



THE
**PRISON
INDUSTRIAL
COMPLEX**

ZINE

PASSENGERS ONLY

ALL BUSES

ONE WAY

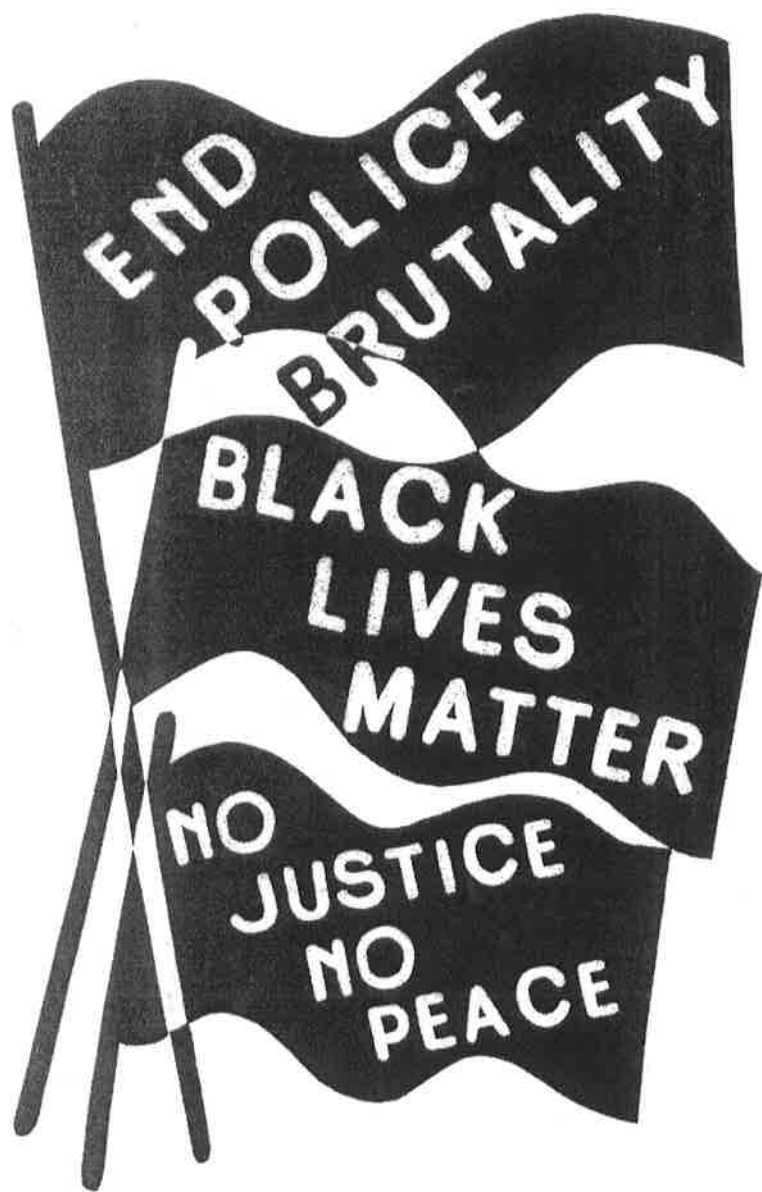
ONE WAY

HANDS UP

I Cent Bread

Black Lives Matter

UP



PRISON-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX ZINE
CREATED BY CHERISE MORRIS &
SOFIA ROBLEDO ROWER, SPRING 2015

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SECTION I: WHAT IS THE PRISON-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX?

"Prisons do not disappear problems, they disappear human beings." - Angela Davis

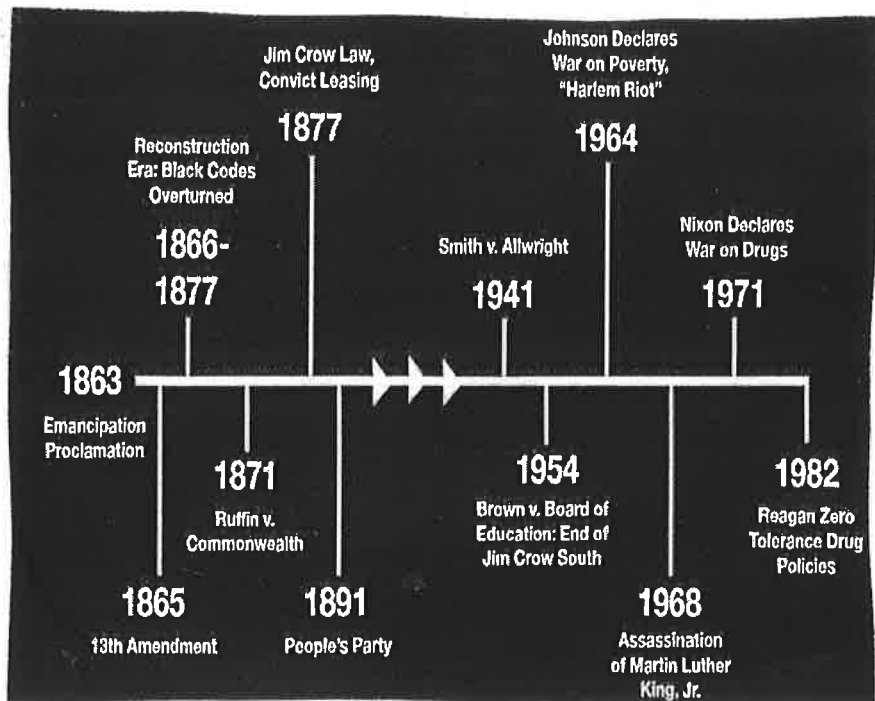
The Prison-Industrial Complex (PIC), as defined by Critical Resistance, refers to the vast networks of institutions and systems that promote "the overlapping interest of government and industry that use surveillance, policing, and imprisonment as solutions to economic, social, and political problems."

The PIC's direct mechanisms of punishment include both private and public prisons, juvenile detention centers, military prisons, interrogation centers, and immigrant detention centers. As it criminalizes systematically-entrenched social issues, the PIC works simultaneously to reproduce them. As prisons expand in our society, funding for other government interventions that were once responses to social needs—like public education, social welfare programs, and healthcare, among other things—is being increasingly cut.

The mass incarceration of Black and brown bodies is just one means through which the PIC operates and sustains itself. By disappearing vast amounts of individuals from socio-economically and politically marginalized groups behind prison walls—an increasing number of which are privately contracted and profitized—the PIC seeks to ignore social problems that are a direct result of institutionalized discrimination in this country. It works in tandem with underlying systems of racism, classism, sexism, cissexism, and ableism to marginalize and stigmatize people from these communities who have and have not been incarcerated on the basis of their identities.

The PIC reaches beyond prison walls into poor communities of color, by criminalizing individuals and neighborhoods. In addition to profiting from the privatization of prisons and policing as well as prison labor, the PIC also collects and maintains power from its propagation of stereotyped images of the people and communities it has designated as “criminal” and “delinquent”. It uses these profits to support politicians with aligning agendas, to disenfranchise and divide criminalized populations, and to quell political dissent.

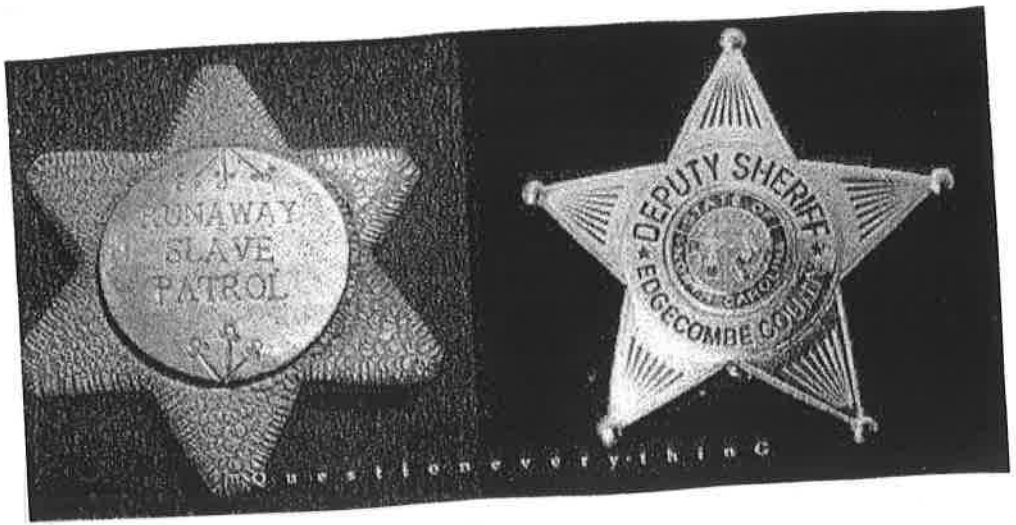
SECTION II: HISTORY



From slave patrols to modern day policing, slavery to prisons it is impossible to understand the contemporary oppression of Black and brown bodies without first grasping the legacies of violence and brutalization woven throughout these systems of policing.

1863: Emancipation Proclamation formally frees all persons held as slaves, assuming union military success. This document served almost entirely as a symbolic gesture, and led to the 13th Amendment.

1865: 13th Amendment "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction." This reserves the right of the state to use slavery or involuntary servitude as punishment for criminal conviction. This particular clause is crucial for understanding the legal development of the PIC.

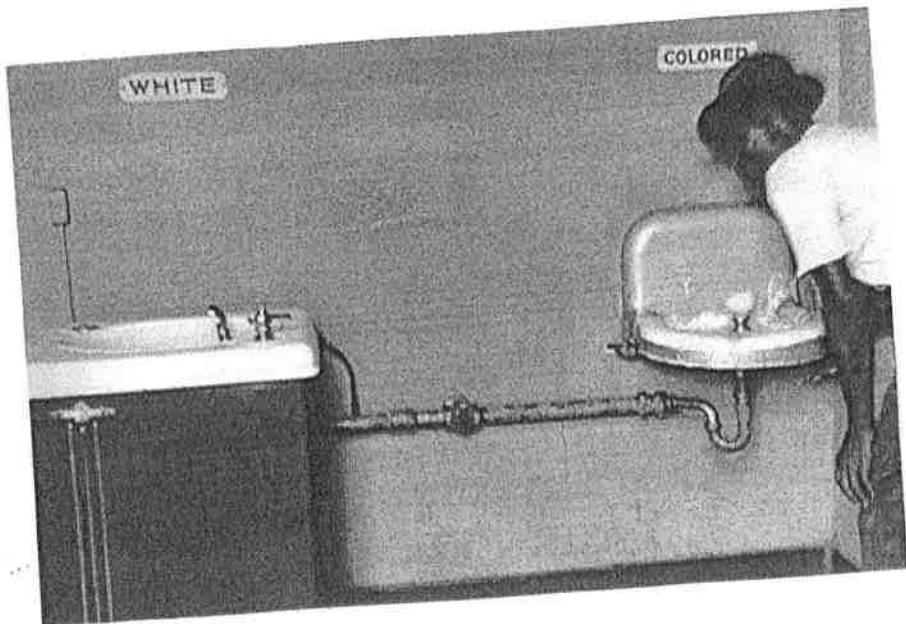


1866-1877: Reconstruction Era a brief period of history in which progressive thinking dominated the political sphere, providing protection and resources for recently freed Black people, particularly those living in southern states. The Black Codes are overturned during Reconstruction.

1865: The Black Codes were a set of laws put into practice by the Southern states and in many ways perpetuated the institution of slavery. Vagrancy laws were passed in nine states, and legally mandated that every Black man be employed at all times or subject to arrest. Eight of the same states also established Convict laws which allowed plantation owners and private companies to contract the labor of people in county prisons for little or no pay. The Black Codes provided a new legal platform to re-enslave those freed by the 13th Amendment through incarceration and forced convict labor, in some states, Black Code legislation used text directly from the slave codes, simply substituting *Negro* or other words in place of *slave*. *Prior to the Black Codes the prison population was majority white, however with the implementation of these laws Black men began to make up the majority of the incarcerated population.*

1877: Beginning of Jim Crow Era and the “Redemption” period. The Jim Crow era represented a return to state-sanctioned racism. In order to keep the prisons highly populated for the white conservative elite to have continuing access to cheap labor a new set of vagrancy laws were introduced. These laws convicted Black people for incredibly minor, subjective offenses such as “causing mischief” or using “insulting gestures.” Through the 13th Amendment combined with convict leasing, which also developed during this period, an entire generation of young Black people (primarily men) were subject to arrest and forced labor. *Important to note that Jim Crow laws were in place until the 1960s, lasting for almost 100 years.*

1954: Known as the formal legislative end of Jim Crow law, although segregation policies continued well into the 1970s. *Brown v. The Board of Education* in 1954 deemed public school segregation unconstitutional, overturning the separate but equal doctrine. This is often thought of the clear end to Jim Crow law.



COLOR

BLINDNESS



MYTHIC COLORBLINDNESS IN THE "POST-RACIAL" SOCIETY

"In the era of colorblindness, it is no longer socially permissible to use race, explicitly, as a justification for discrimination, exclusion, and social contempt. So we don't. Rather than rely on race, we use our criminal justice system to label people of color "criminals" and then engage in all the practices we supposedly left behind. Today it is perfectly legal to discriminate against criminals in nearly all the ways that it was once legal to discriminate against African Americans. Once you're labeled a felon, the old forms of discrimination—employment discrimination, housing discrimination, denial of the right to vote, denial of educational opportunity, denial of food stamps and other public benefits, and exclusion from jury service—are suddenly legal. As a criminal, you have scarcely more rights, and arguably less respect, than a black man living in Alabama at the height of Jim Crow. We have not ended racial caste in America; we have merely redesigned it."

Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*

THE WAR ON DRUGS

"The drug war from the onset had little to do with public concern about drugs and much to do with public concern about race." - Michelle Alexander, The New Jim Crow (49)

For the past century, the U.S. government has implemented policies of prohibition, criminalization, and incarceration-- among other punitive measures--to address the use and abuse of drugs in society. Collectively, this set of policies is known as the War on Drugs. The War on Drugs has always been racially-motivated: the first opium prohibition laws targeted Chinese immigrants and the first marijuana laws targeted Latinos. Most notably, until 2010 penalties for crack cocaine, perceived as a 'black' drug, were 100 times harsher than the penalties for powder cocaine, a 'white' drug. The sentencing disparities for crack and powder cocaine are now 18:1.

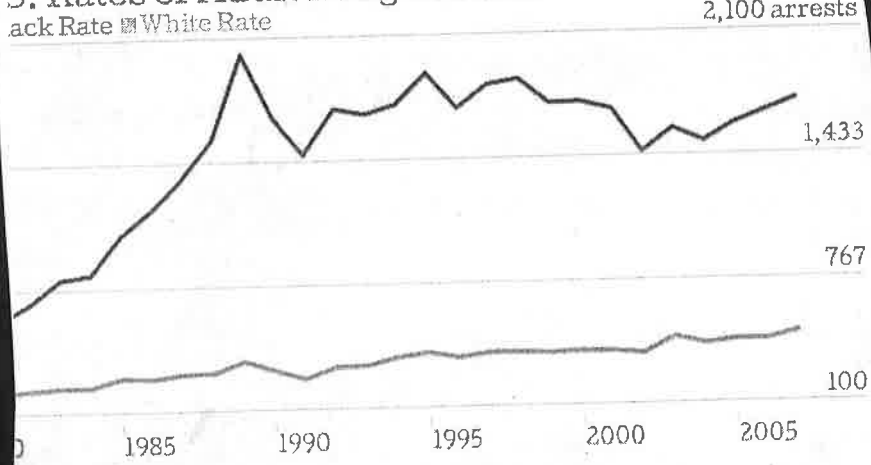
The War on Drugs has also relied on huge re-allocation of funds. Between 1981 and 1991 the DEA anti-drug allocation increased from \$86 million to \$1,026 million, this funding facilitated more incentive for law enforcement to focus attention on the drug war and thus receive more resources with which to police.



EVOLUTION OF THE LOCAL POLICE OFFICER

Drug policing continues to disproportionately target people of color and other marginalized communities. Punitive drug policies have fueled police militarization and brutality; decades of violence, corruption, and instability in Latin America; the violation of countless civil liberties; and the misuse of \$1 trillion (currently \$51 billion annually) on an ineffective policy based on punishment instead of treatment. In reality, there has never been a society that has not used drugs, and the criminal justice approach has for far too long prevented drug use from being addressed sensibly through policy which promotes public health and human rights.

S. Rates of Adult Drug Arrests

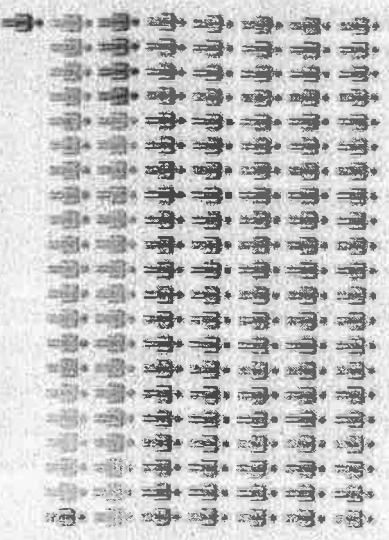


Race/Ethnicity	% of U.S. population	% of U.S. incarcerated population	National incarceration rate (per 100,000)
White (non-Hispanic)	64%	39%	450 per 100,000
Hispanic	16%	19%	831 per 100,000
Black	13%	40%	2,306 per 100,000

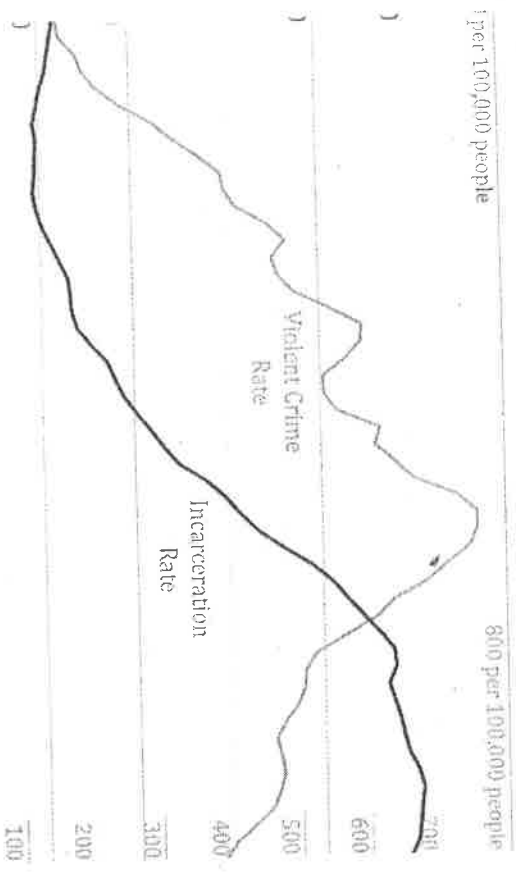
SECTION III: DEMOGRAPHICS

Total Arrests for Youth 18 and under @CPS

2011 Arrests 2012 Arrests

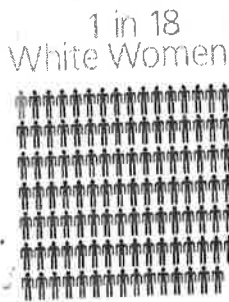
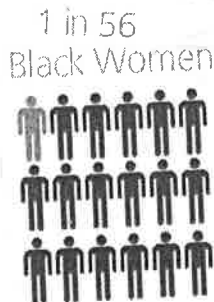
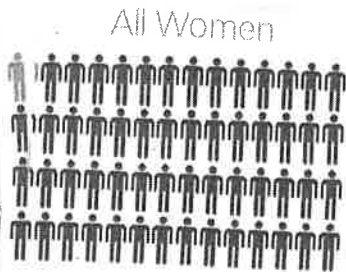
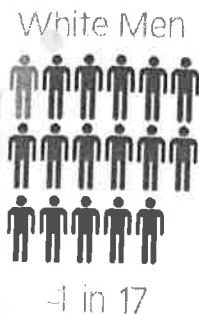
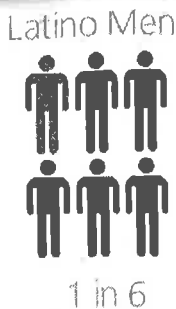
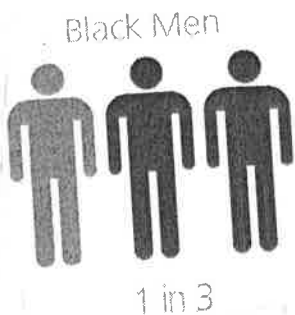
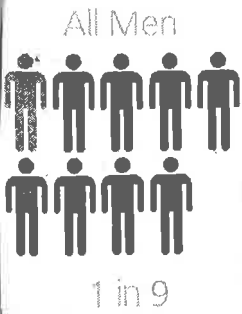


3. Incarceration & Violent Crime Rates



see: BJS, State and Federal Prisons, 1925-1995: BJS trends since 1980 (<http://bjs.ojp.usdoj.gov/content/pub/rs/rs1925-1995.pdf>)
see: Crime Rates (<http://www.fbi.gov/wanted/crime/crime.html>)

Lifetime Likelihood of Imprisonment



THE SENTENCING PROJECT

IS THIS 'JUSTICE'?

7 shocking facts about America's prison system

The US accounts for

5% of global population

but houses

25%

of the world's prisoners

1 in 15 black men



is behind bars

One in 13 African Americans is unable to vote

due to laws that deny the right to vote to ex-felons

THE BILL:

US taxpayers pay

\$69bn

- each year -
to maintain the
prison system

2855x

Arrests of black adults on drug charges are 2.8 to 5.5 times higher than of white adults, despite similar use rates.

There are more African Americans in prison or jail, on parole or on probation today than there were slaves in 1850

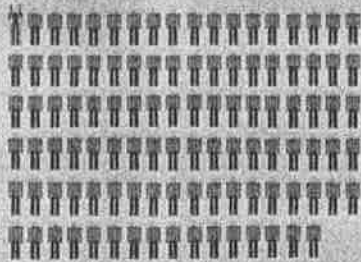
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It costs nearly four times as much to keep an inmate in jail for a year as it costs to send a child to school

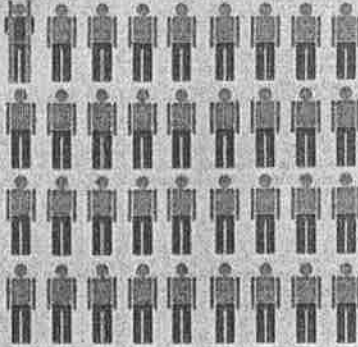
AVAAZ.org

10

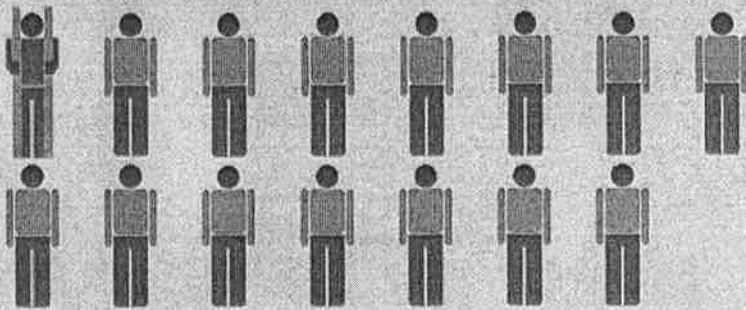
1 IN EVERY 106 WHITE MALES AGE 18 OR OLDER IS INCARCERATED. 5



1 IN EVERY 36 HISPANIC MALES AGE 18 OR OLDER IS INCARCERATED. 5



1 IN EVERY 15 BLACK MALES AGE 18 OR OLDER IS INCARCERATED. 5



W.E.B.B.I.E DuBois

@fivefifths

A SYSTEM CANNOT
 FAIL THOSE IT
 WAS NEVER
 MEANT TO
 PROTECT

W.E.B.B.I.E. ≠ W.E.B. DU BOIS @rihanna

SECTION IV: PROFIT

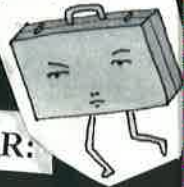
"As prisons proliferate in U.S. society, private capital has become enmeshed in the punishment industry. And precisely because of their profit potential, prisons are becoming increasingly important to the U.S. economy. If the notion of punishment as a source of potentially stupendous profits is disturbing by itself, then the strategic dependence on racist structures and ideologies to render mass punishment palatable and profitable is even more troubling." - Angela Davis

How do corporations and institutions profit from prisons and incarcerated people?

EXPLOITED AND UNDERPAID PRISON LABOR:

UNICOR, or Federal Prison Industries, is a U.S. government corporation that uses prison labor to produce goods and services. The UNICOR minimum wage is \$.23 per hour, and the maximum wage is \$1.15 an hour. UNICOR sells these goods only to federal government agencies, but at market price, earning exorbitant profits. UNICOR is the U.S. government's 39th largest contractor. One of UNICOR's largest customers: The US Department of Defense. US military equipment is produced by exploited labor in prisons. However, UNICOR is not the only employer relying on exploited prison labor. According to Prison Policy Initiative's Prison Labor report, on average, people who work in prisons, have a minimum wage of \$.93 and a maximum of \$4.73.

Corporate





PRISON CONTRACTING

The biggest industries profiting from prisons and incarceration are:

+ **Phone Industry:** Companies, such as Global Tel*Link, also profit from monopolizing services within prisons. To monopolize the industry in certain states, these telecommunication companies offer kickbacks, or “commissions”, to state governments for exclusive contracts to operate within the prisons. This means that the correctional facilities get a cut of each phone call. In 2013 alone, state governments made \$460 million from these commissions. Global Tel* Link rakes in about \$500 million annually because of exclusive contracts with prisons. The connection fees and inflated rates can reach up to \$1.13 per minute. In some prisons, making a local phone calls costs more than an international phone call from outside of a prison. Additionally, phone operators can indiscriminately drop calls and restart them, charging people’s family’s another connection fee to continue the call.

+ **Healthcare Industry:** Despite recurring cases of abuse and medical neglect, one company, Corizon, makes over a billion dollars of profit annually as the “health” service provider in many prisons.

+ **Food:** Despite recurring reports of meal shortages, maggots in food products and other unsanitary conditions, popular prison food provider Aramark continues to make millions in profits by operating in 600 prisons across the US.

+ **Manufacturers and Call Centers:** Since 2004 call center jobs have been outsourced to prisons (in addition to the outsourcing of these in the developing world) relying on incarcerated people as a source of cheap labor. Clothing manufacturers, the technology sector, food processing and packaging, and the agriculture industry have also outsourced labor to prisons.

+ **Bail Industry:** This incredibly lucrative industry makes \$2 billion annually. From 2002 and 2011, the American Bail Coalition, a lobbying group for the bail industry, spent \$3.1 million lobbying for judges to set higher bail amounts. High bail fees entrap people who are still to be presumed innocent until proven ‘guilty’ and confines them in local jails

PRISON PRIVATIZATION:

The US government didn't have the economic or physical infrastructure to accommodate the booming prison populations that resulted from the mass incarceration of the drug war. But neoliberalism had an response: private companies began contracting the management of prisons. Private prisons, or for-profit prisons, are private facilities, under contract with local, state, or federal governments. In all cases, private facilities are charged with confining people in exchange for a per diem payment. In some cases, the private prisons negotiate contracts with a government in which the state is obligated to incarcerate a certain number of people. The two largest private companies in the United States: Corrections Corporation of America (CCA) and GEO Group. These two companies are among others that have facilities with 'lockup quotas', which require states they contract with to fill 90% of their beds or more. If the state doesn't fill these beds, it owes the prison companies money. A large proportion of these companies own and operate immigrant detention centers in addition to prison facilities. In 2005, the federal government lobbied by prison privateers enacted Operation Streamline, a law that made jail time mandatory for people convicted of illegal entry into the US, thus transforming civil offenses into criminal offenses. Many of the detention and prison facilities run by CCA and GEO Group have come under scrutiny for cases of egregious human rights violations and abuse. In 2008, the Idaho Department of Corrections found that a CCA facility in Idaho suffered from "rampant violence" due to severe understaffing. Lawsuits have also been filed against CCA by people inside or their families as well as the ACLU in 2009, 2010, and 2012. In 2014 the FBI unleashed an investigation of CCA operations in Idaho and other states.

"Prisons are part of this government's genocidal war against Black and Third World people." - Assata Shakur

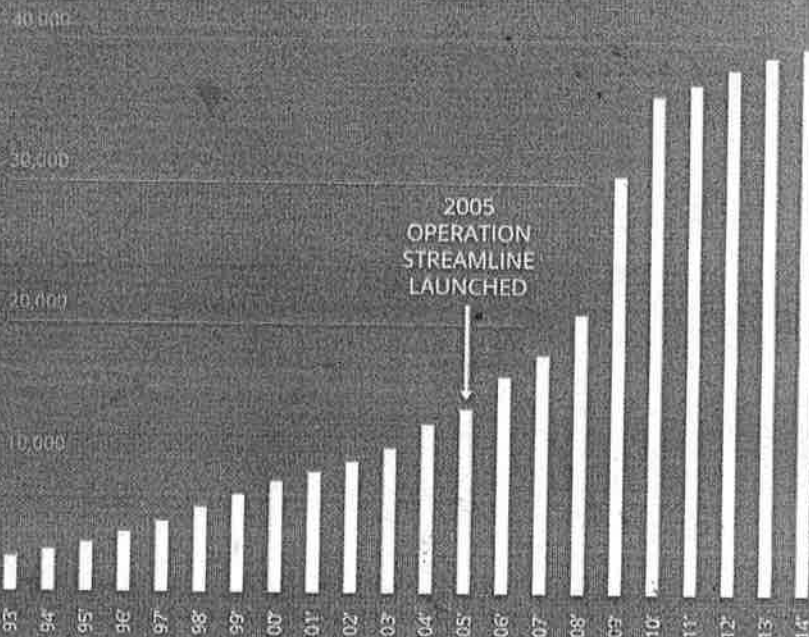
DETENTION CENTERS:

According to a 2015 Fusion investigation into private detention centers CCA and GEO Group spent more money than ever before lobbying in 2005, the same year that Operation Streamline launched. As mandatory incarceration for immigrants was implemented, detention centers were being built in remote towns across the country, particularly in Texas and Arizona. Fusion describes the phenomena: "without a single vote in Congress, officials across three administrations: created a new classification of federal prisons only for immigrants; decided that private companies would run the facilities; and filled them by changing immigration enforcement practices." The state coupled with private companies actively works to ensure that more facilities are being built while ensuring there will be bodies to fill them.

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) interviewed more than 250 people detained in Criminal Alien Requirement (CAR) prisons who described the overuse of solitary confinement units in detention centers. The high rates of incarcerated immigrants in solitary confinement makes no sense particularly in light of their convictions which largely amount to crossing a border unauthorized. In 2008 at one facility reviewed by the ACLU four inmates died, including one man named Jesus Manuel Galindo who had been placed in solitary confinement for closed medical watch and who was found dead from a seizure. *In the last five years, the two largest prison companies have made nearly \$2 billion in revenue from their CAR prison agreements.*

Detention centers continue to be build and become more and more normalized. Towards the end of 2014 the federal government announced its newest, largest immigrant detention center, and contracted CCA to operate it. Thus the government is handing over control of its newest detention center to CCA while simultaneously investigating it for human rights abuses.

PROSECUTIONS FOR "ILLEGAL REENTRY" HAVE RISEN OVER 183% SINCE 2004



SOURCE: IREAC, SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

THE MILLION SHARES CLUB:

CCA and GEO Group have spent hundreds of thousands of dollars lobbying for things like longer sentences to achieve their lock-up quotas and keep raking in profits. The million shares club is the 36 U.S.-based companies that are major investors in CCA & GEO Group. Each owns a million shares. Collectively, this group owns over 2/3 of CCA & GEO Group. According to a list compiled by Enlace, the million shares club members are:

- Ø American Century Companies Inc.
- Ø Ameriprise Financial Inc.
- Ø Balestra Capital LTD.
- Ø Bank Of America Corp.
- Ø Bank Of New York Mellon Corp.
- Ø Barclays Global Investors
- Ø Blackrock Fund Advisors
- Ø Carlson Capital LP
- Ø Cramer Rosenthal McGlynn LLC
- Ø Dimensional Fund Advisors LP
- Ø Eagle Asset Management Inc.
- Ø Epoch Investment Partners, Inc.
- Ø FMR LLC
- Ø Goldman Sachs Group Inc.
- Ø Hamlin Capital Management, LLC
- Ø ING Investment Management, LLC & Co.
- Ø Invesco LTD.
- Ø Jennison Associates LLC
- Ø JPMorgan Chase & Co.
- Ø Keeley Asset Management Corp.
- Ø Lazard Asset Management LLC
- Ø London Co. Of Virginia
- Ø Makaira Partners LLC
- Ø Managed Account Advisors LLC
- Ø Morgan Stanley
- Ø Neuberger Berman Group LLC
- Ø New South Capital Management INC
- Ø Northern Trust Corp
- Ø Principal Financial Group Inc
- Ø Renaissance Technologies LLC
- Ø River Road Asset Management, LLC
- Ø Scopia Capital Management LLC
- Ø State Street Corp
- Ø Suntrust Banks INC
- Ø Vanguard Group INC
- Ø Wells Fargo & Company



SECTION V: POLICING

.outside the jails and the prisons this is how the PIC is enacting itself....

JAIL-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

The Jail-Industrial Complex works in tandem with the PIC. The vast majority of people who enter correctional control do so through jails. Similarly to that of prisons, the jail population has grown hugely since the 1980s with the annual admissions nearly doubling between 1983 and 2013 from 6 million to 11.7 million. Jails are everywhere, with over 3,000 in the United States.

Traditionally jails are perceived to hold those who are deemed as flight risk or too dangerous to mix with the general public, however the Vera Institute's report *Incarceration's Front Door: The Misuse of Jails in America* claims that "three out of five people in jail are unconvicted of any crime and are simply too poor to post even low bail to get out while their cases are being processed." The socioeconomic composition of jails has turned many into debtors prisons. Additionally nearly 75 percent of people are in jail for nonviolent traffic, property, drug or public order offenses. The implications of a jail stay can be catastrophic. Jobs can be lost and single parents can lose custody all because they are unable to afford a bail sometimes as low as \$500. Research shows that "spending as few as two days in jail can increase the likelihood of a sentence of incarceration and the harshness of that sentence, reduce economic viability, and worsen the health of the largely low-risk defendants who enter them—making jail a gateway to deeper and more lasting involvement in the criminal justice system." The racial makeup of jails mirrors that of prisons, for example in New York City black people are jailed at nearly 12 times than the rate of white people, and Latinos more than 5 times that of white people.

www.vera.org/sites/default/files/resources/downloads/incarcerations-front-door-summary.pdf



State & Federal Prisons 631,000

3/5 people in jail are legally presumed innocent even for food

While the country has grown twice since the early 1970s, an ever-larger proportion of the population is being sent to jail.

Local Jails 11,700,000
 Next 75% of people in jail are being held for nonviolent offenses



WHITE BLACK
 African Americans are jailed at almost 4x the rate of white Americans

Serious mental illness affect 1% and women in jail at rates 4-6x higher than in the general population

HOUSING SEGREGATION AND POLICING

Controlling and policing a population-(based on identities) becomes much easier and much more when those groups reside in the same area.

By serving “the white spatial imaginary,” urban landscapes demand black subordination in a variety of ways and situate the city as a place of racial injustice that is perpetuated through police brutality. This brutality, which is most directly enacted through mechanism of policing the city, includes profiling, sexual violence/assault, “quality of life” and “zero-tolerance” policing, excessive force, coercion, and various forms of hypercriminalization. Despite this, policing as an institution has been normalized as an inevitable urban function that some entrust to use direct force and violence to uphold the maintenance of “order” and “civility.” Police in the city easily shift roles between “enforcers” and “protectors,” however, this brutality remains constant when responding to those with marginalized identities (people of color, LGBTQ+ people, poor people, homeless youth and trans* women of color). Such conscious and unconscious brutality upholds and perpetuates disparities within the jail-industrial and prison-industrial complex.

■ In the cycle of housing discrimination, neighborhood disinvestment is followed by gentrification and dislocation of the minority populations, then forced or coerced relocation. Policies like “broken windows policing” and “stop and frisk” targeting minority neighborhoods, and municipal police departments incentivize arrests. With police in most urban departments having to make monthly quotas by a time colloquially known as “sting day,” last day or few days of a month when police presence in specific “high crime” neighborhoods dramatically increases and people are arrested and ticketed for any and everything. Policies like “broken windows policing” --that focus on extensive networks of constant patrolling and surveillance in racially-biased and classist notions of “blighted” or “underdeveloped” areas--and street-level racial profiling schemes like “stop and frisk” target minority neighborhoods. As Glen Ford of the Black Agenda Report states:

“We all know that prisons are not for rehabilitation, and that the dynamic of mass Black incarceration has little to do with actual crime. Massive police stop-and-frisk campaigns in urban America are concerned with more than merely controlling Black and brown populations. They are “a regimented, calibrated mechanism for adding value to urban land by making city life untenable for young Black and brown men” and their families. Stop-and-frisk is a tool for Black removal.”

<http://blackagenda.com/content/stop-and-frisk-weapon-gentrification>

This exemplifies the over-policing/under-policing paradox in low-income POC neighborhoods. There is constant police presence and surveillance to discipline these “high-crime” neighborhoods in drug war, zero-tolerance, and broken windows policing; however police do not respond when community members are in need of their help. Or when they do respond it is with more violence and makes community members feel even more unsafe.

GENDERED VIOLENCE + POLICING

In addition to committing racist and classist violences, the PIC polices gender and sexuality to commit intersectional violences on all people who hold marginalized identities. The following are just some of the PIC's violences that target gender and sexual orientation.

Trans* issues of incarceration: Trans* and gender nonconforming people are targeted by systems of policing and imprisonment. Prisons institutionally reserve the right to gender individuals regardless of their personal gender identity and presentation. In February Ashley Diamond, a trans* woman, filed a lawsuit against the Georgia Department of Corrections, stating that her 8th Amendment rights had been violated by prison administrators denying her requests for hormonal treatment. This lawsuit led the Department of Justice to clarify in a court filing and a public statement the unconstitutionality of such treatment denial for incarcerated trans* people.

Queer liberation and prison abolition: *Queer (In)Justice* examines the violence that LGBTQ people face regularly, from attacks on the street to institutionalized violence from police and prisons. In the first few weeks of 2015, seven Black trans* women were murdered. However, the mainstream LGBTQ rights movement has abandoned its radical roots. The beginnings of the radical queer liberation movement were lead by organizers of the stonewall riot (including trans* activists Sylvia Rivera and Marsha P. Johnson) who theorized a gay liberation ideology that addressed police and prisons as the main source of queer- and transphobic violence, and was grounded in a framework of prison abolition. Trans* women of color are especially at high risk of being subjected to police brutality and experiencing physical and sexual assault in prisons and on the streets by police officers.

Pregnant women in PIC: There are more than 200,000 women in U.S. prisons or jails each year. Approximately 6%, or 12,000, of those women are pregnant at some point during their incarceration. In the majority of states, women are routinely subjected to the risks and brutality of shackling. There are major health risks associated with shackled during labor. Women are unable to manage the pains of labor by shifting positions as is natural impulse. Shackling interferes with medical staff's ability to react in emergency situations and fully assist in childbirth. Shackling incarcerated women during labor is demeaning, unnecessary, dehumanizing, and dangerous. It violates the 8th Amendment right to be free from cruel and unusual punishment. Only 18 states of 50 – AZ, CA, CO, DE, FL, HI, ID, IL, LA, PA, NM, NV, NY, RI, TX, VT, WA and WV – have laws prohibiting or restricting shackling pregnant incarcerated. A Women in Prison Project report found that after the 2009 NY state law passed (which outlawed shackling of pregnant women), 23 of 27 women interviewed in state of NY reported having been shackled. Even with formalized legislation, prisons are illegally shackling pregnant women during labor.

Sexual violence and the PIC: In 2003 the Prison Rape Elimination Act (PREA) was passed by the US Congress. This legislation states that prisons must institute a "zero tolerance policy" for the rape of incarcerated people. There has been little to no implementation and enforcement of PREA, and the issue persists in prisons and jails everyday. 10% of formerly incarcerated people reported experiences of sexual assault in prisons between 2007-2008, according Justice Department findings. Half of these reported assaults involved prison staff. However, as under-reporting is common with incidents of sexual assault, the actual rates of incarcerated people who may have experienced sexual assault could likely be much higher.

Regarding on-the-ground policing, sexual assault is the second most common police offense/abuse after use of excessive force.

The PIC, and its many manifestations, is an anti-Black project, an anti-poor project, an anti-LGBTQ+ project

SCHOOL-TO-PRISON PIPELINE OR SCHOOL-TO-JAIL PIPELINE

"The school-to-prison pipeline refers to the policies, practices, and conditions that facilitate both the criminalization of educational environments and the processes by which this criminalization results in the incarceration of youth and young adults." Monique Morris, African American Policy Forum

Nationwide, 40 percent of students suspended are black; 70 percent of in school arrests are of Black and Latino students. Black students are more than three times as likely to be suspended or expelled as their white peers. 40% suspension rate for black students is the same as 40% incarceration rate for black people. These disparities in suspension rates begin in elementary school and continue through middle and high school. It is important to emphasize that while attention is often focused on male students, the disparities are consistent for female students of color as well. For example, according to African-American Policy Forum Reports from Monique Morris and Kimberle Crenshaw, Black female students are often targeted and disciplined for subjective offenses, including their style of dress/breaking the dress code or "having bad attitudes" or being "disruptive presences" in classes.

Zero-tolerance policies or "broken windows" policing in schools: As the drug war took off, zero-tolerance policies that automatically impose severe punishment regardless of circumstances, were increasingly embraced in education discipline. US rates of annual suspension have increased dramatically in recent years.

In addition to the implementation of personal searches and the use of metal detector, school administration places increased reliance on police rather than teachers and administrators. And children are far more likely to be subject to school based arrests—the majority of which are for non-violent offenses, such as disruptive behavior. This perhaps most directly exemplifies the criminalization of school children.

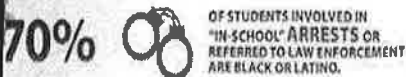
ARE OUR

CHILDREN BEING PUSHED INTO PRISON?

THE PIPELINE TO PRISON: THE U.S. HAS THE HIGHEST INCARCERATION RATE IN THE WORLD, AND ITS PRISONS AND JAILS ARE OVERWHELMINGLY FILLED WITH AFRICAN-AMERICANS AND LATINOS. THE PATHS TO PRISON FOR YOUNG AFRICAN-AMERICAN AND LATINO MEN ARE MANY, BUT THE STARTING POINTS ARE OFTEN THE SCHOOL AND FOSTER CARE SYSTEMS.

FROM SCHOOL TO PRISON

STUDENTS OF COLOR FACE HARSHER DISCIPLINE AND ARE MORE LIKELY TO BE PUSHED OUT OF SCHOOL THAN WHITES.

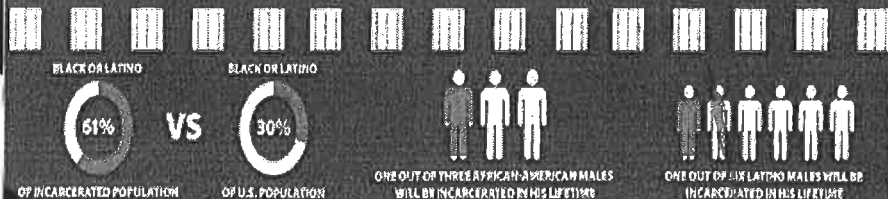


FROM FOSTER CARE TO PRISON

YOUTH OF COLOR ARE MORE LIKELY THAN WHITES TO BE PLACED IN THE FOSTER CARE SYSTEM, A BREEDING GROUND FOR THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM.

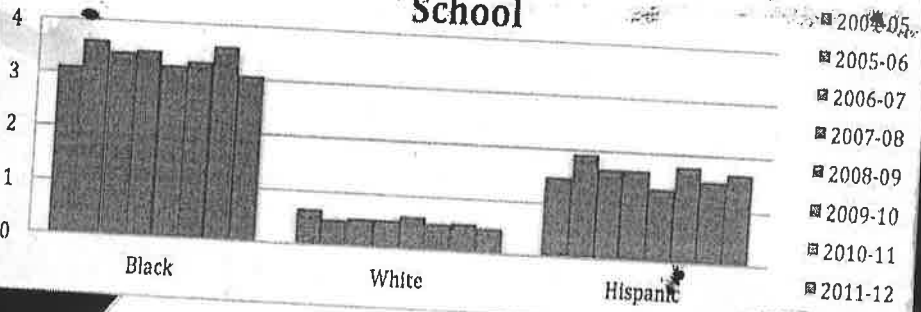


THE COLOR OF MASS INCARCERATION



The juvenile "justice" system and juvenile detention centers formally criminalize youth and funnel students directly out of schools and into PIC. An estimated 250,000s youth are tried, sentenced or incarcerated as adults every year in America.

Subjective Suspensions in Elementary School

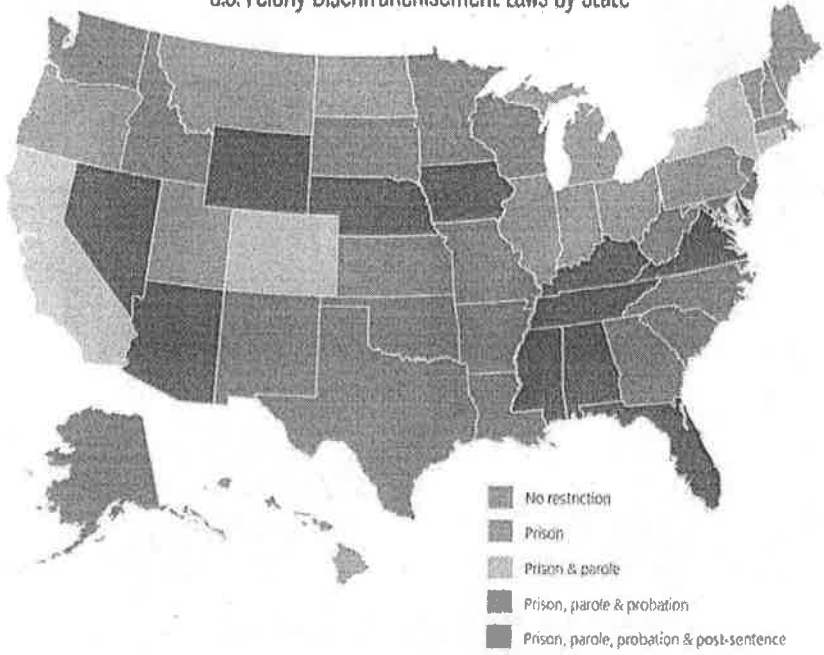


SECTION VI: POST-CARCERAL LIFE

The impacts of incarceration extend much further than the walls of prisons. Many of the most touted tenets of American rights such as voting, housing, and government aid are drastically limited for people after incarceration.

The voting restrictions are particularly dramatic. Only two states, Maine and Vermont impose no restrictions for those that have been incarcerated. In 11 states formerly incarcerated people can never vote once convicted. This in effect makes formerly incarcerated people second class citizens. They are full citizens to the extent that the state can incarcerate them but once released they are no longer given the same rights as everyone else.

U.S. Felony Disenfranchisement Laws by State



For many people who have been incarcerated finding housing post-incarceration is one of their most pressing concern. It is much more difficult to attain federally subsidized housing with landlords often refusing housing to potential tenants due to their past criminal records. Employment presents another challenge. Most job applications pose the question: Have you ever been convicted of a felony? If the answer is yes the applicant is far less likely to get the job with their criminal record limiting their candidacy for the workplace.

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Last Name _____ First Name _____

Address _____ City _____

Home Phone: _____ Cell Phone: _____ Email address: _____

Social Security Number: _____

Are you a U.S. Citizen? Yes No

Have you ever been convicted of a felony? Yes No

If selected for employment are you willing to submit to a pre-employment drug screening test?

Social welfare is also restricted for formerly incarcerated people, in particular for drug related crimes. In 1996 federal law banned anyone with a drug-related felony conviction from receiving benefits from the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families program (TANF) or the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP). TANF provides financial assistance to help pay for food, shelter, and utilities expenses for low-income families with one dependent child. SNAP is commonly known as food stamps. *This law is obviously racialized as it applies only to people convicted of drug felonies for which Black men are disproportionately targeted and sentenced.*

Previously incarcerated people also face challenges in access to higher education. In 1994 the Omnibus Crime Bill passed which dictated that formerly incarcerated people were no longer eligible for pell grants. A Pell Grant is a federally funded need-based aid for low-income undergraduate students. Without access to federal funds it is significantly more difficult for formerly incarcerated people to be able to continue their education. Additionally the Common Application which is used by the vast majority of universities asks applicants if they have been previously incarcerated, information that is then included in college applications.

In effect the post carceral system locks members of some of the most vulnerable communities out of housing, employment, social welfare, and higher education all of which are mechanisms that help prevent cycles of incarceration.

Section VII: COMPLICITY

How are we complicit?

1) Financial Complicity: Follow the money straight to Brown. The million shares club refers to the top 33 companies that collectively own $\frac{2}{3}$ of the share of private prison corporations, CCA and GEO Group. According to Enlace, "Each of these companies owns more than one million shares of CCA and GEO Group stock--that's a huge investment in human suffering. Public institutions that we are each connected to--our schools, cities, churches, and pension funds--invest with these 27 mega-private prison investors." Three of these mega-investors that actively profit from prisons, incarceration, and the criminalization of communities are represented on Brown's Corporation: including Bank of America (Brian T. Moynihan, CEO on Brown U Board of Trustees); Goldman Sachs (Richard Friedman, Brown University Board of Fellows, Global Head at Goldman Sachs Group, Merchant Banking Division; Managing Director at The Goldman Sachs Group, Inc. and Ruth Simmons former Brown U president and former Goldman Board Member); Morgan Stanley (Nancy Fuld Neff, Brown U Board of Trustees a former principal in investment banking at Morgan Stanley & Co.).

As students at this elite university that has connections to corporations that actively profit from the PIC, we are complicit--especially because Brown University is invested in a prison phone company. However, we can leverage our power as students to call and push the administration to act more responsibly and divest financially and symbolically through actions that formally denounce the PIC and its cycles of oppression and reinvest in racial- and class-justice oriented bodies.

2) The Complicity of Consumerism: Consuming products which are partially produced by prison labor is one major form of complicity. Companies including Starbucks, Wendy's, McDonald's, Verizon, Sprint, Victoria's Secret, Microsoft, Walmart, JCPenney, Kmart, and American Airlines among many others rely in-part on exploited prison labor for the production of goods. If you have the option to not financially support these companies with exploitative production and labor practice, please do not. We emphasize that shopping at some of these places may be a necessity for people who cannot afford more expensive alternatives and do not want to shame anyone for doing so. But if you are financially able and have a viable economic choice to buy/spend more responsibly, we encourage you to do so.

"Definitions belong to the definers, not the defined." - Toni Morrison

3) Language as Complicity: Referring to individuals who are forced to live in a prison as "prisoners," "inmates," or "criminals" or people who have been previously incarcerated as "ex-convicts" or "ex-felons" defines individuals by the terms of their incarceration. It implicitly subjugates their individuality and personhood under their criminalization. The PIC exists and perpetuates itself through cycles of othering and criminalizing. Rejecting these notions with words as well as actions in a simple way to begin decolonizing our minds and communities.

Section VIII:

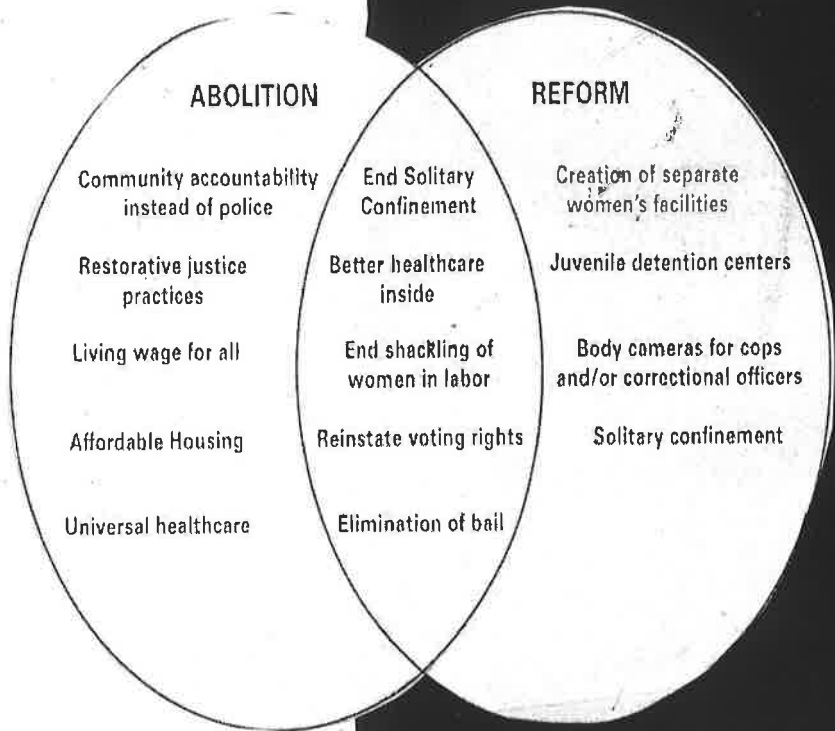
REFORM V S ABOLITION

"Prison abolitionists are dismissed as utopians and idealists whose ideas are at best unrealistic and impracticable, and, at worst, mystifying and foolish. This is a measure of how difficult it is to envision a social order that does not rely on the threat of sequestering people in dreadful places designed to separate them from their communities and families. The prison is considered so 'natural' that it is extremely hard to imagine life without it" - Angela Davis, Are Prisons Obsolete?

There must be a distinction between work that aims to make the prison-industrial complex better and that which tries to dismantle it — between prison reform and prison abolition. Prison reformists acknowledge flaws in the prison system and work to resolve these issues to make the system operate better, operating from a framework that acknowledges prisons as institutions necessary to society that can be improved. Prison abolitionists work to address the systems that channel people into prison in order to create a society that no longer needs prisons or any of its offshoots (e.g., detention centers, punitive mental hospitals).

Reformists further embed the prison system in society while abolitionists seek to create a society absent of the need for prisons. However, these two projects do not exist in entirely separate spheres of engagement with the PIC. Some reforms serve to reinforce the structures of the PIC (e.g., building new jails or prisons to accommodate for overcrowding, creating a juvenile justice system, establishing mandatory minimum sentences) while others can operate in tandem with abolitionist work (e.g., restoring Pell Grant eligibility for incarcerated people, eliminating the use of solitary confinement, and increasing access to healthcare in prisons). Although abolitionists have a long-term goal of disassembling the PIC, there is a clear need for immediate intervention to ameliorate conditions for incarcerated people. Thus, reformers and abolitionists with common short-term goals can work together. The distinction between the two paths becomes a separation when reform undermines the work of an abolitionist by fortifying the walls of the PIC.

It is important to emphasize that prison abolitionism, in its reimagining of society, is still a process, not a definitive end goal. Abolition cannot be conflated with utopianism.



“If we believe that the prison system is broken, then we must also believe in its ability to be fixed. Here we can see how the PIC keeps functioning through the rehearsal of the ‘broken system’ narrative. As Angela Davis and many others have argued, it is precisely through reform that the prison-industrial complex expands.” -Eric A. Stanley

IX RESISTANCE

"We need a r/evolution of the mind.

We need a r/evolution of the heart.

We need a r/evolution of the spirit.

The power of the people is stronger than any weapon.

A people's r/evolution can't be stopped."

Assata Shakur

#BLACKLIVESMATTER

Most recently and in the wake of highly-profiled extrajudicial killings of Black individuals in Ferguson, New York City, and Cleveland among so many other less publicized cases, policing strategies across the U.S. have come under fire. These critiques have crystallized in the rallying cry "Black Lives Matter," which was articulated during the 2012 Trayvon Martin case by three black queer female activists, Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi. There is, however, a distinction to be made between understanding these cases as individual acts of racism perpetuated by, for example police officers like Darin Wilson and vigilantes like George Zimmerman, and understanding the ways in which whole systems consistently enact violence on a structural level. #BlackLivesMatter, as defined by Garza in her *Feminist Wire* article, "A Herstory of #BlackLivesMatter", "is an ideological and political intervention in a world where Black lives are systematically and intentionally targeted for demise. It is an affirmation of Black folks' contributions to this society, our humanity, and our resilience in the face of deadly oppression." This broadened definition challenges us to understand and acknowledge #BlackLivesMatter as form of resistance in a more holistic sense. The rallying cry is not just about police shooting black people on the streets, but the assertion that black lives matter and are valuable in all areas of life/society.

"If I know anything at all, It's that a wall is just a wall and nothing more at all. It can be broken down." - Assata Shakur

"You shot me. You shot me!"



Oscar Grant, 22, #lastwords
January 1, 2009

"Mom, I'm going to college."



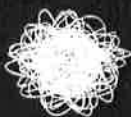
Amadou Diallo, 23, #lastwords
February 4, 1999

"Why did you shoot me?"



Kendrec McDade, 19, #lastwords
March 24, 2012

"It's not real."



John Crawford, 22, #lastwords
August 1, 2014

"I love you too!"



Sean Bell, 23, #lastwords
Nov. 25, 2006

"Please don't let me die."



Kimani Gray, 16, #lastwords
March 9, 2013

"I don't have a gun.
Stop shooting."



Michael Brown, 18, #lastwords
August 9, 2014

"What are you following me for?"



Trayvon Martin, 17, #lastwords

Feb. 26, 2012



Shane Bepko
Quinn

'' ''



Jonathan Ferrell, 24, #lastwords
September 14, 2012

"I can't breathe."



Eric Garner, 43, #lastwords
July 17, 2014



BALTIMORE 1968



HOW MANY MORE GENERATIONS?



BALTIMORE 2015



BAN THE BOX

Brown University is currently in compliance with the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations' new fair-chance labor practices that forbid employers from screening potential employees for prior convictions until after a conditional offer of employment has been made. However, the metrics listed for considering prior criminal convictions include "The nature and seriousness of the offenses for which the finalist has been convicted," "The number of such offenses," "Whether such convictions are related to the duties of the position," and "The accuracy of information provided by the finalist in the application process." These considerations carry the assumption that if the crime is serious enough an individual should carry the label of "criminal" endlessly and ignores the structural violence that makes certain communities targeted for arrest, convictions, and incarceration. They assume that "criminality" is an immutable character trait. They assume that a misrepresentation of a conviction is an insidious act rather than a response to a perception of stigma associated with criminal convictions. These considerations necessarily discriminate against and other applicants for employment.

Considering that Brown University is the second-largest employer in Rhode Island, there is a clear responsibility for Brown to end its discriminatory employment practices.



Brown's Office of College Admission should implement a "hold" policy for the Common Application question that requires applicants to indicate previous convictions, just like it does for the application's question about religious affiliation. The required question asks, "Have you ever been adjudicated guilty or convicted of a misdemeanor, felony, or other crime?" If the applicant responds "yes," they are asked to explain their past records. According to the Admissions Office, responses to this question may determine a student's acceptance if they reveal a student's potential need for further disciplinary action on the part of the university. Admissions officers are then charged with the responsibility of determining the criminal character of individuals based on their description of their convictions, secondhand. The question others and stigmatizes previously incarcerated applicants by sheer virtue of its existence, diminishing the ability of applicants with prior convictions to access higher education without first experiencing discrimination. Considering previous convictions allows the admissions office to determine an applicant's suitability for Brown based on its assessment of that person's criminality, a process that serves as an extension of the PIC's long shadow of criminalization.

"Abolition is not simply a reaction to the [prison-industrial complex] but a political commitment that makes the PIC impossible." -Eric A. Stanley in Captive Genders

SECTION X: RESOURCES

MOVIES

The House I Live In

Out In the Night

Mumia: Long Distance Revolutionary

The Black Power Mixtape

The Interrupters

PEOPLE

Reina Gossett

Angela Y. Davis

Michelle Alexander

Assata Shakur

Audre Lorde

ORGANIZATIONS

Black and Pink

Critical Resistance

The Sylvia Rivera Law Project

Enlace

The Audre Lorde Project

Sisters Inside

**DIRECT ACTION
FOR RIGHTS
& EQUALITY**

Watch Project partnered
to form TransAction

Community United Against Violence
and the Bay Area Police

BOOKS

- Are Prisons Obsolete? by Angela Davis
- The New Jim Crow by Michelle Alexander
- Golden Gulag by Ruthie Gilmore
- Captive Genders: Trans Embodiment and the Prison Industrial Complex by Eric Stanley
- Queer (In)Justice: The Criminalization of LGBT People in the United States by Joey L. Mogul, Andrea J. Ritchie, Kay Whitlock

VIDEO

<http://bcrw.barnard.edu/event/no-one-is-disposable-everyday-practices-of-prison-abolition/>

Everyday abolitionist practices as told by
Reina Gossett and Dean Spade.

Defending Justice: An Activist
Resource Kit "Reform and Abolition:
Points of Tension and Connection"

by Cassandra
Shaylor & Cynthia Chandler

SOURCES

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- <https://www.themarshallproject.org/2015/03/02/the-obstacle-course>
- <http://thefeministwire.com/2014/01/how-anti-violence-activism-taught-me-to-become-a-prison-abolitionist/>