

**The Ghetto-to-Prison Pipeline: Racialization, 'Reactionary Psychoses', and State-Sanctioned Violence**

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## Introduction

The ghetto-to-prison pipeline echoes Nirmala Erevelles' conception of 'institutional arrangements' whereby marked bodies are removed "from public generative spaces, such as schools, to restrictive spaces of isolation, violence, and shame, such as prisons." (20: 81) In essence, these processes of qualifying, measuring, appraising, and hierarchizing of people (Foucault, 1980: 144) perpetuate contemporary manifestations of colonialism. In this paper, the school will be replaced with the ghetto wherein regularized police patrols mirror territorial occupation, hyper-surveillance legitimizes notions of civility and inferiority, and through these modalities, generational grief and trauma are annulled by pathologized notions of criminality, whereby the people of the ghetto are held accountable for their own communal vulnerabilities. Ultimately, incarceration is best understood as racially targeted by way of hyper policing the ghetto, and the ghetto, an engineered confine for racialized people. Through an "explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugations of bodies and the control of populations" (Foucault, 1980: 140), the ghetto becomes an open air prison- one designated for the Indigenous and ethnoracial sects. In Canada, Indigenous people account for 27% of the federally incarcerated and 28% of the provincial/territorial inmate population, while making up only 4.1% of the adult Canadian population. (Malakieh, 2018: Table 5) Their representation has increased by 50% between 2005 and 2015, and continues to rise. (Sapers, 2015) According to a case study on inmate diversity, the Government of Canada accounted a 40% increase in the last five years of incarcerated visible minorities. (Canada, 2014) Most shocking is the 70% increase of Black inmates in the past ten years,

reported by Howard Sapers (Correctional Investigator of Canada 2004-2016); officially, the fastest growing inmate population, Canada clearly has a Black incarceration problem. (McIntyre, 2016)

Anthony Morgan, Toronto-based lawyer and African-Canadian rights advocate, explains the overt relationship between this disproportionate representation, and police practice/state surveillance. He states,

It's disheartening, but not surprising given the heightened level of over policing that happens with respect to Black and racialized societies...exorbitant amounts of resources we put into policing [Black and racialized] communities...If you look at it in the full scope of those things, it's not surprising we have so many African-Canadians in jail. It's an inevitable outcome when you have social neglect as systematic as it relates to the Black community. (McIntyre, 2016)

Furthermore, Meng reports in his article, *Profiling Minorities: Police Stop and Search Practices in Toronto*, that "about 80% of black youth between the ages of 15 and 24 have been stopped by police for purposes of 'general investigation' during the year of 2008 and 2013". (Meng, 2017: 6) Of course, the representation of this age group in corrections is relative. The Office of the Correctional Investigator published a case study highlighting the black inmate experience in federal penitentiaries, wherein they found,

The Black inmate population is a young one. One-half of Black inmates are 30 years of age or younger while only 8% are over the age of 50. By comparison, only 31% of the general inmate population is 30 years of age and under. One in five are 50 years of age and over. (Canada, 2014)

In all, racial bias, coupled with geographic location, determines police intervention. Interestingly, in Canada, there is a complete ban on the collection and release of race-crime data. (Meng, 2017: 6) To many researchers and advocates alike, this privatization of knowledge restricts emancipatory potential and essentially, alleviates state actors of accountability for racist practice. As such, the disproportionate incarceration of racialized males does not translate as them being ‘more criminal’ in comparison to the rest of the population; rather, it suggests that hyper-policing of racialized youth has left them more susceptible to it. For example, Cynthia Nixon (2018 candidate for Governor of New York, Democratic Party) addresses racialized criminality in her plea for legalizing marijuana. She states,

the legalization of marijuana is a racial justice issue, because people across all ethnic and racial lines use marijuana at roughly the same rates, but the arrests for marijuana are 80% black and Latino...It has been legal for white people for a long time, and we need to legalize it for everyone else. (CBC, 2018)

In all, the concentration of Indigenous/racialized people in ‘the ghettos’ is a colonial strategy exercised through differential allocation of resources and social neglect. This purposeful situation then allows for targeted surveillance and hyper policing whereby the youth in particular, are funneled into the prison system. It is in the name of public safety that the state has posited incarceration a response to ‘criminality’ even though, Sapers exclaims, “there is no evidence crime rates respond to incarceration rates.” (Sapers, 2017: 99). Canada’s federal enterprise continues to expand with operating expenditures for adult correctional services totaling over \$4.7 billion annually.

(Malakieh, 2018) What, then is the intent of the carceral if it does not fulfill its purpose, and instead set the public in deficit? In response, Ware et al. explain that the prison industrial complex<sup>1</sup> cannot be fixed because it is simply not broken. In other words, the prison's current function is purposeful.

With the introduction of new crime legislation, Canada is moving toward mass incarceration, which will only exacerbate colonialism, racism, and disabilities within the prison industrial complex...these systems are not broken, they function as extensions of racist and genocidal politics and practices that seek to criminalize and imprison Indigenous and racialized people, and people with disabilities. (Ware et al., 2014: 164)

### **Research Method**

Through an anti-colonial framework<sup>2</sup>, I recognize that the struggle to emancipate ourselves from societal alienation is difficult when access to resources and institutional powers are limited. American legal scholar Martha Fineman explains,

We are positioned differently within a web of economic and institutional relationships, our vulnerabilities range in magnitude and potential according to

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<sup>1</sup> The Prison Industrial Complex includes “policing (and targeted policing of particular communities), the legal/(in)justice system, carceral spaces, probation periods, release conditions, and other ways that confinement and imprisonment extend into our daily lives before arrest and after release from detention.” (Dias et al., 2014: 178)

<sup>2</sup> An anti-colonial framework employs post-colonial analysis whereby power relations established through the colonial processes are dismantled in understanding the impact and nature of modern global cultures and politics. Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., and Tiffin, H. in their book *Post-Colonial Studies*, state, “Political questions usually approached from the stand-points of nation-state relations, race, class, economics and gender are made clearer when we consider them in the context of their relations with the colonialist past. This is because the structures of power established by the colonizing process remain pervasive, though often hidden in cultural relations throughout the world.” (2000: 1) This position had been taken by many academics in the Canadian context before people were willing to recognize Canada as a settler colony.

the quality and quantity of resources we possess or can command. (Fineman, 2008: 10)

Mainstream discourse struggles to account the ancestral legacies of Indigenous and racialized people, instead rooting their distress in the mind and/or body “rather than the product of social structures, relations, and problems.” (LeBlanc & Kinsella, 2016: 60). I refer to Indigenous, Black/racialized, and Muslim youth distinctly, as they ‘represent’ the ‘dangerousness’ of the ghetto, and continue to be inordinately funneled through the engineered pipeline. This phenomenon, I explain later, is both national and transnational. Fanon explains the colonial project as one that requires different levels of application. He states, “Leave this Europe where they are never done talking of Man, yet murder men everywhere they find them, at the corner of every one of their own streets, in all the corners of the globe.” (2005/1961: 9) As such, I address the Iraqi detainees in Abu Ghraib prison and the experience of refugees. Take for the example, the Palestinian family, having fled Israel’s genocidal regime only to be placed in Toronto’s ghetto. When officers raid their home (break down their door, guns in hand) how then, does this invasion replicate Israel’s night raids? In other words, how does North America’s ghetto serve as an extension of Western colonial violence abroad?

Beyond positing the racialized subject as fugitive within the White state, I explore the culture of the ghetto in situating our experiences; our perceived passivity continues to mask the existing collective resistance. In particular, how rap perpetuates this resistance. Black, Indigenous, and other ethnic groups have used poetry and music, historically, as a political tool. From Malcolm X, Martin Luther King and Nikki Giovanni to Gil Scott

Heron and the Last Poets, civil rights and social movements have been claimed and mobilized through speech and art. (Lusane, 2004: 351) The politicization of ‘self’<sup>3</sup> and community through voice transcends a common message generationally. As an aesthetic, rap not only “helped to forge a sense of identity and pride within the local community” (Hebdige, 2004: 223), but allows listeners from the ‘outside’ to gain an authentic perspective. The state however, has forever sought to silence the voice of the subaltern. In the rap scene, there has been a significant trend in the downfall of popular artists once they have begun to criticize state practice and propagate reform or transformation. For example, 21 Savage had spoke out against the US’s systemic detention of Mexican refugees at one of his shows, and two days later, was arrested by ICE. The 26-year-old rapper’s VISA had expired 13 years ago, and he was only arrested once he publicly condemned the state- one he has been paying taxes to. He explains in an interview with ABC’s Linsey Davis following the incident, “I was just driving. And I just seen guns and blue lights. And, then, I was in the back of a car. And I was gone.” He knew it was “definitely targeted” when the officers started to scream “We got Savage”. (Cook-Wilson, 2019) Similarly, Lil Berete was threatened. In his case, he was issued a ‘cease-and-desist’ letter from the Toronto Community Housing Corporation, demanding he stop his recording on TCHC property, or risk the eviction of his mother and two sisters. Berete

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<sup>3</sup>Kristina Musholt, in her book, *Thinking About Oneself: From Nonconceptual Content to the Concept of Self* explains in Chapter 6, *Self and Others, or The Emergence of Self-Consciousness*, the interplay of social constructionism and symbolic interactionism is creating the concept of ‘self’. Musholt presents a model “according to which implicitly self-related information is turned into explicit self-representation via a process of an increasingly complex differentiation between self and other.” (2015: 123) In other words, situating the ‘self’ is a conscious effort, through which one is able to distinguish themselves from others and in doing so, isolate their experience.



states in his interview, “I was kind of scared...I don’t know why they threatened my mom. It has nothing to do with her. You guys can kick me out, but why kick her out? She’s got two other kids to take care of.” (Wilson, 2019) This situation is exemplar of the disposability of people in the ghetto. It is through institutional formalities that they are essentially coerced into submissive silence.

Using my lived experience, and knowledge acquired through contemporary rap, I seek to produce knowledge about the ghetto and racialized youth that challenge current conceptions and stereotypes. In other words, the authentic (i.e. local) voice needs to be channeled to the larger public.

I have witnessed the regularized night raids and police searches during the day.

I notice the tainted news coverage of homicide victims from our communities.

I have seen children grow into addicts,

Patted down with their bodies pushed up against patrol cars,

Families grieving over gun-inflicted homicides,

The educational system failing our body of students,

My peers going in and out of jail.

In all, I can sympathize with racialized male youth who have, and continue to, fall victim to the state. Still, I recognize that as a racialized female who has not been incarcerated, or debilitated by the prison industrial complex, I am not an exclusive ‘insider’. The duality of my citizenship however, does not strip my potential for dependable connectivity.

Through rap, I have learned that hypersurveillance, targeted policing, the judicial system, incarceration, homicide, poverty, absent fathers, distressed mothers, and

ownership of territory present as pressing stressors. These feelings of marginalization and state-sanctioned duress purport a rebellion, relocation (i.e. moving out of the ghetto), or both. In understanding the ghetto-to-pipeline in Toronto, I turn to the work of Lil Berete<sup>4</sup> and Biig Rax<sup>5</sup>, with attention to the traditional rap scene in order to present the personal as political in a way that recognizes each individual voice as part of the collective. (Barbour & Kitzinger, 1999: 17; Guarte & Barrios, 2006: 278-279)

### **The Ghetto: An Engineered Confine**

First, in investigating how the ghetto is, in reality, an engineered confine, we must explore its genealogy. In North America, ‘ghetto’ is read synonymous with ‘hood’, ‘project’, and ‘streets’. The origin of the word can be traced as far back as the sixteenth century, with the emerging segregation of Jews in Europe<sup>6</sup>. The actual segregation of

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<sup>4</sup> Lil Berete is Yaya Berete’s rap name. Yaya was raised by a single mother in Regent Park. His mother, a Guinean artist who performed Jeli (a West African praise music) raised Yaya and two daughters. Unable to manage his behaviours at the time, she sent Yaya to live in Guinea’s capital, Conakry, with his aunt between the ages of eight and twelve. Yaya states that is when he lived in the ‘real slums’. His loyalty upon his return to Regent Park is most apparent through his music; most videos filmed in the very projects he claims his home. Yaya, now signed to internationally renowned labels, tours the world with a growing fan base. His videos receiving over a million views. (Darville, 2018)

<sup>5</sup> BiigRax, or STK Rax is Ridge Kazumba’s rap name. Like Lil Berete, Big Rax represents Regent Park through his art; he too is a Black youth who has been raised in the projects, with roots in Africa.

<sup>6</sup> In his book, ‘The Ghetto’ (1928/1956), Louis Wirth cited the Jewish Encyclopedia in attempting to trace the genealogy of the word ‘ghetto’. It states, “‘Ghetto’ is probably of Italian origin, although no Italian dictionary gives any clue to its etymology. In documents dating back to 1090 the streets in Venice and Salerno assigned to the Jews were called Judaca or Judacaria. At Capua there was a place called “San NicoloadJudaicam,” according to documents of the year 1375; and as late as the eighteenth century another place was called “San Martino ad Judaicam”. Hence it is assumed that Judaicam became the Italian Giudeica, and was then corrupted into “Ghetto”. Other scholars derive the word from gietto, the cannon foundry at Venice, near which the first Jews’ quarter was situated. Both of these opinions are open to the objection that the word is pronounced “ghetto,” and not “getto” (djetto); and it seems probably that, even if either of the

people based on race/ethnicity, class, and/or other social status‘however, far exceeds the coming of this term (i.e. the ghetto). The division of the urban space into sects has been fundamental in the preservation of White power/privilege, and it is ultimately the differential allocation of resources that achieves each sect’s social and territorial designation. Louis Wirth, in his book *The Ghetto* explains, that in modern times, the ‘ghetto’ represents the poorest and most backward group of people. Furthermore, that “in our American cities the ghetto refers particularly to the areas of the first settlement, i.e., those sections of the cities where the immigrant finds his home shortly after his arrival in America.” (1928: 4) This settlement of the immigrant/refugee, is not an exclusively transnational phenomenon. For the Black peoples who fled North in pursuit of paid labor, and the Indigenous peoples who have moved from reserves to urban centers for access to healthcare and clean water, they remain fugitive ‘within’ the nation. Their adversities have driven them from their homes, to spaces with better chances for survival, only to be expropriated differently by state-sanctioned ‘refuge’.

In the North American context, the colonial encounter required of the colonists, to concentrate the natives in one area, impose a punitive judiciary system stripping them of communal and land rights; thus, repressing the potential for a rebellion. The Jews on the other hand, negotiated trade and economic prospects through judiciary systems design in

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two words suggested had become corrupted in the vernacular, at least its first letter, the sound of which is the dominating one in the word, would have retained its original pronunciation. A few scholars, therefore, derive the word “ghetto” from the Talmudic get, which is similar in sound, and suppose the term to have been used first by the Jews, and then generally. It seems improbable, however, that a word originating with a small despised minority of the people should have generally adopted and even introduced into literature” (JewishEncyclopaedia, V (1903 ex.), 652).

collaboration with their Christian neighbors. In doing so, they were able to establish local autonomy, and reserve a space (i.e. the ghetto) that offered to its people liberation of 'self'. (Wirth, 1928: 21-27) With the rise of religious conversion (i.e. from Christianity to Judaism), the Christians became fearful of Jewish presence and began to constrain their mobility and influence by designating them to their sects exclusively. (Wirth, 1928: 29-34) This is when the voluntary ghetto began to transpire into a constructed confine. The concentration of minority populations, Wirth explains, has been a survivalist measure. In order to preserve heritage and religiosity, the 'self' must be fostered through communal environments. (Wirth, 1928: 18) He states, "The Jews drift into the ghetto, as has already been pointed out, for the same reasons that the Italians live in Little Sicily, the Negroes in the black belt, and the Chinese in Chinatowns...Each seeks his own habitat much like the plants and animals in the world of nature; each has its own kind of food, of family life, and of amusement." (1928: 283-84)<sup>7</sup>Toronto, rated one of the most diverse cities in the world, is home to 120 official neighbourhoods, but unofficially, closer to 240. In fact, "Toronto is often called the City of Neighbourhoods...Each of these 'pockets', either symbolically or literally, represent a unique history, culture, or class of residents, and those distinctions are reflected in the amenities, food, architecture and infrastructure found there." (Urbaner, 2017) Unlike other neighbourhoods, the 'ghetto' is without autonomy. It is instead a purposeful disposition for oppressed populations whose capacity to grow is strategically limited- it has become a racist and genocidal situation. For what it means to

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<sup>7</sup>Notably, when 'each seeks his own habitat', Wirth discounts diversity. Although the segregation of people can be purposeful, complexity is ever present. For example, where is the habitat for the mixed race person? Like the listed neighbourhoods (inclusive of the ghetto), there is no homogeneity. Diversity exists, and makes the politics of the 'ethnoracial prison' more complex.

be ‘ghetto’ in our society has become conflated with what it means to be ‘less than’, undesirable, backward, burdensome, and criminal.

Wirth cites the Frankfort in Main, Germany in the late twelfth century as “the most famous ghetto in history”. (1928: 41) In 1349, their protection under the Emperor was disrupted when the surrounding peoples had accused the Jews of poisoning the wells and causing the Black Death<sup>8</sup> (i.e. plague), to which their sect allegedly suffered fewest casualties. They had set fire to the Jewish ghetto, killing most or all of the community. It was in 1360 that they were finally reinstated by city council and allowed to settle in a quarter shared with some Christians. (1928: 41) In all, the ‘ghetto’ is both territorial and ideological. The subject’s worth is generated by way of their geographic location, and in turn, their geographic location determined by way of their identity. Wirth explains that a humanist approach to the supposed ‘externals’ of society, require state power and the dominant ‘internals’ to interact and initiate personal contact with the former. When their settlement and interaction become organized by rules and laws, the authoritative reign has been established, solidifying an already-existent power imbalance. (1928: 282) From liberation to subjugation, the ‘ghetto’s’ contemporary manifestation, requires the subject’s subordination to both state and the general populous to which they allegedly owe their granted refuge. It is now only through emancipation *from* the ‘ghetto’, that a racialized/immigrant/disabled/mad citizen is safeguarded from the direct, geographic-specific adversities of this territorial confine. Fineman explains that the vulnerable positionality of its tenants produces a generational disadvantage in the accumulation of

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<sup>8</sup> See isidor Krakauer, *Geschichte der Juden in Frankfurt*. Philipson, op. Cit., chap. Iv.

capital. As such, the ghetto produced for the Jews social isolation- a demise that continues to inflict its contemporary dwellers however, coupled with economic disparity. In this way, the ghetto has transformed from a place a refuge, to an institutionalized ruin for refugees.

Their geographic restriction becomes encrypted in a web of institutional relationships. Biig Rax, in his video *Posted*, speaks to the endlessness of problems, transitioning between three scenes- the water front, a graveyard, and the demolition site at Regent Park. In front of the fence, he zooms into two signs, one reads ‘Danger Due to Capitalism’, and the other ‘Danger Due to Social Decline’. (Biig Rax, 2019) These signs, meant to read ‘Danger Due to Construction’, have been replaced by the residents of the space, to purport its reality. To this effect, Loic Wacquant, in his book, *Punishing the Poor: The Neoliberal Government of Social Insecurity*, refers to the ghetto as an “ethnoracial prison”, echoing Puar’s (2015) reference to the open-air prison, whereby “it engages a dishonored category and severely curtails the life chances of its members in support of the monopolization of ideal and material goods or opportunities by the dominant status group dwelling on its outskirts.” (2009: 205) The ghetto mirrors the more exaggerated prison in structure, operation, and ideology. In all, Wacquant accounts the sociocultural basis for economic prosperity- or in the case of the ghetto, the lackthereof. (Million, 2013:115) This phenomena dates back to the racist division of labour during the wake of colonialism. (Quijano, 2000: 536). As such, positional vulnerability fosters the colonial mission of “social elimination” (Chapman, 2014: 33) whereby- much like Wacquant’s reference to the allocation of economic capital- White power is preserved.

That is, racial politics has manifested into neoliberal functionalism whereby individual productivity (i.e. opportunity) is shaped according to social status. The order of institutions incrementally deters succession of certain groups. David Wilson in his book *Cities and Race: America's New Black Ghetto*, explains,

deepened neoliberal physical and social restructuring in these cities has created a startlingly new black ghetto entity...These residents, in expedient processes, are both materially battered and symbolized – understood around a new debilitating theme of hopelessly pathological and destructively “consumptive.” Black ghettos, once again but in a new way, are built into the ground, embedded in social relations, and plugged into circuitries of economy and politics. (2007: 1)

Furthermore, like Wirth, Wilson addresses a capitalist operation: the post-industrial urban ghetto produces an exploitable class of peoples whose labour can be made precarious for the capital accumulation of the state and elite as it relates to economic domination. In other words, the ghetto becomes necessary, for without its existence, the elite cannot maintain their privilege. (Wilson, 2007: 19-48) In all, the material of the ghetto is political.

Within this welfare state, the tenants are rendered mere recipients and beneficiaries; their passivity is existent by way of their charitable status. The state and elite become responsible for these burdensome people who do not fit the nationalist ideals of the dominant status group. To them, they have forever been inferior in existence, yet their prospective strength remains threatening. For the colonized subject, however, there simply exists strives for survival. Lil Berete states, “Get our money...

I just wanna take my momma out em projects”. (Lil Berete, 2018) Nevertheless, the welfare state has transpired into a punitive state whose recipients cannot refute without sacrificing (economic) survival. Through neoliberal governmentality, poverty is reproduced as a product of individual failing (Wacquant, 2009: 42) and as such, the ghettooccupant is attributed to the undeserving poor<sup>9</sup>. It is this exact governmentality that also discounts Indigenous land acknowledgement and the benefits claimed through settlement; they object reparations demanded by Black communities whose families have been afflicted by the slave trade; and they continue to purchase from corporations and invest in warfare, endorsing imperialist regimes responsible for the production and dissent of refugees and immigrants. In all, the people of the ghetto experience an injustice unlike other purposefully segregated neighbourhoods. Lil Berete recognizes this arrangement; in his song *Southside*, he states, “never ate like all night, from the bottom ya I gotta get it, for my family ya I gotta win it”. (Lil Berete<sup>2</sup>, 2018) In the existent hierarchy of class and privilege, he ranks his family at the very bottom. Tommie Shelby explains in his book, *Dark Ghettos: Injustice, Dissent, and Reform*,

The idea of society as a fair system of cooperation is a moral notion to be used in the evaluation of institutional arrangements...constituted by the legitimate claims

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<sup>9</sup> The culture of poverty in North America continues to be shaped by the socio-political climate of the time. At one point ‘lazy drunk men’ dominated the category of undeserving poor, then unmarried racialized woman, followed by Mexican immigrants, etc. Discourse has endorsed each profile, and instill it in the collective conscious. This mechanistic approach has served effective in measuring the morality of the recipient, determined primarily by the ‘source’ of their dependence. (Katz, 2013: 1-2) In this sense, severely disabled people have been rendered ‘deserving’ because of their inability to produce labour. It is however, harder for the general population to understand the unemployability of, for example, a Black youth facing discrimination. As such, like Wacquant, Katz exposes the pathologization of poverty.



and responsibilities individuals have within a fair overall social arrangement. Thought about in this way, justice is a matter of reciprocity between persons who regard each other as equals. Taking this approach to questions of social justice is particularly apt when considering criticisms often made against the ghetto poor. It provides a framework for settling whether the urban poor are doing their fair share in upholding the system of cooperation and whether they are receiving the fair share due them as equal participants in this system. (Shelby, 2016: 20)

Ultimately, to be disadvantaged, and then blamed for it, is an injustice. When a youth is incarcerated for engaging in ‘criminal activity’ in order to generate income and ‘free’ oneself from poverty, they are further debilitated.

In essence, the ‘war on drugs’ and associated ‘gang violence’ are products of a capitalist state. Survival requires sufficient income, and processes of racialization have dispelled youth of colour from opportunities in the job market. Males, especially, feel this burden to provide for their families and in effect, may turn to the streets for sustenance. In due process, they are either incarcerated, or reach a fatal end. In each form, their absence vulnerabalizes their communities. Ultimately, how can we can condemn the violence of the ghetto, yet endorse state violence? What to do when your neighbourhood’s school fails you? What to do when the food bank produces diabetics in the family? What to do when a criminal record does not allow for meaningful employment?

The gentrification of Regent Park is exemplar of alienating tenants within their own confine. Through this process, they become displaced not by geographic location, but by the social order that has transpired. Regent Park<sup>10</sup>, the oldest social housing project in Canada, is being ‘revitalized’, located minutes away from City Hall, the CN Tower, Yonge-Dundas Square, and Toronto’s business district. In the 1840s this area was referred to as cabbage town and primarily inhabited by Irish immigrants. The land was known for its growth of the vegetable. Cabbage Town now refers to the area north of Regent Park- a much wealthier neighbourhood. It was in the 1948 that reconstruction of the area into social housing commenced. The design was to designate this radius for residential occupation exclusively. Retail and recreation were excluded from plans and interceding roads were eliminated; the project was designed so that all housing faced inward, inclusive of communal areas of greenery. As such, they were not integrated into the larger city, nor did the larger city have reason to interact with a residential area. It was not until the 1970s that immigrants from Southeast Asia, China, and the Caribbean settled, previously barred through racist immigration policies. (Loney, 2012) Dubbed “one of Toronto’s most notorious neighbourhoods”, Regent Park served as an obstacle in expanding the downtown core. This area, now occupied with over 10,000 residents (Toronto, 2017), was “one of the poorest neighbourhoods in Canada, with nearly 70 per cent of residents living below StatsCan’s low-income cut-off rate. In fact, as of 2005, fewer than 150 households made over \$30,000 a year.” (Urbaneer, 2017) It was in the late

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<sup>10</sup> Regent Park is located in central Toronto, bordered by Parliament Street to the west, Gerrard St. to the north, Shuter Street to the south and River Street to the east.

1990's that the "Riot of Regent Park" became representative of escalated levels of 'gang' violence and in turn, the ghetto symbolic of deviant (racialized) youth. In sum, Wilson states,

Today, in the shadows of gleaming downtown skyscrapers and showy gentrified neighborhoods...These ghettos, frequently found within five to ten minutes' drive of investment-energized downtowns, might as well be in another universe. Leaders and residents struggle to acquire the resources to upgrade their communities, but face a formidable obstacle: the accelerated push to make and protect downtown revitalized landscapes of consumption, pleasure, and affluent residency. (2007: 1)

Therefore, through gentrification, the adversities of the 'ghetto' are not addressed, but masked. In Regent's Park case, they mixed public and private sector housing in order to draw a middle class to the core, balancing Toronto's 'downtown' representation.

### **Hyper Surveillance and Policing**

In order to expand the investment-energized downtown, not only does the class dynamic need to be modified, but the pathologized poor need to be remedied. Hyper surveillance and policing seek to regiment the behaviour of deviant bodies, resulting in either total submission, or incarceration (i.e. physical elimination). Mathieu Deflem, in his book *Surveillance and Governance*, states, "surveillance is, in its origins, a concept of power" (2008: 2); in order to capture the images of others, one must hold social power (Harper, 2000: 727), reinforcing the colonialist dynamic of inferior subject and superior investigator (Harper, 2000: 728). Take, for example, the Toronto Community Housing

Corporation's installation of 5000 CCTV cameras for the purpose of 'aiding investigations after a crime and helping to prevent further criminal activity'- this number does not include existing analog cameras that are to be replaced with CCTVs by 2020. (TCHC, 2018) BiigRax, in his video for *Station 2*, zooms in and out of the surveillance cameras rested against Regent Park's dark brick walls, just gawking; black semi-spheres attached to silver cables running across the colorless landscape. (Biig Rax<sup>2</sup>, 2019) When you leave, enter, and walk within the existing borders of the projects, you are being watched. Everything beyond this enclosed space is free from this restless stare. These cameras, not installed for the safety of the tenants, but to allegedly deter and hold accountable those inherently violent. As such, the people are rendered criminal by way of geographic location; more so, they have been posited as anti-citizens, who require the degree of surveillance established. They become the 'enemy' of society's progress. Ultimately, the invisible walls of the ghetto, the surveillance cameras, the police presence, the stop and searches, and night raids, institute the open air prison.

One of the underlying rationalizations for this differentiated treatment aimed at entire population is that of the 'violent racialized man' and by extension, the 'dangerousness of racialized communities'. As such, this 'feared hypermasculinity' produces a stereotypical conception of the Black man's physique- one that is 'abnormal'. As a result, use of force against him becomes necessary and even justified to the dominant status groups who see their 'protection' above all. Wilson from Montclair State University, Rule from University of Toronto, and Hugenburg from Miami University investigate this imaginary. They presented pictures of White and Black men to a panel of

participants wherein the Black men were perceived as bigger (taller, heavier, more muscular) and more physically threatening, (stronger, more capable of harm) than White men, even though their measurements were no different. Wilson et al. explain the “disturbing consequences for how both civilians and law enforcement personnel perceive and behave toward Black individuals.” (Wilson et al., 2017:77) When reporting the fatal police shootings of Dontre Hamilton (14 years old), Tamir Rice (12 years old) and Trayvon Martin (17 years old), each officer was first inclined to account the victim’s physique in exaggerated terms. Although each child/youth was unarmed, the officers presumed an immediate ‘threat’; the ‘superhumanness’ attributed to each victim based on the intersection of race, sex, and geographic location. (Wilson et al., 2017)

Similarly, ‘dangerous’ communities become a marker for racialized people’s barbarism, whereby intervention became plausible, and White governance, necessary. It is through this “image, idea, personality, and experience” (Said, 1978: 10) of the ‘troubled other’ that the White ruling class are able to define their contrasting self as civil, successful, and just. As such, the former’s disposition aids the constitution of the latter’s superiority, for without their alleged backwardness, the state’s violence cannot be justified as moral. The West “has long had its homegrown, institutionalized terror, although this is not what people today remember when they refer to terrorism”. (Asad, 2007: 1) In this way, state-sanctioned terror is regarded as self-defense, in the name of public safety, whereas violence exercised by the subaltern is seldom classified reactive. When rappers like N.W.A (1988) released their track *Fuck tha Police*, Ice Cube released his album *AmeriKKKa’s Most Wanted*, KRS released *Sound of da Police* (1993),

DedPrez released *Police State* (2000), Styles P featuring Jae Hood released *Fuck the Police* (2008), and Lil Boosie released *Fuck the Police* (2009), they called to action an ongoing revolt. (Charity et al., 2014) In responding to the state-sanctioned incarceration and killing of their own, rappers point to state actors- police officers stand front line. Ice Cube, even calling to the underlying racism of the state as ‘cult-like’ with his reference to the Ku Klux Klan. As such, what seems to matter is not the violence and its affect, but who acts and with what motive. (Asad, 2007: 1) To understand ‘bad’ violence versus ‘moral’ violence ‘for good’, one must classify victim and perpetrator; this process, in turn, is construed by existing assumptions of the state and the ghetto (i.e. racialized people). How to critically interrogate then, when the parameters of law favor the colonist’s legacy of ‘state innocence’?

These tainted perceptions undoubtedly shape police practice. Alok Mukherjee addresses the attitudinal positionality of police officers, in their on-the-groundwork. Serving as chair of the Toronto Police Services Board from 2005 to 2015, Mukherjee’s role as academic and human rights advocate focused on the practice of policing, with attention to the vulnerabilities of the racialized and/or mad population. In his Toronto Star article, *How an ‘Informal’, Veiled Culture Affects Policing*, Mukherjee reveals the relational conduct of officers, irrespective of existent policy and standards. It is a ‘working personality’ that has “developed through history, folklore, mythology, symbolic action and memorialization.” (Mukherjee, 2015) This ‘culture’ endorses two elements of work- danger and authority. This ‘heroic’ facade endorses the officer’s ‘suspicious instinct’ and his/her authority to categorize and label ‘people of interest’. (Mukherjee,

2015) John Van Maanen, in his article *The Asshole*, cites a veteran Patrolman who says, “I guess what our job really boils down to is not letting the assholes take over the city.” (Maneen, 1978: 307) As such, it becomes a battle over power- an ‘us vs. them’, ‘colonist vs. native’, ‘master vs. slave’. In one case, the family of 19-year-old Yosif Al-Hasnawi sued Hamilton paramedics for purposeful neglect. Yosif had intervened when an older man in front of his local mosque was being accosted by two other men. During which there was a struggle and Yosif was shot. According to several witnesses the paramedics did not administer First-Aid, and accused Yosif of “acting like his wounds were worse than they were”. His transportation to the hospital was delayed and Yosif succumbed to his wounds. (Farooqi, 2018) Gun-inflicted injuries acquired by racialized youth are seldom met with public sympathy. More so, many youths report improper care. The racialized youth fatally shot, has never received the same media coverage as the white girl. Somehow, society understands the former to be cause of their own death, engaging in illegal activity and therefore deserving the outcome, while the innocence of the latter shatters humanity.

The impact of unjust policing is complex. For one, the children of the ghetto become witness to state-sanctioned coercion justified by law and the informalities of a veiled police culture; in their early years they begin to develop a naturalized distrust towards the state. This ‘us’ versus ‘them’ paradigm establishes the invisible walls of the ghetto through which these marked bodies are segregated from the mainstream. Ultimately, in standardizing the nature of these neighbourhoods as ‘spaces of crime’, the people of the ghetto are rendered a societal threat and subsequent target. In her essay, *The*

*New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*, Michelle Alexander states, “what it means to be a criminal in our collective consciousness has become conflated with what I means to be black (2010: 193) ...For black youth, the experience of being “made black” often begins with the first police stop, interrogation, search, or arrest.” (2010: 194) As such, it is through the police encounter that ultimate subjugation to the state is established, and the master-slave<sup>11</sup> relation maintains. Fanon explains that the state requires this status of the peasantry- a sect it fears most. He states,

for in those countries where colonialism has deliberately held up development, the peasantry, when it rises, quickly stands out as the revolutionary class. For it knows naked oppression, and suffers far more from it than the workers in the towns, and in order not to die of hunger, it demands no less than a complete demolishing of all existing structures. (2005/1961: 11)

This dehumanization is best described by Dubois’ conception of ‘two-ness’. In *The Souls of Black Folks*, he states, “One ever feels his two-ness, -- an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.” (Dubois, 1986:364) Similarly, Karen Glover, in her article, *Citizenship, Hyper-Surveillance, and Double-Consciousness: Racial Profiling and Panoptic Governance* explains that it is through racially charged surveillance, that the person of color’s rights become compromised and second-tier. (2008) Unlike the White banker, the racialized youth is subject to targeted

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<sup>11</sup> “Hegel understands the position of the master in both political and economic terms...The master is in possession of an overabundance of physical necessities generally, and the other (the slave) in the lack thereof...he is viewed as “a thing”” (Buck-Morss, 2005: 53-54)



surveillance and policing comparable to the ‘penal inmate’. His privacy is disrupted, and ‘freedom’ negotiated. Guising coercion under the pretext of security or aid is the very logic of the colonist’s ‘civilizing mission’. Anibal Quijano, sociologist and humanist thinker, addresses the ‘global model of power’ in divesting the Eurocentric reality of policing. Through international law, for example, the Western world has subsumed its positionality as the great ‘interventionist’. Their moral authority is constituted through the native-settler encounter whereby they allege to bring into civility the backward peoples. It is this polarization between the superior (White) and inferior (non-White) that rationalizes policing and justifies the former’s sanction against the latter. In Quijano’s words: “In America, the idea of race was a way of granting legitimacy to the relations of domination imposed by the conquest.” (Quijano, 2000: 534) In all, I use this international application presented by Quijano, to interpret the colonial nature of the state’s territorial and behavioral monitoring of the ghetto. To this end, the ‘corrective’ potential of the prison industrial complex also shares this structure of political rationalization whereby, “under the right conditions imposed from above, degenerate, disabled, criminalistic, or uncivilized peoples can be brought ‘up’ to normative standards.” (Chapman et al., 2014: 6)

In order to further illustrate the affect of surveillance and policing, I turn to Dr. Douyun’s 2017 report, published by Correctional Services Canada. In *Ethnocultural Minorities and the Canadian Correctional System*, he lists police/institutional interactions from which the White person is exempt:

1. Questioning, pursuit and searches with no valid reason.
2. Fines for unreasonable or unusual reasons.
3. Motor vehicle being pulled over under the highway safety code which then leads to a criminal investigation for no valid reason.
4. Arbitrary decision to intercept, arrest and detain all Black youths or the first Black individual encountered in order to shed light on an ongoing investigation, based on lack of a specific description in the alert.
5. A young Black man driving a luxury vehicle is a treat for a profiling police officer.
6. A young Métis Francophone, who looks Arabic but does not speak Arabic, wants to board an airplane. He is the typical suspect they are looking for! It is guaranteed that he will be checked and checked again.
7. Targeting certain groups or individuals with no specific justification because of their customs, look or appearance, gestures or accent during a periodical sweep under the guise of a preventative intervention.
8. Unfair use of sweeping discretionary powers against certain target groups as a result of public standards that could, in the end, result in an overrepresentation of these profiled groups in the justice and correctional system. Incarceration statistics on Indigenous people and Black people are particularly telling.  
(Douyun, 2017)

Ultimately, Indigenous and racialized children begin to understand themselves as targets of state violence. The fear and detest has been engrained generationally. In all,

community policing should allow for a kid to run up to the officer, not away from them.

(Columbus Post, 2003)

### **The Carceral: A Map of Ontario, Canada**

In the criminal justice system, an offender, is either imprisoned until verdict has been attained and if guilty imprisoned for the assigned term, or released into the community under strict conditions according to the provisions of either the Criminal Code or the Provincial Offences Act. (MCSCS<sup>1</sup>, 2018)<sup>12</sup> Arguably, the latter is no less restrictive. **Community Corrections** are the reproduction of custodial institutionalization

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<sup>12</sup>In response, correctional penalties function at both federal and provincial levels in Ontario. The **Ministry of Community Safety & Correctional Services (MCSCS)** is responsible for **Correctional Services**, including all the province's adult correctional institutions, parole and probation offices, and programs/facilities for rehabilitation. (MCSCS<sup>2</sup>, 2018) The MCSCS operates different types of adult facilities. These include firstly **Correctional Centres** wherein people "serving periods of incarceration from 60 days to a maximum of two years less a day" are typically housed. (MCSCS<sup>3</sup>, 2018) In this type of facility, they are to be provided education, counselling and/or work experience programs. There are nine Correctional Centres in Ontario (Table 1), excluding the federal Correctional Centres that will be accounted for later. Second, **Jails and Detention Centres** have been meshed in one category because they both essentially house persons on remand (awaiting trial, sentencing or other proceedings), offenders sentenced to short terms (approximately 60 days or less), and offenders awaiting transfer to a federal or provincial correctional facility. (MCSCS<sup>3</sup>, 2018) Likewise, both are considered 'maximum security'. The difference between the two lies in the fact that Jails are generally smaller, aged buildings established by counties/municipalities wherein detention centres are larger and more 'modern', with the ability to house people from several regions. (MCSCS<sup>3</sup>, 2018) There are nine Jails (Table 1.2) and nine Detention Centres in Ontario (Table 1.3). Ultimately, admission to either of these two institutions serves as a 'point of entry'. (MCSCS<sup>3</sup>, 2018) From here, an inmate is either transferred to serve their sentence at a provincial/federal Correctional Centre or released (conditional release or complete discharge). Finally, the **Treatment Centre** is considered an alternative to the Correctional Centre, Jail or Detention Centre providing "specialized and intensive treatment for motivated offenders with clearly identified problems relating to substance abuse, sexual misconduct, impulse control and anger management." (MCSCS<sup>3</sup>, 2018) MCSCS operates four treatment centres (Table 1.4). The federal level however, has two established treatment centres, as extensions to existing correctional centres. Admissions to treatment centres can be either voluntary or involuntary. In total, there are ten federal correctional institutions and two treatment centres (Table 2). These institutions house people who are serving more than two years and range from minimum to maximum security. (CSC<sup>1</sup>, 2018)

at the community level. At the federal level **Correctional Service Canada (CSC)** jointly governs this sector with the **Parole Board of Canada (PBC)** and at the provincial level, MCSCS operates with the **Ontario Parole Board (OPB)**. As per their website, the PBC is an independent administrative tribunal that, as part of the Canadian criminal justice system, makes quality conditional release and record suspension decisions, and clemency recommendations. (GC<sup>1</sup>, 2018)The PBC claim their decision-making process is guided by the **Corrections and Conditional Release Act (CCRA)** wherein public safety is a principle rule of measure. (GC<sup>2</sup>, 2018) Applications can be reviewed in-office, by looking at the ‘offenders’ file, or in the presence of the ‘offender’ and a parole officer. (GC<sup>2</sup>, 2018) Interestingly, they do not offer statistics on trends for grants and denials. For example, which ‘type’ of offender is granted parole most (e.g. How do race, gender, class, geographic location, nature of crime, etc. influence decision-making- especially ‘risk-assessment’?)**Types of Conditional Release** issued by the PBC, under the CCRA, include **Full Parole<sup>13</sup>, Day Parole<sup>14</sup>, Temporary Absences<sup>15</sup>, or Statutory**

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<sup>13</sup> Full Parole is defined as: the offender is approved to serve part of their sentence in the community. They are required to report regularly to a parole supervisor and/or police.(CSC2, 2018) Eligibility to apply for Full Parole is granted to those offenders who have served one-third or seven years of their sentence (the lesser of the two is accounted for). (CSC2, 2018)For offenders serving life sentences for first-degree murder, they may apply after serving 25 years, and for offenders serving life sentences for second-degree murder, they may apply after serving 10 to 25 years (this time frame is set by the court). (CSC2, 2018)

<sup>14</sup> Day Parole may be granted as a transition to Full Parole from Statutory Release (discussed later). (CSC2, 2018)Through it, a person is allowed to participate in community-based activities and can reside either at a correctional institution or community residence (this is decided by the Board). (CSC2, 2018) A person, after

- serving sentences of two years or more are eligible to apply for day parole six months prior to full parole eligibility or after six months, whichever is greater.
- serving life or indeterminate sentences are eligible to apply for day parole three years before their full parole eligibility date or after three years, whichever is greater. (CSC2, 2018)

**Release**<sup>16</sup>. Interestingly enough, the Correctional Services of Canada state that “some offenders eligible for conditional release choose to stay in prison until the end of their sentences.” (CSC<sup>2</sup>, 2018) There is no further elaboration on why, nor is there clarification on how many inmates choose this route. The least complex of releases, in terms of bureaucratic navigation, is **Release on Expiry of Sentence** wherein someone has finally completed their full sentence. This is not a conditional release. (CSC<sup>2</sup>, 2018)

At the provincial level, the **Ontario Parole Board (OPB)** is “an independent, quasi-judicial agency”. (SLASTO<sup>1</sup>, 2018) As such, under the **Ministry of Correction Services Act (MCSA)** the OPB can:

- Grant parole/temporary absence<sup>17</sup> with conditions that are considered necessary;

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<sup>15</sup> Temporary Absences are categorized as three streams under the CCRA. These include Escorted Temporary Absences (ETA), Unescorted Temporary Absences (UTA) and Work Releases (WR). (CSC<sup>2</sup>, 2018) This clause of temporary absences is also existent/applicable at the provincial level. In the federal system however, the PBC and CSC shares the governing responsibilities of persons under parole. A risk assessment, of course, is also used in granting eligibility. Grounds for temporary release include

medical, administrative, community service, family contact, parental responsibility, personal development (rehabilitation), or compassionate reasons. (CSC<sup>2</sup>, 2018)

<sup>16</sup> Statutory Release is another type of release under the CCRA. Like the Full Parole eligibility requirements, it allows the final third of the sentence to be served in the community under supervision/conditions. (CSC<sup>2</sup>, 2018) People serving life or indeterminate sentences however, are not eligible. (CSC<sup>2</sup>, 2018) This release type is for people ineligible (or have not tried to apply) for Full Parole. (CSC<sup>2</sup>, 2018) It is different from Parole in that it is legislated and thus, not within the regulatory capacity of the PBC to decide on. (CSC<sup>2</sup>, 2018) The PBC however, sets the conditions upon which the CSC is responsible for proctoring. Also, the PBC can issue a detention order (upon breach) to challenge the Statutory Release, returning a person to imprisonment. (GC<sup>3</sup>, 2018)

<sup>17</sup> Temporary absence in this case is referred to unsupervised leave from the institution for up to sixty days. One type of release (Community Correction) that can be granted to applicants is the Conditional Sentence. (MCSCS<sup>4</sup>, 2018) Eligibility to serve one’s sentence in the community rather than custody is decided in court according to the following rules of measure:

- there is no minimum term of imprisonment for this offence under the law
- the maximum length of the sentence is two years less a day

- Deny parole/temporary absence;
- Suspend a parolee's parole and authorize the re-committal of the parolee to custody;
- Lift the suspension of the parole or revoke parole; and
- Cancel a temporary absence that it has granted. (SLASTO<sup>1</sup>, 2018)

Ontario and Quebec are the only two provinces that have their own provincial parole boards. Other provinces are governed by the PBC (i.e. federally).

The prison industrial complex is, within itself a web of institutional arrangements.

Without legal representation, the inmate loses himself. **Inmate Classification**<sup>18</sup> is one

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- the court is satisfied that serving the sentence in the community would not pose a danger to public safety(MCSCS4, 2018)

Each sentence is designed with conditions specific to each case (i.e. inmate), including both mandatory and optional conditions.(MCSCS4, 2018) As such, it serves as a sentence with guiding principles. The former includes observance of court proceedings, behaviour management, adherence to supervision (i.e. parole/probation), staying within the geographic limits specified, and updating one's supervisoryperson/team on any changes in living conditions (i.e. address, name, occupation/employment). (MCSCS4, 2018) Optional conditions are more flexible and do not follow the standardization of mandatory conditions. They may include community service work, rehabilitation programs, and limits on travel/interaction with certain people/places. (MCSCS4, 2018) Upon release, the inmate is supervised very closely by a probation and parole officer.

Notably, if the individual is arrested whilst he is serving a conditional sentence, the conditional sentence will be put on hold (i.e. suspended) until he is available to continue its service. (MCSCS4, 2018) Failure to Comply is also accounted for in this regimented sentence. If the mandatory conditions have been allegedly breached, it may require that the individual go back to court wherein the court decides whether action or inaction be taken. It is possible that the judge disqualifies their conditional sentence and they be required to complete their sentence in custody. (MCSCS4, 2018) In essence, the parole officer, probation officer, and judge are powerful gatekeepers.

<sup>18</sup> Provincial facilities that do engage systematic classification are to abide by the following regime (refer to Table 3 for details)

- Reviewing all court/police/institutional documentation relating to the inmate
- Using a process called Level of Service Inventory (LSI-OR) to assess the inmate according to the following criteria: sentence information, criminal history, institutional

such principle that has great influence- although not explicitly cited- on parole/probation<sup>19</sup> prospects. Most are classified by security reference. These are supposed to measure the threat of the ‘offender’ to others, intuitional operationalization, and self. (MCSCS<sup>7</sup>, 2018) The subjectivity governing this filtration is often dispelled from formal processes of considerations. Also note, that these classifications are used in most facilities housing more than 50 inmates. Moreover, federal facilities are sometimes built solely counting one type of security level (Table 2). The CSC’s classifications include Special Handling Unit (SHU), minimum-security, medium-security, maximum-security, and multi-level (for women). (CSC<sup>4</sup>, 2018) The federal and provincial jurisdictions argue that these are needed to help tailor rehabilitative programming for individuals. This justification however, is not substantive. For example, as mentioned earlier, Jails and Detention Centres are all classified maximum security. Interestingly though, most people housed in these types of facilities are technically innocent, simply awaiting trial or on remand. Others who have been sentenced, are serving short sentences of less than two years. Surely their soon-to-be release should be matched with more minimally secured conditions of confinement.

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history, personal history, security classification and admission criteria for ministry institutions and treatment facilities, and other factors (MCSCS7, 2018)

<sup>19</sup> Unlike parole, probation is a court disposition and therefore not issued by the OPB. It can be issued prior to incarceration- as an alternative to actually serving time in custody- whilst parole, on the other hand, is only granted after a certain amount of time has already been served. Probation is within provincial jurisdiction exclusively. It must be issued with a “conditional discharge, suspended sentence, or intermittent sentence”; if on receiving a fine, incarceration or conditional sentence, probation may be issued. (MCSCS5, 2018)

After all, the demand for imprisonment in most cases is to re-condition the inmate, transforming him into a ‘law-abiding citizen’. As history repeats itself, the institutionalization aimed at reforming the bodies of people, has instead become a custodial- and argumentatively, disabling-tenure. (Ben-Moshe et al., 2014) The four streams of programming that are limitedly provided in existing facilities are life skills, rehabilitative programs for substance abuse, behavioural management, etc., education/literacy, and work programs. (MCSCS<sup>9</sup>, 2018) Institutions are also required to accommodate cultural/religious provisions (e.g. Friday prayer sessions for Muslims, and Aboriginal observances). Notably, these programs are very limited and can even be manipulated in ways that disallow for participation. For example, the **Correctional Services Transformation Act (2018)** states that segregation, safety, and lockdown can prohibit inmate participation in programs. The assertion of work and programs are therefore insufficient. The former of which is exploitative- it is unpaid labour, providing ministry resources at minimal costs (refer to Table 4 for details).

Moreover, the experience within the carceral is contingent upon identity/representation. For example, how does the White inmate experience differ from the Black inmate experience? How does the rich inmate’s experience differ from the poor inmate’s experience? Based on the CSC’s report, *A Case Study of Diversity in Corrections: The Black Inmate Experience in Federal Penitentiaries*, Black inmates report discrimination in seeking prison employment; their behaviour and language is commonly assessed by Correctional Officers through a ‘gang lens’; services and information are not inclusive of tradition, culture, or knowledges relative to the Black



experience; partnerships with Black communities/organizations are limited- in most cases non-existent; self-care (i.e. hygiene products) do not cater to Black hair/skin; and although Black inmates are less likely to re-offend, they are more likely to be placed in maximum security settings, receive lower parole grants and temporary absence permits, and more likely to be placed in segregation. (Canada, 2014) The idea that they are ‘more dangerous’ resonates here. Racial profiling, therefore, shapes the prospects of the inmate, even within the confine of the penitentiary. Their restricted access to tradition and appropriate service/information/products illustrates the denial of their racial/spiritual/religious/ethnic significance.

Another practice that is rampant both in policing and imprisonment practices, and which is therefore much more likely to be imposed upon an inmate or a Ghetto resident than a white resident of Cabbagetown, is the strip search. By definition, a strip search is when an arrestee/inmate is required to strip (exposing oneself) on the officer’s demand<sup>20</sup>.(CCRA, Section 49)A Toronto Star article published in 2019 reads: *Toronto*

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<sup>20</sup> Section 49 of the Corrections and Conditional Release Act states,  
Strip search of inmate

(3) Where a staff member

(a) believes on reasonable grounds that an inmate is carrying contraband or carrying evidence relating to a disciplinary or criminal offence, and that a strip search is necessary to find the contraband or evidence, and

(b) satisfies the institutional head that there are reasonable grounds to so believe, a staff member of the same sex as the inmate may conduct a strip search of the inmate.

Marginal note:Emergency search

(4) Where a staff member

(a) satisfies the requirements of paragraph (3)(a), and

(b) believes on reasonable grounds that the delay that would be necessary in order to comply with paragraph (3)(b) or with the gender requirement of subsection (3) would result in danger to human life or safety or in loss or destruction of the evidence, the staff member may conduct the strip search without complying with paragraph (3)(b) or the gender requirement of subsection (3).

*Police Conduct 'Far Too Many' Strip Searches, Says Damning Report From Ontario's Police Watchdog.* Gerry McNeilly, the Office of the Independent Police Review Director, states,

“Over the years, there has been a continuous stream of reported cases involving unconstitutional strip searches.” (Gillis, 2019) Between 2014 and 2016, four out of every ten police arrests included a strip search- an outrageous amount. Notably, these numbers do not account for strip searches imposed on inmates in institutions (as per Section 49 above). According to Sapers, “Most people in Ontario’s jails are held in maximum security, subject to regular and possibly unconstitutional strip searches, and without access to rehabilitation programming.” (Jones, 2017) The inherent humility and damage to dignity succumbed by the victim of a strip search, is left unattended in the prison industrial complex. Reflecting on Jasbir Puar’s work on the US scandal in Abu Ghraib, imposed nudity is most clearly understood as torture. In Foucault’s terms, the modern method of punishment is designed to strike to the soul, rather than the body. (Foucault, 1975: 46) In the Iraqi prison, men were stripped and coerced into sexual activities with other inmates- their pictures were taken, they were watched and ridiculed, and in most cases, they were blackmailed into US submission (i.e. to become informants). Women’s rights groups referred to these practices as ‘sexual assault’ and ‘rape’. (Puar, 2007: 97) The colonial doctrine requires of the colonist to exploit the native’s body and land, the former reinforcing his ownership over the latter. Therefore, unveiling the native man, rendering his body visible and hence knowable and available for

possession, brands the colonist as the observing, possessing subject.<sup>21</sup>(Razack, 2007: 54)Interestingly, the use of full body scanners has failed to become standard practice.

It is thisobsessive and constant gaze thatproduces the subject's paranoia. The state's desired outcome: total submission or elimination. Chrisjohn et al. in their book *The Circle Game: Shadows and Substance in the Indian Residential School Experience in Canada*explains that 'genocide does not require killing'. (1997: 36) In other words, the destruction of 'self' through institutionalization (i.e. confinement) is, in itself, genocidal. In fact, rappers will often equateincarceration to death wherein a person is nottruly dead, yet still feel gone- out of the community's everyday lives. Grievance, in this way, is similarly attributed to death and incarceration. As such, total submission does not 'alleviate' oneself of state violence. Fanon states,

Violence in the colonies does not only have for its aim the keeping of these enslaved men at arm's length; it seeks to dehumanize them. Everything will be done to wipe out their traditions, to substitute our language for theirs and to destroy their culture without giving them ours. Sheer physical fatigue will stupefy them. Starved and ill, if they have any spirit left, fear will finish the job; guns are leveled at the peasant; civilians come to take over his land and force him by dint of flogging to till the land for them. If he shows fight, the soldiers fire and he's a

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<sup>21</sup> Sherene Razack, in her book, *Casting Out: The Eviction of Muslims From Western Law and Politics*, explains that "unveiling the Muslim woman, rendering her body visible and hence knowable and available for possession, renders the Western woman as the colonial, observing, possessing subject." (Razack, 2007: 54)

dead man; if he gives in, he degrades himself and he is no longer a man at all; shame and fear will split up his character and make his inmost self fall to pieces. (2005/1961: 15)

The racialized man must not challenge the existing power hierarchy- his psychoses and inherent criminality allow for the state to sanction his progress. In applying Friere's conception of the 'banking model of education as an instrument of oppression' (1971), the state is teacher, and the people of the ghetto, students. The state limits the knowledge of the students to her curriculum design, disallowing critical inquiry and/or real-world application. The teacher becomes the depositor, and the student receptor. In order to break through this master-slave dialect, the teacher must adopt a relational dialect with the student. In today's sociopolitical climate however, the student must rebel in order to attain any transformative change. The state has prepared for the mass rebellion and overthrow of White governance by establishing the ghetto, and by extension, the prison. The principal's office becomes the police station as the child moves into adulthood. This way, their power cannot be challenged outside the bureaucracy of their institutional arrangements. In all, prison abolition is required in emancipating the racialized citizen from their legacy of submission. Until then, their trauma and distress will continue to be produced and exacerbated.

The ultimate consequence of aggravated distress: suicide. According to the John Howard Society's address of deaths in Ontario's correctional institutions, "we see a suicide rate 4-6 times that of the general population...we see the average age of death of provincially incarcerated people at around 40 years of age, compared to nearly 70 years

on average for all Canadians. And ...we see that around 40% of all deaths have some history of mental illness. Jails should not be places where people go to die.” (Brown, 2017: 1) Here we see Chapman’s reference to the prison industrial complex as a method of social elimination, pass into the actual elimination of life. I ask now: How can this system (i.e. the prison) be fixed if it is not broken? In 1999, the John Howard Society of Alberta makes the same calls for change iterated in 2017; the suicide rates are high (higher than the general populous), treatment/intervention is inadequate, and overall, mental distress is rising within the incarcerated population. The case of Kalief Browder was highly publicized. At the age of sixteen he was picked up by police officers for allegedly stealing a backpack, and locked up in the infamous Rikers Island prison. Browder spent three years in prison- two of which were spent in solitary confinement. Almost two years after release, he took his own life. (Li, 2019) Although Browder was from New York, Dr. Douyun, Sapers, Malakieh and the John Howard Society’s publications depict a mirroring Canadian regime.

### **‘Reactionary Psychosis’: De-pathologizing the Racialized Subject’s Experience**

The racialized male youth is rendered fugitive, seeking escape. He is forever knowing his ‘two-ness’ and the law which continues to endorse his seizure. What is he, if not captive to the state he resides? What is freedom when his access is restricted? Fanon, post-colonial theorist and psychiatrist, studied the psych of the colonial subject. He explains,

The truth is that colonization, in its very essence, already appeared to be a great purveyor of psychiatric hospitals. Since 1954 we have drawn the attention of French and international psychiatrists in scientific works to the difficulty of “curing” a colonized subject correctly, in other words making him thoroughly fit into a social environment of the colonial type.

Because it is a systemized negation of the other, a frenzied determination to deny the other any attribute of humanity, colonial forces the colonized to constantly ask the question: “Who am I in reality?” (2005/1961: 182)

In the context of Canada’s ghetto-to-prison pipeline, it is the guising of state-sanctioned violence, under the pretext of ‘security’ and ‘public safety’, that reductively criminalizes and pathologizes the racialized subject’s ‘reactionary psychoses’- their ancestral legacy is erased.

In employing critical race theory, Keating extends Wilson et al.’s investigation, into how ‘race’ and ‘dangerousness’ intersect in defining racialized ‘communities’. He explains, when Whiteness is understood as “normality, dominance, and control” it becomes “the standard against which to measure ‘others’.” (2016: 175) As such, ‘the dangerous’ require control, and in doing so, psychiatric diagnostics become fundamental. The colonial and racist genealogy of psychiatry is clearly represented in Mohamed Ibrahim’s chapter, *Health in Africa: Human Rights Approaches to Decolonization* wherein he states, “In most African countries, laws pertaining to mental health have been inherited from colonial governments, which drafted then, in part, as a powerful

mechanism for controlling the African population politically and socially, perpetuating oppression and protecting White settler rule.” (2017: 113) As such, Western psychiatry has subsumed a global authority, imposing intervention under the guise of health care. Much like Quijano’s ‘global model of power’, the civilizing mission is able to rationalize its contemporary control through diagnostic interpretations of the deviant body. In essence, it “shifted socio-political, justice, and economic issues to individual pathological ones” (Ibrahim, 2017: 117), consequently, depoliticizing the psychophysiological affect of colonial violence. In his 1933 address to a medical conference, French conqueror of Morocco, Hubert (Lyautey), explained the role of doctors in advancing colonial interest. In his own words, “The physician, if he understands his role, is the primary and most effective of our agents in penetration and pacification.” (2017: 116) Likewise, the police become the state actors responsible for the suppression of the subaltern population. Ibrahim cites the use of The Lunatic Act (later Mental Health Act) in incarcerating rebellion leaders. “Mental health institutions were largely part of the prisons department during most of the colonial era”. (2017: 118) For Example, in 1922, South African Spiritual Leader, Nonthetha Nkwenkwe, was institutionalized. The judge recognized that “judgment of insanity would deflate her movement”. This same logic was used in trying to defame Mohamed Abdullah Hassan, Somalia’s hero and freedom fighter, by labelling him ‘Mad Mullah’. Ultimately, Ibrahim states, “independent African governments and scholars have done little to address the psychological impact of long-standing, intergenerational societal trauma and have intentionally or unintentionally maintained the colonial status quo.” (Ibrahim, 2017: 120)

To diagnose, or not to diagnose then? Either situation strips the colonial subject of their socio-political experience. Fanon employs ‘reactionary psychoses’ in order to give prominence to the event(s) which give rise to the ‘disorder’. (Fanon, 1961: 250) He reexamines the “notion of the relative harmlessness of...reactional disorders” and exclaims the critical case where “the whole of the personality is disrupted definitively.” (Fanon, 1961: 253) In essence, the biosocial model<sup>22</sup> of madness is a Fanonian conception. The social experience and environment (i.e. society) produces physiological and psychological impairments/stressors. This manifestation is seldom acknowledged through medical examination, further alienating the victim. In other words, “mental distress can be understood as a response to social factors such as traumatization and victimization, in line with some service users/survivors understanding of mental distress.” (Timander & Moller, 2016: 1054) Fanon concludes “the event giving rise to the illness is in the first place the atmosphere of total war which reigns.” (Fanon, 1961: 270) The event to which I point, is state-sanctioned coercion in the name of public safety.

### **Conclusion**

Not only do institutional orders reinforce the legacy of colonial violence, but in due process, debilitate the colonized subject and their environment. Ultimate submission or death become the colonist’s ideal, for still the rebellion of the subaltern

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<sup>22</sup> The Biosocial Model explains that “mental distress can be understood as a response to social factors such as traumatization and victimization, in line with some service users/survivors understanding of mental distress.” (Timander & Moller, 2016: 1054) For example, generations of scholars came to regard high-poverty neighborhoods as a social problem with consequences for child development and young adult decision-making. (Brooks Gunn et al., 1997)



threatens White power. How must, then, the colonial subject challenge their disposition within the existing confine? Ahmed Sekou Toure explains the role of the colonial subject, if they wish to claim space in the revolution:

It is not enough to write a revolutionary hymn to be a part of the African revolution, one has to join with the people to make this resolution. Make it with the people and the hymns will automatically follow...one has to be a vital part of Africa and its thinking, part of all that popular energy mobilized for the liberation, progress and happiness of Africa. Outside this single struggle there is no place for either the artist or the intellectual who is not committed and totally mobilized with the people in the great fight waged by Africa and suffering humanity. (Toure, 1959)

Artists like Akon and Nipsey Hussle are exemplary in this respect. Akon, responsible for providing solar power in Africa to 600 million residents is but one contribution he has made to the progress of his people. Nipsey Hustle, involved in the funding of Black community organizations in his LA area began to actively defame the government for its oppression of Black and poor people before his murder. Activism is fundamental to personal and collective progress, for without an outlet, the native/racialized person begins to internalize their experienced violence. Fanon explains,

the first action of these oppressed creatures is to bury deep down that hidden anger which their and our moralities condemn and which is however only the last refuge of their humanity. Read Fanon: you will learn how, in the period of their

helplessness, their mad impulse to murder is the expression of the natives' collective unconscious.

If this suppressed fury fails to find an outlet, it turns in a vacuum and devastates the oppressed creatures themselves. In order to free themselves they even massacre each other. The different tribes fight between themselves since they cannot face the real enemy--and you can count on colonial policy to keep up their rivalries; the man who raises his knife against his brother thinks that he has destroyed once and for all the detested image of their common degradation, even though these expiatory victims don't quench their thirst for blood. They can only stop themselves from marching against the machine-guns by doing our work for us; of their own accord they will speed up the dehumanization that they reject. (2005/1961: 18, 19)

The French colonizers often pointed to the native-on-native killing in Algeria in justifying their occupation. This 'proved' their barbarism. In the same sense, black-on-black crime is construed in mainstream media to depict an 'insane' and 'uncontrollable' barbarism from the racialized ghetto. The politics of their violence is masked, and emphasized in a way that minimizes white-on-white crime or white-on-Indigenous/racialized crime. In all, the concession of discourse produced and reproduced are required in trapping Indigenous and racialized people in (and witness to) cycles of violence and destitution, living lives of desperation. (Lusane, 2004: 351) They continue to be targeted: confined to the ghetto, surveilled and interrogated, only to be transferred

to the prison. Their elimination is genocidal. How to react to the state's obvious neglect of a purposefully placed population? How to aid the racialized mad inmate without criminalizing and pathologising his trauma/distress? Is prison abolition an achievable ideal? If not, how can reform be achieved within the confine of a judiciary system designed for the destruct of the native body?

### **Future- Feds Did a Sweep**

I will use the following anecdotal text/video to exemplify larger systems of thought and institutional organization discussed, as they relate to the violence reported by Future. In order to represent Future's narrative authentically, I have provided the full lyrics below, alongside my interpretations. It is such, that my understanding of the text/video may differ from the reader's, whose knowledge of this population and their experiences is more or less than mine. In turn, the analysis below allows for the reader's own process of inquiry. (Richardson, 2000)

The video opens with Senior Officer Ian Ramsey patrolling a neighborhood in Kirkwood, Atlanta. He states,

I kinda friggin hate this neighborhood...there is a lot of gang activity here, lot of drugs going around...the (takes inaudible name here) and his brothers- their bringing in a bunch of money and I'm not sure which one. For sure we got indictments on all of them. We have a search warrant- we're gonna do the 'knock and talk'.

Officer Ramsey is a White man; more so, an authoritative state actor. This intro strategically conceptualizes the naturalized incrimination of people in the ghetto by way of geographic location. In a generalization made by Ramsey, and broadly circulated in orders of discourse, the ghettos have been determined hubs for drug trafficking and associated gang violence.

We hear on the radio latter:“an organization that at one time claimed to rule Atalanta- now agents say that’s no longer the case.” Policing becomes a battle over power- an ‘us vs. them’- between who (in this case), ‘rules Atlanta’. In other words, police patrolling is responsively territorial. The regularized observation of certain neighbourhoods mirrors territorial occupation as part of a colonial regime; hyper-surveillance as cause of distrust, legitimizing notions of civility and inferiority; and ultimately subjugating the population through a state-sanctioned gaze.

In finally attending to the actual lyrics presented by Future, I will use context from the video to inform my analysis. Future’s ghost-like appearance in scenes of the video suggests he is the ‘storyteller’ and that his omnipresence has situated him outside the given contexts. His lyrics start as,

Yeah, I lost so many n\*ggas to the streets this year

*Oh, oh, no*

Ain’t even talkin’ bout, they ain’t even dead

They ain’t, they ain’t dead

Feds did a sweep, feds did a sweep

Here, Future emphasizes the ‘loss’ of a brother (i.e. n\*gga) to the correctional system. Future starts this rap after the detectives in the room gain pictured evidence on Jay- a member of the community- for his attempted transaction (one of selling guns) with an undercover agent. Ultimately, ‘Feds did a sweep’- serving as the title of the rap- refers to an arrest resulting in incarceration. In other words, ‘they got them’. Here an ‘us vs. them’ paradigm is made apparent. The police/agents/detectives are presented as predators, and the members of the community as targets. ‘They ain’t even dead’ equates incarceration to death wherein ‘they’ are not truly dead yet feel gone- out of the community’s everyday lives. Grievance, in this way, is similarly attached to death and incarceration.

Feds did a sweep

*Free my n\*ggas*

Feds did a sweep

Real niggas linkin' up

Trill niggas linkin' up

Link up, my nigga, let's link up

Notably, “free my n\*ggas” has become a nationalized term, first coined in rap music. This call for freedom predates the era of mass incarceration in Canada and the United States and can be traced back to the dreadful centuries of slavery. Like slavery, incarceration strips an individual of life and liberty- this connection is also made by Nirmala Erevelles in her chapter, *Crippin’ Jim Crow: Disability, Dis-Location, and the School-to-Prison Pipeline*. In other words, processes of racialization have limited the

capacities of racialized people to grow materially. 'Free my n\*ggas...link up, my n\*gga, let's link up' asserts a call for freedom, and the unity of their people and communities.

I get idolized by these groupies

I treat 'em just like they're regular, yeah

They sneakin' pics on the cellular

Preyin' on me, I'm the predator

Preyin' on me, I'm the predator

Them bands on me, more capital

I gotta go pour up some juice

For my dawgs just went Federal

Give your life for this gang gang shit

Pay a price for this gang gang shit

You should wanna remain nameless

Tryna be Instagram famous

Knowin' damn well these streets painless

Future recognizes the targeted surveillance of feds, and how publication of the self leaves them susceptible to incrimination. For example, the music video D.F.G.-MoneyCello, posted on youtube, resulted in eight arrests, after participants were shown brandishing guns- one of which police 'believed' to be real. (AllHipHop, 2015) Similarly, rapper Lizz was sentenced to 30 years after brandishing a gun in one of his music videos, resulting in a search and seizure of a weapon latter found in his car. (Tahir, 2018) In fact, "Rap lyrics were entered as evidence as early as 1994, when prosecutors in California used Francisco Calderon Mora's lyrics to establish his membership in the Southside F Troop street gang, vying for a sentencing enhancement." (O'Conner, 2014) Many artists will now include disclaimers at the beginning of their videos to mitigate legal repercussions. Tory Lanez (Toronto rapper) does more- he rationalizes his intent in sharing violent experiences in the following statement provided at the very start of his video 'Shooters',

I made this intro because I felt that this was art that I needed to get off my chest as a result of the things many people have seen or experienced daily. I do not endorse any form of brutality. I do not feel like violence is the answer. However, in times of duress like we're experiencing now, as a community, I believe that it is our responsibility to share our fears and concerns so that we may learn to support one another better. (Lanez, 2017)

Referring back to Future's video narrative, Jay is even scrutinized for his Instagram activity by another member of the community. He is told, "you keep doin this clown sh\*t

bro. like for real. (the other brother is shown having stood up from his seat, grilling Jay angrily) the Instagram buzzes and sh\*t. Get up outta here bro.” Jay now serves as a liability to the rest of the group.

I dread, I prevent it cause man I'm a menace

I know what I did, I'ma finish this

I got the code, I got the remedy

I'm doin' this for infinity

I ain't lookin' for no sympathy

Put a dollar sign on my enemies

You can't come between my embassy

You gotta stay off the premises

I was down and out, and I remember this

It's gon' hurt my soul just to reminisce

Gotta understand what I represent

You know what I mean to the game

Fedsdid a sweep

In this clause, ‘put a dollar sign on my enemies’ refers the hundred bands (\$100,000) put



on Jay's head. After that faulty transaction with the undercover, the crew failed to trust Jay. One of the members makes a call to a hitman saying, "You know that n\*gga Jay? Yeah he undercover. I ain't even trippin. I don't even trust him anymore...". In all, Jay has been exploited by the police officers for their investigative gain, resulting in the dispel from his own community.

*Knocks*

Police! We have a search warrant-

Police! Police search warrant!

Get on the ground!

Get on the ground, get on the ground!

Get down on the ground!

*Gunshots*

The Feds did a sweep

Picked the dogs up like an infant

Got 13 bodies (what else?)

Got 27 damn victims

Burned the eyes out a witness (what else?)

Put your hood on chitlins (what else?)

Cartiers, I got privilege

See the way my dawgs livin'

They always gotta dodge prison

I was born dodgin' penitentiary

I bought my mom French Tiffanys

Gang, gang, we a family

You goin' viral for the family

The homie tried to plead insanity

Pray to God, take this energy

Future uses these lyrics to narrate the climax of the video story- the crew's arrest. The police break down the front door, occupy each entrance with an armed SWAT member and throw tear gas in the entrance. In the house are three children- two sit on the bed, in shock, and the other sits next to a female on the living room couch, watching the arrests of all the men. The woman upstairs quickly unpacks and flushes the white-substances (i.e. drugs) down the toilet. All the men in the house raised their hands, surrendering to the armed troops; around them lay cash, guns, and drugs. The police laugh, standing on their porch, looking down as the men are escorted into the back of the vans. In this instant, the failure of 'them' was celebration for 'us'.

Furthermore, in stating, 'they always gotta dodge prison, I was born dodgin' penitentiary' makes clear the inevitability of this point. Moreso, he speaks to the children's witness, who, like them, will grow into this game of 'dodgin' prison'. These realities become generational. The irony of which, is that the intention of the crew was generational progress. Future makes clear, 'I bought my mom French Tiffanys, Gang, gang, we a family, you goin' viral for the family'. In other words, their arrests were sacrificial to the material benefit they produced and allocated to the growth of their family. Instead, they became "trapped in" and witnessed another "cycle of violence" and "destitution". (Lusane, 2004: 351)

Finally, we watch through segments of interrogation, and court proceedings. In the end, Jay is found by the detectives in the bathroom, on the floor. He was poisoned- the video traces back to hours earlier when 'room service' delivered breakfast. Future ends with these lyrics:

Feds did a sweep

Real n\*gg\*s linkin' up

Trill n\*gg\*s linkin' up

Link up, my nigga, let's link up

I don't fantasize, I make movies (movies!)

I don't tell lies, I tote Uzis

I get idolized by these groupies

I treat 'em just like they're regular, yeah

They sneakin' pics on the cellular

Preyin' on me, I'm the predator

Preyin' on me, I'm the predator

Them bands on me, more capital

I gotta go pour up some juice

For my dawgs just went Federal

[Outro]

Real n\*gg\*s linkin' up- then

Trill n\*gg\*s linkin' up

Feds did a sweep

Link up, my nigga, let's link up

In conclusion, Future's narrative sheds light on the complexities of 'criminal' engagement and the realities of its repercussions. In the hotel room, Jay questions the detectives:

you think you can save the world?...This sh\*t ain't over for me. I got a little daughter. Who the f\*ck gonna take her to school when I can't? huh?...I take care of my mother. She gotta move in and out of the f\*ckin hospital. You gonna take her to the f\*ckin hospital?

When the detectives respond, “that’s your problem/ should’ve thought of that sh\*t before you got into this”, we recognize the pathologized notions of criminality present, in effect finding the people in crisis accountable for their own vulnerabilities.

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**Appendix****TABLE 1****Types of Provincial Correctional Facilities(MCSCS<sup>3</sup>, 2018)**

<b>CORRECTIONAL CENTRES</b>			
<b>Facility Name</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Capacity</b>	<b>French Language Services Offered</b>
Algoma Treatment and Remand Centre	Sault Ste. Marie, ON	104	Yes
Central East Correctional Centre	Lindsay, ON	1,184	
Central North Correctional Centre	Penetanguishene, ON	1,184	
Maplehurst Correctional Complex	Milton, ON	1,550	
Monteith Correctional Complex	Monteith, ON	232	Yes
Ontario Correctional Institute	Brampton, ON	228	
St. Lawrence Valley Correctional and Treatment Centre	Brockville, ON	100	
Thunder Bay Correctional Centre	Thunder Bay, ON	132	
Vanier Centre for Women	Milton, ON	124	Yes

**TABLE 1.2(MCSCS<sup>3</sup>, 2018)**

<b>JAILS (Max Security)</b>			
<b>Facility Name</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Capacity</b>	<b>French Language Services Offered</b>
Brantford Jail	Brantford, ON	The Brantford Jail closed December 2017	
Brockville Jail	Brockville, ON	44	
Fort Frances Jail	Fort Frances, ON	23	
Kenora Jail	Kenora, ON	105	
North Bay Jail	North Bay, ON	121	Yes
Sarnia Jail	Sarnia, ON	101	
Stratford Jail	Stratford, ON	53	
Sudbury Jail	Sudbury, ON	185	Yes
Thunder Bay Jail	Thunder Bay, ON	149	

**TABLE 1.3(MCSCS<sup>3</sup>, 2018)**

<b>DETENTION CENTRES (Max Security)</b>			
<b>Facility Name</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Capacity</b>	<b>French Language Services Offered</b>
Elgin-Middlesex Detention Centre	London, ON	450	
Hamilton-Wentworth Detention Centre	Hamilton, ON	560	Yes
Niagara Detention Centre	Thorold, ON	260	
Ottawa-Carleton Detention Centre	Ottawa, ON	585	Yes
Quinte Detention Centre	Napanee, ON	228	
South West Detention Centre	Maidstone, ON (Windsor)	315	Yes
Toronto Intermittent Centre	Toronto, ON	No Information on the Ministry's Website on Capacity	
Toronto South Detention Centre (visiting hours via video link)	Etobicoke, ON	1,650	
Toronto East Detention Centre	Scarborough, ON	473	

**TABLE 1.4 (MCSCS<sup>3</sup>, 2018)**

<b>TREATMENT CENTRES</b>			
<b>Facility</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Capacity</b>	<b>French Language Services Offered</b>
Algoma Treatment and Remand Centre	Sault Ste. Marie	104	Yes
Ontario Correctional Institute	Brampton, ON	228	
St. Lawrence Valley Correctional and Treatment Centre	Brockville, ON	100	
Vanier Centre for Women	Milton, ON	124	Yes

**TABLE 2****Federal Correctional Facilities in Ontario(CSC<sup>1</sup>, 2018)**

<b>Facility</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Security Level</b>
<b>Millhaven Institution</b>	Bath, Ontario	<b>Max</b>
<b>Regional Treatment Centre – Millhaven Institution</b>	Bath, Ontario	<b>Multi</b>
<b>Collins Bay Institution</b>	Kingston, Ontario	<b>Max/Med</b>
<b>Collins Bay Institution</b>	Kingston, Ontario	<b>Min</b>
<b>Beaver Creek Institution</b>	Gravenhurst, Ontario	<b>Med</b>
<b>Beaver Creek Institution</b>	Gravenhurst, Ontario	<b>Min</b>
<b>Joyceville Institution</b>	Kingston, Ontario	<b>Med</b>
<b>Joyceville Institution</b>	Kingston, Ontario	<b>Min</b>
<b>Warkworth Institution</b>	Campbellford, Ontario	<b>Med</b>
<b>Bath Institution</b>	Bath, Ontario	<b>Med</b>
<b>Regional Treatment Centre - Bath Institution</b>	Bath, Ontario	<b>Med</b>
<b>Grand Valley Institution for Women</b>	Kitchener, Ontario	<b>Multi</b>

**TABLE 3****Classification Determinants(MCSCS<sup>7</sup>, 2018)**

Reviewing all documentation relating to the inmate, such as	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>the release summary from the last known institution (if this is not the first time the inmate has been incarcerated)</li> <li>Canadian Police Information Centre (CPIC)</li> </ul>
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	<p>information</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Crown briefs</li> <li>• police synopses</li> <li>• Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) Finger Print Services records</li> <li>• previous correctional records</li> <li>• pre-sentence/disposition reports</li> <li>• judicial reasons for the sentence</li> <li>• clinical reports</li> <li>• administrative summaries</li> <li>• critical information exchange reports</li> <li>• in the case of an Ontario parole revocation, the original classification document</li> </ul>
<p>Using a process called Level of Service Inventory (LSI-OR) to assess the inmate according to the following criteria</p>	
<b>Sentence Information</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• circumstances and nature of offence(s)</li> <li>• length of service</li> <li>• court recommendations</li> <li>• victim impact statements</li> </ul>
<b>Criminal History</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• criminal record</li> <li>• co-accused</li> <li>• criminal association(s)</li> <li>• types of previous offences</li> <li>• outstanding charges</li> <li>• probation/parole history</li> </ul>
<b>Institutional History</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• behaviour/attitude</li> <li>• program/work participation</li> <li>• participation in disturbances/work stoppages</li> <li>• history of assault</li> <li>• unlawfully at large/escape incidents</li> <li>• possession/use of contraband</li> <li>• protective custody or other special needs</li> </ul>

<b>Personal History</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• place of residence</li> <li>• community ties</li> <li>• employment pattern</li> <li>• domestic stability</li> <li>• treatment/program participation</li> <li>• medical/psychiatric history</li> </ul>
<b>Security Classification and Admission Criteria for Ministry Institutions and Treatment Facilities</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• inmate's level of security and programming requirements</li> <li>• specific correctional centre and treatment facility admission criteria</li> <li>• requirement for French language services</li> </ul>
<b>Other Factors</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• sexually inappropriate or aggressive behaviour</li> <li>• immigration status</li> <li>• judicial recommendations</li> <li>• security needs, such as the safety of the community, other inmates and institutional staff</li> <li>• motivation and agreement to participate in a treatment program</li> <li>• past behaviour, such as a propensity toward aggressive behaviour, escape risk, protective custody needs</li> <li>• notoriety</li> </ul>

**TABLE 4****Work Program Initiatives (MCSCS<sup>9</sup>, 2018)**

<b>Industry</b>	<b>Product</b>	<b>Main Customer</b>
<b>Tailored products</b>	Clothing: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• inmate clothing</li> <li>• specialty security clothing</li> </ul>	Ministry of Community Safety and Correctional Services Law enforcement agencies
	Bedding:	Ministry of Community Safety and

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• fire retardant pillows</li> </ul>	Correctional Services
	Blankets	Ministry of Community Safety and Correctional Services Law enforcement agencies
<b>Linen service</b>	Central laundry	Ministry of Community Safety and Correctional Services
<b>Marker Plant</b>	all Ontario licence plates	Ministry of Government and Consumer Services
<b>Engraving</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• plaques</li> <li>• name plates</li> </ul>	Ontario Public Service