

History of Punishment, Policing, and Protest Reading List

Compiled by the History Department at Seattle University – June 2020

Radical opposition to the global prison industrial complex sees the anitprison movement as a vital means of expanding the terrain on which the quest for democracy will unfold. This movement is thus antiracist, anticapitalist, antisexist, and antihomophobic. It calls for the abolition of the prison as the dominant mode of punishment but at the same time recognizes the need for genuine solidarity with the millions of men, women, and children who are behind bars.

Angela Davis, *Are Prisons Obsolete?* (103)

I. Reading Lists

1. [Community and Protest Reading List](#) (Humanities New York, June 2020)
2. [Resource Guide: Prisons, Policing, and Punishment](#) (Micah Herskind, Medium 2019)
3. [TransformHarm Resources for Transformative Justice](#) (TransformHarm.org by Mariame Kaba)
4. [Institutionalized Racism: A Syllabus](#) (from JSTOR - humanities centered online database)
5. [Charlottesville Syllabus: Readings on the History of Hate in America](#) (JSTOR - humanities centered online database)
6. [#StandingRockSyllabus](#) (from the NYC Stands with Standing Rock Collective)
7. [An Anti-Racist Reading List](#) (by Ibram X. Kendi for the New York Times - subscription required)
8. [The Anti-Racist Reading List](#) (by Ibram X. Kendi for the Atlantic - 5 free articles)
9. [Queer Theory Reading List](#) (Brown University LGBTQ Center)
10. [Upping the Anti: A Journal of Theory and Action](#) (history and movement centered journal)
11. [The Appeal](#) (online magazine with a focus on intersection of politics and criminal justice issues)
12. [From Gandhi to Chomsky: A Reading List in these times of Citizen Act protest](#) [focus on India - Scroll.in June 2020]
13. [A Short Reading List for Radicalizing Your Parents](#) (GQ Magazine, June 2020)

II. History of the Carceral State & Mass Incarceration:

1. Sasha Abramsky, *American Furies: Crime, Punishment, and Vengeance in the Age of Mass Incarceration* (2007)
2. Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* (2010)
3. Edward L. Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice: Crime and Punishment in the 19th Century American South* (1984)
4. Douglas Blackmon, *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II* (2008)
5. Fitzhugh W. Brundage, *Lynching in the New South: Georgia and Virginia, 1880-1930* (1993)
6. Jordan T. Camp, *Incarcerating the Crisis: Freedom Struggles and the Rise of the Neoliberal State* (2016)

7. Robert T. Chase, *We Are Not Slaves: State Violence, Coerced Labor, and Prisoners' Rights in Postwar America* (2020)
8. Robert T. Chase, ed., *Caging Border and Carceral States: Incarcerations, Immigrations, Detentions, and Resistance* (2019)
9. Mary Ellen Curtin, "'Please Hear Our Cries:' The Hidden History of Black Prisoners in America," in *The Punitive Turn* (2013)
10. Mara L. Dodge, *'Whores and Thieves of the Worst Kind': A Study of Women, Crime, and Prisons, 1835-1900* (2002)
11. W.E.B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903)
12. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* (1979)
13. David Garland, *Punishment in Modern Society: A Study of Social Theory* (1990)
14. Ruth Wilson Gilmore, *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus Labor, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California* (2007)
15. Marie Gottschalk, *The Prison and the Gallows: The Politics of Mass Incarceration in America* (2006)
16. Aya Gruber, *The Feminist War on Crime: The Unexpected Role of Women's Liberation in Mass Incarceration* (2020)
17. Sarah Haley, *No Mercy Here: Gender, Punishment, and the Making of Jim Crow Modernity* (2016)
18. Tara Herivel and Paul Wright, eds., *Prison Nation: The Warehousing of America's Poor* (2003)
19. Tara Herivel and Paul Wright, eds., *Prison Profiteers: Who Makes Money from Mass Incarceration* (2007)
20. César Cuauhtémoc García Hernández, *Migrating to Prison: America's Obsession with Locking Up Immigrants* (2019)
21. Kelly Lytle Hernández, *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles, 1771–1965* (2017)
22. Henry Kamerling, *Capital and Convict: Race, Region, and Punishment in Post-Civil War America* (2017)
23. Talitha L. LeFlouria, *Chained in Silence: Black Women and Convict Labor in the New South* (2015)
24. Patricia Macías-Rojas, *From Deportation to Prison: The Politics of Immigration Enforcement in Post-Civil Rights America* (2016)
25. Deborah E. McDowell, Claurena N. Harold, and Juan Battle, eds., *The Punitive Turn: New Approaches to Race and Incarceration* (2013)

26. Rebecca M. McLennan, *The Crisis of Imprisonment: Protest, Politics, and the Making of the American Penal State, 1776-1941* (2008)
27. Khalil Gibran Muhammad, *The Condemnation of Blackness: Race, Crime, and the Making of Modern Urban America* (2010)
28. Naomi Murakawa, *The First Civil Right: How Liberals Built Prison America* (2014)
29. Darius Rejali, *Torture and Democracy* (2007)
30. Lorna A. Rhodes, *Total Confinement: Madness and Reason in the Maximum Security Prison* (2004)
31. Beth E. Richie *Arrested Justice: Black Women, Violence, and America's Prison Nation* (2013)
32. Jeffery Ian Ross, ed., *The Globalization of Supermax Prisons* (2013)
33. James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (1992)
34. Eric A. Stanley and Nat Smith, *Captive Genders: Trans Embodiment and the Prison Industrial Complex* (2015)
35. Heather Ann Thompson, *Blood in the Water: The Attica Uprising on 1971 and Its Legacy* (2016)
36. Heather Ann Thompson, "Why Mass Incarceration Matters: Rethinking Crisis, Decline, and Transformation in Postwar American History," *Journal of American History* 97 (December 2010): 703-34.
37. Amy Louise Wood, *Lynching and Spectacle: Witnessing Racial Violence in America, 1890-1940* (2011)
38. Amy Louise Wood and Natalie J. Ring, eds., *Crime and Punishment in the Jim Crow South* (2019)

III. Prison Abolition & Prisoner Rights Scholarship:

1. Abolition Collective, *Abolishing Carceral Society* (from the *Abolition: Journal of Insurgent Politics*, 2018)
2. Dan Berger, *The Struggle Within: Prisons, Political Prisoners, and Mass Movements in the United States* (2014)
3. Dan Berger, *Captive Nation: Black Prison Organizing in the Civil Rights Era* (2016)
4. Dan Berger and Toussaint Losier, *Rethinking the American Prison Movement* (2017)
5. Dan Berger, "From Dachau with Love: George Jackson, Black Radical Memory, and the Transnational Political Vision of Political Abolition," *Caging Borders and Carceral States* (2018)

6. Michelle Brown and Judah Schept, "New Abolition, Criminology and a Critical Carceral Studies," *Punishment & Society* 2017, Vol. 19(4) 440–462
7. Jordon T. Camp and Christina Heatherton, eds., *Policing the Planet: Why the Policing Crisis led to Black Lives Matter* (2016)
8. CR10 Publications Collective, eds., *Abolition NOW! Ten Years of Strategy and Struggle against the Prison Industrial Complex* (2008)
9. Angela Davis, *Are Prisons Obsolete?* (2003)
10. Angela Y. Davis and Dylan Rodriguez, "The Challenge of Prison Abolition: A Conversation," *Social Justice*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (81): 212-218
11. Martha Escobar, "No One Is Criminal," *Abolition NOW!* (2008): 57-69
12. David Gilbert, "A System within The System: The Prison Industrial Complex and Imperialism," *Abolition NOW!* (2008): 31-39
13. Ruth Wilson Gilmore, "[The Worrying State of the Anti-Prison Movement](#)," ([Links to an external site.](#)) *Social Justice* (Feb 2015)
14. Colleen Hackett and Ben Turk, "Shifting Carceral Landscapes: Decarceration and the Reconfiguration of White Supremacy," *Abolishing the Carceral State* (2018): 23-50
15. [Harvard Law Review: Prison Abolition](#) (2019: links to readings, resources, information)
16. Kelly Lytle Hernandez, "Amnesty or Abolition: Felons, Illegals, and the Case for a New Abolition Movement," *Boom: A Journal of California* (Winter 2011)
17. John Stephen Hartnett, ed., *Challenging the Prison Industrial Complex: Activism, Arts, and Education Alternatives* (2010)
18. Rachel Herzing and Justin Piche, *How to Abolish Prisons: Lessons from the Movement Against Imprisonment* (forthcoming 2021)
19. Mariame Kaba, David Stein, Dan Berger, "[What Abolitionists Do](#)" ([Links to an external site.](#)) in *Jacobin*
20. Robin D.G. Kelley, "Thug Nation: On State Violence and Disposability," *Policing the Planet* (2016): 15-33
21. Peter Kletsan, "Revolution and Restorative Justice: An Anarchist Perspective," *Abolishing Carceral Society* (2018): 195-207
22. Rachel Kushner, "[Is Prison Necessary? Ruth Wilson Gilmore Might Change Your Mind](#)" ([Links to an external site.](#)) in *New York Times Magazine*, April 17, 2019

23. Vijay Prashad, "This Ends Badly: Race and Capitalism," *Policing the Planet* (2016): 283-297
24. Prison Research Education Action, ed., *Instead Of Prisons: A Handbook For Abolitionists* (2005)
25. Dylan Rodriguez, "Warfare and the Terms of Engagement," *Abolition NOW!* (2008): 91-101
26. Mick Ryan & Tony Ward, "Prison Abolition in the UK: They Dare Not Speak Its Name?" *Social Justice* Vol. 41, No. 3: 107-119.
27. David Scott, ed., *Against Imprisonment: An Anthology of Abolitionist Essays* (2018)
28. David Turner III, #RESISTCAPITALISM to #FUNDBLACKFUTURES: Black Youth, Political Economy, and the Twenty-First Century Black Radical Imagination," *Abolishing the Carceral State* (2018): 217-227

IV. History of Policing and Police Brutality:

1. Amal Ahmad, "["There Are No Checks and Balances': Two Texas Criminal Justice Experts on the Fight for Police Reform,"](#) (Links to an external site.) in *Texas Monthly* (June 5, 2020)
2. Simon Balto, *Occupied Territory: Policing Black Chicago from Red Summer to Black Power* (2020)
3. Radley Balko, *Rise of the Warrior Cop: The Militarization of America's Police Forces* (2013)
4. Jamelle Bouie, "["The Police Are Rioting. We Need to Talk About It."](#) (Links to an external site.) *New York Times Opinion*, June 5, 2020
5. Paul Butler, *Chokehold: Policing Black Men* (2017)
6. Max Felker-Kantor, *Policing Los Angeles: Race, Resistance, and the Rise of the LAPD* (2020)
7. Douglas J. Flowe, *Uncontrollable Blackness: African American Men and Criminality in Jim Crow New York* (2020)
8. Tanya Maria Golash-Boza, *Deported: Immigrant Policing, Disposable Labor, and Global Capitalism* (2015)
9. Matthew Horace and Ron Harris, *The Black and the Blue: A Cop Reveals the Crimes, Racism, and Injustice in America's Law Enforcement* (2018)
10. Sean Illing, "["Why the Policing Problem Isn't About 'A Few Bad Apples.'"](#) (Links to an external site.) *Vox*, June 2, 2020
11. Adam Malka, *The Men of Mobtown: Policing Baltimore in the Age of Slavery and Emancipation* (2018)

12. Joey L. Mogul, Andrea J. Ritchie, Kay Whitlock, eds., *Queer (In)Justice: The Criminalization of LGBT People in the United States* (2011)
13. Jill Nelson, ed., *Police Brutality: An Anthology* (2000)
14. Victor M. Rios, *Punished: Policing the Lives of Black and Latino Boys* (2011)
15. Andrea Ritchie, *Invisible No More: Police Violence Against Black Women and Women of Color* (2017)
16. Christian Parenti, *Lockdown America: Police and Prisons in the Age of Crisis* (1999)
17. Marc Stein, "[Queer Rage: Police Violence and the Stonewall Rebellion of 1969](#)," *Process*, June 2019
18. Clarence Taylor, *Fight the Power: African Americans and the Long History of Police Brutality in New York City* (2028)
19. Shoba Sivaprasad Wadhia, *Banned: Immigration Enforcement in the Time of Trump* (2019)
20. Sandra E. Weissinger and Dwayne A. Mack, eds., *Law Enforcement in the Age of Black Lives Matter: Policing Black and Brown Bodies* (2017)

V. Theory, Anti-Racist Literature, and Movement Culture:

1. William C. Anderson and Zoé Samudzi, *As Black as Resistance: Finding the Conditions for Liberation* (2018)
2. Ariella Azoulay, *Potential History: Unlearning Imperialism* (2019)
3. Ruha Benjamin, *Race After Technology: Abolitionist Tools for the New Jim Code* (2019)
4. Ruha Benjamin, ed., *Captivating Technology: Race, Carceral Technoscience, and Liberatory Imagination in Everyday Life* (2019)
5. Mary Frances Berry, *History Teaches Us to Resist: How Progressive Movements Have Succeeded in Challenging Times* (2018)
6. Keisha N. Blain, *Set the World on Fire: Black Nationalist Women and the Global Struggle for Freedom* (2018)
7. Eric Burin, ed., *Protesting on Bended Knee: Race, Dissent, and Patriotism in 21st Century America* (2018)
8. Judith Butler, *The Force of Nonviolence: The Ethical in the Political* (2020)
9. Charlene Carruthers, *Unapologetic: A Black, Queer, and Feminist Mandate for Radical Movements* (2018)

10. Angela Y. Davis, *Freedom Is a Constant Struggle: Ferguson, Palestine, and the Foundations of a Movement* (2016)
11. Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1968)
12. bell hooks, *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism* (1981)
13. bell hooks, *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom* (1994)
14. Joy James, *Resisting State Violence: Radicalism, Gender, and Race in U.S. Culture* (1996)
15. Ibram X. Kendi, *Stamped from the Beginning: The Definitive History of Racist Ideas in America* (2017)
16. David F. Krugler, *1919, The Year of Racial Violence: How African Americans Fought Back* (2014)
17. Achille Mbembe, *Necropolitics* (2019)
18. Bill Mullen and Christopher Vials, eds., *The US Antifascism Reader* (2020)
19. Charles M. Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle* (1995)
20. Charles M. Payne and Carol Sills Strickl, *Teach Freedom: Education for Liberation in the African-American Tradition* (2008)
21. Jasbir K. Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times* (2007/2017 - 10th Anniversary edition has a new introduction by Tavia Nyong'o)
22. Barbara Ransby, *Making All Black Lives Matter: Reimagining Freedom in the Twenty-First Century* (2018)
23. Chandan Reddy, *Freedom with Violence: Race, Sexuality, and the US State* (2011)
24. Richard Rothstein, *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America* (2018)
25. Akiba Solomon and Kenrya Rankin, *How We Fight White Supremacy: A Field Guide to Black Resistance* (2019)
26. Jeanne Theoharis, *A More Beautiful and Terrible History: The Uses and Misuses of Civil Rights History* (2018)
27. Jeanne Theoharis, Komozi Woodard, Dayo F. Gore, eds., *Want to Start a Revolution?: Radical Women in the Black Freedom Struggle* (2009)
28. Jeanne Theoharis and Komozi Woodard, eds., *Groundwork: Local Black Freedom Movements in America* (2005)
29. Isabel Wilkerson, *The Warmth of Other Suns: The Epic Story of America's Great Migration* (2010)

30. Chad Williams, Kidada E. Williams, Keisha N. Blain, eds., *Charleston Syllabus: Readings on Race, Racism, and Racial Violence* (2016)
31. Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, ed., *How We Get Free: Black Feminism and the Combahee River Collective* (2017)
32. Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, *From #BlackLivesMatter to Black Liberation* (2019)

VI. Newspaper Articles

1. Amal Ahmad, "['There Are No Checks and Balances': Two Texas Criminal Justice Experts on the Fight for Police Reform,](#)" in *Texas Monthly*, June 5, 2020
2. Ellison Berryhill, "[Police Departments Have Failed Black And Latinx Communities. It Will Take Deliberate Work To Earn Back Their Trust,](#)" *The Appeal*, June 5, 2020
3. Jamelle Bouie, "[The Police Are Rioting. We Need to Talk About It.](#)" *New York Times Opinion*, June 5, 2020
4. Tim Alberta, "[Is This the Last Stand of the 'Law and Order' Republicans?](#)" *Politico Magazine*, June 8, 2020
5. David A. Love, "[Too Little Has Changed About American Policing In the Last Few Decades. It's Time For Something Different,](#)" *The Appeal*, June 4, 2020
6. Sean Illing, "[Why the Policing Problem Isn't About 'A Few Bad Apples.'](#)" *Vox*, June 2, 2020
7. Keisha N. Blain, "[The Black Women Who Paved the Way for This Moment,](#)" *The Atlantic*, June 9, 2020
8. Sajid Khan, "[Be Mad at Police, But Also at the Prosecutors Who Protect and Enable Their Abuses,](#)" *San Jose Inside*, June 4, 2020
9. Caitlin Johnstone, "[Police And Their Apologists Have Already Lost The Argument,](#)" *Medium*, June 5, 2020
10. Paul Blumenthal and Kevin Robillard, "[2020 Isn't 1968 And Donald Trump Isn't Richard Nixon,](#)" *Huffington Post*, June 4, 2020
11. Dylan Matthews, "[How today's protests compare to 1968, explained by a historian,](#)" *VOX*, June 2, 2020 (interview with Heather Ann Thompson)
12. Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, "[Don't understand the protests? What you're seeing is people pushed to the edge,](#)" *The Los Angeles Times*, May 30, 2020

13. Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, "[Of Course There Are Protests. The State Is Failing Black People,](#)" *New York Times Opinion*, May 29, 2020
14. David Sirota, "[Exactly Is Doing the Looting, and Who's Being Looted?](#)" *Jocabin*, May 29, 2020
15. Walter Thompson-Hernández, "[Evoking History, Black Cowboys Take to the Streets,](#)" *New York Times*, June 9, 2020
16. Kelly Hayes, "[Chicago Police Torture: Explained,](#)" *The Appeal*, Dec 6, 2019
17. Daniel A Medina, "[The progressive prosecutors blazing a new path for the US justice system,](#)" *The Guardian*, July 23, 2019
18. Danielle Silva, "[Defining Prison Abolitionism in a Time of Progressive Prosecutors,](#)" *The Davis Vanguard*, November 8, 2019
19. Jeffrey Toobin, "[The Legacy of Lynching, on Death Row](#)" *The New Yorker*, August 15, 2016
20. "[Police Killings Against Native Americans Are Off the Charts and Off the Radar,](#)" *Equal Justice Initiative*, October 31, 2016