three broad categories: religious practice while incarcerated and post-release recidivism, religion and prison adjustment, along with mental health; especially with regard to symptoms of depression, and lastly religious practice and its effect on behavior infractions during incarceration. Most of these studies have focused on religion and prison adjustment, or mental health; yet, some of the research has examined religion and both mental health and behavior infractions. The bulk of these studies have applied quantitative methods; yet, there are also certainly studies which have involved qualitative research. This research study focused on inmates who are currently incarcerated, and did not investigate recidivism within these populations.

Prison Adjustment and Mental Health

Clear et al. (2000) carried out a series of 50 ethnographic interviews over 10 months and with prisoners from a variety of locations throughout the United States. These researchers found religion in prison could be described on two levels: individually and as a group phenomenon. The individual level is one wherein inmate experience religion personally and find meaning through their personal experience of it; often included giving meaning to their incarceration and journey to redemption. On a group level, these prisoners experienced religion through shared members of the group, shifts in the prison environment, and continuous interactions among members (Clear et al., 2000). In 2002 Dammer conducted an ethnographic study with 70 male inmates in two large

maximum-security prisons in the northeast United States to determine why inmates practice religion while incarcerated. He determined there were both sincere and insincere reasons for religious practice while behind bars. The most common reasons for sincere practice included providing direction and meaning for one's life, motivation, positive self-esteem, hope for the future and peace of mind (Dammer, 2002).

Clear and Sumpter (2002) conducted a quantitative study of 769 inmates from 20 prisons in 12 states found a significant relationship between religiousness and prison adjustment. These authors noted, the higher the level of religiousness, the higher the level of adjustment and fewer numbers of infractions. Using data from self-report questionnaires with male inmates, the authors used bivariate analysis to evaluate inmates and also stressed the importance of examining self-mastery when looking at this population. These researchers noted it was possible people who become involved in religious programming might already have lower levels of depression and higher levels of self-mastery. In this sense higher level of self-esteem, lower levels of depression and self-mastery do not "cause" religiousness but may be necessary pre-conditions for one to adopt the practice of religion and reap the benefits while behind bars. The authors also suggest these relationships between self-esteem; religiousness and depression may exist in some prisons and not others. Additionally, the authors point out religious values frequently conflict with the values of the typical inmate code and which prisoners must navigate (Clear & Sumpter, 2002).

In 2005, Lonczak, Clifasefi, Marlatt, Blume and Donovan studied 305 incarcerated male and female adults at a minimum-security facility in Washington State. These researchers used hierarchical linear regression to study the relationships between

religious upbringing, coping, and mental health. These researchers found being raised with a formal religion was significantly predictive of decreased symptoms of depression and a reduction in hostility with inmates. The researchers also found significant interactions between religious discontentment and gender, with female inmates scoring higher on scales of depressive symptoms, somatization, hostility and symptoms of anxiety than males. The authors also noted this difference between genders may be attributed to a stronger likelihood that females may turn inwards in or toward their faith during difficult times; as opposed to males who may often externalize their feelings (Lonczak et al., 2005).

Religion may be especially important as a path to healing and rehabilitation for women, as they attend religious activities and participate in more religious programming than men (Jang & Johnson, 2005). Hall (2003) points out the biggest impact of religious programming are obtained not by those inmates who attend religious programming; but by those who attend religious programming frequently.

In a 1995 study, Koenig found 32% of inmates reported religion to be the most important factor that enabled them to cope with their incarceration. In his research on religion and older men in prison, Koenig sampled 91 inmates between ages 50 and 72 who were incarcerated at the Federal Correctional Institute (FCI) in Butner, North Carolina. Koenig (1995) administered the Intrinsic Religiosity Scale and Religious Coping Index to assess the degree in which inmates use their religion to cope with stress. In his results, Koenig found the number of disciplinary actions were lower among those inmates who attended worship services more frequently than those who attended less frequently. This study also found few differences in those inmates who engaged in

private religious practices with respect to disciplinary practices. Additionally, parole violations were found to be lower among those inmates who reported either high or low intrinsic religiosity (Koenig, 1995).

In their study in 2006, Maruna, Wilson and Curran conducted interviews with 75 male prisoners who converted to Christianity and determined their conversion narratives helped to support them in the management of shame, along with assisting them in creating a new social identity. These reborn social identities aided the survey sample in replacing their criminal or prisoner labels with improved self-images and provided purpose and meaning to their lives. Many subjects went so far as to view these reformatted identities as turning them into agents of a higher calling and allowed forgiveness, along with a sense of control over their future. This, in turn, lead to better adjustment while incarcerated and improved mental health for those inmates (Maruna, Wilson & Curran, 2006).

Using data from a representative survey of 386 inmates at a large southern prison in 2006, Kerley, Allison, and Graham studied the effects of religion on inmate coping. These authors found mixed results when looking at religion as a coping mechanism for unique stressors involved in incarceration. This study showed religiosity provided little positive impact as a coping method when evaluated against the frequency of negative emotions. This study also indicated while the practice of religion did not appear to assist inmates in coping with a range of negative emotions, it did appear however: to directly reduce the frequency of disputes with other inmates (Kerley, Allison, & Graham, 2006).

In contrast to the aforementioned results, Kerley and Copes (2009) in a qualitative study of 63 inmates in Mississippi found that overall, inmates who practiced religion

while incarcerated recognized a “point of religious epiphany”. This experience was crucial to assist and empower them to cope with the challenges of incarceration by providing them a clear way to reinterpret their current situation. These authors also noted that while personal faith was important during incarceration, most vital in helping them survive incarceration were the social networks they developed through religion, which provided a sense of support (Kerley & Copes, 2009).

Those prisoners, who report communal religious practice, also report it as counteracting the tendency of prisons to dehumanize people (Sumter, 2006). As these inmates increased their contact with positive people, commonly involving group religious programming, positive changes occurred (Kerley & Copes, 2008). The frequency of private prayer, and watching or listening to religious broadcasts alone, failed to have any statistical significance with respect to lessening the symptoms of depression. The frequency of participation in religious services and classes; however, does seem to lessen the likelihood of prison deviance and depression (Kerley, Bartkowski, Matthews & Emond, 2010; Perreyclear, (2002).

Religious practice allows inmates to examine their behavior and possibly resolve their feelings of guilt for the acts, which brought them to prison. While many inmates did not necessarily believe; religious practice would absolve them from their wrongdoing, they instead believed it would help them minimize their negative emotional consequences while incarcerated (Kerley & Copes, 2010). In another study, (Hall, 2003) wrote of facilities that offered "biblical corrective" classes, wherein inmate thinking errors were pointed out and then directed to biblical passages showing alternative ways of thinking; not dissimilar to a strategy employed in cognitive behavioral therapy. Other positive

results for religious observance have been in providing meaning for their life, peace of mind, hope for the future, enhancing self-esteem and increasing the ability to develop self-control (Dammer, 2002).

Specifically related to female inmates, in 2014 Dye, Aday, Farney and Raley found the most important role religious engagement seemed to play was by helping women deal with feelings of depression. In a study designed to examine the effects of religious engagement on adjustment, these researchers, studied a convenience sample of 214 female inmates serving life sentences in a southern state prison system. Using multivariate analysis, the authors found religious engagement was not directly related to prison adjustment; however, religious engagement seemed to be most important in helping these women deal with feelings of depression. The study authors noted while religious engagement alone did not explain a decrease in depression, other significant factors found to be significant were the length of time served, a history of abuse prior to incarceration and their level of support within the facility (Dye, Aday, Farney & Raley, 2014).

Behavior Infractions

Surveying 782 male inmates at a Florida minimum-security prison, Johnson (1984) used path analysis to find no significant correlation between self-reported religiosity or church attendance and time spent in confinement for disciplinary infractions among inmates serving their first term of incarceration.

In a study in 2005, Kerley, Matthews and Blanchard, studied 875 male inmates in Mississippi to determine if religious practice while incarcerated influenced having fewer arguments or fights with other inmates. These researchers found overall, the practice of

religion can decrease anti-social behaviors; even in high stress, extreme situations, such as incarceration.

Using data from 208 recently paroled male inmates Kerley et al. (2011) investigated the impact of religiosity and self-control on prison deviance. This study found participation in religious services to be the only measure of religiosity to significantly reduce incidences of prison deviance. These authors note that while participation in individual prayer and watching religious broadcasts may be common, only participation in religious services had a lessening effect on prison deviance (Kerley, et al., 2011).

There are undoubtedly inmates, whose lives have changed positively through religious observance; yet, no examination of the literature on observance among them would be complete without addressing the concept of "sincerity" among inmates who participate in religious observance while incarcerated. There are several reasons for insincere religious observance, which most frequently included 1) protection, 2) access to prison resources 3) inmate convergence 4) access to female volunteers 5) hope for early parole (Dammer, 2002).

'Protection' involved enjoying the perceived relative safety of belonging to a group of other participants. Access to prison resources included free goods; such as music, books, celebratory foods, and favors from the chaplains, such as more available phone access and written recommendations for a transfer. Inmate convergence included more liberal access to other inmates from different areas of the facility and ease in passing contraband to them; without detection. Access to female volunteers included attempting to persuade these females to become romantically involved with the prisoner and on occasion, even have the volunteers' daughters visit them or write to them

(Dammer, 2002).

The bulk of these studies indicate engagement in communal religious observance may also assist as a behavioral management tool for inmates, with less time and resources having to be devoted to these issues by correctional staff. These inmates, in addition to fewer infractions, also displayed increased motivation to change (Daggett, Camp, Kwon, Rosenmerkel, & Klein-Saffran, 2008).

Religious Practices Among Varying Sects in Incarcerated Populations

Pass (1999) surveyed 490 inmates from New York State to assess their religious beliefs, internal and external motivations for religion, and compared these findings with the number of rule infractions they received while incarcerated (Pass, 1999). Using a ten- item scale developed by Hoge (Hoge, 1972), Pass surveyed, Catholics, Protestants, Muslims and "others". Pass determined slight differences among religious groups, with Muslims being the most internally motivated, followed by Protestants, Catholics and then other religions (Pass, 1999). Interestingly, these findings showed the most intrinsically motivated religious prisoners were most likely to have received write-ups for infractions (Pass, 1999). Pass theorizing, the “internalization of religion, especially for Muslims and Protestants may not be in conformity with the norms and values of those issuing the citations” (Pass, 1999, p.131).

Adaptation of religion in prison has been shown to be somewhat different for members of different faiths (Clear et al., 2000). The two dominant faiths in prison are Christianity and Islam (Clear & Sumpter, 2002). Since no research has previously been conducted specifically focusing on Jewish inmates, there has not been any basis for comparison between the proposed study populations. While one of the primary goals of

this study is to examine female, Jewish religious practice behind bars, an additional focus of this research is examining differences as well as commonalities in observance found between both study samples of Jewish and Protestant inmates.

While not categorized as classical religious services, Skolnicki (1996) points to the similarities between religious affiliation and 12-step programs. This author goes on to note the following similarities; "a longing for faith, a sense of rescue by a higher power, a supportive and close-knit community, ritual renewal, and a format that promises social reinforcement upon release from incarceration" (Skolnicki, 1996). Clear and Sumter (2002) found inmates who acknowledged belief in a higher power alone, reduced the likelihood of engaging in arguments with other inmates or staff by almost 70%.

Today's prison ministries play a crucial role in the management of prisoners, as well as inspiration for renewal upon release. Regarding the practice of religion with incarcerated populations, Thomas and Zaitow (2006) assert simply "The challenge is to bring hope and light into the darkness". Studies have consistently indicated the more religious services, classes or sessions an inmate attended, the fewer infractions for poor behavior they received (Hall, 2003; O'Connor & Perreyclear, 2002). These studies indicate engagement in communal religious observance may also assist as a behavioral management tool for inmates, with less time and resources having to be devoted to these issues by correctional staff. These inmates, in addition to fewer infractions, also displayed increased motivation to change (Daggett, et al., 2008).

The Prevalence of Religion in America

When data are compared with other comparable post World War II democracies, religiosity in the United States appears unusually high (Manza & Wright, 2003). Sullivan

(2009) points out the United States is unique in its combination of a high degree of religiosity among citizens as well as its high rates of incarceration. Sullivan notes both rates have risen significantly over the past 35 years, making it easier to explain the rise and magnitude of faith-based social and prison programs and increasing the difficulty of demarcating these programs from state functions (Sullivan, 2009).

Fink and Stark (1992) point out religious participation in general has increased throughout American history, based on increasing numbers of Americans who report church, synagogue or mosque membership (Dillon 2003). Chang (2003) notes, in 1789 only 10 percent of Americans belonged to churches, whereas in today approximately two-thirds of Americans say they are members of churches, mosques or synagogues. Baker (2008) notes an estimated nine out of 10 people in the United States report praying at least occasionally, with this percentage remaining stable for the past 50 years (Baker, 2008; Gallup & Lindsay, 1999). Green (2013) also notes the high level of religious observance in the United States, with 95% of Americans professing a belief in God. This contrasts with 76% of Britons and 52% of Swedes (Morone, 2003).

In 2007, Greenfield's research found religious social identity mediated the associations between three dimensions of psychological wellbeing and more frequent church attendance. This study examined data from over 3000 respondents between ages 25 and 74 who completed the MIDUS (National Survey of Midlife in the United States). This study supported the idea religious and social identity mediates the association between three dimensions of psychological wellbeing. In short, more frequent religious service attendance was associated with higher levels of subjective psychological wellness across each dimension being studied (Greenfield, 2007).

Religious Identity Formation

Developmental Theories

Erik Erikson's influential psychosocial theory of development has been used as a model for the past 50 years, showing the development of identity across the lifespan and traces of his theories are noted in almost all forms of identity research (Sokol, 2009).

Erikson proposed a model of eight stages of development; each associated with internal conflicts and crisis that every individual encounter and must resolve successfully to proceed to the next stage. Erikson used the term 'crisis', not in a threatening or catastrophic sense, but as a turning point and opportunity (Sokol, 2009). In addition, Erikson also speculated individuals cannot be understood apart from his or her social makeup (Erikson, 1963).

Out of the eight developmental stages, the fifth stage occurs in adolescence and is termed it identity versus role confusion. Erikson (1963) theorized the primary psychosocial task in adolescence is that of identity formation and named this conflict identity versus role confusion. This stage involves several contributing factors in the formation of identity. During this stage, individual questions emerge such as "Who am I?" "What is my place in the world?" and "What do I believe in?". Erikson postulated that if these questions are not answered sufficiently and an organized identity is not formed, role confusion can occur and lead to a host of personal issues; those such as extreme self-doubt and confusion about one's meaning and purpose in life (Sokol, 2009). Erikson (1969) recognized religion's potential in identity development. He noted religion as an important aspect of in the development of the self; and argued religion was the oldest and most enduring institution that promotes fidelity, commitment and loyalty to an ideal and assists

in development of a worldview (Erikson, 1969). He also noted without the development of such a worldview to give meaning or guide behavior, the choices and options available to adolescents and ultimately adults, are likely to lead to confusion and despair (Erikson, 1963). While Erikson's model notes this developmental stage typically occurs from ages 12 to 18, he also mentions these tasks also continue as an ongoing process, evolving as an aspect of adulthood (Sokol, 2009). Expanding on Erikson's theory, Arnett and Jenson (2002) have proposed an addition to the eight original states, called "emerging adulthood" which occurs from ages 18 through 25. In this stage, religious identity formation continues to be explored and built, culminating in later stages (Schwartz, Cote & Arnett, 2005).

Also, building on Erikson's model, McAdams (1992) suggests everyone's "life story", which they alone construct, is an evolving tale; one in which their individual effort to develop identity is concealed in their attempts to create such a story. This "life story is a conscious manifestation of an identity process which can be used to help them realize their identity" (Schachter, 2003). Using this metaphor, religion might be a chapter in such a story or might have multiple occurrences in a variety of contexts throughout each story.

Another examination of these "developmental stories", show identity formation may also be enhanced using socially constructed stories; known as "ontological narratives" (Somers, 1994). In these narratives, the author gives personal meaning and direction to one's life and explores various themes. These narratives, like those described by Schachter (2003) may help its author find meaning in their experiences and struggles, providing a message and conclusion, which is meaningful to its author.

Other developmental theorists who should be mentioned are Jean Piaget, Abraham Maslow, Lawrence Kohlberg and Carol Gilligan. While none of these theorists

specifically mentioned the development of a religious identity in their description at the time they created their original theory, more recent theorists have added to each of these models of development and supplemented each with extra stages, which might be linked to the development of religious identity.

Abraham Maslow, himself an atheist, developed his Hierarchy of Needs theory in 1943 to show the progression for of individual motivation and needs from basic to advanced. In his original schema, Maslow listed five stages in ascending order: physiological needs, safety needs, belongingness and love needs, esteem needs, and finally, self-actualization as the fifth and final step in individual evolution (Koltko-Rivera, 2006; Maslow, 1954). In his 2006 review of Maslow's work Koltko-Rivera proposed an enhanced version of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs, with the addition of a sixth stage, he named "self-transcendence" as the sixth and final developmental stage (Koltko-Rivera, 2006). In his work, Koltko-Rivera postulated that at the time of his death, Maslow was planning to add this stage to his work but died before this formal change in schema occurred (Koltko-Rivera, 2006). In this proposed final and peak stage of self-transcendence, Maslow was thought to have intended to include tasks which included seeing to further a cause beyond the self and "experiencing communion between the boundaries of the self through peak experience" (Koltko-Rivera, 2006). Had this change come to fruition before his death, this final stage Koltko-Rivera (2006) believes it would have likely included the practice of spirituality or religion in some form. This potential addition to Maslow's theory would represent a monumental shift in the conception of the stages of development and human personality and would have provided an additional tool to understand more completely human personality and behavior. Continuing his quest to

present a case for Maslow's proposed inclusion of an additional level of human development, Koltko-Rivera (2006) quotes Maslow:

We have much to learn in terms of what separates the founder of a soup kitchen or a home for lepers from a suicide bomber; however, the uncomfortable truth is that there is a dimension in which they are similar; devotion to a cause or purpose beyond the self. (Koltko-Rivera, 2006, p. 303).

In the 1920's Jean Piaget developed his theory of child development and outlined it in four stages. The four stages of development Piaget conceptualized were: the sensorimotor stage, which occurred from ages to two, the preoperational stage, which occurs from age two to seven, the concrete operational stage from ages seven to 11 and finally the formal operational stage from ages 11 to 16 (Cartwright, 2001). In Piaget's original theory, he fails to address cognitive development beyond the formal operational stage and into adulthood and leaves no room for a mature religious identity formation in late adolescence or adulthood (Piaget, 1972). Cartwright (2001) has suggested a reconsideration of Piaget's theory, which might include a fifth stage of 'post-formal' development. In this stage individuals past the age of 16 who have successfully completed previous stages would move into a more advanced understanding of a relationship between themselves, others and a divine external Power. Cartwright posits in this theoretical post-formal stage individuals would be able to apply abstract principles to unify themselves with a divine other (Cartwright, 2001).

Beginning his research in the late 1950's and widely published in the 1970's Lawrence Kohlberg expanded on Piaget's developmental theory and advanced what he

termed a Theory of Moral Development. Kohlberg's theory or what he named a typology involved three basic stages named: precognition, conventional, post-conventional (Kohlberg, 1968). These stages were further defined into subdivisions and included six smaller stages in total (Kohlberg, 1968). The final stage of Kohlberg's model was that of "universal-ethical principal" orientation and as defined by use of conscience and self-chosen principles which are logical, universal, reciprocal and consistent. At this stage of development, philosophical principles are abstract and ethical but not concrete moral rules such as the Ten Commandments. These rules are based on principles of justice, equality of human rights, and dignity of each human being (Kohlberg & Hersh, 1977). This paradigm of moral development developed by Kohlberg did not simply signify growing knowledge of cultural values, which lead to ethical relativity; it represented the transformations in thoughts (Kohlberg & Hersh, 1977). In Kohlberg's typology, the nature of stage sequence is not significantly affected by cultural, social or religious conditions; the only thing affected is the rate at which people progress (Kohlberg, 1968).

In the 1970's Carol Gilligan argued that the stages of moral development proposed by Kohlberg were oriented towards males, constituted a "sex related bias" and therefore limited in their applicability to females (Gilligan, 1977). Gilligan advocated her theory based on what she labeled "moral voices", both male and female. She went on to theorize woman's moral voices more were focused on taking care of others and interpersonal relationships than those of males; which focused logic and the quest for justice. Gilligan found these competing factions fundamentally incompatible but went on to contend the integration of both female and male principles are ideal when pursuing the highest level of morality (Gilligan, 1977).

In 1990 Genia studied religious development and its relationship with developmental psychology. In her work, Genia integrated Kohlberg's theory moral development as a framework for what she regarded five stages of religious or faith development. In addition, Genia synthesized her work with influences from psychodynamic and object relation's theory. The five stages Genia proposed were: egocentric faith, dogmatic faith, transitional faith, reconstructed internalized faith, and finally transcendent faith (Genia, 1990). While Genia did not specifically state this, these stages seem to be suited exceptionally well to conceptualizing and working with correctional populations.

Relating Genia's work to Kohlberg's theories yields stage comparisons. Stage 1 of Genia's work named egocentric faith may be related to Kohlberg's heteronomous morality. In this stage, individuals judge the comparative rightness or wrongness of actions based on anticipated punishment or rewards and is based on immediate consequences of the actor with little or no consideration of others. In adults who have not moved beyond this stage in psychological or religious development, there is often the presence of a personality disorder or features of a characterological disorder (Genia, 1990).

In Stage II of Genia's work, titled dogmatic faith, individuals may display what Kohlberg terms a "law and order morality" (Kohlberg, 1967). Fixed rules of fairness and clearly defined duties are the basis for moral judgment at this level. Although morality is still egocentric, the needs and rights of others are recognized. Clear guidelines are needed for these individuals and they tend to interpret scripture literally, while viewing its contents as absolute. Additionally, these individuals tend to conform through group

identification, where authority is not questioned and group identity is paramount. These thoughts may provide an acceptable outlet for hostile impulses and because of the need to conform; aggression is turned outwards in condemning or moralistic judgments of others with different ideologies and beliefs. When individuals in this stage are exposed to difference belief systems or moral ideas, they are thought to arouse feelings of doubt, which “threaten individual integrity”. Religious disobedience for these individuals lead to a loss of self-esteem and projected onto an image of a punitive God, and the fear of losing God’s love (Genia, 1990).

Stage III termed transitional faith, typically occurs during adolescence and often corresponds to other major developmental changes that occur during that time. This stage might be considered a time of doubting faith where one is free to engage in religious questioning and doubt. (Genia, 1990). This stage parallels Erikson’s stage of identity verses role confusion (Erikson, 1963; Genia, 1990). In this stage adolescents may “try on” different ideologies before reaching a higher level of identification and autonomy (Genia, 1990).

In Stage IV, labeled reconstructed internalized faith by Genia (1990). This stage occurs when prior stages of development have been successfully completed, with an emphasis on those of the transitional phase, including exploration, reflection and introspection. In this phase, religious ideology and identity formation provide individuals with a sense of meaning and purpose in life, as individuals have internalized the standards of their faith. While more developed than the previous stages, individuals in this stage still lack tolerance for uncertainty or ambiguity (Genia, 1990). It has been suggested) at

this stage religious zeal may buffer the negative effects of self-doubt and personal uncertainty (McGregor, 2006).

Finally, in Stage V, known as transcendent faith, individuals understand and display flexibility guided by “universal principled morality” and has the features of more permeable psycho-spiritual boundaries. This stage includes among others, the following concepts and skills: a relationship with something greater than the self, a style of behavior consistent with moral living, a religious commitment without absolute certainty, an openness to viewpoints that are religiously diverse, and a mature outlook on religion which includes both rational and emotional components (Genia, 1990).

King (1992) notes that while religion offers social norms and experiences influencing identity formation, the unique role of religion has been overlooked as either a helpful or hindering source in forming identity in much research on identity formation. King goes on to suggest religious context and institutions provide a unique setting for adolescent identity formation and encourages further research on such (King, 1992).

Waterman (1993) expanded on Erikson’s theory and noted changes in life circumstances can also trigger a reexamination of identity issues later in adulthood. Waterman notes geographic relocation, resumption of one’s education, divorce, remarriage, death of a loved one and other life changes can all be the impetus for a reexamination of one’s identity. While Waterman did not specifically note incarceration as a consideration for the reexamination of personal identity, one may logically infer incarceration, as any significant life change, might be a motivation to re-examine one’s character, choices and reevaluate one’s identity (Waterman, 1993).

In the 1980's Marcia began to develop a model to operationalize Erikson's stages to a form more helpful in identity research and empirical study. In Marcia's work (Marcia, 1996), (Hardy, Pratt, Pancer, Olsen & Lawson, 2010; Marcia, Waterman, Matteson, Archer & Orlofsky, 2012); the developmental stages are described as four identity states: diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium and achievement. In diffusion, there is a lack of exploration and commitment. In foreclosure, individuals have made identity commitments but without an exploratory process. While in moratorium, there is a process where identity is explored and yet precedes commitment. Finally, in identity achievement, individuals have proceeded through each stage and made identity commitments. Marcia (1983) has suggested those cultures that allow for individual choice in vocational, ideological and social roles are best suited to resolving the challenges of identity formation and crisis (Marcia, 1983; Roehlkepartain, 2006).

Each of these theorists viewed lifespan of human development through a unique lens; yet, each also noted the development of values consistent with most faiths and the importance religious identity may play in individual identity development.

Parental, Communal, and Educational Influences on Identity Throughout the Lifespan

Parents' religious preferences are often the initial force guiding religious choices for young people, facilitating further actions with religious organizations and social groups which adhere to the same strictures and value systems. In addition, choice of a spouse, educational and status factors may also influence religious choices. While these early patterns and preferences may have been the foundation for religious affiliation or practice, other factors influence religious practice and choices throughout the lifespan.

These other factors are primarily other social influences such as sympathy for the feelings of others, such as making parents or spouses feel better, example setting, attempting to please parents or teachers who model religious behavior, and access to others through business, dating or friendship networks (Sherkat & Wilson, 1995).

Denominations influence individuals through teaching of their beliefs and opportunities (Harrison & Lazerwitz, 1982). Within each denomination, ministers, rabbis, youth leaders, and religious schoolteachers will transmit their messages to parishioners or members of their congregation. If their message is inconsistent with the accepted messages of their congregation, they will not be deemed fit for their positions. In addition, these denominational agents also provide texts and other published materials, which are sanctioned by the governing bodies of each sect. The collective activities of each sect facilitate individuals identifying with the understandings and commitments of each religious body. These activities also cement individual and group connections, along with enhancing identification as a member of a sect (Finke & Stark, 1992). Smith and Sikkink (2003) emphasize greater religious commitment and similarly of parents increase the changes of their children carrying on their religious traditions. These authors note moreover a positive relationship between the parents and children, with affectionate attitudes, and a traditional family structure also increase the likelihood the children will retain the religion of their parents and reduce the chance of apostasy (Smith & Sikkink, 2003).

Sherkat (2003) points out the separation of preferences (religious understandings) from choices (religious commitments) assists in understanding how education may influence religious factors. Studies of parochial schooling the commitment of Jewish and

Catholic youth (Greeley, McCready & McCourt, 1976; Lazerwitz, 1995) suggest parochial school education increases religious commitment for adolescents and in later life. Primary and secondary education is not typically hostile towards religion; however, anti-religious sentiment may exist in higher levels of educational disciplines, where anti-religious sentiment is common and religious orthodoxy is often viewed in a negative light (Sherkat, 2003). Research by Hunsberger (1985) and Roof and McKinney (1997) have found educational attainment reduced preferences for orthodox religion and has been linked to religious disaffiliation.

Intermarriage is one of the strongest predictors of changes in religious adherence and affiliation (Lazerwitz et al., 1998). Stark and Finke (2002) report that in most cases of intermarriage, the direction of the switching follows a predictable pattern, known as “Greeley’s law” (Greeley & Hout, 1988). In this pattern, the “more religious spouse” has more influence over the direction of the change. Typically, that means for example intermarriage with Catholics leads to the other spouse switching to Catholicism and people who marry into exclusive sects, most frequently switch into that sect.

In terms of religious traditions retaining their young members into adulthood, Smith and Sikkink (2003) found 22.4 % of those raised in liberal Protestant families remain active in that tradition as adults; nearly twice that number report being nominal Protestants as adults. Statistics for Jews were listed as 32.6 % of those being religious to the same degree they were raised in; most either nominally Jewish or non-religious (Smith & Sikkink, 2003).

It is typically assumed religiousness increases in older adulthood. This view stems from the idea that as they age, individuals are more concerned over illness, death and

dying. In turn, these worries increase existential angst and despair, leading to a natural response of increasing the practice of religion to assuage their fears (Becker, 1973). The practice of religion may also assist in deriving purpose and meaning from one's life during the later years. In addition, aging individuals may have more time and attention during post-retirement, with more free time and fewer social roles (Edgell, 2006). Few if any longitudinal studies exist which follow people across the life span and examine their religious paths. Those that do exist confirm religiousness does increase in older adulthood (Hout & Greeley, 1987) and suggest the steepest rate in increase typically occurs between ages 45 and 56. It is interesting to note, that despite decades having elapsed in older adults, the single best predictor of religious involvement in late adulthood is closely associated with the religious atmosphere (practices and values) in one's family of origin (Edgell, 2003).

Religious Identity in Incarcerated Populations

Clear (2006) notes some of the difficulties with the measurement of the practice of religion while incarcerated, stating "There are many ways to access a person's religious commitment and depending on the particular measure used, a person who is religious on one measure might be seen as non-religious on other measures", (Clear, 2006).

Sherkat (2003) points out religious choices are often driven by adaptive preferences, pointing out people are frequently comforted by familiar religious explanations and "find value and solace in supernatural rewards and compensators of familiar religious goods". In the world, at large, religion has often provided a framework for living, offered comfort and solace in times of despair, has been used as a method of

atonement for sins, while also providing hope to those who needed it (Edgell, 2006).

These benefits can be magnified more so when speaking of religious practice in incarcerated populations (Dammer, 2002).

Research by Sherkat (2003) also suggests individuals have “considerable agency to reject socialization pressure to and to choose which connections guide religious preferences”. While this may be the case in society at large, individual choices may not be so clear during confinement. Sherkat (2003) goes on to say people’s prior religious affiliations and experiences make them better consumers and more desirous of these “religious goods”, like perhaps people’s preferences and repeated desire for the same soft drink they consume daily.

In their study of almost 2100 religiously committed Protestants, Smith and Sikkink (2003) found many life course transitions include social disruptions and through marriage, divorce, geographic relocation, etc. increase the likelihood of switching or falling away from religion (Smith & Sikkink, 2003). While not specifically mentioned, incarceration certainly comes under the category of a life course transition; thereby, exacerbating the likelihood religious practitioners may change the course of their observance.

Prisoners point out their religious involvement is helpful in the maintenance of family ties. When inmates are arrested, found guilty and incarcerated, it is not difficult for their families to lose faith in them. Prisoner’s families can view them as an embarrassment or failure, not just for the prisoner, but also for their family (Clear et al., 2002). When prisoners actively embrace religion, it can be a public statement they have changed from the person who was arrested, to a different person and can help their

families justify continuing to visit or have contact with them (Clear et al., 2002). When members of “outside” religious communities visit, it helps prisoners to normalize their prison experience; while isolating prisoners from such contacts can remove a pro-social resource to assist in rehabilitation and to help them learn to live without crime (O’Conner & Perreyclear, 2002). When speaking about religious group formation and it’s meaning Clear et al. (2002), observed “religion in prison will have whatever meaning the inmates who comprise those groups give it by their actions and with other groups”. These authors note religion in prison for individuals is not static and may undergo changes throughout an individual’s incarceration (Clear et al., 2002).

Religious Identity Among Protestants

The authority of most American Protestant denominations trace their roots and theological identity back to Martin Luther, the Protestant Reformation and European Cultural Roots (Chang, 2003). Historically, the Catholic Church held salvation resulted from an interaction between faith and deeds; approaching God through the Church and seven sacraments (Tix, Dik, Johnson, & Steger, 2013). The Protestant Reformation questioned these views; asserting salvation might be attained through a personal faith and God’s grace. This Reformation resulted in a significant split within Christianity and the creation of “mainline” denominations, which included the Lutheran, Presbyterian and Anglican branches (Tix et al., 2013). Since World War II Catholic and mainline Protestant membership has declined, while membership in Evangelical congregations has increased (Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, 2008).

Conservative Protestants hold to a patriarchal rhetoric of the family that favors traditional gender roles and places an emphasis on obedient children. These worshipers

traditionally embrace the idea of a heterosexual, nuclear two-parent home as ideal and focus groups with conservative Protestant pastors do not typically recognize gay and lesbian unions and their resulting children as “families”. Despite these views, significant portions of these congregations try to minister to divorced members and single parents (Edgell, 2003). Moderate Protestants are like liberal Protestants in that while they endorse traditional views, also hold a more nurturing view of gender roles within marriage and do not equate the ideal family with any exact family structure (Edgell, 2006).

Kerley, Bartkowski, Matthews and Emond, (2010) noted a general orientation of favoring punishment among conservative Protestants for offenders; while also being more forgiving, compassionate and supportive of rehabilitation. Thus, this worldview values moral righteousness, while making room for forgiveness and mercy (Applegate, Francis, Cullen Vander Ven, 2005). As a result, this philosophy has resulted in Protestant support for punishments of offenders, and in recent decades, evangelical-run prison programs have proliferated (Kerley et al., 2010).

Protestant philosophy and penal optimism, as pointed out by Green in 2013 has had two functions for incarcerated populations: conversion of the soul of the sinner and treatment, individualized to heal the sinner. Evangelical Christians often seem to embrace the idea of “well-intentioned” offenders who desire to resist criminality, yet are barred from doing so by social, structural and personal barriers (Green, 2013).

The explosion of American Protestant faiths and individual denominations, with their countless doctrines and beliefs make it “impossible to speak monolithically about the directions of Christian influence on penal matters” Green (2013). Clear, et al. (2002) notes that aside from a loss of freedom, the “most powerful message of imprisonment is

guilt” and in addition to keeping society safe, serves as a public shaming of prisoners and demonstration of their moral faults. Clear et al. (2002) also point out exculpatory explanations of religion may be to explain how prisoners ended up in prison, citing their previous rejection of religion may have placed them in circumstances where crime was possible. These explanations go on to suggest the avoidance of religious adherence may have allowed the free reign of their desires for thrills, drugs, sex, and other baser desires. Over the decades, Christian traditions have advocated a host of attitudes for the practice of religious participation while incarcerated; including both punitive and forgiving (Green, 2013). Green goes on to speculate these attitudes have fluctuated based on the cycle of crime; when crime is up in society, condemnation through religion ensues and when crime falls, and an attitude of forgiveness prevails (Green, 2013).

The theology of redemption is one that examines how evil turns to good or transforms a bad situation into a good one. While this is purely theoretical, it does not speak adequately to the profound changes one can experience through true rehabilitation and a change from a life of crime, to one free of such influences and consequences (O'Connor & Perreyclear, 2002).

The Use and Impact of Religious Coping

Lazarus and Folkman (1984) assert a coping process is instigated when an individual is faced with a personal situation judged as stressful. Abu-Raiya and Pergament (2015) define a stressful situation as a “dynamic imbalance between the individual and his or her environment, which stems from a perceived over-demanding environment”. The person involved is then motivated to apply a mechanism to assist in dealing with the stress and reduce the imbalance between the two factions. As described

by Pargament and Abu-Raiya (2007), coping is a dynamic and active process and these coping mechanisms can be positive such as cognitive reframing or negative such as alcohol use.

As Pargament et al. (2001) sensibly point out “people do not simply react in knee-jerk fashion to problems in their lives”. In times of stress, confusion or despair, people bring a host of resources with them to assist in managing their problems and these coping mechanisms are crucial to understanding the role how coping assists in adjustment and well-being (Pargament et al., 2001). Pargament (1997) suggested religious belief and practice might be especially valuable to those who find themselves facing problems, which are beyond their own personal and social resources. When strained to levels individuals do not have to resources to cope with one their own, their basic vulnerability is exposed to the world and religion may provide them with support (Pargament, 1997).

In their 2001 study, Pargament et al. assert people are more likely to turn to religious coping methods when they have a firm set of religious beliefs and practices prior to crisis. This is especially so when they perceive religion to be a compelling source of comfort and a successful method of problem solving. Inversely, religious coping methods are less likely to be employed when the person in crisis does not believe their use will be helpful or provide a path to success (Pargament et al., 2001).

Carver, Scheier and Weintraub (1989) and Blaine, and Crocker, (1995) note religious coping strategies are a common response to threatening or negative events. In their 1995 study, Blaine and Crocker surveyed 144 undergraduate students of varying denominations at the State University of Buffalo. Their results found religious belief and

psychological well-being were moderately, positively correlated but only among African-American subjects.

In 1963 Alport developed a schema to evaluate religious orientation by those that were either intrinsic or extrinsic in dimension. In his work, Alport differentiated between intrinsic and extrinsic orientations by the specific psychological motivation for being religious. Alport proposed when extrinsic motivation was present, individuals use religion to provide “in-group” living as a defense of reality. Alport deemed this approach utilitarian and less healthy than those who have an intrinsic motivation for religious beliefs and practice. Alport proposed those individuals who have an intrinsic motivation for religion use religion as end to itself and it functions as a foundation for life choices and gives meaning to life experiences (Alport, 1963). Despite other theorists of significance, in their work in 2007, Cohen and Hill called Alport’s work “clearly the dominant theoretical model in the study of religion” (Cohen & Hill, 2007).

Religious coping typically employs tactics derived from religious “beliefs, practices, experiences, emotions or relationships” (Abu-Raiya & Pergament, 2015). These authors go on to point out even what might be perceived as a positive strategy to deal with stress such as religious coping may also be used destructively. In positive coping, the individual suggests a belief in greater meaning, a secure relationship with God and a sense of spiritual connectedness with others. In negative religious coping, there is a threatening and gloomy view of the world and a difficult struggle to find or sustain significance in life. In summary, positive religious coping has been associated with desirable mental and physical outcomes, while negative religious coping has

persistently been linked with negative mental and physical health indicators (Abu-Raiya & Pergament, 2015).

Pergament et al. (1990) point out that the coping process has multiple kinds of purpose. These purposes have been identified as: assisting with a sense control, aiding in self-esteem, providing meaning, facilitating growth, providing hope, intimacy, and belonging, a pathway for emotional release, assisting with personal identity, guiding in emotional restraint and comfort (Erikson, 1963; Frankel, 1963; Maslow, 1970).

Pergament et al. (1990) also describe three ways in which religion can be used in coping. It is important to note the practice of religion can be a component of each of the three portions of the coping process. First, the authors state many life events contain at least some elements of a religious nature. Events such as baptisms, bar and bat mitzvah's, joining or leaving a congregation, marriage, divorce, and funerals all typically contain some elements of a religious nature. Next, the authors go on to explain religious appraisals may be used as explanations for life events and can be viewed as part of God's plan, or unintended or as perhaps a punishment from God (Kushner, 1981; Pergament et al., 1990). Lastly, religious coping may be guided by a desire to become closer to God and guided by a spiritual quest. In this second strategy, religion can play a part in the coping process by contributing to positive behaviors. In this way, with the addition of positive religious coping, the use of negative coping strategies such as substance abuse or non-marital sexual activity tend to decrease (Spilka, Hood, Hunsberger & Gorsuch, 2003). Thirdly, religion can be a result of the coping process. In this way, negative feelings about religious coping can be a consequence of personal turmoil, or thoughts of living in an unjust world and these instances attributed to God's anger. Positive coping and increased

faith were associated with vocational promotions, the birth of a child; negative coping with loneliness and emotional difficulties (Pergament et al., 1990).

In her work, Park (2005) described the transactional stress and coping model and the meaning-making coping model. In the transactional stress and coping model, individuals appraise stressful situations and develop strategies to cope with them. While assessing the stressful situation, questions about why the event occurred, determining the threat of the event, and deciding on what can be done about the event are considered and answered. The coping strategies can be either be problem focused which are direct attempts to change the problem or emotion-focused strategies, which are attempts to emotionally regulate distress when they do not believe they cannot do anything about the problem and it, simply must be endured (Carver et al., 1989).

Studies involving religious coping and depressive symptoms have received the most attention from researchers (Harrison, 2001). In 1990 Park, Cohen and Herb conducted two studies on the stress-moderating effects of intrinsic religiousness, religious coping, and its stress and depression among 83 Protestant and Catholic, male and female university students. Both studies found a significant correlation between uncontrollable life strain and depression among Catholics and a lower level of stress for Protestants. These studies went on to find less stress for high intrinsic Protestants as opposed to low and medium intrinsic Protestants as measured by Feagin's 1964 measure of Intrinsic and Extrinsic Religiousness (Feagin, 1964; Park et al., 1990).

Strict systems of religious practice and belief can provide adherents with rules for living, an unambiguous sense of right and wrong, a distinctive identity, a sense of

connection to like-minded individuals, and perhaps most importantly, the confidence their lives are endorsed and supported by God (Pargament, 2002).

In 2001 Tarakeshwar and Hahn conducted a two-year longitudinal research project, and studied 596 medically ill and hospitalized, elderly patients. This study found negative religious coping was associated with a significantly higher risk of death for those studied. Most specifically, those surveyed who questioned God's love for them, believed God had abandoned them, and believed the devil had been at work in their illness, had a 19-28% increase in dying over other patients (Tarakeshwar & Hahn, 2001).

In 2005 Ano and Vasconcelles performed a meta-analysis of 49 relevant studies and 13,512 participants and involved religious coping and adjustment to stress. Their study corroborated and generally affirmed previous studies, which stated positive psychological adjustment to stress was related to positive and negative forms of religious coping respectively. In their examination of previous studies, Ano and Vasconcelles (2005) found positive religious coping to include the following strategies: religious purification, religious helping, support from clergy, religious direction or conversion, religious focus, collaborative coping, spiritual connection and marking religious boundaries. The authors suggest it may be possible that positive religious coping methods may function a variety of adaptive functions (Ano & Vasconcelles, 2005).

These same authors found negative coping strategies to include: demonic reappraisal, spiritual discontent, interpersonal religious discontent, beliefs in a punishing God and reappraisal of his powers, and pleading for direct intercession from God. The researchers found individuals who employed these negative religious coping mechanisms experienced more anxiety, depression, and distress. The authors postulate this may be

because for individuals undergoing stressful situations, negative coping provides yet another burden with which to manage (Ano and Vasconcelles, 2005).

In 2010 Lim and Putnam used data from the Faith Matters Study of 1915 respondents of various religious faiths, conducted in 2006 and 2007 to investigate religion, social networks and life satisfaction. Lim and Putnam found when compared with other measures of well-being, religion is less suggestive of life satisfaction than health and loneliness but just as or more suggestive than age, gender, race, education, social activity or marital status. These authors determined people who practice their religion regularly are more satisfied with their lives. The authors speculate this occurs primarily because of the social networks and friendships formed in their congregations and are based on the relatively strong religious identity they have built. In addition, they found little evidence that other religious factors affected life satisfaction independent of attendance and friendships within their congregation. The authors noted for life satisfaction “praying together seems to be better than either bowling together or praying alone” (Lim & Putman, 2010).

In 2015, Raiya and Pergament published their study of religious coping among varied religious samples. These researchers found that while religious coping is common across practitioners of all religions, each religion has nuances, which are specific to each faith. In addition, researchers have identified what they categorize as three types of religious struggles: intrapersonal, interpersonal and divine. Intrapersonal conflicts include doubts and questions about religious beliefs and issues and inconsistencies between behaviors and religious values. Interpersonal struggles are religiously related divergences with family, friends or their congregation. Divine struggles are those, which

include worry and tension about their personal relationship with God (Raiya & Pergament, 2015).

In their research, George, Larson, Koenig and McCullough, (2000) found three factors in the practice of religion, which positively affected health. The first of these factors was named 'health behaviors' and included specific prohibitions against dangerous and risky behaviors, such as alcohol abuse or tobacco use, illegal drugs, violence or unprotected sex. The second factor was social support and included developing closer social bonds, increasing social networks, and receiving more assistance from others in times of need. Finally, the third factor these researchers listed was what they labeled a 'coherence hypothesis' wherein religion practitioners were provided with a sense of coherence, allowing them to understand the purpose of life, their role in the universe and develop courage to endure suffering (George, Larson, Koenig & McCullough, 2000).

In their 1997 research, Park and Folkman theorized the way people use religion to cope might be intimately imbued with the meaning they find in events (Park & Folkman, 1997). They distinguished two levels of meaning, situational and global. Global meaning denotes a person's enduring beliefs and important goals. Situational meaning refers to the intersection between personal global meaning and their personal circumstances of "a particular person-environment transaction". These authors go on to suggest that since religion typically has global meaning, with Jews and Christians differing in these matters; the way each of these religious adherents use religious coping may in fact be a significant product of their religious beliefs. These authors note Jews tend to cope by finding meaning in social groups, while turning to God is more prevalent as a coping mechanism of Christians (Park & Folkman, 1997).

Prayer; communication with God, lies at the heart of most religious traditions (Poloma & Gallup, 1991; Pergament et al., 2001). Typical types of prayer include petition, communion, confession, intercession and thanksgiving (Clark, 1958; Pargament et al., 1990). Bade and Cook (2008) consider prayer the “core of faith” and a means of communication with God. In their 2006 study using a sample of 36 Methodists, Lutherans, Baptists and Catholics, these researchers found the most common uses of prayer were in seeking answers from God, guidance in coping and understanding, direction from God’s will and thanksgiving; in that order (Bade & Cook, 2008).

Since not all people turn to religion to cope, a significant question is when religious coping is most usually employed. Raiya (2007) determined there were six key variables, which led to the increased use of religious coping. These variables were: gender (more females than males), minority status, lower socioeconomic status, greater religiousness, older age and critical life events such as severe illness, death and natural disasters (Raiya, 2007).

In his 2008 study, Baker surveyed 1721 adults and found traditionally marginalized groups; those with lower incomes, women, and African-Americans pray more often than those with higher income, whites and males. This author went on to find those on the lower end of the income scale and African-Americans were more likely to pray about petitionary concerns; asking God to positively influence their financial situation or health concerns. Baker suggested theoretically, praying for these matters was conceptualizing prayer as a coping mechanism (Baker, 2008).

Religious Coping Among Protestants

Bjorck and Cohen (1993) studied challenges, threat and loss, and compared them with specific coping strategies. Using a sample of 293 Catholic and Protestant undergraduates at the University of Delaware, the researchers using Feagin's (1964) scale of intrinsic religiousness, measured coping styles. In general, the subjects preferred altering their environment (problem focused coping) to making internal changes (emotion focused coping). These findings were interpreted to understand the subjects would in general prefer to restore or maintain a feeling of personal control. This study also found the stressor type influenced the subject's projected use of specific coping strategies, using problem solving most with challenges and then progressively less with threats and losses. As hypothesized by the researchers, the subject religious coping score was higher for more stressful events (threats and losses) as compared to less stressful events (challenges). The researchers go on to theorize in extreme stress, people will resort to religious coping even though typically they might not use this strategy (Bjorck & Cohen, 1993).

In their 2001 study, Pargament et al. examined the role of religious coping among 586 members of Christian churches who used religion in coping. The study sample was selected from 10 Midwestern churches including Lutherans, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, Baptists, and Episcopalians. Using a General Health Questionnaire (GHQ) the researchers found positive outcomes for those surveyed who espoused their belief in a benevolent God, were involved in religious rituals, and found support through religion; finding positive religious variables were significant predictors of better outcomes in comparison to negative and nonreligious coping variables or avoidance. The authors

strongly advocate for the use of a religious dimension into professional literature on coping (Pargament et al, 2001).

In 2007, Bjorck and Thurman researched negative life events, psychological functioning, along with positive and negative religious coping. Using a convenience sample of 336 adult Protestant church members, the study authors found negative events were related to increased use of both negative and positive religious coping and decreased psychological functioning. In addition, they found the use of positive religious coping buffered the adverse effects of negative events; lessening the symptoms of depression (Bjorck & Thurman, 2007). The authors went on to note, stressors do not typically come alone, but in pairs and groups; with negative events accumulating. In their study, they noted when these stressors accumulate, Protestant church members had not only maintained but increased both positive and negative coping strategies (Bjorck & Thurman, 2007).

Pargament and Raiya (2007) found evidence in their studies to suggest religious coping may be more useful to some religious groups, more than others. In their studies the researchers found the use of religious coping was more beneficial to Evangelical Christian women, but was related to greater stress among Roman Catholic women (Pargament & Raiya, 2007). These researchers also found religious coping to be especially helpful to individuals who were experiencing more stressful situations; those that push them beyond the capabilities of their usual and immediate resources. In these; the most overwhelming of circumstances, people seemingly realize their limitations and ask for ultimate solutions (Pargament, 2002; Pargament & Raiya, 2007).

In their 2013 multi-faceted study, Tix et al. found Evangelical Protestant worshipers to have a higher subjective sense of wellbeing, while mainline Protestants and Catholics often had lower senses of wellbeing.. These authors went on to posit that at this stage of research, many outcomes on the association between religiousness and wellbeing may depend on individual variables such as personality, religious tradition and family factors (Tix et al., 2013). In contrast to the findings of Diener, Tay and Myers, (2011); Tix et al. (2013) found little difference in the “operational level” of religiousness and life outcomes between the general world religions such as Christianity, Buddhism, Islam, and Hinduism (Diener, Tay & Myers, 2011).

Religious Coping Among Jews

In 1999 Baider et al. studied the relationship between religious beliefs and coping with illness among 100 Israeli patients diagnosed with malignant skin cancer. These researchers used the System of Belief Inventory (SBI-54) to assess religious and spiritual beliefs among this population, as well as support provided by their religious community. These researchers determined patients with higher scores on this instrument were more likely to utilize a stronger active-cognitive coping style (Baider et al., 1999).

In 2000 Heilman and Witztum provided three case studies describing how Jewish people who maintain religious beliefs regularly place them at the heart of their personal and cultural life to cope with their problems through practice or religious dogma. Their studies lend support to religious beliefs being considered in conjunction with psychiatric treatment. These authors advise clinicians not to discount religious strictures and religious coping in their treatment of religious individuals and advocate those working with this

population not divorce religious practice from treatment of psychiatric patients (Heilman & Witztum, 2000).

In 2009 Rosmarin, Pargament and Flannelly used portions of a Brief RCOPE, scale of religious coping, to assess and predict mental health and coping among Jews. The RCOPE is the most commonly used measure of religious coping and was developed to measure positive and negative styles of religious coping (Pargament, Feuille & Burdzy, 2010). These researchers found a modest association between Jewish spiritual struggles and poorer physical health. These researchers also found orthodox Jews exhibited the highest level of spiritual struggles and yet exhibited a positive increase in physical and mental health status; whereas non-orthodox Jews' mental and physical health continued to decline (Rosmarin, Pargament & Flannelly, 2009).

Pirutinsky, Rosmarin, Pargament and Midlarsky (2011) studied longitudinal relationships between negative coping strategies as measured by four items on the JSCOPE subscale. In a sample of 100 orthodox Jews these researchers found negative religious coping and symptoms of depression were linearly related and served as a predictor of future depression in those who utilized negative religious coping.

As Harrison, Koenig, Hays, Eme-Akwari, and Pargament (2001) point out; there are differences between each of these studies; yet overall, each point out religious coping is common among most religions. These religious coping methods can be predicted by a variety of factors; social, personal and situational. Finally, there have been robust links between positive religious coping methods and a wide range of positive mental and physical health indicators. The vast majority of studies on the belief and practice of religion has salubrious effects on health (George,

Studies Comparing Coping Among Protestants and Jews

Fiala, Bjorck and Gorsuch, (2002) conducted research regarding the multi-dimensional model of religious support, which included God, their religious community and its spiritual leaders. In their study of 342 Protestants, the authors found while each of these factors of support is significant, religious attendance did not automatically equate to religious support and religious support provided distinctive and important resources for worshipers. This study found was found to generalize beyond American Protestants, also being relevant for Israeli Jews living in observant communities (Fiala, Bjorck & Gorsuch, 2002).

Also, in 2002, Cohen performed a multi-faceted study whose results were consistent with prior works, and pointed congregational support was most related to life-satisfaction for all religions studied. Secondly, this study noted the complexity and disparity in findings between Jews, Catholics and Protestants in the findings. The study noted the significant differences with spirituality being more important to Catholics and Protestants, than Jews and the corresponding use of religious coping among the subjects (Cohen, 2002).

Research by Cohen, Siegel and Rozin (2003) noted Protestants and Jews to have similar views on the importance of religious practice, but that Protestants placed a greater emphasis on belief; Jews on social actions (Cohen, Siegel & Rozin, 2003). These theological differences highlight the differences in mental states Jews and Protestants pay attention to. For example, while thoughts about immoral actions are morally neutral for most Jews, a married Protestant thinking about having an affair has already done something wrong (Cohen & Rozin, 2002). In their 2002 three-part study of 58 Jews and

53 Protestants, these authors found Jewish participants ranked belief less important, than did Protestant participants (Cohen & Rozin, 2002). In their studies using several different measures, Cohen and Hill (2007) studied a sample of 160 Protestants and Jews to find the religious experiences, identities, and motivations among Catholics and Jews are more socially collectivistic; whereas those of Protestants are more individualistic (Cohen & Hill, 2007).

In their research, Lazar and Bjork (2008) utilized three subscales of the Religious Support Scale to assess perceived support from their religious communities, religious leaders and God as coping mechanisms, between American Protestants and Israeli Jews. These researchers noted some differences in community support and based these differences on convenience and practice, from various religious demands. For example, based on strictures against driving on the Sabbath, most orthodox Jews chose to live near their synagogue and have formed communities based on their shared needs, such as access to kosher food and yeshivas (religious schools).

American Protestants did not report having such specific communal needs, instead basing their religious community primarily on one's chosen place of worship. As a result, researchers found their perception of the American Protestant community support was weaker than that of Israeli Jews. In addition, the authors postulate ideas and feelings about "God support" function in distinctly different ways in different faiths. These authors report 56% of American Protestants hold a belief in a very personal relationship with Jesus and a larger connection with their spiritual leader, while finding Israeli Jews typically view God as more exalted and majestic and derived less of a feeling of support from their religious leaders (Lazar & Bjork, 2008).

In their 2009 study on religious factors as predictors of distress, Rosmarin, Krumrei and Andersson, used samples of Christians and Jews. These researchers examined links between common religious practices, general religiousness and symptoms of distress in 354 subjects in the United States, Canada and Israel. The sample included both men and women; 120 Christians, and 234 Jews and was conducted through an online survey. These researchers found general levels of religiousness and religious practices to be somewhat predictive of lower levels of overall distress; yet, the study results also indicated religious denomination was a poor predictor of distress (Rosmarin, Krumrei & Andersson, 2009).

Rosmarin, Krumrei and Andersson, (2009) note several differences between adherents of the Protestant religion and Jews. The authors note that consistent with their doctrinal dichotomy, Protestants instill certain internal mental states in worshipers, more than do Jews. The authors point out; Jews on the other hand more commonly stress religious practices and communal participation. The study authors attribute these differences to the various religious dictates of religions of assent versus those of descent. They go on to speculate because internal mental states are not of primary importance in Judaism, these religious beliefs will not strongly relate to mental wellbeing or distress among Jews (Rosmarin et al., 2009). In a two-part study, these authors also found robust connections between beliefs about God's benevolence related to mental health specifically among orthodox Jews, along with lower levels of anxiety and depression but not among non-orthodox Jews (Rosmarin et al., 2009).

Also, in two other studies in 2009, Rosmarin Krumrei and Gerhard researched the consequences and correlates of religious coping among American and Canadian Jews.

Using the JSCOPE Jewish scale of religious coping to determine there was a negative link to positive religious coping and a positive link to worry, depression and anxiety (Rosmarin, Krumrei & Gerhard, 2009). Also in 2009, Rosmarin, et al. studied religious beliefs among 565 subjects: orthodox Jews, non-orthodox Jews and Protestants and its relevance to their mental health. In this study, the researchers found religious beliefs were salient for Protestants and non-orthodox Jews, but less relevant for orthodox Jews. In three measures, the study authors determined among orthodox Jews, religious beliefs remained a significant predictor of depression and anxiety after controlling for religious practices. The authors confirmed their hypothesis that beliefs about God's benevolence among orthodox Jew's was related to their mental health and predicted lower levels of anxiety and depression among this group (Rosmarin et al., 2009).

Johnstone et al. (2012) also theorized that Jews seem to be less spiritual than Catholics or Protestants and that was possibly related to the general belief the Jewish religion, especially Reform Judaism, is more focused on actions, rituals and community building with less of an emphasis on spiritual or other-worldly matters. In addition, the authors speculate Jews tend to see their religious identity grounded less in specific religious beliefs or practices and more based on biological descent (Cohen & Hill, 2007; Johnstone et al., 2012). In contrast, in general the Protestant religion is viewed as one of "assent" where there is a focus on shared beliefs and values, as well as internal motivations (Cohen & Hill, 2007). Ysseldyk, Matheson, and Anisman (2010) note that among members of assent religions, (e.g. Protestantism) group membership may be of special value because of the internalized belief systems shared by its members. The same

is not thought to be as salient for members of descent faiths (Ysseldyk, Matheson & Anisman, 2010).

In 2012 Johnstone et al. performed a cross-sectional analysis of 160 persons from five different faiths: 40 Buddhists, 41 Catholics, 22 Jews, 26 Muslims and 31 Protestants to compare differences in spirituality, personality, religiosity and health. These researchers determined spirituality was positively correlated with positive personality traits such as extraversion, while negatively correlated with negative personality traits such as neuroticism. In addition, they found all faiths surveyed the presence of positive and absence of negative personality traits to be the primary predictors of positive mental and physical health (Johnstone et al., 2012).

This study also found significant differences between groups. This study found significant differences between Muslims, Protestants and Catholics who all received higher scores than did Jews. Other differences in groups were that of Muslims, Protestants and Catholics in that order engaging in the private practice of religion more than did Jews. With respect to organized religious practice, the frequency in practice was highest for Protestants, then Muslims, Buddhists, Jews and Catholics respectively (Johnstone et al., 2012).

Anti-Religious and Anti-Semitic Attitudes in Penal Institutions

Religion and violence are scarcely strangers. Among the many current examples are the conflict between factions in Northern Ireland, continuing struggles between Israelis and Arabs, ethnic wars in Africa, the persecution of the Falon Gong in China, the bombing of American abortion clinics by right-wing Christian extremists, nationalist conflicts in the Balkans, the simmering conflict between Pakistan and India and perhaps

most the most familiar to readers in the United States, September 11 terrorist attacks. Despite these struggles, modern society has downplayed the connection between religion and violence and tends to deemphasize violence from religious groups and its causes (Hall, 2003). Based on the long history of clashes between ideologies, it should come as no surprise when religious conflicts in penal institutions occur.

The literature on anti-Semitism and anti-religious attitudes in incarcerated populations is scant at best. Some penologists and prisoners have argued that despite court legislation mandating the free and open practice of religion while incarcerated, in many penal institutions, religion is “barely tolerated and in some institutions, discouraged” (Marcus, 2009). Despite this, little significant professional research has yet to occur on this topic. Prisons are known as places for where violent crimes occur daily (Thomas & Zaitow, 2006). There, individuals and groups compete for power and respect and thus, prison gangs founded on racial or ethnic affiliation may result in and foster a “subculture of violence” (Ralph, 1997). It should; therefore, not be unusual to learn; the practice of religion in prison may be another outlet for anger and interpersonal violence.

In their studies, Phinney (1990) and Ysseldyk, Matheson and Anisman, (2010) both use the definition of ‘ethnic identity’ defined by Tajfel (1981) as “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership” (Tajfel, 1981). One of the tenets which may strengthen religious identity is the steadfast belief that one’s personal religion is “the truth”; discounting other faiths or belief systems (Ysseldyk, Matheson and Anisman, 2010).

Phinney (1990) also notes the absence of positive attitudes or the existence of negative attitudes can be viewed as a dissatisfaction or denial of one's ethnic identity. While some of these negative attitudes may be the norm in some groups, it may stir up some confusion and discomfort for others (Lax & Richards, 1981). To assess negative attitudes in indirect way, Phinney suggests asking whether subjects, if given a chance to be born again, would wish to be a member of their ethnic group. Phinney points out attitudes and behaviors regarding one's own and others' ethnic identities change as one develops and may resolve feelings or issues about ones' own or others ethnic group (Phinney, 1990).

While anecdotal accounts occur, there are few if any credible statistics on instances of anti-religious or anti-Semitic attacks in prisons. In his writings, Siporin notes "White supremacy is more rampant in prisons than in any other segment of society, and Jews in prison run into more trouble from White supremacists than from Blacks, Latinos or any other group" (Siporin, 2015). As such, he advocates for the consideration of classifying Jews separately and segregating Jewish prisoners from other groups for their own safety (Siporin, 2015).

Hogg and Abrams (1988) have suggested people who are members of a group are often motivated to compare their group favorably with other groups and find other groups less favorable. In a basic way, these social and group identities assist individuals in simplifying social complexities and help to avoid the feelings of being overwhelmed. Greenfield and Marks' research (2007) substantiated the positive connection between social categories, psychological wellbeing and individual identities noted by Hogg (1996) and Hogg and Abrams (1988). In addition, Ysseldyk, Matheson and Anisman (2010)

point out this uniqueness felt by members of a group may also have negative impacts on the individuals when their religious identity is threatened because of intergroup conflict.

Many times, the goal of these religious conflicts among groups is often to win over the mind, rather than the body, and may lead to religious individual identity being thought of as especially powerful when that identity is under attack; especially within Christian and Islamic traditions (Ysseldyk, Matheson & Anisman, 2010). These authors go on to point out it is more likely intergroup tensions as opposed to individual psychology fuels fundamentalist attitudes and may serve to energize aggression towards other groups (Ysseldyk et al., 2010). When ethnic conflicts do arise, ethnicities' unchanging natures often result in eliminating other groups and attempting to gain power. The researchers go on to point out these attempts at the elimination of other groups do little to win over other group members to their side. (Ysseldyk et al., 2010).

Marcus (2009) argues it is a natural conclusion that in incarcerated populations, higher levels of religious animus are reported by non-mainstream religions of all kinds. Over the past 20 years, there has been an upsurge in prisoners who have converted to or practice Islam while incarcerated; yet, in his research, Marcus specifically mentions hostility against Muslim inmates, and goes on to report this is true also for other non-mainstream religions, such as Wiccan's (Marcus, 2009). Over the past 20 years, Orthodox Jews, Muslims, Native Americans, Rastafarians and Sikhs, along with other incarcerated religious groups have gained some of the rights required for their religions practice (Thomas & Zaitow, 2006). Despite these diverse groups, Christianity, especially Protestant theology dominates in prisons, with "aggressive and well-organized proselytizing and promotion of Christianity values" (Thomas & Zaitow, 2006).

With respect to incarcerated populations, Clear (2001) states “a strong judgmentalism often exists among prisoners of different faith groups, with little tolerance for gray areas”. Some prisoners who reported strong religious sentiments said they avoided going to chapel while in prison, as to not be associated with or known as a member of a religious group (Clear, 2001). Prisoners are often cynical about prisoners who adopt religious beliefs; frequently questioning their motivation and the legitimacy of their espoused convictions. Thus, when an inmate adopts a religious identity in prison, it routinely entails persistent challenges from other inmates and commonly describe themselves as “social misfits” among their non-religious peers (Clear, 2009). Anecdotal evidence has suggested religious prisoners may be subjected to higher risks of disciplinary infractions, as they become frequent targets of distrusting fellow prisoners who doubt their sincerity, as well as cynical guards (Clear, 2001).

Surveying a non-incarcerated population in 2007, Pargament et al. conducted research on whether the judgment that “Jews desecrate Christian values” was linked to anti-Semitic attitudes and found the greater this perception, the greater the anti-Semitism. Those surveyed who viewed Jews as demonic or meriting punishment from God, exhibited higher levels of anti-Semitism. Conversely, this same study also noted those surveyed who found religious coping in ways which emphasized expressions of Christian love were linked with lower levels of anti-Semitism (Pargament et al., 2007).

Little, if any, academic research has been done on the differences between male and female prisons with respect to racial or ethnic identity and instances of anti-religious or anti-Semitic biases. During an interview for an online Jewish publication in 2013, a Jewish Chaplain at the California Institution for Women, a prison in Chino, California

stated, “female inmates live much less racially divided culture. They are therefore able to ignore ethnic tensions to a much greater extent than male prisoners, but religion is still highly divisive.” (<http://www.forward.com/news/186868/jews-in-prison-stick-with-faith-to-cope-with-flood/>).

In non-incarcerated samples, several empirical studies have demonstrated associations between prejudice and bigotry against women, Blacks, Jews and homosexuals with a strong and firm devotion to strict practices and religious interpretations (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Kirkpatrick, 1993). Pargament (2002) and Donahue (1989) reported that several empirical studies have linked extrinsic religious motivation to prejudice, while conversely, intrinsic motivation was linked to better mental health (Donahue, 1989; Pargament, 2002).

Pargament and Mahoney (2002) hypothesize individuals are particularly motivated to hold safe and protect from threats and violations, those things they find sacred. When these sacred aspects of life are harmed or violated, people may feel especially violated and more vulnerable to stress (Pargament & Raiya, 2007). In his remarks, speaking in Washington DC, in 2002, well-known penal researcher, Todd Clear stated “I would like to see a constitutional finding that prisons that are exclusively Christian be closed but that religious prisons, where people are free to practice any form of religion they want, to be constitutional. I would like prisoners who study the Bible to also read the Koran and the Talmud and talk about the comparisons” (Clear, 2001).

History of Using Bible Studies and Stories in Prison

Since the inception of the penitentiary system, chaplains have played a crucial role in the lives of inmates. Organized religion entered the prison systems in the in the

1700's and 1800's well before the establishment of other prison programs. Clergy came to help prisoners repent for their illegal and immoral deeds. Besides conducting religious services, they brought food and supplies and they met with inmates and their families (Coleman, 2003). They were by default unofficial social workers or counselors because the only other staff inside were correctional officers and their supervisors. Outside of the prison walls, chaplains advocated for prison reform and inside they ministered to the spiritual, social and therapeutic needs of inmates (Coleman, 2003).

Charles Colson, founder of Prison Ministries says unabashedly "crime is at its root a moral problem" (Swanson, 2009). Bible studies for incarcerated persons have considerable historical precedent. Many figures in the Old and New Testament were themselves prisoners-Jesus, Joseph, Jeremiah and Daniel to name a few. In the New Testament, in the Gospel of Matthew, Jesus specifically refers to visiting prisoners as a holy duty. There are many references to prisoners in both texts. In the Gospel of Luke, Jesus declares that God has sent him to Earth to "proclaim freedom for the prisoners" and Saint Paul wrote six of his 13 epistles, chained to a wall in a Roman jail. Many of the Bible studies conducted in the In-Prison Seminars of Prison Fellowship draw on these examples and experiences of biblical characters to illustrate how to be a good Christian while incarcerated (Carlson, 1992; Wolff, 1974; Wright, 1992).

Correctional Chaplaincy and Positive Influences on Healing and Rehabilitation

Sundt and Cullen (2002) found in their study of 223 correctional chaplains, those chaplains who believe religion has the potential to reform inmates (a distinctly moral view of rehabilitation) and treat them more humanly may be a source of support for the incarcerated and for their rehabilitation. These researchers also found those chaplains

involved in correctional work are not only shaped by their environment, but are also able to have a humanizing experience on the prisons themselves (Sundt & Cullen, 2002).

Prison chaplains were noted as providing positive influences to women within the prison system; those of mentoring and friendship, especially after losing the social supports of their families and communities (Clone & DeHart, 2014). With regard to older women who were serving life sentences, many prisoners mentioned the positive impact chaplains or religious volunteers from the outside had on their spiritual growth. As more emphasis is placed on gender and age issues in incarcerated populations, and it's potential for rehabilitation, more attention is due the work of prison chaplains and how it can benefit prisoners as they age (Aday, Kraybill & Deaton-Owens, 2014).

In 2009 Swanson studied a sample of 44 male inmates engaged in a Life Learning Program (LLP) in a maximum-security prison unit that focused on which factors contribute to faith and moral development. Swanson (2009) found the three themes emerged that contributed to faith and moral development in the learning program. These three themes are cognition, volition and relationships. Cognition involved increasing the inmates' knowledge of faith beliefs through Bible studies and classes to learn about the nature of religion. Volition was defined as a turning point, which is precipitated, by crisis and opportunity for growth and results in better choices for future dilemmas. Finally, this study also found developing a personal relationship with God was advanced as a result of participating in the LLP, living in a faith-based housing unit and being around others who were also engaged in similar struggles (Swanson, 2009).

A recurring theme in chaplaincy work with prisoners is that of providing hope. Sheppard notes most frequently inmates report feelings of being powerless or weak

(Sheppard, 1993). Hall reported prisoners have frequently voiced they are alone; feel they have been forsaken by everyone and hopeless. Without hope, it is difficult, almost impossible to help someone (Hall, 2014).

Another theme of prison ministry is one of presence. Chaplain Joseph Shields, a Correctional Chaplain in Lumpkin, Georgia states “The chief duty of a chaplain is to be the presence of God” (Shields, 2016). In doing so, Hall (2014) notes these model the Christian view of the incarnation and as a pastoral skill. He specifically mentions the story of Sister Helen Prejean and her ministry to a Louisiana death row inmate as described in the film, *Dead Man Walking*. In this film, Sister Prejean did not indicate she condoned his behavior, was insensitive to his victims or believed he was innocent. Her accompanying this prisoner to the death chamber was; instead, meant to bear witness to the presence and love of God in one of life’s most difficult moments (Hall, 2014).

Pounder (2008) states and defines Christian prison theology as:

A theology of hope in Jesus who walks with us even when we are going in the wrong direction (the Emmaus story, Luke 24) even when we go into a far country and squander all (the Prodigal Son story, Luke 15), and even when we arrange to have someone killed (King David, 2 Sam 11). God is the God of hope in our countless ‘even when’s. (Pounder, 2008 p. 284)

According to Kerley, et al. (2010) and Hemphil and Bartkowdki (2008) conservative Protestants tended to favor punitive treatment of offenders more than their mainline religious counterparts, favoring punishment over compassion. This involves placing a premium on judgment and consequences as opposed to forgiveness and

reconciliation. The role this personal perspective plays in delivery of services in Protestant prison chaplaincy is not clear (Hemphill & Bartkowdki, 2008; Kerley et al., 2010).

Tasks and Duties of Correctional Chaplains

In general, little academic attention has been paid to correctional chaplaincy and there is a void of knowledge regarding all of the specific tasks carried out by these representatives of faith in the corrections system. These roles have been most often seen as facilitating prison adjustment, visiting prisoners in isolation, counseling and assisting inmate's families during their incarceration, providing religious education, conducting religious services and helping inmates plan for their release (Cullen, 1998).

Many prisoners are consumed with guilt and shame. Correctional chaplains can assist prisoners by providing a listening ear, assisting them from dwelling on past deeds and remorse, into reconciliation on a spiritual level through confession and granting absolution (this approach varies from faith to faith) (Rushkyte, 2007).

Sister Adriana Volna who works to further the concepts of restorative justice lists the functions of correctional chaplaincy as: Encouraging personal and spiritual development of prisoners, advocating for effective rehabilitation resources, acting as a liaison between prisoners and their families, and offering alternatives to punitive justice in hopes of shifting public attitudes towards incarcerated persons (Volna, 2000).

Anderson adds that advocating for the abolition of the death penalty has been a primary activity for the jail and prison ministry convocation (Anderson, 1996). Reverend Paul Rogers, President of the American Correctional Chaplains Association states "The chaplain is sometimes the conscience of the institution". Chaplains are religious

volunteers are extensions of and representatives of the larger religious community outside of prison walls, as well as representatives of correctional clients (Rogers, 2003).

Rogers lists the following roles correctional chaplains perform are:

Managing religious programs, coordinating services of different denominations, providing spiritual guidance and counseling to inmates, assisting in the notification of deaths; including grief counseling and other emergencies, officiating at marriages, with premarital and divorce counseling, assisting the families of inmates, acting a primary advisors for religious policy, clarifying religious mandates and strictures such as diet and other religious laws, leading prayer services, performing liturgical duties, recruiting, training and coordinating religious volunteers, assist workers inside the facility in defusing volatile situations and negative behaviors, and representing the facility in the outside world (Rogers, 2003).

In *Seven Steps to Positive Change in Correctional Chaplaincy*, Tomandl notes the following strategies successful correctional chaplaincy must employ: do your job well, relate well to current leadership, maintain a non-threatening promotion of the chaplain's vision to officials, value teamwork, educate people in the outside world about prisons and prisoners encourage faith-friendly leadership, practice perseverance (Tomandl, 2016).

A recent survey of chaplains employed by correctional facilities found assisting inmates in adjusting to incarceration or preparing them for release were ranked as very important goals of their work (Sundt, Dammer, & Cullen, 2013). While there is some disagreement over the various roles correctional chaplains can and should play, one thing is clear. The role of the chaplain is multi-faceted and extends from beyond the facility

walls into the broader community, assisting families of prisoners and prisoners after their release.

Why Choose Correctional Chaplaincy as a Career?

In the United States, correctional chaplains have traditionally been identified with Christian treatment goals of forgiving and forgetting. With regards to Jewish prisoners and chaplains, (2003) wrote “Though Christians still dominate the landscape of prison chaplaincy, diversity is now the order of the day. Proselytizing is still active in many prison facilities, but is officially prohibited or generally discouraged, (Friedman, 2003).

Sundt and Cullen (2002) surmise chaplains who believe they are answering a calling to the prison ministry (i.e., intrinsically motivated) are more likely to display positive attitudes and support rehabilitation as opposed to those who are employed for extrinsic motivations (Sundt and Cullen, 2002).

In their 2010 study of thirty prison chaplains or lay-volunteers in Mississippi, Kerley, et al. used in-depth interviews to explore the motivation of prison ministry workers. These researchers found three major themes: the calling for prison ministry, special connections to prisoners, and a sense of security and comfort with prisoners (Kerley, et. al, 2010). Hall noted in his experience the motivations for prison ministry were all essentially the same; a sense of calling which comes from a combination of their gifts and a perceived need they have to meet those needs, assisting others (Hall, 2004). Carder (2006) maintains his involvement with jail and prison ministries helps to keep pastors focused on life and death matters. It allows the pastor to leave the world outside and enter into a world, stripped of pretense and superficial preoccupations.

Conflict in the Service of Prison Chaplaincy

In writing about Christian prison ministry, Ristad noted mainline Christian denominations rarely provide ministry in prison, although they may employ such chaplains. Ristad also notes most of these chaplains are more involved with parolees and their families; as opposed to currently incarcerated prisoners. He maintains this schism is a reflection on “social class theology and our attitudes of ignorance, fear, denial and guilt about the lack of status we give Jesus’ call to visit the prisoner”, stating “My own church, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, has had little concern for prison. One of our bishops said years ago in our church magazine, ‘Why do you want to go to those losers?’” (Ristad, 2008).

Pounder maintains the church by its “widespread ambivalence and negligence of Jesus’ command to visit those in prison, has joined with those who oppress the women and men in prison and now must find its own voice, speaking with and advocating for those in prison” (Pounder, 2008). To the contrary, Hall affirms a theology of prison must be inclusive enough to “embrace all of God’s children and at least be respectful of the many paths people follow on their journey towards God” in this way break down the walls between us and them, whether this means us on the inside or outside or we of one faith or another” (Hall, 2014).

“Christian ministry is about hope, not only of eternal life in heaven but also in abundant, meaningful life here on earth. The authors maintain that to minister in prison requires one struggle against the prison culture which in which a sense of mistrust and hopelessness are standard” (Spitaale, 2002, p. 151). Carder (2006) notes quite simply,

pastors and congregations, who are engaged in prison ministry, often encounter bureaucratic resistance (Carder, 2006).

Diminishing Staff

While chaplains are still a mainstay of prison operations, many of their positions have been eliminated or replaced by volunteers. In addition to massive budget cuts for programming, part of the reason for the elimination of chaplaincy positions is the chaplains “own poor communication about their impact” (Friedman, 1993). Reverend Paul Rogers, the President of the American Correctional Chaplains Association, along with prison leaders say budget cuts, which often target chaplains, say the short-term financial solutions may in fact lower inmate morals, rehabilitation and inmate spiritual growth (St Gerard, 2003).

While these tasks are many and may seem overwhelming to many in the clergy, in many institutions, the “prison chaplain leads a near invisible existence (Sundt, 1997). This overlooking and neglect of the correctional chaplaincy occurs despite the statistic that virtually every prison and most jails have at least one chaplain on staff. In their 2007 research, Sundt and Cullen examined the occupational experiences of 232 correctional chaplains through mail questionnaires to better understand work stress and job satisfaction (Sundt & Cullen, 2007). Their study indicated most prison chaplains felt “highly satisfied” with their work. This same study indicated the higher the perceived level of dangerousness, the higher the perceived stress level (Sundt & Cullen, 2007).

The Religious Con and Providing Service

Chaplains must become aware of and address the reality that both in the general population, as well as in the inmate population, people often use religion for other

purposes than growth and healing (Sherkat, 1997). Hicks noted the amount of interactions with prisoner's chaplains had, which at the request of inmates, occurred primarily for non-religious reasons such as a phone call, pencil or simply to talk to someone. These prisoners, she indicated, made it clear either by word or deed to the chaplain that rehabilitation was not relevant (Hicks, 2008). Dammer also noted a sizable number of inmates who "practiced religion", while incarcerated and found a considerable number that were "insincere" in their religious practice and using the practice of religion for manipulative or unprincipled purposes (Dammer, 2002).

Budget Concerns and the Consequences for Correctional Chaplaincy

In 1995 Fewell proposed viewing chaplaincy through one of two models; the church model and the clinical model. In the historical church model, chaplains "do church", and that involves conducting worship services, visiting inmates and teaching Bible classes. The newer clinical model is a much more comprehensive method and along with worship services includes individual counseling for inmates, family counseling and the coordination of community volunteers to assist inmates both inside and upon release from the facility.

The older and more historic church model has been utilized since the inception of correctional counseling and as utilizing this model was suggested by Skolnicki as "the most significant quality of the chaplaincy during the early days of correctional was viewed primarily as a conversation between the inmate and the chaplain and one that was concerned with leading him or her to repentance and conversion" (Skolnicki, 1991).

Those who utilize the church model often provide a generic service for Protestants and Catholic inmates. Fewell asserts this generic brand of practice is not adequate

because inmates must have a personal connection to the worship and which could only be adequately provided by a minister of their own faith (Fewell, 1995). Perhaps in contrast Liefbroer, Olsman, Ganzevoort, and Etten-Jamaludin (2017) in their study on interfaith spiritual care (ISC) suggested there were at least two categories essential to providing interfaith care; those of normativity and capacity. These researchers note with normativity, religious orientation does not seem to play a major role in spiritual caregiving in apparent contrast, capacity emphasizes important competencies be held by those providing ISC (Liefbruer et al. (2017). A 2003 article by St Gerard quotes Sidney Dunston, Chaplain at the Nash Correctional Institution in Nashville, Tennessee. Dunston speaking on then recent budget cuts remarked he and other state-employed chaplains are “required to work with the beliefs of at least 11 religions of which there are ‘offender followers’, according to the state’s Chaplaincy Services manual. They include Rastafarian, Asatu, American Indian and Wiccan” (St. Gerard, 2003).

Liefbroer et al. ponder how feasible it is to insist chaplains possess a distinctive knowledge of many denominations, their unique strictures, practices and terminology. Based on severe budget cuts, this pattern of combined services may not be an exception, but instead become the norm in correctional facilities. Ideally correctional chaplains should be versed in a variety of different subjects, interpersonal counseling, have a working understanding of theology, psychology, social work, and working with survivors of trauma. This is a difficult balance and accomplishment to achieve (Liefbroer et al., 2017).

Cader while interviewing prisoners, asked about the most important qualities of a pastor and concluded integrity, dependability and consistency are paramount. These

qualities take on added significance in populations where church people make promises in good faith, but often fall short and lead to disillusionment and cynicism amongst the incarcerated (Cader, 2006).

The Toll Prison Chaplaincy Takes on Religious Workers

Structural tensions in prison are significant. These tensions provide dissonance between custodial, rehabilitative and retributive goals, as well as financial limitations. All of these tensions combined lead to what Rothman stated “prisons are fundamentally contradictory institutions” (Rothman, 1980). Prison chaplains typically occupy a unique position in correctional institutions. While most are defined as treatment staff, chaplains perennially navigate a social space between staff and inmates, maintaining a relationship with both groups (Hicks, 2002). While some facilities depend on and enhance the position of the chaplaincy, this is not true in most facilities, and in some institutions, chaplains maintain a virtually invisible existence (Sundt, 1997).

Sundt’s study found chaplains may experience role conflict as they attempt to navigate a comfortable position between inmates and staff, balance their allegiances between inmates and staff, as well as church and state and perform a myriad of conflicting responsibilities (Sundt, 1997). This study also explored job satisfaction and work stress as variable. In her study on the Occupational Socialization of Prison Chaplains, Hicks (2008) conducted 21 interviews with chaplains in correctional facilities and found occupational socialization of these chaplains noted the stress and pressure exerted on them from different factions of the prison (Hicks, 2002).

In his work, Skotnicki (2004) examines the way in which correctional chaplain’s in the jail or prison culture might “refashion” themselves to some degree as that of the

inmate. Skotnicki goes on to say chaplains make similar adjustments, as do inmates to circumvent the bureaucracy of the prison and achieve their goals. He mentions part of this process includes the chaplain mastering institutional language and working around facility constraints to maintain the integrity of religious services and programs (Skotnicki, 2004).

Van Denand (2003) noted her struggles as a CPE Student providing services at Bedford Hills Correctional Facility, near New York City. In her article she described her internal battle working in a correctional institution and the difficulty of not being able to “fix” things for the population she worked with; an inability to transplant spiritual values or religious understandings and her need to learn how to allow others to value their own struggles and journeys (Van Denand, 2003).

Hicks, in her work, found chaplains were not afraid all of the time yet were constantly screening and accessing for danger or potential risks and modified their behavior accordingly. These modified behaviors included never turning their backs on inmates as well as identifying exits and telephones (Hicks, 2016).

Hall observed one occupational hazard of working as a prison chaplain was the potential of “prisonization” of staff, in which the staff develop an attitude of superiority over inmates (Hall, 2014). Sundt & Cullen also suggest chaplains are not immune to the influences of the facilities they work in. Those chaplains who view their work as more dangerous are likely endorse punishment more strongly and have more concerns about their security at the facility (Sundt and Cullen, 2002).

Turner (2014) declares, “Religion in prison is more dynamic and challenging than ever. The biggest challenge for prison chaplains may be to keep personal faith and professional responsibility separate” (Turner, 2014).

Theoretical Frameworks for Correctional Counseling

It has long been known many female inmates are survivors of abuse and trauma prior to their incarceration. Messina and Grella (2006) using the Aversive Childhood Experiences (ACE) tool and surveying 500 women incarcerated in California found strong support that the greater the impact of childhood traumatic experiences, the greater the likelihood of need for appropriate trauma treatment in correctional settings (Messina and Grella, 2006).

Young states “chaplaincy, by its very nature, involves working at the vortex and the aftermath of trauma”. Young goes on to say, “Convincing inmates they are not defined by their traumatic past is a formidable challenge for correctional chaplains.” and in reality, a “pre-trauma life of innocence is irretrievable” (Young, 2017).

Abraham has suggested in the pastoral context, prison clergy enter into the narratives of other and in turn, share their own narratives and that of others, as well as exchanging and discussing values, ideas and emotions. These exchanges assist the counselor and the counselee in communication and in organizing their own experiences. Abraham goes on to assert this give and take process in pastoral counseling often ventures into and includes glimpses of childhood, deprivation, abuse, neglect and conflict, all of which contribute to the troubled individual who sits before them. Entering into this process allows the chaplain to consider these narratives from a temporal perspective. This narrative, along with the craft and skill of the process are demonstrated

by what Henry James (1890) states, as “The art of being wise is the art of knowing what to overlook”. It is this give and take, coming forward and distancing process that leads to insight and awareness (Abraham, 2016).

In speaking of the particular spiritual language of women and ministering to them, Paul (1992) suggests women may best explore the discreet parts of their lives through imagery and weaving together different parts of their lives; good and bad are integrated. Words spoken to a chaplain by female inmates must be understood by and through both overt and covert meanings. When female prisoners are communicating about spirituality, multiple levels must be investigated. Paul goes on to say, when women speak to the chaplain about decorating the chapel; they are actually saying, “I need to create a holy space in which I can be at home with God”. While these tasks are many and may seem overwhelming to many in the clergy (Paul, 1992).

Paul also maintains women are more likely to ascribe their meaning and descriptors of God, based on their memory of their father. For example, if their father was abusive, punitive or harsh, they may translate these what they believe are traits and qualities of God. When so, correctional chaplains in particular may play an important role in reshaping these negative views of God, perhaps by developing a concept of God by using mother imagery. Paul also stresses interpersonal relationships are especially important to the emotional health and healing for incarcerated women. Female chaplains may play a reparative role, through the formation of safe, nurturing and appropriate relationships with female prisoners (Paul, 1992).

Brault (2016) posits a ministry of “presence”; not one of giving advice or intervening in the thoughts and actions of clients is traditionally taught in clinical pastoral

education programs (CPE). Such a method utilizes a reflexive approach, employs active listening in order to help the client clarify and develop the inner workings of their souls. While understanding there are specific events where this approach may be appropriate,

Brault also advocates such an approach is not generally the most effective modality when working with correctional clients. The author advocates correctional chaplains take a more directive approach that assists inmates in developing a worldview vastly different than the criminal one, which led to their incarceration (Brault, 2016).

In general, therapeutic interventions that focus on shaming, fear or emotional appeals are ineffective to affect change in the long-term (Scott, 2008; Warren, 2007). Brault (2016) continues on, saying many of these approaches that are effective in correctional populations include some form of cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT) and require an examination of the inmates thought process to effect change (Brault, 2016). Snodgrass (2009) presents a model for integrating spirituality with CBT counseling and one, which may be especially appropriate for correctional populations (Snodgrass, 2009).

Volunteers

Due to budget cuts and decreased staffing levels, many correctional facilities rely on volunteer clergy more than ever. While they may not be formally trained in correctional counseling, these volunteer faith workers provide needed manpower and their roles should not be overlooked when speaking of prison chaplaincy and the role of religion in incarcerated populations.

Charles Colson, a special counsel in the Nixon White House founded Prison Fellowship in 1976 after his conviction and incarceration on federal obstruction of justice charges. Colson, a born-again Christian, started Prison Fellowship. Prison Fellowship

one of the largest prison reform groups in the world and is staffed almost exclusively by volunteers (Carlson, 1992). Carlson went on to say while speaking of In-Prison Seminars with Del Irwin, Director of Prison Fellowship's volunteer training program found "six to eight out of every 40 volunteers whom lead In-Prison Seminars or Bible studies were ex-cons themselves" (Carlson, 1992). Kort-Butler surveyed 19 male and female volunteer faith-based workers in the federal prison system. This researcher found these volunteers see themselves as providing four primary roles with incarcerated persons. First these volunteers see themselves as being "called to ministry", secondly as providing support to prisoners, thirdly by demonstrating compassion and building relationships with prisoners and finally by conversion of inmates to a religious life.

The Kort-Butler study also found these volunteers faced personal and emotional challenges working with inmates. Going on, the researchers found balance and perspective when working, as a volunteer with this population was crucial and included building relationships and not friendships with inmates and setting strong personal boundaries. On a positive note, volunteer prison ministry assisted some of the volunteers in overcoming stereotypes of inmates and helping them to see inmates as people instead of "others" (Kort & Butler, 2014)

Many volunteers in the Prison Fellowship seminars try to prepare prisoners for the shock of freedom after their release (Carlson, 1992). Prisoners who have spent years incarcerated may be unaware of the effects of inflation and may be shocked to see how prices for everything from the cost of hamburgers to rent has risen dramatically while they were incarcerated. This can be disorienting for the newly released and create confusion and fear. Prison Fellowship assists by pairing the newly released with local

churches. In addition, Prison Fellowship tries to keep families together by placing spouses in support groups in churches their partners can join after release. It is sad to note, Carlson reports more than 85% of prison marriages do not last during the incarcerated term of imprisonment. Of those that do, the author notes, 80% will fail within the first year after release (Carlson, 1992).

In a 2002 study, researchers, Parsons and Warner-Robbins, surveyed 27 previously incarcerated women, who had been released for at least six months. These researchers found the dominant themes in order of importance voiced by the released and assisted these women in a successful transition back into the community were: a belief in God, freedom from addiction, support with volunteer Women's Home Ministry worker home visits and nurse-chaplain jail visit and support (Parsons & Warner-Robbins, 2002).

Research Questions

Research questions to be explored will be:

RQ1: What are the different reasons that chaplains report regarding Jewish and Protestant female inmates' religious observance?

RQ2: What ways do chaplains report that religious observance affects Jewish, female inmates, differently than Protestant, female inmates during their incarceration?

RQ3(a): What levels of observance do chaplains report for Jewish, female, inmates as prior to their incarceration, as compared to that of Protestant, female inmates?

RQ3(b): What differences do Jewish and Protestant chaplains report in their congregant's current religious observance if any?

RQ4(a): How do chaplains report negative bias from other inmates for religious belief or practice influences Jewish female inmates differently compared to Protestant, female inmates?

RQ4(b): How do chaplains report inmates experiencing negative biases from other inmates preclude the open religious practice of Jewish, female inmates and Protestant, female, inmates?

RQ5: What changes do chaplains experience regarding their thoughts of people in general and prisoners as a result of working as a correctional chaplain?

RQ6: What changes do chaplains experience in their personal, professional or religious lives as a result of working with inmate populations?

Chapter 3: Methodology

Participants and Recruitment

Based on the most recent data available, in 2014 there were 44 Jewish women incarcerated in New York State prisons. This number comprised 1.9% of all female inmates in state prisons (State of New York, 2014). There does not appear to be any current data regarding the number of Jewish women currently incarcerated in municipal jails or community corrections in New York State. This is also true for federal, state and local facilities in New Jersey as well as Pennsylvania and Connecticut. There is also no current data on the current number of Jewish and Protestant correctional chaplains currently working or having recently worked in these facilities, or in federal or municipal correctional facilities. After approval by the Nova Institutional Review Board, the researcher made inquiries with the American Correctional Chaplains Association, the Correctional Ministries and Chaplains Associations the Aleph Institute to recruit study subjects using a convenience sample of those who agreed to be interviewed. Once initial subjects were recruited, the researcher inquired of chaplains who agreed to be interviewed, if they might refer the researcher to other subjects who may be willing to be interviewed, using additional snowball sampling. This researcher interviewed ten Jewish correctional chaplains who currently worked in or recently worked in correctional facilities in the northeast United States, along with a commensurate number of Protestant correctional chaplains. While perhaps a relatively modest number, this sample size allowed for a study with "depth and significance, ...richness and complexity rather than statistical logic" (Baker & Edwards, 2012). In addition to surveying chaplains who work with Jewish, female inmates, a sample of an equivalent number of Protestant chaplains

who work with Protestant, female inmates was also interviewed. The purpose of including a second comparison group was to understand commonalities and differences between the two sample groups and explore how these differences may impact the practice of religion by each group. Participants were recruited from their professional groups and other chaplains made aware their participation in the study was voluntary and not intended to have an effect on the policies or procedures at their penal facility or directly with the persons they minister to. These interviews lasted between 50 and 135 minutes, with the mean time being approximately 90 minutes.

The locations for each interview were determined and agreed upon by both the subject and the interviewer and were conducted at a variety of locales, primarily in the northeast United States and near Chicago, Illinois. The interviews took place at locations ranging from jail chaplaincy offices and prison visiting areas, to rabbi's homes, local restaurants, and professional chaplaincy conferences. The interview locations also included church rectories, hospital chaplaincy offices, and a synagogue.

Instrumentation

In 1992 Dammer conducted one of the most comprehensive ethnographic studies with 70 male inmates and staff at two prisons in the northeast United States (Dammer, 1992). During the course of his multi-faceted study, he developed an 'Inmate Interview Guide'. His methodology while conducting face-to-face qualitative interviews is well-written and thorough. Many of the questions he explored with his study population were similar to those utilized in this qualitative study. An adapted and amended version of his study protocol is listed below and was used as a guide for interviewing chaplains in this study. The term "PROBE" after certain questions was intended as a prompt for the

interviewer to explore more deeply, depending on the subject's response. Again, the purpose of these in-depth interviews and questions were designed to be flexible enough for obtaining information, yet allow for alterations as needed and clarification as the interview process progresses and evolves. The Inmate Interview Guide appears is listed in Appendix A.

Procedures

Research Design

Qualitative research was conducted using a phenomenological research design (Creswell, 2012) and accomplished through extensive personal interviews. This research was conducted utilizing primarily a discovery-oriented phenomenological approach. All of the research questions were explored and results reported by coding the results and looking for themes.

This research design was intended to elicit individual perceptions and feelings about the role religion plays among Jewish, female inmates, as well as any similarities or differences between those and that of the Protestant sample. Again, it should be emphasized, the information on inmates was an amalgam of those female detainees each chaplain worked with during their employment and in no way identified any particular inmate.

In addition to research on the practice of Judaism or Protestant Christianity while incarcerated, the researcher garnered a unique perspective on how the practice of correctional chaplaincy effected the Jewish and Protestant faith workers in correctional settings. A semi-structured interview protocol was followed in order to allow the subjects to discuss their experiences in a non-judgmental or "leading" way. The purpose

of the interview was to gain a more detailed, richer understanding of the subjects' experiences as a Jewish or Protestant female inmate and correctional chaplain working with each group. Other questions posed in the interview that did not directly address the research questions were designed to facilitate discussion on the topic in general and encouraged deeper responses about the subject's thought and feelings of religion expressed by those in prison. The data obtained during interview was designed to provide a broader understanding of each subject's experience, religious beliefs, and practices while incarcerated. Additional data was gathered to understand how the clerical practice inside the correctional facilities effects those who minister to the incarcerated.

The researcher asked for consent to tape record each interview, as well as taking notes. A digital voice recorder was used to capture the interview and the texts transcribed after taping. If the subject was uncomfortable being recorded or declined to be recorded, the researcher offered to only take written notes. The researcher has over 20 years of experience taking accurate notes during clinical interviews, while actively listening and these skills aided her in the note taking process. This did not occur with any of the respondents and noted were used to supplement the taped interviews. During the semi-structured interview, the researcher took clear and accurate notes which captured the essence of the subjects' statements. Special attention was paid to any significant quotes provided by the study subjects. It was essential the information be captured completely and accurately.

The goal of the interview questions was to understand the subjective world of the interviewee and to learn how they interpreted their experience of practicing their religion while incarcerated or ministering to the incarcerated. The interview began by repeating

the promise of confidentiality. The researcher then spoke briefly about the purpose of the research, and quickly laid out the format for the meeting, inquired if the subject has other questions about the research and thanked them for their participation in the research. Discussion began with a few "warm-up" questions comprised of basic demographic information and the researcher then began to conduct a face-to-face interview, utilizing the Chaplain Interview Guide (Appendix A1 and A2). Some gentle inquiries were made regarding the subject's education, secular and religious background and on occasion, information on their family of origin. These questions were designed to begin the subject speaking and engage them in conversation. The format for weaving the questions into the interview was flexible and the order was determined based on the level of comfort the subject exhibited. This semi-structured approach allowed the researcher to respond to the subject in a more natural and less stilted way; yet, included each of the study questions. This interview style assisted the in subject more easily sharing recollections, experiences and anecdotes with the researcher. The sequence of the interview questions was tailored to the discussion and flowed naturally during the conversation. It is important to note the questions were adjusted; yet closely coordinated to the interview questions, when the need arose during the interview process. Qualitative research allows for and an adjustment in the interview process and encourages researchers to adjust their questions as inquiry develops (Chenail, 2011). Again, the researcher posed questions in an open-ended format whenever possible and elicited richer comments, recollections, narratives, anecdotes and interpretations than close-ended questions might have elicited. The interview guides are provided in Appendix A1 and A2.

Research Question 1 RQ1: What are the different reasons that chaplains report

regarding Jewish and Protestant, female inmate religious observance? Table 1 shows the related interview questions, 9, 11, 12, 17, 20 and 21.

Table 1

RQ1 Related Interview Questions

9. Is there anything special or different about being (denomination) in prison?
 11. What kind of inmate do you think is likely to get involved in religion while in prison?
 12. While incarcerated (and on the outside) some people practice religion with different levels of sincerity. For example, there are some “fakers” or “hypocrites” and others are sincere or devout. Why do you think some prisoners might fake being religious?
 17. Of the different religious services, classes or seminars you have participated in or provided, while working in corrections, which seems to be the best attended? Least attended?
 20. When during their incarceration, that an inmate is more likely to become involved in religion and why?
 21. How does the practice of religion in prison change the facility and why?
-

Research Question 2 (RQ2): What ways do chaplains report that religious observance affects Jewish female inmates, differently than Protestant, female inmates during their incarceration? This research question was addressed with interview questions 5, 6, 7, and 13. Table 2 shows the related interview questions to RQ2.

Table 2

RQ2 Related Interview Questions

5. How do inmates practice their beliefs? (Explain)? Frequency and types of practice? If this was not covered in the religious history section: When and how do you see most inmates first become involved with religion? When during their incarceration? Why not something else like exercise, recreation or learning a trade or a skill?
 - 6) What do inmates get out of being religious while incarcerated?
 7. What has religion done to inmate's lives while incarcerated that make a difference? What control do they think they have over their environment? Is it more difficult for inmates to practice religion on the inside or outside?
 13. How can you tell if someone is truly religious while confined?
-

Research Question 3 (RQ3) (a) and (b) What levels of observance do chaplains report for Jewish, female inmates prior to their incarceration as compared to Protestant, female inmates? What differences do Jewish and Protestant chaplains report in their congregants' current religious observance if any?

These questions were addressed by Interview Questions 18, 19, and 21. Table 3 shows those related interview questions

Table 3

RQ3 Related Interview Questions

18. It seems some of the religious activities are much better attended than others? Why is that? What makes an inmate choose some activities over another?

19. I understand some inmates often go to a number of services and dominations during incarcerated. Why is that?

21. How does the practice of religion in this prison change the prison and why?

Research Question 4 (RQ4) (a) and (b) How do chaplains report negative bias from other inmates for their religious beliefs or practice influences Jewish, female inmates differently as compared to Protestant, female inmates?, How do chaplains report inmates experiencing negative biases from other inmates preclude the open practice of religious practice of Jewish, female inmates and Protestant, female inmates? Table 4 shows those related interview questions.

Table 4

RQ4 Related Interview Questions

-
8. Religious inmates are sometimes placed in situations where they must decide between “prison survival” and following their “religious principles”. How do they handle these kinds of situations?
10. What kind of relationship do they have with your fellow Jews/Protestants?
14. How are religious inmates treated?
15. Are religious inmates different than religious people on the outside? How so?
16. What is your relationship like with different religious groups? What are the inmates’ relationships like with different religious groups?
-

Appendix A2 was designed to illicit comment about the subject’s personal experience while working as a correctional chaplain and how the experience may have changed them personally, professionally or in their religious practice.

Research question 5 posed, what changes do chaplains experience regarding their thoughts of people in general and prisoners as a result of working as a correctional chaplain? The interview questions asked in relation to this research question are shown in Table 5

Table 5

RQ5 Related Interview Questions

-
28. Please tell me about your chaplaincy experiences?
29. Do you/did you find your work rewarding? Frustrating?
30. What has been your biggest frustration or disappointment? What was our greatest success story while working in corrections? Greatest disappointment?
-

Research Question 6, what changes do chaplains experience in their personal, professional, or religious lives as a result of working with inmate populations was addressed through interview questions 31, 32, 33 and 34, shown in Table 6.

Table 6

RQ6 Related Interview Questions

31. Please tell me if and how your ideas about people, the criminal justice system and/or prisoners have changed as a result of this work?

32. If negative changes have occurred, have ever or with whom have you shared these changes?

33. Did/how these changes affect your personal faith or religious practice? How did/does it affect your view of others?

34. How does it affect your personal, professional life or religious life? Knowing what you do now, would you have chosen this experience and workplace in correctional chaplaincy??

Along with the in-depth interview notes, the researcher was aware of her personal feelings and impressions of the surroundings during each interview, as well as the data collected (Bachman & Schnutt, 2013). In addition to the interview notes, daily notes by the researcher were kept regarding the interviews, in a process called memoing. In the memoing process, the researcher noted relevant themes, events and personal feelings regarding the research (Creswell, 1998). This memoing provided additional data regarding the research process and how the process affected the researcher, as well as the subjects. A copy of the Post-Interview Comment Sheet, also adapted from Dammer (1992) is shown in Appendix B:

Institutional Review Board Approval at Nova Southeastern University was sought and obtained, prior to taking any action to solicit or contact any study subject or employee of a research facility. As per the U.S. Department of Justice website, "Prisoners

are regarded as a vulnerable population for research study purposes"

(<http://www.nij.gov>). Since this researcher did not request direct access to prisoners, the sample of correctional chaplains was easier to access and any issues of choice and the ability to accept or decline participation in this study were mitigated. Confidentiality and any possible risks or benefits were of utmost concern. These issues were addressed when potential subjects were contacted to solicit their participation in the study. In addition to the aforementioned information, the purpose of the research, expectations and basic information about this researcher was provided. Using the principles outlined in the Belmont Report, respect, beneficence, and justice was emphasized when this conducting this research (National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavioral Research, 1978).

Data analysis and coding procedures

As these in-depth interviews were conducted, data was transcribed within five days after collection, organized, connections and themes were identified and coded, and interpretations followed. Accurate written notes were essential; however, taking detailed notes during the interviews may have impeded spontaneous conversation; therefore, briefer notes were required which still conveyed the conversations and data accurately, in addition to the recorded interviews.

Groenewald, (2004) recommended the following steps during the explication process:

- 1) Bracketing and Phenomenological Reduction, is the initial process, where the researcher develops a gestalt of each interview, becoming familiar with the words and phrases of each subject.

- 2) Delineating Units of Meaning occurs when the researcher considers the literal content, number of times a meaning was mentioned and any non-verbal cues which occur with respect to each meaning.
- 3) Clustering units of meaning is then done by grouping units of meaning together, and when an overlap occurs, refining each cluster to its basic essence.

After transcription, each interview was summarized and the researcher once again reviewed each of the interviews to ensure there were no omissions and the essence of each interview was captured correctly. General and unique themes for all of the interviews were explored, with a focus on group themes and individual variations.

Once the interviews were completed, data were categorized and reduced into key concepts, thoughts and words for each of the research subjects. These categories flowed from the data and were reduced inductively, rather than deductively; dependent on the interview results. Said another way, the researcher did not order the data or address the material with a set of hypotheses to test a theory in which the researcher hoped to match the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Instead the researcher approached the data with an open attitude and gleaned whatever data emerged from the interview information (Seidman, 2013).

Creswell (1998) recommends the data are open coded in blocks because it yielded the broadest understanding of the data. If the data did not fit clearly into the codes, new domains were created and the data incorporated. In this process, patterns surfaced and information was viewed subjectively, not forced into any category, and allowed for a broader understanding of the subjects' experiences. In qualitative studies,

repeating themes across narratives lend substantially to reliability (Stiles, 1993).

Coding Procedures

Since the study samples were relatively small, the researcher coded the study participant's manually, without the aid of a computer-based coding program. The manual coding of the data lead to even more familiarity with the subject's responses and the data they yielded, increasing the accuracy and validity of the findings. Once the interview was completed, the data was transcribed. The interviewer browsed the data as a whole, then made notes of initial impressions. After this initial read, each line was carefully reread line by line. Next the interviewer labeled relevant words, phrases and sentences in each interview. The decision to label and code information was determined based on one or more of these four criteria: if the information was repeated in several places in the interview, because it surprised the interviewer, the interviewer had read about it in previous data within the either group, it reminded the interviewer of a theory or relevant concept or because the interviewer explicitly stated that data is important. Also, since the intended study samples were relatively small, the researcher coded the study participants' responses manually, without the aid of a computer-based coding program (Seidman, 2013).

Once these steps were completed, the interviewer again read through the codes selected in the previous step and determined whether to keep, combine or delete codes. After this portion of the process was completed, the interviewer determined which of the codes or theories were most relevant, described, or connected the information between categories and organized these into categories. The data and themes were examined across all protocol, as opposed to question by question. Despite the relatively small

number of study samples, the interviews yielded an enormous amount of data. Relevant excerpts from each interview were manually cut and placed into folders for each subject or concept identified. These excerpts were noted with each subject's code for clear identification by the researcher. Once these steps were completed, the interviewer again read through the codes selected in the previous step and determined whether to keep, combine or delete codes. As the process continued, other codes were combined, again leading to smaller groups and categories as phenomena and common ideas were identified and repeated. Confirmatory and contradictory data were both coded and compared. This was accomplished through an inductive approach, including first observation, noting patterns, allowing concepts and themes to emerge from the data in an unbiased and open-ended manner, and finally forming a tentative hypothesis about the interview data (Seidman, 2013).

Comparison of Findings Between Groups

To improve the rigor of this study, the researcher used constant comparison, read and re-read to search for and identify emerging themes in a continual search for meaning. In addition, the process of constant comparison also allowed the researcher to compare and contrast data from the two interview groups, as well as the data within each group. Once the data were coded from each sample group (Jewish, correctional chaplains who work with females and Protestant, correctional chaplains who work with females), the codes, concepts, and themes that emerged were compared between the two groups. This occurred by examining each theme, concept, the key words and general flavor of each sample group's interviews and comparing the results between the two sample

populations. These comparisons yielded common ideas, which when combined allowed for themes to emerge. This constant comparison method was used to allow concepts and themes to emerge from the data and then to compare these themes with additional responses, providing increased accuracy and validity in the findings (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). In summary, the researcher has made efforts to increase the reliability and validity of the data obtained and reported.

This comparison between groups yielded co-occurring themes between the two groups or pointed out the differences between the two groups. It should be restated, this was an inductive process and one where common themes or conflicts arose from the data obtained from each group, and was not be hypothesized during the interview process. In order to yield unbiased data, only after coding and comparing each sample group's responses independently, themes were explored, connections sought, or differences noted in comparison between groups (Zumbo, 2014).

Limitations

A purposeful sample was utilized in this study. The researcher reached out to all members of the listed organizations who are current or recently former correctional chaplains in the northeastern United States who have or do work with Jewish, female prisoners and invited them to participate in this study. When a sufficient number of this population was obtained, an equivalent number of chaplains who work with or have recently worked with Protestant female inmates were recruited. Due to the limited number of participants who were willing to participate in this study, the selection of test subjects may not be entirely representative of the larger population of Jewish, or Protestant correctional chaplains who currently or recently worked with inmates.

Additionally, the subjects who elected to participate in the study may be in some ways be self-selecting; indicating more interest in prisoner's religious observance or work in corrections than those who declined to participate in the study may possess.

It should be noted; some Jewish inmates might not have acknowledged their religious beliefs upon entry into the penal facility for a variety of reasons. Since some of the research questions involve the incarcerated Jewish population, any conclusions, which were drawn from answers regarding inmates identifying themselves as Jewish, may not be included in this study. As with any qualitative study using a non-random sample, care should be taken to avoid generalizing these results to all prisons, inmates or chaplains.

Milestones

In order to implement this study, the following steps were followed:

1. Approval of the idea paper
2. Permission granted by Nova's Institutional Review Board (IRB)
to conduct this research
3. Inquiries made to solicit subjects through Jewish and Protestant
correctional chaplains' associations
4. Subjects contacted and offered an opportunity to participate in
this study
5. Study population selected
6. Interviews scheduled
6. Interviews conducted
7. Data coded and processed

8. Analysis of data performed
9. Dissertation report accepted by committee
10. Study subjects informed of the study result

Chapter 4 Findings

Research Questions

RQ1: What are the different reasons that Jewish, female inmates and Protestant, female inmates give for religious observance?

RQ2 What ways do chaplains report that religious observance affects Jewish, female inmates, differently than Protestant, female inmates during their incarceration?

RQ3(a): What level of religious observance do chaplains report for Jewish, female, inmates as compared to that of Protestant, female inmates prior to their incarcerations?

RQ3(b): What differences do Jewish and Protestant chaplains report in their congregant's current religious observance if any?

RQ4(a): How do chaplains report negative bias from other inmates for religious belief or practice influence Jewish female inmates differently compared to Protestant, female inmates?

RQ4(b): How do chaplains report inmates experiencing negative biases from other inmates preclude the open religious practice of Jewish, female inmates and Protestant, female, inmates?

RQ5: What changes do chaplains experience regarding their thoughts of people in general and prisoners as a result of working as a correctional chaplain?

RQ6: What changes do chaplains experience in their personal,

professional or religious lives as a result of working with inmate populations?

The goal of this study was to understand the role religious observance plays in the lives of incarcerated, Jewish, females. Face-to-face interviewing of inmates in New York State presented multiple legal and procedural issues, ultimately making it infeasible to conduct the study in its original format. After several months of waiting to receive final permission to conduct this study inside the Bedford Hills Correctional Institute, the original study involving direct contact with inmates was disallowed for this researcher by the Director of Research and Planning for what substitutes as a formal Institutional Review Board in New York State. With this in mind, this study was redesigned to interview correctional chaplains who minister to Jewish, female inmates inside correctional facilities. In order to better understand the study group, a comparison group of correctional chaplains who work with incarcerated Protestant females was added to that of correctional chaplains working with Jewish inmates.

The researcher has a background in criminal justice, having worked as a corrections officer and mental health screener in both city and county jails in a large metropolitan area in the southern United States. In addition, the researcher is a seasoned psychotherapist, with over 20 years working in her private practice in both Brooklyn and Manhattan, New York. At this time, the bulk of the researcher's patients were Jewish; and most were orthodox Jews. The researcher was motivated to undertake this research due to the strikingly high number of her current or recent psychotherapy patients with first generation, male or female, Jewish relatives who have been or are currently incarcerated. This study utilized in-depth qualitative face-to-face interviews with twenty

subjects. These interviews were conducted with ten correctional chaplains who work with Jewish inmates, and ten correctional chaplains who work with Protestant inmates. At this juncture, there has been no scholarly research published on this subject, and therefore there is no basis for comparison from previous findings. This exploratory study was designed to begin to provide an understanding of and discussion on the role religious observance plays in the life of incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates and compares these experiences with that of incarcerated, Protestant, female inmates. Additionally, this study was designed to give voice to those who work in prison ministry and provide insight into how working with this population may affect their thoughts on people in general and prisoners, as a result of their work. This study also explored any changes these chaplains might experience in their personal, professional or religious lives as a result of working with these inmate populations. It is hoped that in addition to its initial findings, this research will serve as a springboard for future research on this topic.

The findings for this research study are reported using each research question to structure the data. The interview results are divided into two broad areas of inquiry. The first area is comprised of research questions one through four and the second of research question five and six. The first area of inquiry delved into the experiences reported by Jewish and Protestant correctional chaplains and focused on the practice of religion by incarcerated, Jewish and Protestant, female inmates. The second area of inquiry explored the changes these correctional chaplains who worked with these populations experienced on a personal level, as a result of their work with these inmate groups.

The researcher found both Jewish and Protestant inmates rely on religion while incarcerated to assist in dealing with the challenges and pain of incarceration. Jewish

correctional chaplains placed an emphasis on helping their congregants form or reconnect to their Jewish identity. Protestant correctional chaplains did not report any emphasis on helping inmates to form or enhance their Protestant religious identity while working with inmates. Significant differences were found between the incarcerated, Jewish and Protestant female populations in their religious backgrounds and practices before incarceration. The effects of religious practice amongst the two groups during their incarceration were found to be varied among both study populations and that it fluctuated throughout the inmate's incarceration for both groups. This research also showed very limited negative behaviors, anti-religious or anti-Semitic bias towards inmates of both groups; although, some anti-Semitic statements by correctional officers was reported towards Jewish, male chaplains. The study found frustration from both groups of correctional chaplains with staff and policies of the facilities they worked in. In addition, the results showed working as a correctional chaplain with Protestant and Jewish, female inmates provided generally positive benefits, both in their personal outlook and spiritual practice of those surveyed.

Recruitment of Subjects

Qualitative interviews occurred with 20 subjects: 10 correctional chaplains who work with Jewish inmates and 10 correctional chaplains who work with Protestant inmates. These interviews occurred between April 4, 2019 and June 4, 2019. The interviews lasted between 50 and 135 minutes each, with the mean time for all interviews being approximately 90 minutes. The researcher obtained the initial sample subject population by posting requests for study subject volunteers through three professional organizations that serve correctional chaplains: The Aleph Institute, the American

Correctional Chaplains Association (ACCA) and the Correctional Chaplains and Ministers Association (CMCA). Each association posted online requests for subjects and asked interested volunteers to contact the researcher individually via phone or email. Once the initial research subjects were contacted and interviewed, these subjects frequently referred other colleagues who they thought might also be interested in participating in this research study. This resulted in a high number of subjects who were obtained through snowball sampling. When the maximum level of participants of each subject group was reached, recruiting stopped and the researcher declined any additional candidates who volunteered to be interviewed for this study.

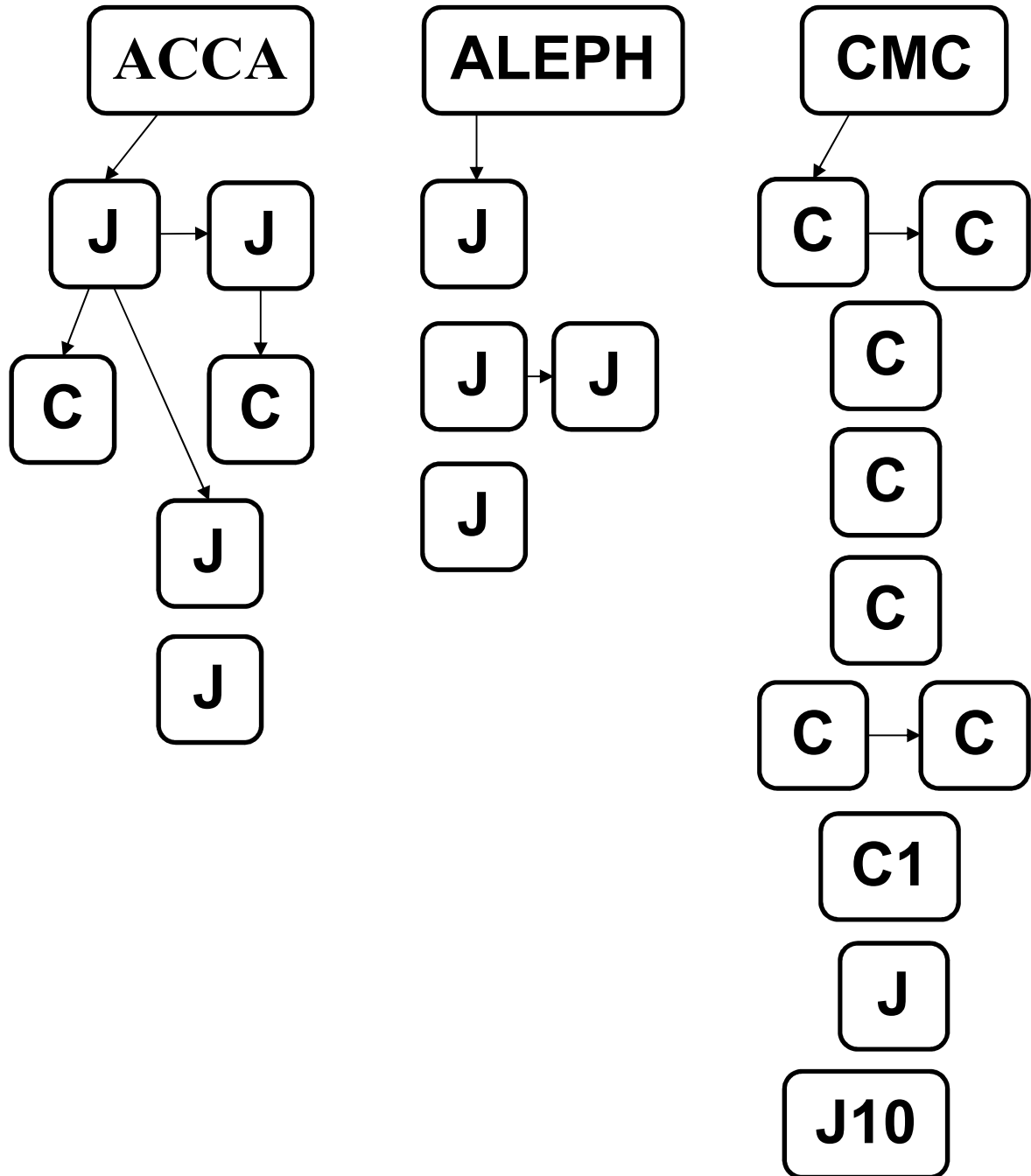
Because of the strikingly high number of respondents for this survey in New York City, New York State, and the surrounding states, it thought this sample to be highly representative of the general population who work with both Jewish and Protestant, female inmates in the northeastern and midwestern United States. In addition, this researcher believes she has achieved a point of data saturation. As the interviews continued, little if any new or unusual data was culled from the interviews after reaching 16 of the 20 respondents with their responses echoing those of others in prior interviews.

The interviews were conducted in locations convenient to the research subject and at locations agreed upon by the subject and researcher. Interviews were conducted at a variety of locales, primarily in the northeast United States and near Chicago, Illinois. The interviews occurred in Manhattan and Queens New York, Westchester County, New York, Buffalo, New York, Lakewood, New Jersey, Clinton, New Jersey, Fairfield, Connecticut, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Wheaton, Illinois. The interviews took place at locations ranging from jail chaplaincy offices and prison visiting areas to rabbi's

homes, local restaurants and professional chaplaincy conferences. The interview locations also included church rectories, hospital chaplaincy offices, and a synagogue.

The study participants included eight male and 12 female chaplains. The ages of the subjects ranged between 31 and 83, with a mean age 57.5 years of age. There were two subjects in their 30's, four in their 40's, six in their 50's, three in their 60's, three in their 70's and two in their 80's. Four of the subjects were Black, 15 were Caucasian and one was Hispanic. The subjects had educational backgrounds ranging from some college courses to those who were currently enrolled in doctoral programs. The median level of education for the subjects was that of a master's degree in a variety of subjects, but not necessary theology or religion; with some as varied as French or accounting. Most had been ordained as clergy, although some had not received professional training outside of their job and had come to their professional positions after years of volunteer work inside a correctional facility. The subject's personal religious faiths included Jewish, Catholic, Pentecostal, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist and those who identified themselves simply, as a Christian.

How Study Subjects Were Recruited



Key: Study respondents originally recruited through organizations are listed independently. Respondents who were referred by other subjects are connected with arrows showing from whom they were referred.

Confidentiality

In addition to speaking about the congregants they minister to behind bars, the subjects spoke candidly with the researcher about their experiences ministering to individuals at the facilities they worked in, as well as how these experiences as faith-workers has impacted their personal and religious lives. The researcher faced the dilemma of providing an accurate account of the study subjects and their work environment, while at the same time protecting their identities. In many states there is only one women's prison, each employing only a few chaplains; and at most, one of each faith: Jewish, Catholic, Protestant, and Muslim. If the location of the facility, or even the state the facility was located in, and the faith of each subject were specified, it would in effect identify the study subject, without naming them. In order to maintain the confidentiality of each subject, individual quotes which might inadvertently identify a particular subject have not been quoted directly, instead, only identifying them as working with Jewish or Protestant inmates and the type of institution they work in: a city or county jail or a state or federal facility. Most of the subjects expressed some concern about maintaining their confidentiality with the study results. Interestingly, their concern was not that they might be identified by a prisoner or former prisoner; but instead, by a colleague or administrator at their workplace and might face professional repercussions for their participation in this research. Again, the identity and descriptions of the sample population have intentionally been described in vague and ambiguous ways to protect the respondents' confidentiality and identity. The chaplains interviewed for this study worked at a variety of facilities and included city and county jails, state prisons, and federal half-way houses in the United States. One subject worked at a federal prison in

Canada, near the border to the United States. A name and description of each facility is given below. In each case, the information regarding that institution was provided by the subject interviewed unless noted otherwise. Again, an attempt to maintain the confidentiality of each subject, no further description of the subject or his or her connection to each institution is provided.

It is crucial to note there is a tremendous amount of overlap in correctional chaplaincy. Catholic clergy often minister to incarcerated Protestants, Jews often minister to religiously unaffiliated inmates, Protestants minister to incarcerated Hindus and essentially every other combination imaginable; all of which combine to create a patchwork of services available to many inmates. While this study is focused on Jewish and Protestant inmates, it should be stressed not all of those who minister to Protestants are they themselves Protestant. Some faith workers in this study did not identify with any specific denomination aside from being a Christian. In some facilities, where there is a small population of Jews, there is often one clergy member who is trained to minister to and works with a variety of faiths. With this in mind, no clear conclusions should be drawn based on the religion of the faith worker and those they minister to. The subjects are labeled as J1 (Jewish 1), J2 and so forth, for those workers who minister primarily to incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates. Subjects labeled C1 (Christian 1), C2 and so forth, are those faith workers who minister to primarily incarcerated, Protestant, female inmates. Some of the clergies are employed directly by the facilities they work in, some by their religious order and some by chaplaincy organizations. Some work as employed clergy in one facility and volunteer as clergy in another facility. It should also be noted many of these clergy work with both male and female inmates in the same or nearby

facilities. Again, in order to maintain the confidentiality of each research subject, only a broad description of each respondent has been provided.

**Chaplains Who Work with Incarcerated, Jewish,
Female, Inmates**

Subject J1 is a rabbi in her 30's who is employed in a jail in the northeastern United States.

Subject J2 is a rabbi in his 30's who worked in a jail in the northeastern United States as a correctional chaplain for several years, until recently.

Subject J3 is rabbi in his 40's who is employed in a state prison in the northeastern United States.

Subject J4 is a rabbi in his 70's who also works at a state prison in the northeastern United States.

Subject J5 is a rabbi in his 40's who works primarily as a community rabbi in the northeastern United States. In addition to his communal and pulpit work, he visits and coordinates a group of volunteers who visit Jewish, female inmates at nearby facilities.

Subject J6 is a rabbi in his 80's who works at in a pastoral communal position in a northeastern state, as well as working as a correctional chaplain in a jail.

Subject J7 is in his 50's and works at a correctional program in the midwestern United States. He is not Jewish, but works with Jewish inmates, as well as those of other faiths.

Subject J8 is a rabbi in his 50's and works in a state prison system in the northeastern United States.

Subject J9 is a rabbi in her 60's and who works in a state prison system in the northeastern United States.

Subject J10 is a minister in her 40's who works with Jewish inmates at a state prison. Although she is not Jewish, she was she trained to provide religious guidance to all faiths.

Chaplains Who Work with Protestant, Female, Inmates

Subject C1 is a Christian cleric in his 60's and works inside a jail in the northeastern United States.

Subject C2 is a minister in her 50's who until recently, worked at a female correctional facility in the northeastern United States.

Subject C3 is a minister and is employed at a state prison in the northeastern United States.

Subject C4 is pastor in his 70's and works as a chaplain at a state prison in the northeastern United States.

Subject C5 is in her 60's and serves as a Christian correctional chaplain at a women's state prison in the northeastern States.

Subject C6 is in her 40's and is a reverend at a county facility in the midwestern United States.

Subject C7 is a chaplain at a county facility in the midwestern United States and is in her 70's.

Subject C8 is an ordained minister in the midwestern United States and is in her 50's. Subject

C9 is a Christian chaplain at a county facility in the northeastern United States and is in her 50's.

Subject C10 is a minister and a chaplain in a county facility in the midwestern

Table 5 Chaplains Interviewed

Gender				
Correctional Chaplains	N	Male	Female	
Jewish	10	7	3	
Christian	10	5	5	
Total	20	12	8	
Ethnicity				
Correctional Chaplains	N	Black	Caucasian	Hispanic
Jewish	10	0	10	0
Christian	10	3	6	1
Total	20	3	16	1
Age				
Correctional Chaplains	N	Age Range	Mean Age	
Jewish	10	37-83	53	
Christian	10	41-70	59	
Facilities				

Correctional Chaplains	N	City / Local	State / Federal
Jewish	10	3	7
Christian	10	7	3

113 Correctional Facilities Where Respondents Were Employed

City and County facilities

Alleghany County Jail, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. This facility opened with a capacity of 1,850 inmates in 1995, but currently houses over 2000 men and women. This facility holds those awaiting trial, as well as those offenders awaiting transfer to other facilities after sentencing and those serving terms of less than one year. The jail has a robust religious programming schedule, offering classes and worship services multiple times a week.

Brown County Jail, Green Bay, Wisconsin. The Brown County Jail is located in Green Bay, approximately 115 miles from Milwaukee, Wisconsin and approximately 250 miles from Chicago, Illinois. This jail serves Brown County as a medium security jail with a total population of 1000 inmates. 800 are full-time inmates, and another 200 are on work release. Of this 1000 total, approximately 260 of these are women, who are incarcerated full-time in the facility and another 50 who are on work release. This facility holds inmates who are awaiting trial or are serving sentences of less than two years. Their work-release programs, help to assist with an overflow of inmates, shortening their sentence and decreasing budgetary strain.

Prince George's County Detention Center, Upper Marlborough Maryland The Prince Georges County Detention Center has a total inmate population of 729 and of which approximately 50 are women. This facility serves those inmates awaiting

trial, transfer to another facility or serving terms of less than one year. They offer vocational training, state certified substance abuse programming, programs for survivors of domestic violence and a Prevention for Incarcerated People program (PIP) which provides life skills, HIV prevention education and reentry services.

Rikers Island (Rose M. Singer), New York, New York Rikers Island is the main jail complex for New York City. Officially opened in 1934, it is located on an island between the boroughs of Queens and the Bronx, in New York City and spans just over 400 acres. It is the, if not one of the largest penal colony and mental institutions in the world. Rikers Island is operated by the New York City Department of Corrections and the Rose M. Singer complex, known as “Rosies” is specifically for female inmates. Over the years, Rikers Island has been known for a reputation of pervasive violence and a culture of abuse. It is currently the subject of numerous lawsuits regarding inmate deaths, incidents of sexual and physical abuse by guards.

At this time Rikers Island is in the midst of a ten-year plan to shutter the facility and decentralize the city’s jail system to other boroughs in New York City. The goal of this long-term plan is to integrate prisoners into other community facilities when the census at Rikers Island decreases to 5000 prisoners and it is anticipated this change could be completed by 2024. Currently, Rikers Island has the lowest inmate population since 1984, with an inmate population of approximately 6000 inmates, down from an all-time high of over 21,000 total inmates in 1994. Correction Department City of New York, 2018)

State and Federal Facilities

Albion Correctional Facility, Albion New York. Albion is one of the three all women's prisons in New York State and is located near Buffalo, New York. It is a medium security facility with a population of approximately 1250 female inmates. Albion offers a correctional industries program, and other vocational skills training, along with an adult GED, special education programs and college courses to earn an associate's degree. The Albion Correctional Facility offers a multitude of substance abuse treatment services and sex offender counseling groups.

Bedford Hills Correctional Facility, Bedford Hills, New York The Bedford Hills Correctional Facility (BHCF) is a maximum-security women's prison located in the hamlet of Bedford Hills, New York. In addition to holding long-term maximum-security prisoners, Bedford Hills also serves as the New York State's reception and classification center, accepting more than 3000 women a year into state correctional facilities. This facility is approximately 45 miles north of New York City and is approximately 45 miles from the Sing Sing Correctional Facility, a maximum-security facility for males in Ossining, New York. While originally established as a reformatory for women convicted of misdemeanors in 1901, Bedford Hills now serves as New York State's only female maximum-security prison and houses approximately 800 women on a long-term basis, as well as a central intake area for other women's prisons in New York state (Lord, 1995).

Grand Valley Institution for Women, Kitchener, Ontario The Grand Valley Institution for Women is located in Kitchener, Ontario, approximately 100 miles away from Buffalo, New York and seventy miles from Toronto, Canada. It is one of the six federal facilities for women in Canada and opened in 1997. Grand Valley Institution for

Women has a current population of approximately 280 inmates at both medium and minimum-security levels in an open-campus model. It is important to note; the Canada Charter of Rights and Freedoms provides essentially the same rights to inmates as does the United States Constitution and federal laws of the United States afford to prisoners in their practice of religion while incarcerated in the United States.

Edna Mahan Correctional Facility for Women, Clinton, New Jersey The

Edna Mahan Correctional Facility for Women Is the only women's prison in New Jersey and is located in Hunterdon County, New Jersey. Its current population is approximately 950 inmates, in minimum, medium and maximum-security levels. This facility provides educational and vocational courses, substance abuse counseling and mental health services to its inmates. It is also home to an acclaimed Puppies Behind Bars program, which trains guide dogs for the blind. Of late, it has been the subject of numerous reports of sexual abuse against male correctional officers and has recently named a female warden to preside over the facility, in addition to replacing several overnight male corrections officers with female staff.

Salvation Army Pathway Forward Program, Chicago, Illinois Salvation Army

Pathways Forward is a transitional residence which serves as a half-way house in Skokie, Illinois. This program contracts with the United States Department of Justice and federal prisoners are referred to them by the Federal Bureau of Prisons near the completion of their sentence. It serves as a midway point for these prisoners who are completing their sentence and transitioning back into society. The facility has a total of 135 male beds and, along with 25 female beds and currently an additional 30 people on home-confinement. Each resident is assigned an advisor/counselor and offered

counseling and guidance, substance abuse and mental health services, life skills courses, and a restorative justice program to aid their reintegration with family members and the community, academic and employment skills training.

SCI Cambridge Springs, Cambridge Springs, Pennsylvania SCI Cambridge Springs opened as a minimum-security female prison in 1992 in Cambridge Springs, Pennsylvania on the site of a former college campus. SCI Cambridge Springs is one of two women's prisons in Pennsylvania; with SCI Muncy being the medium and maximum facility. It is comprised of approximately 125 acres and houses approximately 1000 minimum security inmates. Inmates are afforded vocational training, 12-Step recovery programming, re-entry skills, life skills and virtual visitation with their family. (<https://www.cor.pa.gov/Facilities/StatePrisons/Pages/Cambridge-Springs.aspx>)

Taconic Correctional Facility, Bedford Hills, New York Taconic Is a medium security women's prison located in the hamlet of Bedford Hills, New York and is operated by the New York State Department of Corrections. It is associated with the Bedford Hills Correctional Institution (BHCI), a maximum-security women's prison located a few miles away from Taconic. It opened in 1901 as a state reformatory for women between the ages of fifteen and thirty. In 1933 it merged with and operated as a part of Bedford Hills Correctional Institute until 1973, when it opened as a separate facility from that facility.

York Correctional Institution, Niantic, Connecticut York Correctional Institution serves as the only institution for female offenders in Connecticut. It is a high-security facility and holds both pre-trial and sentenced offenders regardless of their security level. It opened in 1994 after consolidation with the Niantic Correctional

Institution. York offers an 80-day intensive drug treatment unit and an end of life hospice program which trains inmate volunteers to provide end of life care to fellow inmates. They provide a Mommy and Me program for enhanced visitation with mothers and their children and a Girl Scouts Behind Bars program for the daughters of incarcerated mothers.

Interview Protocol

A semi-structured format was used by the researcher. The research discussion began with the study questions and core concepts; yet at times, allowed the interview to broaden in certain areas, according to the subject's responses and interest in the topic. It is possible the questions might have been asked by the researcher in a biased or leading fashion. In order to minimize that possibility, questions were constantly reviewed and replaced with more neutral questions when merited from one interview to the next interview. An example might be:

Researcher: Was there a negative bias towards inmates who practice their religious beliefs by other religious groups? might be replaced with:

What are religious inmates' relationships like with people other than those in their same religious group?

In addition, respondents were asked at the end of each interview whether the questions posed by the researcher, provided a good idea of the practice of religion for each population surveyed. Respondents were also asked if there were any areas the researcher neglected to inquire about or if there were comments they would like included, which the researcher did not specifically inquire about. Adjustments in questions were made and the interview questions were refined as the interviews progressed and were

tailored to each subject's field of interest, history, personal vignettes and willingness to share their experiences with the researcher. A copy of the Chaplain Interview Guide appears in Appendix A.

Data Analysis and Coding Procedures

In addition to her interview notes, tapes of the interview were transcribed by the researcher and reviewed after transcription to ensure accuracy and completeness. Since the intended study samples were relatively small, the researcher coded the study participants' responses manually, without the aid of a computer-based coding program. This manual coding of the data lead to even more familiarity with the subject's responses and the data they yielded, increasing accuracy and validity of the findings. Despite the relatively small number study samples, the interviews yielded an enormous amount of data.

Data driven open coding was utilized, coded inductively, and refined into smaller groups while categories and common ideas emerged and were identified. Confirmatory and contradictory data were both coded and compared. To improve the rigor of this study: The researcher used constant comparison, read and re-read to search for and identify emerging themes in a continual search for meaning. In addition, the process of constant comparison also allowed the researcher to compare and contrast data from the two interview groups, as well as the data within each group. This constant comparison method also increased accuracy and validity in the findings (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). In summary, the researcher has made efforts to increase the reliability and validity of the data obtained and reported.

As an example, is demonstrated in the following response by a Jewish correctional chaplain:

I get the idea that the environment is not healing. It's filled with stress and pressure and it brings out the worst in them. Any time you have a group of people who are not highly respected, in a concentrated area, there are a lot of issues.

Violence and emotional torment, and they are not respected by staff (J5).

Initially, codes of "environment is not healing", "stress", "pressure", "brings out the worst in them", "not respected by staff", "violence" and "emotional torment" were identified. As coding continued, larger groups of data were clustered and further identified into recurring themes. Some of these codes or similar responses (violence, brings out the worst in them, emotional torment) did not reappear from other respondents or in a similar context and were not found independently significant enough to warrant specific mention in the final reported results. In the final coding, and after reviewing other interviews, common themes and subheadings were reported under: "respect", "fear", and "trauma", which captured the essence of these experiences and meaning; especially when combined with other responses. "Stress" regarding inmates was mentioned only one other time from other respondent, and combined with other responses in the final results under the category of "Providing a sense of peace".

Comparison of Findings Between Groups

Once the data were coded from each sample group (correctional chaplains who work with Jewish, female inmates and correctional chaplains who work with Protestant, female, inmates), the codes, concepts, and themes that emerged were compared between the two groups. This occurred by examining each theme, concept, the key words and

general flavor of each sample group's interviews and comparing the results between the two sample populations. This comparison between groups yielded some co-occurring themes between the two groups and some differences between the two groups. No hypotheses were made during the interview process, even as patterns and themes began to emerge. All the interviews were completed, transcribed and coded. In order to yield unbiased data and only after coding and comparing each sample group's responses independently, were themes explored, connections sought, or differences noted in the comparison between groups. To restate, this was an inductive process and one where common theme arose from the data obtained from each group and were then compared.

Incarcerated Women and Religion

As we know from previous studies on incarcerated populations, there is a vast difference in prisonization between the genders. These differences extend to into many areas; the practice of religion while incarcerated being only one. These differences lie in the way one adapts to the inmate subculture and how inmates chose to conduct themselves during their incarceration. Incarcerated, male inmates live in correctional cultures with more violence and which tend to be more racially divided, than those of incarcerated, female inmates. This research study focuses on incarcerated female populations; yet, the differences are notable. As one respondent said, "We treat women so differently than men: we treat women like garbage" (J4).

Religion for many inmates has been a positive coping mechanism and when practiced sincerely can have many advantages. For Protestant, female inmates, there typically exists a large menu of religious activities to choose from. Depending on the size of the facility, the staffing and volunteers available, respondents reported the

Protestant services, Bible studies and small prayer groups were the largest and most well attended at each of the institutions they represented, with small Bible study groups being the least attended. For Jewish, female inmates, choices for communal religious observance are far, far fewer. As one respondent stated:

Protestant services are the most well attended. We have numerous services. On Sunday, we have 16 plus three Catholic masses. Only one Jewish, by virtue of the population, we currently have. We have over 250 volunteers and they help serve our faith community (C6).

Federal law mandates that incarcerated persons be allowed to freely practice their religion; yet, does not specify how facilities must provide services for inmates. In some facilities, policy dictates if and how religious accommodations will be made for inmates. As one respondent stated, “Policy decisions drive a lot of things. Each institution can determine when they will provide services. It’s usually two percent of inmates and for these smaller groups, it’s unlikely to reach that number” (C10). That does not bode well for an incarcerated, Jewish, female who finds herself in such a facility and is interested in religious observance during her incarceration. As this research will show, there are both differences and similarities between the practice of religion for incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates and those of incarcerated, Protestant, female inmates.

Research Questions

RQ1: What are the different reasons that chaplains report regarding Jewish and Protestant, female inmates’ religious observance?

With many or few choices to practice their faith, why do inmates attend a religious service or become involved in religion? There were several common themes

listed by subjects which made it more likely for both a Protestant or Jewish inmate to attend a religious service, an event or become involved with clergy while they are incarcerated. These reasons fell into three main categories for both religious groups.

1. Helping to deal with fear and providing a sense of peace
2. Providing stability and hope
3. Faithless motives
 - a. Special Privileges and Objects
 - b. Socialization and Convergence
 - c. Lessening Boredom and Entertainment
 - d. Material Comforts

Some inmates with sincere motivations practice religion to help themselves improve, to cope with fear, and to provide a sense of hope and stability. Others use religion for a variety of disingenuous or unfaithful motives. The following themes were found repeatedly when both Jewish and Protestant study subjects spoke about the different reasons the inmates, they ministered to observed their religion while incarcerated.

Dealing with Fear and Providing a Sense of Peace

“Everybody finds God in jail. There’s fear and desperation” (C1). Fear was by far the most reported reason for both Jewish and Protestant, female inmates become involved in religion while incarcerated. The bulk of the respondents reported their congregants were looking for and want a sense that God is there with them, even in their incarceration. For many women, there are high levels of desperation and shame about how they ended up in a penal facility, along with an enormous fear of their future. For

those inmates who believed they were soon going to be released from shorter-term facilities and were not, fear was a big motivator into religious practice. At that juncture in their incarceration, an inmate's sense of isolation and despair compelled many to reach out for answers when their previous coping mechanisms on the street were no longer effective and they could no longer employ the skills they had used previously to deal with tough situations. Both Jewish and Protestant correctional chaplains reported there was fear of the unknown, fear of lack of freedom, fear of other people they might be incarcerated with, fear of violence, fear of being separated from their children or families, fear of how they will be dealt with in the courts, and countless other areas of concern. Most of the correctional chaplains surveyed; both Jewish and Protestant, reported similar ideas about how fear compelled inmates to become involved in religion while incarcerated.

The adoption of religion can occur almost any time during one's incarceration. Correctional chaplains employed in state facilities reported the adoption of religion in their inmate populations occurred later than for those in shorter term, local facilities. Aside from the difference in their length of sentences, these clergies noted that after the initial shock of prison life; when these female inmates finally accepted their fate and came to terms with their reality; only then were they more likely to become involved in religion while incarcerated.

When surveyed, both Jewish and Protestant correctional chaplains reported they believed most inmates declare a religion when asked at book-in; however, some did not and declared one later. In most facilities represented, unless one declares a religion, inmates cannot attend communal worship or partake of other religious services. "In

intake, those people are very vulnerable, scared, trying to acclimate and are much more interested in spiritual things. They're looking for safety and comfort" (C10). Another subject responded, to the contrary, "Sometimes when they get booked in, they say it doesn't matter and don't declare a religious belief because they thought they were getting out. They then declare a religion when they learn they aren't getting out so quickly and want to have a religious connection" (C6). Regarding those nearing discharge or a transfer, one respondent said "Those planning a release are scared and get serious or get into a program that gives them a spiritual awakening, or anything they can get at the time" (C10).

Fear seemed to run deep among incarcerated females. Similar sentiments were expressed by chaplains employed in both short and long-term correctional facilities and were consistently mentioned among respondents. Respondents often noted, a significant portion of inmates in city, county, state, and federal facilities have struggled with or are incarcerated for crimes having to do with substance abuse; be it alcohol or drugs. One chaplain who worked with Protestant, female inmates reported issues having to do with substance abuse often take a forefront to those of religious practice among his incarcerated, stating "Faith sharing on Wednesday nights is much more about drug use than God" (C1).

One respondent who worked in a city facility stated:

When speaking with addicts, there is a lot of fear, especially when they are in a methadone program and detoxing and when they're getting ready to be released. Detox is painful and emotional, they're fearful of relapse but they don't want to show weakness. They don't know

how to live their lives without drugs and they are scared (J1).

For some of those seeking a sense of peace, a way to deal with their fears, their loneliness, and their sense of desperation, the practice of religion provides an antidote to help them deal with some of their worries. As another Protestant chaplain said:

Religion gives them peace of mind when they are pulled away from their family into a foreign land, where there are lots of rules and regulations. It's tough for them and they're lonely, especially those who are away from their kids (C3).

For others, there is an additional fear, an overarching fear many of the incarcerated, Jewish and Protestant, female inmates have. "A fear they can never function in society" (J1).

Providing a Sense of Hope and Stability

Throughout the ages, religion has been known to provide a sense of hope for those who seek it, and with that, for some, stability that can only be provided by God or a connection with a higher power. This is a sense of safety and comfort many incarcerated women may have never felt before. As a Protestant chaplain said, "Faith and prayer provide stability and a value system no matter what religion you are" (C4) and "It fulfills scripture 29:11: it provides a hope and a future for them" (C9). Many chaplains who work with both faith groups noted their congregants seem to have an improved mood and morale the chaplains often perceive to be from religious practice. One said, "They seem more joyful when speaking with family members and less guarded" (J1). Several respondents expressed the idea that religion provides incarcerated women with a sense of well-being, and with that, a sense of value, all of which is critical for their growth and

gives them hope in the future. It allows them to begin to build a sense of hope and trust. As another respondent put it, “It gives them someone or something to trust who doesn't say one thing and do something else” (C7).

One chaplain spoke of how confinement affects many of his congregants, remarking how damaging confinement is for his congregants and how profoundly they need hope and a sense of empowerment, stating:

They are very big on group punishment but it doesn't make much sense.

Sometimes the dorm is put “on the burn”, where they get to access very little commissary money for two weeks. The individuals have no voice. If we take a human being and confine them with no voice, they have to scream out somewhere. Sometimes, they can only scream in their dreams and they see the devil. I encourage them to write down their dreams and take their power back; not to be a victim (C1).

In instances where there is a deeper sense of hopelessness and desperation, the practice of religion has been known through the ages to provide hope to the downtrodden and can assist religious practitioners in shifting their focus to a more positive future. In several facilities, when there is a crisis, correctional chaplains are called upon to assist. One chaplain said, “When someone is in distress, like suicidal, a chaplain has to be called and it sets the tone” (C3). This was the case when the researcher was scheduled to meet with one of the correctional chaplains who volunteered as a subject for this study. The morning of the interview, the chaplain was delayed and was barely able to make it to the interview, reporting chaplaincy been involved in handling an inmate suicide from the

night before and was helping to soothe the other inmates, and assist administrators; all while helping the staff and family deal with the tragedy.

Providing stability and hope are major aims of both correctional chaplains who work with both incarcerated Jewish and Protestant, female inmates. The chaplains share their belief to those they minister to that if they (the inmate) can utilize their time away from the greater society to explore “not how their religion failed them, but how they failed their religion” (C7), they may gain insight and give meaning to their current struggles for their betterment. In addition, those inmates who truly embrace their religious principles can begin or create or mend a relationship with a God whom many inmates believed had forsaken them.

Faithless Motives

Essentially every correctional chaplain working with Jewish and Protestant female inmates who were interviewed for this research, except one, acknowledged the existence of religious “fakers”. That lone respondent remarked she found her congregants behind bars to be genuine; yet, thought that might have been due to the relatively young age of the inmates she ministered to and real fear about the situations they found themselves in. In general, inmates may pretend to be religious for a variety of reasons during their incarceration. The reasons most frequently mentioned were attempting to receive special privileges, to obtain and use religious articles as currency to barter, as entertainment, as a social outlet and a means of convergence pass notes or contraband. Some inmates also “appeared religious” and hoped to gain favor when family members or a judge might look more sympathetically upon them if they “found religion” while incarcerated.

In general, this researcher found correctional chaplains try valiantly to see the good in their congregants; yet, some are more aware of religious “fakers” than some of their colleagues. Despite them understanding the insincerity of some inmates, essentially all continue to faithfully minister to them. One respondent voiced her position as this: “We take what they give us. Many, many people tell us lies. They play up their religiousness and manipulation, just like they do on the streets” (C6).

The bulk of the Protestant and Jewish correctional chaplains did not focus on their congregants’ insincere motives for wanting to become involved in religious practice. Seven of the ten Protestant correctional chaplains surveyed reported, very often they cannot always tell if someone is really religious, and that they try to reign in their judgment of others. With the Jewish chaplains, seven of the ten also responded they did not pay much attention to the charges an inmate was incarcerated for, but instead, tried to focus on their desire to grow and tried to look for the positives in each inmate. Several respondents reported not looking up the inmate’s charge or even asking them why they had been arrested. One stated, “I don’t bother asking, they will just lie or make an excuse as to why they are in jail. It’s better for me not to ask” (J2). A common sentiment was expressed by this respondent: “I don’t really think it is my job to tell you if you’re truly religious while in jail. I tell you about the Lord and you make up your what to do with it” (C7). Some religious “fakers” have multiple motivations to pretend to be religious as was stated by this respondent. “They want me to come and talk to them, so they might fake faith. They might fake to get privileges. They want one to one attention from the chaplain” (C9). Essentially each of the respondents noted what a precious commodity individual attention was inside correctional facilities. With inmates starved for attention

and connection, it is not hard to imagine why many might “play” religious to get such personal focus and connection. This theme was repeated over and over again, by a number of correctional chaplains.

Special privileges and objects. Religious objects which might seem mundane in the outside world may serve another purpose for incarcerated. A correctional chaplain working with Protestant, female inmates explained they were not allowed to give inmates *any* items from the outside, including Bibles or religious literature. She reported the facility had their own Bibles chaplains could disseminate, but that the Bibles from outside were often torn apart and used to roll smuggled tobacco or marijuana and were therefore forbidden to be distributed to inmates (C2). One respondent who worked with **Jewish inmates stated:**

The inmates didn’t even try to pass and said ‘the rabbi let us use the phone’.

They would show up with phone numbers on small pieces of paper for worship services. They would ask to use the phone first, so they made sure to have time, and then go back to their housing unit. Some might possibly stay for the service (J2).

This same respondent recalled that recently when he was finishing his employment and leaving the facility for another position, several inmates expressed an interest in religious books he was offering to interested parties. One of the inmates asked to take all of his books. When the chaplain inquired as to what her interest was, the inmate blatantly told him she could barter such books for a cup of soup or other food item and asked to take them to use as a trade for foodstuffs. As this respondent continued,

“Jail is very transactional” (J2). As for other reasons for insincere religious observance Protestant correctional a chaplain stated:

Sometimes inmates use religion to work the volunteers, to get things and manipulate. They try to get them to purchase clothes for them when they are released or send them stuff when they are transferred to prison. The volunteers are not supposed to but some do (C8).

These manipulations can lead to what another respondent called, “downing the duck”. He described “downing the duck” as what occurs when a correctional staff employee begins to over-identify with an inmate as a peer or a friend and not someone under their custodial care; a convict. This employee may inadvertently or intentionally shared personal information with the inmate. The inmate then blackmails the staff member into doing something simple at first with personal information the worker may have shared with them. Once the staff member complies, they get hooked into a situation where they fear they might be disciplined in their workplace or fired. The duck is “downed” when in order to prevent the inmate from snitching on them to his or her superiors, the staff member is persuaded into doing bigger and riskier things for the inmate, often leading to disastrous consequences. The respondent stressed this sort of ploy was discussed and taught how to be avoided during their employment orientation at their facilities. Despite this, he stated it was difficult as a chaplain because “you want to bond and share yourself and your religion with your congregants” (J8). Unlike in the world outside of the facility, this sort of sharing and bonding is complicated and can be dangerous and can lead to what that respondent termed “undue familiarity” between staff and inmates. One minister stated “Survival is number one. I don’t establish rules to

worship, but I do have personal boundaries” (C3). Walking this tightrope is a difficult feat for many who work in human services and want to be a healing and helping presence to those they work with. Some of the respondents also acknowledged their own personal history of drug use and recovery, domestic violence, or other subjects they often have in common with the inmates they minister to. For these correctional chaplains, the temptation to share personal information about their own lives may be a strong one, despite prohibitions by their religious code of ethics, professional guidelines or facility against doing so. Correctional chaplains play a unique role, navigating a path between correctional officers and inmates. While many providers in the human services field have difficulty setting boundaries with clients, when it happens with inmate populations, these blurred boundaries can become dangerous.

Socialization and convergence. Meeting others, getting to speak to people outside of one’s cell, pod or unit are very inviting options for women who are segregated, controlled and monitored 24 hours a day. This lack of freedom in what they can do, how they can express themselves or whom they can associate is a powerful motivator for some to attend a group function. At these gatherings, there is also potentially less monitoring and more opportunity to interact with different inmates or even familiar friends from the outside. A cleric who worked with both female and male Protestant inmates at the same facility reported how inmates can find activities with different units or pods interesting and can serve other “needs” saying,

It gets you out of the dorm. Convergence is discouraged by not allowing people to attend multiple services. In the men’s jails, the men openly have

gang meetings in the chapel in front of you. A few weeks ago, they discovered three women having a three-way sexual encounter in the mosque, while the officers were sitting at the desk in front, but not inside (C1).

Attendance at this “religious” activity was plainly designed for purposes other than religious worship. Another Protestant chaplain reported:

They might use these other women as a smokescreen to hide gang activities. They might have them go with volunteers who are unaware of their codes or behaviors. They might try to demand others go to certain services and manipulate to control them (C10).

From another Protestant chaplain:

Convergence at special events is enhanced when you can join a new group. In general, minimum security and maximum security can't be together but they can sometimes during worship. When you find yourself in a new group, it's a good opportunity to be a conduit to transfer contraband (C6).

Boredom and entertainment. Many Protestant Correctional Chaplains spoke of using music, movies, or other means to draw in worshippers. In an environment of boredom, routine and monotony, any unusual, entertaining or outside stimulation may seem exotic and enticing. Respondents had the following to say: “I bait them with Christian rap music geared to their lifestyle and then give them the Gospel, even the Muslims” (C8). This may hint of proselytizing and that is a sticky subject among correctional chaplains. Another respondent stated clearly, “We cannot proselytize or influence inmates unless they come to us” (C3). Technically correctional institutions do not allow such tactics, but as a previous respondent highlighted, this is a slippery slope

for correctional chaplains to navigate with their vulnerable populations. To proselytize is forbidden, but to woo inmates into their services may not be. One might ask, at what point does legitimate sharing of faith become an unwanted or forceful attempt to engage or attempt to convert someone? A Catholic chaplain said “I’m not there to proselytize. I don’t make a distinction between Catholic and Protestant prisoners. I have rosary beads, prayer cards, and calendars if they want them” (C1). As with many issues in correctional chaplaincy, there are many areas of overlap and inmates who reach out to whatever resources they have available to them.

“Why they chose one religious service over the other, I don't know. I think it is because of the personality of the of the presenter, if their friends are going, if they play music, is it more entertaining? Many are coming from churches with singing, organists and choir. I think they miss it” (C5).

Another chaplain reported “There was a pod of 50-60 and sometimes 40 showed up. Sometimes they were all brought down from the units and they just came because there was nothing better to do” (C2). One respondent said, candidly, “I don’t think most are serious. If they come to worship services, it’s to meet their friends, get out of the pod, for entertainment, to crosstalk and from boredom” (C8). Jewish, female inmates have far fewer opportunities for convergence and meeting others at religious events due to the lessened options for religious study and practice. For incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates, one respondent said, “They get out of their cell, they want to use the phone. They want to schmooze; they want their matzah” (J6).

As noted, before, some religious services and events are better attended than others and those are more likely to be for Protestant populations and not specifically for

Jewish inmates. Those gatherings that seem to be unusual, are led by compelling presenters, may be amusing, or possibly considered entertaining to watch are thought to draw the biggest attendance. One of those is “full-immersion baptism because it's emotional and a spectacle. It's the most attended” (C8). Many facilities are not built, equipped for such a ritual. In these situations, “ARM (American Rehabilitation Industries) provides an altar which converts into a tank for full-immersion baptism that is portable, or a liner with PVC piping” (C10).

One Protestant correctional chaplain noted “Native Americans do have a sweat lodge. I'm surprised they allow it from a security perspective, but some people find it curious to watch” (C10). Four of the other respondents noted a sense of jealousy towards Native Americans. While all religious groups have access to religious literature and religious articles for worship, it was reported the Native American inmates were provided access to beads, medicine bags, pipes and most importantly, in the other inmates' opinion, tobacco. This sanctioned use of tobacco appeared to create a significant source of friction, as it is not typically allowed in correctional facilities and contributed to jealousy between the Native American inmates and other religious groups.

Again, those religious activities which break the monotony and routine of everyday life in a correctional environment, correctional chaplains report are the most well attended. Those activities which include music, videos, are led by especially charismatic faith workers or volunteers and are “spectacles” seem to be the most popular and alluring to those looking to break free from the monotony of their daily life behind bars.

Material comforts. Often what prisoners consider material comfort may be seen

as somewhat pitiful by those on the outside of the institution. Food has an enormous impact on incarcerated, female prisoners and their religious affiliation and attendance as reported by every Protestant and some Jewish correctional chaplains interviewed. For most prisoners, commissary and non-institutional food is the highlight of their week. Those who are unemployed in facility jobs must rely on friends or family members outside the institution to provide funds to purchase products from the commissary. For prisoners who work inside the penal facility, commissary prices can seem out of line with their minimal wages. For example, a candy bar or potato chips, which might be sold to the inmate for 50 cents in the commissary, may, in fact, constitute one to two hours of pay for their work in their institution. In New York State the current minimum hourly wage is \$15 per hour. This rate does not apply to incarcerated persons and the rate prisoners earn for labor in New York State facilities is between ten cents to \$1.14 per hour, although there is a bill before the New York legislature seeking to raise the rate for prisoners to as much as three dollars per hour. As a result, religious events where non-institutional food or drinks are served are often seen as an important benefit to inmates. As one respondent said:

People faking being religious is huge because their friends are there. It's a social-grouping and they can leave their floor, Food is *huge*. People switch religions because of food. At this facility, you can only switch religions one time a year. Once a year, volunteers from all over the state come in for four days of food and retreat. There is a lot of good food and they bring in crafts and a photographer to take pictures. There are about 125 volunteers for 24 women for four days. It's mainly Catholic and Protestant, but it's huge (C3).

Another twist with regard to the importance of food and beverages the researcher was told of, was when a Jewish inmate attempted to act and “sanctify” a beverage, missing the greater wrongdoing of the act. In this example, the inmate collected fruit and let it ferment, making jailhouse alcohol, also known as “hooch” or “pruno” and which is forbidden in correctional facilities. Once fermented, the inmate proudly announced to the rabbi the wine was sanctified and “holy”, having made the blessing over the wine before consuming it (J2).

Switching Religions

In what is likely related to the focus on food and entertainment is the high frequency of requests to change one’s religious affiliation reported by correctional chaplains from both groups. As previously noted, in most if not all of the facilities where respondents were employed, inmates must go to services for either one religion or another, but cannot pick and choose from all services or classes offered. A number of respondents mentioned the frequency of inmates who put in formal requests to change their religious affiliation when a holiday or religious observance is nearing or a special event is planned for a particular group. 14 of the 20 total respondents noted the high percentage of prisoners who regularly switch religions. This may be for a variety of reasons, but celebratory food and interesting events seem to be the primary ones.

“People change when they know a holiday is coming up. They can change based on the service or celebration coming up” (C7). In most state facilities, prisoners may only change their religious affiliation one time a year. For those city and county facilities surveyed, there did not appear to be any such restrictions. As one chaplain who worked with Protestant inmates in a city facility stated: “There are no formal conversions here,

but they can change religions on a form and be whatever they want because they want matzah or they want to see Mary in the chapel” (C1). For some inmates, switching religions also might be for convenience. As one respondent stated:

Religion is any sincerely held belief according to the law and we do our best to accommodate. We do check their file to see how many passes, they are taking to a religious facility. If someone wants Ramadan meals but takes passes to Christian church, it’s usually because they just want to eat before or after sunset (J7).

At some facilities, the process to change religious affiliation is more complicated and difficult. In these facilities, prior to any formal change of religious designation, an inmate must be able to list the tenets of that faith. For some, that is the end of the process and “most stop there”, having not been able to speak knowledgeably about their intended, new religious affiliation and completed the change (C8).

For Protestant prisoners in many facilities, there are two major celebrations each year; an event in May or June for Pentecostal Sunday and another celebration at Epiphany, near Christmas time. For Jews, the holidays observed are Rosh Hashanah, Yom Kippur, Sukkot, Chanukah, Passover, and Shavuot. Like the Protestant celebrations, most of the Jewish holiday celebrations include communal prayer and celebratory foods. In some institutions, the food provided for these holidays to Jewish inmates was described as more freshly made and better quality than the typical kosher “airline meals” they were supplied at non-holiday times.

There are some legitimate reasons for changing one’s religious affiliation while incarcerated, such as “there are more programs to attend and that is to their benefit” (C8).

As one Jewish chaplain stated, “Some Jews don’t acknowledge their Judaism inside, because they might have more available to non-Jews” (J3). While this may be true some of the time, the majority of chaplains reported inmates switching from one declared religion to another was associated with upcoming holiday celebrations and celebratory foods served during that time.

Kosher diets are a major source of confusion and complications for facilities and the inmates who request them. More information on kosher diets and the challenges they pose will be discussed in the section on Research Question 3 (RQ3).

In conclusion, both incarcerated Jewish and Protestant, female inmates use religion while incarcerated in positive ways to help deal with fear, to provide a sense of peace, stability and, hope. Others in these inmate groups use religious practice disingenuously; as a means of obtaining special privileges and objects, for socialization and convergence, to lessen boredom, for entertainment and to obtain material comforts.

RQ2: What ways do chaplains report that religious observance affects Jewish, female inmates differently than Protestant female inmates during their incarceration?

Sincere religious observance affects both Jewish and Protestant, female inmates in many ways. The bulk of these are positive, and yet some negative effects were listed for Jewish, female, inmates, during and certainly, prior to their incarceration. Common themes listed by both correctional chaplains who work with Jewish and Protestant, female inmates were:

1. Healing from a history of trauma
2. Fostering respect and self-esteem

3. Building healthier support systems - pseudo-family relationships.

Additionally, for Jewish, female inmates, a fourth category: Enhancing a sense of religious identity.

Healing from a History of Trauma

Every respondent surveyed mentioned the remarkable number of women who come to jail or prison with trauma histories, before their incarceration. All of the correctional chaplains surveyed reported that most of the female inmates they have come into contact with have had a significant history of some combination of physical, sexual, or emotional abuse, domestic abuse, violence, poverty, mental illness, alcoholism or substance abuse as a child or as an adult. Despite a litany of prior traumatic events, being incarcerated is another kind of trauma for many of these women. Religion for them can be a bridge to feeling more comfortable in their new surroundings. The bulk of correctional chaplains report the women they minister to are “so wounded”, they are motivated to feel better by almost any means and religious practice can be a healthy means of attaining help and healing. Based on all of the chaplains surveyed, estimates ranged from 70 percent to 100 percent of inmates who arrived at their facility with a trauma history or mental illness. One respondent at a state facility stated, “70 percent have histories of abuse and neglect, and 60 percent are mentally ill” (J6). For Jewish inmates, one research subject stated: “It’s a cycle of being a victim of abuse outside or inside the system. 100 percent of the women here have a sense of trauma, including their arrest and excluding the trauma of their incarceration.” (J1).

While some may reach out to religion immediately upon entering a facility, for others, the practice of religion begins later into their stay. A correctional chaplain who worked with Protestant female inmates asserted “They are in shock and are trying to acclimate themselves. It helps them normalize with familiar experiences from the outside. I think they are so traumatized when they first come in, it takes a year for them to adjust to being incarcerated” (C5).

Prior to incarceration, many of the female inmates had been physically and sexually abused on a regular basis and were used to being taken advantage of and hurt by others who got close to them. Another respondent stated, “They lack a human touch in a healthy way” (C7). For many female inmates, many encounters from their past have included extreme levels of violence. For these inmates, being with religious groups who promote peace and healing assist them in developing new expectations of the others they encounter and begin to repair themselves. Another respondent related regarding religious practice while incarcerated, “It allows them to socialize with non-violent people” (C5).

Another Protestant correctional chaplain noted “I think the ones most likely to be involved in religion have no family and are looking to create a support system or social connections” (C3). For these women, in particular, religious practice can be healing. It can be bridge-building in healthy relationships in the facility and fosters a sense of family, community, and belonging.

The healing power of talking and being listened to cannot be overstated, especially for those in correctional facilities who are feeling isolated and alone with their thoughts. Many of those with a trauma history, have never disclosed their history of sexual assault or domestic violence to anyone. For these women, simply being listened to

and heard is healing. A common sentiment reported by all correctional chaplains was the lack of personal attention most of the inmates received. One respondent said, “Psych services can only see the sickest of the these and chaplaincy ends up with the rest” (J10).

One chaplain remarked:

When we visit, the vast majority of the time we are listening. Nobody has time for them. The officers have 60-90 people to watch, the caseworkers are overwhelmed. The nurses are trying to pass meds. We get a lot of MSW students. We tell them you don’t have to be religious. Just ask what’s going on and stop talking for half an hour (C6).

Another respondent voiced:

I do a lot of listening, especially on the mental health floor. It’s sad because this is not a mental hospital and still these people are here. I have difficulty reasoning, how if I’m a prisoner who is experiencing difficulty reasoning well, then why would you put me in a cell, with only my own thoughts (C7)?

Another chaplain shared her belief that “When they share something that makes them feel so low, sad, guilty and shameful and when I don’t act shocked, it helps them feel cared for and heal” (C8). Chaplains for both Jewish and Protestant women report their congregants frequently feel alone and lost. They report their histories of trauma makes it hard for these inmates to bond with others. One said, “Their lawyers won’t speak to them. Their families won’t speak to them. Where there is no one else to turn to, you have to believe somebody is on your side” (C1). A Jewish respondent stated, “I don’t learn with them or pray, I talk and listen for 45 minutes and they feel like a human being” (J4).

Another rabbi said regarding previous work in a city facility, “Most of it felt gray and drab. It often seemed helpful just to sit with them. These people are scared and simply sitting with them seemed to be helpful” (J2). In essence, for many of these inmates, both Jewish and Protestant, a ministry of presence is thought to be the key. One correctional chaplain who supervised an MSW student was told by the student,

Well, they want me to call their family, they want me to get this for them and that for them and you told me I can’t even give them a pen. I couldn’t do anything! I had to just sit and listen to them. All I had was time and prayer and I’ve discovered that is the key (C6).

Fostering Respect and Self-Esteem Respect. Many of the correctional chaplains surveyed spoke of their congregants feeling dehumanized by the criminal justice system in general and by their institution in particular. For most women, going to jail or prison, and even those with a history of involvement in the criminal justice system is an unusual occurrence in their lives and not one which is at all familiar. For those inmates, religion helps them feel a sense of normalcy and familiarity with their identity before they were incarcerated. As one respondent noted, “Religion helps them to normalize what is a very abnormal experience of going to prison” (C5).

Once booked into a correctional facility, typically inmates no longer are known by or called by their given name by correctional staff. Inmates are given a number at book-in and that is how they are referred to for the entirety of their sentence by staff. Correctional chaplaincy is one notable exception to that. Correctional chaplains who minister to inmates connect with their congregants on a more human, personal level and most often refer to them by either their first or last name, as in Susan, or Ms. Smith; a

name and not a number. As one Protestant chaplain stated, “They feel respected when we call them by their names and not by their number. “They go to services to feel like a human being, to be spoken to like a person, not a number. They’re known as numbers now” (C7).

Religious classes and services help to build self-esteem, although both Jewish and Protestant correctional chaplains stressed their individual counseling was probably the strongest ally helping an inmate to build on self-esteem. One chaplain commented:

People do stupid things because of low self-esteem. How can you imbue self-esteem if you don’t treat them respectfully or if you don’t have it yourself? I work on self-esteem and modesty. I’ve trained them to look and act like a lady when they come to meet with me (J4).

Many chaplains reported that they had been told by their congregants that being respected by a correctional chaplain or by other religious inmates assisted them in maintaining more civil and respectful relationships between staff and inmates. As another chaplain reported:

Religion is huge. It changes the character of the inmates, the atmosphere of the pods, the interaction between staff and inmates. It raises the level of respect to the CO’s (correctional officers) and opens them up to converse with the staff differently (C8).

In contrast to this opinion, another Protestant correctional chaplain reported she did not believe the practice of religion changed the facility she worked in, to any great degree. She did; however, believe most of the changes she observed were from the guards “because I built a rapport with them and they sought me out to speak about

religion” (C2). This is of note because six out ten of the Protestant chaplains expressed the belief the correctional officers that they worked with had been encouraged by their administration to speak with chaplaincy when a need arose. Despite encouragement by their administrators and supervisors, correctional chaplains in general reported CO’s declined to speak with members of the chaplaincy when they felt a need or desire because of a concern of appearing weak, or “mental” to other officers or the administration.

Again, several respondents stressed how they believe that religion had positively changed the facility, while one of the respondents stated they did not believe there was a significant change in the facility as a result of the practice of religion among the inmates. Others shared the sentiment that “keeping them busy with Christian literature, keeps inmates from getting into trouble while here” (C9). Most respondents reported it keeps the peace and order, keeps the tension down and keeps the fighting down. If this is truly the case, religion could be seen as another behavior management tool for correctional facility administrators.

Self-Esteem

Both Jewish and Protestant correctional chaplains reported most, if not all of the incarcerated women have so little self-esteem when they come in and they often appear as just a shell of a person. Whether because of abuse, neglect or another type of trauma they have experienced, many of these inmates feel helpless; many barely able to take care of their most basic needs. All of the correctional chaplains surveyed reported religion has helped inmates to begin to improve their self-esteem. This occurs as the chaplains begin to help them to develop and build a sense of self-worth through scripture and healthy human relationships.

Both Jewish and Protestant chaplains reported they believe most of the women they see end up in the criminal justice system as a result of their unhealthy relationships with men and their inability to value and stand up for themselves. “Most are there because of a man. They tell them things like, ‘You need to do this if you love me. They have no sense of self-esteem” (C9). “So many women are being used for prostitution or drugs. “I ask them, what has happened? Why are you here? Have you forgiven yourself? What would you do if freed right now? We need to learn how to make a plan” (C7). As one seasoned rabbi put it, “I don’t focus on Judaism, I focus on self-esteem because the prison system is focused on denigrating them” (J4). A significant number of both Protestant and Jewish correctional chaplains reported that simply having a one-to-one conversation with their congregants helped to boost their self-esteem and feel cared about. One respondent said “I provide a normal conversation they don’t get from others. Because I don’t have an angle, I think I’m an ‘embassy of normalcy’ in the jail. In jail, a conversation like this is like currency” (J2).

Building Healthier Support Systems-Pseudo-Family Relationships.

It is common knowledge to staff in women’s correctional facilities that “Women build families within themselves” (C3). Some recreate the trauma and dysfunction they came from and some try to create new and more functional faith “pseudo-family” systems to replace the broken and dysfunctional systems from whence they came. Many of the faith workers surveyed stressed the importance of helping inmates work toward building healthy, supportive groups of women who are involved in their religious practice. The development of these pro-social networks can assist in preventing prisonization by allowing offenders to build healthy attachments and networks of support.

Most, if not all religions, have common themes which include practicing kindness, doing good deeds, being respectful of others, prayerfulness and building a faith community of like-minded individuals. These faith communities may also be known as group fellowship, where members worship together, support and assist each other in building a life based on scripture and prayer. Just as in birth families, and with neighbors who might live nearby, there are often disagreements and friction within these groups. Despite that, the practice of religion in their pseudo-families and communities helped inmates focus on relationship building, mutual care and support, forgiveness, and goodwill towards others. For most prisoners, there was a lack of a healthy support system before being incarcerated and they are needy for attention for connection. Without intervention, many of these women will try to get those needs met in the same way they did before incarceration. One respondent said,

I look at people who played or gamed the system with compassion now.

They go into gangs because they believe they have someone who will look after them and protect them. That was their family. It was bothersome because you know they are trying to get over on you but I understand this is their way of life and this is what they know (C2).

Another respondent stated “Once they’re here for a while, it seems like more of a family. There’s a lot of sniping and griping going on”. She paused and said, “I guess, just like a real family” (J1). Again, noting the levels of interpersonal conflict women often have among themselves, another respondent stated:

We try to develop sisterhood, family-hood, just as it is in outside churches. I don't think we have his great tradition of sisterhood the way we would like to

have it, unlike some churches on the outside. We're trying to do the best we can, but there are so many minor conflicts and fractured communities. Some people just don't like each other. There are not really pronounced issues concerning different communities but the chaplains are often responsible for more than one faith group, so, we see it (C4).

In addition to the building communities within the correctional facilities, correctional chaplains routinely work within their faith communities to help their congregants learn how to build and maintain healthier family and community relationships before and after their release. As one chaplain said, her strategy was to teach her congregants to focus on how to survive before and after their release. "Religion helps build relationships with others. Things happen outside of the church, but I stress there is no little sin and big sin I stress forgiveness is the key to survival. I stress forgiveness" (C3).

Identity for Jewish, Female Inmates

For seven out of ten respondents who work with Jewish, female inmates (all of the seven who themselves were also Jewish), developing and embracing their religious identity as a Jew was mentioned as an important if not the crucial function of their ministry with their Jewish inmate population. Being Jewish may be a salient part of one's identity for some, while for others it may simply be an aspect of their background, ethnic or religious heritage. Regardless of their Jewish upbringing and practice before incarceration, most correctional chaplains stressed strengthening their identity as a Jew when working with these inmates. One of the chaplains expressed their sentiments on this subject this way: "They get a perspective on Judaism, but most importantly, they are

imbued with a Jewish identity and are proud to be and live as a Jew. I give them a certain sense of pride” (J4). Three chaplains who work with both Jewish and non-Jewish inmates reported, some of the inmates (both Jewish and non-Jewish) have said to them that they wanted to learn about Judaism, but would never have taken advantage of doing so, had they not been in jail. Another Protestant chaplain said, “It gives them an opportunity to explore other religions and try them out” (C6).

A number of correctional chaplains who work with Jewish, female inmates also communicated they believe Jewish, female volunteers play a strong role in their congregant’s religious lives. These volunteers also help in giving Jewish, female, inmates positive role models and enhancing their identity as a Jew. One respondent emphasized, “they like to meet with the Lubavitch women volunteers. The women like to learn with the volunteers more than they do with me. These volunteers come regularly because the Rebbe (Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson) emphasized working with prisoners” (J6). From another chaplain, regarding the crucial role volunteers play in a Christian prison ministry. “Volunteers come in and some women get saved because of the volunteers” (C9).

To recap, religious observance for both incarcerated Jewish and Protestant, female, inmates helped them heal from a history of trauma, foster a sense of self-esteem and build healthier support systems. Additionally, for Jewish female, religious observance also assisted in enhancing a sense of religious identity.

RQ3: What levels of observance do chaplains report for Jewish, female inmates prior to their incarceration, as compared to that of Protestant, female inmates?

One of the most divergent findings of this study was the clear differences in religious knowledge and practice prior to their incarcerations between incarcerated, Protestant, female inmates and that of incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates. Eight of ten correctional chaplains who worked with Protestant inmates noted, most of their congregants had some religious background prior to their incarceration.

Initially, two of correctional chaplains who ministered to Protestant, female inmates had a difficult time trying to assess what they thought their congregants' beliefs and practices were prior to their incarceration, because there were "just too many" Protestant inmates to consider. One respondent said "There are so many different people with different experiences, it's hard to generalize strong to weak or background. You just can't say" (C4). While this may be true for each correctional chaplain, during book-in at most correctional facilities, inmates are requested to fill out a declaration of faith form. This use of declaration of faith forms are certainly true for state and federal facilities, as well as most local facilities. These forms ask inmates if they were affiliated with a church, if they attended a church, and other questions upon admission to the correctional facility. Eight of the ten Protestant chaplains reported the bulk of their Protestant inmates listed they did come from a church background prior to their incarceration (C5).

Again, although it may be difficult to generalize about such a large population of inmates, eight out of the ten respondents who worked with Protestant, female inmates surveyed reported they understood most of their inmate congregants to have been "churched". Churched is a term several correctional chaplains who work with Protestants used to indicate someone who had grown up in a church. They went on to explain, this meant they had been taken to church by their parents or in some cases, their families had

skipped a generation and had been regularly taken to church by their grandmothers. In either scenario, these women had grown up in or around their family's church home, had attended religious events and received some religious instruction or training. This was most typically done through some combination of worship services, Bible studies, youth group activities, Sunday school classes or other social gatherings where worshipers had an opportunity to meet with other congregants and their families and to make social connections through their church. Even if these incarcerated, Protestant, female inmates had not been actively practicing their religion as adults, they grew up in homes where religion was at least openly spoken about in their home, if not practiced.

A common religious trajectory for incarcerated, Protestant, female inmates was voiced by one respondent who said "Some did practice their religion before coming inside the facility. Most of them grew up knowing about it. Most of them left the church, but not their family. They went to hang out with their friends and got into trouble. Once they were arrested, it (religion) became important again" (C2).

In stark contrast, all but one of the chaplains who worked with incarcerated, Jewish female inmates, reported that with only a very few notable exceptions over their careers, none of the incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates they worked with had come to their facility with any significant background or training in Judaism. For Jewish females in general, a background in Judaism typically might have included some combination of having attended a Jewish day school, a Jewish summer camp, or after school religious school program. This might have also included having attended or witnessed their parents or family members attend a synagogue regularly, seeing the females in their family light candles before the Sabbath or Jewish holidays, having a bat mitzvah or

maintaining a kosher diet. Jewish chaplains reported in general, incarcerated, Jewish, female, inmates did not come from homes or families where religion was openly practiced. One respondent said:

There are few born Jews here. Of the born Jews, most are either FSU (from the former Soviet Union) or born here to immigrant families. I know it was hard or forbidden for them to practice religion in the other country. When I get to meet their parents, I find out more. Sometimes they have a culturally Jewish mom. This is sort of surprising to me when it happens because I'm usually focused on the inmate and I don't expect that (J1).

This respondent made certain to delineate between Jews who are Jewish by birth (born Jews) and those who are sometimes known as "jail Jewish". The term "jail Jewish" was explained to the researcher as those who adopt at least some if not all of the practices of the Jewish faith while incarcerated but do not undergo a formal religious conversion to Judaism. Often inmates who were "jail Jewish" were described as associating with or joining this group because they had something in common with the other members but often did not practice Judaism. This term might also extend to those inmates who felt a certain sense of comfort around Jewish people, having grown up or worked around a Jewish community and felt a sense of ease and familiarity with them. One Jewish chaplain said "A lot of the time, the Black people who attended my services, grew up near the Jewish neighborhoods and it felt more comfortable for them" (J2). The opposite was also true said a Jewish correctional chaplain who described his ministry as "very informal and fluid". This chaplain reported he often "sees a lot of non-Jewish prisoners

because they have told me they don't like or believe the Christian ministers" (J6). As was noted previously, this type of crossover in connecting to the clergy of any faith is not uncommon. Again, for many incarcerated persons, they try to use all avenues available to them to soothe themselves and look for something greater, outside of themselves. More about formal conversions to Judaism, while incarcerated will be explored in RQ 4 (b) in the section on lawsuits. Again, it should be noted there is a tremendous amount of overlap between religious practice and the variety of correctional chaplains who engage and minister to inmates. This is certainly true for correctional chaplains who work with incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates, as well as members of other faiths. One Jewish correctional chaplain said:

For me as a chaplain, I'm not concerned if they are Jewish or not. I'm there to get them to a place where they may be more reflective if they are sincere and open to talking. I bring in Jewish texts, sometimes the parsha (weekly Torah reading), that has ambiguous symbolism and see how they can relate it to their situation (J6).

Another rabbi that ministers to a variety of faiths and does so with compassion and beneficence to members of other religious groups said, "Even those who are not Jewish, you're teaching one more person to not hate a Jew" (J7).

Religious beliefs and practices generally lead to what would be considered positive behaviors, worthwhile attributes, and improved lives. For some incarcerated, Jewish female inmates, several of the rabbis surveyed noted what they understood to be a direct connection between a lack of religious observance prior to their incarceration, if not causative for their descent into life choices and their resulting incarceration. About

these incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates, another respondent actually came to the conclusion that “their religion led them to drugs” saying:

Interestingly, I think religion has gotten many of them into where they are.

Many people were raised religious (orthodox) but strayed, well before their incarceration. Before they strayed and finally left, they were shamed by their community for not being in-step with their dress code or whatever was considered appropriate by community standards. Now they’re on the streets.

I don’t see many Jewish, female inmates with white-collar crimes. Mainly substance abuse and prostitution. Mainly low-level crimes (J2).

This chaplain went on to say:

In a strange way I think it caused them to go to jail. When they were considered problematic in their communities and OTD (short for “off the derech (path)”; a colloquial term used by and for orthodox Jews who are no longer observant), they were shamed and they continued to go down a bad path. A lot of them recognized each other from the streets as outcasts (J2).

Again, this chaplain who also works with male inmates at the facility went on to stress that, after their release from confinement, there are additional problems for incarcerated, Jewish female inmates if they return to their families or communities. For these women,

There is much more stigma about going back to their communities.

The men, not so much. There’s much more community support for the men.

The women are almost discarded by their families and the men

‘end up getting set up with jobs (J2).

Another chaplain who worked with both male and female Jewish inmates echoed this sentiment by saying, “Parents are usually supportive of their daughters when they come, but so many fewer show up for them, than for the men” (J1). Finally, another correctional chaplain who works with incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates and has worked with Jewish, male inmates noted how damaged many of the Jewish, female inmates both before and during their incarceration, saying:

It’s more difficult to work with Jewish women. With these women before they hit bottom; their families allow them to get worse than the men. Families hide them (the women) and allow them to struggle longer than their sons because society says they’re supposed to protect them. They fall faster and quicker than men. Women are more needy and share their emotions more; a lot more than men. They take a lot more time and the staff find themselves spending more time on the unit because the women demand it and the need is more glaring. Their daily neediness is draining. They are more difficult to work with than a dangerous man (J7).

If used to better themselves and their lives while incarcerated, religion provides Jewish, female inmates with a sense of community and belonging, hope in the future and something to trust in, and help to feel connected to others. Another respondent who worked with incarcerated, Jewish, female, inmates, stated:

Those that observe and sincerely practice Judaism, it grounds them. It gives Them an identity beside being an inmate and a sense of a homey, folksy belonging in a good way. It’s a norming attachment to something different that transcends space and time (J10).

To recap, the differences between how the chaplains serving incarcerated, Protestant, female inmates and those serving incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates reported their congregants' history of religious observance before incarceration is one of the most striking differences between the two comparison groups. Most of the Protestant, female inmates were described by their clergy as having a nominal to very strong religious upbringing prior to their incarceration. Unlike the Protestant female inmates, most of the incarcerated, Jewish, females were described by their clergy as having very minimal religious knowledge and practice prior to their incarceration. The chaplains who worked with Jewish, female inmates noted that, prior to their incarceration, these women most often had a Jewish identity in name only, or only as a cultural identity. They also emphasized these inmates had essentially no background in religious studies or practice as a whole; or a minimal background at best. For those few Jewish inmates who did have some knowledge of or background with the Jewish religion, the Jewish chaplains reported most had fallen away from their families and communities and were not practicing their Judaism prior to their incarceration.

In summary, most of the Protestant, female inmates were described by their clergy as having a nominal to very strong religious upbringing prior to their incarceration. To the contrary, essentially all incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates were described as having only a cultural Jewish identity or a Jewish identity in name only prior to their incarceration. This was one of only a few significant differences reported by correctional chaplains between incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates and incarcerated, Protestant, female inmates.

RQ3b: What differences do Jewish and Protestant chaplains report in their

congregants' current religious observance if any?

When discussing their congregants' current religious beliefs and practices, most chaplains who work with both inmate populations; both those Jewish and Protestant (16 out of 20) reported their congregant's beliefs shifted during their incarceration, "running the gamut" from strong to weak, weak to strong and most often based on what was currently going on in their lives. One respondent explained it this way: "Their religious belief fluctuates. The judge has just sentenced you and you thought this prayer was going to bring you out of that and now, where is God" (C7)?

Incarcerated, Protestant, Female inmates

Some Protestant chaplains had responses from strong to weak with regards to the spiritual practices of their congregants but were unsure how that might "translate into their lives" (C1). Many of the Protestant respondents stressed the mutable nature of their congregants' religious beliefs and difficulty these inmates had actualizing their practice behind bars. The faith workers who assisted Protestant, female inmates also mentioned their congregant's practices generally fluctuated from when they were first incarcerated, while they were serving their sentences, to when they were released and again when some returned to the facility after being rearrested on a new charge or having violated the conditions of their previous release. One of the sentiments expressed was:

I don't see their beliefs as strong at the present because they don't have a lot of opportunity to practice when they are in and have been away from the church and involved in sinful behaviors. They are disconnected from the church but are open to reconstructing their faith practice when they come in and keep it while here (C10).

Specifically, regarding the incarcerated Protestant, female, inmates who are nearing release, a few of the study subjects noted: “The ones who have a church family and return to it are usually fine, but a lot of the churches are not supportive and welcoming” (C3). Sadly, other respondents stated, “I think about 10% of them who return to their practice after leaving” (C2). “They leave being religious, come back after violating their parole or with new offenses and start again” (C3).

Other respondents gave incarcerated, Protestant, female inmates a more hopeful outlook saying, “Their beliefs are pretty strong based on their knowledge of worship and how and what they are doing and the reading materials they are asking for” (C5). Another respondent tied their congregants’ level of religious practice while incarcerated to the level of their outside practice just prior to incarceration, saying “Most inmates tend to be based on their outside practice. If they are habitually attending services, they want to get plugged in as soon as they can and are strong” (C6).

In general, chaplains who work with incarcerated, Protestant, females report their belief and practice is “fairly strong” while incarcerated. These inmates were reported to practice their religious observance through a combination of a “strong belief that Jesus Christ our Lord and Savior”, communal worship services, personal prayer, and small Bible study groups during their incarceration.

Incarcerated, Jewish, Female Inmates

Most of the correctional chaplains who work with Jewish, female, inmates during their incarceration noted the lack of religious practice for these inmates prior to their arrest. Understanding this, it may come as no surprise that while incarcerated several chaplains echoed the sentiment that “Most are reform Jews if anything. They are more

social than religious. Some are of course Jewish by birth, but it's more of a nationality than a religion for them" (J7).

In general, the level of observance for incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates was described as minimal or relatively insignificant for most of these inmates, and seemed to reflect the low levels of observance they maintained prior to their incarceration. For those inmates who had been incarcerated for a while, and are nearing release at a transitional half-way house, one correctional chaplain who works with incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates said:

Many have high expectations and then the reality sets in and the bubble bursts. Then they don't have such an optimistic outlook. Many expect very strong family and friend support and that doesn't materialize. Individuals who are released after 20 years; their social relationships have moved on and they haven't. I call it the Rip Van Winkle effect. Also, their families become more or less (religiously) observant. They either try to accommodate to it or get angry and throw it all overboard (J7).

Again, the practice of religion during their incarceration for both groups of inmates was reported as varying and fluctuating, typically depending on what was occurring with the inmates at the moment. There were, of course, some worshippers who maintained a steady religious course throughout their incarceration; although, chaplains who ministered to both groups reported these stalwarts were in the minority.

Jewish and Protestant Religious Doctrines, Practices and How They Differ

Identifying as a Jew and the practice of Judaism involves a combination of beliefs and behaviors. While there are varying opinions as to what criteria define a Jew, there is

an almost universal agreement on some of the basic beliefs Jews adhere to. These are listed in Rambam's 13 principles of faith (Maimonides, Cohen, & Fox, 1927) and include a belief in the existence of one God, known as monotheism, a belief the Old Testament (Torah), was authored by God, and a belief that the Messiah has not yet come but will in future days.

Typically, Jewish religious observance involves a combination of dietary restrictions, known as "keeping kosher", Sabbath and Jewish holiday observance, personal and communal prayer, living a life which stresses moral precepts and behaviors, such as honesty, fairness, justice and charity, and an emphasis on both Jewish and secular learning. Some of these precepts are also found in the beliefs and practices of Christianity. Traditionally, Jewish religious and communal life has placed a high value on observable actions and behaviors that are communally meaningful.

One significant difference between Judaism and Christianity is that Judaism has traditionally focused on religious practice, rather than on beliefs. This is in contrast to Christianity which focuses almost equally on both. Typically, Protestants place more of an emphasis on their belief in Jesus as the Messiah and a belief in Jesus is required to warrant a place in the world to come. This is a contradiction for Jews who place more of an emphasis on outward actions and observable practice, rather than belief.

Kosher Food

Kosher food was one of the most widely talked about issues and challenges for those trying to better understand the practice of Judaism in incarcerated populations. It was mentioned in some way by every study respondent; those who worked with either Jewish or Protestant, incarcerated, female inmates. Kosher (kashrut) is a dietary practice

of primarily conservative and orthodox Jews. These practitioners maintain a diet which requires adherence to a set of Jewish biblical laws (halacha) which specify at a minimum:

- Abstinence from pork, shellfish and some other prohibited animals, fish and birds, along with the flesh, organs and eggs of such
- The ritual slaughter of any allowed animal must in accordance with Jewish law, including the draining or boiling out of blood before eating
- A prohibition against the mixing of meat and milk products, along with separate utensils, pots and pans for each in their preparation and dinnerware
- Other products which are allowed for consumption must be certified by a Jewish organization which ensures its adherence to dietary proscriptions and ensures compliance with the applicable laws of kosher, such as the Orthodox Union (OU) or another certifying body and typically disallows such products as gelatin, which is often a by-product of certain animals after slaughter.

While rarely an option for incarcerated populations, some inmates request “glatt” kosher meals. “glatt” is a term often used to imply that a product was processed under an even stricter standard of Jewish dietary laws. In most, if not all facilities, kosher meals are individually wrapped and sealed. What makes a kosher meal appealing to some inmates is the “uniqueness” it may provide for a relatively bored population and the aura of being “special”. This desire to have a kosher meal may be for other reasons as well, as one Protestant chaplain stated,

Paranoia among inmates runs deep. Sometimes they change because

they will get either a vegetarian or kosher diet. Our kosher is like a Lean Cuisine pre-pack main course. Some people desire a kosher diet because they are paranoid about their food being tampered with. The reality is our kitchen prepares 10,000 meals a day and there's no time to pick out and mess with your food. It's very well supervised (C6).

A Jewish chaplain repeated this sentiment saying, “The food is a big thing. It’s not that the food is better, it’s just that it’s sealed. Many people think their food is tampered with and in jail, paranoia is common” (J1).

While the costs of a kosher meal (reported to be five dollars each, or 15 dollars per day) is considerably higher than that of those served on the general food-line, the actual quality of each kosher meal often leaves much to be desired. Another chaplain reported that he believed when New York State made it easier to change one’s religion declaration, based on a previous lawsuit, the number of kosher meals increased and the cost per meal for kosher food decreased. He stated that also made it less desirable for the inmates. This is because he explained, a kosher meal was no longer as unique or valuable to barter with other inmates. Especially for those who rely solely on what they are given in their pre-packaged kosher meals, it can be a meager existence. In most institutions, inmates must choose either kosher meals or to get on the “regular” food line. In a New York State facility one chaplain said,

If you get a kosher diet and are caught on-line, you get a behavior report.

If you miss a kosher meal, you get a ticket and if you miss more than three kosher meals a week, you have to pay a fine (J3).

In a few institutions, inmates are supposed to choose one or the other, but take advantage of both. Another correctional chaplain who is an orthodox rabbi stated:

I have two women who insist on kosher food. I tell them not to get a kosher meal. I call it the Auschwitz diet. With the kosher, they get some celery and carrot sticks, some crackers and if they are lucky, some peanut butter. I don't push it. In prison, survival is primary and they can't exist on this. Maintaining one's life is the most important thing and that takes precedence over dietary restrictions (J4).

Many correctional chaplains who work with Jewish inmates frequently reported the kosher meal choices and rotations were limited and repetitive; not allowing for much variety from day to day. They also noted the kosher meals were often either very salty, greasy or what they described as simply "unappealing". Despite the reality of kosher meals, for some, there seems to be quite an allure of the mysterious and the unusual, making them a valuable commodity for trading among inmates. Several correctional chaplains mentioned there have been in the past and currently are several lawsuits pending that involve religious practice in facilities. These chaplains reported kosher food is a subject particularly popular for litigants to file suit about. Often these suits spring from prisoners who do not typically observe Judaism, yet request kosher food. Both men and women are instigators of such lawsuits, but as one chaplain who works with both genders mentioned the perhaps unrealistic fallacy stating, "Men often lie to get kosher food. It's better than anything else" (C8).

For those prisoners who do subscribe to a kosher diet, their diet is frequently looked upon by correctional chaplains and other prison officials as "proof" of "how

Jewish” an inmate they are. In one facility, a Protestant staff member who ministers to male and female Jewish prisoners told the researcher, his facility was able to tailor certain practices to each inmate and provide whatever accommodations they could to assist with dietary concerns. This respondent said:

I tend to judge how religious they are with how kosher they are. We can make arrangements for them. For one guy, we had to give him a new out-of-the-box, little fridge and microwave for him to use, so we were certain it had never had non-kosher food in it. For others, many of them say they keep kosher, but will eat from our salad bar, which is not kosher. It gives a mixed message to folks (J7).

For Jewish holidays, most of the respondents noted the special efforts to include celebratory foods for inmates. For Jewish inmates, these days included Rosh Hashana (the Jewish New Year), a break-fast for Yom Kippur (the Day of Atonement), Hanukkah (the festival of lights), Sukkot (the feast of tabernacles), Shavuot (the feast of weeks) and Passover seders. In most of the facilities where respondents were employed, during these holidays hot meals were offered and were prepacked. Even these meals were described as “a little more appealing than airline meals” by some respondents. These religious celebrations and rituals provide a sense of cohesiveness to the participants. Regular community worship, blessings before or after meals, Sabbath observance, along with communal meals on the Sabbath and holidays help participants shape a sense of community and identity for the participants.

In Connecticut, one respondent noted the state has done away with kosher meals and have instead instituted what the state calls “common fare” meals for all inmates.

These meals are free of pork and gelatin products and all food ingredients are OU certified. These diets may still pose some questions about the dietary stringency of the meals for Jews; although, they appear to meet the requirement for Halal meals for Muslim inmates. For some incarcerated Jews, these meals may not be stringent enough to be considered kosher because of the possible mixing of meat and milk products and the lack of separate utensils.

Sabbath and Holiday Observances

As previously mentioned, Sabbath observance and observance of Jewish holidays are important acts associated with the practice of Judaism. For Jewish women, this includes lighting candles before sundown on Friday nights and the eve of Jewish holidays. Most facilities make exceptions and allowances for these rituals for Jewish women, utilizing either supervised candle lighting, to prevent fire hazards or the use of an electric candelabra. Other rituals also typically include having grape juice and matzah or challah during the Sabbath and holidays. Respondents noted most of the incarcerated, Jewish, females did partake of the grape juice and a bread product, after making a blessing over them to celebrate the occasion. Most conservative and orthodox Jews follow religious prohibitions against work during the Sabbath and major Jewish holidays. For some more observant inmates, this can include the use of electronic devices, lighting a fire, writing, performing work, driving an automobile or a number of other prohibitions for these days which are listed in the Torah. Being incarcerated can present significant challenges to inmates wishing to fully observe these religious laws or customs. Jail and prison life may mandate certain labor be performed on these days, along with the use of electronic devices, such as lights or doors which are triggered electronically and which

might also be problematic for Jewish inmates who are trying to strictly observe the laws of the Sabbath or Jewish holidays. Regardless of these prohibitions, the security of inmates and the correctional facility itself is a primary concern for administrators and little consideration is given to those strictures which might pose a security risk.

Personal and Communal Prayer

There is no way to accurately measure personal prayer among incarcerated populations, as its definition may be too broad to quantify. The definition of personal prayer can range from lengthy, formal invocations found inside hymnals and prayer books to impromptu words of personal petition, whispered during a moment of crisis or concern. Communal prayer and attendance at religious worship events; however, can be more accurately surveyed. All correctional chaplains reported that typically there has been lower attendance for Jewish, female inmates at worship services than for Protestant, female inmates. Some of this may be explained by the significantly different rates of incarceration by each religious group and the lower level of religious observance for Jewish, female inmates prior to their incarceration. There are additional reasons for lower turn out to Jewish prayer services.

All of the Jewish correctional chaplains surveyed reported they have significant difficulties doing so, or cannot arrange to have a rabbi attend or lead worship services on the actual Jewish Sabbath or Jewish holidays. This is as a result of the facilities' locations and the distance a rabbi, who is most likely Sabbath observant, would have to travel to without the use of a vehicle on those days. On their own, inmates can attend chapel inside the jail or prison on these days, but any services must be led by the inmates themselves without the aid of a rabbi. In some facilities, while there are no formal

religious services for incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates on those days, Jewish inmates are allowed to gather and enjoy a communal meal together at that time. There was only one exception noted, that of Rikers Island, where Jewish clergy had been granted special permission from their religious authorities to violate travel prohibitions to assist inmates for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur services. In most facilities, there is only one “mandated” service per week for incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates, and they typically occur during the middle of the week and not on the Jewish Sabbath. For those inmates trying to attend worship services and observe the holiday or Sabbath on the actual day it occurs, this can be problematic.

Jewish Learning

Each of the correctional chaplains who work with incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates stressed the importance of their learning with these inmates and teaching them about Judaism and Jewish values. Many of these teaching and discussion sessions focused on the weekly Torah portion and how it might apply to the inmates and their situations. Two of the Jewish respondents specifically noted how they tried to tailor his lessons and sermons to their audience, making certain to include topics they could find relevant and useful while incarcerated. Another Jewish correctional chaplain reported he brought in other resources for the inmates to learn from, and reported his students have become quite advanced in the study of Hebrew, Jewish texts and other religious manuscripts that they have studied together.

All of the surveyed correctional chaplains reported religious belief among both incarcerated, Jewish and Protestant, incarcerated female inmates are fluid and fluctuated during their incarceration. Correctional chaplains who work with incarcerated women of

both faiths reported their practices shifted based on a variety of factors during their incarceration and can span from non-existent to devout. There are more religious strictures which may complicate religious observance for Jewish inmates, than for Protestant inmates. In addition, more services and options for practice are available to Protestant, female inmates than for Jewish, female inmates. The practice of religion among incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates can provide many benefits to those who practice it, as well as significant challenges to those trying to be religiously observant while incarcerated. For incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates, dietary restrictions, Sabbath and holiday prohibitions can be complicated and difficult to adhere to, but can also bring appreciable advantages to sincere worshipers and adherents.

To recap, correctional chaplains report Protestant women who at the time of arrest came from strong religious beliefs and practices, typically maintained those beliefs and practices while incarcerated. The research found most incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates were minimally religiously observant or only identified themselves in name only as Jews, prior to their incarceration. In general, these incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates did not substantially increase their previous levels of religious observance, while incarcerated.

RQ4a: How do chaplains report negative bias from other inmates for their religious beliefs or practice influences Jewish, female inmates differently as compared to Protestant female inmates?

Anti-Semitism (hostility or prejudice against Jews), has been of increased concern for Jewish citizens in the United States, and have recently included several terror incidents which specifically targeted Jews. With the events of late, it stands to reason

that in controlled environments, fueled by angry people, exacerbated by cramped quarters and limited personal freedom, including people of multiple ethnicities and beliefs, these concerns might be expected to increase exponentially. This was far from what the researcher found from the correctional chaplains interviewed regarding anti-religious bias against incarcerated Jewish or Protestant, female, inmates.

One respondent stated she has not heard anything and that anything that even “smacked of bias was not tolerated” regarding incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates. She attributes that to her workplace proximity being near New York City, where there is generally more cultural sensitivity. This respondent also said, if a prisoner made more enemies, it made things “worse for her and it doesn't work in a community way. There are enough divisions anyway, like between inmates and officers. They just leave it out” (J1). There were no instances of bullying, or any negative interactions, which specifically mentioned religious beliefs against Protestant inmates for their religious beliefs reported by any of the subjects interviewed. Many of those interviewed responded that if there was negative bias, it was minimal and “underground” and they had not heard of it. Regardless, one respondent stated, “Some Jews don’t want to have any issues, so they don’t identify as Jewish” (J6).

Two of the respondents said they recalled some anti-Semitic comments during their career as a correctional chaplain, but could not remember any specifics. Another respondent attributed some non-specific feelings of anti-Semitism to its general existence in society, saying “There’s anti-Semitism all over the place, but no more than on the outside” (J6). Another rabbi said, he had not seen any anti-Semitism from inmates, but there were subtle hints from administrators over his years. He decided not to approach

them because as he said, “They’ll just deny it” (J6). Others reported a vague sense that there was a tone of anti-Semitism, but typically more from correctional officers than inmates, stating “No question there is anti-Semitism, and inmates tell me that CO’s make comments, but not in front of me” (J3). Another respondent said he was attending a retirement ceremony for correctional officers when another officer was making what he described as “unusual” sounds. At some point, the chaplain said he finally realized the officer was mocking him after he kept hearing the officer making noise. The respondent said at first, he thought the officer was sneezing. After it continued over and over again, the chaplain realized he was saying “AJew, AJew”, instead of the sneezing “Achoo” (J9).

Most other respondents reported any comments they heard about Jews were made out of ignorance by inmates who had not been exposed to Jewish people and viewed them as a “curiosity or an oddity” (J2) but they did not imply or feel any malicious intent was present. Two other respondents noted, most of the people who have made comments about being Jewish to them over their 30 plus year career were mentally ill and used slurs like “kike” to express their anger or frustration. Some respondents reported others simply used the word “Jew” as a descriptor or identifier, such as “The man doctor. The woman doctors. The Jew doctors.” but did not mean any disrespect (J6).

Another respondent noted:

I don’t see anti-Semitism. For the Jews, the biggest issues are with the Protestants who are Messianic Jews, since they can self-identify. These are Judeo-Christians and are interested in the Jewish services, but interrupt and try to tell the Jews that Jesus is the Messiah during the services. Most of the time, these people are not very respectful or cooperative (C10).

Also, regarding Messianic Jews, another respondent stated:

Messianic Jews attend Jewish services and speak of Jesus. Sometimes the rabbis are unsure what to do. It's rare to hear negative bias, but when it happens, it's more by Protestants to Catholics. They say things like, 'You worship Mary', which is meant to be derogatory (C1).

Two respondents who worked with both male and female institutions noted they had only heard anti-Semitic remarks in the male facilities and not in female facilities. Both noted the issues they have found in both male and female facilities were primarily from "people of color" who were persecuted by other people of color and did not believe they were in fact Jewish. Another chaplain noted, "when an inmate says to another 'You can't be Jewish, you're Black' it's negative because it's racializing the faith" (J8).

Negative behaviors involving religious equipment and sacred items from the staff was noted by two chaplains; neither of who was Jewish, but expressed concern about the frequent battles Jewish inmates and clergy face to bring in religious articles for practice stating, "It's damaging to the Jewish population and religious property. Phylacteries can be a security risk, but going through an x-ray machine with stickers takes away from the practice; the sacredness of the object and really affects it" (C10). This same chaplain said, "When an inmate has to fight for everything because of policy; it gets tiring and sometimes they may walk away because it's too stressful" (C10).

General Strife Between Groups

14 of the 20 of the chaplains interviewed, acknowledged some ill will between religious groups but did not believe it was particular to either Jewish or Protestant inmates. In each of these instances, the majority of the respondents noted a "general tone

of strife” between groups. As with other groups and divisions, aside from religion, there may be a tendency to stick to one’s own group. These groups can be formed, based on the members’ ethnicity, language, skin color, the geographic area one comes from or on a variety of other factors.

In some pods, there is a strong sense of peer-pressure, which may fall just short of bullying; however, there are clearly dominant figures in the pods. These strong figures who are known to rule the units, frequently insist or refuse other female inmates attend or not attend religious services. These dictates are in order to exert dominance or control, and religious practice is only one of many methods they use to intimidate other women into compliance. One respondent noted if a particular inmate is “connected” to the other members of the pod, she may choose not to attend or to attend worship to remain in their favor (C10).

This same respondent went on to note:

Some of the women control the pods and set `a tone of negativity.

When they want to go to chapel, they tell them to stay in the pod and are very controlling. There is a lot of peer pressure to participate or not participate (C10).

For these women, it may take a certain internal strength of character to resist such tactics. For female inmates who struggle with poor self-esteem and lower levels of self-respect this can be quite a challenge. As another respondent said:

It depends on the strength of the woman to see if they will stand on the

Conviction of her beliefs or buckle, depending on her need to be accepted.

Different groups can be contentious, can be bullying, use rejection, jealousy and shaming if there are conversions. Women are mean (C8).

There is among correctional populations general strife between groups. Much of this strife and contentiousness between groups come from jealousy and a sense of entitlement and concern that, some other inmates may have something and they are not getting what they are owed; sometimes even a sense of privilege (C6). Another respondent said:

You have groups that point fingers. Some say Jewish inmates have more freedoms or privileges than the Muslims, or Protestants, or Catholics or Native Americans. I try to stop the finger pointing. Each group is different and I think it's done out of limited perception and limited appreciation of differences. This is not to say there's blindness. They may have a leg to stand on, but it's not a good leg (C4).

Five of the subjects noted instances of negative bias towards Muslim inmates, many issues having to do with their style of dress. One respondent said "Nothing I know of for Protestant inmates, but headscarves and burkas are a subject of disagreement because they may cover the face and may be a security risk" (C7). Another respondent mentioned that while she believed there was little fighting among groups, some Muslim inmates were upset the facility had not received any donated Koran's for them and thought it was "a Christian conspiracy against Muslims" (C9). Another respondent also noted, "we see our groups in isolation, so I haven't witnessed anything but understood

there was “some tension and disagreements between the Christians and the Muslims” (C6). Finally, regarding strife between Jews and others another correctional chaplain stated:

I don't really see strife between the Jews and others. In general, there is no game playing, but the Muslims who are seekers and are not necessarily affirmed in their faith. It's a power play for difference and attention.

They are saying ‘I deserve something different (J10).

In general, no specific mention or evidence of a strong anti-religious or anti-Semitic bias was found against either incarcerated Protestant or Jewish, female, inmates. One respondent said, “If there is any anti-religious bias, it's underground and we don't see it, but I don't think there is really anything there” (J6). There were some instances of anti-Semitic comments made by staff towards Jewish clergy, but again, these instances were anecdotal and not wide-spread. Instances of strife between religious groups were not reported to be significant and when they occurred, were not typically driven by anti-religious bias, but instead interpersonal conflicts and attempts to control other inmates' behaviors, to demonstrate superiority or a sense of dominance, not specific to religiosity or religious beliefs.

RQ4b: How do chaplains report inmates experiencing negative biases from other inmates preclude the open religious practice of Jewish, female inmates and Protestant, female inmates?

Religious rituals provide a sense of cohesiveness to the participants. Regular community worship, blessings before and after meals, Sabbath observance, along with

communal Sabbath and holiday meals help shape a sense of community and identity for participants. Most of the respondents noted the public lighting of candles on the eve of the Sabbath and Jewish holidays, inmates who openly prayed with their Hebrew prayer books in front of others, public reading of the Torah, lighting menorahs for Hanukkah, making a blessing on grape juice and matzah or challah before the Sabbath and communal worship for Jewish holidays. One chaplain spoke about with respect to the public display of religion for incarcerated, Jewish, female, inmates, saying:

They don't have much control of their environment. They are tightly controlled all day in their daily life. The oversight is pretty complete. They do feel they have more freedom in the chapel, especially when they can express themselves freely. They find peace and a relative degree of freedom they don't express in other places (C4).

To the contrary of anti-religious bias, another respondent in a facility where inmates personally prepare some of their own food, said, "I actually think they are respected. If they have the strength to ask for their own pots, and pans, they are respected" (J10) in reference to inmates who maintain a kosher diet.

As noted previously, the researcher found far less anti-religious and anti-Semitic bias than might have been anticipated in women's correctional facilities. Whether this is due to a less racially charged and violent atmosphere than may be found in men's correctional facilities, is unclear. There were no reported difficulties with the open practice of religion reported by any of the respondents. One respondent noted:

I haven't heard of bias or strife between the factions. I don't think it is a problem to practice their religion openly. We have Jews, Oneness,

Wiccan, and some other things I've never heard of. We also have Black Israelites, but we don't get many of them (C7).

Some correctional chaplains emphasized they made special efforts to be inclusive with a combination of religious beliefs and incorporated pieces from a variety of sources with all inmates. This respondent who worked with both Jewish and Christian inmates stated, "I intentionally teach about the seder for all inmates I minister to because of the Judeo-Christian teachings and their relevance to everyone" (J10).

Lawsuits

All respondents but three mentioned the proliferation of lawsuits regarding religious practice from inmates in the facilities they are associated with. These correctional chaplains are each aware they work in environments which are heavily monitored and deal with a variety of competing forces. Despite this awareness, these respondents spoke about the challenges of working in such systems. One chaplain stated:

Another huge barrier is policy. It's not conducive to establishing a good, trusting relationship and they mainly driven by lawsuits. Religious lawsuits are the main subjects of lawsuits for us, because that is one of the few areas the prisoner's have some freedom (C10).

With regard to other lawsuits, another chaplain who works in a facility which houses both men and women said of an inmate now insisting on kosher food:

I am being sued right now as an individual because I denied a kosher meal to an inmate who was not Jewish. This has become a heated issue. My facility values the spiritual care I give and has agreed to represent me in the lawsuit. The guy had 37 prior book-ins and now needs kosher food (C8).

This same chaplain also related:

I see the Jewish faith is disrespected by the Judicial system. Judges rule, if an inmate is Jewish. Recently, a rabbi testified a man was not Jewish, but the judge ruled he was. The man was disruptive during worship services and it created problems for other Jewish prisoners who were trying to pray; especially when he talked about Jesus (C8).

One Jewish chaplain reported that currently there were no formal conversions for Jewish inmates at the facility he was employed in. He attributed this to a lack of a *bais din* (a Jewish religious court, with at least three rabbis, whose presence is required during a formal conversion to Judaism). This same respondent believed this may change after a lawsuit is filed by inmates who want to formally change their religion to Judaism and not just “act Jewish”. At this point he said, inmates can only fill out a form, and self-declare their religious belief but, thought a lawsuit is in the near future for such conversions (J3). Lawsuits, some legitimate and some frivolous, drive policy in correctional facilities. This may lead to the expansion of liberties or in some cases, the reduction in religious benefits. Regardless of the outcome of such litigation, it adds to the stress and complications for religious practice for incarcerated populations.

In conclusion, there was no specific instances of negative bias regarding the practice of religious beliefs reported by any correctional chaplains which precluded the open practice of religion by either Jewish or Protestant, incarcerated, female inmates. When instances of interpersonal bias did occur, they were not specific to religious affiliation or practice. This research has identified a rapid increase in the number of lawsuits, particularly regarding religious practice for Messianic Jews. These lawsuits

have led to some rulings which complicate matters for other Jewish inmates; especially, those who do not wish to worship with inmates who loudly and forcefully interrupt Jewish religious services with comments about Jesus.

RQ5: What changes do chaplains experience regarding their thoughts of people in general and prisoners as a result of working as a correctional chaplain?

There is a common misconception regarding chaplains who work in correctional facilities. That mistaken thinking is that these faith workers simply cannot find employment elsewhere and must be in their jobs, but for lack of other options. If this were so, it might also be understandable to believe those correctional chaplains would be cynical, jaded and less than enthused about their congregants. This would be true, if they were in fact, “forced” to work with inmates, or have no employment at all. This researcher found neither to be the case.

Every correctional chaplain interviewed in this study spoke favorably about their choice to work in corrections. Many of the chaplains interviewed had previously held another clerical position; yet, all chose to move into correctional chaplaincy at some point in their career. Other respondents voiced sentiments such as “I don’t feel a calling, but I love it.” (J6). Still, others described their call to service inmates as a strong one, often having rejected other positions or promotions in order to continue their work ministering to incarcerated persons. Another said,

My calling to work as a correctional chaplain is even stronger now.

Unfortunately, we often don’t feel respected by other rabbis. The pay is low

and they think we're at the bottom of the barrel', as rabbis go. But then I think, what am I actually here to work for? Then, I remember I really want to be of service (J1).

Divinely Flawed and Human

Most of the correctional chaplains who were surveyed for this research were remarkably positive, upbeat and optimistic regarding the congregations they minister to and people in general. This is not to say they were naive or unaware of the populations they ministered to and their weaknesses. They are, instead, able to see beyond why their congregants were incarcerated and focus on them; not as prisoners, but individuals; as human beings. One respondent stated "Every sinner is a beautiful human being in the present. We can't excuse the terrible things people have done. If 99 percent of the time, they did good things and one percent of the time, did horrible things, well, we're not that different than they are" (J5). Another respondent said working with prisoners made him more compassionate, stating "you're more forgiving when you see people who have done terrible things and have to focus on a deeper part of them" (J3). Similarly, another respondent said,

I have more compassion for prisoners. I think 90 percent of them have a trauma history and that is when they come in, even before the trauma of state prison. My heart goes out to them. I could have been that woman. (C5).

As this respondent astutely pointed out regarding Christian writings.

"Our entire scripture is written for and about criminals" (C6). She went on to note, "I think every new correctional employee thinks there are stereotypical inmate profiles. That idea gets busted quickly, when you meet a gem of a person" (C6). Several of the

respondents reported increased personal respect for humanity in general, as a result of having worked with incarcerated persons. With regards to humanity, repair and forgiveness, another chaplain said the following:

My ideas about people have changed. I am struck. There are some people who have done horrendous crimes and that are also developing a new level of sensitivity and repentance and asking for another chance. I am not trying to be so liberal. I'm realistic about that, but in my work, I often see humanity alongside crime. It's individualized. One, two, three maybe seven of the people I've met. Over their sentence, they have changed, but society doesn't let them move on. There is a segment of the people in the world, who are not happy. These people will never forget, never forgive, no matter how much change that woman has experienced as a person (C4).

Another correctional chaplain spoke about his worldview and political opinions, saying:

My view of prisoners and the criminal justice system has changed a great deal over the past 19 years. I don't work with convicts or inmates. I work with people. Some have done some monstrous things, but they are not monsters. They're just people. I'm less judgmental now. I started out being more conservative. I've become more open-minded (J7).

Finally, regarding the humanity he experienced while working in a male facility and informing a Jewish inmate about the death of a family member, another respondent said,

There was an absolutely beautiful moment of humanity during the shiva (Jewish mourning ritual). All the other inmates, even the guards, sat with

him and embraced him. They were all crying and I thought ‘who is more human than this? (J2).

Many of the respondents noted how working with incarcerated populations had helped them understand and see the world and its inhabitants in a different light. One respondent who had been in the clergy for decades said “If anything, it’s elevated my view of people, I realize the value of every Jewish neshama (soul) and how important it is not to take away their dignity” (J4). Another respondent who had also worked as a correctional chaplain for decades said “Now, I look at the person and ask if they are a bad person, or a good person who did something bad” (J6)? Another respondent said, “It’s definitely confirmed to me every human being is created in the name of God and I now get to appreciate their humanity. This, even though they may have somewhat degraded their humanity by what they have done” (J5).

With All the Positives, There May Also Be Some Downsides

Each of the respondents noted the positive shifts they had experienced in their views of incarcerated persons in particular. In addition, four of the respondents noted other changes in how they viewed people in general. One Jewish respondent said candidly,

My daughter goes to a school which is not very mixed racially. By choice, she’s the only White person in her class. I sometimes see people of color and associate them with the criminal justice system. I think ‘You’ve probably been incarcerated’. All that is true; although, I work with and advocate for social justice and against poverty.

Distrust and suspicion

Only three respondents of the 20 reported a heightened sense of concern or worry about people's motivation due to their work in correctional facilities. One of these respondents said that as a result of working with people who often tried to manipulate the system, he sometimes had difficulty distinguishing if people were "real with me, or if they were trying to manipulate me into getting something really special, like a glatt kosher meal" (J2). Another respondent said "Seeing that many manipulators and con games makes me more savvy, but not jaded" (C5). One more respondent said she was able to see both sides of this issue, stating "I've gotten more hardened and cynical to a degree, but I can still see them through Christ's eyes" (C8).

To restate, both Jewish and Protestant correctional chaplains reported being and presented as remarkably positive, upbeat and optimistic regarding the congregations they minister to and people in general. Many reported they felt less esteem from their colleagues who do not work in corrections and did not think they were appropriately respected for the work they do. Despite that, they enjoy their work and many feel a calling to this service. One subject stated openly,

I didn't feel a calling to corrections except that I went into prisons after my own conversion and awakening. I realized it could have been me there and felt a connection. I had my own trauma and felt like they were just like me.

I thought there but for the grace of God, go I (C10).

All of the subjects reported their work, work environments and congregants give them, what they believe is a unique perspective on others and insight into themselves. Perhaps surprisingly, these respondents also reported they had enhanced positive

thoughts and feelings about humanity in general, and incarcerated populations in particular. The respondents also reported increased feelings of empathy for the incarcerated and emphasized their heightened compassion for those who are victims of circumstance, poverty, and abuse. Even for those respondents who reported some negative consequences from working in this field, they overwhelmingly reported positive benefits to working as a correctional chaplain. In general, respondents reported a renewed awareness of good things in the world, and being more in awe of humanity; even with all of its foibles and failings.

RQ6: What changes do chaplains experience in their personal, professional or religious lives as a result of working with inmate populations?

As noted in RQ 5, some correctional chaplains reported they do not enjoy equal esteem from their colleagues that do not work in corrections. Pay for correctional chaplaincy is often low, perhaps even abysmal for the level of education many possess. Rikers Island, in New York City a city, with the, if not one of the highest costs of living in the United States is a good example. Rikers is known to be a difficult place to work, with its overcrowding and a history of violence. There, correctional chaplains earn \$24 an hour. This is the rate of pay for religious professionals, most of whom have at least six years of graduate level education.

Changes in the Chaplain's Professional Views and Concerns Safety and Security

Safety and security at each facility are the primary tasks and priority of the department of corrections or entity in charge of operating correctional buildings or complexes. The foremost responsibility of each institution is to ensure the physical integrity of the prisoners, staff and the site. All of the chaplains interviewed were keenly

aware “security is always before ministry” (C3). Despite this, 12 of the 20 chaplains interviewed, reported some sort of what they described as “arbitrary enforcement” of some guidelines and rules, dependent on the correctional officer involved, his or her mood, what the officer remembered from a prior memo or a variety of other factors, not necessarily related to a security issue. One respondent remarked, “The inconsistencies don't make sense and don't help people get better. It's supposed to be the department of *corrections*” (J6).

Other chaplains noted the lack of proper notice and poor communication between the security staff and chaplaincy. This respondent said,

It's militaristic and the information is shared very sparingly. I understand that; yet, lockdowns are not announced and no one tells us. We have many, many volunteers who have driven in, paid to park, gone through security and have then been turned away that day. Its infuriating (C6).

Two of the chaplains in New York State mentioned the infamous escape from the Clinton Correctional Facility in Dannemora, New York in 2015. This escape was the subject of a three- week long manhunt, costing taxpayers millions of dollars. The escape occurred when two inmates, both serving sentences for murder, tunneled out of the facility and escaped. The escape was facilitated by a prison worker, Joyce Mitchell, who was alleged to have planted hacksaw blades in raw hamburger meat and smuggled it into the inmates. During their escape, one of the inmates was shot and killed, the other one captured. Mrs. Mitchell plead guilty to assisting the inmates in their escape and is currently serving a seven-year prison sentence at Bedford Hills Correctional Institute, for her participation in the escape. One respondent remarked:

Because of the escape at Dannemora, the rules have gotten tougher and a lot of things have changed. 25 people lost their jobs from the superintendent on down. It was a big thing. From that, things became much stricter. The food we bring in has to be in unopened cans and it has to be in a see-through, clear plastic bag. They call the clear bags Joyce Michell, designer bags (C3).

Rules, regulations and bureaucracy

Cited primarily as a result of the abundance of rules and regulations, a few of the chaplains shared they were losing their passion for the field. One said, “I understand the rules are necessary, but it also stifles creativity and an ability to act in fresh new ways as a chaplain” (J2). Another one said,

When I first started working in this field, I found it more rewarding, now it depends on the day. I am beginning to enjoy my other work a little more, as I find this chaplaincy a little constrained due to some of the red-tape, although I know it comes along with the territory (J3).

One more chaplain who had initially strongly advocated to be placed in jail ministry from his religious order spoke of the toll it has taken on him over the years. He recently expressed a desire to do less correctional work to his headquarters, and more work with his congregation outside of the facility. He said the work has been draining and it has worn him down; yet, he also said, ultimately, he will serve where he is instructed by his church.

16 of the 20 correctional chaplains interviewed commented about the layers of bureaucracy and the stress this creates, while working in such an environment. Another chaplain went on to say:

The pressure of the chaplaincy is not the inmates so much, it's the bureaucracy. It trickles down, especially in the women's prison because they are pushier and expect different results. The inmates have changed. They are more entitled and a lot of what they are asking for is legitimate. I'm a strong advocate for them, but they expect me to go to Albany and scream at them.

High levels of frustration were reported from respondents who worked in facilities of all levels; city, county, state, and federal. One respondent said, "My biggest disappointment has been the Department of Corrections, not the inmates" (J1). Many of the respondents noted other issues which led to disillusionment in the staff and added additional stress, which they thought was unnecessary in the performance of their jobs. One chaplain said, "You have to play games with everybody" (J4). With regard to the numerous rules, another chaplain said openly, "It's easier to ask for forgiveness than to get permission" (J8) and from another respondent, "Organizational stress is major because we're connected to the Federal Bureau of Prisons, and they change the rules all the time. It creates a lot of stress for those of us trying to comply" (J7).

Other respondents spoke of being pulled in competing directions and feeling frustration about their desire to do more ministry, one saying, "More and more, we're becoming administrators. Paperwork. Typing reports takes up an inordinate amount of time, instead of real ministry. There is a tension between hands-on preaching, counseling, Bible study, between spiritual work and administrative responsibilities" (C4). The same respondent also commented on the physical and emotional toll his work has taken on him, saying, "This is a stressful environment and chaplains become accustomed

to it in their everyday operations. It becomes insidious in our lives. We normalized this chronic stress over a long period of time” (C4).

Another correctional chaplain commented on the routine conflicts she faced; that of the discrepancy between the rules and rites of chaplaincy and the rules of the facility, stating,

There are a lot of rules and regulations. The chaplaincy breaks every single one of them. It is required, we have wine for mass. The inmates can't consume it, but the priest must. The rule is no matches; no fire at all, but the chaplains must use candles (C6).

Despite the difficulties with security concerns, rules, regulations and multiple levels of bureaucracy, essentially all but one respondent reported a desire to continue their work as a correctional chaplain. Those surveyed overwhelmingly reported a strong interest in continuing to provide service to the incarcerated populations they work with. This is perhaps even more notable, as eight of the 20 respondents have reached an age where they are able to retire from their work but instead prefer to continue to assist inmates with their spiritual and religious needs.

18 of the 20 chaplains interviewed reported some changes in how they viewed the criminal justice system since beginning to work in this occupation. One might surmise after working in stressful environments, with lawbreakers and some of those accused of horrendous acts, chaplains would take a harsher stance against crime and have an increased desire for tougher laws and more stringent punishment for offenders. To the contrary; most of the respondents noted how they viewed the criminal justice system in what might be termed a more liberal or progressive light than they did before their

employment as a correctional chaplain. Most of the respondents noted changes in how they viewed prisoners, and the system as a whole, one stating the following:

The system is incredibly broken. It does not provide service to the community, inside or outside. Sentencing is not consistent, state to state, institution to institution and county to county. I am more aware of restorative justice approaches; I feel we should be less punitive. We can do lots better with humanity. We can do better with connections to families and informing victims of what is going on (J10).

Another correctional chaplain voiced what he described as the recurrent conflicted feelings he experienced over the role he plays in his workplace and the and clash with some of his religious principles. He said “Being a good rabbi doesn't make you a good employee. I do the right thing ethically and that doesn't always agree with the rules of the site” (J6). Finally, another respondent voiced a notion many American citizens suspect to be true, “The criminal justice system is pretty unfair. It’s who you know” (J6).

Personal Religious Practice

Six of the 20 respondents said working as a correctional chaplain did not affect their personal religious practice in any significant way. The other 14 respondents reported their personal religious practice has been deeply affected by working as a correctional chaplain. For some of the respondents, the changes that occurred were in their personal belief system; one of the respondents sharing her work in this field led her to a change in her religious affiliation. She stated her experience as a Pentecostal correctional chaplain had led to some discomfort with some of the strongly held beliefs

and practices of that denomination. As a result, she left the Pentecostal church and now remains a chaplain, but considers herself a non-denominational Christian. She said, “I’m a non-denominational Christian now because of the proselytizing and things I could not embrace. There was a young, gay guy in custody and they were trying to pray him straight. That put me over the top” (C2). Another respondent noted a change in her practice, saying:

I’ve become less rigid about church. Church has a lot of rules and guidelines.

On the outside you can keep them better and hold them with more strength,

Inside, there aren’t as many choices and it’s not that easy. I’m more flexible about communion times and other rules, I once thought was inflexible (C5).

Another respondent voiced a change in her beliefs to a less structured approach and said, “I find it hard to fit into the mold of a church. I am more focused on broken people. We put our best faces on for church and it doesn’t seem genuine or real for me now” (C10).

The other 14 respondents reported a change in their personal or professional religious practice as a result of their work, many commented on how the work had changed their own religious practice; all reporting it had strengthened and increased their faith and prayer. From one respondent, “If anything, it has drawn me closer to my faith” (C2) and from another respondent, “It has strengthened my prayer life and my ability to bear witness to what God wants” (J10). Another respondent noted,

Working in the jail tremendously affects my personal faith. At least once a month I will see someone at our food pantry from the jail. It keeps my preaching real. I like to think I am a person of prayer. I get a sense of how important prayer is when I pray for others (C1).

Another Christian respondent shared, what she termed an “epiphany” since working as a correctional chaplain. She explained how she hears scripture very differently. She went on to relate how she had experienced major changes in how she how she listened to and practiced what she had learned in the Bible and through her personal prayer. She stated the following:

I hear things differently every time we have communion. Moses was guilty of first-degree murder. David did all kinds of crazy things. He didn't like Uriah and conspired to commit murder. Saul/Paul was persecuted everywhere he went and Jesus as a figure was arrested, charged and prosecuted. Both the Jewish and Christian scriptures were written by people who were fallen and broken people. I definitely hear the scripture differently. In the Eucharist, we say ‘Proclaim release for the captives’ and I hear that very differently. And ‘release to the prisoners, to proclaim the year of our Lord’s favor’ I hear differently (C6).

A Jewish, female respondent, who attended the Jewish Theological Seminary to study and receive her rabbinic ordination stated the following:

JTS required wearing tefillin (phylacteries) during prayers for both men and for women but it was not important to me. I did it because I had to but didn’t find it personally important. Now, I’ve found it much more profound; although I can't explain it. While it was a ritual or symbolic, it now seems more meaningful. Perhaps it's the binding, I don't really know.

How working in correctional chaplaincy affected chaplains in their personal life

14 of the 20 respondents also reported that working in their profession resulted in what they viewed as positive personal changes, having made them more well-rounded,

calmer, and increasing their confidence in themselves. One respondent noted how she had changed what she found important and how she now prioritizes things differently, stating,

What do I give my attention to daily? I'm more peaceful about things that might have caused anxiety in my personal life previously, and now that doesn't flap me. I am better able to say no. I'm more self-confident and sure-footed. I am more self-assured (J10).

Another described her more relaxed approach to things and attitude this way, "The sharp edges have become a round table" (C5).

None of the respondents noted any marital strife, inter-personal or family conflict as a result of their work as a correctional chaplain. One respondent; although did, note:

I don't get any dates after I say I'm clergy. It's a turn off and then when I say I work in a jail, it's an absolute turn off. You tend to be alone. I realized God set me apart and am alone a lot of the time. I remember Leviticus 20:26. And ye shall be holy unto me: for I the Lord am holy, and have severed you from other people, that ye shall be mine (C9).

One might have expected correctional chaplains to suffer from compassion fatigue and burnout from working with such a complicated and demanding population on a regular basis. To the contrary, this researcher found that working with incarcerated person provided a renewed sense of hope and strengthened meaning for the correctional chaplains who work with them.

To summarize, 14 of the 20 respondents noted positive effects on their individual prayer and worship, along with an enhanced view of others, both inside and outside of

their workplace. Over half of all respondents noted changes in how they viewed the criminal justice system since working as a correctional chaplain. None of the respondents had become more conservative in their political views on crime and punishment; and to the contrary, had become what might be termed as more liberal and open-minded about the criminal justice system its unfairness and current policies.

Advice to CPE students considering a career in correctional chaplaincy

In addition to the listed research questions, the researcher, as a part of the Chaplain Interview Guide (Appendix A), asked the subjects what advice they would give to students studying for a degree in Clinical Pastoral Education (CPE) and who were considering a career as a correctional chaplain. Their tips and advice are listed below as direct quotes from respondents and fell into these three main categories:

1. Important Individual Personality Traits and Self-care.
2. Looking beyond and Being of Service
3. Having Compassion and Lack of Judgement

1. Important Individual Personality Traits and Self-Care

- “Corrections takes patience and perseverance to minister in this field. Not only the people but the bureaucracy” (J3).
- “It’s holy work and you have to keep remembering who you are working for because half of the job is fighting the system. Being a good employee is not really what you’re there for” (J3).
- “Don’t make rash decisions in terms of people and situations. Take your time” (C4).

- “Check your right to be needed at the door. If you want to please people you are a target for manipulation and burnout” (J10).
- A good chaplain changes the facility. A good psychologist helps others. A bad one may harm them because they are there for their own needs (J4).
- “Don't get jaded” and “Don't bring your work home with you” (J2).
- “Protect yourself emotionally and be a visible chaplain. Get people to know your face. People will remember you and look out for you. Inmates will look out for you. It's a mutual trust that comes from sincerity. I finally found a profession where kindness brings in a paycheck” (J1).
- “Don't take things personally and don't invest in their success. Whether an inmate reoffends after release is not up to you. There are so many other factors involved” (J2).

2. Looking Beyond and Being of Service

- “See everything and ignore everything, from Pope John 23rd. You cannot be rigid in your thinking or approaching people. You must be open to things you might not want to be open to. For example, I saw someone who was convicted of killing two children. I prayed with her. Other clergy gave me a hard time for it. You'll see same sex relationships, transgender people, people who are extremely broken. Be there with them” (C2).
- “See people as individuals and really listen to hear what is in their heart and what their need is. Just ask them and let them find their way, rather than figure it out for them” (C10).
- “You're not there for your agenda. You are there for others” (C2).

- “Know your goals and why you're there. You are there for the women and can't let them (the officers) get in the way” (C5).
- “Keep your promises. Don't say I'll be back tomorrow and not show up then. Instead, say I'll be back soon” (C6).

3. Compassion and Lack of Judgement

- “Only do this if you can love the prisoners and come alongside them. That is what a chaplain does. They do not judge. I never look up why an inmate is there because it is a distraction from seeing the person for who they are” (C8).
- “Always show you care and can listen, even if you can't help them in any other way” (J3).
- “As much as you can, go there with an open mind and don't prejudge. A number of them are detainees and have not been found guilty” (J6).
- “Look at the person as a whole and not what they seem in the moment. Really going deep, and seeing what drove them there and who they were before they came here” (C2).
- “Help people where they are” (C4).
- “Just love them, whatever that means” (C6).

Chapter 5 Discussion

Purpose of the study and rationale

The researcher undertook this study to determine how incarcerated, Jewish, female, inmates observed their religious beliefs, while incarcerated and additionally to understand more about the correctional chaplains who work with this population. As a measure of comparison, questions regarding a group of Protestant, female inmates were added, along with correctional chaplains who minister to those inmates. The Protestant group was chosen for comparison, as Jews typically make up one of the smaller religious groups of incarcerated persons, and Protestants, typically comprise the largest group of incarcerated persons.

This chapter's summary is once again organized by research questions, with comparisons and divergent results from other literature noted accordingly. In summary, this researcher found both similarities and differences between this study results and those of prior researchers who surveyed incarcerated, male inmates. In addition, the researcher found some similarities with previous research on correctional chaplains, which was not specific to Jewish or Protestant chaplains.

New research findings were noted in the differences between religious upbringing for each study population, the importance of instilling a Jewish identity to incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates and a significant number of correctional chaplains who reported a history of trauma prior to working in this profession. Each of these new findings is deserving of additional research, which was beyond the scope of this study.

Are there really incarcerated, Jewish women in jail and prison?

Remarkably, little research has been conducted on incarcerated, female inmates. Perhaps even more surprising, there has not been a single scholarly research study or published scholarly writing on either incarcerated, Jewish, male or female inmates as a group. A line of faulty thinking has existed; one that Jewish women don't get arrested or if they do, they don't serve any significant time in jail or prison. These mistaken beliefs are often a result of the stereotypical Jewish, female characters seen portrayed in the media; those of the Jew American Princess (JAP), who is focused on marrying a wealthy husband, shopping and vacationing, the quincuncial homemaker (balabusta) or the Yiddishe mamma who is domineering and controls her children's lives.

In reality, the numbers of incarcerated, Jewish prisoners continue to increase as Jews become more assimilated and move out from and on in multiple ways from the more insular communities many once inhabited. As this researcher demonstrated, incarcerated, Jewish, female prisoners do exist and were acknowledged or spoken about in some way from each of the respondents surveyed; both Christian and Jewish correctional chaplains. There is no more current data available from the United States Bureau of Prisons; however, the last data obtainable from the United States Bureau of Prisons in 1999, showed the showed Jews made up 1.423% of all prisoners in the United States (Bureau of Prisons, n.d.). Data published by New York State in 2014 showed 7.5% of all prisoners in New York State were Jewish or 4048 out of total 54,142 prisoners (Under Custody Report: Profile of Inmate Population, 2014). These numbers most certainly have increased since that time. Despite their relatively small numbers in

some facilities, Jewish, female inmates have some presence in all the women's correctional facilities represented in this study.

How many incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates are there?

During each interview, the researcher made inquiries into the actual number of incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates at each facility where the correctional chaplain was employed. No accurate number, or even an approximate number could be ascertained by the researcher in the bulk of facilities, as prisoners who requested kosher food were counted by some as Jewish; primarily by the Christian respondents. As noted, kosher meals were requested by a number of inmates for reasons aside from Jewish, religious observance. This measure is not a viable way to determine an inmate's religious belief and would likely lead to inflated numbers so inaccurate, they would be meaningless.

More than one Protestant respondent was unable to provide even a vague estimate of how many incarcerated, Jewish, females were at her facility, noting for example, "I don't know how many there are, but I know we have some" (C8). In addition, and as mentioned previously, some incarcerated, Jewish female inmates do not declare a religious affiliation at the time they enter their correctional facility. This is done to avoid any perceived issues with anti-religious bias or additional difficulties with other inmates or staff. This lack of a valid number of incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates by chaplains is one of the limitations of this research.

Notwithstanding the lack of an accurate total number of incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates, advocates of the recent, renewed interest in criminal justice reforms by judicial experts, and the media would do well to remember this relatively meager

population and the unique challenges these inmates face while trying to observe their religious beliefs while incarcerated.

One might ask, why should or does any of this matter?

As stated previously, studies show approximately 95% of inmates will be released from prison, back into society (Gibbons & Katzenbach 2006). If we, as a society, hope these individuals will somehow leave different and better than when they entered their institutions, religious beliefs and practices may play a part in their transformation.

During the course of her interviews, the researcher met with twenty correctional chaplains who minister to Jewish or Protestant, female inmates, talking with them, asking questions, and listening to their stories. These respondents provided a wealth of information about their own experiences as correctional chaplains, as well as information about their congregants, often through sharing their stories. As sociologist, Howard Becker has argued, stories are “an effective, maybe the most effective way of transmitting an abstract point” (Becker, 1990). It is hoped the core of each subject’s stories were extracted skillfully by the researcher, these shared stories and were adequately translated into understandable data for the reader, doing their stories justice.

Recruitment Method and Study Methodology

Qualitative interviews occurred with 20 subjects: 10 correctional chaplains who work with Jewish inmates and 10 correctional chaplains who work with Protestant inmates. These interviews occurred between April 4, 2019 and June 4, 2019. The interviews lasted between 50 and 135 minutes each, with the median time being approximately 90 minutes. The researcher obtained the initial sample subject population by posting requests for study subject volunteers through three professional organizations

that serve correctional chaplains: The Aleph Institute, the American Correctional Association (ACCA) and the Correctional Chaplains and Ministers Association (CMCA). Each association posted online requests for subjects and asked interested volunteers to contact the researcher individually via phone or email. Once the initial research subjects were contacted and interviewed, these subjects frequently referred other colleagues who they thought might also be interested in participating in this research study. This resulted in a high number of subjects obtained through snowball sampling. When the maximum level of participants of each subject group was reached, recruiting stopped and the researcher declined any additional candidates who volunteered to be interviewed for this study.

Interview Procedures

The interview locations were mutually agreed upon by both parties and interviews were conducted at a variety of locales, primarily in the northeast United States and near Chicago, Illinois. The researcher traveled to interviews in Manhattan and Queens, New York, Westchester County, New York, Buffalo, New York, Lakewood New Jersey, Clinton, New Jersey, Fairfield Connecticut, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Wheaton, Illinois. The interviews took place at locations ranging from jail chaplaincy offices and prison visiting areas, to rabbi's homes, local restaurants and professional chaplaincy conferences. The interview locations also included church rectories, hospital chaplaincy offices, and synagogues. In addition to interview notes taken by the researcher during the interview, each interview was recorded and transcribed within five days of the interview to strengthen recall.

Data Analysis and Coding Procedures

Tapes of the interviews were transcribed by the researcher and reviewed to ensure accuracy. Since the intended study samples were relatively small, the researcher coded the study participants' responses manually, without the aid of a computer-based coding program. The manual coding of the data lead to even more familiarity with the subject's responses and the data they yielded, increasing accuracy and validity of the findings.

A list of the major themes was developed and as the interview reviews progressed, these themes and codes were refined into smaller categories. Despite the relatively small number study samples, the interviews yielded an enormous amount of data. Data driven open coding was utilized, coded inductively, and refined into smaller groups and categories as phenomena and common ideas were identified and repeated. To improve the rigor of this study, the researcher used a constant comparison to search for meaning. In addition, the process of constant comparison also allowed the researcher to compare and contrast data from the two interview groups, as well as the data within each group. This constant comparison method provided increased accuracy and validity in the findings (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). In summary, the researcher has made efforts to increase the reliability and validity of the data obtained and reported.

Summary of Research Findings

Salient findings for each of the research questions is briefly summarized and organized by research question.

RQ1: What are the different reasons that chaplains report regarding Jewish and Protestant, female inmates' religious observance?

There were several common themes listed by subjects which made it more likely for both a Protestant or Jewish inmate to attend a religious service, an event, or become involved with clergy while they are incarcerated. These reasons fell into three main categories for both religious groups.

1. Helping to deal with fear and providing a sense of peace

“Everybody finds God in jail. There’s fear and desperation” (C1).

Fear was by far the most reported reason for both Jewish and Protestant, female inmates become involved in religion while incarcerated.

2. Providing stability and hope

Throughout the decades religion has been known to provide a sense of hope for those who seek it, and with that, for some, a stability that can only be provided by God or a connection with a higher power. This is especially important in places known to be full of despair and hopelessness.

3. Faithless motives

Faithless motives for religious involvement are the duplicitous reasons inmates participate in religious events or become involved with correctional chaplaincy. Those motives are strictly to aid the inmate in ways that do not presume to provide any spiritual or religious benefit to the participant, and yet meet other needs while incarcerated.

a. Special Privileges and Objects

Phone privileges and religious articles which could be used to barter for food items or other favors were important “faithless motives” which led some inmates to become involved in religious practice while incarcerated.

b. Socialization and Convergence

Meeting others, getting to speak to people outside of one's cell, pod or unit is very inviting options for women who are segregated, controlled and monitored 24 hours a day.

c. Lessening Boredom and Entertainment

Many Protestant Correctional Chaplains spoke of using music, movies, or other means to draw in worshippers. In an environment of boredom, routine and monotony, any unusual, entertaining or outside stimulation may seem exotic and enticing to incarcerated inmates.

d. Material Comforts

Complimentary food was by far the most appealing offering for female inmates and was named as the biggest reason some inmates chose to change religious affiliations, just prior to the holidays or celebrations.

RQ2: What ways do chaplains report that religious observance affects Jewish, female inmates differently than Protestant female inmates during their incarceration?

Sincere religious observance affects both Jewish and Protestant, female inmate in many ways. Common themes listed by both correctional chaplains who work with Jewish and Protestant, female inmates were:

1. Healing from a History of Trauma

All of the correctional chaplains surveyed reported that most of the female inmates they have come into contact with them have had a significant history of some combination of physical, sexual, or emotional abuse, domestic abuse, violence, poverty,

mental illness, alcoholism or substance abuse as a child or as an adult. Religious belief and practice helped to ease the effects of these traumatic experiences.

2. Fostering respect and self-esteem

Many of the correctional chaplains surveyed spoke of their congregants feeling dehumanized by the criminal justice system in general and by their institution in particular. For those inmates, religion helped them feel a sense of normalcy and familiarity with their identity before they were incarcerated.

3. Building healthier support systems - pseudo-family relationships.

Many of the faith workers surveyed stressed the importance of helping inmates work toward building healthy, supportive groups of women who are involved in their religious practice. The development of these pro-social networks assisted in preventing prisonization by allowing offenders to build healthy attachments and networks of support. Additionally, for Jewish, female inmates, a fourth category:

4. Enhancing a sense of religious identity

Developing and embracing their religious identity as a Jew was mentioned as an important if not the crucial function of their ministry with their Jewish inmate population. Being Jewish may be a salient part of one's identity for some, while for others it may simply be an aspect of their background, ethnic or religious heritage. Regardless, all of the Jewish chaplains, who were themselves, Jewish, stressed strengthening Jewish, female inmates' sense of religious identity as an important aspect of working with this population.

By looking at the data, it is evident what chaplains report as religious contact or religious change, may in fact, be better described simply as human contact and caring

from another individual. This caring is from an individual who is focused on the welfare of the inmate, without personal motives. Some may call it love or unconditional positive regard and say it is that; not scripture, that truly helps inmates during their incarceration. Whatever this behavior is called, correctional chaplaincy seems to provide one of the very few opportunities for inmates to feel this compassion and personal caring while incarcerated. This human contact and caring helps inmates in a variety of ways and is sometimes difficult to distinguish from religion or religious precepts. Most specifically, the contact assists both incarcerated Jewish and Protestant, female inmates with providing a sense of peace, providing a sense of stability and hope, healing from a history or trauma and fostering a sense of respect and self-esteem.

RQ3(a): What levels of observance do chaplains report for Jewish, female inmates prior to their incarceration, as compared to that of Protestant, female inmates?

One of the most remarkable and divergent findings of this study was the clear differences reported in religious knowledge and practice prior to their incarcerations between incarcerated, Protestant, female inmates and that of incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates.

Protestant Inmates

Chaplains reported most of their Protestant inmate congregants had been “churched”, meaning they had grown up in a church. This involved being taken to church by their parents or in some cases, their families had skipped a generation and some had been regularly taken to church by their grandmothers. In either scenario, these women had grown up in or around their family’s church home, had attended religious events and received some religious instruction or training.

Jewish Inmates

All but one of the chaplains who worked with incarcerated, Jewish female inmates, reported that with only a very few notable exceptions over their careers, none of the incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates they worked with had come to their facility with any significant background or training in Judaism. This was in distinct contrast to the religious background and practice of incarcerated, Protestant, females. Any identification most of these inmates had to Judaism was either in name only or a cultural identity, but did not typically have a spiritual component or involve any significant religious practice.

One Jewish chaplain noted some inmates who were raised in Jewish homes where their religion was openly practiced; yet, left their religious beliefs behind prior to incarceration. This chaplain said he believed, when these inmates strayed from their families and communities, they were shamed and dismissed by their families and it actually caused them to go to jail, saying “when they were considered problematic in their communities and OTD (short for “off the derech (path)”; a colloquial term used by and for orthodox Jews who are no longer observant), they were ashamed and they continued to go down a bad path (J2). Many times, these paths led to incarceration.

This stark difference in religious observance prior to incarceration is one of the most notable differences between the two groups surveyed. Respondents mentioned their level of involvement prior to incarceration also directly reflected or influenced the inmates’ level of observance, while were incarcerated.

RQ3(b): What differences do Jewish and Protestant chaplains report in their congregants’ current religious observance if any?

Essentially, all chaplains, both those who work with Jewish and Protestant, incarcerated, female inmates reported their congregant's beliefs frequently shifted during their incarceration, "running the gamut" from strong to weak, and weak to strong. The changes were often based on what was currently going on in their lives and were not typically based purely on theology. Their religious belief fluctuated, and most frequently depended on what they were experiencing in the moment. Differences were noted during book-in, while awaiting sentencing, while awaiting transfer or when expecting to be released.

Incarcerated, Protestant, Female Inmates

Upon release, those inmates who had a church family to return to, typically were believed to do better than those who do not return to a supportive or welcoming church to return to. "The inmates who have a church family and return to it are usually fine, but a lot of the churches are not supportive and welcoming" (C7). Other respondents stated, "I think about 10% of them who return to their practice after leaving". "They leave being religious, come back after violating their parole or with new offenses and start again" (C8). One respondent gave incarcerated, Protestant, female inmates a more hopeful outlook saying, "Their beliefs are pretty strong based on their knowledge of worship and how and what they are doing and the reading materials they are asking for". Another respondent tied their congregant's level of religious practice while incarcerated to the level of their outside practice just prior to incarceration, saying "Most inmates tend to be based on their outside practice. If they are habitually attending services, they want to get plugged in as soon as they can and are strong".

Incarcerated, Jewish, female, inmates

In general, the level of religious observance for incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates was described as minimal or relatively insignificant for most of these inmates, instead and seemed to reflect the low levels of observance they maintained prior to their incarceration.

Kosher food was a common topic of discussion reported for inmates and clergy, both Jewish and others who requested a kosher diet. The location and distance of the correctional facilities made it problematic for many rabbis to attend religious services on the day of the actual Jewish holiday or Sabbath, due to religious restrictions which prohibit many from driving or riding in a vehicle on those days. Each of the correctional chaplains who worked with incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates stressed the importance of Jewish learning with these inmates and teaching them about Judaism and Jewish values. Other halachic restrictions for Jewish inmates combined with the usual operation of each facility made rigorous religious observance difficult for some Jewish inmates.

RQ4(a): How do chaplains report negative bias from other inmates for their religious beliefs or practice influences Jewish, female, inmates differently as compared to Protestant, female inmates?

RQ4(b): How do chaplains report inmates experiencing negative biases from other inmates preclude the open religious practice of Jewish, female, inmates and Protestant, female inmates?

The researcher found very few, if any reported instances of negative, anti-religious or anti-Semitic biases for either Jewish or Protestant, female between inmates. When these rare incidents of did occur, they were usually fueled by interpersonal

conflicts, not related to religion and were motivated to show interpersonal dominance or control by individual inmates.

There were some isolated instances of prisoners of color insulting to Black Jews, disbelieving they could be both Jewish and Black. A few instances of negative, anti-religious or anti-Semitic biases were reported by chaplains from correctional officers toward the Jewish chaplains themselves. Those anecdotal reports only involved Jewish, male clergy and were not reported by any Jewish, female, clergy. Jewish correctional chaplains reported Messianic Jews were frequently reported to be disruptive to Jewish worshipers when they loudly shouted about Jesus during Jewish religious services.

Lawsuits involving the practice of religion while incarcerated are reported to be a significant concern for administrators at most facilities and while they may be helpful in some situations, they are often viewed as frivolous and disruptive to sincere religious practice by correctional chaplains and administrators.

In summary, the researcher found far less anti-religious and anti-Semitic bias than might have been anticipated in women's correctional facilities. Whether this is due to the less racially charged and violent atmosphere than is often found in men's correctional facilities, is unclear. Some Jewish, male correctional chaplains reported some anecdotal instances of correctional officers making anti-Semitic remarks or negative innuendos; yet no instances of this were reported by Jewish, female correctional chaplains. There were no reported difficulties with the open practice of religion reported by any Jewish or Protestant respondents.

RQ5: What changes do chaplains experience regarding their thoughts of people in

general and prisoners as a result of working as a correctional chaplain?

RQ6) What changes do chaplains experience in their personal, professional or religious lives as a result of working with inmate populations?

All correctional chaplains of both faiths reported they were employed in their capacities by choice and not for lack of other options. An overwhelming number of respondents (18 of 20) Reported an elevated view of people in general, and inmates in particular, placing more value on each individual's humanity and the importance of every soul.

Chaplains of both groups also reported enhanced views of humanity and looked at inmates with a more favorable view than they did before their employment. Three of chaplains, both, those who work with Jewish and Protestant inmates, reported some minor instances of being a bit more suspicious of others' motives, both inside and outside of their workplace; yet, all of the other comments were overwhelmingly positive about their experiences as a correctional chaplain and how it had affected them from all respondents surveyed.

With regard to safety and security, all chaplains noted some difficulties with administrative policies and procedures that complicated matters for the chaplaincy and often seemed arbitrary and unhelpful to the chaplaincy staff and inmates. In addition, the bulk of the respondents noted changes from a more conservative view on crime and punishment and the criminal justice system, to more liberal views since their beginning employment as a correctional chaplain.

Comparison to Findings in Previous Studies

There have not been any previous studies regarding Jewish or female inmates which on which to base meaningful comparisons for many of the questions this researcher explored. In 2002, Dammer examined some of the reasons for religious practice among incarcerated populations (Dammer, 2002). Although his study was conducted with a male inmate population, that did not specifically include Jews, there were many similarities found between this research and Dammer's study findings. The combined findings in questions RQ1 and RQ2 in this study are akin to many of Dammer's findings in his 2002 study and this researcher found overlap that included positive religious behaviors helping inmates in providing peace of mind, providing hope for the future, and enhancing self-esteem (Dammer, 2002). This researcher did not find support for Dammer's findings of the practice of religion increasing the ability to develop self-control in this study population or finding meaning for one's life (Dammer, 2002). Dammer's research also found what he termed "insincere" reasons for religious practice, and which this researcher concurred with and termed "faithless motives" in RQ1. The bulk of these findings by Dammer (2002) were substantiated and broadened by this research. In addition, and not noted in the findings of Dammer (2002), this researcher identified the practice of religion for incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates as a significant resource in helping them create or enhance a sense of their Jewish religious identity in RQ2.

Unlike Dammer's findings, this research also found the practice of religion assisted both incarcerated, Jewish and Protestant, female inmates in healing from the effects of trauma and building positive support systems. This research substantiated the

ideas put forth by Messina and Grella in 2006, which using the Aversive Childhood Experiences (ACE) tool, found strong support for the greater the impact of childhood traumatic experiences, the greater the need for appropriate trauma treatment in correctional settings (Messina & Grella, 2006). This research also supported research by O'Connor and Perryclear (2002) noting outside volunteers from the inmate's religious community assisted with the development of prosocial networks. (O'Connor & Perryclear, 2002). In addition, this researcher found Jewish, female volunteers assisted incarcerated, Jewish inmates in forming or enhancing their Jewish identity, which was previously unidentified and studied.

This researcher found an abundance of support for the ideas put forth by Rushkyte (2007). In that research, Rushkyte noted how correctional chaplaincy can assist prisoners by providing a listening ear, supporting them in not dwelling on past deeds and moving into reconciliation (Rushkyte, 2007).

Again, there have been no previous studies specific to incarcerated, Jewish, or Protestant, female inmates and their religious background or history of religious observance before their incarceration or during their incarceration. As a result, there is no meaningful basis for comparison in these findings from previous studies. There are a small number of other studies which shed some light in different areas on Protestant and Jewish religious observance in non-incarcerated populations through adulthood. These are noted below.

In their studies, Smith and Sikkink (2003) found 22.4% of those raised in liberal Protestant families remain active in that tradition as adults; nearly twice that of those reported by those raised as nominal Protestants. For Jews, these researchers listed 32.6%

being religious to the same degree they were raised in, most either nominally Jewish or non-religious (Smith & Sikkink, 2003). Since these samples listed by Smith and Sikkink were not comprised of incarcerated adults, there is no significant basis of comparison. While this is true, this previous research may support what this researcher found with regard to the carryover from an inmate's pre-incarceration rates of observance, or the lack thereof, and the maintenance of that level of observance for Jewish women during their sentence (Smith & Sikkink, 2003).

As Clear (2002) pointed out, when prisoners actively embrace religion while incarcerated, it can be a public statement (especially to their families) they have changed from the person who was incarcerated to a different person (Clear, 2002). While this may be accurate in some cases, there was no support for Clear's findings with either population in this study. With regard to Jewish prisoners who are nearing release after a lengthy sentence, and whose families have either become more or less religious, such a change can be unsettling to inmates. As one respondent noted, "They either try to accommodate to it or get angry and throw it all overboard" (J7).

Again, with regard to questions which examined instances of anti-religious or anti-Semitic bias particular to either incarcerated, Jewish, female or Protestant, female populations, there have been no previous studies on which to form a basis of comparison from previous studies. In 2001, Clear researched incarcerated male inmates and religion. Clear's study stated "a strong judgmentalism often exists among prisoners of different faith groups, with little tolerance for gray areas" (Clear, 2002). This research did not support Clear's conclusion with respect to either Jewish or Protestant female inmates in this study.

The researcher found no significant reported instances of negative, anti-religious or anti-Semitic biases for either Jewish or Protestant, female between inmates. When the few incidents did occur, they were usually fueled by interpersonal conflicts, not related to religion and were motivated to show interpersonal dominance or control by individual inmates, not having to do specifically with religion.

There were a few instances described of prisoners of color insulting to Black Jews, disbelieving they could be both Jewish and Black. There were also some instances of such biases were reported by chaplains from correctional officers toward the Jewish, male chaplains themselves. No such instances were reported by Jewish, female correctional chaplains.

Messianic Jews were frequently reported to be disruptive to Jewish worshipers when they frequently and loudly shouted about Jesus during Jewish religious services. Again, no prior scholarly research on these topics have occurred and there is no basis of comparison

Lawsuits involving the practice of religion while incarcerated are reported to be a significant concern for administrators at most facilities and while they may be helpful in some situations, they are often viewed as frivolous and disruptive to sincere religious practice by correctional chaplains and administrators

In summary, the researcher found far less anti-religious and anti-Semitic bias than might have been anticipated in women's correctional facilities. Whether this is due to the less racially charged and violent atmosphere than may be found in men's correctional facilities, is unclear. There were few instances of inmates of color disbelieving some inmates could be both Black and Jewish, yet these were met with disbelief and not

hostility. There were no reported difficulties with the open practice of religion reported by any of the respondents, either Jewish or Protestant.

This research examined how correctional chaplaincy affected faith workers' attitudes towards others in general, their personal, professional and religious beliefs and practices. This researcher found similar results to those of Sundt and Cullen (2002), finding positive influences and outlooks for correctional chaplains. In 2002, Sundt and Cullen surmised chaplains who are intrinsically motivated are more likely to display positive attitudes and support rehabilitation as opposed to those who are employed for extrinsic motivations (Sundt & Cullen, 2002). This research concurred with the findings in Sundt and Cullen's previous study.

This research also supported the findings of Kerly et al., (2010) which discussed the motivation of prison workers and found themes of, a calling for the prison ministry, special connections to prisoners and a sense of security and comfort with prisoners (Kerley et al., 2010). This research also substantiated the findings by Sundt et al., (1997) in which she noted correctional chaplains may experience role conflict as they attempt to navigate a comfortable position between inmates and staff, while they balance their allegiances and perform a number of conflicting responsibilities (Sundt, 1997). As noted in this research by one respondent, "Being a good rabbi doesn't make you a good employee. Doing the right thing ethically doesn't always agree with the rules of the site" (J6),

New Findings in This Research

As noted previously, no scholarly research has been conducted on either incarcerated, Jewish, male or female inmates or chaplains who minister to them. This is

the first and only study of its kind; one which focused on incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates and the correctional chaplains who minister to them. The information derived in this research provided unique insight into the daily world of incarcerated, Jewish women and the correctional chaplains who work with them. It is hoped their stories help to provide a snapshot of what religious life is for these women and will further the way for additional studies and understanding for these populations. Additionally, advice for CPE students considering a career in correctional chaplaincy was provided from those workers who are currently “in the trenches” to students who are enrolled in CPE programs.

Strengths and Limitations of This Research Study

Strengths

The researcher benefited from a highly representative sample of respondents of chaplains who ministered to Jewish, female inmates, as well as correctional chaplains who worked with incarcerated, Protestant female from the Northeastern and midwestern, United States. Most Jews in the United States reside in larger metropolitan areas in those portions of the country; yet, this study might not adequately represent those incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates or chaplains in other portions of the country (see Study Limitations). To illustrate this point regarding the study being highly representative, in New York State, there are three women's prisons. In these facilities, there was a maximum possible number of seven respondents of correctional chaplains who work with Jewish and Protestant inmates from these facilities and included those who work on a part-time basis. This research included five respondents out of the possible seven from these facilities. Other similarly, high rates of response and subsequent interviews were received from New York City facilities and states surrounding New York State.

Interviews continued through interview 20. This despite data saturation having been achieved after interview 16. At that point, no significant new information was obtained from either set of study subjects, which significantly enhanced or contradicted the previous findings.

Because of the researcher's familiarity with terms used by both of the religions the correctional chaplains ministered to, there was an unspoken understanding when the respondents used certain words or terms. With correctional chaplains who work with incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates, these might have included words or terms in either Hebrew or Yiddish and led many respondents to feel more at ease and understood. The researcher displayed a similar level of familiarity with terms used by Christian respondents. To support this idea, the researcher enjoyed a high rate of snowball sampling from both groups, after conducting the first interviews and being referred to other correctional chaplains for additional interviews and again from the second generation of respondents. See chart on page Additionally, respondents frequently mentioned to the researcher they felt at ease with her, enjoyed being able to speak freely about their careers and benefited from sharing their stories with her for this research.

Limitations

Asking for an account of experiences based on a subject's memories carries with it a certain amount of skepticism about its accuracy. As previously noted, interviewing inmates directly was disallowed for this study by New York State. As a result, the information gleaned by the researcher from correctional chaplains who work with those inmates may be more prone to some distortion having occurred, as it was filtered through

an additional lens. These distortions would likely have been minimized, had the researchers been able to interview the inmates themselves.

Once a maximum of 20 respondents had been reached, recruitment of study subjects ceased. The snowball sampling led the researcher to the additional respondents and likely boosted her credibility with this sample population; yet, it may have inadvertently diminished participation from other respondents who might have been recruited through other means, in other locations and had divergent experiences and findings within the sample populations. Most of these respondents live in the Northeastern and Midwest, United States. While these are two of the largest areas that Jews reside in, this study did not include other geographic areas of the United States. As a result, these results may not be representative of a larger population of correctional chaplains who minister to Jewish and Protestant, female, inmates and the facilities where respondents were employed throughout the United States.

Another limitation of this study was that the researcher interviewed correctional chaplains in a variety of correctional facilities. These facilities ranged from short-term city and state jails, to state and federal prisons and a federal halfway house. This allowed the researcher to view a broader swath of respondents; however, it did not potentially dilute some of the data and skew other results. For example, in this question regarding inmate religious practice while incarcerated, RQ3b What differences do Jewish and Protestant chaplains report in their congregants' current religious observance if any? One respondent employed at a county facility noted "The culture and reality of daily life is so different. Here it is very transitory. In prison they could have a choir. Here we would have rehearsal for a week and the next week, half of them would be gone" (C6).

Regarding RQ1, what are the different reasons that chaplains report regarding Jewish and Protestant, female inmates' religious observance? this same respondent also noted:

The transitory nature increases the anxiety in this facility. These women are anxious and scared. The analogy I use is, jail is like an ER (emergency room), when they come in, they are either drunk and don't know where they are or when they are getting out. Some think they are getting out today, their lawyer is getting them out, their mother is bailing them out, but it doesn't always happen. I think prison is like more like an oncology ward or another hospital ward. There you basically know when you are getting out or have a definite, between this date and this date that you will be leaving. Neither is great, but at least there's less anxiety on some level (C6).

This response also speaks to research question RQ3b, emphasizing the notable differences between incarcerated inmates in long-term and short-term facilities and the current levels of religious observance and practice of religion for each group of inmates.

One additional limitation of this study is that it did not include the experiences of prisoners, who during their incarceration, may have had limited contact or no interaction with the correctional chaplains surveyed. The experiences of those prisoners may have been different than those who interacted with the study respondents, and may have not been reflected in these study results.

Interesting and Unexpected Findings

The overall goal of this qualitative study was to understand the experiences of incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates and provide an accurate representation of their experiences of religion and those of the chaplains that work with them. It is hoped these

findings did so. It is also hoped this research will generate interest in future studies regarding this population and be used as a springboard for additional research. This is a relatively small, qualitative study, and was limited to faith workers primarily in the northeastern and midwestern United States. The sample size was modest; yet, did provide some insight into a yet to be studied population of incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates and the clergy who minister to them. The study results are summarized below and discussed. In particular, there was no significant anti-religious or anti-Semitic bias noted by correctional chaplains involving either incarcerated, Jewish or Protestant, female inmates. Also, of particular note was the difference between the religious backgrounds of incarcerated Jewish and Protestant, female inmates prior to incarceration.

One of the more curious findings to this researcher was the number of respondents who during the course of their interviews mentioned a history of personal trauma. This topic was not addressed as a part of the Chaplin Interview Guide and no discussion about this topic was initiated by the interviewer. While being interviewed, and without prompting, seven of the 20 interview subjects (five females and two males) volunteered some sort of personal trauma they had experienced before working in corrections. These traumatic events ranged from being a victim of child sexual abuse, having a personal experience with substance abuse, domestic violence, or one case, experiencing a large-scale communal tragedy, where the respondent was intimately involved with the casualty victims. On two occasions, no exact details were provided to the interviewer, with each subject simply making a general comment about his or her history of trauma and how it compelled their interest in correctional chaplaincy.

Most of these respondents connected their path to work as a correctional chaplain to these experiences in some way. While not effected on an intimate level, another of the respondents noted she was teaching high school religious classes during the September 11th attacks and said “I wanted to be at the bare bones of religion, I wanted to do something more and that is why I went into prison ministry”. With this significant data in mind, a study on correctional chaplains and trauma might also be another avenue of study to determine if working as a correctional chaplain is a sequela of experiencing prior trauma; yet, was beyond the scope of this study.

Reflexivity

As has been noted, the researcher is a seasoned psychotherapist, with over 20 years of conducting face-to-face interviews with a variety of patients. It is hoped she was unbiased and presented a neutral posture to the respondents. That said, the interviewer was a female, and noted some differences between male and female study respondents in how they reacted and responded to the researcher. The younger to middle aged male respondents tended to focus more on their professional role with the inmates, while during their interviews, the older males and female respondents tended to focus on and describe more in depth the relationships they had with their congregants and how they believed it led to the change and healing for the women they worked with.

The differences in conversational styles may be attributed to gender roles; however, it may also indicate differences in the respondent’s approaches to correctional chaplaincy in general or more stringent male-female boundaries in particular. This may also be indicative of a more intellectual philosophy for the younger male respondents, when both working with their congregants and telling their stories to the researcher.

While there is no clear explanation for this, having a male co-researcher to either sit in on or re-interview the subjects might have either lessened or clarified these phenomena or provided more of an explanation for them.

To restate, the researcher is a psychotherapist. The researcher made no mention of trauma to the respondents and did not include any questions in the Chaplain Interview Guide (Appendix A) which might have unintentionally elicited responses about their personal trauma history. That said, perhaps the subjects felt a sense of comfort with the interviewer and felt safe in sharing their own history of trauma with her.

Implications of Findings and Recommendations for Future Research and Practical Applications

These findings are interesting as they indicate a difference between the religious background of incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates, versus those of incarcerated, Protestant, female inmates prior to their incarceration. This is an unexplored topic which might shed light on prophylactic methods or strategies used to parent Jewish, female children and which might lessen the likelihood of incarceration in other communities. Additional studies might focus on whether family religious life among and religious observance in these families provides a protective element against criminal involvement or incarceration later in life.

Additionally, the trajectories respondents noted for incarcerated, Jewish, female, inmates who had left their families' or communities' orthodox religious practice, were rejected by their communities and were later incarcerated is deserving of further research. Other facets to that proposed study might include how the effects of religious shaming for

those who chose to leave orthodox Judaism may play a role in aberrant behaviors or later criminal involvement.

Another area of interest was the lack of any anti-religious or anti-Semitic behaviors reported by respondents. This too is worthy of further research in other geographic areas of the United States which were not represented in this study to understand if the findings of this study are applicable to other regions of the United States.

A further potential avenue of future research might also how the proliferation of lawsuits affects religious practice in incarcerated populations, along with correctional procedures and policies. While these concerns were frequently mentioned by respondents in this research, this topic was beyond the scope of this study.

Additional research on how religious practice assists Jewish, female inmates during their incarceration is deserving of further study. Ideally, this research would be conducted using face to face interviews with the inmates themselves and would lead to a deeper understanding of their experiences and a richer description of their stories. Since at this time, many correctional facilities do not allow direct, face to face research with incarcerated persons, it would likely be problematic to conduct on a scale of any magnitude, and which would be representational of this study population.

Recommendations for Future Practice

It was clear from many of the Jewish respondents, not having a correctional chaplain on site during Jewish Sabbath or the actual Jewish holidays was problematic for those incarcerated, Jewish, females trying to become more religiously observant. This can be complicated, as for many orthodox or conservative Jewish, correctional chaplains,

driving or riding in a vehicle is halachically prohibited on those days. Also, as noted, because of the distance from most correctional facilities, it is not feasible for correctional chaplains to walk to their facilities. Given the strictures imposed, it might be more practical to either assist Jewish chaplains to obtain temporary housing walkable to the correctional facilities for these occasions, or to consider increasing the number of Jewish correctional chaplains who do not stringently observe religious laws and might be willing and drive or ride on the Sabbath or Jewish holidays and would be able to attend services at the correctional facility on these days.

Most of the anti-Semitic comments made by correctional officers to Jewish, male chaplains seemed to be born out of ignorance or unfounded prejudice. As one respondent noted, "There's anti-Semitism all over the place, but no more than on the outside" (J6). With this in mind, correctional administrators might consider additional cultural awareness and sensitivity training for correctional employees, with an emphasis on interactions among staff. This would be in addition to any mandated training they currently receive on these subjects regarding inmates.

This researcher faced multiple hurdles when trying to obtain consent to interview incarcerated, Jewish and Protestant, female inmates for this study in New York State. Legislative action to facilitate scholarly research with incarcerated populations and which also maintains the requisite safeguards would serve to enable future research on these vulnerable and understudied populations.

As noted by most, if not all of the respondents, incarcerated, Protestant, female inmates enjoyed rich and varied options of religious programming in the correctional facilities where respondents were employed. No mention of any anti-religious bias for

these inmates was noted nor anything which precluded or hampered the open practice of religion for these inmates. As a result, the researcher did not make any recommendations for future practice for this inmate group.

Summary

Correctional chaplains who work with both incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates and incarcerated, Protestant, female inmates were surveyed to understand the practice of religion for the congregants work with. Many of the results of this study were similar to those found in 2002 by Dammer in his study of male inmates (Dammer, 2002). This research found similarities in most of the reasons Dammer listed for religious observance by both groups; both positive and faithless motives. Those results which were similar to Dammer's findings included providing peace of mind, hope for the future, enhanced self-esteem. This research did not support Dammer's findings regarding the development of self-control or finding meaning in life in his 2002 study for either group of incarcerated, female inmates. Regarding how religious observance effected incarcerated, Jewish and Protestant, female inmates, this research supported some of the conclusions of Dammer in 2002, and added an additional element for incarcerated, Jewish, female inmates; that of creating or enhancing a sense of their Judaism (Dammer, 2002). This research also advanced the theories of O'Conner and Perryclear in 2002 which found volunteers from outside the facility assisted in the development of prosocial networks (O'Connor and Perryclear, 2002). This research also concurred with the findings of Messina and Grella in 2006, regarding how childhood trauma in incarcerated populations required additional treatment to heal from these effects (Messina & Grella, 2006) and Rushkyte in 2007, with regards to correctional chaplaincy providing a listening ear, helping inmates in not

dwelling on past deeds and moving into reconciliation (Rushkyte, 2007). This research also found support indicating that chaplains who are intrinsically motivated are more likely to display positive attitudes and support rehabilitation as opposed to those who are employed for extrinsic motivations and concurred with the results of Sundt and Cullen in 2002 (Sundt & Cullen, 2002).

The level of observance reported for Jewish and Protestant inmates prior to their incarceration varied from person to person; yet, in general incarcerated Protestant, females had a much stronger religious upbringing and background than incarcerated, female Jews. The rates of practice while incarcerated, seemed to be dependent on earlier practice and background, and consequently, finding Jewish, female inmates far less religiously observant than Protestant, female inmates during their incarceration.

There were little to no reported instances of anti-religious or anti-Semitic bias reported for either of the prisoner groups and nothing of an anti-religious bias which would preclude either group from the open practice of their religious beliefs while incarcerated. Some anecdotal instances of anti-Semitic remarks by correctional officers towards Jewish, male correctional chaplains was reported; yet, none for Jewish, female chaplains. Some anecdotal reports of Black, Jewish inmates being challenged by other inmates of color who did not believe they could be both Black and Jewish were reported. Instances of Messianic Jews being intrusive and interrupting Jewish religious services with comments about Jesus were reported.

Correctional chaplains reported many positive benefits to their work in corrections, especially regarding an enhanced view of humanity and a more liberal outlook on prisoners and the criminal justice system. This work substantiated the work of

Sundt and Cullen in 2002 which noted chaplains who are intrinsically motivated are more likely to display positive attitudes and support rehabilitation as opposed to those who are employed for extrinsic motivations (Sundt & Cullen, 2002). There was some role confusion for these workers noted, when trying to navigate a path between inmates and correctional officials. These respondents also noted multiple complications with staff which made their work more difficult and stressful. An unexpected finding of this research was a large number of correctional chaplains who volunteered information about their personal trauma history and how it may have affected their choice of a career in correctional chaplaincy.

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Appendix A (Section 1)**Chaplain Interview Guide**

Preliminary Questions:

Today's Date / Day of the Week:

Place:

Time:

Respondent's Name:

Age:

Birthplace:

Marital Status:

Highest Level of Education Completed:

I will begin by asking you about a composite of the women you have worked with and assisted while incarcerated. While each individual is unique, I am interested in researching a synthesis of Jewish / Protestant inmates and their experiences with religious practice while incarcerated.

Please do not provide any identifying details, only an amalgam of the women you have attended to while incarcerated. In the second section of questions, I will be asking more about how your experiences as a correctional chaplain have affected you personally and professionally?

1. What is your religious affiliation?

The term religion means many things to many different people. It is a term, which is very difficult to define. Can you please define religion in

your own words?

PROBE: If necessary, what is the difference between religion and spirituality?

2. Please tell me about your religious background?

PROBE: What is your religious history?

3. Are you involved in any religious programs at this facility currently?

Yes / No

PROBE: What is the reason for your involvement or non-involvement in religious programming at this time?

4. Please explain how strong most of your congregant's religious/spiritual beliefs are at present?

5. How do they practice their beliefs? Explain?

PROBE: Frequency and types of practice?

If not covered in the religious history section,

(a) When and how did most inmates first become involved with religion? When incarcerated?

(b) Why not something else like exercise, recreation or learning a trade or skill?

6. What do inmates get out of being religious while incarcerated?

7. What has religion done to their life while incarcerated that makes a difference?

PROBE: What control do they feel they have over their environment?

PROBE: Do you believe it is more difficult to practice religion on the

inside or outside?

8. Religious inmates are sometimes placed in situations where they must decide between “prison survival” and following their “religious principles”. How do they handle these kinds of situations?

9. Is there anything special or different about being (denomination) in jail or prison?

PROBE: Do they find these differences positives, negatives or both?

10. What kind of relationship do they have with their fellow Jews/Protestants?

11. What kind of inmate do you think is likely to get involved in religion while incarcerated?

12. Inside a correctional facility (and on the outside) some people practice religion with differing levels of sincerity. For example, there are some “fakers” or “hypocrites” and others are sincere or devout.

PROBE, Why do you think some prisoners might fake being religious?

13. How can you tell if someone is truly religious incarcerated?

14. How are religious inmates treated?

15. How are religious inmates different than religious people on the outside?

16. What is their relationship like with different religious groups?

What is the relationship between the different religious factions at the prison?

17. Of the different religious services, classes or seminars you may

have provided while inside the facility, which was most well attended or favorite? Least favorite?

18. It seems some of the religious activities are much better attended than others. Why is that? What makes an inmate choose some activities over another?

19. I understand some inmates often go to a number of different services and denominations during their stay behind bars. Why is that?

20. When during their incarceration, that an inmate is more likely to become involved in religion? Why is that?

21. How does the practice of religion in this facility change the facility and why?

22. Do you think the questions I asked about religion in incarcerated populations paints a good picture about the meaning of religion for the inmates you have worked with? What have I missed? Would you like to add anything about religion and inmates that I neglected to discuss?

23. How do you feel about this interview process? Is there anything I should change, add or delete?

Appendix A (Section 2)

24. Please tell me about your professional training as a correctional chaplain? Did you receive any specialized training in this field?

25. How long have you worked with correctional populations? Do you work here/Did you work with this population full-time, or as an adjunct to other clerical positions?

26. Did you feel a calling to work as a correctional chaplain? If so, do you still feel such a calling?

27. In your work are/were there significant challenges or conflicts with the practice of religion while incarcerated and the facility administration?

PROBE Do you believe you received clear goals from your facility as well as your religious body?

28. Please tell me about your experiences?

29. Do you/did you find your work rewarding? Frustrating?

PROBE What has been your biggest frustration or disappointment?

What was your greatest success story while working in corrections?

Greatest disappointment?

30. What do you think about inmates who try to game the system and are insincere about religious observance?

31. Please tell me if and how your ideas about people, the criminal justice system and/or prisoners have changed and changed you as a result of this work? PROBE If so, how?

32. If negative changes have occurred, have you ever or with whom have you shared these changes?
33. Did/how these changes affect your personal faith or religious practice? PROBE How did/does it affect your view of others? PROBE How does it affect your personal, professional life or religious life?
34. Knowing what you do now, would you have chosen this experience and workplace in correctional chaplaincy?
35. What is the most important thing you would tell a CPE student considering a career working as a correctional chaplain?
36. Is there anything else you would like to tell me or add to what we've discussed?

Appendix B**Post-Interview Comment Sheet**

Post-Interview Comment Sheet

Interview Name/Number

Time of Interview _____ to _____

Location of Interview _____

Tone of Interview

Any methodological or personal difficulties?

Interviewers own feelings during the interview?

Insights, reflections on interview?

To do differently? Modify? Add?