

Fwd: The Abolition Amendment is here!

From: Charlie Sullivan (cure@curenational.org)

To: ~~prisonadvocate@yahoo.com~~

Bcc: ~~prisonadvocate@yahoo.com~~

Date: Thursday, December 3, 2020, 06:27 AM EST

Dear friends, yesterday, Dec. 2, 2020, was an historic day in the prison reform movement!!! Charlie

Press release: <https://www.merkley.senate.gov/news/press-releases/merkley-clay-propose-constitutional-amendment-to-close-slavery-loop-hole-in-13th-amendment-2020>

News story: <https://apnews.com/article/jeff-merkley-constitutions-constitutional-amendments-slavery-6e13df5702725fc18c889eb6762771c3>

Social:

TW: <https://twitter.com/SenJeffMerkley/status/1334207363176390658?s=20>

FB: <https://www.facebook.com/jeffmerkley/posts/10157701426536546>

News Release . . .

United States Congress

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

December 2, 2020

Merkley, Clay Propose Constitutional Amendment to Close Slavery Loophole in 13th Amendment

Indisputably racist exception permitting slavery as punishment for crime has fueled systemic racism in criminal justice for 150 years

Today 900,000 individuals in the U.S. still forced to work for others' profit

WASHINGTON, D.C. – Oregon's U.S. Senator Jeff Merkley and Representative William Lacy Clay (D-MO-1) today introduced the *Abolition Amendment*, which would strike the 'Punishment Clause' of the 13th Amendment in order to finally abolish slavery in the United States.

The 13th Amendment abolished most—but not all—slavery, permitting slavery or involuntary servitude "as a punishment for crime." The *Abolition Amendment* would finally finish the job started by the Civil War, Emancipation Proclamation, and 13th Amendment and end the morally reprehensible practice of slavery and forced labor in America, and send a clear message: in this

country, no person will be stripped of their basic humanity and forced to toil for someone else's profit.

"America was founded on beautiful principles of equality and justice and horrific realities of slavery and white supremacy, and if we are ever going to fully deliver on the principles we have to directly confront the realities," **said Senator Merkley**. "The exception to the 13th Amendment's ban on slavery corrupted criminal justice into a tool of racist control of Black Americans and other people of color, and we see that legacy every day in police encounters, courtrooms, and prisons throughout our country. Slavery is incompatible with justice. No slavery, no exceptions."

"Our *Abolition Amendment* seeks to finish the job that President Lincoln started by ending the punishment clause in the 13th Amendment to eliminate the dehumanizing and discriminatory forced labor of prisoners for profit that has been used to drive the over-incarceration of African Americans since the end of the Civil War. No American should ever be subject to involuntary servitude, even if they are incarcerated," **said Congressman Clay**.

"As we take on the long and difficult challenge of rooting out systemic racism in our nation, ending the slavery loophole in the 13th Amendment is critical step in that challenge. Slavery is our nation's original sin and this loophole has been exploited for far too long to criminalize Black and Brown Americans. I am proud to cosponsor the Abolition Amendment that pushes us as a nation to address our failures and create a path towards true justice for all Americans," **said Senator Markey**.

"Systemic racism, in all its ugly forms, must be rooted out and eliminated from American institutions. This change to the 13th Amendment will finally fully rid our nation of a form of legalized slavery and prevent the shameful use of forced labor in our prison systems. This is a long overdue step on our road to a more just and equal country for all," **said Senator Van Hollen**.

Following the ratification of the 13th Amendment, including the Punishment Clause, in 1865, Southern jurisdictions arrested Black Americans in large numbers for minor crimes, like loitering or vagrancy, codified in new 'Black Codes,' which were only applied to Black Americans. The Punishment Clause was then used by sheriffs to lease out imprisoned individuals to work landowners' fields, which in some cases included the very same plantations where they had been enslaved. The practice grew in prevalence and scope to the point that, by 1898, 73% of Alabama's state revenue came from renting out the forced labor of Black Americans.

The Punishment Clause's facilitating and incentivizing of minor crime convictions continued to drive the over-incarceration of Black Americans throughout the Jim Crow era. Ultimately, by creating a financial incentive for mass incarceration, it also continued to fan the flames of the War on Drugs and the proliferation of 'three strike' laws, severe plea deals, and harsh mandatory minimum policies, which have had a disproportionate impact on communities of color in America for generations.

Those policies have driven an \$80 billion detention industry and a rate of American incarceration that is nothing short of a crisis, with 2.3 million prisoners—20% of the world's incarcerated population—residing in the United States.

"This change is long overdue. The punishment clause in the 13th amendment is a legacy of slavery that has allowed people incarcerated, disproportionately Black and brown, to be exploited for decades. It is long past time that Congress excise this language from the US Constitution which should begin to put an end the abusive practices derived from it," **said Deputy Director of the US Program at Human Rights Watch Laura Pitter**.

"While the U.S. government condemns other countries for permitting and even encouraging forced labor, our own system of prison labor often contradicts our values - and our own laws against labor trafficking. We are grateful to Senator Merkley and Representative Lacy Clay for taking this step toward ending forced labor and labor trafficking in the U.S. prison system," **said Polaris CEO Catherine Chen.**

"The systematic exploitation of incarcerated people is immoral. Incarceration is not a justification for inhumane compensation. This relic of slavery strips people of their dignity and harms their chances of successful rehabilitation and re-entry. Enough is enough. I'm proud to support Senator Merkley in his goal to put an end to forced labor and end the slavery loophole once and for all," **said Dream Corps CEO Nisha Anand.**

"Since the founding, Americans have worked to make our union ever more perfect, bending the arc of our Constitution further toward progress. This Amendment—prohibiting the enslavement and involuntary servitude of persons convicted of crimes—is a painfully overdue continuation of the effort to make us more equal, more inclusive, and more free. We simply cannot allow any exception to the prohibition against slavery and involuntary servitude to persist in our nation's governing charter," **said Constitutional Accountability Center President Elizabeth Wydra.**

"We want to thank Sen. Merkley and Rep. Clay for their leadership on this important racial justice issue, and for shining a light on something that is not just about a symbol or a vestige of the past, but something that reverberates and has consequences today," **said Clint Odom, Senior Vice President for Policy and Advocacy, National Urban League.**

"Many Nebraskans were unaware our state constitution still contained language that permitted slavery and involuntary servitude, but when given the opportunity to make a meaningful change, to take a step towards righting a wrong, we did - because we understood this isn't a partisan issue but a moral one," **said Vote for Eliminating Slavery in Nebraska Treasurer Melina Cohen.**

The *Abolition Amendment* is supported by The Sentencing Project, Polaris, the Abolish Slavery National Network, the Constitutional Accountability Center, Amnesty International, the Anti-Recidivism Coalition, Human Rights Watch, Color of Change, the Justice Round Table Coalition, Indivisible, Democracy For America, International CURE, Dream Corps, and Alliance of Families for Justice.

Merkley and Clay were joined in the introduction by U.S. Senators Chris Van Hollen (D-MD), Edward J. Markey (D-MA), and Bernard Sanders (I-VT), and by U.S. Representatives Cedric Richmond (D-LA-2), Katherine Clark (D-MA-5), André Carson (D-IN-7), Danny K. Davis (D-IL-7), Marc Veasey (D-TX-33), Alcee Hastings (D-FL-20), Raúl Grijalva (D-AZ-3), Sylvia Garcia (D-TX-29), Frederica Wilson (D-FL-24), Nanette Diaz Barragán (D-CA-44), David Trone (D-MD-6), Abigail Spanberger (D-VA-7), Deb Haaland (D-NM-1), and Gwen Moore (D-WI-4).

The full text of the legislation is available [here](#). A summary can be found [here](#).

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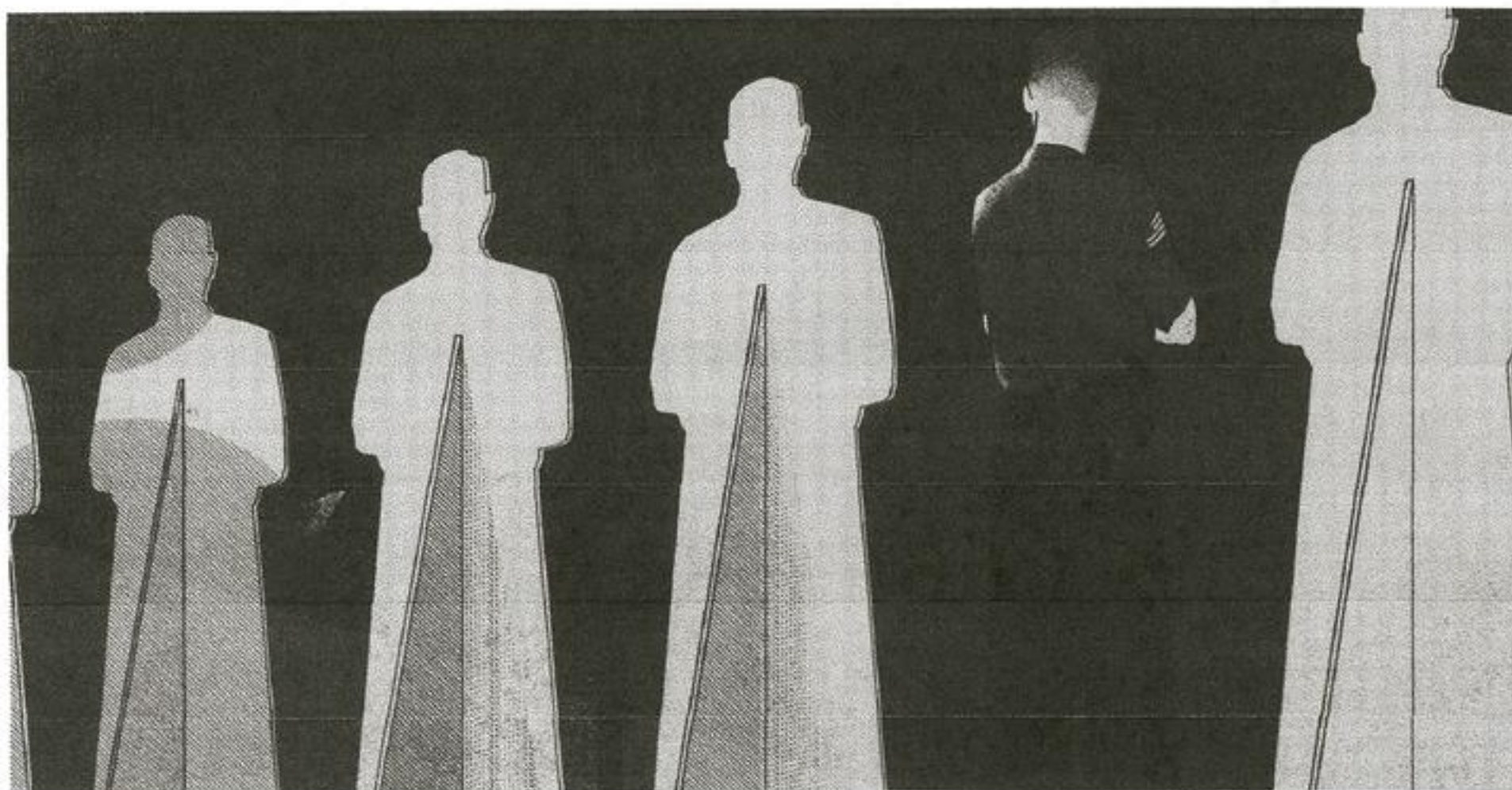
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FEATURE

No-Show Prison Workers Cost Mississippi Taxpayers Millions

Prisoners, guards face danger from chronic understaffing by MTC



JUAN BERNABEU FOR THE MARSHALL PROJECT

By JOSEPH NEFF and ALYSIA SANTO

When Darrell Adams showed up for an overnight shift at the Marshall County Correctional Facility in rural Mississippi, he was one of six officers guarding about 1,000 prisoners.

Adams said he thought that was normal; only half-a-dozen guards had been turning up each night during the three months he'd worked at the prison, which is run by Management & Training Corporation. He didn't know the state's contract with MTC required at least 19 officers.

This article was published in partnership with [The Clarion-Ledger](#), [Mississippi Today](#) and [The Mississippi Center for Investigative Reporting](#).

On April 3, 2019, Adams escorted a nurse to deliver medicine in a unit where the most dangerous prisoners were held in solitary confinement. The contract required a sergeant and an officer to be there at all times. But that night, Adams and the nurse said, he was the sole guard working the unit, and was also covering for six absent officers in three other buildings.

As Adams was leaving the unit, a prisoner slipped out of his cell, sneaked up behind Adams and smashed his head into the steel door frame. As the nurse watched in horror, the prisoner dragged Adams inside the cell block, shut the door and beat him unconscious.



Darrell Adams was working the overnight shift at the understaffed Marshall County Correctional Facility in Holly Springs, Miss., when he was beaten unconscious by a prisoner in 2019. ANDREA MORALES FOR THE MARSHALL PROJECT

Prisons across the country, both public and private, are struggling with staff shortages. But the circumstances that led to the attack on Adams illustrate a perverse financial incentive unique to private prisons: While fewer workers means more danger for staff and incarcerated people, it can create more profit for companies like MTC.

This problem is acute in Mississippi, where state officials failed to enforce contractual penalties that punish short staffing. Instead, they continued to pay MTC the salaries of absent employees, aka ghost workers.

By contract, MTC must have a set number of guards on every shift at its three Mississippi prisons. When a mandatory position isn't filled, the company is supposed to repay the state the wages plus a 25 percent penalty. At the prison where Adams was attacked, the company paid some refunds to the state for several years. But MTC invoices show those repayments dropped from more than \$700,000 in 2017 to only \$23,000 in 2018, even as the staff vacancy rate rose.

In the company's two other Mississippi prisons, MTC didn't repay a penny from 2013 to 2019, despite understaffing, allowing the company to pocket millions of taxpayers' dollars for ghost workers' pay, according to records analyzed by The Marshall Project.

Other states have forced MTC and other private prison companies to pay back millions of dollars for vacant positions and other contractual violations. Some came to light after riots, escapes, murders and sexual assaults drew attention to the company's staffing shortfalls.

Neither MTC nor state officials would discuss how much the company owes for unfilled shifts. To estimate that amount, The Marshall Project obtained the company's monthly invoices through public records requests, as well as data on vacant positions MTC submitted to the state from 2013 to 2019. Our analysis showed that MTC should have repaid about \$6 million at Wilkinson County Correctional Facility, \$950,000 at East Mississippi Correctional Facility, and \$800,000 at Marshall.

MTC spokesman Issa Arnita declined to address our analysis. He attributed staff shortages to low pay resulting from a state law that requires private prisons to cost 10 percent less to operate than public facilities, as well as the small labor pools near the rural prisons.

"Attempting to make a connection between staff shortages and profit is reckless and wrong," Arnita said. "Our goal is always to have all vacancies filled."

After eight years of contracting with MTC, the Mississippi Department of Corrections said that in recent months it began withholding payments from the company for failing to meet staffing requirements. Corrections Commissioner Burl Cain declined an interview request.

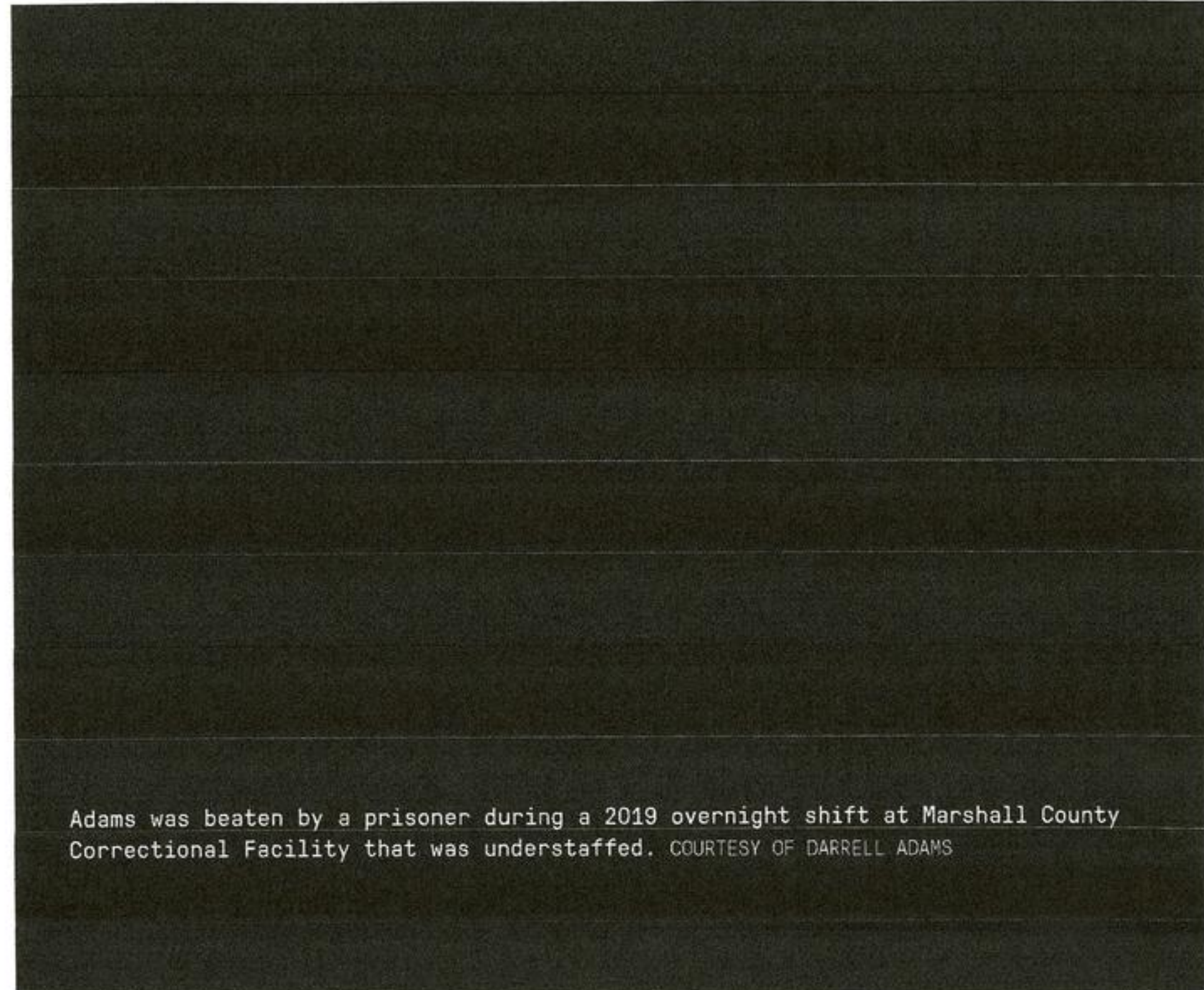
In a statement, he said his department has withheld \$208,000 from MTC for unfilled positions since he took office in June.

Although MTC is the nation's third-largest private prison company, it lacks the high public profile and notoriety of its larger publicly traded rivals, CoreCivic and GEO Group.

Based in Centerville, Utah, MTC is privately owned and run by a prominent Utah family, the Marquardts. Through the company spokesman, members of the family declined to comment.

Created to seek contracts to operate federal job training centers, MTC expanded into private prisons in 1987. The company now runs 20 prisons in the United States and two overseas, as well as five immigrant detention facilities. Dun & Bradstreet reports the company had annual revenues of \$667 million.

MTC has a long history of failing to meet contractual obligations in its prisons, in some cases with violent consequences.



Adams was beaten by a prisoner during a 2019 overnight shift at Marshall County Correctional Facility that was understaffed. COURTESY OF DARRELL ADAMS

In 2006, the company built what was then the nation's largest immigration detention facility north of Brownsville, Texas. It was understaffed, according to human rights groups, and there were complaints of poor medical care and nutrition, as well as allegations of physical and sexual abuse of detainees. MTC's spokesman said those claims were "not true and were never substantiated." The federal government closed the facility in 2015 after prisoners seized control for two days and set it on fire, leading the government to declare it "uninhabitable."

A similar situation unfolded at the Kingman prison in Arizona, which MTC was hired to run in 2004. Two years later, prison officials said MTC's understaffing violated its contract. But the dysfunction at Kingman wasn't fully revealed until 2010, when a group of prisoners escaped and carjacked and murdered a retired couple. State investigators blamed a broken alarm system, unsecured doors, and untrained staff.

Arizona prison officials levied nearly \$2 million in fines between 2006 and 2013 for understaffing. Still, the deficiencies remained. In 2015, a three-day riot broke out; 16 people were injured and the facility was badly damaged. State officials described "a culture of disorganization, disengagement, and disregard," and soon after, the governor cancelled MTC's contract. The company disputes the state's findings.

In Mississippi, MTC understaffing was an issue at a 2018 trial after civil rights groups sued over bad prison conditions. The corrections commissioner at the time, Pelicia Hall, took the witness stand and was asked whether MTC had repaid the state for ghost workers.

"I am not aware of that," Hall testified. She did not respond to messages from The Marshall Project.

Even after that court appearance, Hall and other prison officials failed to impose financial penalties on MTC as low staffing made its prisons increasingly dangerous.

Wilkinson, a high-security prison for 950 men, was so violent and understaffed that its then-warden admitted in a 2018 internal audit that he had ceded control to prison gangs. Yet MTC invoices show the company refunded nothing to the state for vacant positions at Wilkinson between 2013 and 2019. The state paid MTC \$87 million to run the prison over this period.

In the internal audit, MTC noted that Wilkinson routinely failed to fill two or three mandatory positions every shift. The overnight shift was the worst: A dozen officers have told The Marshall Project that it was common for five or six guards to run the prison when the contract called for a minimum of 30 overnight.

Markus Chatman, 31, had been working at Wilkinson for two months when he was stabbed in May of 2019 in the prison's most dangerous unit.

He and his coworkers were escorting men to and from the showers one afternoon when a prisoner pulled out a shank and demanded his keys. Chatman says the other two officers fled as he struggled with the prisoner, who stabbed him in the back and collarbone and sliced his arm. He

estimated only a dozen guards had shown up to work the day he was attacked; the contract requires 43 officers on the day shift.

Chatman returned to work but quit a few weeks later. The prison is "very understaffed," he said. People fail to show up for shifts so often, he said, "you wouldn't believe they still had a job there."

MTC did not respond to questions about Chatman's assertions.

It's difficult to put an exact dollar amount on how much MTC owes the state for ghost workers. The Marshall Project's estimate is conservative and based on MTC invoices and monthly vacancy reports. A former manager said Wilkinson undoubtedly owed the state more than The Marshall Project's estimate of \$6 million.

More precise numbers could have been found in shift rosters filed with the state, but Mississippi officials denied The Marshall Project's public records request for those documents. Payroll data would be even more exact, but those records are not public because they are maintained by MTC. Employee pay is the single biggest cost of running a prison.

MTC went to court to try to redact staffing patterns from contracts that have been posted for years on the website transparency.mississippi.gov. The Marshall Project is suing to obtain weekly reports from state officials responsible for monitoring the prisons; the corrections department had agreed to provide these records until MTC intervened, citing security concerns.

"Private prison companies are always trying to minimize their operating costs, because that is how they increase their margins and revenue," said Shahrzad Habibi, research and policy director of In the Public Interest, which opposes privatization of public services. Habibi has analyzed dozens of private prison contracts nationwide, and says understaffing and paying subpar wages are common ways to increase profits.

"That's taxpayer money that could actually be reinvested in the system to make it better," she said.



The Marshall County Correctional Facility in Mississippi is run by Management & Training Corporation. The state's contract with MTC requires at least 19 officers per overnight shift, but former employees said some nights, there were only 6 guards. ANDREA MORALES FOR THE MARSHALL PROJECT

At the Marshall prison, short staffing eroded medical care, according to Dr. Amy Woods, who according to court records fought with prison officials when they refused to take injured prisoners to the hospital for appropriate medical care.

Woods worked for Centurion, a private health care provider hired by the corrections department. She declined to speak with The Marshall Project, but her story is detailed in the federal employment lawsuit she filed against MTC, Centurion, and the warden after she was pushed out last year. MTC declined to discuss the case.

Woods' suit said that in April 2019, the warden delayed her order to take a prisoner who said he was raped to a hospital for evaluation, even though DNA evidence must be collected as soon as possible.

Two months later, a nurse told Woods that a prisoner bit off a big chunk of another man's ear, according to Woods' lawsuit. Fearing the victim could bleed to death, Woods ordered he be taken to the local hospital. The emergency doctor said the injury was too severe to be treated there, and urged Woods to transfer the man to a medical center in Jackson, the state capital.

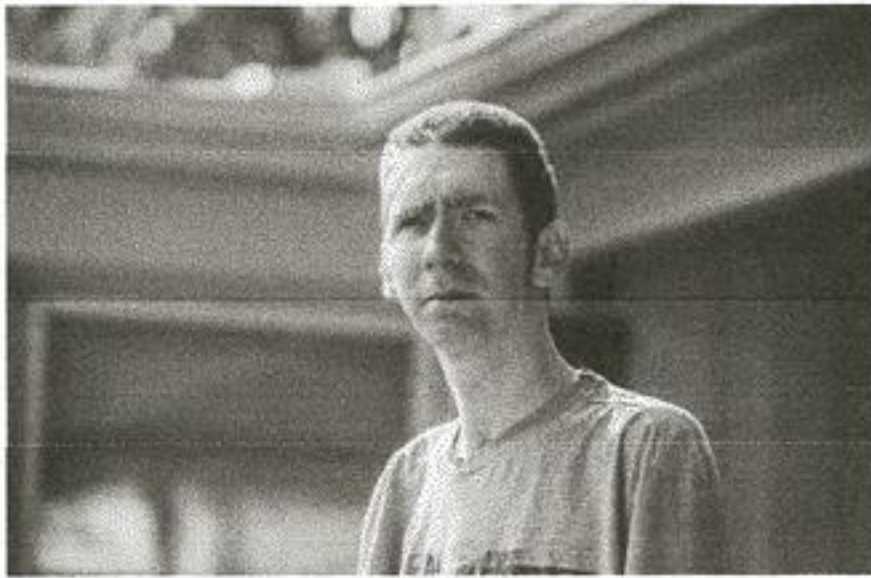
Woods agreed, the lawsuit says. But a prison captain told Woods that there were not enough guards available and ordered the man returned to prison. Woods recalled her reply: "If his ear rots off and he sues someone, it's going to be you and not me." Prison officials eventually relented and sent the man to Jackson late that afternoon.

Two days after that incident, the warden accused Woods of disclosing the short staffing problems to a local legislator who chaired the House Corrections Committee, her lawsuit says. Woods denied it.

That legislator was state Rep. Bill Kinkade, who testified in a deposition in Woods' case that a different prison employee had complained that the extreme short staffing made Marshall

dangerous for staff and prisoners. Kinkade said he took his concerns to top state corrections officials, but the short staffing continued.

The warden revoked Woods' security clearance, effectively firing her, even though she worked for Centurion. Kinkade, the warden, and MTC declined to comment on Woods' case, which is scheduled for trial in January. Centurion did not respond to requests for comment.



A prisoner shattered Darrell Adams' eye socket, cheek and jaw in a beating in April 2019. Adams has since left his job at Marshall County Correctional Facility. ANDREA MORALES FOR THE MARSHALL PROJECT

For those who work at MTC prisons, the consequences of the short staffing can be permanent. Adams, the corrections officer beaten at Marshall last year, said he doesn't remember being attacked. He slipped in and out of consciousness as he was put on a helicopter and flown to a trauma center in Memphis, where doctors diagnosed traumatic brain injury, he said. Surgeons used six slim metal strips to wire together his shattered eye socket, cheek and jaw.

Adams never returned to Marshall. He drives a tow truck now. He says that throbbing pain in his cheek reminds him daily of his three months as a correctional officer.

"I really want somebody to crack down on this prison, because this prison really dropped the ball," he said. "I should have never been there by myself." lll

The System: Inside America's Sprawling System of Incarceration

From: The Marshall Project (info@themarshallproject.org)

To: [REDACTED]

Date: Thursday, December 3, 2020, 06:09 PM EST

The United States of Incarceration

The United States incarcerates more people per capita than any other developed country. In March 2020, before many COVID-19-related releases took place, about 2.3 million people were imprisoned in state, federal, military and U.S. territory prisons; local and federal jails; juvenile and immigration detention centers; Indian Country jails; civil commitment centers and state psychiatric hospitals.

Conditions in jails, prisons and detention centers are often harsh, including the use of solitary confinement, poor mental and physical healthcare, revolting food, unsafe buildings and violence.



Mississippi Prisons: No One's Safe, Not Even the Guards

THE MARSHALL PROJECT

Jails v. Prisons

Jails are usually run by a city, local district or county, and they house people who are newly arrested or awaiting trial or sentencing. People sentenced to less than a year may serve all of their time in jail. Prisons are long-term facilities for people convicted of serious crimes. They tend to be under state or federal jurisdiction. Each year, according to the Prison Policy Initiative, over 600,000 people go to prison. People go to jail 10.6 million times a year, including those who cycle in and out due to mental illness, substance abuse and poverty.



The Growing Racial Disparity in Prison Time

THE MARSHALL PROJECT

The Makings of Mass Incarceration

The system in which many people are imprisoned for decades at significant cost to taxpayers and families is called mass incarceration. Rather than an inevitable outcome, mass incarceration is the result of a series of political choices.

Before the 1970s, 100 people out of every 100,000 were incarcerated. In 2018, 655 people out of 100,000 were behind bars. Mass incarceration has had a disproportionate effect on Black and Latino people. In 2016, the incarceration rate for White people was 465 per 100,000, while Latinos made up 1,091 and Blacks comprised 2,724.

Some historians trace the beginning to President Richard Nixon's War on Drugs, declared in 1971. "The declaration and escalation of the War on Drugs marked a moment in our history when a group of people defined by race and class was defined as the 'enemy,'" Michelle Alexander, author of "The New Jim Crow," told The Marshall Project in 2017. Other researchers point to an actual rise in violent crime, as opposed to drug crimes, in the 1970s through the 1990s. This led to the hiring of more prosecutors, greater prosecutorial power and more felony convictions, many through plea bargains.

While in recent years the rate of incarceration has dropped substantially, especially for young Black men, "the racial disparity remains so vast that it's pretty hard to celebrate," John Pfaff, a Fordham University law professor and expert on criminal justice statistics told The Marshall Project in 2017. "How exactly do you talk about 'less horrific?'"

Timeline

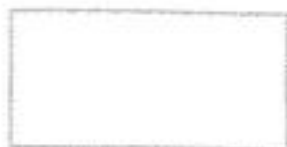
- 1790 With the construction of single cells, Philadelphia's Walnut Street Jail becomes what is considered America's first prison, for "reflection and repentance."
- 1865 After the Civil War, many Southern states rent out formerly enslaved Black prisoners to private companies, forcing them to work on plantations, railways and mines without pay. The convict leasing system, which lasts until the 1930s, essentially enslaves Black people convicted of petty crimes such as breaking curfew and vagrancy.
- 1871 The ruling in *Ruffin v. Commonwealth* establishes that an incarcerated person "is for the time being the slave of the State." For nearly a century, this means prisoners are denied basic constitutional rights and have little access to the courts.
- 1891 The federal prison system is established.
- 1963-1964 Two landmark rulings establish the right of incarcerated people to challenge the legality and conditions of their imprisonment and their entitlement to civil rights protections. The decisions allow incarcerated people to file grievances.
- 1971 Prisoners at Attica Correctional Facility in New York take control of the facility following the killing of Black political activist and author George Jackson. After days of fruitless negotiations with Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, state troopers storm the prison, killing 39 people.
- 1975 The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals rules on behalf of four prisoners at Louisiana State Penitentiary who had filed a lawsuit arguing that officials racially segregated prisoners, discriminated against Muslims and provided inadequate medical care. A series of reforms are established at the prison.
- 1987 In *Turner v. Safley*, the Supreme Court rules that incarcerated people have the right to marry and cannot be wholly prevented from exercising their First Amendment rights.
- 1994 The Violent Crime Control Act, commonly known as the 1994 crime bill, bans Pell Grants for people in prison. College programs dwindle.
- 1996 The Prison Litigation Reform Act makes it harder for prisoners to file federal lawsuits and sue the state by requiring them to first try to resolve any complaints through the prison's grievance procedures.

- | | |
|------|---|
| 2013 | Nearly 30,000 incarcerated people in California participate in a hunger strike to protest the state's use of long-term solitary confinement, some for more than a decade. |
| 2015 | The Obama administration launches the Second Chance Pell Program, offering grants to 67 colleges and universities programs in prisons. There are now 130 programs across the country. |
| 2018 | Incarcerated people organize a national prison strike to raise awareness about prison conditions. Among the demands: reestablishing Pell Grants for prisoners and repealing the Prison Litigation Reform Act. |

A First Step?

Although the U.S. prison population has declined slightly over the past decade, major challenges remain in reducing it further. In 2018, Congress passed the bipartisan First Step Act, which reduced the length of some sentences, including retroactive reduction of about 2,600 involving crack cocaine. The First Step act also gave judges the authority to ignore mandatory minimum sentencing, and gave incarcerated people access to more services.

The First Step Act though, only applies to the federal prison population, less than 20 percent of all people who are incarcerated. Some prison reform activists have started to focus on prosecutors, who have wide discretion over which cases go to trial and what crimes defendants are charged with.



Okay, What's the Second Step?

The Deep Dive

Watch



Justice for All

NBC

In this series of reports, NBC Nightly News anchor Lester Holt spends time in Louisiana State Penitentiary, conducts a town hall featuring Bryan Stevenson, and interviews Cyntoia Brown-Long, Ava DuVernay and News Inside editor Lawrence Bartley, among others.

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70 Million

Lantigua Williams & Co.

This podcast by Lantigua Williams & Co. tells the stories of people who live in the vicinity of local jails.



Justice In America

The Appeal

The Appeal's wide-ranging criminal justice podcast often focuses on prisons, jails and detention centers—and the activism in and around them.

Read



In Their Own Words: Millennials, Meth and Mass Incarceration

The Marshall Project

Incarcerated people are rarely, if ever, polled about their political beliefs. That's why we did a survey of thousands.



How to Count the Hidden Prisoners

The Marshall Project

At the end of 2019, the U.S. Department of Justice reported that there were 2.3 million people in U.S. prisons and jails. But that number doesn't include the 1.5 million people who are in state and federal prisons and jails but are not counted in the official statistics.

A look at how much time people incarcerated in the 1980s and '90s due to tough-on-crime policies actually serve.

○ **The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration In the Age of Colorblindness**

Michelle Alexander

In the 2010 bestseller, civil rights lawyer and legal scholar Michelle Alexander argues that the criminal justice system replicates the racist social policies of the Jim Crow era, relegating Black Americans to second-class citizenship.

○ **Locked In: The True Causes of Mass Incarceration and How to Achieve Real Reform**

John Pfaff

Fordham University law professor John Pfaff sets out to debunk conventional wisdom about the roots of mass incarceration.

○ **Marked Racism: Reflections on the Prison Industrial Complex**

Angela Y. Davis

On the History Is a Weapon website, activist and scholar Angela Y. Davis breaks down an oft-used political term: the prison industrial complex.

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Illustration by Ana Galvañ for The Marshall Project.

Edited by Akiba Solomon, designed by Elan Kiderman and produced by Gabe Isman.

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