Demystifying the Big House: Exploring Prison experience and media representation

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Given the centrality of media to modern life, it is unsurprising that increasing academic attention has been given to the ways in which what we see on our screens shapes identity, attitudes our and behaviours. This edited collection, compiled by Katherine Foss, an associate professor in the school of journalism at Middle Tennessee University, attempts to explore the relationship between the lived experience of prison and media representation, so bridging the divide between prison ethnography and media studies. Throughout the book, Foss and her collaborators, highlight the misrepresentation of prisons in the media, as well as drawing attention to groups that are absent from popular culture. This is a publication that will primarily appeal to scholars interested in the intersections of crime, media and culture. For practitioners and casual readers, this is not an introductory text, although they will find much of interest.

The book is divided into three The sections. first. 'Media representations of prison' offers a series of readings of films and television. This section is distinguished by the particular attention given to the representations of women in

prison. The chapters include L. Clare Bratten's historical account of the changing nature of the women in prison genre, from the reforming and critical accounts of 1930s and 1940s, to the subservient view of women in the 1950s led astray or redeemed by their relationships with men, through to the voyeuristic, exploitation films of the 1960s and 1970s. Bratten argues that more recent productions, such as Orange is the New Black have been influenced by feminism and have returned to the reforming roots of the genre. In particular, she argues that there are more rounded characters, including a diversity of race and sexual orientation, and credible back stories that contextualise the experience of women in prison, and critique the prison-industrial complex. Bratten's work echoes previous accounts of the history of prison films, which have predominantly focussed on men¹, revealing the connection between the political culture and media representation.

The chapters in this section reveal how the media can reinforce dominant ideas about crime and punishment, an argument that has been made many times previously². This is, nevertheless, given some novelty in Alina Schneeweis's chapter, which exposes how the television series Oz, through its dramatic stylisation, served to reinforce dominant ideas about race, masculinity and sexualisation. Media does have the potential to challenge and resist dominant accounts, again an argument that has been made previously³. Here, Rebecca Kern argues that Orange is the New Black '...appears to challenge historical representations female sexuality of by incorporating new constructions of female sexual identity in prison' (p.49), in particular, by showing uncomfortable scenes of sexual violence and power, which confront viewers with the lived realities of people in prison, and the social norms and structures that shape their lives. Kern argues that this can be productive and politically enlightening: 'The power of the gaze is more than what happens while watching; it is what viewers choose to do with the information after they finish' (p. 62). In a further chapter, S. Lenise Wallace analyses the documentary series Prison Wives, which focussed on first-hand accounts of a group that are often invisible to the general public. The documentary series reveals the challenges of financial hardship, sexual intimacy and loneliness, their involvement in legal advocacy, and their attempts maintain hope. Wallace to describes the series as offering the women an opportunity to present their story.

The first section adopts a conventional approach by reading texts, situating them within historical social contexts and positioning them within а contested moral environment. What distinguishes the work is that it focusses not on the majority of films and shows about men's prisons, but prioritises women. For practitioners, these chapters will encourage reflection upon engagement with the media and how to frame or reframe stories so as to engage with particular values and perspectives⁴.

^{1.} Cheatwood, D. (1998) Films About Adult, Male, Civilian Prisons: 1929-1995 in Bailey, F.Y. & Hale, D.C. (eds) Popular Culture, Crime, and Justice Belmont: West/Wadsworth (p.209-31); Wilson, D. and O'Sullivan, S. (2004) Images of Incarceration: Representations of Prison in Film and Television Drama Winchester: Waterside Press

E.g. Ericson, R., Baranek, P., and Chan, J. (1991) Representing order: Crime, law and justice in the news media Milton Keynes: Open University Press; Surette, R. (1997) Media, Crime, and Criminal Justice Second edition Belmont: West/Wadsworth; Brown, M. (2009) The culture of punishment: Prison, society and spectacle. New York: New York University Press

^{3.} Rafter, N. (2000) Shots in the mirror: Crime films and society. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Wilson and O'Sullivan (2004) see n.1

^{4.} For a useful guide to engaging with the media and public, see Transform Justice (2017) *Reframing crime and justice – a handy guide* available at http://www.transformjustice.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Reframing-crime-and-Justice-a-handy-guide_Transform-Justice.pdf accessed on 24 September 2019

The second part of the book, 'Connecting media to experience', takes varying perspectives on the relationship between reality and representation, using a mixture of gualitative research and reflective accounts. Emily Plec opens this section by comparing the experiences of death row prisoners represented in the liberal reforming series Death Row Stories, with the reality of a case known to the author. A particularly interesting chapter is offered by Karen Churcher, who describes the production of an inmate magazine and television channel in Angola prison, in Louisiana. Churcher captures the ways in which those involved resist the dominant culture within the prison and reconstruct social forms more pro of masculinity. This joins a small but valuable body of work on media production in prisons, including film and radio⁵. This chapter will be of interest to people working in particularly prisons, those supporting arts initiatives with prisoners. Kathryn Whitelev contributes a chapter in which women prisoners reflect upon their representation in the media and how they would want this to be different. In this important chapter, the women call for the complexities of life to be shown and that they are seen as 'more than a crime', but

instead a situated and rounded human character (p.222). Again, this is a fascinating chapter that positions people in prison as a specific audience who draw upon their own lived experience and expertise to be sophisticated consumers who can use media to explore and critique the real world they inhabit. This is an innovative contribution, although a recent UK study has been conducted screening contemporary British prison films to an audience serving sentences in a British prison⁶.

The final section turns the spotlight on 'Forgotten voices in the media'. This section is concerned with the omissions of the media. including those individuals and experiences that are overlooked, marginalised or ignored. The chapters address issues including breastfeeding mothers in prison, transgender prisoners and formerly incarcerated Black men. These chapters are largely taken from ethnographic research, which seeks to sensitively represent the lived experiences of particular groups and individuals.

Demystifying the Big House is a fascinating and diverse collection that attempts to push the study of prisons and the media in new directions. In the final chapter, Foss highlights the critical conclusion, that: '...media paint a limited picture of Prison, by blaming individuals for their crimes, emphasising punishment over rehabilitation, and overall by misrepresenting the experience, while ignoring contextual factors that contribute to incarceration' (p. 330)

This assessment clearly situates media representation in a wider context of social power and inequality. In itself, such a conclusion is not novel, but in several respects, this book takes a path that is less well travelled. In particular, it highlights that what is omitted and hidden is as important as what is revealed in media representation. The book also starts to bridge the gap between representation and the lived experience of prisoners, not only in terms of the accuracy of films or televisions, but also in the way that films and television are consumed by people in prison and what effects this has upon them. Finally, it also gives attention to prisons as a site of media production by prisoners. Βv taking an unconventional and disparate approach, Foss has taken some risks. That courage has paid off in this fascinating collection.

Dr. Jamie Bennett, Deputy Director, HMPPS

^{5.} O'Neill, D. (2017) Film as a Radical Pedagogic Tool Abingdon: Routledge; Bedford, C. (2018) *Making waves behind bars: The prison radio association* Bristol: Bristol University Press

^{6.} This study was conducted by Jamie Bennett and Victoria Knight, and the first publications are expected in 2020.