



(Title)

by

(Student Name)

a practice-based research paper submitted to the School of Social Work of York University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Master of Social Work**

© _____

(Year)

The author reserves publication rights, and neither the paper nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

Futures of Freedom:

How Activists and Organizers Re-Imagine Rehabilitation & Reintegration from The Prison

Industrial Complex Through an Abolitionist Philosophy

Practice-Based Research Paper

Cristal Hines

A Practice-Based Research Paper Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of

Master of Social Work

School of Social Work, York University

Dr. Teresa Macias

Dedication & Acknowledgements

I dedicate this piece to the people I will acknowledge and the moments that molded me. As I am approaching the finish line of this research journey, I reflect upon the transformative moments that made the impact of this journey timeless. The week I started this MSW journey, my home caught on fire; I was so devastated and even considered not pursuing my MSW at this time. The communities and people I highlight below were the wind beneath my wings as I weathered what felt like an impenetrable wind of challenges. These sources of love and care ensured that, instead of being consumed by the fire, I was ignited by it.

Thank God for loving me and showing me new parts of you throughout this process. You are not just a lover, a friend, and a redeemer but also a radical, transformative, faithful God. Thank you for reminding me of my inner creative mind, the blank canvas for imagination that you painted on my heart as a promise of my future masterpiece.

To my beautiful and dearest kitty, Milá Afia-Hines: thank you for staying up late with me and all your late-night cuddles and early-morning meows. You have a tender but beautiful spirit that merged so beautifully with mine.

To my mother, father, brothers, sister, cousins, aunties, uncles. Thank you for your love and your prayers. Thank you for holding me up in the moments I could barely hold myself. Thank you for reminding me of the outlandish childhood dreams I had to be where I am now and that fantasies come to life as long as we breathe life into that inner child.

To my friends/chosen family, words cannot express how much I love you. Thank you for bringing me food, spending time in silence, checking in, and showing up even when I pretended everything was okay. Thank you for the laughter, group/individual outings, and special memories you made along this journey. Thank you for continuing to see me and reminding me when the foundation(s) of who I am felt shaken and challenged. You are all so unique.

To my mentors, thank you for breathing life into my inner activist, organizer, intellectual, and leader. Thank you, Tracey, Treisha, Akilah, Kiké, and Auntie Karen; your mentorship reinforces Maya Angelou's reminder that "I come as one, but I stand as 10,000" (Angelo, 2018). I stand as the generations of formidable Black women who blazed the trail to do this work from a place of love, grit, and boldness. I stand for the generations of Black women who will come after me. I pray that the legacy I leave from this work will not simply be one of outstanding material achievements but that it will inspire bold dreams for the future. I hope it will suspend the fear that this colonial world infuses to stifle our imaginations. I am living in the imaginations of my ancestors, though we have a ways to go; today was once their wildest dreams. I want the

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

generations after me to reflect some of mine. To my other mentors, Errol and Phillip, thank you for your support.

To my youth, the young people I have had the privilege of serving in various capacities. I wrote from a place of our memories. Thank you for inspiring my advocacy. When I think about the pain, difficulty, and moments of deep anguish that my advocacy cost me, I will do it all again because it does not compare to the joy, moments of freedom, and possibility that it ignited for you. Thank you for writing songs with me. Your laughter rests on my heart as if it were in harmony with the hymns of freedom I hope to write one day.

To my peers, from potlucks to pomodoros in the MSW lounge to our home coffee shops. Thank you to colleagues who became friends. It is fair to say that this has been a whirlwind of existential transitions and breakthroughs that broke ground for us, politically and, most importantly, collectively. Thank you for the tears, laughter, curiosity, and gentleness moments. I cherish those of you in whom I found remnants of my political home. Also, to Yumna, I met you along this journey, and you so willingly journeyed with me, sharing wisdom from your process; thank you.

To my far-off mentors, Angela Davis, Ida B. Wells, bell hooks, Ruha Benjamin, Kimberly, Crenshaw, Robyn Maynard, Harriet Tumbnan, thank you. The stories, analysis, and histories captured in your writing and journey fueled the confidence I needed to finish writing this. You symbolize our ancestors' greatest ideas manifested in research, writing, and practice.

I need to take a moment to thank two very special women who anchored me throughout this process. Firstly, Dr. Harjeet Badwall, thank you for holding space in your classroom and our 1:1 conversations to foster curiosity, discomfort, and possibility. Thank you for inspiring the courage to sit between “no longer” and “not yet” regarding the visions from which I sometimes felt so disconnected. Thank you for being such an incredible mentor.

Last but certainly not least, to my formidable, intelligent, and incredible research professor, Dr. Teresa Macias. Words cannot express what your leadership in our class and mentorship have done for me personally/intellectually. I never imagined a space in academia where I could see my ideas come to life. You permitted me to think bigger of myself. Thank you for challenging me and for holding space for the grief that I held for the parts of myself I had to let go of in this journey to brace for more. Thank you for your patience as I wondered about many parts of my imagination before settling into a space necessary to complete this research. You are an inspiration and a force, and I am grateful that I had the honour of growing alongside and learning from you.

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

I will end by saying this: loving what you do comes with so many rewards. It does not feel like work; it fuels you, it ignites your creativity, and it affirms so many parts of your purpose. But the truth about loving what you do is just like relational love. That is, it hurts sometimes. There are moments when you feel betrayed by the thing you love the most when your ideologies are shaken, when the foundation of what you have believed for so long is disrupted, and when you realize that your heroes can become villains. Yet, in these moments, you are equally presented with opportunities to abandon what feels like an end or accept that invitation as one to a genesis. I feel like my work has been a series of diary entries of which I have been a part, and now I am in a place where I have to write my entry. In doing so, I am confronted with all the stories that have shaped, challenged, and pushed me. At this stage in my life, loving what I do is only as rewarding as it is confrontational. Through this process, I experienced the confrontation of multiple versions of myself, beliefs, and paradigm shifts, yet I was able to honor the essence of who I am. So, for me, loving what I do in this season is allowing it to love me back and surrendering to the process. I hope you (the reader) feel some of that as you read through this research.

Abstract & Keywords

Abolition and reform discourses have long informed how criminal justice has been conceptualized and practiced for decades. Both schools of thought carefully seek to address issues related to the penal system. The focus of my research closely interrogates abolition and reform by looking directly at how activists, community, and organizers are re-imagining the future of rehabilitation and reintegration from the penal system. My research is informed by a Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA) as the central methodology to consider how words, ideas, and practices shape activism work. Additionally, Said's Contrapuntal Reading (SCR) is employed to look at some of the underlying contradictions that appear in activist discourses to demonstrate how they are profoundly shaped by a colonial apparatus. More broadly, these tools will enable an analysis of how ideas of rehabilitation & reintegration are produced through discourses and how to determine who can be "free" from prison cells and the prison industrial complex.

Key Words: Abolition, Reform, Activists, Prison, Rehabilitation, Reintegration

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction..... 7
Introduction of the Research Topic..... 7
Situating the Study within a Scholarly Field..... 10
Methodological and Theoretical Framework Informing the Study..... 11
 Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA)..... 13
 FDA & Theoretical Frameworks..... 14
Research Design..... 17
 Data Collection..... 17
 Data Coding and Analysis..... 19
Ethical considerations..... 20

Chapter 2: Situating The Research in an Analytical Review of Scholarly Literature..... 22
Introduction to Literature Review..... 23
Reviewing Literature on Re-entry and Post-Lease Programs..... 24
Literature on Colonization, Slavery, and Racial Capitalism..... 30
Abolition & Reform..... 33
Discussion & Concluding Thoughts..... 40

Chapter 3: The Cultivation of the Rehabilitative Subject and Corporatization of Punishment..... 42
Introduction to Competing Discourses of Abolition and Reform..... 43
Introducing the Rehabilitative Subject..... 44
Producing the Rehabilitative Subject..... 47

Chapter 4: The Analytical Confrontation of Abolition and Reform Discourse Through The Lens of Rehabilitation and Reintegration..... 62
Abolitionist Activism as Counter Discourses..... 62
Challenging Rehabilitation and Reintegration from an Abolitionist Philosophy..... 63
Confronting the Tensions Between Abolitionist Activists for a Prison-Free Future..... 73

Chapter 5: Conclusion: Where to next?..... 81
Review and Reflections of Research..... 81
Limitations and Direction for Future Research..... 83
Implications for Social Work Practice..... 84
References..... 86

Chapter 1: Introduction

Revolution is a serious thing, the most serious thing about a revolutionary's life. When one commits oneself to the struggle, it must last for a lifetime.

Angela Davis, [We Have to Talk About Liberating Minds], 2020.

Introduction of the Research Topic

At the inception of my research, I was compelled by the opportunity to conduct a thorough interrogation and analysis of state violence, particularly the role of criminality and policing in the lives of marginalized peoples, and how this impedes freedom, mobility, and reintegration from the penal system into communities for former inmates. The reintegration/reentry process I will refer to throughout this research, is about how individuals regain access to the community and society at large after being released for incarceration. It is characterized by a multitude of strategies and interventions to build their capacity for living in society (i.e obtaining employment, stable housing etc.) and more importantly, designed to prevent them from re-offending. This interest is fueled by what I hope to call my life's work and a commitment to social justice and freedom of all, beginning with the most marginalized. In my research, I carefully explored how activists and organizers are re-imagining futures of freedom from the prison industrial complex through rehabilitation and reintegration. I examined the disproportionality that exists for Black, Indigenous, and people of color within the penal system. Notably, it looks at the interwoven nature of oppression and criminal justice that, inhibits them from successfully transitioning out of the penal system, reintegrating into the community, and experiencing holistic rehabilitation and freedom.

In her book *Policing Black Lives* (2017), Robyn Maynard examines the historical and contemporary impacts of slavery. She diligently captures an interrogation of state violence by

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

illustrating the adverse effects of Canadian laws, particularly drug policies, on Black communities. She remarks that “drug laws were, since their inception, a mechanism of legally mandated, racially motivated surveillance, harassment, and incarceration for racialized persons” (Maynard, 2017, p. 96). This example of a means of control and subjugation that the state has infringed on Black lives creates a unique picture affecting the movement and ability of Black persons from effectively navigating state institutions.

Throughout my research, I examined how abolitionist organizing has functioned as a radical response to violent state practices. These practices are imposed through technologies of policing, surveillance, and neo-liberal post-release programs that mark the conditions of integration for individuals. I also explored how those conditions impact efforts by an individual to rehabilitate and conceptualize their freedom in this world.

As an activist, I have worked as a grassroots organizer against police brutality and within organizations in supervisory/managerial roles supporting those working towards re-entry. In these settings, I worked intimately with individuals and their families. These individuals were convicted of felonies under Canada’s penal system. My work was to support them as they navigated their court processes. Once verdicts were rendered, I endorsed them through sentencing, rehabilitation, and integration. Through my work, I witnessed the complex nature and intersectional experiences of racialized offenders. These experiences were shaped by the conditions that mark each individual's proximity to criminality, namely race, gender, sexuality, and, more often than not, immigration status. In my experience, the concept of “innocent until proven guilty,” which ultimately determined the fate of a person's court case, only applied when the individual in question resembled in body, ideology, and practice the standards of whiteness and is favored by a white-supremacist society. In simple terms, once a verdict on a person's case

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

was rendered, it either determined (A) if the individual was found not-guilty then they were “free” to resume life outside of prison or (B) if the individual was found guilty then they were processed for sentencing, which was further punishment for the alleged crime. Though they are different paths, the conditions for sentencing or reintegration rendered their unique consequences depending on the individual's identity rather than their intrinsic qualities.

As I ventured through the conditions that shape individuals' reintegration and holistic rehabilitation, I hope to uncover specific and community-centric pathways to holistic rehabilitation and add to the scholarship that reimagines a world without prisons. I am curious about pathways for individuals to access redemption not merely from criminality but from the post-colonial impacts of whiteness, slavery, genocide, and segregation in a way that grants them true liberation. As a result, my main research questions are: (1) How are activists and organizers re-imagining futures of rehabilitation and reintegration?, (2) how are activist discourses deployed to manifest futures without prisons?, and (3) how do abolitionist and reformist activists produce concepts of rehabilitation and reintegration through language?

Throughout this study, the data will answer the research questions above, as well as support the major arguments that follow. First, discourse from abolitionist activists seeking liberation from the prison industrial complex will highlight that rehabilitation and reintegration are not achieved through programs and systematic processes. Rather, they are achieved through the deregulation of self-surveillance and destabilization of capitalism, which, together, promote individual reclamation and dignity of the soul of the prisoner subject. Next, discourses on the penal system necessitate a rehabilitative subject that must ultimately become an economic-producing subject for the sustained continuation of the penal regime. Finally, though activists and community organizers are seeking a future of freedom that is founded on the

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

abolitionist paradigms, their discourses reinscribe reformist methods, ultimately legitimizing governmental regimes that they seek to abolish.

Situating the Study within a Scholarly Field

Two distinct schools of thought facilitate discussions around rehabilitation and reintegration in research and practice. In chapter two, I outline both schools of thought, as presented in the scholarship, that inform the theoretical analysis of my study. The first is abolitionist philosophy, as explained by Eschmann et al. (2023); it is defined as “both a vision and a practical strategy. The many fights for non-reformist reforms are central to abolitionist work, which reduces the power of an oppressive system while illuminating its inability to solve the crises it creates. As we build a movement and work hard on campaigns and projects, we encourage strong analysis about how to chip away at the system and not make things we must tear down later (p. 498). This definition illustrates the tension with how many abolition activists and organizers function to manifest social justice outcomes of abolitionist thought. The second school of thought that informs this literature review is that of criminal justice reform, which is characterized by efforts of recidivism and intended to protect “public safety and embodied in the term ‘corrections’ is the notion that those who commit a crime can be reformed, that their behavior can be ‘corrected’”(Kubrin & Tublitz, 2022, p. 36).

In the past few decades, the reformist perspective in research has emerged, not only to address how the current penal system functions in a way that stifles individuals' capacity to participate fully in society. It has also situated itself as a response to manage these populations through structured evidenced-based programming that purports to support successful reintegration and reduce recidivism. Whereas abolitionist research has grown to not only interrogate the systemic and historical forces like slavery and colonization that have caused mass

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

incarceration, it has also aimed to disrupt by redirecting our focus from individuals to the systems and structures within which they exist. Throughout this literature review, I will form the foundation of my study through an analytical discussion of key research concepts and emerging themes, the methodologies I use in this study, and the impact of specific program studies focused on post-release, re-entry, and rehabilitation. Furthermore, I will address how researchers and theorists link the global conditions and origins of the penal code with more contemporary social phenomena. My literature review draws on the work of Michel Foucault, which provides the dominant analytical framework for my research.

Methodological and Theoretical Framework Informing the Study

I employ a Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA) methodology to analyze public statements, letters, and diaries from activist groups and organizations on policing, criminality, and rehabilitation. The components of FDA include power, subject making, context (politically, historically, etc.), the genres and types of text through intertextuality, symbols, and how these pieces work together to produce reality. In a FDA, “Discourse is not simply what is said, but also those conditions that determine what can and cannot be said at a particular social and historical moment” (Foucault, 1986, p. 149). Also, “discourse is the site of struggle within which truth emerges: the social conditions that determine how certain statements acquire the status of truth and knowledge” (Foucault, 1986, p. 151). These conditions reveal power relations constituting particular subjects under a given power domain. A closer examination of how power deployed through particular discourses shapes the constitution of a specific subject allows us to observe how these discourses “regulate their desires, and implicitly and explicitly calculate their relationships with other subjects and with society” (Macias, 2015, p. 231).

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

This understanding of subject-making supports the discussion in the upcoming chapters about how the rehabilitative subject comes into effect through discourses enforced by the conditions of the penal system and the disciplinary function. The subject-making process revealed in the following chapters will also illustrate the pervasive ways power is exercised to sustain and enforce these systems. For Foucault (2015), power is not only deployed in discourse to constitute particular subjects but equally “we are always socially and historically implicated because we all live at the intersection of historical and socio-political power relations that sustain conditions of inequality and privilege and shape our subjectivity” (Macias, 2015, p. 222). For this study, the FDA’s analysis of power will be used to illustrate the discursive strategies that come into effect through these inherent power relations that are reproduced in productive yet repressive ways.

This methodological approach, mainly the function of intertextuality, guides my research because it allows me to develop a comprehensive analysis of activist discourse. These discourses primarily work to both conceptualize and actualize futures of rehabilitation and reintegration, particularly from the prison industrial complex. Epistemologically, the FDA as a framework “prompts us to ask not whether the statement is true, but rather how it becomes true, and what this truth accomplishes: its social function and social effects” (Macias, 2015, p. 225). This approach allowed me to meticulously interrogate how rehabilitative subjects are produced through text and how disciplinary mechanisms of power are enacted based on those conceptions. Ontologically, FDA is described by Foucault (1997) as: “It is founded on the claim that notions of humanity and human nature—what we may call human life—do not come into social relations fully formed or with an essential nature but are constantly re/produced in discourse” (p. 227). This ontological disposition will pair effectively with the theoretical frameworks of my study

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

because FDA highlights how the rehabilitative subject's sense of humanity is eroded and reconfigured to be that of an economic-producing subject, justifying the harmful effects of the penal system.

The main theoretical frameworks that inform my analysis include governmentality offered by Foucault, interlocking analysis of oppression, Critical Race Theory (CRT), and finally, Said's Contrapuntal Reading (SCR) developed by Palestinian-born, American-raised scholar Edward Said (1993). These theoretical frameworks will be defined in the following parts of this section. Compiling these concepts and frameworks will enable me to demonstrate how activists' political discourses expose a dialectical relationship with state powers. These frameworks will also discuss how the development of these historical discussions in the form of (but not limited to) particular political movements has shaped the contemporary interplay between reformist and abolitionist philosophies.

Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA)

For the intended purpose of my study, FDA will allow me to investigate how concepts of rehabilitation and reintegration are produced through language and texts. Namely, FDA directs my analytical questions to both conceptualize rehabilitation criminality and, based on the outcomes, further explain how these constructed concepts socially function to determine who is capable of being rehabilitated. Furthermore, "FDA requires us to interrogate how power is at work in the statement in ways that determine what the statement explicitly or implicitly denies, disavows, or excludes, as well as what it accepts, avows" (Macias, 2015, p. 225). This understanding guides an analysis of relationships between power and specific subject positions and how this relationship informs how statements are constructed and become true, then enacted as social practices. In the context of my study, this relationship between power and

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

subject-making will not only enable me to interrogate state violence as it pertains to subjects of criminality but equally interrogate how activists and organizers conceptualize targets of state violence and resist or reproduce said tensions within movements against prison reform and for abolition.

FDA & Theoretical Frameworks

The first two theoretical frameworks that will inform my analysis provided by Foucault include power and governmentality. First, according to Foucault (1978), power “exposes the structures, relations, and practices by which political subjects are constituted and deployed, along with the forces that have shaped and continue to shape modernity” (p. 1). This concept will support my examination of how individuals, particularly racialized bodies in the prison industrial complex, become subjects of state violence. Additionally, it will narrow the analysis on how reformist activists cement their approach within neoliberal capitalist “power-knowledge-regimes” (Macias, 2015, p.8) and how this approach leads to the commodification of the prisoner's body. In the context of post-release rehabilitation programs, as demonstrated in my literature review below, the body becomes disciplined and "in its disciplining, the optimization of its capabilities, the extortion of its forces, the parallel increase of its usefulness and its docility, its integration into systems of efficient and economic control” (Cisney et al.. 2020, p. 4) as a result, the body will then become a site of the subject, making evidence in language about the productive prisoner.

Foucault (2007) proposed “governmentality as a conceptual framework to interrogate state power not only in its institutional and political manifestations but also in its effects at the level of individual life and human relations” (p. 255). In analyzing public statements by activists and organizers for prison abolition and against state violence, this theory of governmentality will

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

draw a direct relationship and concentrated analysis on the ways state-violence targets individuals within the penal system. This elicits barriers for rehabilitation on an individual level but also how this oppression serves in the economic interests of society as a whole. Furthermore, “a governmental framework uncovers neoliberalism’s reliance on the deployment of power-knowledge devices that, rather than describing, produce a reality and the subject who inhabits that reality” (Macias, 2015, p. 255). This interconnected analysis of governmentality and neoliberalism will highlight the discursive strategies used to constitute the rehabilitative subject and how neo-liberalism problematizes and inevitably justifies punitive interventions that facilitate re-entry.

The following theoretical concept that coincides with an interlocking analysis of oppression. Fellows & Razack (1998) argue that systems of oppression, capitalism, imperialism, and patriarchy rely on one another in complex ways. Specifically, this “interlocking effect means that the systems of oppression come into existence in and through one another so that class exploitation can not be accomplished without gender and racial hierarchies; imperialism can not function without class exploitation, sexism, heterosexism, and so on.” (p. 335). This theoretical framework will function as a necessary tool to explain the disproportionate ways in which race, class, gender, etc., function to marginalize and target Black and Indigenous bodies within the penal system, which are both revealed and reinforced in activist discourses. FDA’s theories will continue to ground me through a critical yet scrupulous lens in examining systems and how they inform individual actions and political movements.

My analysis's final two theoretical frameworks will be CRT and SCR. Namely, as coined and refined by various Black scholars, CRT guides me in examining how reform mediates and reproduces the race relations that create disproportionality and marginalization. Considerably,

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

“language surrounding reduced recidivism is inherently racist and is a form of state violence that harms people of color disproportionately” (Lee et al., 2022, p. 14). They continue by adding that “instead of critically analyzing racist structural practices embedded within the American economic, political, and social landscape, recidivism places the blame on individual choices” (Lee et al., 2022, p. 14). FDA as a methodology will inform the design of my study, and CRT, as a theoretical lens, will cement my analysis and offer a robust structural interrogation. This will support a lens on the function of race and its relationship to subject forming that determines who is criminalized, rehabilitative, safe and ultimately accessible.

SCR offered by Edward Said (1993) is “a method of analyzing colonial and postcolonial literature that reads the narratives of the colonizers alongside those of the colonized, thus examining opposite and intertwined histories” (p. 1). The FDA approach will allow me to thoroughly examine texts in public statements, diaries, and policy briefs from activists and organizers carefully, without curtailing the significance of diverse subjects, which will be illuminated through CRT and allow me to construct a race-based analysis. The inclusion of the SCR technique will strengthen this analysis by providing a framework for me to consider both the internal perspective of the colonizer as well as the external perspective of the colonized and will also be a way of seeing that though discourses may not be explicitly imperialist, colonial knowledge is continuously entrenched in colonial histories, which informs colonial culture (Zaghlol, 2018, p. 7). SCR will strengthen the basis of my research and lens by which I analyze statements by activists and organizers from marginalized communities seeking justice and liberation from the prison industrial complex.

FDA & SCR in Cohesion

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

Both FDA and SCR function to highlight how activist discourse and state practices overlap and contradict themselves at times to pursue the ends they seek. Both ideologically require (1) an analysis of power and forces that contribute to how specific contexts impact subject formations (FDA), individuals (SCR), and society at large; (2) they both rely on an historical context to understand how present-day practices impact power relations; and (3) they both require an analysis of a text that looks at the more profound implications that stand contrary and expose some hidden “truths.” SCR will assist in examining more deeply how rehabilitative subjects are produced and manifested in larger discourses that often undermine abolitionist philosophies. Both approaches will allow me to de- and re-contextualize data to provide a historical context to interrogate present-day practice.

Research Design

Data Collection

After much consultation with my research professor and narrowing down the genre of the sources, I compiled data from sources such as online news sources and websites from various Black and Indigenous activists and organizing groups who advocate for prison reform or abolition. Since my study conducted an interlocking analysis of oppression, the concentration on Black and Indigenous groups is directly connected to the overrepresentation of these groups within the penal system. While Black and Indigenous discourses were a concentration within my study, I also extracted similar coverage from various prisoner rights advocates and prison abolitionist groups from multiple identities and communities to provide a more holistic and intersectional image of the depth and nature of my area of research. Additionally, I collected a sample of 120 news articles and public statements/diaries between 2019 to 2023 to account for a

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

contemporary analysis of activists organizing efforts. However, only 100 were analyzed for this study. Though the 20 that were not included addressed essential aspects of the penal reform or abolition, they did not highlight activist discourses. In addition, they were more quantitative, which would have diluted my final analysis. My study centered on organizing efforts within Canada and the United States to establish a precise comparative analysis. However, I still drew from other relevant sources from the global north and south as they pertain directly to prison abolition and reform work.

I selected the data sources as outlined because, after careful consultation with my research instructor, I wanted to strengthen my analysis with a contemporary and concentrated area of focus that would improve my site of analysis. That is, activists are both (1) thinking or conceptualizing futures of rehabilitation and reintegration and (2) actively engaging in the type of political organizing to accomplish these ends. The use of public statements produced by activist groups, articles addressing specific events and occurrences prompting political organizing, and policy briefs regarding the progress and critique of activism against the penal system provided multiple standpoints and narratives to “compare it with written documents or larger sample sizes might be required to understand variation in language in use across persons and settings” (Starks & Trinidad, 2007, p. 1375). Additionally, I conducted a close reading of text produced by activists and organizing groups to “observe insight about how the participants deploy language to accomplish their objectives and position themselves concerning others” (Starks & Trinidad, 2007, p. 1375). I have specifically examined how conceptions around the “prisoner” vs. “civilians” were deployed through text and how the instruments of governmentality and biopower are deployed through text and addressed by diverse activists and organizing groups.

Data Coding and Analysis

As directed by Starks & Trinidad (2007), “Coding for discourse analysis would identify themes and roles as signified through language use” (p. 1376). First, I organized my data through a sequence of codes based on language and categorizing key texts defining and conceptualizing criminality and how the prisoner subject and process of becoming rehabilitative is deployed. The most prevalent codes were the following: rehabilitation, abolition, economic, good citizen, slavery, etc. I begin, as instructed by Strauss (1967) “to codify and arrange in a systematic order to make this part of a system or classification of characteristics amongst rehabilitative subjects and then categorize them” (as cited in Starks & Trinidad, 2007, p. 6).

As advised by Strauss (1967), “coding is thus a method that enables you to organize and group similarly coded data into categories or families because they share some characteristic” (as cited in Starks & Trinidad, 2007, p. 6). Next, I highlight consistent codes and patterns; then, I summarize large and sub-themes based on the order of their codes. I categorized these codes based on key themes and recurring patterns that appear in the codes where similar characteristics in texts appear. The themes that emerged were: individual reformation (or transformation), political advocacy in criminal justice, criminal justice reform, abolition activism. In the following chapters, I breakdown these themes within a more concentrated analysis on the data.

Following this process of analysis, I began linking and developing ideas that emerged from the data. Specifically, the analysis sequence “led from the data to the idea, and from the idea to all the data about that idea” (Richards & Morse, 2007, p. 1374). As such, I began to apply the theoretical frameworks outlined earlier in this chapter, including a CRT analysis to underpin how activist discourses are deployed to respond to state violence against marginalized prison populations. Further, I exercised the SCR to examine how colonial discourse interacts with Black

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

radical thought and subjugated knowledge that wield activism as a tool of resistance and resurgence. Throughout my analysis, with the application of FDA, I have woven together the themes that emerged with the theoretical frameworks that developed the theorization portion of the study. Namely, I illustrated the dialectic relationship between activist groups and state institutions that limit or propel the agenda of abolitionists organizing against the prison industrial complex and toward futures of freedom.

Ethical considerations

Both Badwall (2016) and Macias (2022) address ethical considerations that are intrinsically relevant to my research. Namely, both identify how the researcher's positionality within the research process carries a particular power that informs how knowledge is investigated, developed, produced, and legitimized through the research. One of the ways Badwall (2016) guides ethical practices that will inform my study is being critically reflexive about my intrinsic assumptions around Black organizers and activists and the various subject positions that inform their ideological frameworks and practice through the insider/outsider complex. In this instance, I am not only a researcher but a Black woman, activist, organizer, and many other subject positions while functioning within the regime of academia, which enables me to ascertain a scope of power as a researcher. As I will be looking at discourses from (fellow) activists and organizers, I need to be cautious about how my assumptions operate to essentialize the experiences of subjugation that form the basis for their motivations. More specifically, I need to take inventory of the specific "assumptions about shared characteristics among insider group members, or homogenous understandings about how racism is defined, lived, and resisted" (Badwall, 2016, p. 13)—the following ethical considerations around archival research. I

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

carefully selected my data sources, some of the ones I used were public statements, diaries, articles, and previous interviews captured by activists and organizers on the prison industrial complex. It is possible to create representational violence as “it requires processes of abstraction and symbolization that simultaneously open and occlude certain abstract forms of violence that form our reality” (Macias, 2022, p. 15). The ethical considerations rest on how my analysis can make meaning and reproduce particular forms of knowledge and ideas about groups that may further politicize them.

In the following chapters, I weave together the various themes that emerged throughout my analysis and how those themes support the development of a theoretical framework to explain how activist discourse conceptualizes the future of rehabilitation and reintegration from the prison industrial complex. In the following chapter, I highlight and thoroughly discuss my study, amongst other scholarly research on prisons, rehabilitation, and reintegration, to effectively situate this research within existing academic literature. Next, I introduce my research topic, central arguments, and critical focus areas. Then, I breakdown how the rehabilitative subject is produced through activists' discourses on reform and institutional practices. I further discuss how this propels what Foucault highlights in *Discipline and Punish* (1975) as the “corporatization of punishment.” I thoroughly examine and piece together how abolition and reform discourses interact to facilitate the continued corporatization of punishment through the rehabilitative process. Finally, I address some of my research's limitations and future direction.

Chapter 2: Situating The Research in an Analytical Review of Scholarly Literature

This is the press, an irresponsible press. It will make the criminal look like he's the victim, and the victim looks like the criminal. If you aren't careful, the newspapers will have you hating the people who are being oppressed and loving the people who are doing the oppressing.

Malcolm X, [The Autobiography of Malcolm X], 1965.

Introduction to Literature Review

Two distinct schools of thought facilitate discussions around rehabilitation and reintegration in the criminal justice system in research and practice. For this literature review, I will outline definitions of both as presented in the literature that informed the theoretical analysis of my study that will follow this literature review. The first is the abolitionist philosophy, as presented by Eschmann et al. (2023). It is defined as:

both a vision and a practical strategy. Central to abolitionist work are the many fights for non-reformist reforms—those measures that reduce the power of an oppressive system while illuminating its inability to solve the crises it creates. As we build a movement and work hard on campaigns and projects, we encourage robust analysis about how to chip away at the system and not make things we must tear down later. (p. 3)

This definition reflects the tension within which many abolition activists and organizers function to manifest these outcomes of abolitionist thought. The second school that informs this literature review is criminal justice reform, characterized by anti-recidivism efforts and intended to reduce recidivism in the interests of public safety. This concept is embodied in the term “corrections” understood as the notion that those who commit a crime can be reformed, that their behavior can be “corrected” (Kubrin & Tublitz, 2022, p. 96).

In the past few decades, the reformist perspective has emerged in research, not only to address how the current penal system functions in a way that stifles individuals' capacity to participate fully in society. It also is situated as a response to manage these populations through

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

structured evidenced-based programming that purports to not only support successful reintegration but also to reduce recidivism (National Academy Press, 2022, p. 22). Whereas abolitionist research has grown to not only interrogate the systemic and historical forces such as slavery and colonization that have caused mass incarceration, but also it has also aimed to highlight the impact of state violence by, redirecting our focus from individuals to the systems and structures within which they exist. Throughout this literature review, I form the foundation of my research through an analytical discussion of key research concepts and emerging themes, the methodologies, and my analysis of the impact of specific program studies focused on post-release, re-entry, and rehabilitation. Furthermore, I address how researchers and theorists are linking the global conditions and origins of the penal code with more contemporary social phenomena. My literature review attempts to draw directly from the work of Michel Foucault as a dominant framework to guide my analysis.

Reviewing Literature on Re-entry and Post-Lease Programs

Much of the research related to recidivism is founded on post-release programs designed to facilitate re-entry from the penal system into the community. One study captures this this focus by defining post-release supported accommodation as:

defining post-release supported accommodation as a short-term, group residence for adults in transition from a correctional setting to the community that provides a structured program to assist with community re-entry and is not exclusively a treatment facility for substance use or mental disorders. (Growth & Kinner, et al., 2018, p. 3)

Notably, most of the programs presented in the research focused on adult populations without specifying age demographics and were often gender-specific (mainly males). At the same time, some studies examined the unique re-entry challenges faced by individuals, which were distinguished based on race, gender, ability, etc. Most did not account for the unique experiences

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

of racialized individuals, women, 2SLGBTQIA+, or disabled populations. This gap presents limitations in research; the literature insufficiently examines the unique experiences and challenges of re-entry faced by individuals who come from historically marginalized communities and are underrepresented in this research .

Nonetheless, consistent criteria of eligibility (by most) post-release programs were candidates who were “considered to be motivated to work and learn new skills that can help to improve opportunities for gaining and retaining employment after release” (Day & Wodak et al., 2017, p. 3). This idea of the “motivated prisoner,” who is ready to work and produce, reflects the commodification of the prisoner's body. As Foucault (2009) writes, “The body becomes a useful force only if it is both a productive body and a subjected body” (p. 3), and in this context, both criteria are met and determine who is rehabilitative. Later, I will explore the literature on the relationship between neoliberalism as displayed through these processes.

While some studies “did not distinguish between different methods of measuring post-release offending” (Growth & Kinner et al., 2018, p. 3), a key performance indicator (KPI) or metric of “success” of other studies was marked by the ability of program participants, as identified by one study, to “complete school, establish independent residency, and enter into adult work and family roles” (National Academy of Sciences, 2022, p. 15). However, this study also stipulates that:

This conception of success emphasizes flourishing and well-being, often in work, family, and civic roles that benefit families, victims, communities, and the reentering individual. In this view, programs that improve post-release education and employability, family functioning, or civic participation can be considered socially beneficial (National Academy of Sciences, 2022, p. 15)

This excerpt exposes a liberal idea of rehabilitation that requires program participants to audition and exhibit their capacity to be molded into the “ideal citizen.” Inasmuch, reintegration (or

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

re-entry), therefore, becomes a one-dimensional process by which individuals must contribute (or perform) to society in a meaningful (or productive) way to suggest that they have converted from their “criminal” ways and conformed to “the civil citizen.” This idea is reinforced by another program study in Australia, which asserts that these interventions are designed to “reduce undesirable inmate idleness by providing a full-time work program for inmate populations” as well as providing “opportunities for inmates who want to take an active role in their rehabilitation.” (Day, Wodak, et al., 2017, p. 1-2)

Further program studies also discussed the role of supervision, which I argue is an instrument of surveillance imposed by governmental organizations to monitor, restrict, and control the mobility and function of those exiting the penal system. Many discussions in research surrounding supervision establish a stable correlation between this activity and “successful” post-release outcomes. Namely:

Some variation in recorded levels of repeat offending is an artifact of the degree of surveillance; more intensive and punitive supervision in the community by probation and parole agencies will expose more disallowed behaviors. Supervision regimes that merely emphasize intensive surveillance through frequent contacts and drug tests have no impact on new arrests but do increase the likelihood of technical violations and thus reincarceration due to revocation. (National Academy of Sciences, 2022, p. 10)

These measures introduce a unique consideration of how post-release programs reconstruct individuals and convert them from “criminals” to ideal citizens.

Post-release and re-entry programs function with the instruments and technologies of reformist ideologies. They also present a framework for what Foucault would identify as “efficiency,” the type of lens that views “the body as a force of production to be disciplined, surveilled, trained, constrained, corrected and controlled, as well as to the efficiency and effectiveness of the carceral system and of the style of punishment” (Foucault, 2009, p. 3). I propose that these programs do not merely facilitate reintegration but assimilation into a

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

liberal-capitalist project fueled by neoliberal notions of civility. (Shelby, 2022, p. 3) which will be discussed in the upcoming sections of my literature review.

The Purpose of Prisons

The origin of prisons traces back to a history of punishment which, according to Foucault (1975), was the epicenter of the penal function, not to reform but to inflict a type of punishment initially through public torture that would debilitate the criminal subject, their mind, body, and soul. "It was the effect, in the rites of punishment, of a certain mechanism of power: of a power that not only did not hesitate to exert itself directly on bodies but was exalted and strengthened by its visible manifestations" (Foucault, 1975 p. 57). Ultimately, the prison functioned to manifest state-powers on those who committed crimes and utilized the prisoner subject, particularly their body, as a symbol to represent this performance of power. It also enforces a type of visible warning to prevent future crimes from being committed.

For this research study, the two main functions of the penal system in facilitating rehabilitation and reintegration I explored include the impact of prison on the individual as well as the function of prisons within society as a whole. Namely, "the prison, an essential element in the punitive panoply, certainly marks an important moment in the history of penal justice: its access to 'humanity.'" (Foucault, 1975, p. 231). This access is granted through a series of surveillance processes and technologies, this use of technologies refers to:

techniques of notation, computation and calculation; procedures of examination and assessment; the invention of devices such as surveys and presentational forms such as tables; the standardization of systems for training and the inculcation of habits ... the list is heterogeneous and is, in principle, unlimited. (Miller and Rose, 1990, p. 8)

that include correctional officers, probation officers, etc. as state-sanctioned instruments to fulfill an apparatus of surveillance and control that manufactures a particular subject. This process of control begins "by levying on the time of the prisoner, the prison seems to express in concrete

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

terms the idea that the offense has injured, beyond the victim, society as a whole”, thus, rehabilitative efforts are not merely aiming to change the individual who has committed the offense but equally, it intends to punish the individual for the harm it has placed cause society at large. (Foucault, 1975, p. 232). Hence, the previous point introduces the second function of prisons, that is, there is a production purpose that the prison serves for society that fuels its utility, including the rehabilitative process. Arguably, this function for society is economic, and the prisoner subject is a conduit of that intention. Davis (2003) asserts that “the exploitation of prison labor by private corporations is one aspect among an array of relationships linking corporations, government, correctional communities, and media” (p. 84). She goes on to illustrate the interlocking function of capitalism through corporation and penal processes that exploit prisoner labor to benefit the economy at large. Furthermore, the prison has become such an industrial and expansive infrastructure that it is widely known and naturalized. Davis (2003) continues to describe that “the prison is ‘natural,’ just as the use of time to measure exchanges is ‘natural’ in our society” (Davis, 2003, p. 233). That being said, the penal system, though an institutional infrastructure, informs what research reveals as a carceral state. Therefore, rehabilitation and reintegration efforts are merely a continuation of processes that maintain the impact of prison and simultaneously reproduce its function through individuals outside of prison walls.

The second function is the regulation of individual subjects. “The self-evidence of the prison is also based on its role, supposed or demanded, as an apparatus for transforming individuals” (Foucault, 2003, p. 233). This function is facilitated through a series of discourses deployed to produce a subject that can be objectified and reformed in mind, body, and soul. As

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

this research examines the particular focus on activist discourses, Davis (2003) introduces how activists have conceptualized the penal system as complex. Davis points out that:

The term 'prison industrial complex' was introduced by activists and scholars to contest prevailing beliefs that increased levels of crime were the root cause of mounting prison populations. Instead, they argued, prison construction and the attendant drive to fill these new structures with human bodies have been driven by ideologies of racism and the pursuit of profit. (Davis, 2003, p. 84)

She continues to explain the function of the prison industrial complex as it relates to punishment "The notion of a prison industrial complex insists on understanding the punishment process that considers economic and political structures and ideologies rather than focusing myopically on individual criminal conduct and efforts to curb crime." (Davis, 2003, p. 85) These excerpts introduce readers to the conceptualization of the penal system as key to rehabilitation and reintegration that appear through activist discourses, further examined throughout this paper. Three pivotal components that accompany activist discourses are the racialization of crime, the penal process, and, inevitably, rehabilitation and reintegration. Amid existing research on rehabilitation and reintegration, evidence of the manner in which carceral laws are directly shaped and even depend on racial inequity. Davis (1997) argues:

The abolition of slavery thus corresponded to the authorization of slavery as punishment. In actual practice, both Emancipation and the approval of penal servitude combined to create an immense black presence within southern prisons and to transform the character of punishment into a means of managing formerly enslaved people as opposed to addressing problems of serious crime. Crime is thus one of the masquerades behind which 'race,' with all its menacing ideological complexity, mobilizes old public fears and creates new ones. (p. 332)

Race becomes a consistent characterization for activists to conceptualize not only the current penal system but also its domineering and unavoidable impact on rehabilitation and reintegration. With particular consideration of the opportunities available to those who are

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

candidates for re-entry, “Racial hierarchies determine who gets tangible benefits, including the best jobs, the best schools, and invitations to parties in people’s homes” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017 p. 21). The Critical Race Analysis will inform the examination and findings in the final research. With the existing research, racial undertones are deeply interwoven in discussions about the penal function. Hence, race produces hierarchies and facilitates inequities that maintain the subjugation of particular bodies over others. “Racism is embedded in our thought processes and social structures as deeply as many critics believe, then the ‘ordinary business’ of society, the routines, practices, and institutions that we rely on to do the world’s work will keep minorities in subordinate positions” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017, p. 27). This includes how the social apparatus of the carceral system maintains a type of racial inequity that ensures Black, Indigenous and all racialized people’s efforts of re-entry into society are undermined by these inherent inequities. The penal system is a system of control that enables the destructive use of power. That power deployed through discourses of who is seen as a rehabilitative then, begins to facilitate a process of molding individuals to become valuable subjects for society at large; In short, from the beginning of the nineteenth century to-date, penal imprisonment achieved both the deprivation of liberty and the technical transformation of individuals (Foucault, 1975, p. 233). Throughout this literature review, I demonstrate further the economic function of rehabilitation and the rehabilitative subject play to control and conform individuals for the benefit of society.

Literature on Colonization, Slavery, and Racial Capitalism

There is a significant body of scholarship that bridges the connections between the history of European colonization and slavery, which presented the blueprint upon which racial

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

capitalism was established. This section will frame these relations in connection to not only the overrepresentation of Black and Indigenous people in the carcel system but also their unique re-entry challenges and calls by Black radical scholars and activists to dismantle these systems for Black and Indigenous peoples to access a type of contemporary freedom from them.

Warde (2023) affirms through their research that “this penal populism is better understood as a thread in continuing settler colonial subjugating strategies that corral and control Indigenous and Black bodies” (p. 3). This idea can be explained by outlining how the British empire relied on colonization to ascertain resources from Indigenous peoples and power over them. “Great Britain’s settler colonialism project differed from classic colonialism in that the British settlers did not come just to exploit, extract, and transfer natural resources back to the motherland for profit while governing from afar through local representatives” (Warde, 2023, p. 3). Suggested here is that the acquisition of land and resources from Indigenous peoples could not be completed without the dehumanization, denigration, and objectification of Black bodies. Badwall (2015) affirms that “our understanding of social subjects takes place in ‘racial terms’ through processes of normalization and naturalization founded on the liberal ideas of individualism” (p. 5). Furthermore, Maynard’s (2017) research follows this thread of analysis by asserting that “Blackness, like all racial categories, is not a biological fact but has been historically and socially constructed.” In their research, Lorenzini & Tazzioli (2018) draw on the work of Foucault and Fanon on subject-making, which allows us to see how these racial hierarchies are not only developed but internalized by subjects of colonization. Here Fanon (2018) writes:

From the very beginning and in any occurrence, the colonized subject is ‘fixed’ and ‘attached’ to a particular image of themselves by the language and the gaze of the colonizer, who exercises a white gaze upon them through an act of interpellation: ‘Look, a Negro!’ (p. 82)

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

Thus, colonization and slavery opened the floodgates for the construction of racialized identities of Black and Indigenous peoples to be adversely positioned as targets of criminalization.

Furthermore, “subjugating strategies have morphed into a complex web of intersecting systems of racial oppression and thus “the contemporary Indigenous and Black disproportionality in these criminal justice systems continues settler colonial strategies rather than being a distinct phase.”

(Warde, 2023, p. 4)

These analyses are founded in CRT, which allows us to configure a framework for considering how social justice movements for prison abolition are not merely a means of addressing disproportionality within the carcel system but equally a contentious response and form of disruption designed to hold the state and systems therein accountable for these threads of ongoing colonial violence and racial hierarchies that subjugate Black and Indigenous peoples. “In this pathologizing and problematizing, neoconservatism and neoliberalism offer no examination of how societal structures influence who does and does not come to the attention of the criminal justice system and why” (Warde, 2023, p. 5) and therefore the analysis of rehabilitation and reintegration individualizes the problem rather than expanding its scope to the systems that individuals function within.

For Maynard (2020), “From the perspective of protecting Black life, all of these reforms have been abject failures, even as they have succeeded in perpetuating the illusion of legitimacy of benevolence for law enforcement agencies” (p. 3). Maynard (2020) further acknowledges that these calls:

emerge from generations of struggle against policing, displacement, and environmental devastation wreaked by the state. The call to defund emerges from the Black radical tradition, which has not only contested racial violence in all forms but has also been a form of world-building. (p. 5)

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

As briefly mentioned and to be discussed in later sections, reform movements do acknowledge the presence of racial oppression within carcel systems. Yet, they maintain that a society without prisons is unrealistic, unsustainable, and would not support rehabilitative efforts. But activists for Abolition argue that this does not account for the unique ways these processes harm Black and Indigenous bodies.

Notably, one study found that “structural racism and discrimination throughout numerous domains are fundamental sources of disparities in reentry outcomes” (National Academy of Sciences, 2022, p. 56). If we follow the analysis of studies around metrics of success, employment being one, previous research affirms that “race plays a powerful role in directing employment decisions in ways that contribute to persistent racial inequality” (Pager, 2003, p. 100). Racial discrimination comes at a high cost, as “Black men returning to communities with high levels of racial inequality face a higher likelihood of reengaging in crime” (Reisig et al., 2007). So even when rehabilitative efforts founded on reformist ideologies are enacted, they limit the scope of “who” is eligible and fully able to reintegrate.

Abolition & Reform

Reform as a Tenant of Neoliberalism

In the literature, reform has been criticized by some abolitionist scholars like Maynard (2017), Davis (2003), and Gilmore (2007) as centralizing individual actions when discussing crime and maintaining that the criminal (in)justice system is one that, while being a cite of racial discrimination as evidenced by mass incarceration in particular, is still necessary for society to function, mainly by punitive means for those who commit crime. Sudbury (2013) who examined a series of case studies through an intersectional lens denotes that reform as a concept:

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

Attempts to ‘correct’ individuals and groups of women (who) are fundamentally flawed. Indeed, it is clear that it is the law that is increasingly coming into conflict with people, especially poor, racialized, and disabled women, rather than women who are coming into conflict with the law. (p. 56)

Thus, reform is not merely founded on neoliberal constructs but unequally targets the most marginalized communities entering the penal system. One of the earliest prison reformists was John Howard, who spent a significant part of his life visiting prisons and examining the conditions. However, he did not see a problem with the institutions but how they function and treat prisoners. I will note here that Howard was a white male aristocrat who could conveniently navigate his travels and observations of the penal system without being directly implicated or impacted by it. Namely, “he advocated the abolition of jailer fees, separation of the sexes, decent food and clothing, clean and well-maintained jails, useful occupation for the inmates, and a host of other reforms that would make life in jail” (Chapman, 2013, p. 5). His analysis heavily relied on the neo-liberal capitalist construction of market-oriented reforms that modified conditions as they pertained to individuals and free markets but did not disrupt their foundational function. In prison reform, “neoliberalism as a form of governing reason detaches liberty from social justice and democratic rule, hence from social and political equality” (Allen et al., 2022, p. 38). These detachments reinstate blame and accountability on individuals rather than examining the systemic forces and historical contexts that have curated the conditions that individuals who commit these crimes are often vulnerable.

Another concept drawn out of the literature examining pathways beyond recidivism was resistance, a concept:

which focuses on behavior embedded within pathways to crime, prosocial identity formation, and the offender’s place in the community. It is acknowledged that these conceptualizations of resistance are individualized and do not explicitly address the structural and social problems that provide the context for reoffending. (National Academy of Sciences, 2022, p. 56)

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

Again, these models of re-entry programs are founded on neoliberal constructs of crime that center on the individual and not the context in which the crime is being committed. Now will acknowledge the adverse impacts of slavery and colonization, addressed in previous sections of this review. We understand that much criminal behavior exhibited by particular communities can be characterized by survival mechanisms induced and pathologized by the domains of power in which criminality exists. Furthermore, Wilson (2017) writes that:

“Neoliberalism incites us to live as self-enclosed individuals, as competition necessarily pits us against our peers and the rest of the world. We thus move through the world with an ‘oppositional consciousness’ where all things are potential threats to our self.” (p. 4)

This quote reinforces how neoliberalism and capitalism constitute a particular type of consciousness that is raised by individuals who commit crimes and further compounded by their intersectional identities. Therefore, reform programs designed to address this act more as a tenant of neoliberalism than a means to disrupt it.

Examining reform from a racial capitalist agenda, there is literature that provides analysis on race, which leads me to consider how reform mediates and reproduces the race relations that create disproportionality and marginalization. Namely:

“Language surrounding reduced recidivism is inherently racist and is a form of state violence that harms people of color disproportionately. Instead of critically analyzing racist structural practices embedded within the American economic, political, and social landscape, recidivism places the blame on individual choices.” (Lee et al., 2020, p. 2)

Moreover, Maruna (2020) takes us deeper by acknowledging that “Importantly, while the catalyst for the change is said to be an outside force, resistance almost always seems to come from ‘within.’ You ‘become what you want to become’ (p. 13). This quote not only points at how individual actions are at the center of crime, but how individuals internalize these scripts even

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

through processes of redemption (or reintegration).

Other research studies examining the relationship between race and criminality have confirmed that “There is a direct relationship between neoliberal economic and social policies and the increased criminalization of the most marginalized, especially young, racialized, and poor women and those with mental and cognitive disabilities” (Sudbury, 2013, p. 56). These studies work cohesively to illustrate how reform forms the basis of many rehabilitative and reintegrative program models. Additionally, these studies analyze the unique constraints marginalized communities face not by accident but by utilizing historical organizing against marginalized communities.

A final thought in this area (and one to be further explored in this paper) is the extent to which reform as a practice has on liberation as an outcome for individuals exiting the carceral system. Brown (2022) identifies that “freedom, in theory, and practice, must constantly reckon with powers difficult to democratize—contemporary material powers of class, gender, and race and powers carried in linguistic, discursive, psychic, and technological register” (p. 39). The current construction of reform programs seeks to modify behavior and convert people's consciousness to deviate away from crime, but to what extent do they promote individual freedom from the internalized impacts of imprisonment? Perhaps, as suggested by one author, “these moves make neoliberal freedom even less emancipatory, egalitarian, and compatible with democracy than its liberal predecessor” (Allen et al., 2022, p. 38). I intend to develop this analysis further throughout the progression of my research.

Abolition as a Tenant of Liberation Practice

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

The literature has exposed the varying value positions and theoretical underpinnings that guide reform. Now, I want to look at the literature on abolition. Mainly, how it functions to direct the questions that will form the basis of my analysis. Pointedly,

for abolitionists, normalizing an abolitionist framing of the criminal legal system and its current function is the first step in encouraging others to be able to imagine a world without police and prisons or positioning alternatives to prisons that serve as evidence that segregative and carceral institutions are not the only way to work toward public safety, healing, and justice. (Eschmann et al., 2023, p. 5)

This idea further develops the analysis around how abolition not only functions to uproot the intrinsic inequities founded by the penal system but, beyond rehabilitation and reintegration, how individuals experience healing or justice through liberation practices are marked by individual consciousness of freedom.

Davis (2003) provides a meticulous critique of the prison system when she writes:

The prison has become a black hole into which the detritus of contemporary capitalism is deposited. Mass imprisonment generates profits as it devours social wealth, and thus it tends to reproduce the conditions that lead people to prison.” ... “The prison, therefore, functions ideologically as an abstract site into which undesirables are deposited, relieving us of the responsibility of thinking about the real issues afflicting those communities from which prisoners are drawn in such disproportionate numbers. This is the ideological work that the prison performs—it relieves us of the responsibility of seriously engaging with the problems of our society, especially those produced by racism and, increasingly, global capitalism. (Davis, 2017, p. 16)

This critique propels the theoretical floodgates in which abolitionist approaches are produced.

Like many others, this author directs our attention to the foundation of the penal system and the calculated manner in which its interconnectedness works to reproduce the process of marginalization through neo-liberal institutions. Likewise, underneath the critique of the prison system is a fundamental critique of the way society at large utilizes prison as a disciplinary mechanism that criminalizes and pathologizes individuals without consideration to the societal conditions that mark the travesties that befall them. Instead of prison being the remedial

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

intervention that reformist discourses purport it to be, designed to treat it's subjects. Furthermore, other activists and scholars denote that:

The primary state response in the wake of Black organizing and uprisings, however, has been not only an ever-increasing budget and an ever-expanding scope of policing but also a series of police reforms that have served only to uphold the status quo of racial violence and maintain, extend and even expand the scope of the institution. From the perspective of protecting Black life, all of these reforms have been abject failures, even as they have succeeded in perpetuating the illusion of legitimacy of benevolence for law enforcement agencies. (Maynard, 2020, p. 4)

It is evident, then, that abolitionists fundamentally believe that reform fails to achieve its intended outcomes related to re-entry and rehabilitation and that the systems it relies on actually further reproduce the kind of harm they seek to redress. I want to note here that many abolitionist critiques are predicated on how reform proponents affirm the legitimacy of mainstream law enforcement agencies. Yet, a similar critique can also be said of abolitionist scholars who often call for "replacement institutions" or "alternatives" that would carry out similar functions for community safety and well-being. This language mirrors reformist frameworks which serves to reinscribe the carceral function rather than disrupting it.

On a similar note, while abolitionist scholars and activists seek similar ends, their approaches' means and epistemological foundation may differ, according to some research. Namely, "Some abolitionists argue that prison reform is a liberal-capitalist project that lacks the radical imagination needed to bring about a truly humane, democratic, and free society. These charges warrant thoughtful philosophical attention" (Shelby, 2023, p. 3). This argument fundamentally critiques the theoretical basis of liberalism that forms reform thinking. Yet, the following excerpt from one author's analysis suggests that some abolitionists are not entirely opposed to this theoretical basis:

I do not regard the black radical tradition as opposed to all forms of liberalism. I believe that core ideas drawn from liberal-egalitarian thought, in particular, merit steadfast

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

defense—a bedrock commitment to an equal and extensive set of fundamental liberties for all, prioritizing the well-being of the worst off, tolerance for different conceptions of human flourishing, and limiting economic inequality to protect both democratic practices and meaningful opportunities to secure valued positions in social life. (Shelby, 2023, p. 12)

This quote demonstrates varying layers of abolitionist framework within the Black radical tradition. However, it does not take away that abolition is founded on the radical belief that prisons are not an adequate response to those who enter the penal system but are, instead, harmful.

Another theoretical framework that guides abolitionist thought is that of Black critical theory, which “is decidedly and consciously interdisciplinary, methodologically unconventional, and transgressive concerning established academic norms. Like all critical theorists, Black critical theorists are fundamentally concerned with liberating human beings from oppression” (Shelby, 2023, p. 11). Suppose we apply this as a conceptual framework for rehabilitation and reintegration. In so doing, abolitionists are not simply concerned with how individuals exit the criminal (in)justice system, but both how they get there to begin with and the processes that limit their ability to experience liberation not only from the penal system but equally from the structural forces that reinforce their subjugation in broader society. Interestingly, “for abolitionists, prisons are a central institution in maintenance of many different structures of racial, class, gender, and other forms of oppression under contemporary capitalism” (Martinot, 2014, p. 503).

Abolitionists also, however, view prisons as a symptom of these forms of oppression. In fact, “they view eradicating prisons and carceral institutions more broadly as part of a more comprehensive commitment to dismantling these structures of oppression” (Ben-Moshe, 2013, p. 499) “Though they value intellectual activity, freedom is their ultimate goal. They believe radical

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

structural transformation is needed to secure full liberation.” (Shelby, 2023, p. 12). To focus for a moment on this concept of “structural transformation” in the above excerpt, there is an inherent assumption that can be made that, in order (at some level) for abolitionist visions to be actualized, they are still working in concert with and amongst the structures they also seek to abolish. I return to my earlier question in the section of this review that considers to what extent abolitionism as a practice has on the liberation as an outcome for individuals exiting the carceral system.

Discussion & Concluding Thoughts

The criminal (in)justice system is quite complex and exists in a contentious relationship with many individuals and communities, particularly those who are marginalized. In the context of rehabilitation and reintegration, both reformist and abolitionist scholars provide possible approaches to address this tension. However, they take on two very distinct forms: reformists seek to address individuals' behaviors while recognizing barriers experienced by and through the system, whereas abolitionists seek to address the system and the interlocking nature of oppression experienced by individuals that result in their criminality.

It was clear by examining re-entry and post-lease programs in the literature that while neoliberalism houses many reformist ideologies and practical applications, it is limiting because it does not provide an analysis on the contextual and systemic forces that also limit an individual's reintegration and rehabilitation process. While abolitionists effectively interrogate the state's role in not merely targeting marginalized individuals but also criminalizing survival from this colonial regime, it does not entirely present alternatives to re-entry and full participation in a society that is wholly divorced from state powers.

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

This literature review captures that “discourses are broadly defined as ‘prison abolition’ and ‘criminal justice reform’ and each represents ideological, if not political, differences in how mass incarceration should and could be resolved” (Eschmann et al., 2023, p. 3). FDA will assist in developing a more concrete and nuanced analysis of how activists and organizers are re-envisioning these futures. Another theme that emerged from the literature that I touched on briefly but did not explore extensively is that of surveillance, particularly the role social workers play in constructing and reinforcing these systems, while also being implicated in both practices for reform and abolition. Social work has an inherent yet invisible function when addressing how colonial systems function. I hope to continue drawing these connections as my research develops.

Finally, I want to conclude this literature review by again thinking about the ontology of freedom to which rehabilitation and reintegration allude but do not fully realize. A question from one author asks, “What is freedom if we are always governed through normative orders of reason, so difficult to apprehend? And on what scale would we plot emancipation today—local, national, postnational, global?” (Allen & Amy, et al., 2022, p. 38) I intend to explore the contours of freedom and liberation that were not as closely examined throughout this review, particularly how activists and organizers conceptualize freedom through the lens of the communities for whom they seek to advocate for and the apparent illusion that rehabilitative and reintegration programs provide individuals who have “successfully” completed the requirements to be considered “civil” and ready to reintegrate. Through this inquiry, I hope to increase and enrich the existing scholarship on liberation from the prison industrial complex. In the following chapter, I enter the focus of this study, which is a comprehensive analysis of the significant

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

findings. I also demonstrate the link between rehabilitation and reintegration from the lens of abolition and reformist discourses.

Chapter 3: The Cultivation of the Rehabilitative Subject and Corporatization of Punishment

*noises
sounds
unspoken words
feelings repressed because
the prison walls are also
soul walls
barriers
if only all barriers could be removed
and we could walk/ talk/ sing
be ...
free of all psychological, spiritual
political, economic
boundaries
all of us, all the freedom lovers of
the world, but especially
right now—prisoners.*

Erika Huggins, [If they are coming in the morning...Voices of Resistance], 2016.

Introduction to Competing Discourses of Abolition and Reform

In this chapter, I weave together the findings of my data analysis. I address some key themes that emerged from my FDA analysis of the 100 articles that were my data sources. I display a series of activist discourses revealed in the data and provide excerpts to illustrate them.. , I also show the dominant discourses that shape reformist ideologies and abolitionist philosophies that each speak to rehabilitation and reintegration, though in different ways. In addition to a FDA, I also use SCR to explore some of the inherent tensions that arise in the data.

The focus of this chapter will be guided by one of the research questions: How are concepts of rehabilitation and reintegration being produced through language by both abolitionist and reformist activists? I will advance two significant arguments based on themes that emerged

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

from the data. First, I propose that discourses on the penal system, as shown in the data, necessitate a rehabilitative subject, who must ultimately become an economic-producing subject for the sustained continuation of the penal regime.

Next, I demonstrate that for abolitionist organizers and activists seeking liberation from the prison industrial complex, rehabilitation and reintegration efforts are failures as a result of programs and systematic processes. Instead, abolitionist discourses suggest that it is through the de-regulation of self-surveillance and the destabilization of capitalism that people can begin to experience freedom. This type of freedom would not only support individual restoration but equally, it would disrupt the corporatization of punishment mentioned earlier. Contrary to reformist discourse, abolitionist conceptions of rehabilitation and reintegration not only require a foundational disruption of the penal system but equally involve individual reclamation of dignity and soul of the individual, that is the heart of abolitionist organizing, which is to free the person rather than merely changing the system.

Introducing the Rehabilitative Subject

Through careful analysis of the data, it is clear that individuals convicted and sequentially sentenced to prison are depicted as products of their environment, often coming from low-income households and originating from communities that reported higher rates of gang activity, guns, drug trafficking, and violence. These individuals were equally perceived as unethical and deficient in moral values, needing reform. This reform, according to most articles, can be achieved through a rigorous and habitual training process with the intended goal of rehabilitating them, not only from criminal activity but also from the perceived deficiency in moral values that predisposed them to the activity which resulted in their incarceration. Notably,

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

in one article, a journalist highlights the view of the former director of a prison, who exclaims that:

Expecting our prisons to reform those we throw into them from high-crime inner-city housing estates, with their school exclusions, unemployment, poor opportunities, poor parenting, and where gangs, guns, drugs, alcohol, violence, and crime are embedded, is an impossible ask when the living experience in so many jails is one of disrespect and often abuse, violence and filth. (Taylor, 2020, p. 2)

This excerpt's tone undermines the dominant discourse of reform which supports rehabilitative measures (prison being one) and reveals the environmental characteristics that begin to produce the rehabilitative subject; their values, morals, and behaviors are seen as inherent consequences of the environments that have formed them.

Foucault (1975) would argue that this excerpt characterizes the context in which subjects are produced as "bad" and, therefore, incapable of producing anything but an immoral subject (p.102). These ideas of "bad areas" or "immoral" are a direct result of power regimes that criminalize low-income areas with higher rates of criminal activities. Furthermore, this excerpt reveals the role that neo-liberal conceptions of crime play in subject-making, specifically to problematize the subjects and their environments without an examination of "power relations that sustain conditions of inequality and privilege and shape our subjectivity" (Macias, 2015, p. 222). Without this examination, the rehabilitative subject is seen as predisposed to criminality, as is determined by the power relations that usher them into such a context.

Next, I unpack the idea of rehabilitation, which implies a restorative element, that is, to bring something back to its original form or normality. Within the rehabilitation of discourse, the rehabilitative subject has been contaminated by an event, action, or environmental influence (as mentioned above) that has altered its proper function. This subject-making process is legitimized

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

by institutional technologies that assess, diagnose, and eventually “treat” these perceived deficiencies. Foucault (1975) describes this process in more detail when he argues that:

As a result of this new restraint, a whole army of technicians took over from the executioner, the immediate anatomist of pain: warders, doctors, chaplains, psychiatrists, psychologists, educationalists; by their very presence near the prisoner, they sing the praises that the law needs: they reassure it that the body and pain are not the ultimate objects of its punitive action. (Foucault, 1975, p. 11)

Foucault argues that there has been a mere exchange in the type of disciplinarian in the current penal system compared to the past, but they still serve the same function: to be an executioner of punishment. A pivotal consideration here is that to justify the punitive circumstances that the rehabilitative subject was forced into, the “army of technicians” (Foucault, 1975, p. 105) functions to explain the subject's inherent need for rehabilitation through punitive measures, legitimized through assessments and evaluations undertaken by these technicians.

Consequently, subjects are classified through assessments that reveal the intermediary relationship between subjects and the institutions that shape their subjectivity, such as the prison system. Foucault's (1975) theory of governmentality provides us with a framework to conceptualize how the carceral system utilizes interdisciplinary practitioners (warders, doctors, chaplains, psychiatrists, psychologists, educationalists, for example) to impose processes, techniques, and procedures that “produce the moral regulation of the choices of autonomous individuals structuring potential choices of these individuals with expertise operating in a semi-autonomous relationship with the state” (Powell & Khan, 2012, p. 275). This moral structuring is produced to establish criteria that will constitute the rehabilitative subject. An article by Jeffery Shockley (2023), who is incarcerated in an U.S Prison serving a life sentence and is also a journalist/activist, draws on his experience to highlight that before the rehabilitation process:

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

Everyone is painted with a broad brush and assessed by someone who has spent 15 minutes with them. Individuals with unaddressed, deep, trauma-related issues are passed to another handler who does not address the past or prepare them for re-entry. (p. 2).

Shockley identifies how assessments seek to define and classify subjects based on their perceived immorality, shaped by their environment's function to qualify or disqualify individuals for re-entry. Arguably, the mechanics of rehabilitating subjects (may) depend on two significant things: the moral disposition of the subjects and their capacity to be recalibrated in a way that depends on their individual choices. I would argue that choice is an illusion because of the consequences and incentives that both prison and rehabilitative programs enforce based on individual behaviors. As discussed earlier, punitive methods are designed to control and transform, thus, any choice an individual makes to “change” is arguably a result of the mechanism of control they are subject to. Yet, many practitioners (as authorized by prison authorities) determine and regulate this illusion of autonomy and choice. These practitioners perform assessments that I argue facilitate a semi-autonomous relationship between subjects and the disciplinary powers that regulate their mobility in this rehabilitation process. Shockley (2023) outlines a policy that informs rehabilitative programs in one jurisdiction:

The corrections policy (Reception and Classification Policy 11.2.1) states that the overall goal is for the inmate to return ‘to the community as a law-abiding citizen.’ Still, in my experience, no rehabilitation occurs when an inmate does the same thing repeatedly with no reward. (p. 3)

In this context, the rehabilitative subject is cast as one needing reformation from their immoral disposition. However, one might ask: what is the definition of a good subject? Shockley asserts that “goodness” is synonymous with being “law-abiding,” affirming the very purpose of the carceral system and the function of punishment.

Punishment is intended to pierce so deeply into the subject's subconscious mind that it deters the subject from being incentivized by crime and instead is more fearful of punishment

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

(Beccaria, 1975, p. 119). Furthermore, Foucault (1975) affirms that “imprisonment, to transform the soul and conduct, made its entry into the system of civil laws.” (p. 123). Thus, the rehabilitative subject must be conditioned to internalize morals that make them more “law-abiding” and to practice self-regulation based on these morals. The rehabilitative subject is, in fact, a self-surveilling subject that is regulated by their internal fears imposed by state punishment. SCR enables us to interrogate this process and reveals the imperialist undertones that are standardized through white supremacy, a discussion I will further examine in the following discussion.

Producing the Rehabilitative Subject

The first way the rehabilitative subject is constituted in the data is through “goodness and civility” discourses. These discourses are directly deployed through admissions and eligibility criteria outlined in rehabilitation and re-entry programs. In the literature review, I note how liberal ideas often underpin who is a rehabilitative subject and how they emerge. Rehabilitative programs usually require program participants to audition and exhibit their capacity to be molded into the “ideal citizen.” Reintegration (or re-entry), therefore, becomes a one-dimensional process by which individuals must contribute (or perform) to society in a meaningful (or productive) way to suggest that they have converted from their “criminal” ways and conformed to “the civil citizen.”

This intention is more clearly pronounced in the following excerpt, which is from an article that examines how inmate assistance programs work to both better individuals and reduce recidivism:

While many studies have identified social programs as having “recidivism enhancing effects,” the authors found ‘no statistically significant effect on first-time drug imprisonment rates, supporting our claim that the negative impact on general deterrence,

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

if there exists any, is weak. (TRC Staff, 2022, p. 2)
In other words, while these programs are designed to reduce recidivism and criminal behavior that leads to criminal activity, the authors do not see the desired effect - the deterrence from crime. The following excerpt is from another data source that details an “innovative” rehabilitative measure that seeks to break the violence of crime, Donato (2014) highlights the perspective of Glen Flett (an inmate serving a life in Canada) in the following excerpt:

Flett believes getting offenders involved with their communities is a way to feel connected to society, which he hopes will reduce the odds of re-offending once they're out. By providing productive and meaningful activities, rehabilitation may be Canada's best tool for addressing why offenders end up behind bars in the first place. (p. 3)

Given that this perspective is coming from an inmate who is serving a life sentence, I propose this excerpt suggests that the intended function of prisons (as a rehabilitative measure) is being effectively prescribed and fulfilled by somebody who is not promised re-entry and can, therefore, only conceptualize it from the lens of those who determines his freedom. Additionally, it reveals how this individual is internalizing the dominant discourse to fuel liberal-reformist ideologies that prisons truly make people better. Equally, rehabilitative measures are “tools” that act as control mechanisms to produce particular types of subjects through habitual activities.

This depiction represents the rehabilitative process, as Foucault (1975) explores in *Discipline and Punish* as the “reformatory”, this reformatory represents the space between two worlds, that is, good and evil. In this dichotomy, the prisoner subject requires redemption from evil to good, and rehabilitation serves to modify the morals that guide the subject's behavior. It becomes “the place for the individual transformation that would restore to the state the subject it had lost” (Foucault, 1975, p. 123). This site of transformation becomes the incubator that transforms the subject from evil to good.

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

One article titled “*How Norway turns criminals into good neighbors*” (BBC News, p. 1) captures how state programs function as a measure to control individual behavior in a way that conforms to ideologies of “goodness and civility.” The title of this article implies the state program is a turning point that will “turn” or convert the prisoner into being a good neighbor. The insinuation is that the rehabilitative subject must be redeemed through internal conversion from an “evil-doer” to a “good neighbor,” and this process acts as an indication of their rehabilitation.

Maruna (2020) classifies as a “redemptive script,” which means that “the catalyst for the change is said to be an outside force, a distance almost always seems to come from ‘within.’ You “become what you want to become” (p.13). This sentiment points to how individual actions are at the center of crime and how individuals internalize these scripts even through processes of redemption (or reintegration). But how can this internalization be guaranteed? Rehabilitative programs function as a mechanism for state control, and this control is mediated through surveillance. Foucault (1975) outlines this process of redemptive rehabilitation in the excerpt below when he writes:

The penalty must be individualized, and it is so not based on the individual offender, the juridical subject of his act, or the responsible author of the offense but based on the individual punished, the object of a supervised transformation, the individual in detention inserted in the prison apparatus, modified by it or reacting to it. ‘It is a question only of reforming the evil-doer. Once this reform has come about, the criminal must return to society. (p. 245)

This process reinforces the spiritualization of the rehabilitative subject, which enforces morality and facilitates a means of achieving redemption. More potently, that individual subjects must be supervised habitually in order for surveillance to be naturalized. Likewise, this supervision will condition the individual to not only mirror the type of civility outlined in standard rehabilitative

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

programs and their eligibility criteria but, ultimately deter subjects from engaging in their criminal propensities.

A 2019 CBC article also represents the effect of this incubation and argues that through the rehabilitative processes, the subject:

(W)ould be isolated from society, given a ‘time out,’ so to speak, so that they could reflect on what they'd done wrong. They would spend time improving their outlook and actions — and once they returned to society, they would be better, more self-aware citizens who wouldn't commit any more crimes. (CBC Radio, 2019, p. 2)

At the core of this text is the presumption that rehabilitative programming of the subject would heighten their sense of self-awareness or what Foucault (1975) would argue is ‘self-surveillance’ (p.77). This self-surveillance would occur in a manner that would not improve but rather conform to individual subjects ideas of self and actions that follow a replica of the “ideal” and “law-abiding citizen.” This excerpt also effectively reveals the function of governmentality through technologies of the self that pressure individuals to monitor their actions and behaviors heavily influenced by their fear of punishment to self-regulate (Foucault, 1975, p. 92).

The following characterization of the rehabilitative subject is manufactured through productivity. This productivity determines not only the eligibility of the rehabilitative subject but their utility in society as a whole. The moral re-conditioning of this subject's mind is a precursor to using the subject's body. The data shows that once assessments are completed, “the programming is determined in an evaluation process to create a ‘prescriptive plan’ ” (Shockley, 2023, p. 3). In developing this plan, a team of correctional professionals (or technicians as explained above) will assess each inmate for their strengths, weaknesses, problems, risks, and needs (Shockley, 2023, p. 3). Using available resources, a plan is developed to return the inmate to the community ultimately. (p. 3)

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

This process of professionally evaluating the subject's strengths and weaknesses to determine a “prescriptive plan” functions as a discursive strategy to enable the objectification of the subject's body. By first constituting individuals as an immoral subject in need of reformation, these processes are deployed to justify their subsequent objectification. This objectification is intended to control the subject’s body and becomes the basis of how they are morphed into moral subjects. This internal conversion for the rehabilitative subject is an incentive for them to access freedom, which ultimately benefits the carceral system and society as a whole, which will be discussed later. Based on existing literature and supporting evidence, I argue that the rehabilitative subject is recruited into this discursive strategy through an illusion of freedom. However, this “freedom” is laced with neo-liberal conceptions of power and control.

Earlier, I discussed governmentality and the role of psychiatrists, doctors, physicians, correctional officers, etc. in facilitating semi-autonomous relationships between prisoner subjects and the state. The type of “release” that rehabilitative programs suggest from the penal system is a technique to funnel these subjects into a carceral state that first destabilizes their legitimate autonomy through technologies of the self, then manufactures the same conditions to enable them to facilitate the penal systems intended function, which is to reconfigure, according to Foucault (1975), “the body of the condemned.” (p. 77) This reconfiguration happens when “the body becomes a useful force only if it is both a productive body and a subject body” (Foucault, 1975, p. 26). This productive function warrants the objectification and continued subjectivity of the prison body through the rehabilitative process.

The literature review conducted for this paper affirmed this productive function by demonstrating that the consistent criteria to be eligible for most post-release programs is a motivation “to work and learn new skills that can help to improve opportunities for gaining and

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

retaining employment after release.” (Day & Wodak et al., 2017, p. 3) This idea of the “motivated prisoner,” who is ready to work and produce, reflects the commodification of the prisoner's body in a manner that creates a valuable effect, which will be discussed further in the following section.

Notably, “while freedom expresses release from bondage, it is also a language for preserving and extending white, masculine, colonial, and imperial entitlement, and for resisting challenges—from the law or social movements—to this entitlement” (Allan, Amy, & Eduardo, 2022, p. 20). In effect, the rehabilitative subjects' compliance with this productive requisite draws them in closer proximity to the freedom that is characterized by re-entry yet debilitated by carceral constraints that are outlined in post-release conditions.

Contrary to the dominant discourses that suggest how reform efforts support rehabilitative subjects are abolitionist activist discourses that offer counter-narratives. They argue that the state's rehabilitative efforts actually worsen these subjects instead of helping them. An activist discourse is illustrated by the following statement: “Prisons not only have violated human rights and failed at rehabilitation; it is not even clear that prisons deter crime or increase public safety.” (Figueroa, 2024, p. 1) Figueroa, an activist/abolitionist, suggests that, ultimately, undermining and contesting the conditions of the penal system are the failures of rehabilitation. This failure is due to the inherent violation of inmates rights, arguably revoked at the onset of their criminality. The following is from an article by activists who are advocating for prison reform: “By providing individuals with opportunities to gain productive skills and equipping them to strengthen their positive relationships, we can help them achieve their full potential and transform their lives upon returning to our communities.” (Stand Together Trust, 2018, p. 2)

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

This quote highlights the productive function of rehabilitative programs in instilling “skills” that morph individuals into productive subjects. Another perspective is provided by abolitionist activists, who argue that rehabilitation cannot occur within a penal system that is debilitating: “What we do in prison is destroy people's ability to function in proper relationships and to learn how to function responsibly within a community.” (CBC Radio, 2018, p. 2) These competing views reveal an underlying tension. Reformist discourses tell the dominant story that characterizes the penal system as being heroic instead of antagonistic; they situate the individual as the source of the problem and in need of transformation for their own benefit and that of society. Contrary to that view are abolitionist discourses that act as a counter-story to reform. Abolitionist narratives characterize the penal system as the primary antagonist, cultivating conditions that not only result in criminalization but stifle practical rehabilitative efforts for the individual.

For Foucault (1975), punishment (or prison) serves as “the auxiliary of justice in the pursuit of criminals and as an instrument for the political supervision of plots, opposition movements or revolts.” (p.215) This deepens the presumption that the discursive strategy that enables the objectification of the rehabilitative subject also promotes the need for political supervision (or surveillance) to monitor (or censor) and regulate the prisoners' bodies.

Finally, the rehabilitative subject is constituted through power and surveillance, and this is achieved through what Foucault (1975) characterizes in *Discipline and Punish* as the “Panopticon” which functions “to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power” (p.201). To understand the meticulous production of the rehabilitative subject, one must first understand the technologies that coordinate this subject's development. Surveillance functions as a means of controlling and

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

supervising the rehabilitative subject. The ability of the rehabilitative subject to exercise power is removed by their perceived criminality, which is further enforced by the penal system through state surveillance technologies.

Earlier, I discussed how individuals become self-surveilled subjects, but that self-surveillance is first imposed through externally monitored instruments. The National Academy of Sciences (2022):

Supervision regimes that merely emphasize intensive surveillance through frequent contacts and drug tests have no impact on new arrests but do increase the likelihood of technical violations and, thus, reincarceration due to revocation. (p. 10)

Consequently, supervision enables the practice of power over the rehabilitative subject through what Foucault (1975) calls “supervised transformation” (p. 245). This supervisory function is enforced as a state apparatus to modify the behaviors of prisoner subjects by nurturing a visceral response to this constant, invasive, and fear-induced supervision. The impact of this supervision acts as technology to change the individual as a result of the “spiritual attentions that are paid to him.” (Foucault, 1975, p. 125) The following excerpt is from an article as extracted from a campaign by community advocates to support the plea for pardon of Judith Butler, who is introduced as “a mother of two, and a wife, sister, daughter, and friend to the many people who supported her while she was incarcerated. In 2011, Judith was sentenced to 35 years in prison for a first-time white collar offense. (Reform Alliance, 2021, p.1) and it highlights the impact of power and surveillance that further produce the rehabilitative subject:

When Judith was placed on supervised release, she felt more fear than freedom. People on Federal Supervision must follow conditions imposed by the court as part of their sentence, including seeking permission from their supervision officer to travel, switch jobs, or move to a new residence. Violating any of these conditions could result in incarceration. The strict conditions of federal supervised release made her feel like she was still incarcerated in her own home. (Reform Alliance, 2021 p. 2)

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

I argue that the perimeters that evoke this fear are intentionally and meticulously established by the courts to constrain the prisoner to conditions that mirror a prison once they have transitioned into a rehabilitative process. This ensures they are still subject to the disciplinary mechanism of punishment that controls their behavior, merely in a different context.

Furthermore, state supervision, I propose, cultivates an invasive process by which “former” inmates are expected to function. Their whereabouts are constantly monitored, their mobility requires permission, and their every move is captured and propped up against the promise of reincarnation should these restrictive and inflexible conditions not be met.

Additionally, surveillance requires a strict regiment between rehabilitative subjects and their supervisors. An example of this from an article describing a rehabilitative program for low-income youth describes supervision metrics to support individual progress:

The youth range from 11-18 years of age. According to Jones, many of them only come once a week for four hours on the weekend. But the others must also come two hours after school every weekday. The juvenile probation officer sends referrals. (Nyamekye, 2023, p. 2)

The habits that the rehabilitative subject is required to follow function as a means of control through the state and are enforced and maintained by supervisory agents. Surveillance is an effective means of control and provocation, according to Foucault (1980):

In thinking of the mechanisms of power, I am thinking of its capillary form of existence, where power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies, and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, discourses, learning processes, and everyday lives. (p. 39)

These surveillance technologies are central to the state's power over the subject body. They are inserted into the everyday routine of the rehabilitative subject to perform the dual function of monitoring their actions and legitimizing the presence of state power to foster an effect of control over the subject. In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault (1975) makes the argument that:

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

The punishment and correction it must operate are processes between the prisoner and those who supervise him. They are processes that affect a transformation of the individual as a whole - of his body and habits by the daily work that he is forced to perform, of his mind and will by the spiritual attentions paid to him (p. 125).

These attentions provoke fear and trigger repeat offenses, according to the data and affirmed by the literature. For the rehabilitative subject to come into effect, they must be characterized as untrustworthy and needing superior oversight. This classification necessitates a supervisor as another mechanism to facilitate “successful” rehabilitation. Namely, “supervision should help people become productive citizens and their best selves—not hold them back from success.” (Reform Alliance, 2021, p. 3)

Power functions in the form of state supervision; it is justified by the perceived inability of the rehabilitative subject to maintain “good behavior” and, therefore, warrants constant supervision. Next, I will expand this discussion to look at this subject as not only constituted through various discourses facilitated through power relations, but shaped by race and the economy.

The Economic Producing Subject and Corporatization of Punishment

To introduce this portion of the analysis, I want to highlight how race not only shapes the production of rehabilitative subjects but also adds a dual function for them to become an economic producing subject. CRT introduces the material and ideological impacts of colonization and slavery that shape both reformist and abolitionist discourses on rehabilitation and reintegration. For abolitionist activists, slavery was the origin of how the economic-producing subject came into effect. African American journalist/activist Demby (2016) highlights that:

Almost as soon as slavery ended in the United States, local and state governments found ways to funnel thousands of newly freed black folks into prisons ... that were ostensibly race-neutral but meant to ensnare black citizens. Most of us know that the 13th

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

Amendment abolished slavery. Still, importantly, it leaves an exemption for servitude as "punishment for the crime of whom the party shall have been duly convicted." Entire local economies in the post-slavery years—and some extant major American corporations—were built on this kind of convict labor. (p. 3)

This article highlights the discursive technique first evoked through slavery. FDA and SCR provide a lens to observe how slavery reduced Black citizens through white supremacy to inhumane subjects characterized by their perceived inferiority when compared to their white counterparts. This practice existed as a pattern within the colonial empire of subject formation. Yet, due to Black subjects' physical vigor, they were considered valuable subjects.

The compounded impact of the denigration of their humanity and perceived inherent inferiority justified anti-Black carceral laws that served as a license for slavery to persist in support of a better economy. The abolition of slavery completely eradicated slavery's economic function and thereby created a gap that required a new means of producing labor with minimal cost to the state. Prisons then became the most justifiable and efficient pathway to funnel and transmit individuals from communities into slave-like conditions. The following excerpt discusses the components of rehabilitative programs and their impacts on former inmates:

Part of our justice system should be preparing and helping former convicts re-enter society to live productive lives and avoid falling into former habits. Their rehabilitation must start while they serve their sentences, giving these Americans something to focus on and work for. By providing practical programs such as vocational training, we make it possible for these individuals to leave prison with marketable skills for good, steady jobs. (Whelan, 2020, p. 1)

Comparative to quote above, the rehabilitative subject's constitution is characterized by productivity as a means of escaping habits and replacing them with more productive routines. These routines (through repetition) are meant to condition subjects to become useful for society at large yet still maintain a discursive technique to subjugate them through mechanisms of control. This technique both qualifies and justifies the inhumane conditions of prison designed

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

to rehabilitate the prisoner subject similar to that of slavery. Likewise, this idea of “marketable skills” resembles the discursive techniques also employed through chattel slavery to buy and sell slave subjects.

The dominant narrative that shapes a universal understanding of prison rehabilitation is that of punishment, which will motivate people to not commit crimes. Equally, morals shaped by a willingness or motivation to work is evidence of a moral transformation qualifying inmates to graduate from “the rehabilitative subject” to “the good citizen.” Labour, then, becomes a technique of moral transformation in that:

The work of the prison has an economic effect. It is by producing individuals mechanized according to the general norms of an industrial society. Work is the providence of modern peoples; it replaces morality, fills the gap left by beliefs, and is regarded as the principle of all good. Work must be the religion of the prisons. (Foucault, 1975, p. 243)

Ultimately, through this politically discursive technique, that is, a technique that can be wielded in the interest of broader political agendas. Namely, the rehabilitative subjects are only as valuable as they are productive for society. This productivity is formed through a series of customary practices and repetition of daily activities. In prison, these practices and activities serve as a training ground for how inmates will function once granted re-entry into “civil” society. It is through the inherent belief that they are subjects in need of “moral fixing” that their bodies become subject to inhumane yet profitable labor and the currency assigned in exchange for their freedom. The final portion of this analysis will point to how the following sections ultimately sustain the penal reign through capitalism.

Sustaining (Racial) Capitalism Through Rehabilitative Programs

The SCR lens enables a closer look at how white supremacy is deployed through discourses of “aiding” and “helping former convicts”, this positionality creates a hierarchical system of “them vs. us” and a value-system of “better than” the subject in question. In this

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

context, the rehabilitative subject is less than, when compared to the “good American citizen.”

The systematic disposition of rehabilitative programs is inherent to white supremacy and imperialist projects of trying to purify and ultimately assimilate the subject to white civility.

Whiteness, in this context, acts as the standard by which goodness is measured. To further this analysis of the symbiotic relationship between racial capitalism and the penal system, Davis (2003) has pointed out in an article that:

One may perceive in the penitentiary many reflections of chattel slavery as it was practiced in the South. Both institutions subordinated their subjects to the will of others. Like Southern slaves, prison inmates followed a daily routine specified by their superiors. Both institutions reduced their subjects' dependence on others to supply essential human services such as food and shelter. Both isolated their subjects from the general population by confining them to a fixed habitat. Both frequently coerced their subjects to work, often for longer hours and less compensation than free laborers. (p. 27)

The deployment of strategies that included punishment, surveillance, and control were established (mainly in Canada and the United States) in a manner that constituted both the enslaved person and prisoner subject as less than and stripped of rights. Furthermore this process situated these subjects to exploitive labour. While this strategy acted as a blueprint to inform how all inmates are treated across the penal regime, it equally reinforced the inherent racial denigration that limited Black subjects from exiting the penal system and instead sustained it through Black labor. Hence Davis (2003) notes that,

Both emancipation and the authorization of penal servitude combined to create an immense Black presence within southern prisons and to transform the character of punishment into a means of managing formerly enslaved people as opposed to addressing problems of serious crime. (p. 21)

This comparative function equally increased the presence of penal labour, which served as free (and exploitive) profit for the prison system. Davis, in an interview about abolition activism, discusses how the global economy depends on penal labour for what she calls the “corporatization of punishment” in the following excerpt:

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

I think that private prisons are not the only indication of the thoroughgoing corporatization of punishment. Even public prisons rely on private corporations. And healthcare has been outsourced. Food production has been outsourced. The few programs that there are in prisons have been outsourced. So, there is a privatization of imprisonment such that it's not possible to consider the issue of mass incarceration without looking at the critical role it plays in the economy. And this means, of course, that people who have very little to do with criminal justice, with punishment, have no stakes in that, have stakes in the continued increase in prison populations because it means more profit for them. (Democracy Now, 2014, p. 6)

The mutually constitutive nature of private/public prisons and corporations is interconnected in fueling the national economy. It forms the basis as highlighted earlier for what Razack (1998) explains as the “interlocking systems of oppression” (pg. 347). This interlocking effect of the multiple systems of oppression, namely, race and capitalism, facilitates a rehabilitative process that depends on the continued subjugation of prisoners' bodies deployed through the economy of production sanctioned by rehabilitative programs. What is equally crucial to this quote is the idea of “outsourcing.”

Namely, if the prisoner's body becomes the object of exploitative labour through programs that claim they are building individual capacity for re-entry, then it must be justified through its expressed function in supporting a rehabilitative process. Yet, this process remains one that not only sustains the penal regime but also enriches the global economy at little to no cost to those who benefit from it. Thus, economic-producing subjects are outsourced as a means of what Davis (2003) suggests is “deindustrialization of the economy—a process that peaked during the 1980s—and the rise of mass imprisonment. It is unequivocal then that the rehabilitation process is not merely economic in function but is also profoundly racialized” (p. 35).

SCR provides a thread that sews together the interconnected history of slavery (and colonialism) that is enforced through racial hierarchies of punishment and that objectifies the

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

subject's body in order to control it. The experiences of Black slaves and current inmates are constituted through technologies of self and enforced through white supremacy, thus establishing a mutually exclusive relationship between racial capitalism and rehabilitation.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I established who is classified as the rehabilitative subject and how they come into effect through a series of discursive strategies. These strategies rely on and are determined by class, power, race, and productivity and are situated within a broader economic apparatus. It is clear, then, that rehabilitative programs are really incubators to prime and funnel rehabilitative subjects from prison into society, but only if they serve the economy. Yet, they do not grant individuals the type of freedom that rehabilitative programs promise. Abolitionist discourse aims to expose and challenge the inherent inequity that shapes rehabilitative efforts. In the next chapter, I will draw attention to both the analysis sites that shape abolitionist discourses and the tensions that arise from aiming to implement abolitionist visions into action.

Chapter 4: The Analytical Confrontation of Abolition and Reform Discourse Through The Lens of Rehabilitation and Reintegration

We have to fight for our freedom.

We have to win.

We must love each other and support each other.

We have nothing to lose but our chains.

Assta Shakur, [Assata: an autobiography] ,1999.

Abolitionist Activism as Counter Discourses

We have arrived at the point of this analysis, where I point to the discourses that shape abolitionist activism in theory. This portion of the analysis will be woven together in response to the final two research questions as part of this study. First, I will answer the question “How are activists and organizers re-imagining futures of rehabilitation and reintegration?” Second, I will answer the question through the data, “How are activist discourses being deployed to manifest futures without prisons?” Based upon the significant findings and themes that emerged from the data, I propose that, though activists and community organizers are seeking a future of freedom that is founded on the abolition of prisons and systems of policing in theory, the discourses produced through their various movements reinscribe reformist methods ultimately legitimizing governmental regimes that they seek to abolish. Again, the FDA analysis will be accompanied by SCR to better explain tensions between the abolitionists' expressed vision for a prison-free future and the forces that impede its actualization.

Challenging Rehabilitation and Reintegration from an Abolitionist Philosophy

Abolitionist discourses on the penal system are shaped mainly by the belief that the modern prison system cannot be understood without an understanding of the historical context of slavery and its economic function and dehumanizing impact on the Black body. Thus, rehabilitation and reintegration cannot be understood without a fundamental understanding of

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

how emancipation did not release individuals to live freely within an inherently carceral state. Instead, rehabilitation and reintegration mask the inherent and degenerative purpose of this punitive system: to control and use individuals as subjects, not to promote freedom and a value of human life.

First, I want to base this analysis on what the *Attica Rebellion* (1971) teaches us about the mechanics of abolitionist philosophy concerning rehabilitation. In September 1971, a maximum security prison in upstate New York named Attica was classified by activists in the data as the following:

Attica was a hellhole. The largest industry in a forsaken and impoverished upstate town, it was a place where urban blacks were locked up in bathroom-size cells to be guarded by rural whites. In 1971, A series of accidents in a creakingly worn-out prison turned a modest petition for decency into a full-fledged takeover—one as surprising to the inmates as to anyone else—that, after four days, ended in a reprisal riot by guards and state police that left thirty-nine people dead. The prisoners, meanwhile, tried to impose order using whatever small means they had, and, to an impressive degree, they succeeded. Some genuine Hectors, reluctant heroes, knew that taking part in a mutiny would be bad for their long-term interests—i.e., getting out of jail—but felt compelled to head off what threatened to become mere anarchic violence in the yard. (Gopnik, 2016, para. 4)

The dominant narrative revealed in this quote is that prisons are the initial and primary function for rehabilitation. aPrisons are a place where individuals are conditioned to take up positive moral values by forsaking their criminal proclivities. However, this excerpt reveals that the conditions of prison manipulate the inherent qualities and are in effect the provocation of penal resistance by inmates.

Through the FDA, we see that the presence of power will always naturally become an oasis for resistance. This excerpt demonstrates how these inmates go against the prescriptive plan and script attached to the “rehabilitative subject.” They are willing to exchange the potential for re-entry into community from the prison system for an opportunity of freedom from inhumane conditions, even if it costs them their inevitable release from prison itself. Instead, they mobilize

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

to perform a public demonstration of resistance against prison disciplinary powers exercised by prison authorities.

The reform script has long informed many of the rehabilitative programs that claim to support prisoner rehabilitation. Contrary to this disposition is abolitionists' philosophy, which argues that rehabilitation tailgates behind reformist discourses, re-inscribing the harmful effects of the penal system on humanity through disciplinary measures. The excerpt below is from an interview with Davis (2003), who highlights that:

Those of us who identify as prison abolitionists, as opposed to prison reformers, make the point that reforms frequently create situations where mass incarceration becomes even more entrenched. So therefore, we have to think about what, in the long run, will produce decarceration, fewer people behind bars, and hopefully, eventually, in the future, the possibility of imagining a landscape without prisons, where other means are used to address issues of harm, where social problems, such as illiteracy and poverty, do not lead vast numbers of people along a trajectory that leads to prison. (Democracy Now, 2014, p. 3)

In the abolitionist's view, reform practices, including rehabilitation and reintegration, reinscribe the destructive impact on the subject's body and system. A prison-free future is a consistent marker of abolitionist discourse and is often protested by reformists as outlandish and unrealistic. Yet, this proposition, according to abolitionists, is an integrative and multi-phased aspiration that enables society to address the source of violence at the root instead of investing in an infrastructure that merely manages its subjects. Davis (2003) lays this perspective out clearly when she writes:

The prison, therefore, functions ideologically as an abstract site into which undesirables are deposited, relieving us of the responsibility of thinking about the real issues afflicting those communities from which prisoners are drawn in such disproportionate numbers. This is the ideological work that the prison performs—it relieves us of the responsibility of seriously engaging with the problems of our society, especially those produced by racism and, increasingly, global capitalism. (p. 16)

At the beginning of the previous chapter, I outlined how rehabilitative subjects are seen as a

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

product of their environment. Here, the abolitionist view requires us to examine the contractors of that (harmful) environment, which are the power regimes that function as prison authorities and, even more broadly, the state. Davis, in this excerpt, directs attention to the harmful way prisons absorb the “undesirables” who (later) become prisoner subjects.

Therefore, the relief to which Davis is referring can be understood through the disciplinary function that prisons promote. Through punitive means, explained in the previous chapter, prisons claim to rehabilitate individuals by subjecting them to conditions that are so poor they will incite a fear of prison that arguably outweighs that incentive of committing crime. This approach will elicit a transformation in the individual. On the other hand, abolitionist philosophy draws us to a broader analysis of how the prison industrial complex, in cooperation with multiple systems and sectors, is far more implicated in the crimes of its subjects.

Earlier, I discussed the relationship between racial capitalism, rehabilitation, and reintegration. Abolitionist discourses decentralize the individual as the source of crime and a primary focus of rehabilitation. Instead, these discourses rely on histories of slavery, colonization, and imperialism to demonstrate how reform also mediates and reproduces the race relations that create disproportionality and marginalization even in the rehabilitative process. A CRT framework addresses how:

The language surrounding reduced recidivism is inherently racist and is a form of state violence that harms people of color disproportionately ... Instead of critically analyzing racist structural practices embedded within the American economic, political, and social landscape, recidivism places the blame on individual choices.” (Lee, Amos et al, 2020, p. 2)

While abolition has not been widely accepted as a feasible and wholesome approach to addressing rehabilitation, it does prompt critical questions that interrogate the foundation of the penal system. That system was birthed out of punishment and its punitive purpose has (arguably)

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

been (successfully) nurtured over centuries. So much so that it has become naturalized and is, therefore, one society relies on. Arguably, the state established a need for prisons as a replacement for slavery, through colonialism, then diagnosed it through racial violence, and then sought to fix it through prisons.

There are tensions that appear in abolitionist discourses relating to the distaste and are in direct opposition with reform. Abolition is fundamentally concerned with liberating people from harmful systems through a radical vision of change regarding how crime is understood and addressed. Eschmann et al, (2023):

For abolitionists, normalizing an abolitionist framing of the criminal legal system and its current function is the first step in encouraging others to be able to imagine a world without police and prisons or positioning alternatives to prisons that serve as evidence that segregative and carceral institutions are not the only way to work toward public safety, healing, and justice. (p. 5)

The tension is introduced through the language of “alternative to prisons,” implying the need to replace a mechanism of harm rather than eliminate it. Though this quote supports the analysis around how abolition functions to uproot the intrinsic inequities founded by the penal system, it also warrants a careful look at what abolitionist activists mean when they say “abolition,” which is not synonymous with “alternatives.” This distinction will be discussed throughout this chapter.

Beyond rehabilitation and reintegration, abolitionists (as appeared in the data) invite us to conceptualize how individuals experience healing and justice through liberation practices marked by individual consciousness of freedom. For the following data set, SCR enables us to explore the discrepant nature of abolitionist discourses. Specifically, how abolitionist discourse often highlights their agenda as being independent from the system yet when translated into action, their efforts collude with reformist tactics. African American Activists Patrisse Cullors, in an article that expands the vernacular of *the Black Lives Matter* movement, highlights that:

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

We need to de-prioritize law enforcement — and cutting funding is a good start. Lawmakers should divert funding for police departments and put it to better use in community-led initiatives. Investing in services like health care and education will reduce the role of police in society, protect Black lives, and shift the focus to helping people rather than harming them. (Cullors, 2014, p. 3)

What is essential to focus on in this excerpt is “de-prioritize”, “cutting funding” and “reducing the role of police.” The source of funding to police is the state, which is the auxiliary for all state-sanctioned institutions. I argue that by seeking to reallocate funding from a harmful institution to community-led initiatives does not uproot the source of violence. Instead, it merely alters its primary capacity for functioning. Abolitionists have expressed an agenda, which is to eradicate systems of punishment due to their harmful function ultimately. Yet, destabilizing police powers does not destabilize state powers, which is the ultimate goal of abolition.

Though many abolitionist activists acknowledge this goal's immense challenge, namely that prisons will not be abolished overnight, they equally contest and even denounce their allegiance to reform and participation with the system as a whole. Furthermore, the text above reveals that they aim to achieve that through incremental steps that still rely on a codependent relationship with the state. This relationship is marked by a slow decline in how resources are funneled through the penal system but not entirely marked by the dissolution of participation from it. These pieces represent a compromising dynamic between abolitionist and state infrastructures that fund and develop policies governing the penal system.

Though the goals of abolition and reform are fundamentally competing in the articles I analyzed, the idea of slowly cutting ties with the system yet still endorsing a less punitive measure maintains a somewhat dialectic relationship with the state, even if it is not entirely harmonious. According to Foucault (2021):

As it pertains to relations of power, the analysis that must be made of them necessarily extends beyond the limits of the State.... [T]he state can only operate based on other,

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

already existing power relations. The state is superstructural, consisting of a whole series of power networks. (p. 122)

This explanation of state-power dynamics is essential in examining how power relations between the state (or government) and grassroots organizers are dependent on a much larger infrastructure of imperialism. Said (1993) would argue that these power relations marginalizes activists' discourses to mobilize the imperialist agenda, which relies on its ability to sustain power. One might argue that white supremacy is the incubator of state violence. In that case, abolition activists become a response that “emerges from the Black radical tradition, which has not only contested racial violence in all forms but has also been a form of world-building” (Maynard, 2020, p. 5).

However, the super-structural (or multi-layered) nature of the state as reflected in the articles (to be further discussed) reveals an interconnectedness that supersedes the apparatus of abolitionist philosophies. Namely, these are a series of networks in which state power is not independent but mutually dependent on other relations of governmental regimes that are inescapable. Using a FDA, I can see how abolitionists must negotiate how they will work toward a future without prisons while also existing within a more profoundly entrenched apparatus of power, represented in systems but facilitated in relationships. Additionally, in response to reform, within abolitionist discourses, there is a refusal to accept the conditions into which rehabilitative subjects are funneled and that this process begins with the industrialization of the sectors we as a society rely on so heavily to facilitate this.

In the following excerpt from an article, activists and editor Saima Desai offers a reflection after watching an interview with Desmond Cole on what “defunding the police” really means::

In addition to refusing to retreat, we must push forward. That means uprooting anti-Black

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

and anti-Indigenous racism from within the institutions that we hope to turn to after the police are gone: social work, education, and healthcare. Defunding the police is one step toward abolishing the police. And abolition is not simply a demand to be won; it is the absolute horizon of freedom for us all. (Desai, 2024, p. 2)

While this excerpt highlights the need to “uproot” the foundational ideological mechanisms fueling the penal system, it also highlights that which must be accomplished “within the institutions we hope to turn to” which again, suppresses the ideological marker of abolition as a philosophy that seeks to deviate away from the institutions of harm, rather than working within them.

Next, this quote calls for “defunding police” which (again) highlights an incremental reduction in the resources that enhance penal instruments. But this example of activist discourse does not promote a complete eradication of the system as a whole. The quote identifies eradication of police as a means to an end rather than the end itself. It reveals a willingness of abolitionists to negotiate with the state despite the condemnation of its harmful existence. The following excerpt by another activist/organizer speaking against criminalization represents visions for the future of rehabilitation and reintegration through an abolitionist philosophy. It does so by contextualizing the future into a broader scope of emancipation and distributive justice:

Ideas of abolition didn’t just fly upon us. Still, contemporary ideas of abolition take their history from the first abolition movement, which was the movement to end slavery in the Americas. And when you understand that contemporary abolition is founded in that history, and with that kind of logic, then you realize that we are studios and that more than abolishing the prison-industrial complex and the police, we also, in many ways, mean to abolish property and to redistribute the Earth’s resources in a more equitable way and fashion. (Kaba, 2020, p. 4)

This excerpt calls for a re-examination of what a FDA examines as the objectification of the prisoner's body in what Foucault (1975) would call “the target of power ... discipline produces subjected and practiced bodies, docile bodies. Discipline increases the forces of the body (in

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

economic terms of utility) and diminishes these same forces in political terms of obedience.” (p. 138). As mentioned earlier, the rehabilitative subject is constituted through the mechanics of its productive function. If we were to adhere to the prescriptive claim of this excerpt, then with the abolition of the ideological framework that sees the prisoner's body as property, we would need to forsake the assumed right of the penal system to govern and ultimately control that body, which would have a consequential effect on how equity is achieved.

Another discourse shaping activists' perspective on the future of rehabilitation is a direct yet counter-response to reformist methods. That is, instead of using punishment as a means of controlling the soul, abolitionist interventions should seek to bring individuals into closer intimacy with themselves, not as a means of conditioning them but to relinquish them from the psychological stronghold that the penal system enforces. This concept of spiritual awakening is deployed through activists' discourse on forgiveness and healing. Reflecting on the work of activists, poet, and scholar El Jones, Wann (2024):

Forgiveness as a conversation and commitment is a daily question and answer. Jones describes poetry as ‘an encounter with your voice’ and ‘coming into people’s hearts and minds.’ The echoing of a story—in an article, essay, or poem—is part of the nature of the work as she knows it: the documenting, collecting, and cataloging—and how In doing this work, life (the funny, the sad, the mundane) is “all stuck together.” We arrive at the long journey of justice, made up of our daily battles, whose destination is far beyond us. It’s love that holds us in the absence of justice. Love that we rely on to survive. (p. 7)

In these texts, “forgiveness” and “love” are used to conceptualize freedom. Additionally, this excerpt promotes a sense of autonomy over one's storyline and inevitable end. Arguably, inviting rehabilitative subjects first to identify their voice and use this spiritual journey to rewrite their own story. This reclaiming of one's own story can also be understood as a means of resistance. According to Foucault (1975), within the context of punitive rehabilitation, repressive power relations always leave open the possibility for resistance. Programs involving this kind of

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

spiritual exploration act as a means for individual healing and empowerment rather than one for sustaining control and surveillance over the subject. Furthermore, activist discourses on imagining a future of freedom from the prison industrial complex rely on a deep, meaningful, and mutually caring relationship between rehabilitative subjects and those who are enlisted to support them:

To insist on loving, desiring, caring for, or being in a relationship with someone in prison is to push back against not only state narratives but the authentic mechanisms that stifle humanity, goodness, the possibility of transformation, or transcending the category of criminal. (Marshall, 2022, p. 2)

I want to acknowledge another tension in Marshall's quote: even though the end goal of abolition and reform differ, this idea of "goodness and the possibility of transformation" mirrors that of "goodness and civility" discussed in previous chapters as a tenet of reform. Thus, I am cautiously optimistic about how separate these two schools of thought and discourse can (truly) be.

Abolitionist discourses cannot entirely see themselves separate from rehabilitation and reform discourses, even though they aim to do so in theory.

Activists' discourses (arguably) aim to resist the dominant narrative that relationships between rehabilitative subjects and those around them should only be characterized by censorship and hyper-surveillance. Instead, the quote by activists, poet, and scholar El Jones those relations should mirror love and caring relationships. This excerpt asks what would happen if we destroyed the constitution of the rehabilitative subject. How can this subject not only be characterized but also humanized? Relationships open up the floodgates for this imagination (that is the way abolitionists scholar cultivate visions). Arguably, abolition as a political ideology not only functions to uproot the intrinsic inequities founded by the penal system but also, beyond rehabilitation and reintegration, uproots how individuals experience healing and justice through liberation practices, which are marked by individual consciousness of freedom.

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

A program developed for prisoner subjects to write and exercise creativity appeared in abolitionist discourses. This program aims to promote this future of abolition efforts that demand a deep consideration of the interconnectedness of collective struggles:

‘Return to Sender’ uses the issue of prison censorship to illustrate how all of us—inside and outside prison walls—are connected in our collective struggle toward liberation. Informed by a decades-long history of anti-prison activism, the exhibition presents a call to action—for us to take steps toward an abolitionist future. (Park, 2012, p. 4)

This excerpt advances the fundamental principle that shapes abolitionist discourses: a radical imagination for humanity and, therefore, radical resistance to the systems that undermine this perspective. Activists tackle this issue of censorship, which I propose relies on using surveillance technologies to monitor and control the rehabilitative subject more effectively.

Finally, abolitionist discourses that conceptualize a future without prisons that claim to perform a rehabilitative function are demonstrated below more broadly by the organizer of the *Free Lands Free People* movement, Karrie Auger, in an interview where she cites that:

The easiest way to explain why we need abolition as a global project and vision for the future is that reform does not address any of the roots of the penal system. At the root is violence. No amount of reform would ever change that. Abolition is an alternative for people to move away from and stop conflating justice with punitive logic, which only creates more harm for our communities and does nothing to keep us safer than reform would have us believe. Abolition is also an opportunity to imagine and work to create a world rooted in good relations and responsibility to each other, and that includes real accountability, something that does not happen in the penal system, despite the widespread belief that it does. (Wilt, 2020, p. 6)

The pursuit of abolition more broadly presents an inherently conflicting relationship between philosophies on challenging punishment. Yet, it demands a necessary confrontation with state powers and histories of control, white supremacy, imperialism, and the mechanisms that inform the fabric of rehabilitative programs.

Additionally, abolition as an alternative to carcerality may not entirely divorce itself from the apparatus of state power. It may constitute a more critical audit and intervention that

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

challenges the relations of power that inform carceral law. In other words, abolitionist discourse may not fully propose eradicating prisons, but perhaps activist interrogation can expose the culprit of crimes against humanity (that include the inhumane conditions that prisoner subjects are subjected to) that rehabilitative programs seek to individualize.

Confronting the Tensions Between Abolitionist Activists for a Prison-Free Future

At this point, I have presented a sequence of processes (both in ideology and practice) in which the prison system and society approach rehabilitation and reintegration in the articles I analyzed. The previous chapter examined how abolitionist activists are activated through visions of a prison-free future. This view would ultimately remove the foundational means by which the state seeks to transform what has been proposed in this paper as the “rehabilitative subject.”

At this point, I have demonstrated in my analysis how activists and organizers are envisioning a profound and unprecedented vision for a prison-free world. Yet, the actualization of this vision is challenged by technologies of state powers discussed through this paper. As well, through internally coherent relationships between abolitionists ideas that collude with reformist tactics. SCR reveals the discrepancies that appear in abolitionist discourses and threaten the potential for an actual prison-free system.

First, I propose that the tagline often preceding abolitionist discourses on the prison industrial complex is “re-imagining a future without prisons.” While this view appears to be a promising and even innovative proposition for anti-carceral activists, I propose that the ‘re’ in “re-imagine” can seem to constitute a duplicitous function, not so much by abolitionist organizers themselves, but by the context in which their organizing efforts are actualized. It implies that any imagination of the future must rely on the premise of what the system currently is. The following excerpt by African American Activists Patrise Cullors illustrates this further:

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

Systemic problems aren't easy to fix, but we can take steps toward progress by re-examining how we fund and rely on law enforcement in this country. Many public resources are put toward law enforcement agencies at the expense of critical social services like education and health care. This doesn't make us safer. It puts Black lives in danger of police brutality and of getting ensnared in the mass incarceration system. More law enforcement is not the answer. It's what got us here in the first place. Our law enforcement culture puts the police in places they don't need to be. Police don't have to be the first responders to all crises, and they shouldn't be. Social workers, doctors, and others can serve in place of police for issues including mental health crises, domestic violence, addiction, and homelessness. (Cullors, 2020, p. 2)

I examine the proposition of “re-examining the way we fund and rely on law enforcement in this country.” Following this statement, the activists proceed to delineate how the state should rearrange public resources to address the systemic injustices to work towards an abolitionist future. They identify the police as a futile and harmful technology of the state in addressing crime and instead suggest that social workers, doctors, and “others” can take on the role of addressing crime. Though this suggestion aims to highlight less harmful alternatives to addressing crime, it actually replaces one institution of state surveillance with another. In previous chapters, I demonstrated how social workers and medical professionals were used by the penal system as mediators between prisoner subjects and the state to facilitate the harmful process of rehabilitation. In the existing literature on these professionals and the penal system, discriminatory practices can be traced back to slavery and colonization explaining disparities apparent within these sectors for Black, Indigenous, and racialized peoples. They acted not only as direct mediators but as instruments of surveillance, and their inherent purpose did not change merely because they were being used as a ploy for abolition. The internal relations between these surveillance technologies do not only co-exist with state-mandated programs. Still, they fundamentally depend on legitimizing the interconnectedness that keeps these systems intact.

According to Said (1993), activists' propositions, due to the interconnectedness of state power and the apparatus of rehabilitative programs, would “replace one kind of parochialism

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

with another” (p.6). Said’s view reinforces Foucault's view on governmentality and power, which suggests we can never truly exist outside the realm of governmental systems. In fact, in keeping ourselves aware of our participation, we struggle with an ethics that is a practice of freedom. Foucault's (1997) view is that "the concept of governmentality makes it possible to bring out the freedom of the subject and its relationship to others - which constitutes the very stuff of ethics." (p.6)

I want to expand this argument in order to look at the ways in which activists' discourses in the articles I analyzed become co-opted and compromised due to the divisive nature of power. Power manipulates the activist efforts and undermines their ability to mobilize beyond a colonial power regime that is deeply embedded and depends on that power namely, Edugyan & Maynard et al., (2020):

In places like Canada and the U.S., Black, and Indigenous people are at the bottom of every measure of what it means to live a good life, and abolitionist politics and abolitionist philosophy are about redistributing the resources so that everyone can live a good life. In cities like Toronto, activists who’ve been long organizing against police violence and for a reduction in the resources that are spent on the police called for a 50-per-cent cut in the police budget. We went from “defund the police” to attempting to push for a 50-per-cent cut, to then councilors calling for a 10-per-cent cut, to no cut, and we’re going to work with the police to use some of their resources for mental health. (p. 4)

These two excerpts address the paradoxical relationship between abolitionist ideas and visions for a prison-free future and the apparent discrepancy in how that comes into effect. I argue that police are the arms of the state. As such, the call to “defund” police is a means of destabilizing the penal system but only by minimizing the scope and capacity that police have to expand the powers of the state. However, my analysis shows how quickly that attempt is amended to be more “realistic” and achievable.

The excerpt from Maynard also reveals how power relations are co-existent and highly

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

influential. Once abolitionist ideas are funneled and the political apparatus mediates state control and protects the interests of the power structures within prisons, they are quickly cheapened in application. Activists' discourses demonstrate the constant points of confrontation with the state about the inhumane conditions that not only stifle rehabilitative efforts but reinforce a state of punishment and, in so doing, reveal the soul of society as one that is contaminated by profit in exchange for the lives of human beings.

Yet, there are these “micro-powers” and, in their efforts of resistance against this system, are overthrown by the monstrous nature of the penal regime through political forces that transcend the bounds of carcerality and represent a much larger and more deeply entrenched apparatus of control. Authorizing state powers within the penal regime does not only maintain this apparatus but also, its control exists within a broader historical context of colonial and imperialist powers that have always wielded white supremacist ideologies to justify the subjugation and denigration of a people. I propose that this inherent, yet highly contested power mechanism forces us to read abolitionist discourses through a more meticulous and critical lens of (again) what abolition means, and more importantly, what it does not mean.

Abolition has historically been symbolic of freedom, a type of freedom that was characterized by disassociation with this very system. It begs the question, is the promise of freedom that abolition proposes just an illusion? I point to the literature that asks: “What is freedom if we are always governed through normative orders of reason, so difficult to apprehend? And on what scale would we plot emancipation today—local, national, postnational, global?” (Allen & Amy, et al., 2022, p. 38). While abolitionist discourses invite us into a nuanced imagination for a carceral-free future, their efforts have not (entirely) taken us beyond that.

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

I want to transition into a data set that reveals how these tensions between abolitionist ideas and visions are typically preceded by reformist tactics and even demonstrate the ways that abolitionist efforts unintentionally re-inscribe the penal order. The following excerpt is taken from an interview with abolitionist activists who advocate for prisoners' rights:

After learning about the values the Toronto Prisoners' Rights Project (TPRP) holds, I was interested to hear how they advocate for inmates' rights. Lemke outlined a few of their initiatives, including the Jail Accountability and Information Line. In this resource, current inmates and families of inmates can call and report human rights violations occurring inside institutions. Lemke also outlined the Prisoners Emergency Support Fund, a one-time stipend of \$225 meant to aid newly released prisoners and their loved ones in the transition back into the community. Along with these initiatives, the group has been contacting political leaders who have the power to make changes in the incarceration system. (Sprint-Live Radio, 2022, para. 3)

The activist group mentioned in this excerpt identifies their collective (efforts) as one that is grounded in abolitionist ethics and are seeking for a future without prisons. Yet, they engage in methods designed to aid current inmates. Based on the quote above, I argue that these activists aim to bring justice to current inmates through discourses of "accountability" and "human rights" that still require them to work 'within' instead of 'outside/against' the system. Even these efforts require them to enter into a mutually adhering agreement with the prison authorities, whether written or understood, which grants them permission to organize cooperatively to support inmates.

I propose that activists/organizers who identify with abolitionist ethics developing and implementing resources for individuals within a carceral state, are still functioning in concert with the system. As well, an unintentional effect of this programming is that they are also absolving the system of the need to engage in meaningful confrontation about the harmful effects of its history and contemporary crimes against humanity.

Many activist groups that are against prisons, such as TPRP, have developed initiatives

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

and programs that enable them to go into prisons and provide to inmates support that meet a wide range of needs such as financial relief, educational attainment, advocacy support, etc. These efforts may increase the value and efficacy of these programs in improving inmates' quality of life. They also strengthen the argument that rehabilitation can be achieved through prisons, as prisons are seen as partners in the fight for prisoner's rights rather than the culprits of their dehumanizing experiences within the penal system. The excerpt below is from an interview with abolitionist activists/organizers for TPRP. In it, Rajean Hoilett highlights where these two opposing schools of thought meet as a potential oasis for abolitionist ends:

Sometimes, that means finding meeting points between our abolitionist end goals and reforms that can be meaningful for incarcerated folks right now. This is a constant balancing act. Trying to pursue reforms that provide material relief at the moment but don't bolster the existing system. Reforms that don't legitimize or contribute to the expansion of existing carceral systems. (Gardner, 2023, p. 6)

This quote addresses the tension that abolitionists constantly face, minimizing the expansion (of the penal system) that may result from their practical efforts at providing these "relief" supports to inmates. Their approach meets the interest of supporting/liberating individuals. But I argue that in doing so, abolitionist activists appear to have formed what can be conceptualized as a necessary coalition between reformist practices not to agree but to provide a momentary trade-off to meet the immediate needs of the individuals they are seeking to support.

Kushner (2019) highlights the perspective of activist Ruth Wilson Gilmore who remains cautious of the ideological disposition that abolition cannot today or ever become synonyms or even slightly aligned with reform to maintain its integrity:

For Gilmore, debates over which individuals to let out of prison accept prison as a given. To her, this is not just a moral error but a practical one if the goal is to end mass incarceration. Instead of trying to fix the carceral system, she is focused on policy work to reduce its scope and footprint by stopping new prison construction and closing prisons and jails one facility at a time, with painstaking grass-roots organizing and demands that state funding benefit, rather than punish, vulnerable communities. (Kushner, 2019, p. 3)

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

The aforementioned programs and initiatives designed to combat the systemic injustice that laces the proposed rehabilitative function of the penal system are all, according to Maynard (2020), “abject failures, even as they have succeeded in perpetuating the illusion of legitimacy of benevolence for law enforcement agencies” (Maynard, 2020, p. 3). Gilmore reinforces this failure by reducing the issues that constitute prisons as a rehabilitative mechanism.

Furthermore, there is an implication in Gilmore’s work that initiatives that address prison injustice are wasting time attempting to fix a system that is meant to have this disparaging effect. Instead, she expresses another idea that shapes activists' point of view, an idea that does not seek not to partner with systems while simultaneously seeking to abolish them, but instead seeks to reduce their footprint in scope and function and cease the development of new infrastructures. This quote also alludes to the need to apply pressure on activism and organizing efforts to combat oppression that was historically manufactured and reincarnated through these penal processes instead of working to fix this carceral system.

As outlined earlier, “prisons are symptoms of these forms of oppression, and the eradication of prisons and carceral institutions more broadly as part of any comprehensive commitment to dismantling these structures of oppression” (Ben-Moshe, 2013, p. 506). Yet, dismantling these structures of oppression continues to be an ideological orientation of abolitionist discourse yet, not actualized in efforts that evade reformist tactics, “though they value intellectual activity, freedom is their ultimate goal, and they believe radical structural transformation is needed to secure full liberation” (Shelby, 2023, p.12). The concept of structural transformation assumes that in order (at some level) for abolitionist visions to be actualized, they are still working in concert with and amongst the structures they also seek to abolish.

Conclusion

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

Ultimately, abolitionist ideologies and philosophies characterized by a demand for the complete eradication of the penal system are challenged even by their views on how this can be achieved. Abolitionist discourse presents resounding evidence of the apparent inequalities upon which the penal system is built. However, the tensions outlined in this analysis include the ongoing dialectical relationship between abolitionist and reformist discourses, which are co-existent and at times codependent with that of reform discourse. Is it impossible to conceive a future free of prisons? Or is it just that compromises must be made along the way? If the latter, do these compromises contaminate the integrity of abolitionist visions for the future? Or do they merely complicate them? Throughout this analysis, I provided concrete examples in the data of how abolitionist discourses are often deployed through reformist tactics, through text that imply more of an incremental decline in penal functions rather than an eradication of it. In the final chapter, I will draw on this argument concerning the previous chapters to conclude where we go from here.

Chapter 5: Conclusion: Where to next?

If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom and yet deprecate agitation are men who want crops without plowing the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the roar of its mighty waters.

Frederick Douglas, [If There is No Struggle There is No Progress], 1857.

Review and Reflections of Research

“The idea of freedom is inspiring. But what does it mean? If you are free in a political sense but have no food, what’s that? The freedom to starve?” (Davis, 2020, p.1). This quote effectively captures a series of internal dialogues that have confronted me throughout my research. When I first began activism work, I was incredibly inspired by the possibilities it invited. As I matured in my intellectual, political, and personal awareness, that excitement entered into an apprehensive yet unavoidable relationship with cynicism. This research was conducted to investigate state violence and critically examine the voices and contexts that shaped my activism. Ultimately, this research was about an existential venture through the histories, contexts, and stories that have informed present-day activist organizing. It was inspiring in some moments and deeply painful in others. It comes to illuminate the ongoing tension that activists face: how to exercise an imagination that has been so contaminated and even colonized by the internalized political forces that shape us? At the turn of every page of my data, I eagerly hoped to find an answer to my burning question of whether we can ever be free. But who are we? What is freedom to us or me? Is rehabilitation a pathway to freedom? Or a maze to keep us trapped in the indisputable and inescapable forces of white-settler colonialism and imperial powers that beset us?

In the beginning chapters of this paper, I introduced my research topic as a venture

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

through activist discourses on abolition and reform that shape rehabilitation and reintegration. I explained the multiple dimensions of this study. This analytical review of scholarly literature demonstrated the distinctions, challenges, and possibilities permeating the relationship between activist and reformist discourses. I highlighted Michel Foucault's FDA as the primary methodology that framed the design of this study to identify how the rehabilitative subject is classified and constituted. I discussed the major themes that emerged from the data. Next, I outlined SCR as a complimentary methodology to assist in analyzing activists' discourses and rehabilitative programs that purport to facilitate "evidence-based programming." I then outlined the sequence and approach to my data collection, coding, categorizing, and analysis. I situated this study amid existing scholarly research on activist discourses.

In chapters 3 and 4, I provided an analysis of data, which consisted of 100 articles that dealt with issues facing activists for abolition and activists for prison reform, as well as the interlocking systems of oppression that inform how race and class contribute to enforcing particular conditions that shape the formation of the rehabilitative subject. In Chapter 3, I outlined who the rehabilitative subject is and how power-knowledge regimes shape who is and is not rehabilitative. Within the same chapter, I examined how through discourses of "goodness and civility," "productivity," and "power." Next, I explained how the rehabilitative subject is a precursor to what ultimately becomes the economic-producing subject, which is funneled into society to fuel the economy through exploitive labour. I examined how these discourses are deployed to produce what Foucault (1975) calls the corporatization of punishment. In chapter 4, the final data analysis chapter, I discussed how activist discourses are deployed to ideate an abolitionist future in theory and how these ideations for a future without prisons are actualized. Amid the latter discussion, I proposed that there are tensions and contradictions within

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

abolitionist discourses that express an objective of eradicating prisons and severing any relations with the state yet, in their actualizations, manifest a future that still heavily relies on state resources. Though these tensions persisted throughout my study, I propose that abolitionist discourses on rehabilitation and reintegration necessitate the abolition of property and capitalism to destabilize the prison economy, which depends heavily on individual labour and the objectification of the prisoner subject and their body. While these tensions exist, abolitionists are not merely concerned with the systems that harm people but also with how these individuals can reclaim their sense of humanity through relationships and communities of care.

Limitations and Direction for Future Research

The scope of this research paper did not allow me to represent the multiple layers of abolitionist discourses and more of the theoretical frameworks that shape discourse on prison-free futures. Future research could extrapolate more connections between past activist movements around emancipatory efforts through a genealogical study guided by Michel Foucault's approach. Genealogical research could support a stronger analysis of power regimes that produce ideas on the rehabilitative subject and how using contemporary data sources limits particular individuals from reintegrating effectively. Additionally, a comprehensive intersectional analysis could allow for a thorough explanation of how prison systems are designed to reform some people and restrict others, particularly Black, Indigenous, and racialized bodies. Such an analysis could examine how some bodies hold multiple identities that impact their experiences in the penal system. The existing literature provided a gendered analysis that was not integrated into this paper but could have been further explored to cement the arguments of abolitionist discourses that often appeared contradictory. Next, this study did not do a thorough examination

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

of what specific work, initiatives, and organizing strategies grassroots activists are undertaking to combat the tensions and achieve abolition. Future research in this area may provide more insight into how the actualization of abolitionist philosophy in practices could be achieved. Furthermore, much of the data and analysis were situated within a North American context. While some articles addressed histories and practices in other parts of the world, some of the views, critiques, and analysis were reflective of Western ideologies.

Implications for Social Work Practice

This research can be instrumental in informing social work practice, specifically in destabilizing surveillance technologies. Social workers are often some of the most potent “technicians,” as discussed earlier. “Social workers introduce standardized conceptions of practice” (Rossiter and Heron et al., 2011, p. 252). These standards of practice are constituted within dimensions of power that amplify their function and impact within the penal system. As a practitioner who has worked in youth justice, I have witnessed first-hand the potential for exercising power that can be repressive and wield resistance in the context of social work. This work can be done in clients' interests or to sustain the existing power regimes.

Furthermore, reform was presented in this study as a tenet of neoliberalism, and “social work practice discourses it contains, as well as its location within ongoing institutional changes, work to align social work and social workers with a neoliberal governmentality” (Macias, 2015, p. 253). This quote invites a unique opportunity to reconceptualize or even imagine the totality of social work practice. I hope this study can trigger an oasis for how freedom can be achieved through the reconceptualization of power in social work.

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

This is the 21st century and we need to redefine r/evolution. this planet needs a people's r/evolution. a humanist r/evolution. r/evolution is not about bloodshed or about going to the mountains and fighting. we will fight if we are forced to but the fundamental goal of r/evolution must be peace.

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. we need to be weapons of mass construction. weapons of mass love. it's not enough just to change the system. we need to change ourselves. we have got to make this world user friendly. user friendly.

are you ready to sacrifice to end world hunger? to sacrifice to end colonialism. To end neo-colonialism. To end racism. To end sexism.

r/evolution means the end of exploitation. r/evolution means respecting people from other cultures. r/evolution is creative.

r/evolution means treating your mate as a friend and an equal. r/evolution is sexy.

Jr/evolution means respecting and learning from your children. r/evolution is beautiful.

r/evolution means protecting the people. the plants. the animals. the air. the water.

r/evolution means saving this planet.

r/evolution is love.

Assta Shakur, [Assata: an autobiography], 1999.

References

- Allen, Amy, and Eduardo Mendieta, eds. *Power, Neoliberalism, and the Reinvention of Politics: The Critical Theory of Wendy Brown*. First edition. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2022. Web.among women. J. Gender Race & Just., 1, 335. *and Practice*, 5(1), 8-19.
- Appia, V. (2020, August, 21). What is prison abolition and what does it do for racial justice?. *Toronto.com*.
- Badwall, H. K. (2015). Colonial encounters: Racialized social workers negotiating professional scripts of whiteness. *Intersectionalities: A Global Journal of Social Work Analysis, Research, Polity, and Practice*, 3(1): 1-23.
- Badwall, H. K. (2016). Racialized discourses: Writing against an essentialized story about racism. *Intersectionalities: A Global Journal of Social Work Analysis, Research, Polity,*
- Barnwell, C. A. (2005). A Prison Abolitionist and Her Literature: Angela Davis. *CLA Journal*, 48(3), 308–335. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44325619>
- Barsky, N. (2019, December 17). How to Fix Our Prisons? Let the Public Inside. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/17/opinion/prison-reform.html>
- BBC News. (2019, July, 6) *How Norway turns criminals into good neighbours*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/stories-48885846>
- Bell, S. (2023, January 19). Court-ordered community hours go towards healing in Indigenous-led justice efforts in Montreal. CBC News. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/mohawk-cree-teepee-justice-healing-kahnawake-1>

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

.6717817#:~:text=Indigenous%20people%20involved%20with%20the,healing%20activities%20instead%20of%20labour.

Ben-Moshe, L. (2013). "THE TENSION BETWEEN ABOLITION AND REFORM". In *The End of Prisons*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.

https://doi.org/10.1163/9789401209236_008

Bero, T. (2020, August, 20). El Jones Is Teaching Abolition, Every Day. Chatelaine.

<https://chatelaine.com/living/trailblazers/el-jones-keep-listening/>

Berry, N. & Zunkel, E. (2023, October 18). First Step Act advanced prison reform,

Bonner, K. (2021, May, 21). Activating Justice Through a 21st Century Latinx Lens. UCLA.

<https://drive.google.com/drive/u/0/folders/1YVakg9vVhJA8VuF6CGBkG2jHRG7cUv1E>

Bowden, O. (2020, August 29). Defund the police protests held in Toronto as

Braithwaite, I. (2022, February, 28). Toronto prisoners' rights activists call for better COVID-19 protocols in correctional facilities. *The Toronto Observer*.

<https://torontoobserver.ca/2022/02/28/toronto-prisoners-rights-covid-19/#:~:text=The%20TPRP%20created%20a%20petition,for%20imprisoned%20people%20in%20Toronto.&text=The%20petition%20calls%20on%20the,on%20accurate%20information%20surrounding%20vaccines.>

Breach Video. (2022, December, 01). What if there were no prisons or police? *Breach Media*.

<https://breachmedia.ca/what-if-there-were-no-prisons-or-police/>

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

Brogdon, M. (2023, March, 31). *Juvenile justice should focus on rehabilitation not punishment.*

The Boston Globe.

<https://www.bostonglobe.com/2023/03/31/opinion/juvenile-justice-should-focus-rehabilitation-not-punishment/>

Brown, K.P. & Brown, R.L.P. (2022, October 17). The Curious Case of Prison Reform in

Burton, A., &McMillan, J. (2023). How judges can use their discretion to combat anti-black racism in the United States family policing system. *Family Court Review*, 61(2): 265–286.

but hundreds are still serving unjust sentences. USA Today.

<https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/voices/2023/10/18/first-step-act-sentencing-commission-prison-reform/71131769007/>

Cardoso, T. (2020, October, 24). Bias behind bars: A Globe investigation finds a prison system stacked against Black and Indigenous inmates. *The Globe and Mail.*

<https://www.theglobeandmail.com/canada/article-investigation-racial-bias-in-canadian-prison-risk-assessments/>

CBC News. (2019, December, 18). If we abolish prisons, what's next? CBC News.

<https://www.cbc.ca/radio/ideas/if-we-abolish-prisons-what-s-next-1.5399845>

CBC news. (2018, February, 10). Prisoner rights extend beyond prison walls, advocates say.

<https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/kitchener-waterloo/prisoner-rights-human-rights-committee-1.4529148>

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

CBC Radio. (2021, March, 05). Rinaldo Walcott calls for the abolition of property. *CBC News*.

<https://www.cbc.ca/radio/ideas/rinaldo-walcott-calls-for-the-abolition-of-property-1.5936>

800

Chapman, D. W. (2013). The Legendary John Howard and Prison Reform in the Eighteenth Century. *Eighteenth Century*, 54(4), 545–550. <https://doi.org/10.1353/ecy.2013.0040>

Chapter One: An introduction to codes and coding, Chapter 1 (pp.13-31) [stop at the

Chowdhry, G. (2007). Edward Said and Contrapuntal Reading: Implications for Critical Interventions in International Relations. *Millennium*, 36(1), 101–116.

Chung, E. (2018, March 23). Why Prison Reform Is Not Enough to Fix the U.S. Criminal Justice System.

Cisney, V. W., & Morar, N. (Eds.). (2020). *Biopower: Foucault and beyond*. University of Chicago Press..

Clark, Jelisa S. “RING THE ALARM Black Girls in the Discourse on the School-to-Prison Pipeline.” *Du Bois review* 17.1 (2020): 147–163. Web.

Cole, D. (2020, July, 7). ‘We have nothing to lose but our chains’: Desmond Cole’s conversation with four Black Canadians. *Macleans*.

<https://macleans.ca/politics/we-have-nothing-to-lose-but-our-chains-desmond-coles-conversation-with-four-black-canadians/>

Colley, S.B. (2017, August, 04). *Black former inmates turn to new program to help*

Criminal Justice Involvement after Release from Prison following Exposure to Community

Mental Health Services among People Who Use Illicit Drugs and Have Mental Illness: a

Systematic Review Ashleigh C. Stewart · Reece D. Cossar · Brendan

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

Cruz, S.J. (2022, July, 13). *Rethinking prison as a deterrent to future crime*. JSTOR Daily, <https://daily.jstor.org/rethinking-prison-as-a-deterrent-to-future-crime/>

Cullors, P. (2020, June, 23). 'Black Lives Matter' is About More than the Police'. ACLU. <https://www.aclu.org/news/criminal-law-reform/black-lives-matter-is-about-more-than-the-police>

Dahl, G.B & Mogstad, M. (2020, March, 01). *The Benefits of Rehabilitative Incarceration*. NBER. <https://www.nber.org/reporter/2020number1/benefits-rehabilitative-incarceration>

Davis, Angela Yvonne. *Are Prisons Obsolete?* New York: Seven Stories, 2003. Print.

Day A, Wodak J, Graffam J, Baldry E, Davey L. Prison Industry and Desistance from Crime: An Australian Programme. *Psychiatr Psychol Law*. 2017 Jun 8;24(6):899-909. Doi: 10.1080/13218719.2017.1327311. PMID: 31983998; PMCID: PMC6818401.de
Bourbon, Soma. "Indigenous Genocidal Tracings: Slavery, Transracial Adoption, and the Indian Child Welfare Act." ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2013. Print.

Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2017). *Critical race theory (third edition) : An introduction*. New York University Press.

Deliso, M., Noyse, D. & Stone, A. (2024, January, 18). Scott Peterson case taken up by Los Angeles Innocence Project. *ABC News*. <https://abcnews.go.com/US/innocence-project-takes-case-notorious-killer-scott-peterson/story?id=106487571>

Demby, G. (2016, September 20). Imagining A World Without Prisons For Communities Defined By Them. *Code Switch*.

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

<https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2016/09/20/494248596/imagining-a-world-without-prisons-for-communities-defined-by-them#:~:text=Hourly%20News-,Imagining%20A%20World%20Without%20Prisons%20For%20Communities%20Defined%20By%20Them,for%20harsher%20punishment%20for%20lawbreakers.>

Democracy Now. (2014, March, 06). Angela Davis on Prison Abolition, the War on Drugs and Why Social Movements Shouldn't Wait on Obama. Democracy Now.

https://www.democracynow.org/2014/3/6/angela_davis_on_prison_abolition_the

demonstrators point to government inaction.

<https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/defund-the-police-protests-held-in-toronto-1.5705134>

Desai, S. (2020, July/August). "Defund the police" means "defund the police". New Trail.

<https://www.ualberta.ca/newtrail/ideas/defund-the-police.html#:~:text=For%20a%20term%20that%20has,to%20abolishing%20the%20institution%20altogether.> discourse analysis, and grounded theory. *Qualitative Health Research*, 17(10), dismantling of police and prisons. CBC. News

<https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/no-pride-in-policing-coalition-abolitionist-pride-march-1.6502336#:~:text=Toronto-,Activists%20hold%20'Abolitionist%20Pride'%20march%20to%20call%20for%20dismantling%20of,the%20prison%20system%20in%20Ontario.>

Domenico, S.D, Asefi, F. Tucciarone, C. (2018, April, 30). *If we truly want to rehabilitate incarcerated youth, we must stop putting them in solitary confinement.* CBC News.

<https://www.cbc.ca/news/opinion/youth-segregation-1.4640422#:~:text=Opinion-,If%20>

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

we%20truly%20want%20to%20rehabilitate%20incarcerated%20youth%2C%20we%20 must,so%20for%20another%3A%20incarcerated%20youth.

Donarto, A. (2024, January, 26). *FROM PUPPIES TO FARMING: CANADA'S MOST INNOVATIVE PRISON REHAB PROGRAMS*. CBC.TV.

https://www.cbc.ca/keepingcanadasafe/m_blog/from-puppies-to-farming-an-in-depth-look-at-innovative-prisoner-rehab-program

Douglas, F. (2022). If there is no struggle, there is no progress.

Draaisma, M. (2022, June, 26). Activists hold 'Abolitionist Pride' march to call for

Duff. (1994). *Penal theory and practice : tradition and innovation in criminal justice*.

Ellenbogen, R. (2023, December 23). Drug sentences reduced for three Fla. men; President Joe Biden is also making thousands convicted of marijuana charges eligible for pardons. *Campa Bay Times*.

<https://www.cbc.ca/news/world/biden-drug-marijuana-pardon-1.7067617>

Emerson, K. (2021, August, 15). Canada's prison system needs to focus on rehabilitation rather than punishment. Normalcy has shown to rehabilitate offenders and reintegrate them back into society. *The Runner*.

<https://runnermag.ca/2021/08/canadas-prison-system-needs-to-focus-on-rehabilitation-rather-than-punishment/>

Encyclopedia of Criminological Theory Maruna, Shadd: Redemption Scripts and Desistance

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

Eschmann, R., Thompson, J.G. & Toraif, N. (2023., Tweeting toward transformation: Prison abolition and criminal justice reform in 140 characters. *Social Inq*, 93(3)

496-537.<https://doi.org/10.1111/soin.12503>

Evra, J.V. (2020, Apri, 01). B.C. *Corrections considers early release for some offenders in wake of COVIDcrisis*. CBC News. B.C. Corrections considers early release for some offenders in wake of COVID crisis | CBC News

Fallis, M. (2020, December 18). Disrupting volunteer-led prison programs cuts a fundamental lifeline for everyone in the system. CBC News.

<https://www.cbc.ca/news/opinion/opinion-prison-volunteers-1.5815920>

Fellows, M. L., & Razack, S. (1997). The race to innocence: Confronting hierarchical relations

Figuroa, S. (2024, January 16). Davis Books to Prisoners works hard to make a difference in the lives of the incarcerated. The Aggie.

<https://theaggie.org/2024/01/16/davis-books-to-prisoners-works-hard-to-make-a-difference-in-the-lives-of-the-incarcerated/#:~:text=From%202019%20to%202022%2C%20they,Davis%20Books%20for%20Prisoners%2C%20said.>

Flynn, D.E. (2024, January, 09). Should a man convicted of murder help set D.C. sentencing guidelines?. The Washington Post.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/dc-md-va/2024/01/08/should-man-convicted-murder-help-set-dc-sentencing-guidelines/>

Forester, B. (2023, November, 02). 'A national travesty' Prison watchdog urges reform to tackle Indigenous over-incarceration. CBC News.

<https://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/correctional-investigator-indigenous-special-report->

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

<https://www.sentencingproject.org/reports/black-lives-matter-eliminating-racial-inequity-in-the-criminal-justice-system/>

Gilmore R. W. (2007). *Golden gulag : prisons surplus crisis and opposition in globalizing california*. University of California Press

Gilmore, Ruth Wilson, Brenna Bhandar, and Alberto Toscano. *Abolition Geography: Essays Towards Liberation*. New York: Verso Books, 2022. Print.

Gopnik. A. (2016, August 22). Learning from the Slaughter in Attica. *New Yorker*.

<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2016/08/29/learning-from-the-slaughter-in-attica>

Growns B, Kinner SA, Conroy E, Baldry E, Larney S. A Systematic Review of Supported Accommodation Programs for People Released From Custody. *Int J Offender Ther Comp Criminol*. 2018 Jun;62(8):2174-2194. doi: 10.1177/0306624X17714108. Epub 2017 June 21. PMID: 28635353.

Harper A, Ginapp C, Bardelli T, Grimshaw A, Justen M, Mohamedali A, Thomas I, Puglisi L. Debt, Incarceration, and Re-entry: a Scoping Review. *Am J Crim Justice*. 2021;46(2):250-278. doi: 10.1007/s12103-020-09559-9. Epub 2020 Aug 11. PMID: 32837173; PMCID: PMC7417202.

Hathaway, H., Jarab, J., & Melnick, J. (Eds.). (2003). *Race and the modern artist*. Oxford University Press, Incorporated.

Hayward, J. (2020, April 21). A pandemic in prisons forces a rethink of why so many are behind bars. *The Globe and Mail*.

<https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/editorials/article-a-pandemic-in-prisons-forces>

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

-a-rethink-of-why-so-many-are-behind-bars/ *health association's justice program*. CBC News. <https://www.cbc.ca/lite/story/1.6687238>

Hellmann, M. (2016, August, 4). *Meet the Ex-Inmate Whose Successful Prison Rehab Program Goes Beyond Drug Treatment*. Solutions Journalism. <https://www.yesmagazine.org/social-justice/2016/08/04/meet-the-ex-inmate-whose-successful-prison-rehab-program-goes-beyond-drug-treatment>

Heron, Barbara (2005). Self-reflection in critical social work practice: Subjectivity and possibilities of resistance. *Journal of Reflective Practice* 6(3): 341-351.

Hoilette, R. (2020, October 30). We Keep Each Other Safe. *Spring*. <https://springmag.ca/we-keep-each-other-safe>

Hooper, T. (2023, December 11). FIRST READING: Everything is genocide - a cursory guide to Canada's most abused term. National Post. <https://nationalpost.com/opinion/everything-is-genocide-a-cursory-guide-to-canadas-most-abused-term>

Huggins, E. (2016, October 15). not asking for freedom—but free: Ericka Huggins' poems from prison. *Versobooks*. <https://www.versobooks.com/en-ca/blogs/news/2883-not-asking-for-freedom-but-free-ericka-huggins-poems-from-prison>

Jensen, E. (2023, October, 27). Mapping mass incarceration: Scripps alum Mariah Tso discusses community-driven cartography. UWire.

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

Johnstone, Marjorie. (2015). The pervasive presence of the discourse of white civility in early Canadian social work in immigration services, 1900-30. *British Journal of Social Work*.

Advance access published December 8, 2015.

Kaba, M. (2020, June, 12). Yes, We Mean Literally Abolish The Police: Because reform won't happen. *The New York Times*.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/12/opinion/sunday/floyd-abolish-defund-police.html>

Kelland, A. (2022, December, 14). *Former inmate fears for future as mental health association announces end of reintegration program*. CBC News.

<https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/cmha-justice-program-reaction-1.6685246>

Kelland, A. (2022, December, 15). *John Howard Society steps in to take over mental*

Kilgore, J. (2021, January 29). Biden and prison reforms – a soft target? *ALJazeera*.

<https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2021/1/29/biden-and-prison-reforms-a-soft-target>

Killian, A. (2020, August). No Justice, No Peace. *Commonweal*.

<https://www.commonwealmagazine.org/no-justice-no-peace>

Kreuger, L., *Social work research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches* (pp.

Kubrin, C. E., & Tublitz, R. (2022). How to Think about Criminal Justice Reform: Conceptual and Practical Considerations. *American journal of criminal justice : AJCJ*, 47(6),

1050–1070. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12103-022-09712-6>

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

Kushner, R. (2019, April 17). Is Prison Necessary? Ruth Wilson Gilmore Might Change Your Mind. *The New York Times Magazine*.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/17/magazine/prison-abolition-ruth-wilson-gilmore.htm>

Lamble, S. (2008). Retelling racialized violence, remaking white innocence: The politics of interlocking oppressions in transgender day of remembrance. *Sexuality Research & Social Policy*, 5(1), 24–42. <https://doi.org/10.1525/srsp.2008.5.1.24>

Lang, L. (2019, August 27). Prosecutors Need to Take the Lead in Reforming Prisons. *The Atlantic*. <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/08/urgency-prison-reform-and-what-prosecutors-can-do-about-it/596884/>

Latino Justice. (2022, January, 20). Latino Leaders From Around the Country Convene to

Lavoie, J. (2020, May 28). Black activist group hosts #JusticeforRegis march in

Toronto. *Toronto.com*. <https://www.toronto.com/news/black-activist-group-hosts-justicefor-regis-march-in-toronto/article>

Lee, Amos J. et al. “The Value of Teaching Critical Race Theory in Prison Spaces: Centering Students’ Voices in Pedagogy.” *Humanities (Basel)* 9.2 (2020): 41–. Web.

Lorenzini, D., & Tazzioli, M. (2018). Confessional Subjects and Conducts of Non-Truth:

Foucault, Fanon, and the Making of the Subject. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 35(1), 71–90. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276416678291>

Macías, T. (2022). Dwelling in the Ethical Quicksand of Archival Research: Violence and

Macías, T. (2015). Between a rock and a hard place”: Negotiating the neoliberal regulation of

Macías, T. (2015). “On the Footsteps of Foucault”: Doing Foucaultian discourse analysis in social justice research. In S. Strega & L. Brown (Eds.), *Research as Resistance:*

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

Revisiting Critical, Indigenous, and Anti-Oppressive Approaches, Second Edition
(pp.221-242). Toronto: Canadian Scholar Press. Available online:

Marshall, A. (2022, November, 14). Love and Abolition. *Spring*.

<https://fernwoodpublishing.ca/book/abolitionist-intimacies>

Maruna, Shadd. *Making Good : How Ex-Convicts Reform and Rebuild Their Lives*. Washington, D.C: American Psychological Association, 2001. Print.

May, J. (2024, January 11). Why is C.J. Stroud advocating for prison reform?. NFL.

<https://en.as.com/nfl/why-is-cj-stroud-advocating-for-prison-reform-n/>

Maynard, R. (2020). Police Abolition/Black Revolt. *Topia (Montreal)*, 41(1), 70–78.

<https://doi.org/10.3138/topia-009>

Miller, P., Rose, N. (1990). Governing economic life', *Economy and Society*. 19(1), pp. 1-31.

Morrison, A. (2023, March, 2). Rehab on hold: COVIDdevastated prison learning programs. AP News.<https://apnews.com/article/prison-pandemic-shutdowns-rehabilitation-education-programs-d0aab915c2cd130543025f5bffe66672>

Mortimer, M. (2005). Edward Said and Assia Djebar: a contrapuntal reading. *Research in*

National, A. O. S. E. A., Division, O. B. A. S. S., Committee, O. L. A. J., & Committee, O. E. S.

A. P. (2022). *The limits of recidivism : Measuring success after prison*. National Academies Press.

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

- Neigh, S. (2021, September 14). Supporting prisoners, working towards abolition. The Media Co-op. <https://mediacoop.ca/audio/supporting-prisoners-working-towards-abolition/37182>
- Neuman, W.L. & Kreuger, L. (2003). The meanings of methodology. In Neuman, W.L. &
- Nyamekye, D. (2023, February 23). AN ALTERNATIVE TO JAIL. *The Miami Times*.
https://www.miamitimesonline.com/faith_family/program-offers-alternative-to-jail/article_c745e53a-45a7-11e9-9d64-23836f1c028a.html
- Olaniyan, O. (2021, February, 12). Yes, We Mean Literally Abolish the Police. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/12/opinion/sunday/floyd-abolish-defund-police.html>
- Omand, G. (2016, October, 30). *Conjugal prison visits help offenders reintegrate to community, experts say*. CBC News. Conjugal prison visits help offenders reintegrate to community, experts say | CBC News
- Onyski, M. (2023, December, 6). TLC hosts the first letter writing event for incarcerated artists. UWire. <https://www.tuftsdaily.com/article/2023/12/tlc-hosts-first-letter-writing-event-for-incarcerated-artists>
- Pahlke, A. (2024, January, 01). Female inmates collaborate to envision alternatives to prison in documentary film. *CBC News*.
<https://www.cbc.ca/documentarychannel/features/female-inmates-collaborate-to-envision-alternatives-to-prison-in-documentar>
- Paley, D. (2014). *Drug war capitalism*. AK Press.

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

Park, C. (2015, January, 12). Speaker Marc Lamont Hill called for an end to the U.S. prison system. *The Daily Pennsylvanian*.

<https://www.thedp.com/article/2015/12/marc-lamont-hill-social-justice-lecture-series>

Phelps, J. (2018, April 08). Inside Jared Kushner's personal crusade to reform America's prisons. *ABC News*.

<https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/inside-jared-kushners-personal-crusade-reform-americas-prisons/story?id=53901143#:~:text=Amid%20the%20daily%20turmoil%20and,reducing%20the%20chances%20ex%2Dconvicts>

Phillips, L. (2023, December, 14). *Halifax team brings university learning to people behind bars*. *The Canadian Press*.

<https://www.thecoast.ca/news-opinion/halifax-team-brings-university-learning-to-people-behind-bars-32005365>

Publishing. Chapter 2.

Quinn · Paul · Dietze · Lorena Romero · Anna L. Wilkinson · Mark Stoové

Rafei, L. (2021, March, 10). Meet the Activists Fighting to Free People from LA Jails. *ACLU*.

<https://www.aclu.org/news/criminal-law-reform/meet-the-activists-fighting-to-free-people-from-la-jails>

Rappaport, S. (2016, November 17). Restorative justice and civil rights leader Fania Davis to give Baskin Ethics Lecture. *UC Santa Cruz*.

<https://news.ucsc.edu/2016/11/ethics-lecture-faniae.html>

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

Reform Alliance. (2021, September 08). Judith's Story. *Reform*.

<https://reformalliance.com/blog/judiths-story/>

Reggie, F. (2019, April 9). Jail Should Not be the Only Option to Youth Violence. ProQuest.

<https://jacksonvillefreepress.com/jail-should-not-be-the-only-option-to-youth-violence/>

Reinhart, E. (2022, May, 31). Prison Reform Is Undermining Public Health and Safety. *Time*.

<https://time.com/6182251/prison-reform-health-safety/> Representation in the Telling of Terror Stories. In Macías, T. (Ed.). *Unravelling Research:*

Rice, Darryl B. et al. "Examining the Relationship Between Law Enforcement Agency Support of Anti-Black Racism and Black People's Evaluations of Policing Style: The Moderating Impact of Sex." *Current psychology (New Brunswick, N.J.)* (2023): n. pag. Web.

Roberts, D. (2022, December, 07). N.L.'s adult offender rehab process ineffective, inadequate and outdated, says auditor general. CBC News.

<https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/ag-report-adult-corrections-1.6677037>

Robinson, William I., and Oscar Fabian Soto. "Passive Revolution and the Movement Against Mass Incarceration: From Prison Abolition to Redemption Script." *Social justice (San Francisco, Calif.)* 46.4 (158) (2019): 121–130. Print.

Rusimovici, S. (2024, January, 08). Healing lodges have strayed from their decolonial intent. Peak Web.

<https://the-peak.ca/2024/01/healing-lodges-have-strayed-from-their-decolonial-intent/>

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

Ryan, W. (2018, October 1). Black youth disproportionately tried in adult court, study finds.

Louisiana Weekly.

<http://www.louisianaweekly.com/black-youth-disproportionately-tried-in-adult-court-study-finds/>

Saldaña, J. (2009). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers* (1st edition). London: SAGE.

Sammon, A. (2020, July 30). How Kamala Harris Fought to Keep Nonviolent Prisoners Locked Up. *The American Prospect.*

<https://prospect.org/justice/how-kamala-harris-fought-to-keep-nonviolent-prisoners-locked-up/#:~:text=Harris's%20office%20launched%20into%20a,the%20June%202013%20ruling%20stated.>

Sargiacomo, Massimo. “Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*: Allen Lane, London, 1977, Trans. by Alan Sheridan.” *Journal of management and governance* 13.3 (2009): 269–280. Web. section “Manual and CAQDAS Coding”]. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/york/detail.action?docID=585421>

Staugustine.com. (2015, March 12). Artist turned prison reform activist to speak Friday.

<https://www.staugustine.com/story/lifestyle/faith/2015/03/13/artist-turned-prison-reform-activist-speak-friday/16246721007/>

Shakur, Assata, author. (2001). *Assata : an autobiography.*

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

Shantz, J. (2018, November, 19). CBC News. *Toronto anti-carding activist stopped by police in Vancouver*<https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/toronto-anti-carding-activist-stopped-by-police-in-vancouver-1.4906210>

Shelby, T. (2022). *The Idea of Prison Abolition*. Princeton University Press.

Shockley, J. (2023, June, 22). *Why Prisons Fail to Rehabilitate People*. Prison Journalism Project.<https://prisonjournalismproject.org/2023/06/22/why-prisons-fail-to-rehabilitate-people/social-work-practice-and-education>. *Alternative Routes*, 26, 251-276.

Spirit Live. (2022, April, 5). A Conversation With Toronto Prisoners' Rights Project. Spirit Live. <https://spiritlive.ca/2022/04/05/a-conversation-with-toronto-prisoners-rights-project/>

Stand Together Trust. (2018, June 22). Why Prison Reform Matters in America. Stand Together Trust. <https://standtogethertrust.org/stories/why-prison-reform-matters-in-america/>

Starks, H., & Trinidad, S. B. (2007). Choose your method: a comparison of phenomenology, Strategize and Mobilize for Criminal Justice Reform. *Latino Justice*. <https://www.latinojustice.org/en/news/latino-leaders-around-country-convene-strategize-and-mobilize-criminal-justice-reform>

Sudbury, Julia. *Global Lockdown : Race, Gender, and the Prison-Industrial Complex*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2013. Web.

Swavola, E. Riley, K. & Subramanian, R. (2016, August). Vera. <https://www.vera.org/publications/overlooked-women-and-jails-report>

Szeto, W. (2022, July, 17). New theatre program in Prince George helps inmates find their voice and communicate better. CBC News.

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

<https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/theatre-in-the-pen-prince-george-1.6521399>

The National Council for Incarcerated and Formerly Incarcerated Women and Girls (2023, December 10). Empowering the Season of Giving: Annual Holiday Canteen Drive Brings Aid to Incarcerated Women. PR Newswire.

<https://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/empowering-the-season-of-giving-annual-holiday-canteen-drive-brings-aid-to-incarcerated-women-302010795.html> 1372-1380. doi: 10.1177/1049732307307031 70-96). Boston: Allyn and Bacon. across the prairies. The Carillon.

<https://carillonregina.com/free-lands-free-peoples-and-the-push-for-abolition-across-the-prairies/> African Literatures, 53-67

Tamlin, I. (2020, September, 04). Free Lands Free Peoples and the push for abolition

Taylor, D. (2019, October, 29). *Prisoner rehabilitation does not work, says former prisons boss*. The Guardian.

<https://www.theguardian.com/society/2019/oct/29/prisoner-rehabilitation-does-not-work-says-former-prisons-boss#:~:text=%E2%80%9CDecent%20prisons%20in%20which%20prisoners,%3A%20%E2%80%9CStop%20fretting%20about%20rehabilitation.>

The Effectiveness of incarceration -Based drug treatment Criminal Behavior Ojmarrh Mitchell, David B. Wilson , Doris L. MacKenzie

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

The Economist. (2022, March 19). America's prison system is becoming more inhumane. The Economist.<https://www.economist.com/united-states/2022/03/19/americas-prison-system-is-becoming-more-inhumane>

The Ethics & Politics of Knowledge Production in the Social Sciences. Fernwood the United States. *Mount St. Joseph University*.

<https://www.msj.edu/news/2022/10/curious-case-prison-reform-in-united-states.html>

themselves — and their children. CBC News. Black former inmates turn to new program to help themselves — and their children | CBC News

TRC Staff. (2022, August, 15). *Do Prison Rehabilitation Programs Really Work?*. The Crime Report.

<https://thecrimereport.org/2022/08/15/do-prison-rehabilitation-programs-really-work/>

Trounstine, J. (2016, October, 29) *Beyond Revenge: Most Crime Victims Prefer Rehabilitation to Harsh Punishment*. Truthout. Beyond Revenge: Most Crime Victims Prefer Rehabilitation to Harsh Punishment | Truthout.

Turner, L. (2023, January, 04). Life doesn't have to end behind bars, says ex-inmate, among those urging more addictions to help in Ontario jails. CBC News.

<https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/thunder-bay/addictions-treatment-ontario-corrections-1.6702215>

Useem, B., & Morrison, P. A. (2008). *Prison state : The challenge of mass incarceration*. Cambridge University Press.

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

Vollmer, D. (2019, March, 22). *Documentary Asks Audience To Consider: Is Rehabilitation A Right?. Illinois Public Media*. Documentary Asks Audience To Consider: Is

Rehabilitation A Right? | News Local/State | Illinois Public Media

Wanni, S. (2024, January, 25). *An Intimacy of Voice: A Conversation with El Jones on Abolitionist Intimacies*. Herizons.<https://herizons.ca/archives/cover/an-intimacy-of-voice>

Warde, B. (2023). *Colorblind : Indigenous and black disproportionality across criminal justice systems*. Springer International Publishing AG.

Wark, B. (2018, November, 14). *Toronto anti-carding activist stopped by police in Vancouver*.

CBC News.

<https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/toronto-anti-carding-activist-stopped-by-police-in-vancouver-1.4906210>

Whelan, C. (2020, June, 29). The Importance Of Prison Rehabilitation Programs Before And After Release.

<https://www.iwf.org/2020/06/29/the-importance-of-prison-rehabilitation-programs-before-and-after-release/>

Wilt, J, (2020, June, 17). Fighting for prison abolition across the Prairies: an interview with Free Lands Free Peoples organizer Karrie Auger. Canadian Dimension.

<https://canadiandimension.com/articles/view/fighting-for-prison-abolition-across-the-prairies-an-interview-with-free-lands-free-peoples-organizer-karrie-auger>

Wright, N., Jordan, M., & Lazzarino, R. (2021). Interventions to support the mental health of survivors of modern slavery and human trafficking: A systematic review. *The*

Futures of Freedom: Activists Imaginations on Rehabilitation & Reintegration

International journal of social psychiatry, 67(8), 1026–1034

<https://doi.org/10.1177/00207640211039245>

Zaghlol, Z. (2018). Analyzing News Media Discourses on Israel's arrest and detention of Palestinian children through Foucauldian Discourse Analysis and Said's Contrapuntal Reading. 1-17

Zhang, J. (2023, October, 24). Prison as censorship: Exhibition curated by Mariame Kaba serves as an abolitionist call to action. PRISM.

<https://prismreports.org/2023/10/24/prison-as-censorship-abolitionist-call-to-action/>



Certificate of Completion

This document certifies that

Cristal Hines

*successfully completed the Course on Research Ethics based on
the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research
Involving Humans (TCPS 2: CORE 2022)*

Certificate # 0001249662

30 November, 2023