RITUAL AND ROUTINE: A MEANS OF ADAPTION

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Abstract

Researchers have demonstrated how engaging in rituals or 'patterned' behaviours can help people cope with stressful situations and significant life changes. However, limited knowledge exists on the role of ritual practices in prison and how federally incarcerated Canadian men use these rituals to deal with their imprisonment. To respond to this lacuna in the literature, transcripts from 56 semi-structured interviews with former male federal prisoners released on parole into Ontario, Canada, were analyzed for emergent themes identifying the purpose of ritual and routine practices across prisons with different security classifications. Findings reveal the effectiveness of rituals for managing and mitigating the stresses of incarceration, specifically that prisoners' routine behaviours constitute a positive strategy of adaption to incarceration (e.g., alleviating stress and passing time) in preparation for life post-incarceration (e.g., anticipatory socialization). Structural Ritualization Theory frames the analyses and implications presented in this study.

Key words: Structural Ritualization Theory, Routine, Prisoners, Adaption, Corrections

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General Introduction

The Current Penal Populous

A notable and visible trend with today's Canadian penal population has been the sheer growth in the number of persons incarcerated in federal institutions across the country. With an increase of 17.5 percent since 2005, Canadian federal carceral facilities now house almost 15,000 prisoners (Sapers, 2014). Although Canadians have seen a steady decrease in the national crime rate – reaching the lowest point it has been since the 1960's – the number of federally incarcerated prisoners continue to increase (Statistics Canada, 2015). Further, as a result of the new legislation, which impose mandatory minimum sentencing and harsher punishments, more people are finding themselves in custody and for longer periods of time. Prison overcrowding then, combined with prisoners' complex and diverse needs, has been a common area of study for the majority of scholars and researchers over the last few years.

The demographics of the current penal population have been largely documented by said scholars, and professionals alike, which contend that there exist common trends among the current penal population, including similarities between race, education, socioeconomic status, mental health, and addiction. To date, the current prison population is disproportionately made up of Canada's disadvantaged, vulnerable and minority groups (e.g., persons who identify as Aboriginal). Many of today's prisoners are suffering from mental health and addiction issues, where upon admission, 80 percent of prisoners have identified a mental health concern (treated and untreated) or a substance abuse problem (Sapers, 2014). This group is also made up of minority populations, where over the last decade, prisons have seen an increase of 47.7 percent in the number of Aboriginal, and a 75 percent increase in the number of Black, persons

incarcerated (Sapers, 2014). Simultaneously, there has been a three percent decrease in Caucasian prisoners (Sapers, 2014). In response to the growing penal population, and the demographics of this group, researchers have documented the harsh conditions that prisoners are exposed to within prison and the consequences of said conditions.

Given this context, the objectives of my thesis are to gain an understanding of how prisoners manage the harsh carceral environment by engaging in rituals, while furthering the scope of ritual theory. Ritual theory is a conceptual framework that provides an explanation and understanding of the creation and consequence of the repetitive patterned behaviours that form daily life. The theory argues that engaging in rituals enable actors to cope with stressful or disastrous events by invoking an emotional response to the ritual actions. Therefore, in my thesis I will observe how and why rituals are practiced within the penal setting, and how this allows for prisoners to manage the stress of incarceration.

Conditions of Confinement and the Role of Rituals

A consequence of the increasing number of prisoners within Canadian penitentiaries has been the far from optimal conditions of confinement. As the number of prisoners increase, these facilities have even fewer means of accommodating the growing and diverse population. The Correctional Investigator, Howard Sapers (2014), discussed the physical conditions found within these facilities in his annual report on federal Canadian penitentiaries. The document discloses issues with conditions of confinement within the Canadian penal system, contending that these institutions are an overcrowded, unsanitary, and violent setting, with minimal programming (e.g., education, physical activity, treatment) and extended wait times for services (e.g., healthcare). Sapers' report explains how in 2014, for the first time in many years, prisoner complaints regarding conditions of confinement outweighed complaints in any other category (Sapers,

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2014), including healthcare – which had been the main area of prisoner complaints since 2009 (Sapers, 2010). Issues pertaining to the conditions found within the institutions included hygiene and cleanliness of the facilities; lack of care or concern regarding daily living conditions (e.g., broken appliances, clogged toilets); long periods locked inside cells due to lack of programming and recreation time; prolonged wait times for programming (e.g., treatment, schooling); cancelation of visits due to lack of staffing; and lack of cell space resulting in transfers and use of non-accommodation spaces (e.g., recreation rooms) (Sapers, 2014). These conditions of confinement, widespread amongst penal institutions, create an environment that scholars have described as hostile and difficult for prisoners (Hannah-Moffat, 2012; Ricciardelli, 2014). Consequently, these conditions negatively impact prisoners' long and short term emotional, psychological, and physical health and well-being (Gottschalk, 2012; de Viggiani, 2007). This environment subsequently creates stressful and negative responses amongst prisoners and in turn violent conditions within the institutions, where prisoners are forced to manage the stress within this environment and navigate through a penal setting with diminishing resources and programs (Sapers, 2011; Office of the Auditor General, 2014).

Given these conditions, the ability to manage and cope with confinement becomes essential for prisoners. Many scholars have studied the coping styles that prisoners utilize within penitentiaries (Reed, Alenazi, Potterton, 2009; Bonta and Gendreau, 1990; Gullone, Jones, Cummins, 2000). However, few look at ritual as a form of coping within this setting. Classical sociological theorists such as Emile Durkheim, Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann have long recognized the function and significance of ritual on everyday social interaction and individual behaviour. It is not until recently, however, that contemporary scholars such as David Knottnerus (2005) and Shadd Maruna (2011) have used ritual theory to gain understandings of

daily social behaviours in specific cultural contexts. It has been argued that rituals are practiced in a variety of social settings and are used when coping with stress and disastrous events (Knottnerus, 2005). Although ritual has been studied in a variety of environments, few scholars since Goffman's *Asylum* (1961), have explored these practices within the carceral system. For the purposes of my thesis, I will be using Structural Ritualization Theory (SRT) to frame ritual within the penal environment to gain an understanding of how routine practices impact prisoners ability to adapt within the penal setting. SRT contextualizes the ritual practices that groups engage in. These rituals hold symbolic meanings that are socially constructed, and create an emotional response amongst actors when regularly and repetitively practiced. The theory suggests that these rituals not only dictate and guide individual action, but help individuals cope with events through the performance of these symbolic routine behaviours (Knottnerus, Ulsperger, & Cummins, 2006; Bhandari, Okada, & Knottnerus., 2011).

Thesis Objectives and Research Questions

In response to the lack of literature on rituals within the penal environment, the objectives of my thesis are to further the scope of ritual theory and gain understanding of how ritual is used by prisoners in managing the harsh carceral environment. Drawing on data from semi-structured in-depth face-to-face interviews, I investigate Canadian federal prisoners' ritualized practices as constructed within the penal environment. Throughout the study, rituals are conceptualized as actions prisoners engage in that have a symbolic meaning, allowing them to adapt to the penal environment; while routine behaviours are contextualized as a sequence of actions regularly followed, performed as part of a scheduled procedure. As prisoners associate symbolic meanings to their routines these behaviours transform into ritual practices. I use these definitions to lend

understanding to how and why ritual practices are forged and maintained within the institutional framework of the prison and how routine is used as a form of ritual practice.

As such, I will look to reveal what specific rituals are created and maintained by prisoners while incarcerated (R1), as well as how and why these behaviours are constructed and whether these rituals help prisoners cope and adapt to the stress of imprisonment (R2). To this end, my research will provide insight into the importance of ritual by delving into the experiences of ritual and routine among prisoners. This thesis is presented in a manuscript style and is composed of three separate, yet thematically related chapters. I will first include an introductory section, outlining an overview of the current penal system and a basic understanding of the research problem and how it will be developed throughout the subsequent chapters. Next, in Chapter one, I will show the development of ritual as a theoretical concept. Chapter two will consist of the full research paper, outlining the research, theoretical framework, and methodology utilized in the study. The paper, which will be ready for publication, will also include the results of the study, as well as an analysis of the results in a discussion section. Finally, in Chapter three, I will make concluding remarks and recommendations for future research opportunities regarding ritual within the penal setting.

I begin Chapter 1 by addressing how ritual was introduced as a conceptual idea by the classical sociologist Emile Durkheim, and the connections made between the use of ritual in religious ceremonies and traditions. Next, the evolution of ritual theory as a sociological concept that provides an understanding of everyday social interactions and behaviours is outlined. Then, the focus moves to the development and relevance of ritual in contemporary scholarship, including the work of David Knottnerus (2005), and Shadd Maruna (2011). I end the chapter by looking at SRT, the theory's relevance to my thesis, and the application of SRT to provide a

precise, coherent, conceptual understanding of how ritual is utilized within Canadian penitentiaries.

The second chapter consists of a research paper, which I begin by contextualizing the conditions of confinement with a focus on the stressful and harsh penal environment. Next, the need for ritual within this milieu is outlined by discussing the contemporary literature on ritual and the lacuna that exists within the research. Further, I address the research questions (R1; R2) and identify specifically how and why ritual and routine are used within this context. Next, I explain the methodology used in this study, rooted in grounded theory, which utilizes 56 semi-structured face-to-face interviews with former federally incarcerated prisoners conducted by Dr. R. Ricciardelli. Thereafter, the results are discussed, focusing on how ritual and routine are engaged in; how prisoners employ agency and resistance through ritual practices; and how this allows prisoners to adapt to the prison environment. Finally, in the discussion, I apply SRT to gain an in-depth analysis of the rituals utilized by prisoners and the effectiveness of these behaviours (e.g., rank) on prisoners' ability to manage the stress of incarceration.

In the final chapter, chapter 3, I provide an overview of the research and how the objectives and subsequent research questions have been addressed within this study. In this chapter, I conclude that, as apparent through the data, prisoners engage in routine practices that become ritualized as they convey meanings of agency and resistance through the repetition of these symbolic behaviours. In turn, this creates an emotional response amongst prisoners, allowing prisoners to cope and adjust to the deprivation and stress associated with incarceration.

Thesis Overview

Understanding ritual in prison is an important, valuable and understudied phenomenon. Its importance lies in the acknowledgement that at one point or another most prisoners, with the exception of a few, will be released back into the community. To date, over 8,000 individuals are serving sentences in the community, through day parole (participating in community programs regularly), full parole (completing a portion of their sentence in the community), or statutory release (finishing the last 1/3 of their sentence in the community) (Parole Board of Canada, 2015). Consequently, a maladaptive penal population – with deteriorating emotional, physical and psychological health conditions created by the prison environment – will have fundamental consequences (e.g., higher rates of recidivism, greater dependence on public healthcare) for the society to which they are released. To date, it costs Canadians over $120,000 to incarcerate one male prisoner inside a federal institution (Sapers, 2014). Therefore, taking the cost of incarceration and the consequences of the penal environment into account, the experiences of prisoners and their means of adaption are issues that impact all Canadians. As previously addressed, I argue that in prison, ritual functions as a means of creating a sense of agency and adaption to the stress associated to imprisonment. To this end, it is my hope that this research will not only add to the understanding of ritual, but create a baseline for further research into the impacts rituals have for prisoners' pre and post incarceration.

Chapter One: Theoretical history - Ritual and routine

Everyday social action has gained a great deal of theoretical attention, focusing on the factors that guide human behaviour. Scholars have developed a variety of social and psychological theories aimed at providing a more in-depth understanding of social interaction and what influences individual behaviour. By employing theories of routine and ritual, scholars

have created a theoretical base to further disambiguate social and individual behaviours in relation to their underlying symbolic meanings. In chapter one, I will use this scholarship to provide insight into how ritual has historically been theoretically understood, including understandings of the purpose of ritual practices amongst actors. My thesis, which examines how prisoners utilize ritual practices as a means of adaption to the carceral environment, is grounded in the theoretical understanding of Structural Ritualization Theory (SRT), which will be given greater attention toward the end of Chapter one. The goal of chapter one, is to situate this study of the penal environment within a deeper understanding of ritual theory. The chapter begins with an overview of classical scholars, including Durkheim (1915), then Goffman, Berger and Luckmann, Scheff, and Bandura. From there, I will move into more contemporary scholarship from Maruna, Knottnerus, and Collins, as I trace the development of ritual theory throughout the last decade.

1915 – 1970: Ritual and Routine from Durkheim to Scheff

Emile Durkheim. Durkheim (1915) was one of the first scholars to utilize the concept of ritual to gain an understanding of social interaction and behaviour. Durkheim believed that religion was made up of intellectual thoughts, ritual practices, and ceremonies; the religious rituals that were practiced repeatedly reaffirmed and strengthened the bonds created between the individual and their religious beliefs (Durkheim, 1915). Indeed, ritual practices and the subsequent beliefs were so strongly ingrained in the minds of the people who practiced them that such rituals survived over time, even as their origins or purpose were no longer known (Durkheim, 1915). The survival and importance of the ritual practices and the religious systems they upheld were viewed as the result of several factors inherent in the rituals themselves.

First, religion gave symbolic meaning to various everyday things (e.g., objects, souls, nature) that were then used in ritual ceremonies (e.g., initiations, burials). The objects and associated rituals were given symbolic meaning and represented the belief systems of that particular religion. Second, according to Durkheim (1915), repetition (e.g., annual or weekly ceremonies) of the ritual practice constructed an emotional response within the individuals (e.g., faith). The emotional response, however, is not a result of the individual characteristics of the object; instead, the belief system it represents is created through the performance of various rituals[1]. Third, Durkheim explained how religious practices created collective and social bonds between those who practiced them, allowing for their maintenance and prolonged importance. Individuals became connected through the collective ritual behaviours, as well as the symbolic meanings they hold (Durkheim, 1915)[2]. Collective rituals then have the capacity to bring people together.

Collective social bonds are a primary reason ritual practices continue over time and remain consistent. Rituals have become constructed practices often attributable to the onset of various events (e.g., health, sickness, fertility) (Durkheim, 1915). Overall, Durkheim's work demonstrates how the importance and dependence of various ritual practices stem from their association with positive and negative events. Further, Durkheim provided an understanding of ritual as a collective action which holds symbolic meanings. From this point on, many theorists

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[1] For example, Durkheim highlights how various Australian tribes have sacred objects that if brought into battle would draw forth emotions of strength and courage among the people. When the totem tribes bring the Churinga (a sacred and valued piece of wood and stone carved into various shapes) to battle the opposing tribes will see this sacred object and will immediately surrender as this sacred object brings about feelings of defeat among opponents (Durkheim, 1915). These sentiments and emotions are brought forth by the symbolic meaning associated to this object, and the ritual practices that surround it for the tribes within those regions.

[2] An example of this would be the animal or plant names taken on by various tribes or clans (i.e., snake, tree), which are painted on individual's bodies and homes, and utilized in ceremonies and rituals. These practices and their symbolic meanings allow the individual to feel connected to the other members of their clan and allow them to internalize – even collectively – their clan name (Durkheim, 1915).

utilized this notion of ritual as a theoretical base for future scholarship and the development of ritual within the literature.

    Yehudi Cohen. Several decades later Yehudi Cohen (1958) expanded the discussion of ritual by examining the formal ritualized behaviours found within the American military and American caste system structures. Cohen's analysis surrounds the specific ritualized behaviours generated and reproduced through the interpersonal relationships between various members of the American Military and the symbolic meanings associated with them (1958). Cohen (1958) found that the creation and engagement of both physical (e.g., salutes) and verbal (e.g., calling officers Sir) rituals were utilized to symbolically define the interpersonal and hierarchical relationships that existed within the military system. For example, lower level officers must partake in a variety of physical and verbal ritual practices when in contact with a higher level officer (e.g., lower level officers must take off their hats, salute or refer to the upper level officers as Sir). Although Cohen (1958) acknowledged that over time the specific ritual actions may change, he suggested that the symbolic meanings they hold remained constant. Further, the ritual behaviours found within this system, though changing, always reflect the existing power dynamics between the upper and lower level officers and have formal and informal sanctions that regulate and reinforce them. Therefore, if officers refuse to engage in the established rituals they will be sanctioned by either being punished, shunned by the group, or relieved of duty. Cohen concluded that rituals were established within a setting and could dictate individual behaviour and social interaction (1958). Further, although rituals could change over time, the culture of the institution was expressed through the engagement of various rituals. The influence ritual had on culture is an important distinction made by Cohen. His developments were one of the first connections made between ritual and social interaction outside of a religious context. In turn,

this furthered the development of ritual theory and plays an important role in how ritual theory has progressed today.

Erving Goffman. Shortly after Cohen's analysis of ritual behaviours within the American military, Erving Goffman expanded the view of ritual and routine. He emphasized how rituals held symbolic meaning and had the ability to reinforce belief systems. Similar to Cohen, who discussed rituals by analyzing them through the military institution, Goffman (1961) observed individuals within "total institutions" to expand the understanding of ritual theory. Total institutions were defined as places where a large number of individuals, who were cut off from the rest of the world for a prescribed period of time, lived and worked. Life for these individuals was not free but formal, ordered, directed and controlled (e.g., asylums, prisons) (Goffman, 1961). Goffman was one of the first, out of few scholars to discuss routine and ritual within the prison setting. In his study, he found prisoners' daily routines and behaviours were extremely regulated and controlled, where prisoners were not given any freedom over their activities (Goffman, 1961). Prisoners were given strict schedules, required to ask for permission for things, and had limited and monitored personal belongings (e.g., clothing, books, photos, etc.). Prisoners' conduct within total institutions were regulated and highly controlled by the institution; prisoners were positively reinforced for compliance (e.g., rewards or privileges) and negatively sanctioned for disobedience (e.g., punishments) (Goffman, 1961). The culture within these total institutions was filled with structured routines that restricted freedom and choice which then constructed an environment where prisoners become demoralized (Goffman, 1961). Within this particular setting, rituals were created as prisoners were expected to break away from their past roles, routines, and identities and adopt new ones specific to the institution. This is exemplified as prisoners were stripped of their name and clothing when first entering the

institution (Goffman, 1961). Furthermore, prisoners were required to follow orders, refer to staff as sir, and follow a standardized schedule. As such, prisoners were unable to manage their own behaviours, especially when released from the institutions. Goffman found that many prisoners would experience sentiments of anxiety and stress once released from the institutions.

Goffman (1961) emphasized that all prisoners use various means to adapt to the strict routine practices found within total institutions. While some attempt to be the perfect prisoner or patient, by fully taking on the routines set out within the institutions, others withdraw completely and refused to co-operate altogether. Some tried to bring in aspects of the outside world into the institution, creating their own desirable rituals within the highly controlled setting. Additionally, some prisoners attempted what Goffman calls 'removal activities' where the individuals engaged in activities that would aid them in distracting themselves from their current environment (Goffman, 1961). Similarly, practices found within penal institutions today utilize rituals as a means of adapting and coping with harsh penal environments. For these prisoners, rituals hold meaning and are utilized to convey these symbolic ideas. Further, since Goffman's writing, there has been a limited amount of development regarding rituals within the penal environment.

Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann. Social Constructionism: In "The Social Construction of Reality", Berger and Luckmann (1966) focus on the concept of habitualization—defined as the behaviours people partake in daily that can become routine. In this context, Berger and Luckmann (1966) choose to define routine as patterned actions where 'actors' establish behaviours through regularly repeating an action. As the actor partakes in daily habitualized actions, both social and non-social behaviour, meaning is constructed. When practicing these meaningful behaviours daily, the routine becomes embodied within the actor's daily reality. This construction becomes reinforced as the individual includes these actions in their 'taken-for-

granted' knowledge—not always consciously aware of the meaning assigned to such knowledge. The use of such habitualized practices hold psychological advantages for the individual, as routine actions in daily living (e.g., getting dressed) are relieved of any associated burden in becoming 'normalized'. The numerous possible options presented when completing a task (e.g., not wearing clothing, going out in a towel, wearing pajamas) are removed by the routine inflicted choice of one normalized option. The habitualization of 'getting dressed' is 'taken-for-granted knowledge' and psychologically relieving, as the individual does not need to understand and consciously define the choice to "get dressed" in a step-by-step manner. Routine is not, however, only limited to the micro level of completing tasks (e.g., brushing teeth) it expands into the macro level of society. Habitualized routine behaviours are the tools used by every individual to successfully interpret their reality, environment, and experiences. To this end, routines are constructed, maintained and shared amongst individuals and within institutions.

For individuals, this can materialize in many forms (e.g., face-to-face interactions). There are no rigid and strict patterns imposed on face-to-face interactions as individuals interpret each other's actions uniquely (e.g., meanings arise out of communicative exchanges) and, in turn, patterns of behaviour are established and continue to be modified. Interactions, including those face-to-face, impact how individuals categorize others into pre-constructed "typifications", each tied to individuals' associating particular characteristics, behaviours, and sentiments with one another in light of such typifications. Individuals can all be typified and such classifications impact exchanges and interactions between parties. Similarly, routine can be linked to institutions (e.g., schools, workplaces, hospitals and even dinner parties) that further create and guide human conduct by establishing patterns of behaviour for different actors within that particular setting. Over time, these patterns of behaviour are internalized and become established

habitualized routines for the individuals—various institutions hold power over the behaviour of individuals through their legitimation and control mechanisms. To this end, institutions transfer this knowledge throughout generations which reinforces and maintains constructed routine practices. Sanctions are only needed when individuals deviate from established conduct; though it is not punishment that maintains control over human action but the internalization of the routines by individuals. The institutional world impacts the individual, however, it is also constructed by the individual, which allows routines to adapt and change over time (e.g., a workplace will aid in the construction and maintenance of habitualized patterns of action for its employees). This can become a part of the individual's knowledge, which will guide interaction and behaviour within current and future settings as patterns of behaviour can be reconstructed and reaffirmed through interactions with others.

Taken-for-granted habitualized routines construct the everyday shared reality of individuals, and allow individuals to perform their daily activities with ease and comfort. However, when daily routines are interrupted, either by an event or disaster (e.g., natural occurring earthquake), our everyday knowledge – shared amongst society members – attempts to restore order by interpreting the situation based on past experiences or to alter and construct new routines. In turn, everyday knowledge is used when routines are interrupted, to interpret or justify the disruption in an attempt to restore order. In crisis situations, specifically, ritual techniques are used to counteract the disruption and return ones' life back to its everyday form. The example put forth by Berger and Luckmann (1966), references an office workspace and how if an employee witnesses their co-workers secretly whispering around someone's desk instead of working, their acts will disrupt the routine behaviour of those working at their desk. In turn, the employee might assume something is wrong, or that they are talking about her/him, creating

distress for the employee. Everyday knowledge would be used to determine that the coworkers may be discussing something else, not related to the employee. This employee may attempt to practice techniques to inject themselves into the other conversation, or continue their own ritual practice of working at their desk as a means of resolving the disruption. Though individuals may construct their own routines, the institution reinforces habitualized routine practices that restore social order in times of crisis. These "collective routines" are used to maintain reality. The knowledge used to understand, interpret, manage, and sustain the routines in our everyday reality are created by the environment and the experiences undertaken by individuals. This knowledge is transmitted from generation to generation, guiding and maintaining the same behaviours and social interactions over a significant period of time. Berger and Luckmann's understanding of habitualized routine is similar to what other scholars have coined ritual practices. In turn, the development of habitualized routine expanded the knowledge of ritual theory, and elaborated on the idea of rituals repetitive nature since Durkheim. Further, Berger and Luckmann provided insight into how routines function as means of managing disruptions to daily life. This theoretical development was utilized in the construction of Structural Ritualization Theory, which is used as the theoretical framework within my thesis to analyze how ritual is performed in prison.

Thomas Scheff. Almost a decade after Goffman's interpretation of ritual within total institutions, Thomas Scheff (1979) began discussing the degradation of ritual practices within society. Scheff suggested that scholars believed rituals were present within certain settings, yet no longer held a functional or practical purpose. However, Scheff argued that, in fact, rituals did have a purpose within contemporary society, amongst those who chose to engage in them. Scheff's development of ritual theory was based upon Durkheim's understanding of ritual and its

ability to provoke emotion within actors. Expanding on Durkheim's original view, rituals were described as behaviours that had the ability to provoke emotion within individuals and could be used to help manage emotions in times of distress. When distress or trouble occurs in a situation or setting, individuals used rituals to temporarily separate themselves and cope with the anguish (Scheff, 1979). Such rituals were created and are still used today, for example, burial rituals or rituals surrounding goodbyes are used as a means of coping and dealing with the distress of being temporarily or permanently separated from an individual. More specifically, these rituals are found within funeral practices and have been utilized for centuries as a means of moderating grief and coping with losing someone. Scheff further expands on Durkheim's understanding of ritual, by highlighting how these ritual practices – though not overtly understood by all who practice them – continue to have a social function within society. Alongside aiding individuals with the management of (and coping with) their emotions, rituals (e.g., funerals, weddings) reinforce order and community solidarity when collectively practiced.

Scheff (1979) also highlighted how many scholars started to question the use of ritual practices within contemporary society. These scholars suggested that rituals were no longer relevant as a means of understanding social behaviour and human interaction. The idea presented by Scheff was that ritual practices were associated with religious practices, and in turn, no longer relevant in contemporary society. As the relevance and importance of religious beliefs for the public diminished, so did ritual and routine within the literature. Over the last decade, the use of ritual theory has reappeared within contemporary literature to provide an understanding of human behaviour. Since its re-emergence, ritual has been used to understand human behaviour in a variety of settings (e.g., weddings, sports games, rock concerts, and various organizations).

Ritual, then, began as a theoretical understanding of patterned behaviour, functioning as a tool to develop and express religious beliefs and practices. Rituals were thought to construct and maintain a set of belief systems when performed by actors. Scholars such as Cohen, began to explain how rituals were used in a variety of social contexts to create, maintain, and express value systems. With the introduction of Goffman and Scheff, ritual practices became seen as behaviours that held meaning, while impacting the emotional responses of actors. Since Durkheim, ritual theory developed from behaviours that solely involved religious practices, to later including a variety of behaviours found in different social settings. Further, Scheff added a greater degree of insight into the emotional responses associated with ritual practices for actors. From this point, contemporary scholars would further ritual theory to include a greater degree of social environments (e.g., prisons). These contemporary notions of ritual theory, specifically Structural Ritualization Theory, provided a more relevant theoretical understanding of ritual theory and its relation to individual and social behaviour.

The New Era: Ritual and Routine from the 1970s Onwards

Although ritual had disappeared from theoretical analysis for several decades (scholars tended to tie ritual exclusively to religious purposes), more recently several scholars reintroduced ritual theory as a means of understanding social behaviour in a variety of settings separate from religious belief systems. I now turn to the development of ritual as it has advanced since its reappearance in sociological literature.

Albert Bandura: Social Cognition theory – Unlike other scholars who focus on individual behaviour and routine, Albert Bandura, put significant weight on the influence an individual has over their own behaviour. As Rizzello and Turvani (2002) discuss in their in-depth interpretation and review of Albert Bandura's Social Cognition Theory (SCT), individuals

are not solely influenced by their environment; they also interpret and influence social situations (Rizello & Turvani 2002). Bandura's theory suggests that an individual's personal factors, patterns of behaviour, and environment simultaneously influence individual action (Bandura, 1999). In this respect, the environment reflects social and physical surroundings that can impact a person's behaviour. Social environments can include family, friends, co-workers, or bosses. While physical environments can reflect aspects such as room size, temperature, ambiance, etc. (Bandura, 1999). An individual's personal factors that can influence behaviour may include age, sex, disability, or cognitive ability. On the other hand, patterns of behaviour engaged in by the individual will also impact future situations and behaviours based on how the person interprets and understands the situation (Bandura, 1999). Individuals have the ability to interpret or construct their environments to various degrees (Bandura, 1999). Environments are created and interpreted by the use of symbolic meanings. Individuals use symbolic meanings to better comprehend their experiences, and regulate and construct environmental conditions (Bandura, 1999).

Therefore, behaviour is learned in two ways; 1) actions are learned through perceiving and interpreting stimulus (e.g., individuals interpret their situations and learn through a mental process) or 2) the use of social structures reinforce individual learning. In the former, the ability of humans to create and remember symbols, each filled with social meaning, provides them with the capacity to observe and understand behaviour and evaluate consequences (Rizello & Turvani, 2002). In the latter, institutional regulations and sanctions are put in place to reinforce learning by using rules and behavioural norms to dictate decision-making (Rizello & Turvani, 2002). Therefore, actions that lead to positive outcomes will likely be repeated, whereas those that provide negative consequences are discarded (Bandura, 1999). In turn, these create routine

behaviours for individuals. For example, a student's behaviour in a classroom will be impacted by the environment (e.g., the classroom itself), other students, the teacher, classroom rules, and the child's own personal character. However, Bandura would argue that the individual child will also impact the classroom environment, and have an influence on the specific environment itself and in turn the behaviour of others. Therefore, both human activity and social structures (e.g., the classroom) function simultaneously to influence one another. The social structures impose constraints and deliver resources (Bandura, 1999) while the mind is active in building and shaping reality by collecting and interpreting experiences (Rizelllo and Turvani, 2002). In turn, for SCT, the development of individual patterned behaviour is impacted by two factors, the individual observing and interpreting others who partake in the same behaviour, as well as the social structures that regulate and reinforce the practices through positive sanctions. Nevertheless, over time this behaviour may change, be altered, or adapted as individuals have agency over their actions and the social structures that guide them. In combination with Berger and Luckmann's understanding of habitualization, SCT was also used to develop Structural Ritualization Theory, as it provided insight into the individualistic aspect of ritual practices.

    Randall Collins. Drawing on the work of Durkheim and Goffman, Collins (1998) in his study titled *The Sociology of Philosophies: A Global Theory of Intellectual* discusses how ritual interactions impact intellectual fields (e.g., history, philosophy, architecture) and the development of knowledge. Within these intellectual fields, rituals, he argued, are defined as the models of interaction between members of the field that bind them into networks, which in turn constructs solidarity (Collins, 1998). Elaborating on the work of Durkheim, solidarity was understood as the emotional energy that would generate a connection and sense of togetherness within groups. By creating and engaging in ritual practices, groups had the potential to produce

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creative ideas and knowledge through their interactions (Collins, 1998). Creativity and knowledge production is driven by the emotional energy and symbols that stem from the dynamics found within groups. Collins (1998) suggested that interaction rituals cannot only determine who will be creative and when, but what their creations will be, as creativity depends on the individual's position within their network. This occurs as group interaction produces networks, apprenticeships, and collaborations – the ideas and knowledge that originates from these groups is impacted by the fields in which they exist in, as rituals guide human creativity (Collins, 1998). Furthermore, rituals found within the intellectual field reflect emotional energy out onto others, and can also impact the development of the social field itself. Collins analysis of intellectual fields and knowledge has further developed ritual theory from Scheff's original exploration of the emotions found within ritual. His development of ritual suggests that ritual practices directly impact the emotional energy of the entire group and may impact how the group behaves, feels and thinks. In turn, the construction of said emotions (especially those which are positive) attracts others to the group or intellectual field. This notion of group development and the positive aspect of ritual practices significantly contributed to the evolution of ritual, as it applied Durkheim's understanding of ritual in a contemporary manner.

David Knottnerus - Several years after Collins' study on ritual within intellectual fields, David Knottnerus started to investigate how ritual practices and behaviours are present within a society lacking empowered religious themes (Knottnerus, 1997, 2011). Knottnerus' work expands understandings of ritual by analyzing rituals within a larger variety of social fields across a multitude of organizations and cultures (e.g., workgroups, community groups, and corporations). By pulling from classical theorists such as Durkheim (1915), Berger and Luckmann (1966) and Bandura (1999), Knottnerus develops an all-encompassing definition and

theoretical understanding of ritual practices and how they impact social behaviour in contemporary society. More specifically, Knottnerus expands Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann's discussion of individual action and the establishment of routine in peoples' everyday lives, alongside Albert Bandura's development of Social Cognition Theory, which describes the connection and influence of individual cognition and social structure on individual action and social environments, to develop ritual theory. Knottnerus drew from elements of both theories to create Structural Ritualization Theory; which provides a thorough definition, and an avenue to analyze and interpret the ritual behaviour among a myriad of social groups and social situations.

For Knottnerus, rituals are conceptualized as symbolic behaviours that represent culture and embody ideas and practices that provide meaning to people's lives. As discussed in Sell, Knottnerus, Ellison, and Mundt (2000), ritual behaviours create, reproduce, and transform social structures while simultaneously impacting social behaviour through, what Knottnerus calls, "action repertoires" or a set of socially standardized practices that are schema-driven (57). These ritualized symbolic practices can occur in formal, informal, religious and secular social environments. Knottnerus has conducted a multitude of studies with several other scholars on ritual and expanded understandings of how social interaction is impacted by rituals in a variety of settings. For example, in 2000, Sell et al., conducted a study with 132 male university students to identify how ritual is manifested in group interaction and, as such, can impact individual behaviour. Participants were divided into 44 groups of three and each group was assigned a leader by the researchers. Randomly selected leaders were exposed to videos that depicted various ritual behaviours and different types of leaders. This was done in an attempt to reveal if leaders who were exposed to high levels of ritual behaviour would recreate those behaviours

within their task groups, in contrast to the other leaders (Sell et al., 2000). Findings suggested that the more a leader was exposed to leadership rituals the more likely the leader was to take on the leader oriented behaviour (e.g., making directive comments, writing on the chalkboard, handing out papers). Thus, in line with the works of Durkheim (1915) and Scheff (1979), Sell et al. (2000) concluded that social interactions are impacted by the rituals constructed within the system or groups in which they exist. These rituals continue, transform and are reinforced by individuals as he/she continues to interact with group members. Social interaction is then fed by and feeds into the actions of the group (Sell et al., 2000), such that group actions are created and maintained by the ritual practices that are found within the institution's culture. In short, social interaction is impacted by the rituals that guide the actors within a group or system.

Knottnerus proceeded to examine ritual practices utilized by individuals who had resided in Nazi concentration camps in the mid-twentieth century (Knottnerus, 2005; see Knottnerus, 2002 *Structure, Culture and History: Recent Issues in Social Theory*). His analysis included reviews of diaries, memoirs, autobiographies and biographies, to garner insight into the experiences of these individuals (Knottnerus, 2005). The accounts illustrated how rituals were utilized by actors to help cope with the disruptions and traumas of living in concentration camps. Knottnerus pulled from the work of Goffman to gain an understanding of how rituals are engaged in by individuals in settings where they are demoralized (the loss of self, identity and inability to function outside the institution). He found that ritual practices took on many different forms for individuals within the camps (e.g., cooking, storytelling, praying, and washing clothes) and categorized rituals into three different groupings: 1) personal private practices, 2) informal and 3) quasi-formal practices (Knottnerus, 2005). Although some of the rituals seemed insignificant and small, within this unique setting even the most trivial rituals created a sense of

structure and stability for the individuals. Knottnerus concluded that when individuals have negative experiences, the construction of new or reconstruction of old ritualized practices allows them to cope with the negative situation (2005).

Beyond the role of ritual in shaping social interaction, ritual was thought to shape cognition and impact patterns of behaviour (Knottnerus, Ulsperger, Cummins, & Osteen, 2006). Rituals motivate actors to engage in repeat patterns of human behaviour according to specific situations where, over time, these behaviours would become normalized within their system of origin— whether they are positive, negative, intended or unintended. Both Knottnerus et al. (2006) and Ulsperger and Knottnerus (2009) demonstrated the unintentional and sometimes potentially negative consequences of ritual by examining rituals within specific organizations (e.g., the business corporations of Enron; nursing homes). In the fall of Enron, thousands of jobs and pensions were lost alongside the millions lost by shareholders and other stakeholders. Those in upper-level management positions strategically pulled out their shares and retired before the company folded (Knottnerus et al., 2006). However, it is suggested that the actions that resulted in Enron's demise resulted from the policy and organizational structure (e.g., rewards, incentives, punishments) that created and reinforced behaviours that encouraged deviance (e.g., lying to customers). Specifically, Enron's organizational environment produced, maintained and reproduced the ritual practices that the workers' engaged in, which in this case included negatively oriented ritual behaviours that encouraged risk taking and deceptive behaviours (Knottnerus, et al., 2006). Similarly, in a later study, ritual practices in nursing homes that lead to the maltreatment of the elderly were analyzed, finding anew that the organizational setting within the institution impacts how nurses conducted themselves professionally, creating an institutional culture and practice within the homes (Ulsperger & Knottnerus, 2009). As a result, elderly

residents were mistreated as their basic needs were not being met (Ulsperger & Knottnerus, 2009). To this end, in two separate studies, Knottnerus et al. (2006) and Ulsperger & Knottnerus (2009) identified the unintentional and sometimes potentially negative consequences ritual practices may hold for actors – which had never before been discussed by ritual scholars. In turn, SRT provides an approach for theoretically analyzing the function and effectiveness of rituals within a variety of social environments. In this thesis, SRT plays an important role in the analysis of ritual and how it impacts the emotional responses of prisoners within Canadian Penitentiaries.

   Roshan Bhandari - Although there have been developments in the understanding of ritual theory since its reintroduction by Collins (1998), there have been few developments, other than SRT, that try to understand how ritual practices are used by individuals experiencing distress or trauma since Scheff (1979). In order to fill this lacuna in the literature, Roshan Bhandari, Norio Okada, and David Knottnerus (2011) studied how rituals can be used by actors to manage stress in their study of the ritual experiences of disaster victims and their ritual coping mechanisms. Defining coping as how an individual interprets his or her situation and how he or she behaves in response to a particular stressor, they recognized that coping can include individual processes, the reaction and connections between people and groups in the face of stressful situations, or serve as a means of coping and dealing with emotion (Bhandari et al., 2011). In this study, the authors examined earthquake disaster victims from the city of Lalitpur, Nepal finding that after being struck by a disaster, communities and individuals used ritualized practices to help cope and rebuild their lives (Bhandari et al., 2011). The study illustrated how rituals (e.g., community gathering, reunification of family, prayer) can be a powerful influence on how actors respond to, experience, cope and recover from traumas (Bhandari et al., 2011). Similar to the experiences of those found in concentration camps (Knottnerus, 2005), those who

experienced disasters also use rituals to re-establish a normal social life (Bhandari et al., 2011). Rituals are dominant and powerful tools for individuals and communities that influence cognition and behaviour by assisting with the coping and mediation of emotion in various circumstances. The development of ritual as a coping tool and means of managing emotions has significantly transformed the concept and contemporary theoretical understanding of ritual. Throughout this thesis, the concept of ritual as a means of coping with the penal environment will be investigated.

Shadd Maruna. Ritual and routine within the prison system has received limited attention since Goffman (1961) (Maruna, 2011). Historically, Durkheim (1964) and Goffman (1961) tied criminality and punishment to ritual behaviours; Durkheim with a focus on processes of punishment pre-incarceration and Goffman highlighting the rituals found within *total institutions,* like prison. Most recently, Shadd Maruna applied ritual theory to gain an insight in prisoners' ritual experiences pre- and post- incarceration. Building on Arnold van Gennepp's theory of life transitions through rites of passage, Maruna examined the rituals of passage as persons enter into incarceration (Maruna, 2011); highlighting three distinct *stages* within this 'rite of passage', from a citizen—to prison—to 'citizen' anew. First, prisoners are separated from their everyday reality and go through purification processes (e.g., prisoners being detained, having their belongings removed, stripped, searched, cleaned, and presented with new prison garb). Second, the period of "liminity" is marked by the time a prisoner is kept in custody, isolated from free-society, with their status, rank and property removed from them for a period of time (e.g. the incarceration experience). The final and third phase is the reintegration of the 'purified' person (e.g., he or she who is placed back into society with a new identity). Maruna (2011), however, argues that the incarceration process does not fully reintegrate prisoners back

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into society as "new persons", given no ritual practices or ceremonies surround this reintegration process. Instead, the release of prisoners is regarded as a private process, while the *admission* of prisoners is quite public and the attention garnered to parolees is generally negative (e.g., they bear the stigma of their custodial time and criminal status). Those released are forced to maintain their old identity of "the prisoner" as policies and practices fail to enable their reintegration as a new 'free' individual (e.g., parole conditions, sex offender registries) (Maruna, 2011).

Maruna (2011) argued that the lack of ritual practice involved in social reintegration processes is a primary factor behind the difficulties of prisoners in societal-reintegration and why recidivism rates and suicide are high amongst released prisoners. In response, Maruna recommends ritual practices that would aid in the successful reintegration of former prisoners as new citizens (2011). Effective ritual practices, according to Maruna (2011), in this context would focus on emotional rituals that are repetitive, involve the community, and focus on achievements (e.g., drug court graduations, awards, sincere apologies, rituals with an audience). For example, ritual practices that were oriented to connecting the former prisoner to community members through volunteering, were identified as an effective reintegration technique. The understanding of how ritual practices can shape the identity of the individual, and how these practices are inherent in the penal system (both pre and post-incarceration) has led to a better understanding of the ritual experience of prisoners (Maruna, 2011).

The development of ritual theory, from its formation within Durkheim's work, to its re-emergence in contemporary scholarship with Knottnerus (2005) and Maruna (2011), has seen significant changes in the understanding of human behaviour and the associated symbolic meanings. Although its beginnings were formed in understandings of religion, ritual theory has developed to encompass social and individual behaviour in a variety of contexts. The

development of ritual theory throughout the literature is an essential component of how this knowledge has progressed over time, and its functionality within current scholarship. Further, the development of Structural Ritualization Theory, has provided a formal means of analyzing ritual behaviours within various groups and social contexts. SRT has developed an understanding of ritual and its utilization as a coping mechanism for disastrous or difficult life events. To this end, my thesis will look at how prisoners utilize ritual and routine within the harsh penal environment, and whether ritual functions as an adaptive coping strategy for prisoners. SRT theory will be used as a theoretical framework to gain an understanding of the effectiveness of ritual actions within the penal environment.

Chapter Two: Research Paper

"I was trying to make my stay there more positive": Using rituals and routines to

demonstrate agency and resiliency in Canadian prisons

Abstract

Researchers have demonstrated how engaging in rituals or 'patterned' behaviours can help people cope with stressful situations and significant life changes. However, limited knowledge exists on how federally incarcerated Canadian men use, and the role of, ritual and routine practices in prison. To respond to this lacuna in the literature, transcripts from 56 semi-structured interviews with former male federal prisoners released on parole into Ontario, Canada, were analyzed for emergent themes identifying the purpose of ritual and routine practices across prisons with different security classifications. Findings reveal the effectiveness of rituals for managing and mitigating the stresses of incarceration, specifically how prisoners' routine behaviours constitute a positive strategy of adaption to incarceration (e.g., alleviating stress and passing time), in preparation for life post-incarceration (e.g., anticipatory socialization). Structural Ritualization Theory frames the analyses and implications presented in this study.

Key words: Structural Ritualization Theory, Routine, Prisoners, Adaption, Corrections

"I was trying to make my stay there more positive": Using rituals and routines to

demonstrate agency and resiliency in Canadian prisons

Canadian federal prisons are marked by overcrowding, decreased programming - both criminogenic and pro-social - and increasingly deteriorating conditions of confinement (Sapers, 2011; Office of the Auditor General, 2014; Quan, 2015). Prison is a temporary living arrangement, yet the emotional and physical effects of incarceration shape each prisoner's re-entry potential. As the security level of the facility increases, prisoners are managed, monitored, controlled, and incapacitated with growing intensity (Hannah-Moffat, 2012; Ricciardelli, 2014). In turn, the ability to manage the anxieties and stress produced by penal living is invaluable for prisoners (Reed, Alenazi, & Potterton, 2009). Yet, knowledge of how prisoners navigate their stresses and time in prison remains rather limited. To this end, rooted in understandings of the ritual practices engaged in by prisoners, we enhance how prisoners use ritual to manage the stress ensuing from conditions of confinement. Drawing on the symbolic meanings associated with rituals, defined as repeated actions that hold a symbolic rather than practical purpose for actors, the ritual practices revealed by 56 male former Canadian federal prisoners in semi-structured face-to-face interviews are presented. Specifically, (1) the rituals prisoners engage in when imprisoned, and (2) how and why prisoners construct these behaviours (e.g., the purpose rituals serve, how they are developed and maintained) are unpacked and discussed.

Situating the Study: The Federal Prisoner

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Historically, prisons have been described as complex social systems designed to incapacitate, control, and disempower those incarcerated (Lynch, 2012; de Viggiani, 2007). Clemmer (1940) argued that when entering prison an individual must learn the informal rules specific to the institution. He coined the process of taking on the customs, traditions and culture of the penitentiary as *prisonization,* stating that all prisoners become prisonized to some degree (as cited in Dobbs & Waid, 2004). Those housed in discipline-oriented facilities with longer sentences, unstable personalities, and unhealthy relationships with family and friends were thought likely to become most prisonized. Despite Clemmer's theorization being criticized for ignoring prison culture, Sykes (1958), arguably expanded on prisonization theory, suggesting that prisoners' experience deprivation while incarcerated, as a result of their loss of liberty, autonomy, security, and freedom—among other factors (Dobbs & Waid, 2004). His theory of *deprivation*, explained the painful, hostile and harmful conditions found in prisons in the 40's and 50's in the United States (Dobbs & Waid, 2004). Importation theory, developed several years later by Irwin and Cressey (1962), argued that several subcultures with differing, and at times conflicting, values and norms exist in prison that together compose the culture found in each institution. These theorists suggested prison cultures originated outside of prison and are imported into the prison as individuals from different realms of life are incarcerated (Irwin and Cressey, 1962). More recently, scholars have combined these theories to construct the integration model (combining deprivation and importation theories) to understand variations in the experiences and realities of incarceration as well as the development of prison cultural (Irwin and Cressey, 1962). The current conditions of confinement continue to exude forms of deprivation, alongside the importation of outside realms of life, creating in essence the existing prison culture.

In contrast, ritual and routine theories focus on the individual and their behaviours, emphasizing the role of individual action and performance in the creation of culture. Indeed, ritual activities, to some degree, reflect and communicate the overall culture within which actors exist (Bhandari, Okada, & Knottnerus, 2011). As Knottnerus (1997, 2011), in his theory of Structural Ritualization (SRT) explains, the likeness and connections between ritual practices within a setting may represent the dynamics and structure of that particular environment. We employ SRT as a framework to examine ritual within prisons, to analyze the culture, ideas and practices within this setting (Bhandari, et al., 2011).

Canadian Federal Prisons

More recent issues of mass incarceration, overcrowding, program deficits, increased wait times for essential and non-essential services, and tough on crime initiatives have plagued the current Canadian federal correctional system, rendering it dysfunctional and harm-inducing (Lynch, 2012; Sapers, 2013). Researchers argue the system is laden with limited rehabilitative opportunities, as well as policies and regulations that restrict and degrade prisoner conditions. With 20-23-hour mandatory cell lock-up in maximum facility institutions, restricted and monitored yard time and heightened surveillance features throughout the institution, prisoners are increasingly experiencing some discomfort and stress (Reed et al., 2009). Lynch (2012), in addressing the widespread practice of removing and restricting prisoner access to non-essential services and activities (e.g., sports activities), draws on examples in the United States where institutions have already removed fitness equipment; restricted access to reading materials, property and television; cut higher level educational opportunities; restricted institutional visits; made cuts to the quality and quantity of meals; and re-instituted chain gangs and hard labour (Lynch, 2012). These conditions impact the emotional and psychological well-being of prisoners

and are detrimental to the physical health of those confined (de Viggiani, 2007). Similarly, over

the last decade Canadian policies, legislations and institutions are increasingly mirroring the

more punitive practices found in the United States (Gottschalk, 2012), as programs and services

in Canadian institutions are cut (Sapers, 2010).

Prisoner Stress

Although depleting conditions exist in prisons, prisoners still have differing and varying

responses to the stress of imprisonment (Bonta & Gendreau, 1990; Gullone, Jones, Cummins,

2000). After losing their freedom, prisoners must develop new ways to engage with their

environment. Arlie Hochschild's, in her theory of 'Emotion Work', lends insight to the

psychological state and attitude of individuals as they attempt to manage and shape their

subjective feelings – both outward expressions and inward reflections (Hochschild, 1979).

Hochschild (1979) illustrated how emotions are guided by socially constructed rules. In conflict

or distressed situations, individuals manage both their outward and inward emotions as a means

of conforming to the appropriate social emotional response. The theory of 'Emotion Work' can

be applied to the experience of incarceration as it forces individuals to shed or suppress certain

aspects of their personality in order to fit this new living situation. Researchers focused on

prisoner coping strategies have developed a multitude of theories to explain how prisoners cope

emotionally with the stress of incarceration. For instance, Bonta and Gendreau (1990) suggest, in

their work on prisoner stress and coping, that over time prisoners learn to cope with the

seemingly stressful and adverse conditions of confinement.   Further, Gullone, Jones, and

Cummins (2000) operationalized three types of coping strategies used by prisoners, Task

Oriented Coping, Emotional Oriented Coping, and Avoidance Oriented Coping. *Task Oriented*

Coping encompasses practices aimed toward solving the problem, either directly or by

cognitively restructuring the problem or altering the situation. *Emotional Oriented Coping* describes emotional reactions toward the situation that reduce stress, such as blaming the self, anger, self-preoccupation, or fantasizing. While actors using *Avoidance Oriented Coping* use activities to distance themselves from or completely avoid the stressor, either through distractions, social diversions, or task orientation (Gullone et al., 2000).

Reed, Alenazi and Potterton (2009), in their study of 230 male prisoners across security classifications in the United Kingdom, revealed two predominant types of coping: problem-focused coping (i.e., acting directly on the situation) and emotion-focused coping (i.e., controlling the emotions generated by stress). They felt that avoidance strategies were merely a mechanism for emotional coping (Reed et al., 2009). While problem focused coping includes confrontational coping, a strategy where the actor tries to change the situation at hand, planful coping is when an active and purposeful attempt is made to solve the problem or alter the stressful event. Emotion-focused coping includes four sub-categories: distancing (disengaging from the situation), self-control (regulating individual feelings and actions), seeking social support (attempts to find tangible and emotional support from others), and wishful thinking (attempts to avoid or escape the situation). Overall, although specific categorical definitions varied, coping mechanisms used by prisoners remained the same across studies.

Researchers did find, however, that the different coping styles of prisoners varied in effectiveness (Bonta & Gendreau, 1990). For instance, Zamble and Porporino (1990), in their study of 133 Canadian federal male prisoners in Ontario, found prisoners engaged in coping strategies that used physical confrontation and took little thought or planning. These styles of coping were suited only to prison life and did not transcend prison walls. Similarly, Gullone et al., (2000) found prisoners use both emotionally reactive (e.g., getting angry or tense) coping

mechanisms and avoidance practices as coping tools during stressful situations. Over time prisoners adopted different, and sometimes more effective, coping styles. For example, prisoners who have been incarcerated for longer periods of time may adopt a task-oriented coping style (Gullone et al., 2000). Nonetheless coping strategies and their effectiveness vary based on the prison's security level, where in lower security institutions prisoners more commonly seek out social support as a coping mechanism (Reed et al., 2009). This may be a result of the open custody environment that gives prisoners more access to other prisoners and staff, which allows prisoners to seek out support when needed. Few scholars, however, examine the function of ritual and routine for prisoners as a means of managing and coping with the stress and adverse conditions found within the penal environment. Therefore, the power and importance of ritual and routine in the context of the penal environment is given a greater degree of attention within this study.

Framing the study: Structural ritualization theory

Grounded in sociological and psychological frameworks, Knottnerus' (1997, 2005, 2011) structural ritualization theory (SRT) centers on the ritualized practices individuals engage in that influence social behaviour and interaction. Highlighting how rituals are constructed and reproduced while simultaneously maintaining and transforming social structures and individual action, SRT expands on Berger and Luckmann's (1966) Constructionist Theory of Habitualized Action and Bandura's (1999) Social Cognition Theory (SCT) (Sell, Knottnerus, Ellison, & Mundt, 2000). Berger and Luckmann, in their theory of habitualized action, suggest that in their environment individuals' create patterns of behaviour. Overtime these behaviours become routines that are engaged in unconsciously. Essentially these behaviours become engrained in an individual's daily life and, thus, impact their everyday interactions and perceptions of the world

(Berger & Luckmann, 1966). For Bandura (1999) factors (e.g., physical and social environments, personal characteristics, and behaviours) impact individuals' actions. SCT also suggests that individuals have influence over their environment through the construction and interpretation of the social and physical structures that surround them (Bandura, 1999). It is within the context of these two theories that SRT was developed (Sell et al., 2000).

SRT is theoretically attentive to how rituals actions performed by persons and groups are embedded in larger social environments. Specifically, Knottnerus, Ulsperger, Cummins, and Osteen (2006) used 'groups' to define sets of individuals within larger social settings (e.g., work groups in an organization) and 'rituals' in reference to action repertoires. These action repertoires are performed behaviours with symbolic meanings that are socially constructed and regulated by the environments in which individuals find themselves (Sell et al., 2000). Unlike other theories that look at ritual, SRT provides a means of analyzing the ritual practices and the symbolic meanings found within groups. Its core concept *ritualized symbolic practices* (RSP) is defined as schema-driven actions that help create patterns of regularized and repetitive behaviour and social relations in various settings (Bhandari et al., 2011; Sell et al., 2000; Knottnerus, 1997; Ulsperger & Knottnerus, 2009). Over time, the reproduction of these practices occur (Sell et al., 2000) as the repeated styles of behaviour influence the cognitive script that guides individual action within the person (Knottnerus et al., 2006). This aids the structure of group dynamics and holds a strong influence over the actions of the group. The theory then suggests that RSPs dictate and guide individual behaviour and helps actors cope with stressful or disastrous situations by constructing and reconstructing new and old rituals (Bhandari et al., 2011). In relation to the study of prisons, in a 2002 study, Knottnerus analyzed the ritual practices of individuals confined inside Nazi concentration camps (See Knottnerus, 2005). The study utilized diaries, memoirs,

autobiographies, and biographies to gather information on the ritual practices of those living within the restrictive and harsh environment of the camps. The accounts discerned how rituals were performed by actors to help cope with the trauma and stress of living within that setting. Further, these individuals undertook simplistic and seemingly trivial ritual behaviours that involved personal and everyday actions (e.g., praying, singing, story-telling, cooking) as means of reconstructing a "normal" life and coping with their confinement (Knottnerus, 1997, 2005).

Knottnerus et al. (1997, 2006) put forth five components (i.e., repetitiveness, salience, homologousness, resources, and rank) that impact how influential particular ritualized practices can be in specific settings. The first, *repetitiveness*, refers to the frequency in which the ritual is performed within the group by its members, highlighting how behavioural repetition can impact the emotions of the actor and how an individual may feel about the ritual (Bhandari et al., 2011). Next, *salience* constitutes the perceived prominence of the ritual by actors (Ulsperger & Knottnerus, 2009; Bhandari et al., 2011). *Homologousness* involves the likeness and connection between the performed rituals within a group (e.g., the more similar the rituals in a setting, the more they strengthen one another). Although ritual actions may be different, they may also be similar in theme[3] (Ulsperger & Knottnerus, 2009). The rituals within a setting that are highly homologous may reflect the overall culture within that particular system. The fourth, *resources,* are the human (e.g., skills, characteristics) and non-human (e.g., money, time) materials needed for actors to participate in ritual behaviours; as resources are made more available, individuals are able to participate in ritual practices (Ulsperger & Knottnerus, 2009; Sell et al., 2000). Finally, *rank* refers to the extent that rituals impact the behaviour, feelings, and cognitions of the

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[3] For example, Sell et al. (2000) described how within the elementary school settings there exists a high degree of homologousness that distinguishes the teacher as having power and authority. This power is represented by the ritual performances of children raising their hand and asking for permission to speak, leave the class or go to the bathroom, and lining up at the teacher's command (Sell et al., 2000).

participating actors (Bhandari et al., 2011). The rank of a ritual is then influenced by the other four factors; when a ritual is frequently repeated, highly visible, similar to other rituals and resources are made available, the rank of the ritual increases (Ulsperger & Knottnerus, 2009). For the purpose of this study, SRT and RSP (e.g., repetitiveness, salience, homologousness, resources, and rank) will be used to fully identify how ritual and routine are engaged in by prisoners.

Current study

Despite compelling findings that suggest individuals engage in ritual behaviour as a means of coping with stress and disastrous events (See Bhandari et al., 2011; Knottnerus, 2002, 2005), scholars have yet to examine the use of rituals by prisoners in prison, and how rituals may constitute a fundamental practice for coping with the hostile and negative prison environment. The power of ritual practices and their impact on individual behaviour and perception is exemplified within this environment when analyzing the behaviours of prisoners. To this end, I will look at the position of ritual and routine within the daily lives of prisoners and how these behaviours and the symbolic meanings they hold create a means of adapting to the current penal environment.

Methods

Face-to-face interviews were conducted with 56 male respondents who were formally incarcerated in a Canadian federal penitentiary and released into Ontario, Canada. These men were - at the time of the study - released on parole or had a warrant that had expired within the six months prior to their interview. The interviews were conducted between February 2011 and February 2012. Recruitment for the study took place at the community level through individuals who were directly in contact with parolees and informed them about the study. Those interested,

voluntarily participated in the interviews which were conducted in a private setting and voice recorded. Informed consent was obtained and ethical approval awarded. Participants were offered an honorarium for their time.

Interviews were completed in a private room at a day reporting centre in Ontario. Interviews ranged in length from 45 minutes to 180 minutes. The interviews were semi-structured in nature, with open ended questions which promoted discussion and a natural flow (e.g., what was the maximum institution like? How did you spend your time in prison?). The process encouraged emergent topics to be put forth by the participants, who were free to discuss whatever was on their mind. Interviewing continued until theme saturation occurred. After the interviews were transcribed, they were assessed by the primary investigator to ensure the quality and accuracy of the information. To protect participant identities, pseudonyms were used throughout the study and any identifiable information removed.

At the end of each interview, demographic information (e.g., religious denomination, offence classifications, sentence length, security classification) was collected from participants. The ages of the interviewees ranged from 19-58, with an average age of 37. Comparatively, individuals under 35 years old make up just over 50 percent of prisoners (Statistics Canada, 2014), suggesting this sample is slightly older than the Canadian penal population. However, this may be a result of the fact that a greater proportion of interviewees had served more than one federal sentence; less than a quarter (n=12) of the interviewees were paroled from their first experience of federal incarceration. The participants of this sample self- reported as 30 percent (*n*=17) Black; 55 percent (*n*=31) White; and nine percent (*n*=5) other. Further, five percent of interviewees identified as Aboriginal, which compares to the 12 percent Aboriginal persons admitted into Federal custody in Ontario in 2014. The interviewees convictions ranged from

violent to non-violent offences, including sexual and non-sexual related offences. Their

sentences were between two years and life with parole. The allotted security classification of the

prisons in which participants served their time also varied from maximum to minimum security,

where 84 percent (*n*=45) of respondents had served time in a minimum security penitentiary, 55

percent (*n*=31) in medium security, and 36 percent (*n*=20) in a maximum security facility beyond

reception.

For the purpose of this study, a constructed Grounded Theory approach shaped data

analyses and interpretation. Grounded theory - a method that emerged from sociologists Glaser

and Strauss (1965) - is the analytical process of allowing themes to emerge directly from the

data, rather than deducing findings from a testable hypothesis (Charmaz, 2006). The theory uses

symptomatic and meticulous procedures of collecting, coding and analyzing the data to identify

the emerging and reoccurring themes as a means of developing a theoretical understanding of the

research problem. Coding occurred in two phases: (1) 15 preliminary interviews were examined

with attention directed at the words and incidents interviewees' disclosed in relation to rituals

and routines. This form of coding involved labelling, categorizing and summarizing the different

sections of the data to reveal emergent themes (Charmaz, 2014). Labels such as, daily ritual

practices, ritual schedules, and passing the time, were assigned to data with similar thematic

content (Charmaz, 2014).

In the preliminary phase, using the initial coding process, we created a focused coding

table. The secondary coding phase (2) involved *focused coding* - the process of selectively

coding the data by concentrating on the most significant and frequent codes that emerged in the

initial coding phase (Charmaz, 2014). Specifically, the most commonly distinguished and

fundamental themes (e.g., passing the time, coping, resistance, agency), were identified and

became the area of focus for the remaining 41 interviews. Central themes were made up of multiple interviewees discussing similar experiences and feelings toward ritual and routine behaviours. Themes ranged from specific ritual schedules (e.g., working, then school, then reading, then working out), to how these rituals influenced prisoners, to variations in rituals based on institutional security levels. In our study, the practical purposes of rituals were not given precedence, instead how and why (i.e., the symbolic purpose) these activities were engaged in, and what made them ritual practices was analyzed and interpreted. Although rituals, to some degree, can be unconscious, prisoners discuss how these activities have a greater purpose than their intended function. New codes and emergent themes uncovered in the focused coding phase were documented to enable any re-coding or verification of codes in the data. SRT was applied post analyses to provide a more concise and developed discussion of the findings.

Results

Within the context of the too often dehumanizing and demoralizing conditions of prison living, prisoners' use ritual and routine behaviours to cope with the complexities of their environment. These practices, symbolizing notions of agency and resistance, allow prisoners to manage and survive imprisonment. Ritual behaviours in prisons encompass a variety of simple everyday routine activities, including going to school, work, reading, drawing, and the gym. However, it is not the routine activities themselves that are important, but the meanings (e.g., agency and resistance) they hold that encourage these practices to be considered rituals. Further, consideration must be given to the repetitiveness, salience, homologousness, and resources used in the performance of these behaviours when determining the effectiveness of said rituals. Prisoners (*n*=43) described engaging in various routine practices and having their days "pretty much scheduled" by their activities. Routines were practiced "every day" and characterized by

repetitive schedules by prisoners who described attempting to "get some structure for [their]

day". For example, interviewee 48 explained:

> I had schedules set. I'd get up in the morning, I'd work out and I'd go to school...'til ten thirty. I'd come back, bring all my school work home, work on it and then I'd go to my programs in the afternoon and just did that every single day.

Similarly, interviewee 38 discusses his rituals:

> That's all I did. I spent an hour on the phone, two hours on the phone with my girl, I'd wake up in the morning, eat breakfast, go to school, come back, eat lunch until one o'clock, one o'clock go work til three or four-ish, go back, eat dinner, prepare my food for after my workout, and then at five thirty-six o'clock go to yard, work out from six thirty to nine thirty… go upstairs take a shower and eat my food, and start the same routine over every day.

As these interviewees' words demonstrate, prisoners incorporate simple everyday practices into

patterned behaviours that form a ritual. By regularly practicing these activities, the actions

become engrained in their everyday schedules. Although these routine activities seem common

or trivial, it is under the extreme conditions of the penal environment (e.g., the loss of liberty and

freedom), that these seemingly mundane actions can hold a great deal of significance and

meaning for prisoners. Regardless of the specific activity that is routinized, each has symbolic

positioning and serves an adaptive function for prisoners that include forms of (i) agency, and (ii)

resistance.

Agency

Agency, here, is the capacity to have control and choice over personal actions and

behaviours; the individual capability to act based on free will. However, prisoners follow rigid

schedules and are under high levels of control and surveillance that limit their ability to act

freely—an intrinsic characteristic of all penal environments. Therefore, within the carceral

setting, the movements and freedoms of all prisoners are limited, structured and controlled by the

implemented institutional policies and practices.

Creating control over actions

Regardless of the strict controls and scheduled routines enforced by the prison environment, prisoners expressed making the decision, based on their own volition, to engage in specific activities and develop their own ritual practices. Interviewee one explains:

> I'm just like, listen, I don't watch TV, you understand? If I can go do something, I'm going to do something. I'm going to play sports, I'm going to run, I'm going to go work out… Unless I'm doing something else that's really constructive like going to school. You know preparing for my future, doing something. I don't waste my time… I like to remain physically fit, you understand? Like I can't be doing pills. I have a routine.

As this excerpt demonstrates, prisoners – echoing interviewee one – make the decision to engage in a variety of ritual activities to exert a sense of control over their actions. Therefore, in this context, engaging in these symbolic behaviours (e.g., playing sports, watching TV) repetitively ritualizes these actions. This becomes apparent as his narrative clearly expresses his ability to have control over his decision to participate in his ritual or "routine" behaviours. His choices become symbolic within a setting that has historically been known to strip prisoners of their freedom and choice. Further, as Knottnerus outlines through SRT, the repetitiveness of a symbolic action reinforces the actions associated significance. Therefore, through the performance of behaviours, such as working out or playing sports, prisoners develop an emotional response to their actions. In this context, the ability to engage in ritual behaviours that symbolize a sense of agency provides prisoners with a sense of coping with their loss of liberty and freedom. Said another way, the repetitiveness of this behaviour impacts how the prisoner feels about the rituals and his sense of autonomy within this restrictive setting.

Institutional Boundaries and Resources

Prisoners have a limited ability to perform rituals, and are bound by the parameters of their environment: they "just do what [they're] allowed to do". They must then construct their

rituals around the schedules set and resources available in their custodial institution. To this end,

interviewees describe how rituals are formed around prison schedules and resources:

> A basic routine, just do what they say within their limits and do what I decided to do…Just read a lot of books, did a lot of workouts, and just ate and try to stay healthy within there… When I was locked up, let's say in maximum, in reception, or the bucket that's maximum, you read, you can watch TV (Interviewee 2).

> The federal system…There's also a lot of training…. you can finish your high school in the federal system. It's a lot stricter… I'm always cleaning or doing something…I had routines, I'd stick to them. Even when I got out. Work, shower, working out, that kind of thing. [Do you find the routine helpful?] Oh yeah, structured routine is what they also teach you in rehab. (Interviewee 43).

> I didn't bother with anybody when I was in there. I just keep to myself. I spent all my time reading…during that three months I must have read about 30 – 40 novels. [In maximum security] we had a TV, so I watched TV and I was able to get books from the library. I could read there too. When we were let out for about an hour a day. We had an hour to go out to the yard. And we had about another half hour after that or before that, to have showers and make phone calls… (Interviewee 17).

As these interviewees demonstrate, each prisoner's capacity to engage in ritual practices is

informed by their institutional schedule and resources. Ritual practices adopted by prisoners, as

illustrated by the excerpts above, are influenced by prison schedules – since prisoners are told

when to be in and out of their cells, when to wake up, go to sleep, eat, work, and shower – as

well as by available services and programs (e.g., employment, yard equipment). Knottnerus et al.

(2006), drawing on SRT, highlights how resources (both human and nonhuman) are necessary

during ritual enactments. Therefore, institutional schedules, programs and services become

resources for prisoners as they construct routines. In turn, regardless of institutional restrictions

or limitations prisoners use available resources to create a sense of agency by engaging in

patterned behaviours (ritual practices) that incorporate penal regulations. In this sense, these

institutions aid in the creation of rituals by fostering and encouraging the development of ritual

behaviours through the availability of said resources. Interviewee 32 explains:

> I mean you just do what you're allowed to do, like not even, you stay in your cell for about twenty hours a day. You go to the yard and if you go to school or a have a job you go do that… I didn't

just sit in my cell. So then [when] I come out here I wake up every morning at 4:15 get ready to go to work.

As this prisoner explains, the performance of ritual is unique and varies in sophistication and the degree to which rituals can equate to life in society—given actions are limited by prison. Nonetheless, prisoners are able to exert some choice over their behaviours and this gives some symbolic semblance of having agency and freedom. How rituals prepare prisoners for reintegration is further evinced here, as some prisoners patterned their behaviours after what they believe life should be like in society.

Prisoners in higher level security institutions experience increased levels of supervision and more structured and rigid schedules in comparison to those in less secure institutions. Prisoners explain how their rituals, although always practiced, "changed depending on the institution". Less secure prisons provide more freedom, resources and opportunities for rituals, which in turn provide more space for agency:

> [The minimum security institution] was like summer camp. You wake up in the morning, cook breakfast, whatever you want, go outside, go to the gym, play sports. It was pretty good. I went back to counselling too. Watch movies. (Interviewee 11).

> I got into sports, lifting weights, and learning how to cook, even if I'm not the best at it. Cause in [minimum security] we were able to do that, not like in high security where you don't get those. I tried to make the best of my experience (Interviewee 28).

Similarly, when asked whether or not he had a routine when in lower security prison, interviewee 46 responded:

> Absolutely. Very helpful. The time went by pretty, pretty fast because of it. My routine: I would get up either it would be school, work or a program. I'd get into that, then I'd get into my weights, after I get into my weights I'll go and eat, and after I eat I'll go for a walk around the institutions. Then watch a little TV, or get on the phone, or write and that's my day. So it went pretty fast, my day. Cause you've got a routine. I didn't like to sit around.

As these interviewees' words demonstrate, less secure prisons allow prisoners more opportunity to engage in ritual practices— the greater the number of resources, the more variation possible in their patterned activities. In SRT, Knottnerus et al. (2006) draws attention to the value and need

for human and non-human resources in prison, specifically as a requisite for establishing and

maintaining ritual practices. In turn, institutional programs and properties (e.g., gym equipment,

kitchen supplies, and sports leagues) become important and valued material resources that help

prisoners construct and maintain their ritual practices. The ability to decide what rituals to

engage in based on available resources provides some semblance of—albeit if it is even

attainable—autonomy in their life choices. The construction of agency within this setting,

particularly when higher in effectiveness, allows prisoners to cope with the stressful prison

environment and creates a more positive experience while on the inside.

Maximum and Segregation Units

Higher security institutions and segregation units, comparatively, impose high levels of

surveillance on prisoners, restricting their movements and forcing their participation in mundane

rituals as a consequence of the limited access to resources. Interviewee 20 explains his

experiences in maximum:

> [Maximum security institution] well it's like a 23 hour lock-up there, so it was: be in your cell,
> watch tv and get out for a shower, use the phone for a few minutes, go to yard, read books [back
> in your cell].

As this parolee's words show, rituals in this setting are limited to basic routine activities, like

reading or watching television. Interviewee 10 discloses:

> Because of the riots we were locked out more than a month. It must have been a couple of
> months… I guess it was just like, well you get into a routine. I kept to myself. I would go in my
> cell, but you're still double bunked…I would just read and stuff, but it's just the monotony. Like
> you have to forget about the outside and just sort of concentrate on what you're doing in there.

While interviewee 19 explains:

> You're locked in your cell till three or four. And then after you're done work, you get from about
> four till 10 to roam around the prison. Go workout, go run around the track… When you're in
> [Maximum] here, in lockdown 22 hours a day, it's a little bit of a different…it was just
> annoying… some people were shaking up, rough when they were in there…they just can't cope

> with just being locked down. The quicker you accept it and make the best of it… you get used to the routine. I was managing my time good too, cause I could sit in a room all day and just draw and sleep, draw and sleep… I had a great time in solitary. But it was a lot easier for me than some of the other people. [I] always had my art supplies… Usually you don't even get a pencil and shit and you sit in a fucking room…

Regardless of institutional limitations (e.g., being confined to a cell) prisoners continue to use a variety of simplistic ritual practices (e.g., draw and sleep) to exert control over their lives within their secluded and restrictive environment. Therefore, as institutional resources change based on security classification, so do the daily ritual practices prisoners engage in; when institutional resources are limited, (e.g., maximum security/segregation) prisoners are able to engage in small-scale rituals while maintaining the same symbolic meanings. Despite the scope of rituals practiced, institutional constraints, or limited resources, prisoners structure their rituals in light of whatever is available. Further, the resulting sense of agency from said rituals remains consistent regardless of diversities of routinized actions. As examples highlighted, there remains a high level of homologousness between these ritual practices. Although the routine activities become simpler and more mundane (e.g., showering, reading), the function of the ritual - to create a sense of agency - is consistent regardless of environmental or legal differences.

Resistance as Coping

In this context, resistance is characterized as any behaviour that although may appear conforming in nature is actually engaged in to oppose the intended function or objectives of the institution (e.g., attending programming to help earn parole rather than for self-growth and reflection). Given regulatory and punitive practices are inherent in prison, tools used to control and manage prisoners (e.g., surveillance, restricted programs, solitary confinement) are integral to the processes involved in stripping prisoners of their identity and, thus, sense of self (Goffman, 1961). Prisons, though rehabilitative in theory, in practice are "stressful", "control

oriented", and "harsh" environments that induce harm for prisoners. Limited programs, services, and overcrowded facilities add to the stress and deprivation of imprisonment. In turn, prisoners create rituals - symbolic representations of resistance as coping - to manage the stresses of confinement, to deal with and oppose the regulatory and harsh prison conditions.

Opposing penal reality

Although prisoners are forced to follow a strict set of rules, with controlled and monitored schedules, rituals can be used as a symbolic form of resistance—enabling prisoners to reconstruct their own daily routine activities:

> A routine a basic routine… I do what I decided to do… read a lot of books, did a lot of workouts, and just ate, try to stay healthy in there… You read, you can watch TV… (Interviewee 2).

> Seven o'clock the doors open and you can walk all over the place. You literally get out and you're like I've got these many hours, what am I doing? So I eventually got myself enrolled in school… I worked in the kitchen and I just, my time just devoted to school, kitchen and my girl (Interviewee 38).

As these examples show, prisoners are agents of resistance as they exert control over their actions and routine behaviours despite their environment thwarting that very thing. They create their own schedules and choose their activities. Although these are structured and offered by prisons, as interviewee two illustrates, prisoners can choose when to and when not to engage in simplistic routine practices. In turn, these prisoners have the ability to use ritual as a form of coping - through symbolic resistance - by making what is intended to be a negative experience, a positive one. The effectiveness of these rituals (i.e., rank) is found within the regularity (i.e., repetitiveness) to which these actions are performed and the likeness (e.g., homologousness) between behaviours (see Knottnerus et al., 2006). Though interviewees describe a range of dissimilar activities (e.g., working out vs. going to school), the actions hold corresponding meanings – representations of resistance as a form of coping. The regularity to which these

activities are performed increase how valuable they become for managing the controlled, secluded, and restricted penal environment.

Resistance against punitive practices

Due to the conditions of confinement prisoners are exposed to (e.g., lock-up periods, restricted access to resources), prisons have the intended function of sanctioning and secluding prisoners from their everyday lives. These forms of punishment are purposefully implemented as a form of retribution, as prisoners are expected to "pay" for their societal transgressions (Maruna, 2011). Furthermore, ritual allow prisoners to oppose these forms of punishment by mimicking everyday reality. The daily routine tasks (e.g., eating, sleeping, or working) in which prisoners engage seem mundane, yet are meaningful symbolic forms of resistance that serve as coping strategies for prisoners. Activities such as "finishing school, getting therapy" (interviewee 50), "going to play sports… going to run…going to work" (interviewee one) are all tasks that are practiced in the free world. However, in prison these rituals hold a greater functionality as opposed to a practical purpose, as prisoners describe these rituals as "helpful" and "positive", allowing them to "pass the time" and "forget about the outside". Similar to the experiences of prisoners of concentration camps such as Auschwitz (Knottnerus, 2005); these unique and small rituals have significant meanings of resistance as coping within this restrictive environment. By mirroring the actions of an "everyday free person", prisoners oppose institutional practices originally established to strip them of their identity and life pre-incarceration – to feel unrestricted.

Additionally, prisoners also use ritual to symbolically resist and cope with forms of punishment exercised to seclude, segregate and confine them to their cells for indefinite periods

of time by i) managing their in cell time, ii) creating solitary rituals, and iii) constructing

collective rituals. These forms of punishment, including administrative lockdowns[4] (Correctional

Service Canada, 2013; Correctional Service Canada, 2013b), segregation[5] (Bottos, 2007) and the

extensive 22-23 hour daily time in cells during reception, generates stress for prisoners. The

intended function of stripping prisoners of their freedom, agency, and humanity then pulls

prisoners away from any sort of human and social contact, which, in turn, produces a negative

emotional response:

> So most people at lockdowns, a lot of guys will go crazy in their cells. They don't like lockdowns cause there's nothing to do (Interviewee 9).

> In the beginning it was pretty hard. I've never been in a jail. You have to be in a room without a T.V. or without a radio…They put me in a room with nothing. It was crazy (Interviewee 12).

> Getting up, going to work-out, work… You're able to fit in very quickly. You set a pattern and you go. Makes your time pass. You don't recognize the time for a while. You recognize it at first when you get in, until your routine starts (Interviewee 51).

As these excerpts point out, by spending time confined to a cell, prisoners have an increasing

number of hours alone to trouble themselves over their current experience and incarceration

period. This process can be difficult as the effects of being alone with limited human interaction

or programs can produce psychological forms of punishment—some even feel a loss of sanity.

Consequently, prisoners learn to use rituals as a means of distracting themselves, and occupying

their time through simple and basic ritual activities. In such conditions, prisoners still use rituals

as resistance and coping; a means to manage the negative emotional response prison conditions

are intended to impose.

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[4] Institutional lockdown is an administratively imposed condition where all programs, services, and access to facilities are suspended for an indefinite period of time as prisoners are held in their cells. These sanctions occur during institutional searches for contraband and investigations.

[5] Administrative segregation occurs when prisoners are removed from the general population and placed into segregation units where they have no contact with other prisoners. Some prisoners voluntarily transfer to segregation, others are placed involuntarily because they are perceived to pose a risk to staff, prisoners and the institution. Prolonged segregation can have negative and adverse effects on prisoners' mental and physical health.

Three interviewees, for example, mirror comparable sentiments:

> It's pretty stressful sometimes, pretty stressful a lot of times. It's stressful, like everything is going on in society and just… But I worked out a lot, once you keep a routine going, you're good (Interviewee 11).

> I'm like in seg[regation]. I'm looking at four walls. So instead of going crazy, I might as well do something productive. So I started to write rhymes or whatever, poetry etcetera, etcetera. That made my time pass easy… (Interviewee 38).

> I know that my soul is scarred from that [solitary] experience. I was never the same after that. 24 hours a day. No TV, no books… when you're locked up in solitary. It didn't have to be quite so painful (Interviewee 8).

As these excerpts demonstrate, (i) by organizing both their "in cell" and "free" time through their daily routine practices to the best of their ability, time appears to pass at a more reasonable pace. During incarceration, prisoners have an extended period to contemplate their life circumstances, criminal choices, lack of freedom and current situation, which can generate more stress. Thus, rituals help reduce the psychological stress of isolation, as prisoners then have the ability to endure and oppose conditions—their ritualistic coping behaviours of resistance—that were designed to confine them. Further, as these quotes suggest, prisoners speak of literally maintaining their sanity in such contexts. As Knottnerus et al. (2006) noted in SRT, ritual can have powerful impacts on individual emotion, as well as how individuals cope with the uncertainties caused by disastrous or stressful life events. Individuals are able to cope with life altering events by recreating old or new rituals and by engaging in behaviours that hold strong and influential meanings (Bhandari et al., 2011). Thus, these rituals are used to change the perception of their period of confinement via the symbolic performance of resistance as coping. Furthermore, (ii) because the majority of ritual activities prisoners choose to engage in are solitary in nature, their isolation becomes irrelevant and the impact of being isolated decreases: "I was in a cell by myself, I had no TV, no Radio. All I did was read books and get a workout,

that's about it". The solitary nature of prison and the resulting stress can be difficult for prisoners. Routinized activities (e.g., reading) enable prisoners to focus their attention on other activities—constituting forms of resistance as coping. Although seemingly simple rituals, these actions are homologous to the rituals practiced within lower security institutions where prisoners have more freedom. As evinced by Knottnerus et al. (2006) through SRT, the ritualized activities, though different, relate to one another and reflect a sense of resistance against the institutional controls.

Finally, (iii) although solitary rituals are engaged in, interviewees also describe combinations of collective ritual behaviours that are performed to oppose the same conditions of confinement. Although engaging in similar rituals, prisoners discuss choosing to involve other prisoners in their practices:

> I hang with someone and do what he wants to do…Plus I had a celly too…My original workout partner, he's a beast, he's a monster. So I'd work out with him first, then he'd go upstairs at eight thirty, then my next set of homies would come downstairs, they'd want to do their work out… Start the same routine over every day (Interviewee 38).

> It was all cell time, you get out for ten minutes every day or every second day for a shower. At yard they would put us out in twos, or threes sometimes… They would put me with my friend… I generally stuck to like one dude usually… We were bros, we worked out together, we went to school together, we just sort of kept to ourselves (Interviewee 34).

By engaging in collective rituals, prisoners express the symbolic meanings of resistance these behaviours hold, by allowing prisoners to diverge from cultivated segregation practices by having prisoners perform activities together. Aside from portraying symbolic meanings (i.e., coping) of resistance, these rituals performed by pairs or groups – as discussed by the above excerpts – are highly homologous and salient activities. Therefore, it does not matter whether the individual's ritual consists of simply working out with other prisoners, or engaging in all ritual activities with another person, these rituals hold the same notion of resistance as coping. The

ritual practices that are homologous to one another assist in the development of emotional

bonding and solidarity amongst those who practice the rituals. Even if the rituals are dissimilar in

content, they maintain and exhibit the same meanings as they are performed together between

actors. Further, these rituals are extremely prominent and conspicuous in the lives of prisoners

who witness these collective actions:

> I had schedules set... [Did the routine help at all?] Oh for sure… I was still accomplishing something. I was out of the mix of everything. Sometimes they would come up to my cell. You're doing homework again man? Yea (Interviewee 48).

As prisoners are exposed to rituals that others engage in, these traditions and practices become

inescapably an important part of the culture and lives of prisoners. By practicing these rituals

openly, these activities become central to the lives of prisoners who not only participate in them,

but witness them as well. Their benefits and functionality become evident amongst prisoners, as

does an awareness of the importance of ritual by witnessing the consequences of abstaining from

ritual practices. Interviewee 9 elaborates:

> Cause you gotta be in your own world and do your own thing. So thankful to learn art, I was drawing a lot. I was trying to do a lot of that…Most people at [lock]downs will go crazy in their cells. They don't like lock downs cause there's nothing to do. "Ughhh I want to come out"… I got a lot of positive feedback, some guys would come, even the guards would come to my room when they come to search…they just give me positive feedbacks, positive compliments.

As this interviewee illustrates, by practicing rituals openly, the effectiveness of these actions

become evident to other prisoners, while the consequences of desisting from rituals also becomes

evident. These practices become significant to all members of this "group". In turn, the

performance of these rituals become highly salient, not simply because of the central role they

hold in the lives of prisoners who perform them, but for those who witness the consequences and

usefulness of these rituals.

Resist direct punishment from officers and prisoners

Prisoners can also oppose direct consequences and forms of punishment

exercised by correctional staff. Specifically, prisoners describe how prison officers use coercive

controls to sanction and/or restrict prisoner movement:

> Personally, it was just a new learning experience, not one that you'd want to take, but… I just realized [that] with the prison system, they're generally a lot of the officers [who] are control oriented. And they really feel they want to control your every movement (Interviewee 2).

This excerpt shows the authority of officers to control and restrict prisoner movement and

actions. Policies empower staff to oversee the lives of prisoners by limiting their movements and

access to resources. Some officers are thought to take their authority to heart when dealing with

prisoners. In consequence, prison living can be shaped by tension and antagonistic conditions

that are exasperated by some officers. In turn, prisoners describe engaging in rituals to cope with

these restrictions and sanctions—they, symbolically, oppose conditions created by officers:

> I got a lot of respect from them [officers]. I couldn't say there was one guard who really treated me bad on a day-to-day basis. There was incidents that happened and that might prolong it to a week or two of dirty stares or ignoring your requests but generally they treated me with a lot of respect. Because they've seen that I've stuck to my daily routine, didn't cause no problems (Interviewee 2).

Thus, his words show that ritual benefits the prisoners; by practicing routine behaviours

prisoners are able to gain officers approval, have their needs met, and to symbolically appear

"obedient". Staff hold much power over the lives and conditions of confinement prisoners are

exposed to, thus, prisoners must negotiate this power dynamic. The symbolic opposition of these

conditions allow these behaviours to become ritual practices. Through the use of ritual, prisoners

cope with conditions by resisting the conflict-oriented environment that can easily spiral out of

control and benefit from any respect they are awarded from correctional staff. This form of

resistance as coping coincides with the notion of agency – where prisoners may also attempt to

take back power from the institutional actors, while resisting the hostility and tension embedded

within this institution. These institutional dynamics can be overwhelming and difficult for prisoners.

Prisoners also discuss engaging in ritual practices to avoid conflict and "stay out of trouble" more generally. In the former, coping with conflict, prisoners describe how ritual is fundamental in that when presented with a tense or hostile situation, prisoners would utilize these activities so their attention would be focused on something else rather than the conflict or the individual aggravating the situation. This helps make it possible for them to cope and "avoid any drama" that may otherwise arise within this setting. While the latter, using ritual to stay out of trouble, centers on how ritual is used to avoid any outside influences that may or may not lead to conflict or further issues with the law (e.g., fights, gang conflict). To exemplify:

> My day was pretty much scheduled every day. I was working, I'd go work out… I was doing real good… I just try and work and keep busy, that's the best thing to do… sitting around and doing nothing you can get in a lot of trouble… I almost got in a couple fights there but I just kind of stuck to myself and done my workouts and went to work. I had a job there. So I just done that and I just stayed out of trouble it really helped (Interviewee 42).

Exercising and working allowed prisoners to cope by avoiding (e.g., embodied resistance) the potential conflict and "trouble" that could arise when interacting within prison. Specifically, this entails steering clear of violence:

> Do my basic routines, go to school, go to work, then in the afternoon just go to the gym. Then get a shower. And avoid certain arguments. That's a basic day right there. If an argument or something happens there's time, you can just confront the argument or you can just be like 'alright man piss off, yo'… At work, I was just more focused on making money (Interviewee 24).

As these examples demonstrate, the repetitive and structured aspect of ritual allows prisoners to remain uninvolved in disputes and to separate themselves from potentially hostile or violent happenings. This functions as a form of resistance for prisoners – a way to cope - where they can evade the omnipresent potential for violence in prisons focusing on their rituals. Interviewee 38 explains:

> I worked in the kitchen, my time was just devoted to school, kitchen and my girl. That's it. That's all I did… I spent an hour …two hours on the phone with my girl. I'd wake up in the morning, eat breakfast go to school, come back eat lunch until one o'clock. One o'clock go work. Work till three or fourish go back eat dinner, prepare my food for after my workout, and then at five thirty – six o'clock go to yard, workout from six thirty to nine thirty. By then I'm pooped… start the same routine over every day. So it was like I was busy. I wasn't into politics… you get involved in politics you get involved in getting stabbed or having to stab somebody.

Similarly, interviewee 37 explains:

> Your best bet is sticking to yourself and don't get caught up in the drama. And if you are with somebody, you better get into a routine quick with them. There's a lot of jealous guys there, so if you start mentioning how you got this much time, chances are they're gonna make you have your time doubled. So your best bet is just to get into a routine fast.

As these interviewees reveal, the repetitive and constant performance of these rituals strengthens and fortifies its importance and value for safety for prisoners. Rituals assist in that they do function as an aid to de-escalate situations, distract from seemingly trivial realities that can become contentious in the prison environment, and allow prisoners to focus on activities not related to possible conflict.

Resistance – as self-development

Although prisons are ideally to be geared toward rehabilitation and self-improvement, minimal programs and resources are available to accomplish said goals. The strategy of locking prisoners in their cells for 22-23 hour days reflects a penal system that has become more focused on risk and risk prevention than rehabilitation. Therefore, the meanings associated with the ritual practices prisoners engage in also represent resistance, not necessarily towards institutional policies, but towards overall correctional process in the form of self-development and improvement. By engaging in ritual, prisoners employ routine practices that symbolically represent "doing their time" in a productive and fulfilling manner:

> I go there and I go to work. Yeah, I go to work. I get a job in the kitchen and I go to work. Every day. So I try to pass my time by myself in a positive way. So by the time I get back on the range I'm tired, I want to go take a shower and go relax, watch some TV (Interviewee 55).

> I changed by working out, eating healthy, having relationships through mail or phone with my children, talking to the right people inside, going to drug treatment centres, having very few of the negative people in my life and more positive people. And accepting my guilt and my shame (Interviewee 46).

> I lost sixty pounds. I got into sports, lifted weights and learned how to cook, even if I'm not the best at it. I tried to make the best of my experience (Interviewee 28)

In turn, these examples demonstrate how by participating in ritual practices intended for self-betterment prisoners feel a sense of accomplishment. The decision to serve time engaging in self-betterment practices is a means of resistance (e.g., by routinizing various activities prisoners are able to enhance areas of their lives). Although the ritual practices in the examples discuss different routine activities (e.g., watching TV, showering and working vs. making contact with family), these actions are homologous to one another. In both examples, these rituals create a form of symbolic opposition to prison by fostering improvement in an environment that is, in many cases, more punitive than rehabilitative. While the penal environment attempts to limit contact and interaction with the outside world, and provides limited resources for healthy lifestyles, rituals allow prisoners to maintain these positive relationships and life styles by having these activities become a part of their routine. Yet, prisoners are able to improve their self by making and maintaining positive relationships and life style choices.

Discussion/Conclusion

As suggested by Knottnerus et al. (2006) through SRT, the rituals performed by prisoners, and the symbolic meanings they hold (e.g., agency and resistance as coping) are structured by the environment in which they are found (e.g., the prison). By engaging in these ritual practices, prisoners experience emotional responses and cognitive changes brought forth by the symbolic meanings held by these routinized actions. The role and function of ritual within the prison environment, viewed from the standpoint of prisoners, can be used to reduce the stress

and negative experiences tied to incarceration (e.g., deprivation, loss of freedom). In this context, ritual functions as a means of adaption for prisoners, constructing a seemingly less hostile and negative environment by allowing prisoners to gain a sense of agency and resistance. In turn, allowing them to cope with the penal environment, by enacting the ritual practices. The full degree to which these rituals impact the lives, emotions, and cognition of prisoners is discussed in terms of "Rank". The four factors which impact rank are: repetitiveness, salience, homolougness, and resources. These components assist in analyzing and understanding how influential these rituals actually are in prison.

As previously explained, repetitiveness refers to the frequency that ritual practices are performed by members of a "group". As routine behaviours are consistently engaged in, actors feel an emotional and cognitive response to the ritual experienced itself. The symbolic meanings these rituals hold (e.g., agency and resistance as coping) are reinforced by the consistency to which they are practiced. Rituals, such as reading, working out, studying, or drawing, are described as being performed in a systemic pattern, with a "schedule", "every single day". The daily and consistent performance of these practices become cyclical, and therefore express the notion of resisting and coping with penal regulations, and allowing prisoners to take some control over their lives (e.g., agency). In turn, the repetitiveness of rituals carries a high emotional response. As Knottnerus et al. (2006) suggests through SRT, the symbolic meanings held by these rituals are why these seemingly simple behaviours have an emotional impact on how prisoners are feeling, and in turn, how they experience the penal environment. As these rituals, riddled with meanings of agency and resistance as coping, are consistently performed these emotions are created and recreated for prisoners. Therefore, as prisoners repeatedly practice rituals feelings of power, coping and adaption are increasingly felt.

In addition, the salience of ritual behaviour establishes how obvious and open these activities are within the penal setting, and the apparent importance of ritual for prisoners who engage in them. Throughout the data, a variety of interviewees discuss the prominence of their rituals within the institution, and how rituals of agency and resistance as coping were observable and commented on by other prisoners. Further, the majority of rituals within the penal setting are practiced in an open environment that is apparent and observable to other prisoners and staff (e.g., the gym, the yard). All rituals are witnessed by at least one or two other persons within the group. Even rituals that are practiced within a cell are witnessed by at least one other prisoner or staff. Further, the consequences of abstaining from ritual practices are also visible within this environment. Prisoners observe how those who do not practice rituals within this setting tend to not gain the same benefits, in contrast to those who engage in said practices. In turn, as these rituals are, or are not, observed, their usefulness and the meanings they hold become apparent to those within the "group". Consequently, how salient these rituals are within the environment allows them to be recreated by other prisoners and practiced regularly - an essential component in the development of ritual within a group. This consistency within the group impacts the culture of the setting and increases how influential rituals become to the prison environment.

In line with the symbolic meanings these rituals hold, the homologousness (i.e., the similarity and connection between the various rituals and the symbolic meanings they portray) of these routine behaviours becomes essential to how they impact actors within the penal environment. Their associated meanings impact the overall culture within the institution. The more connection and commonality ritual actions have to one another, in respect to the meanings they convey, the greater the influence they have over actors - a representation of penal culture. Although a variety of seemingly mundane routine practices exist (e.g., "reading, drawing, and

working out") for prisoners, rituals within this environment are highly homologous as they present agency and resistance as coping. Regardless of the various institutions, and their specified security classifications (maximum, medium, minimum), these rituals continue to hold the same meanings of resistance and agency within the environment, further strengthening their homologousness. All rituals practiced, impose meanings of re-establishing a sense of control in the lives of prisoners, equating to the idea that, regardless of the ritual and the institution, prisoners have the ability to adapt to the penal setting.

However, a variation exists between the specific ritual practices, as resources and programs available may change based on the security classification of each facility. Resources are described as both human (e.g., skills, characteristics) and non-human (e.g., money, time) materials that are required to perform the various rituals. Prisoners are forced to create their rituals within the parameters of the penal environment, which differ based upon the security classification of the institution. This means that prisons not only determine what programs and services are available (e.g., work, school), but also what material resources are available (e.g., pens, pencils, paper, books) and what policies and practices prisoners must follow (e.g., yard time, free time, in cell-time). In this sense, lower level security institutions provide a greater number of resources and have less rigid controls, and more freedom. These institutions allow prisoners to move around relatively freely throughout the prison, and establish their own rituals and schedules as the free time allotted to prisoners is relatively open. In contrast, maximum-security institutions have less freedom and more in cell time. Consequently, fewer resources are available to prisoners to help establish their rituals; therefore, these rituals become simpler and less complex. Nonetheless, rituals hold the same meaning (e.g., agency and resistance as coping) regardless of the institution in which it is practiced.

The combination of each individual component influences the level of effectiveness these rituals have on prisoners. In sum, the four components (repetitiveness, salience, homologousness, and resources) of SRT demonstrate that the rituals practiced by prisoners are highly ranked and powerful within the penal environment. When rituals are frequently practiced and repeated, apparent and visible, comparable to the other rituals, and available through the prison resources, the rank of the ritual increases and becomes impactful. In turn, these rituals strongly influence the behaviours, cognitions, social relationships, and emotional responses of those who engage in these. Applying SRT we suggest that rituals, and the manner in which they are performed (i.e. highly repetitive, salient, homologous, and resource intensive) enhance the ability of prisoners to adapt to the harsh and difficult penal environment by establishing a sense of agency and resistance as coping to penal policies and practices. Participation in these seemingly simple and mundane rituals enhances the ability of prisoners to manage the stress and negative conditions of incarceration, and thus their ability to navigate and adapt to prison living. Nonetheless, the recognition of the importance of ritual and routine within this environment requires further analysis and development. Greater consideration must be given to the influence of ritual in the lives of prisoners and given the fluidity of pre, during and post prison living, the role of ritual for prisoners post incarceration during re-entry.

Chapter Three - Conclusion

Of the 15,000 individuals imprisoned in one of the 43 federal penitentiaries across Canada, the majority will eventually find themselves released from custody (Correctional Services Canada, 2013a). These individuals are sent back into the community with varying levels of supervision from statutory release, to day parole, or full parole. To date, almost 8,000 individuals are serving the remainder of their prison sentences out in the community. Consequently, any maladaptive behaviour resulting from physical and psychological harm that ensues from conditions of confinement will eventually become an issue for society (e.g., healthcare services, social services), rather than prison administration. As a result, the ability to cope and manage prison living becomes an important topic of conversation for, not only prison scholars, but the overall community.

The current state of federal prisons in Canada is marked by overcrowding, deprivation (e.g., loss of freedom), a reduction in accessible programming and increased wait times for services. In consequence, prison living is stressful and difficult for prisoners. Those imprisoned must manage their prison environment while simultaneously working toward more normative social functioning in an effort to ensure success during community reintegration post incarceration. Unfortunately, the prison environment creates harmful and stressful living circumstances, which has led scholars to examine the coping strategies employed by prisoners (Reed et al., 2009; Bonta and Gendreau, 1990; Gullone et al, 2000). Yet, few scholars have researched how rituals function to assist prisoners ability to manage and cope with the stress of imprisonment.

Using Structural Ritualization Theory (SRT), I show the social and individual symbolic behaviours that actors engage in through the performance of ritual practices by analyzing

interviews with former prisoners. The routine behaviours discussed by interviewees had associated meanings for prisoners (e.g., agency and resistance). Further, by engaging in these practices prisoners create cognitive and emotional responses allowing them to cope with the harmful and negative conditions of confinement. Similar to other ritual scholars, including Knottnerus (2005) and Bhandari et al. (2011), ritual practices were found to help individuals cope with disastrous or harmful events (e.g., confinement). To this end, SRT identifies four components of rituals that influence the effectiveness of ritual practices: repetition, salience, homologousness, and available resources.

When actors engage in symbolic practices that are repetitive, carry the same symbolic meanings, are apparent and obvious to other members of the group, and use available resources, these practices have an increasing impact on the emotional response of individuals. Prisoners within the penal environment establish simple routine behaviours (e.g. drawing, reading, working, going to school, or working out) in a repetitive and visible manner. These rituals are constructed around the available prison resources and hold similar symbolic meanings, including forms of agency and resistance as coping. These factors allow rituals to have an effective influence on the emotional responses of prisoners, further allowing prisoners to cope with and manage prison living.

Applying this to the ritual practices of prisoners, I first analyzed semi structured face-to-face interviews with 56 formerly incarcerated prisoners conducted by Dr. R. Ricciardelli to establish emergent themes surrounding prisoners' ritual and routine practices. Secondly, through a constructed grounded theory approach, I coded the transcripts for emergent themes pertaining to ritual and routine as put forth by prisoners (See Table One). Next, I analyzed these themes to gain an understanding of how ritual activities, such as, working, going to school, and drawing,

were repetitively practiced in this environment as a means of adapting to prison. Through the routinized performance of these seemingly normative daily practices, prisoners appeared better able to manage and cope with the stresses of prison living; routine offered an opportunity to evoke their agency and ability to resist. Finally, I integrated SRT to gain an understanding of how effective these behaviours were - by examining how repetitive, salient, homologous, and resource intensive rituals engaged in by prisoners were in federal prisons. Findings indicate that prisoners, regardless of the institution, effectively use rituals to demonstrate their agency and resistance, each a means to oppose their conditions of confinement. In turn, rituals can be viewed as effective strategies for coping with imprisonment.

Although ritualized behaviours symbolically represent personal agency and resistance, they are created by prisoners to cope with the harsh penal setting. Specifically, they encourage and promote the construction and maintenance of ritual behaviours, as a means of managing the inevitable harm that ensues from prison overcrowding, reduced programming, and confinement (Sapers, 2011; Office of the Auditor General, 2014). In many cases, beyond the control of penal administration and staff, prison living is tied to psychological and physical harm for prisoners (Gottschalk, 2012; de Viggiani, 2007). Therefore, by encouraging and endorsing the creation of rituals, and providing available resources (e.g., including libraries, books, pens, papers, exercise equipment, and schooling) to prisoners, they will have the opportunity (even autonomy) to create ritual practices that cater to their needs. The construction and maintenance of these rituals have the ability to aid prisoners in managing stress, avoid conflict leading to institutional charges, and reduce the physical and psychological harm associated with confinement.

Nonetheless, there are several distinct limitations with respect to this study that require attention in future research; resulting from the methodologies used in this thesis, as well as time

and resource restrictions. First, within this study, the data set utilized was made up of interviews with former federally incarcerated prisoners conducted for the purpose of a larger study. To this end, the interview guide did not solely focus on ritual and routine practices, and conversations surrounding ritual and routine made up only a portion of the interviews. Placing a focus on and orienting questions toward ritual and routine within the penal environment would create a greater level of understanding of how prisoners utilize these behaviours within the prison setting for future research. Further, the interviews accounted solely for the experiences of male participants, therefore, the unique circumstances pertaining to female incarceration and any differentiation between male and female ritual and coping could not be addressed in this study. Secondly, true grounded theory requires the ability to code, modify questions, and engage in analysis as the data is being collected. As this thesis utilized interviews conducted by Dr. R. Ricciardelli, interview questions were not developed and transcripts were not analyzed during the data collection process, as data collection and coding were done separately. In consequence, I used a grounded theory approach during the coding and analysis of the data, but could not fully position this work in grounded theory during the data collection process. Third, it is important to recognize that ritual practices have limitations within this setting for prisoners. Although constructed by prisoners and identified as an adaptive tool for coping, rituals simultaneously encompass a means of social control inherent to the penal environment. This adaptive function, though important for surviving incarceration, keeps prisoners inline and therefore partially maintains the power and control exercised within this setting. The ability to cope with the penal environment, with the minimal resources available, also supports institutional objectives which benefit from prisoners' conforming behaviours. Finally, there are specific limitations with respect to the effectiveness of ritual for prisoners upon release. Although identified as a strategy to manage the stress of

incarceration while serving time, this study does not look at how effective rituals are post-release. Due to time and resource limitations, the scope of this study was limited to the experiences of prisoners and their ritual practices while incarcerated. Future research should focus on how ritual and routine practices are used and maintained post release, and whether ritual is an effective reintegration tool once back in the community.

As presented in this thesis, the negative and harsh penal environment is navigated and managed by prisoners. By repetitively engaging in seemingly simple and everyday practices (e.g., working, drawing, reading, etc.), riddled with meanings of agency and resistance, prisoners use institutional resources to construct meaningful ritual behaviours while imprisoned. These ritual practices and the meanings they hold create an emotional response for prisoners allowing them to cope with the stress of incarceration. The adaption to prison life is essential for prisoners and their ability to reduce the harm associated with confinement and aid them in the process of reintegrating back into the community post release.

Table one: Comprehensive list of emergent themes

Ritual and routine	Any practice or behaviour that is engaged in and practiced in a scheduled and structured manner. For example: prisoners discussing in detail their daily schedules and how their time outside of their cells were routinized (e.g., wake up, work, school, gym, sleep, wake up, work, school, gym, sleep).
Basic Routine	Any and all discussions of simple of mundane practices by prisoners while incarcerated (e.g., inside or outside of their cell). Including schedules oriented towards daily activities (e.g., reading, sleeping, working, etc.)
Passing the time	Any discussions of how prisoners chose to occupy their free time both inside and outside of their cell, as well as time spent alone or unoccupied by programs of services. Any reference to the utilization of rituals as a means of diverging from the stress of incarceration resulting from lengthy periods of confinement by idling their time.
Positive emotional response	Discourse surrounding prisoners' associating engaging in ritual practices with constructive, helpful or meaningful experiences. Any discussion of how ritual was an adaptive or useful tool within the penal environment
Deciding how to 'do' time	Prisoner experiences that represent the decision and autonomy behind how an individual chose to complete their period of incarceration by practicing ritual behaviours, the sense of self that is constructed by the decision to complete one's period of incarceration in this manner
Protection	Any and all discussions regarding how ritual and routine was used as a means of managing one's safety within the penal environment; a means of avoiding conflict and confrontations with fellow prisoners, staff, as well as administration.
Maximum security institutions	Experiences of incarcerated men who utilize ritual within all maximum security environments, and the unique function of ritual within this particular security classification that is characterized by high levels of surveillance, restricted movement, 22-23 hour in cell lock-up, and heightened security.
Minimum security institutions	Any reference to lower security institutions and how these institutions impacted the use and need for ritual practices. The unique manner in which rituals within these institutions are performed.

	How institutional programs and services aided in the ability to engage in ritual behaviours.
Correctional Staff	Any experiences involving correctional staff or personnel (doctors, nurses, administrators) that impacted, reinforced, or failed to support the use of ritual and routine within the penal setting.

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