

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

THIS TOOLKIT IS ONLY A STARTING POINT FOR PIC ABOLITION. This section is a guide to just some of the resources available to read about abolition. Some of these materials focus on how to organize campaigns against the PIC. Others explain alternatives to the PIC, like transformative justice programs. This is by no means a complete list. If one of your favorite readings on abolition isn't listed here and you think it should be added, let us know.

These resources don't all use the word abolition the same way. They don't all have the same perspective as the toolkit. Some of them argue that certain people need to be locked up. Some of them think it's a good idea for police to run restorative justice programs. We've tried to make a note of which ones have different points of view, but we think that each of these resources has something to offer.

Some of these resources might be hard to find. If you have trouble, we suggest requesting the book from your local public library through "interlibrary loan." This takes a couple weeks, but it's usually free, and you can usually get almost any book this way. We also have copies of some of these pieces that we can lend out.

We use the symbol \* to point out a book or article that has language that's complicated. Most of these are academic articles.

**APTHEKER, BETTINA. "THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF THE PRISONS IN THE UNITED STATES." IF THEY COME IN THE MORNING. ED. ANGELA Y. DAVIS. NEW YORK, THIRD PRESS: 1971. 51-59. ALSO AVAILABLE: [HTTP://WWW.PRISONACTIVIST.ORG/CRISIS/APTHEKER-PRISONS.HTML](http://www.prisonactivist.org/crisis/aptheke-prisons.html)**

The author explains how the PIC labels people of color and the poor as inferior. The PIC creates the idea that some people are "criminals." Since the PIC props up a racist system, it needs to be abolished, not reformed. This is a good starting point for looking at how activists talked about abolition in the 1970s.

**APTHEKER, HERBERT. (1941). MILITANT ABOLITIONISM. JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY, 26, 438-484.**

This article takes apart the idea that most people who worked to abolish slavery were white Northern preachers. Slaves and free Blacks were some of the most effective activists. Slaves risked their lives through every-day resistance and protest.

This is a good article for learning more about how people of color organized to abolish slavery.

**APTHEKER, HERBERT. (1989). ABOLITIONISM: A REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT. BOSTON: TWAYNE.**

Just like the article above, this book tells the history of how people worked against slavery. The book is more detailed, but the language is actually a little bit clearer. This book also has a long section on political prisoners of the slavery abolition movement.

**BAZEMORE, GORDON, AND MARK UMBREIT. (2001, FEBRUARY). A COMPARISON OF FOUR RESTORATIVE CONFERENCING MODELS. JUVENILE JUSTICE BULLETIN. [HTTP://WWW.NCJRS.ORG/HTML/OJDP/2001\\_2\\_1/CONTENTS.HTML](http://www.ncjrs.org/html/ojdp/2001_2_1/contents.html).**

This article explains four different kinds of restorative justice programs: victim-offender mediation, community reparative boards, family group conferencing, and circle sentencing.

For each program, it explains who participates, what the goals are, and what the process is. There are some good charts that show the differences between the different models. It also emphasizes how community gets defined in each model. This is a good source for getting an overview of how restorative justice programs work.

**BRAITHWAITE, JOHN. (1996, 17 OCTOBER). "RESTORATIVE JUSTICE AND A BETTER FUTURE." [HTTP://WWW.REALJUSTICE.ORG/PAGES/BRAITHWAITE.HTML](http://www.realjustice.org/pages/braithwaite.html)**

This is a good overview of restorative justice, what its goals are, and how it works. It explains how restorative justice tries to empower everyone that's been affected by harm. It also tells the story of how a mediation circle was used in one case. This resource is a good starting point for reading about restorative justice. It avoids some of the problems we've mentioned throughout the toolkit.

**CALIFORNIA PRISON MORATORIUM PROJECT (2003) HOW TO STOP A PRISON IN YOUR TOWN.**

This handbook is directed at people in rural areas facing prison construction in their town. It talks about prison construction as an environmental justice issue, and makes connections to other "industries of last resort" like toxic waste facilities, incinerators, plastic recycling, and similar industries that are located in poor rural areas. The handbook is also a great guide for anyone interested in the politics of prison siting in the US, and the impacts of prisons on host towns. For a copy of the Handbook, contact CAPMP (see *Resource Directory*).

**CENTER FOR COURT INNOVATION, NEW YORK:  
"PROBLEM-SOLVING COURTS: PRINCIPLES,"  
[HTTP://WWW.PROBLEM-SOLVINGCOURTS.ORG/PS\\_CHAR.HTML](http://www.problem-solvingcourts.org/ps_char.html)**

**"REFLECTIONS OF PROBLEM-COURT JUSTICE,"  
[HTTP://WWW.COURTINNOVATION.ORG/PDF/REFLECTIONS\\_PSC\\_JUSTICES.PDF](http://www.courtinnovation.org/pdf/reflections_psc_justices.pdf)**

The first article outlines how "problem-solving" courts work. The second piece is an interview with judges in those courts. These are courts that refer people to social programs and drug treatment, and follow up with people's needs more than other courts. This is a good start for learning about people who are trying to change the court system. These articles still suggest surveillance as an alternative, and many of the solutions still depend on arresting people and using force.

**(\* COHEN, STANLEY. (1986). COMMUNITY CONTROL: TO DEMYSTIFY OR TO REAFFIRM?, IN ABOLITIONISM: TOWARDS A NON-REPRESSIVE APPROACH TO CRIME, PP. 127-32. ED. HERMAN BIANCHI AND RENÉ VAN SWAANINGEN. AMSTERDAM: FREE UNIVERSITY PRESS.**

This article outlines some of the problems of reforms. It points out how "alternatives" to the PIC often become part of the state. The author insists that despite the challenges, abolition is a necessary goal. This essay is good for exploring some differences between reform and abolition.

**COCKLES, WISPY. "FIGHTING TO WIN: THOUGHTS ON REFORM AND REVOLUTION."**  
[HTTP://WWW.ONWARDNEWSPAPER.ORG/ARCHIVES/2-2002/WIN.HTML](http://www.onwardnewspaper.org/archives/2-2002/win.html)

cockles explains that we should push for "unreformable reforms." An example would be guaranteed housing for everyone. This is something that the system can't provide without changing in a fundamental way. This article is good for thinking about what kinds of reforms might make people better off in the long run.

**(\*) DAVIDSON, HOWARD. COMMUNITY CONTROL WITHOUT STATE CONTROL: ISSUES SURROUNDING A FEMINIST AND PRISON ABOLITIONIST APPROACH TO VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN. IN ABOLITIONISM: TOWARDS A NON-REPRESSIVE APPROACH TO CRIME, PP. 133-43. ED. HERMAN BIANCHI AND RENÉ VAN SWAANINGEN. AMSTERDAM: FREE UNIVERSITY PRESS.**

This essay explains how prison abolition groups and gender violence groups can work together. It doesn't talk about any specific programs or models. But it points out lots of problems that a good community program could solve.

**DAVIS, ANGELA Y. (2003). ARE PRISONS OBSOLETE? NEW YORK: SEVEN STORIES PRESS.**

This clear, short book explores the racist and sexist history of prisons in the US and calls on us to move beyond prisons to build a more truly just society. Davis points out that there have been other abolitionist movements that once seemed unimaginable. She uses this idea to make a strong case for prison abolition.

**(\*) DE FOLTER, ROLF S. (1986). ON THE METHODOLOGICAL FOUNDATION OF THE ABOLITIONIST APPROACH TO THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM. A COMPARISON OF THE IDEAS OF HULSMAN, MATHIESEN AND FOUCAULT. CONTEMPORARY CRISES, 10, 39-62.**

This article compares three writers' ideas about abolition. It's a good summary of abolition strategies, and alternatives to the PIC. It also focuses on ways of talking about harm, instead of "crime." The downside is that many of the ideas are really abstract.

**(\*) DE HAAN, WILLEM. (1990). THE POLITICS OF REDRESS: CRIME, PUNISHMENT, AND PENAL ABOLITION. LONDON: UNWIN HYMAN.**

This book argues that punishment is unjust. Instead of assuming that there are no good alternatives to punishment, we have to work to create them. The author also talks about the pros and cons of moving to a restorative justice system. He doesn't say much about how to build alternatives to the PIC, though. This book is helpful for looking at different arguments about why societies shouldn't have punishments.

**ESPOSITO, BARBARA AND LEE WOOD. (1982). PRISON SLAVERY. WASHINGTON, DC: COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH PRISON SLAVERY.**

The first part of this book is a history of slavery, and the movements to abolish it. The second part tells the history of convict and slave labor for prisoners. This book is useful for making connections between different parts of the PIC, both past and present: slavery, punishment, forced labor, and prisons. The language is really clear, and there are lots of details.

**"GACACA JURISDICTIONS."** [HTTP://WWW.FAS.HARVARD.EDU/~SOCSTUD/RWANDA/](http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~socstud/rwanda/)

**"UMUVU TREE PROJECT: A MINISTRY OF RECONCILIATION IN RWANDA."**

[HTTP://WWW.RESTORATIVEJUSTICE.ORG/RJ3/FEATURE/2003/FEB/UTP.HTM](http://www.restorativejustice.org/rj3/feature/2003/feb/utp.htm)

**"GACACA, INKUNDLA, TRADITIONAL SYSTEMS OF JUSTICE BEING LOOKED AT IN THE US AS 'RESTORATIVE JUSTICE.'" (available from CR)**

"Gacaca" is a traditional Rwandan way of resolving disputes. Rwanda is now using this method to try to heal the harm from the civil war in the 1990s. These three articles talk about the pros and cons of using gacaca, instead of regular courts. The articles do a good job of explaining how the process works. They also pay a lot of attention to how communities and survivors feel about gacaca.

**HULSMAN, LOUK H.C. (1986). CRITICAL CRIMINOLOGY AND THE CONCEPT OF CRIME. CONTEMPORARY CRISES, 10, 63-80.**

The author explains why it's important to talk about "harm," or "trouble," instead of "crime." The article uses examples of different incidents (a traffic accident, vandalism, and a killing) to talk through some alternatives to punishment. It shows how changing the language we use helps us imagine new responses to harm.

**IMMARIGEON, RUSS. (1991). BEYOND THE FEAR OF CRIME: RECONCILIATION AS THE BASIS FOR CRIMINAL JUSTICE POLICY. IN CRIMINOLOGY AS PEACEMAKING, PP. 69-80. ED. HAROLD E. PEINSKY AND RICHARD QUINNEY. BLOOMINGTON: INDIANA UNIVERSITY PRESS. (AVAILABLE FROM CR).**

This essay points out how courts and punishment don't really resolve conflicts, or fulfill people's needs. It tells five stories that illustrate how community programs could respond to harm. It does a good job of describing situations to focus away from fear, and toward common sense.

**KANIOS, CHRIS GUS. "MEDIATION: A PROGRESSIVE MODEL OF DISPUTE RESOLUTION." CENTER FOR GUERRILLA LAW. [HTTP://WWW.GUERRILLALAW.COM/MEDIATION.HTML](http://www.guerrillalaw.com/mediation.html).**

This article explains what mediation is, and how it's a way to resolve conflicts. This is a good article for exploring alternate ways of addressing harm. The author does a good job of describing the goals and principles of mediation. However, it doesn't really give examples of what kinds of cases it might be a good process for.

**KNOPP, FAY HONEY; PRISON RESEARCH EDUCATION ACTION PROJECT, ET AL. (1976). INSTEAD OF PRISONS: A HANDBOOK FOR ABOLITIONISTS. BROOKLYN: FACULTY PRESS. AVAILABLE: [HTTP://WWW.PRISONSUCKS.COM/SCANS/INSTEAD\\_OF\\_PRISONS/INDEX.SHTML](http://www.prisonsucks.com/scans/instead_of_prisons/index.shtml)**

This is a handbook by and for activists. It has lots of stories of successful campaigns to get people out of prison. There's a great section on alternatives to punishment, especially for gender violence. It's really useful for learning more about the history of anti-PIC work. The book is a little bit dated, but it's a good place for tips on how to organize. We really recommend looking at this one.

**KNOPP, FAY HONEY, VIRGINIA MACKAY, MARK PHILLIPS, NANCIE ZANE (PRISON RESEARCH EDUCATION ACTION PROJECT). (1981). RESEARCHING YOUR LOCAL JAIL: A CITIZEN'S GUIDE FOR CHANGE. SYRACUSE: SAFER SOCIETY PRESS. (AVAILABLE FROM CR)**

This is a toolkit on how to stop local jail expansion and help get people out of cages. It explains

how to get, and make sense of, government reports about jails. It does a great job of explaining how to use this information to fight the PIC and argue for alternatives. However, it implies that some people do belong in jails. All the research strategies can be used from an abolitionist perspective, however.

**(\*) MATHIESEN, THOMAS. (1974). THE POLITICS OF ABOLITION. NEW YORK: JOHN WILEY & SONS.**

This is a history of abolition groups in Sweden and Norway. It's written by one of the main organizers. The book focuses on how these groups chose their campaigns. The book is also useful for thinking about how abolitionist organizations can work with current prisoners.

**(\*) MATHIESEN, THOMAS. (1986). THE POLITICS OF ABOLITION. CONTEMPORARY CRISES, 10, 81-94.**

This article explains eight reasons why no more prisons should be built. It also shows how "reformist reforms" have actually led to more people being caged. It focuses mostly on prisons, but it does a good job of explaining a strategy for shrinking the PIC.

**(\*) MATHIESEN, THOMAS. (1987). A NOTE ON POWER AND ABOLITIONISM. CONTEMPORARY CRISES, 11, 403-405.**

This article explains one way of thinking about "power." It tries to show that people who are oppressed have the power to make big social changes. It's useful for thinking about what concepts like "power" and "oppression" mean on an everyday level.

**(\*) MATTHEWS, ROGER. (1989). ALTERNATIVES TO AND IN PRISONS: A REALIST APPROACH. IN PAYING FOR CRIME, PP. 128-150. ED. PAT CARLEN AND DEE COOK. MILTON KEYNES: OPEN UNIVERSITY PRESS. (AVAILABLE TO BORROW FROM CR).**

This article actually recommends building better prisons, and caging fewer people. It mostly criticizes abolition. BUT it has lots of good discussions of the challenges of building alternatives to the PIC, so it's a useful source for thinking about how to build alternatives that don't prop up the PIC.

**MAUER, MARC. (2000). THE RACE TO INCARCERATE. THE CASE FOR PENAL ABOLITION, PP. 89-99. ED. W. GORDON WEST AND RUTH MORRIS. TORONTO: CANADIAN SCHOLARS' PRESS.**

This essay is a short history of the prison in the United States. It's useful for making connections between the PIC and its historical roots. It's also valuable for reading about how the PIC in the US is spreading to other countries.

**MCCOLD, PAUL. (2000). OVERVIEW OF MEDIATION, CONFERENCING AND CIRCLES. PAPER PRESENTED AT THE UNITED NATIONS CONGRESS ON CRIME PREVENTION AND THE TREATMENT OF OFFENDERS, ANCILLARY MEETING ON IMPLEMENTING RESTORATIVE JUSTICE IN THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT. VIENNA, AUSTRIA, 10-17 APRIL. [HTTP://WWW.RESTORATIVEJUSTICE.ORG/RJ3/UNBASICPRINCIPLES/ANCILLARYMEETINGS/PAPERS/OVERVIEW.PDF](http://www.restorativejustice.org/rj3/UNBASICPRINCIPLES/ANCILLARYMEETINGS/PAPERS/OVERVIEW.PDF)**

This article outlines different kinds of restorative justice. It explains more programs than the previous article, with fewer details. It has helpful diagrams that illustrate who participates in each program.

**MCMURTRY, JOHN. CAGING THE POOR: THE CASE AGAINST THE POOR SYSTEM, THE CASE FOR PENAL ABOLITION, PP. 167-186. ED. W. GORDON WEST AND RUTH MORRIS. TORONTO: CANADIAN SCHOLARS' PRESS.**

This essay shows how poor people are at a high risk of being locked up. The author counters the idea that prisons "correct" people or protect communities. This is also a good article for connecting the PIC to the global economy. However, the author uses animal imagery to refer to some prisoners.

**MORRIS, RUTH. (1995). PENAL ABOLITION, THE PRACTICAL CHOICE: A PRACTICAL MANUAL ON PENAL ABOLITION. TORONTO: CANADIAN SCHOLARS' PRESS.**

This is a handbook on abolition strategies. It talks a lot about how to work with programs that already exist, to prevent them from propping up the PIC. There are also some sections on transformative justice. This is a good tool for brainstorming how to organize and educate in communities.

**MORRIS, RUTH. (2000). BUT WHAT ABOUT THE DANGEROUS FEW? THE CASE FOR PENAL ABOLITION, PP. 101-110. ED. W. GORDON WEST AND RUTH MORRIS. TORONTO: CANADIAN SCHOLARS' PRESS.**

This article answers the common question of how to supervise the small number of people who might need separation. The author focuses on how we can prevent violence. She also outlines some basic goals for how to out treat people who create harm. The essay also pushes the question of what really makes us safe.

**O'CONNELL, TERRY. (2000) "RESTORATIVE JUSTICE FOR POLICE." PAPER PRESENTED AT THE UNITED NATIONS CRIME CONGRESS, ANCILLARY MEETING ON IMPLEMENTING RESTORATIVE JUSTICE IN THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT. VIENNA, AUSTRIA, 10-17 APRIL.**

**[HTTP://WWW.RESTORATIVEJUSTICE.ORG/RJ3/UNBASICPRINCIPLES/ANCILLARYMEETINGS/PAPERS/O\\_CONNELL.PDF](http://www.restorativejustice.org/rj3/UNBASICPRINCIPLES/ANCILLARYMEETINGS/PAPERS/O_CONNELL.PDF)**

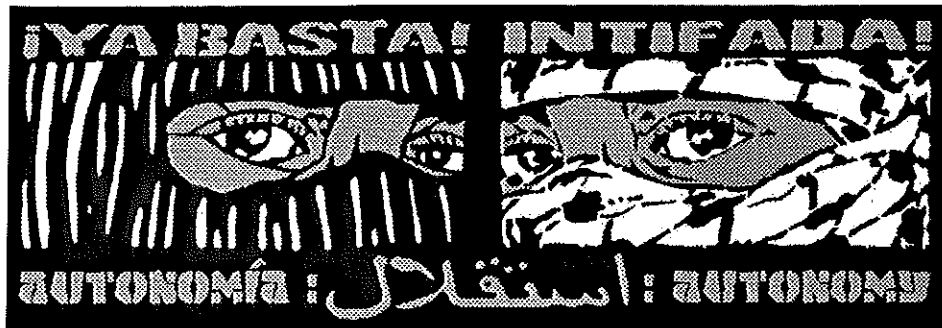
This article describes the Wagga Wagga program in Australia. This is a program where police use conferences with youth, instead of sending them to courts. Although we don't think police should be involved in this way, this kind of program could be re-designed toward abolition. The article is good for learning how to bring a new program into your own community.

**ZINN, HOWARD. (1965). SNCC: THE NEW ABOLITIONISTS. BOSTON: BEACON PRESS.**

This is a history of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. There are a few comparisons between SNCC and slavery abolitionists. This is a good resource for reading about how a grass-roots group organized its campaigns from all across the US.

# APPENDIX

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# EXERCISES

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Below are exercises that we have suggested throughout the toolkit. We've pulled them out here to make using them a little easier, but it might be helpful to refer back to the sections they come from for background information that would make the exercise go more smoothly.

## FROM "WHY DO WE DO THIS? HOW DO WE DO THIS?"

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### DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

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- Why are you doing/wanting to do abolitionist work? Or why aren't you? What are your hesitations (whether you are or aren't)?
- What types of work does an abolitionist stance make easier/harder?
- How does being or not being an abolitionist connect to your political identity?

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### SENTENCE EXERCISE:

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Choose one (or more) institutions to compare to the PIC. Decide on a set number of points of comparison. They might be:

- historical era and geographic location
- economic, gender, and racial systems in place
- environmental effects
- political justifications that keep these systems alive
- ways the state maintains these systems

For each point of comparisons, try to come up with one sentence along the lines of "Just like \_\_\_\_\_, the PIC..."

EXAMPLE: "Just like Homeland Security, the PIC claims to be about safety and order even though it really makes the lives of most people—especially people of color--less safe and more disordered." Don't worry about making your sentences including EVERY point of comparison. Make as many as you want, and try to emphasis the connections that will be most motivating or illuminating. You can also run this exercise the opposite way: what are the dissimilarities?

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### CAMPAIGN EXERCISE:

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Analyze a campaign. One person or group might describe a campaign that they're working on or have completed. Briefly share an outline of what happened or is happening, then ask questions like:

- What cages were seen as the major problem in this campaign?
- What understandings of the political system did this campaign try to use and spread?
- What we some of the shortcomings? Who/What got excluded or downplayed?
- How could it be done better? What are ways to more explicitly tie this particular effort to a broad-based abolitionist movement?



## PICTURE EXERCISE:

On a large piece of butcher paper, draw the cages of the PIC. What connects them? For this exercise, fewer instructions might help produce the broadest range of representations.

## FROM “CONFRONTING ‘CRIME,’ CONFRONTING HARM”

### DISCUSSING CRIME:

One way to undo harmful myths and ideas about crime is to critically assess media portrayals of them.

Consider the following study:

Many years ago sociologist Mark Fishman did a study that is still meaningful to today. Fishman looked at how the media created fictional “crime waves” with racially coded images. In a time when there was no evidence of an increase in violence against elderly New Yorkers, Fishman found that the three main newspapers of the city along with five local TV stations reported an upswing of violence targeting the elderly. The elderly were usually reported as being mugged, raped, and murdered by black or Latino youth with long criminal records. These youth generally came from inner city areas located near the residential areas of elderly whites that had fled those same areas. Because of the media made hysteria over the alleged “crime wave,” new laws were created for more harsh and punishing policies such as longer prison sentences.

Discuss the following questions:

1. How is crime portrayed in your local media? What crimes receive attention? What is the race and class of those who are portrayed as responsible?
2. Does the media assist you in understanding crime? If yes, how? If no, why not?

### DISCUSSING HARM:

1. On one half of a large sheet of paper, list the general values you believe should guide responses to harm.
2. On the other half, brainstorm what you see as the main values and rules the government uses to deal with crime.
3. Compare and contrast each side of the paper. Discuss why the two sides differ.

## FROM “COMMON SENSE”

### LET’S START TALKING

Imagine that people in your neighborhood are starting a “Neighborhood Crime Watch” or “Civilian Corps.” Maybe they’re putting up signs telling people to look out for strangers, and suspicious activities. Or maybe they’re trying to organize more community-based policing.

Now try to figure out steps to challenge these activities, either as a role play or in conversation.

- What is the common sense about safety this group uses? How is it related to their position in the area—are they old-time residents, or recent gentrifiers? Do they seem to represent the feelings of most people in your neighborhood, or only a small but vocal minority?
- How can you start from a desire to be safe from crime to start a conversation about alternative practices, or about the dangers of the program they're proposing?
- Where and how could you do this effectively? Would it help to talk to people one-on-one?
- Could you start a different neighborhood group that proposed a different model of safety?

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## **WHAT MAKES YOU FEEL SAFE?**

*(This might be a good exercise to ask people to begin before a roundtable or teach-in)*

This is a brainstorm exercise. Make a list of anything that makes you feel safe. Then make a list of anything that you feel compromises your safety.

Play around with ordering the lists:

- How can you group them?
- What are the conflicts within the lists?
- Are there things that make some people feel safe that others feel keep them from being safe?
- If similar things pop up on both lists (from different people or even the same person), why do you think that is?

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## **ALTERNATIVES TO PUNISHMENT ROLE PLAY**

Come up with a situation where harm has happened in your community. For this role play you need a person to play the harmer, one to play the person being harmed, and others to play friends and family for both people. Remember that friends and family can be connected to both people—especially if the harm in question is in the setting of a family or neighborhood.

For the exercise, you as a group have to figure out:

- A. How you're going to meet. Who will facilitate, especially when emotions are high? How will decisions be made?
- B. What is the harm that happened, and how is it still felt?
- C. How can you resolve the issue without prisons or policing?

If you can come up with a situation that is specific to the group you're working with, great. You could also look to the alternatives to punishment section of this kit, which has a similar exercise about circles.

Of course, if people aren't comfortable doing a role play, you can still set up the situation and have a conversation about it.