

**Here She Comes:
Women of Convict Criminology**
Denise Woodall

ABSTRACT

In response to Joanne Belknap's 2014 presidential address in which she critiqued the white male dominance of Convict Criminology, formerly incarcerated women formed the group's first thematic panel on "Women of Convict Criminology" at the American Society of Criminology annual conference in 2016. This article reports the results of an analysis presented in the first session that illustrates the invisibility of directly impacted women contributors to our knowledgebase and recaps the inspiration, courage, and empiricism that sparked the presence of a new, more diverse group of directly impacted people fighting for recognition and inclusion in knowledge construction within 'malestream' criminology. Ways of conceptualizing carceral status as one axis of oppressions and directions for the future of Convict Criminology are discussed.

Keywords:

Feminism, Convict Criminology, Higher Education, Intersectionality, Carceral Status

INTRODUCTION

Convict Criminology (CC) had a primarily long-standing strong white male membership until a 2014 American Society of Criminology presidential address by feminist criminologist Joanne Belknap, which shook its patriarchal structure to its core. She publicly named and criticized the CC group for its failure to bring forth voices of women and people of color. Although the published formal response to her was white and male, quietly women, queer, people of color organized and began discussing these very relevant problems in our ranks that Belknap said out loud. Directly impacted white, Black, brown, and/or queer women began to speak up to establish a presence in the previously male-dominated space of standpoint criminological knowledge production.

This paper traces some of the important moments that led myself and other women to come forward in our professional space to redirect a very white and male CC that, although it had provided us with 25 years of

important trailblazing, needed a different face to forge an inclusive path into the future. CC has encountered recent rifts in its membership. With some seeking diversification, re-definitions, and new language, others sought to maintain the status quo with mere tokenistic inclusion, while others still clung to an imagined diversity that had not yet been present – until recently. As members squabbled over how to broaden, deepen, widen, and diversify its ranks, I argue that the transformations must go far deeper than tokenism, performances to gain big-name sponsorship, and “adding women and stirring” style inclusion. Members will need to acknowledge and demand that multiple marginalized identities are squarely seated at the table shoulder-to-shoulder designing and directing our future, even if that means Black and brown people, women, trans, or queer identified people lead the way. Considering the legacy of slavery and colonial rule, it is possible that Black, brown, trans women will not trust a group with such a white male dominated patriarchal lineage. They may seek to create something uniquely their own, or more people from diverse backgrounds and experiences may opt to join us. It is hard to know what will happen, but it is certain that in order to engage in meaningful explorations of ways to honor, create safety, and lift those voices most marginalized, Convict Criminology needs to continue to take hard looks at its white male character, and know that it still has work to do.

I will first recap the genealogy of the Women of CC group from my perspective. Then, I will report on data illustrating the lack of presence of women, particularly women of color, trans, and queer carceral citizens in our knowledgebase, that I presented in 2016 at our first thematic panel on “Women of Convict Criminology”. I will also touch on what little has changed on the publication front of CC. Following that, I set forth a guide for allies who, as I argue, will be imperative for opening doors of academia to the most marginalized carceral citizens, less we have to kick them down.

Before doing so, however, a brief note on language is needed. All humans act in ways that transgress laws (Baxter, 2017; Coyle, 2018; Woodall, 2016, 2019). Yet those captured by the carceral state are marked and subjugated, while others are privileged to evade such categorization. The criminal label translates individuals into *carceral citizens* available for legal and social exclusions that *conventional citizens* are not subject to (Miller & Stuart, 2017). Therefore, I use the term carceral citizens as a replacement to Convict Criminology’s use of the term “con”.

A BRIEF GENEALOGY OF THE WOMEN OF THE CC GROUP

As a woman member of the new school of CC, I would first like to credit them for being a powerful defender of the rights of carceral citizens and an incredible resource for helping those in various stages of incarceration navigate the pressures of graduate applications and studies, research, and faculty life. However, I have joined in the chorus of rising voices signaling the dangers of presenting a largely white male-dominated group, like CC, as the authority on insider experiential knowledge within the criminal justice system. I do so, in efforts to improve the chances that women, trans, and queer people of color will be acknowledged and heard so that we can build a safer and more dignified future for everyone harmed by the criminal justice system.

Women carceral citizens may have gotten used to being alone since the relevance of our experiences in criminological thought is so often sidelined to the idea that “there are so few of us” or that “we don’t have it as bad as men”. As we enact our inside-voice eye-roll at those familiar statements, we do so – alone. Indeed, us women may have likely grown accustomed to being the only woman she knows who has had direct carceral experience in our academic circles. So, when Joanne Belknap delivered her 2014 Presidential Address encompassing a scathing critique of the invisibility of directly impacted women, particularly women of color in our professional circles or in our knowledgebase, setting her critique squarely on the white male dominated “voice” of the incarcerated in criminological thought of CC, our spirits were re-kindled.

Many women at the time who “ran” in our CC circles were early-stage faculty, graduate, or even undergraduate students. The men swiftly set out to construct a response to Belknap’s critiques with the few women I knew respectfully declining to get involved or being downright rejected from the 2016 *Critical Criminology* special edition response to Belknap that was colonialishly dominated by white men. Titling a response to Belknap mansplaining why women or people of color are not invisibilized, called “The struggle for inclusion”, with four white men at the authorial helm was quite frankly, publicly embarrassing. I found myself making excuses for the men arguing, “They just don’t know better” or self-blaming excuses like “well, none of us, white, brown, Black or queer women were around, available, or stepping up to write a response to Belknap”. However, looking

back, it would not have been that difficult for someone, anyone, to interview women and people of color in the group to get our take on Belknap's address, and keep our identities confidential. Perhaps asking a queer woman of color to author a paper that interviewed directly impacted Black, brown, women, trans, and queer people of color who have knowledge of the Convict Criminology group would have at least been something to show the professional community that there was an acknowledgement of the severe historical imbalance of white male voices in the group and an illustrated attempt, by the members, to right that wrong. Instead, the professional community received howls of defense and excuses from male members of the group while it was clear for anyone to see, Convict Criminology had been, and looked as if it was going to continue to be, a white men's club.

By late-2015, the year after Belknap gave her critique, every woman with direct experience that had set foot in a CC session at the ASC in Washington, DC really started talking. We had dinner, lunches, and coffee, and we decided that it was time for a "Women of Convict Criminology" session at our next annual meeting. We knew also that women of color, trans, and queer people were under-represented at our tables, so we decided to add an additional session on strategizing for inclusion.

In 2016, the very first "Women of Convict Criminology" session took place. The room was packed, but with depressingly very few male members in attendance. The most fully glorious, intelligent, articulate, powerful, upstanding, fighters for justice stood at the podium, and continued to do so year after year. Their direct accounts of gendered and racialized carceral violence revealed the myriads of ways that the criminal justice system symbolically and physically kicks, brutalizes, beats, batters, humiliates, shames, bars, and blocks – compoundingly. Each bright shining participant boldly stepped forward to highlight how multiple layers of oppression lay upon her compounding harms and indignities with narrative-busting purpose and visions for change. I thought, "I can't believe it took this long for us to do this!" Even quite established women scholars exuberantly cheered from the audience, "It's about time!" Indeed, it was about time. The people who presented in the feminist CC sessions year after year thoughtfully centered the experience of the carceral system around their multiply marginalized identities of being women, queer, non-binary, non-white or otherwise, feminist.

Even the roundtables were exciting as attendees expressed feverish longing for a diverse CC group. But like many well-meaning and needed

initiatives, few of us had time to build an empire as we were saddled with living life as multiply marginalized people in the world. What we are learning is that – shocker – women, trans, and queer people of color have a lot going on! Women, particularly women of color, already struggle to gain recognition for their achievements in academic settings (Croom, 2017; Griffin, 2019). Men and women of color are also coping with racial battle fatigue (Smith et al., 2011; Corbin et al., 2018), while trans people are just trying to gain access at all to these spaces (Holley, 2011).

The stratification of criminalized people mirrors the broader society, therefore, more white male carceral citizens are heard. Fewer individuals with multiple characteristics of identity that intersect with carceral citizen status to amplify oppression, ever make it through the doors. Critics agree, the male dominated voice permeates crime studies (Belknap, 2014; Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2012) and I have to agree that this has bled into CC (Belknap, 2014). Based on my own directly impacted status, my work with re-entering women for 17 years in service, activism, and research, as well as my collegial work with CC group since 2012, I know that our discipline would benefit greatly from a convict feminist standpoint that privileges marginalized perspectives (MacKinnon, 2004; Bartlett, 1990; Perkins, 2000). For application in the discipline of crime, law, or deviance, this process would require greater involvement of women carceral citizens in knowledge production.

Making this happen is fraught with difficulties that seemed to be overlooked in the Belknap's presidential address. The patriarchal framework of the broader society also structures academia and the carceral citizen population, making the raising of directly impacted women's voices exceedingly difficult. Women are discriminated against and struggle more than men do in academia (Miller & Miller, 2002). It is essentially a "double whammy" to also be formerly incarcerated. We know little about how these identities intersect and compound the likelihood of stigmatization and discrimination in academia. I read much "critical" work with authorial claims of support for women carceral citizens. They declare our "voices should be lifted" and that "we should be heard". However, I see few of them writing about how they are actually facilitating those contributions.

It seems that Belknap has tasted the Convict Criminology frustration in her own attempts to bring a convicted woman into a graduate program as her strong recommendation was rejected by a graduate committee in her own department. In my experience, I see that CC group members share this pain

with her. I have witnessed and experienced CC group recommendations go unheeded. The CC group's hands have been tied in a similar fashion to the way Belknap's have been in efforts to get women carceral citizens accepted into graduate programs. It appears that CC group diversity question is less about mentorship quality, although much more could have been done, and more about the limits of their power. I argue that solving the problem of CC group diversity cannot fall completely on the shoulders of the CC ranks as change is needed in the ranks of academia as well. This requires a commitment to recruiting, mentoring, and defending convicted women and minority group members in ways that lift them up into positions of power. There are few, if any, hiring committees or graduate committees completely comprised of Convict Criminologists. Thus, it is up to the intelligentsia to help us up! Those of us who are intersectionally marginalized need chances to be given to us by those who have the power and privilege to do so.

Before I engage in a deeper discussion of allyship, I would like to turn to the data as evidence of the ongoing difficulty of women carceral citizen's scholarship to be located in our knowledge base. It will be difficult to make use of women's voices to disrupt problematic unaffected ivory tower truth claims if we cannot find them. I confirm through the data described below, although I think we already knew it, that there is an ongoing invisibility of directly impacted women informing, rather not informing, our scientific understanding of crime and justice. If she is there, it is hard to know it. If her experience is shooting through the academic empire authority on criminal justice, it too often does so in disguise.

LOCATING DIRECTLY IMPACTED WOMEN IN OUR KNOWLEDGEBASE

In search of directly impacted women scholarship, I pursued three sources, Convict Criminology publications listed on their website, the *Journal of Prisoners on Prisons* (now CC group's official journal), and a Sociological Index search for particular phrases that I thought would guide me to women carceral citizen scholarship. I engaged in this work to mimic what any scholar might do in attempts to find women scholars writing on issues of criminal justice from a directly impacted and experienced perspective. I conducted this research in preparation for the 2017 "Women of Convict Criminology" session that I had organized, and it had remained unpublished until now.

The Sociological Index search was conducted by entering the phrases “incarcerated autoethnography”, “as a formerly incarcerated woman”, “I was incarcerated” and “convict criminology”, then analyzing the publications published since 2006. The *Journal of Prisoners on Prisons* site was searched in its entirety since 2006 and the Convict Criminology site was analyzed in its entirety.

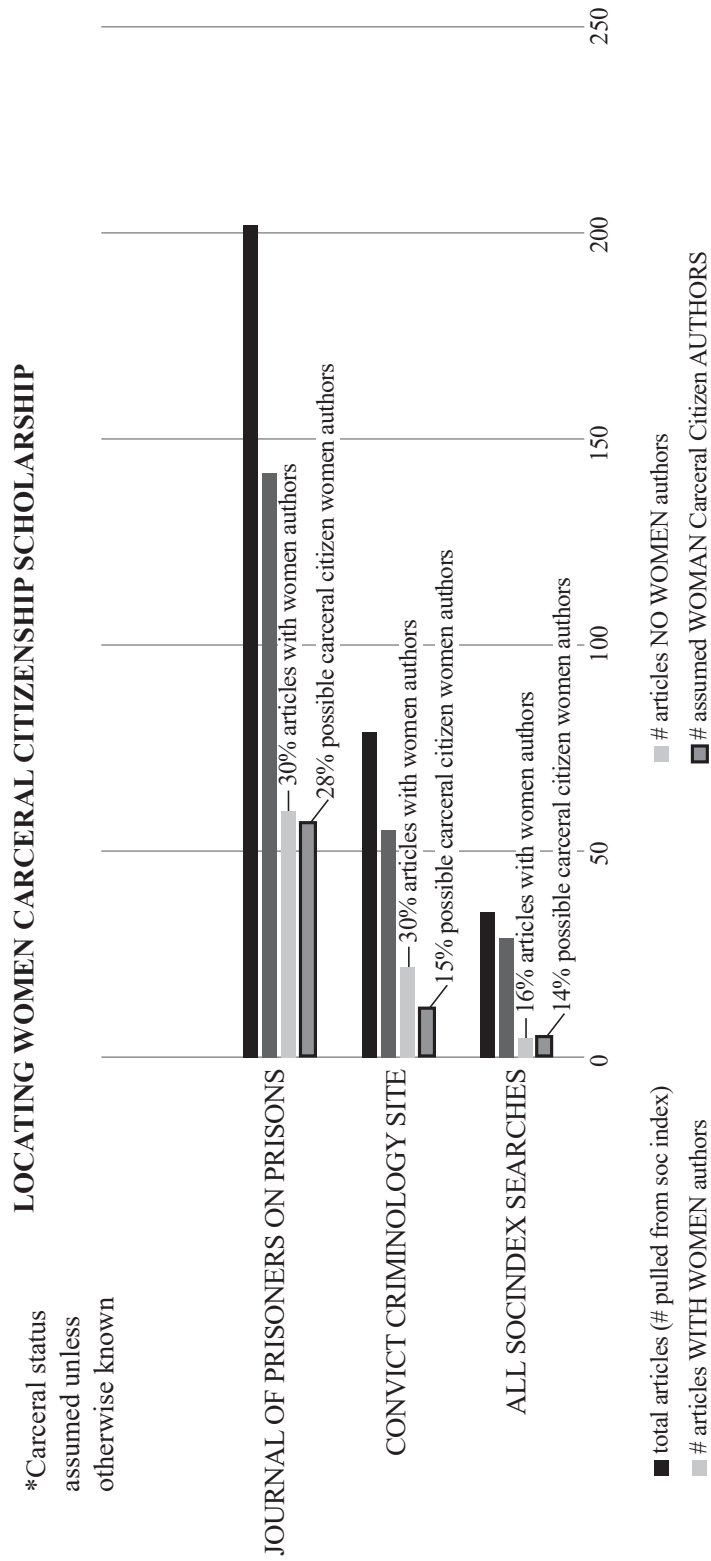
**Table 1: The Difficulty of Locating Women
Carceral Citizen Scholarship in the Knowledgebase**

Source searched	# of WOMEN authors who were possibly directly Impacted.	# of total Articles WITH WOMEN as authors	# Articles NO WOMEN authors	Total Articles	Notes
SOCINDEX SEARCHES ^{1 2}	5 (14% of total)	6 (16%)	30 (83%)	36	Not-centred poc, trans, or queer
CONVICT CRIMINOLOGY SITE (2016)	12 (15% of total)	23 (30%)	56 (71%)	79	Non-centred poc, trans, or queer
JOURNAL OF PRISONERS ON PRISONS ¹	57 (28% of total)	60 (30%)	142 (70%)	202	Some centred poc, non-centred queer and trans

¹ Since 2006

² “incarcerated autoethnography” / “as a formerly incarcerated woman” / “I was incarcerated” / convict criminology”

**Figure 1: The Difficulty of Locating Women
Carceral Citizen Scholarship 2016 Chart**



Clearly, women carceral citizen scholarship is difficult to find. Before I go into a deeper explanation, there are three major sorting issues with the data that I would like to justify as I describe *Table 1* and *Figure 1*. First, I have raw number and percentage of total articles by women, and a raw number and percentage of women authors who I assumed to be directly impacted. I did this to prevent counts of the same woman authoring multiple manuscripts. Women with incarceration experience can be tokenized and I did not want to list a percentage of directly impacted women authors out of my results total that was basically the same woman. Second, I had difficulty determining whether a woman author had direct experience with the carceral system, but I tallied her into the ‘carceral citizen’ list if I even got a hint of that status. My assumptions in that regard were based on reading the abstract and skimming the article. Generally, I found no mention of a woman’s carceral status stated in nearly any of the abstracts. Instead, I had to hunt down hints that were dropped deep into the articles. Lastly, I did not spend time sorting out the same breakdown of carceral citizen men authors to men authored articles like I did for the women. I simply aimed to illustrate the general numbers of articles with no women authorship compared to articles with women authorship in my results. My focus here was on finding women representation, so I centered them and spent less time sorting through the specifics about men.

The most important finding here, from my perspective, is that locating formerly incarcerated men’s perspective in the knowledgebase was relatively straightforward, while locating women carceral citizen’s scholarship was nearly impossible. When she stated her position as author, it was done so with vagueness, while men were much more blatant about it. As I sifted and sorted my way through the three sources taking ethnographic notes along the way, I remained sensitized to how difficult it was for me to determine which women authors had incarceration experience and who did not. The bottom line is, qualitatively, finding formerly incarcerated men’s scholarship was much easier than finding women’s.

When a woman has direct experience, her status is often revealed deeper in the article than those written by men. There are no women members proclaiming she is a “voice from prison” in the title or quoting “to hell with the classroom bred, degree-toting experts, far removed from the grubby realities of the prisoner’s lives!” as introductions to their chapters as I found with men’s writing. Rather, women were much more subtle, with statements

like “one of the authors has this [sentencing] experience” and “experienced carceral harm first-hand...” found buried in the middle of a paragraph often several pages into an article. Men, on the other hand, boldly proclaimed their carceral status and proudly asserted how their experience has the power to challenge what decades of white masculine criminological ivory tower empiricism has set forth as legitimate in the abstracts and even titles of their papers. Reading how women interjected their experience into knowledge production more subtly, quietly, and in ways that took up less critical space disturbed me terribly. Why could we not jump onto our soapbox and tell all masculine science and the intelligentsia “how it is”? Why were we not purporting that our ways of knowing were superior? Well, at this point I would like to do what all good scholars do – draw from what we already know, infer them to my data, and tell some stories about the “why” question.

Quite simply, I think that finding formerly incarcerated women (much less queer, trans, or women of color) was incredibly difficult because we are already marginalized in the broader society and have tended to not be granted historical access to take on patriarchal power anywhere, including the academy. It is not a far-reaching to expect to see the same phenomena mirrored in our knowledgebase, which was built by, and for, white men. Furthermore, being incarcerated is a masculine act. If it is something to do with getting arrested for violence, drugs, or some other ways that boys are just being boys, then, there is much less harm in coming forward about that if you are a white male, than it is if you are a woman, black, queer, or trans person. To admit to criminal acts and past arrest experiences for us would be admitting to double and triple norm violations! Her positionality in the matrix of domination, exacerbates the harm for her to do this. Women carceral citizens struggle with the contentious forces of deviance and femininity. On the other hand, white men can achieve an almost heightened status by sharing stories of their time in prison. They win masculine brownie points for being tough and enduring carceral violence, whereas women, particularly mothers, gender non-conforming women, or racially diverse women, are constructed as hysterical, crazy, or at the very least, not a real woman. Our social identities take a harder hit with the carceral citizen label attached to our gender and racial identity than white men do.

Although there have been times when writing opportunities have come available for women in the CC group circles, I would argue that we are often juggling the feminine pressures of home, family, social relations, and

heavy clerical and emotion-work duties tasked to us in graduate school and our early faculty years to be able to take part in these endeavors on intensely crunched deadlines. In my case, I care for my grandson and my father, act as mediator to family troubles, provision, and taxi family members in need around. I cook, clean, shop, give emotional support to friends, family, and community, all while working harder than many of my male counterparts for a fraction of the pay. These are experiences that many women, including women carceral citizens, are all too familiar with. The double shifts we work make publishing on a man's timeline challenging to say the least.

To see how much or how little CC groups have accomplished in showcasing women and other gender identities has changed in these few years, I took another look at the CC site alone as I prepared this article. As *Table 2* illustrates, it is clear that not much progress has been made. However, to be fair, the wheels of academic knowledge-building churn slowly in its attempt to build inclusivity. This is certainly in the works, but the proof has still not quite yet seeped into the pudding.

Table 2 illustrates that not much has changed in the way of women representation, but it is becoming clear that we are here. The site underwent an overhaul and many papers in the resource section were traded out. Some of the women and people with experience are currently present and active members of the group. That should bring us hope.

As *Figure 2* depicts, carceral status must be understood as a subject position in the social strata that is deeply shaped by one's placement in other hierarchies. Intersectionality is not only the sum of added oppressions. Rather, it represents the acknowledgement and analysis of positionalities produced by systems of oppression that are interwoven, overlapping, and multiplicative (Collins, 1986; Crenshaw, 1990). There is no one 'convict' experience, and the best way to illustrate this is to be representative of more people situated in different social positions with different life experiences. If Convict Criminology wants to be that voice, they will have to be much more colorful and diverse than they have been and currently are.

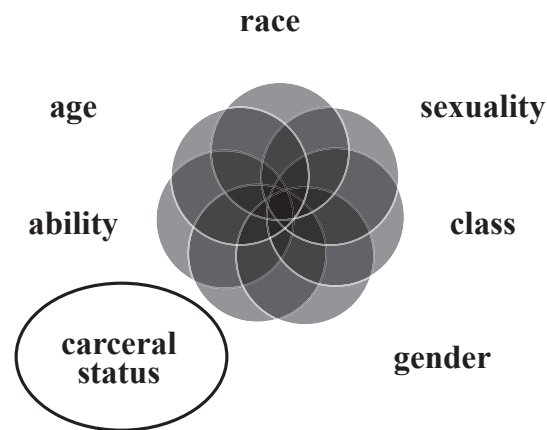
Regardless of its problems, many of our members would surely agree with the fact that CC has been a powerful catalyst for empowering carceral citizens and giving them voices. The CC group remains a largely safe haven for the white woman carceral citizen who is rationally fearful to step out and lay her head upon the proverbial chopping block of administrative policy and departmental prejudices. It is yet to be seen if it is safe for the queer, trans,

**Table 2: Women Representation Still Waning
on the Convict Criminology Site**

Source searched	# of WOMEN authors who were possibly directly Impacted.	# of total Articles WITH WOMEN as authors	# Articles NO WOMEN authors	Total Articles	Notes
CONVICT CRIMINOLOGY SITE 2017	12 (15%)	23 (30%)	56 (71%)	79	Not-centred poc, trans, or queer
CONVICT CRIMINOLOGY SITE 2021	12 (21%)	14 (24%)	44 (76%)	58	Non-centred poc, trans, or queer
	# of directly impacted Women authors change	# of total articles with women change	# articles with NO women authors change	total	Notes
CONVICT CRIMINOLOGY SITE CHANGE	No raw increase, but increase in percentage due to fewer total articles	Decrease in articles with women authors	Higher percentage of articles with no women authors	Fewer authors all together	More articles featuring women of color and queer (counted 4)

woman of color. The CC group cannot liberate women or women of color because this requires change in the broader social political system and allies are needed to make opportunities for women to apply their knowledge. We can, however, support one another and forge a direction that is dignifying to us. Beware that expecting a directly impacted woman to climb out onto the

**Figure 2: Denise Woodall's Conceptualization
How Carceral Status Interlocks With Other Aspects of Identity
to Compoundingly Privilege and Oppress Individuals***



*Note: reproduced from Denise Woodall's dissertation and manuscript in progress on carceral status.

cross to be crucified for the sake of making a stand for convicted women's rights in academia, so that she can lose her job, while non-carceral citizens sit and write about how awful that is, adding more lines to their CV at her expense, is not justice.

What I have personally gained from the mentorship, partnership, and allyship in CC group is that I have come to personally know scholars around the world, I have been provided opportunities for service in the way of organizing conference sessions, designing research, and managing the group's membership list. I have been offered opportunities for collaborative research and writing in an environment that welcomes and entertains my ideas, as well as understands the preciousness of my unique experience with discrimination. Action behind their support is measurable in the way that I have been ushered into a leadership position, and the way I feel safe and secure in a hostile academic environment, and even to write this paper. However, I am in many ways retained in precarious work situations, struggle with melding my direct experience and my scholarly writing, found dodging questions about my past, yet still feeling strong desires to change the narrative. Know that men's experience of incarceration cannot explain women's because white men's

identities are invisible while our carceral status is transformed by the nature of our differing gendered experiences. Where women, and particularly women of color's, identities are on display and in constant active operation in her daily life, white men carceral citizens enjoy invisibility along race and gender axes of oppression making only their carceral status stand out. Advantaging men more is that a "con" status is a perfectly acceptable masculine characteristic. Male authors in my knowledgebase searches found proclamations galore of their prison experience, while women's positionality are communicated in much more vague terms. Indeed, men experience discrimination based on their carceral status, but women in academia, must already endure the fight for legitimacy that all other women in academia vie for as well, then the criminal history further hinders our progress. If you add together all of the struggles being a person of color, queer, a mother, disabled, and/or poor entail, well, as one white man member of the group declared in rejection of a woman's paper – that is just "too much."

Asking felons to create a more inclusive academia for ourselves is unfair. It is the people who hold power in our respective fields who must also be charged with fighting for us and creating spaces that make it safe to come out. An ally does that. An ally fights, an ally gets results, and you will know you are an ally when a convict publishes an article, gets a job, or gets accepted to a graduate program and thanks you for it. If no one is thanking you, then you might want to assess what you have actually done for a directly impacted person. We need policies to change and actual acceptance letters to graduate programs. We need publishing opportunities with flexible deadlines, writing assistance, collaborators, contracts, book deals, tenure-track positions, career security, and equal pay because this oppression is often sanctioned by university policies, making it even easier to bar a woman of color from opportunities when they have the official excuse of her criminal record.

If the lack of diversity among our convict ranks worries you and you see a necessity for standpoint perspectives of minority carceral citizens across our discipline, then hire a Black carceral citizen, co-author with a transgendered prisoner, nominate a queer formerly incarcerated person's work for an award, accept a directly impacted woman to a PhD program – and engage in the fight. Do not give up until the job is done. When you do so, then you are an ally! Carceral citizens need you, as my very good friends in CC group can do only so much. If they could change the world, I believe they would.

As I reflect on the history of Convict Criminology and where I hope it goes, I would like to leave you with this final statement to help you understand where we are. I wrote this when I was deep in the throes of my dissertation writing where I was seeped in the interviews of dozens of directly impacted people trying to change the world. As I found myself citing non-carceral citizens who kept saying how important our voices were, but who failed to actually help a single one of us, I wrote the following in a cathartic fit of frustration that is nonetheless, as I have shared these paragraphs with directly impacted colleagues, extremely timely and relevant.

Formerly incarcerated scholar-activism is a personal journey in, and as, a daily negotiation for survival. I understand this struggle personally as a formerly incarcerated scholar-activist myself. Our trials and our triumphs are not only social goods for change that others get to benefit from – they are also uniquely our own. There are those who merely refer to us from a distance and have placed no investment in our personal life. We are not sharing our experience solely for the purpose of an academic’s tenure or the politician’s photo opportunity. Although we “take one for the team” when we are exploited, have our needs disregarded, or are left behind, so long as, ultimately, our work, investment or unauthorized sharing of our story will push positive social change, we grind forward without public protestation.

There is a private reality that directly impacted people experience in their fights for justice that go unspoken. It is money in our bank account, it is our chance to fly in an airplane, it is our personal victory to stand at the podium, and it is our intimate bravery that we draw from to step onto the political platform. Those who celebrate our wins as new possibilities for social change, we appreciate. We deeply regard our guides, our sages, and our allies – those who opened up doors of possibility for us, and who are crucial to providing us with immense opportunities to give a voice to ourselves and those like us. They ensure we are cared for. Even the best of allies, at the end of the day, are not experiencing supervised visitation with their own children, their own pocketbooks do not shrink when we are rejected from an economic opportunity, they are not emotionally feeling our internal self-doubt and our fear that comes with wondering each day how our criminal history will come back to re-victimize us, they are not personally denied acceptance to graduate programs and jobs because of a carceral status, nor are they intimately struggling to master a new professional language or feeling the personal embarrassment of violating an academic

social norm and having that attributed to a criminal past. Our allies allow us to share those struggles and together we challenge devastating social problems, shoulder-to-shoulder, while others simply theorize about us from a distance under the banner of social justice. In the end, the intimate experiences of formerly incarcerated activists, our joys and our personal pains, academically and politically, have often been treated as insignificant or unimportant, but to us, they are imperative.

Although the visual spectacle of formerly incarcerated activists' work powerfully to re-shape social conditions for directly impacted subjects and everyone harmed by the carceral state, the daily struggle is also happening in every inhale and exhale of life lived as a formerly incarcerated person, and that matters as well. May the new face of Convict Criminology be a thousand kaleidoscope variations of queer, trans, disabled, adult parent, working-class women of color with endlessly riveting and necessary stories of triumph to inform our future.

REFERENCES

- Bartlett, Katherine (1990) "Feminist Legal Methods", *Harvard Law Review*, 103(4): 829-888.
- Baxter, Emily (2017) *We Are All Criminals: One in Four People has a Criminal Record; Four in Four have a Criminal History*, St. Paul: (self-published).
- Belknap, Joanne (2015) "Activist Criminology: Criminologists' Responsibility to Advocate for Social and Legal Justice", *Criminology*, 53(1): 1-22.
- Belknap, Joanne (2014) *The Invisible Woman: Gender, Crime, and Justice*, Stanford: Cengage Learning.
- Chesney-Lind, Meda & Lisa Pasko (2012) *The Female Offender: Girls, Women, and Crime*, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Collins, Patricia Hill (1986) "Learning from the Outsider Within: The Sociological Significance of Black Feminist Thought", *Social Problems*, 33(6):14-32.
- Corbin, Nicola A., William A. Smith & J. Roberto Garcia (2018) "Trapped Between Justified Anger and Being the Strong Black Woman: Black College Women Coping with Racial Battle Fatigue at Historically and Predominantly White Institutions", *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 31(7): 626-643.
- Coyle, Michael J. (2018) "Transgression and Standard Theories: Contributions Toward Penal Abolition", *Critical Criminology*, 26: 325-339.
- Crenshaw, Kimberle (1990) "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color", *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6): 1241-1299.
- Croom, Natasha N. (2017) "Promotion Beyond Tenure: Unpacking Racism and Sexism in the Experiences of Black Womyn Professors", *The Review of Higher Education*, 40(4): 557-583.

- Griffin, Kimberly A. (2019) "Institutional Barriers, Strategies, and Benefits to Increasing the Representation of Women and Men of Color in the Professoriate: Looking Beyond the Pipeline", *Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research*, 35: 1-73.
- Holley, Matthew (2011) "Gay and Lesbian Faculty Issues", *Journal of the Student Personnel Association at Indiana University*, 39: 5-13.
- MacKinnon, Catherine A. (2004) "Feminism, Marxism, Method and the State: Toward Feminist Jurisprudence", in Sandra Harding (ed.), *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader: Intellectual and Political Controversies*, East Sussex: Psychology Press, pp. 169-180.
- Miller, Kenneth L. & Susan M. Miller (2002) "A Model for Evaluating Gender Equity in Academe", in JoAnn DiGeorgio-Lutz (ed.), *Women in Higher Education: Empowering Change*, Westport: Praeger, pp. 103-114.
- Miller, Reuben J. & Forrest Stuart (2017) "Carceral Citizenship: Race, Rights and Responsibility in the Age of Mass Supervision", *Theoretical Criminology*, 21(4): 532-548.
- Perkins, Margo V. (2000) *Autobiography as Activism: Three Black Women of the Sixties*, Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.
- Smith, William A., Man Hung & Jeremy D. Franklin (2011) "Racial Battle Fatigue and the Miseducation of Black Men: Racial Microaggressions, Societal Problems, and Environmental Stress", *The Journal of Negro Education*, 80(1): 63-82.
- Woodall, Denise (2019) "We Are All Criminals: The Abolitionist Potential of Remembering", *Social Justice*, 45(4):117-140.
- Woodall, Denise (2016) "Interrupting Constructions of a Criminalized Other through a Revised Criminal Activities Checklist Classroom Exercise", *Teaching Sociology*, 45(2): 161-167.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Denise Ruth Woodall, PhD is a directly impacted feminist criminologist and critical sociologist serving as Senior Lecturer of Sociology at the University of North Georgia and Instructor for Life University's Chillon Project inside of Lee Arrendale State Prison. Her research focuses on identities, inequalities, drug use, carceral status, and social change.