ETHICS & PUBLIC POLICY: AMERICAN INCARCERATION

Government 391-01, Fall 2016

M/W, 8-9:15AM in Intercultural Center 101

Instructor: Nolan Bennett, nolan.bennett@georgetown.edu

Hours: M/W, 10AM-12 in Intercultural Center 660

The novelist Fyodor Dostoyevsky once remarked that "the degree of civilization in a society can be judged by entering its prisons." What then could we say of mass imprisonment in the United States, a nation with five percent of the world's population yet twenty-five percent of its prisoners? How should we understand American democracy if one in twenty-three adults are under some form of state supervision, if one in ten children have had a parent incarcerated, or if one in three black men born today will enter prison at some point?

In this seminar we will study the ethical and political dimensions of public policy by focusing on the ideas, institutions and history of American incarceration. Students can expect to read broadly from political science and theory, philosophy, history, sociology, and from the testimonies of those living within, working for, or acting against the carceral state. Our goal for the course will be to develop critical skills in analyzing the policies of incarceration according to the concepts of justice we find in history, law, and society. As such, we will be less concerned with whether mass imprisonment is "just" or "unjust" but *how* it determines justice and what its many institutions and ideas reveal about the democracy in which we live and act.

We will begin by looking at theories of freedom and punishment fundamental to the United States, before working through a series of case issues in incarceration that will take us from the city to the jail to the prison and back again. By the end of the course, we will have built through reading, writing, and discussion a set of theoretical goals for incarceration in policy and practice and a working list of ethical challenges and solutions to issues such as solitary confinement, mental health, prison labor and privatization, life sentences without parole, race and immigration, felon disenfranchisement, and so on. In the last part of our seminar, each student will pursue original research to investigate a specific concern in the ethics and public policy of incarceration.

Required Materials

The following materials are available at Georgetown's textbook store and on reserve at Lauinger:

- John Locke, *The Second Treatise of Government* (978-0486424644)
- Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (978-0679752554)
- Alice Goffman, *On the Run* (978-1250065667)
- Peter Moskos, *Cop in the Hood* (978-0691143866)
- Joshua Dubler, *Down in the Chapel* (978-1250050328)

Other readings are available on Canvas at https://georgetown.instructure.com/courses/15964/.

Many recent books provide overviews of the trends and policies contributing to mass incarceration. Although we will read excerpts from several, you might check out one or two of the following texts or films to accompany the course:

- Michelle Alexander, The New Jim Crow
- Todd Clear and Natasha Frost, The Punishment Imperative
- Marie Gottschalk, Caught: The Prison State and the Lockdown of American Politics
- Eugene Jarecki, *The House I Live In*
- Marc Mauer, Race to Incarcerate
- Naomi Murakawa, The First Civil Right
- Bruce Western, Punishment and Inequality

Course Expectations

Assignments: You will be responsible for a short reflection paper (2p), a discussion paper (2p), two analytic papers (5p each), and a final research paper (15p) with proposal (1-2p). The two analytic papers will require that you articulate an argument in response to a prompt using course materials. The research paper will give you an opportunity to explore a topic of relevance to the course in greater detail, and will require the use of outside sources. More information will be provided as we approach each assignment, but you can check when they're scheduled below. If you have any questions about writing essays in college or political theory, please see me.

<u>Participation</u>: Please come to class ready to discuss the course readings as well as your notes and writing. A top goal of the course is to foster a comfortable environment for talking about political ideas and opinions: as our course will often be complex and contentious, please remain respectful of others and yourself. Receiving a good participation grade *requires* you to ask questions and engage in conversation. Of course, students have varying comfort levels for speaking up, so please chat with me in office hours or email if you find it difficult to contribute.

You are also encouraged to participate on the Canvas discussion board set up for each week.

If you are unable to attend class for a legitimate reason (illness, family emergency, etc.), please contact me in advance. More than one unexcused absence will diminish your grade.

<u>Guidelines for Written Work</u>: Unless otherwise stated, you must submit a hard copy of an assignment in the beginning of class. Written work must be typed in 12-point standard font (e.g. Times New Roman) and double-spaced, with one-inch margins, 0-point spacing after lines, and page numbers. All evidence must be cited in accordance with MLA or Chicago format. Failure to meet these standards may result in a lowered grade. If you are unsure of these rules and requirements, see me or consult a style handbook.

<u>Research</u>: Since our final assignment requires original research, I encourage you to familiarize yourself with library resources and research methods early. A good place to start is with a visit to http://guides.library.georgetown.edu/Government or by contacting the principal social sciences bibliographer, William Olsen at wco4@georgetown.edu. Although you will not write a proposal till later in the course, I recommend you schedule a meeting with me to discuss potential avenues for research topics as soon as you can – even if you're not yet sure what you'll study.

<u>Grading</u>: Grades in a seminar are not a science, but the following rough breakdown should help you weigh priorities in the course. Each assignment will include a careful explanation of how you will be evaluated: be sure to approach me if assignments are still unclear. Keep in mind that I will also take into consideration your progress and improvement throughout the course.

Participation (with reflection and discussion papers)	15%
Analytic paper 1 Analytic paper 2 Research paper and proposal	25% 25% 35%

Other Matters

Office Hours: I hold office hours every Monday and Wednesday, 10AM-12 in ICC 660. These hours are a great time to discuss your work, the readings, or politics and life in general. Though I'll inform the class if I need to miss office hours, I recommend you let me know if you plan to drop in. If you can't make these hours, email me to schedule another meeting time.

<u>Plagiarism</u>: Plagiarism is a serious offense at Georgetown, and consists of knowingly misrepresenting another's work as your own. You can find more information on Georgetown's Honor System at https://honorcouncil.georgetown.edu/. If you have questions about citing sources, see me in advance.

<u>Disabilities</u>: Students with disabilities who may need accommodations in this class are encouraged to visit the Academic Resource Center at https://academicsupport.georgetown.edu/ as soon as possible. I am eager to help you with these services or other accommodations.

<u>Writing</u>: If you seek additional writing help, I encourage you to visit the Georgetown University Writing Center at http://writingcenter.georgetown.edu/.

Course Schedule

Readings and assignments are to be completed by their corresponding date. Required readings are in bold. 'Further' readings and include additional selections that may improve your mastery of the material if you wish to explore further. Readings marked (C) are available on Canvas.

Week 1 The Ethics of American Incarceration

As we begin our seminar, consider the challenging question posed by Ursula K. Le Guin's short story. What ethical challenges might the incarceration of even one citizen pose for a just society?

Aug. 31 Reflection paper handed out

Ursula K. Le Guin, "The Ones Who Walk Away from Omelas" (C)

Further Ta-Nehisi Coates, "The Black Family in the Age of Mass Incarceration" (C)

Week 2 Freedom and Government

Prison punishes by restricting the liberty of individuals, and so we'll begin by exploring our own understanding of freedom and its relation to democracy. How did early Americans conceive of freedom and embody it within their political institutions? How does John Locke shape his vision of the origin and goals of government around an argument for freedom? What might 'unfreedom' look like to these thinkers? Who in a democratic society can legitimately punish its citizens? How might you connect any of these ideas to the policies of mass incarceration?

Sep. 7 Reflection paper due in class

Eric Foner, *The Story of American Freedom* (C) John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government* (§4-34, 86-9, 95-9, 119-42)

Todd Clear and Natasha Frost, *The Punishment Imperative: The Rise and Failure of Mass Incarceration in America* (C)

Future of Mass Incurceration in Ame

Further Benjamin Constant, "The Liberty of the Ancients Compared with that of the Moderns"

Andrew Dilts, "To Kill a Thief: Punishment, Proportionality, and Criminal Subjectivity in Locke's 'Second Treatise'" (C)

Philip Pettit, "Freedom as Antipower" (C)

A. John Simmons, "Locke and the Right to Punish" (C)

Weeks 3, 4 The Philosophy of Punishment

Philosophers have long asked why and how we should punish those who do wrong. We'll consider four general theories of punishment: retribution, deterrence, rehabilitation, and restoration. What is each theory's ideal, just outcome? What does it require of the wrongdoer and his or her judge? Who determines the reason for punishing and its practice? What limits does it place on punishment? As you work through these theories, imagine those policies that might exemplify one or more theory or that serve as a test case to justify one over the other. What is the moral justification for not simply *punishing* but *incarceration* in particular?

Sep. 12 Thom Brooks, introduction and "Retributivism," in *Punishment* (B, 1-34) Richard Lippke, "Retribution and Incarceration" (C)

Further Joel Feinberg, "Justice and Political Desert" (C)

H.L.A. Hart, "Intention and Punishment" (C)

Franz Kafka, "In the Penal Colony" (C)

Immanuel Kant, "The Penal Law and the Law of Pardon" (C)

Richard Lippke, Rethinking Imprisonment

Jeffrie Murphy, "Marxism and Retribution" (C)

Mark White, ed., Retributivism: Essays on Theory and Policy

Sep. 14 Brooks, "Deterrence," in *Punishment* (B, 35-50)

James Wilson, Thinking About Crime (C)

Further Jeremy Bentham, "An Introduction to the Principles of Morals..." (C)

Hart, "Prolegomenon to the Principles of Punishment" (C)

Henry Ruth and Kevin Reitz, *The Challenge of Crime* (C)

Wilson, Thinking About Crime (Ch. 1, 3, 5, 12, 13)

Sep. 19 Brooks, "Rehabilitation," in *Punishment* (B, 51-63)

Jean Hampton, "The Moral Education Theory of Punishment" (C)

Edgardo Rotman, "Beyond Punishment" in A Reader on Punishment (C)

Further Ch

Christopher Bennett, "Punishment and Rehabilitation" (C)

Rotman, "The Failure of Reform: United States, 1865-1965," in *The Oxford History of the Prison*

Sep. 21 Analytic paper 1 handed out

Brooks, "Restorative Justice," in *Punishment* (B, 64-85)

Susan Miller, After the Crime (C)

Max Fisher, "A Different Justice: Why Anders Breivik Only Got 21 Years for Killing 77 People" (C)

Further

Gordon Bazemore and Mara Schiff, eds., Restorative Community Justice:

Repairing Harm and Transforming Communities

John Braithwaite, Restorative Justice & Responsive Regulation

Clifford Dorne, Restorative Justice in the United States: An Introduction

David Karp and Lynne Walther, "Community Reparative Boards in Vermont:

Theory and Practice" (C)

Miller, After the Crime (Ch. 3, 10, Appendix A)

Lode Walgrave, "Restoration in Youth Justice" (C)

Howard Zehr, The Little Book of Restorative Justice

Week 5 The Sociology of Punishment

Sociology invites us to ask not how we *should* incarcerate but why we do and what incarceration tells us about our society. What does Michel Foucault's history of the prison tell us about our contemporary approach to freedom and incarceration? What does he mean by 'discipline,' and where might we find similar forces in institutions other than prison? How does his exploration of the panopticon exemplify his approach to the subject? Last and most difficult, how is Foucault's understanding of *power* different from our typical use of the term?

Sep. 26, 28 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* (3-31, 73-89, 126-31, 135-9, 155-6, 167-9, 184-256, 264-82, 293-308)

Further

C. Fred Alford, "What Would it Matter if Everything Foucault Said about Prison Were Wrong?" (C)

Foucault, "What is Called 'Punishing'?" (C)

Foucault, "Prison Talk" (C)

David Garland, Punishment and Modern Society (C)

Garland, "Sociological Perspectives on Modern Punishment" (C)

Weeks 6, 7 Policing Deviance

The way we define deviance or criminality relies on a rich tapestry of cultural understandings, history, policies, and academic research. What should we take away from the perfect storm of good intentions, bad social science and overzealous press and policymakers that created the "superpredator" scare of the 1990s? How can we think of criminality as both real *and*

constructed by politics and policy? Alice Goffman and Peter Moskos shift our attention to police practices and the construction of deviance in low-income communities. How might we understand these social contexts as a form of imprisonment? How might these contexts influence our views on the ethical challenges of living in or policing those communities?

Oct. 3 Nell Bernstein, "The Rise of the Super-Predator and the Decline of the

Rehabilitative Ideal," in Burning Down the House: The End of

Juvenile Prison (C)

William Bennett et al., Body Count (B, skim)

Further Helen Ingram and Anne Schneider, introduction to Deserving and Entitled: Social

Constructions and Public Policy (C)

Oct. 5 Analytic paper 1 due in class

Oct. 5, 12 Pick either Alice Goffman, On the Run or Peter Moskos, Cop in the Hood

Further Geoffrey Canada, Fist, Stick, Knife, Gun

Charles Epp et al., Pulled Over: How Police Stops Define Race and Citizenship Bernard Harcourt, Against Prediction: Profiling, Policing, and Punishing in an Actuarial Age

Gideon Lewis-Kraus, "The Trials of Alice Goffman" (C)

Victor Rios, Punished: Policing the Lives of Black and Latino Boys

Tommie Shelby, "Justice, Deviance, and the Dark Ghetto" (C)

James Wilson and George Kelling, "Broken Windows" (C)

Week 8 Jail and Bail as Social Control

Jails provide a difficult ethical problem, typically serving as a place to incarcerate those who have been arrested but not yet sentenced by a judge. How is pretrial detention ethically justified, and what problems emerge from this unique place in the justice system? What is the function of bail, and how might it serve as a means of controlling particular groups? The disappearance of mental health institutions has put more people requiring specialized care in jails and prisons: what unique problems does this pose for institutions that seek to punish and not treat?

Oct. 17 Jennifer Gonnerman, "Before the Law" (C)

Gonnerman, "Kalief Browder, 1993-2015" (C)

Franz Kafka, "Before the Law" (C)

Elizabeth Glazer, "New York City's Big Idea on Bail" (C)

Robin Steinberg and D. Feige, "The Problem with NYC's Bail Reform" (C)

Look through proposed reforms at http://bail-lab.nyc

Further Ryan Cooper, "How Your Local Jail Became Hell" (C)

Gonnerman, "Kalief Browder Learned How to Commit Suicide on Rikers" (C)

John Irwin, The Jail: Managing the Underclass in American Society

Last Week Tonight with John Oliver, "Bail" (B. video)

Seán McConville, "Local Justice: The Jail," in The Oxford History of the Prison

Ram Subramanian et al., "Incarceration's Front Door" (C)

John Walsh, The Culture of Urban Control

Oct. 19 Ross MacDonald et al., "The Rikers Island Hot Spotters" (C)

Dora Dumont et al., "Public Health and the Epidemic of Incarceration" (C)

Dominic Sisti et al., "Improving Long-Term Psychiatric Care" (C)

Further E. Fuller Torrey, "No Room at the Inn: Trends and Consequences of

Closing Public Psychiatric Hospitals, 2005-2010" (C)

Frontline, "The New Asylums" (B, video)

Terry Kupers, Prison Madness: The Mental Health Crisis Behind Bars and What We Must Do About It

Week 9 Supermax and Solitary as Individual Control

As forms of confinement that result primarily from an individual's behavior while incarcerated and not from his sentence, solitary confinement and control units present another complex relationship between incarceration and justice. How might these carceral practices not only exacerbate but promote mental health issues? Can you imagine Foucault's analysis of these practices? Should we view solitary confinement as a necessary measure to prevent violence in prisons or as a violation of basic human rights? Whether we are incarcerated or free citizens, do we have a right to society and interpersonal interactions?

Oct. 24, 26 William Blake, "A Sentence Worse than Death," and Judith Vazquez, "On the Verge of Hell," in *Hell is a Very Small Place* (C)

Lorna Rhodes, Total Confinement: Madness and Reason in the Maximum Security Prison (C)

Jonathan Simon, "The House of Fear: Dignity and Risk in *Madrid v. Gomez*," in *Mass Incarceration on Trial* (C)

Benjamin Wallace-Wells, "The Plot from Solitary" (C)

Further

Bruce Arrigo et al., "Inmate Mental Health, Solitary Confinement, and Cruel and Unusual Punishment," in *The Ethics of Total Confinement* (C)

Bernstein, "The Hole," in Burning Down the House (C)

Lisa Guenther, "The California SHU and the End of the World," in *Hell* (C)

Guenther, Solitary Confinement: Social Death and its Afterlives Terry Kupers, "How to Create Madness in Prison," in Hell (C)

Keramet Reiter, "Parole, Snitch, or Die: California's Supermax Prisons and Prisoners, 1997-2007" (C)

Laura Rovner, "Solitary Confinement and the Law," in *Hell* (C)

Oct. 26 Analytic paper 2 handed out

Week 10 Life Sentences and Prisoners' Rights

Although life sentences are often granted in the place of capital punishment, critics call the practice "the other death penalty." How would you compare the ethical dimensions of what *time* an individual spends in prison to the *spaces* we studied last week? What might a sentence of life without parole (LWOP) tell us of our assumptions about rehabilitating offenders? Next, we'll consider the policies and cases that enable or restrict inmates' access to the law. What role

should courts play in adjudicating an inmate's claim against the conditions of imprisonment? Do those who transgress the law retain the right to learn and practice it, for themselves or others?

Oct. 31 I. Bennett Capers, "Defending Life," in *Life Without Parole: America's New Death Penalty?* (C)

Kenneth Hartman, ed., Too Cruel, Not Unusual Enough (C)

Further

Marie Gottschalk, "No Way Out? Life Sentences and the Politics of Penal Reform," in *Life Without Parole* (C)

Adam Liptak, "To More Inmates, Life Terms Means Dying Behind Bars" (C)

Ashley Nellis and Ryan S. King, "No Exit" (C)

Radiolab Presents: More Perfect, "Cruel and Unusual" (B, podcast)

Paul Robinson, "Life without Parole under Modern Theories of Punishment," in *Life Without Parole* (C)

Nov. 2 James Robertson, "The Jurisprudence of the PLRA: Inmates as 'Outsiders' and the Countermajoritarian Difficulty" (C)

Mumia Abu-Jamal, Jailhouse Lawyers (C)

Jonathan Simon, "Dignity Cascade: *Brown v. Plata* and Mass Incarceration as a Human Rights Problem," in *Mass Incarceration on Trial* (C)

Further

Abu-Jamal, Jailhouse Lawyers (B, extra selections)

Alicia Bower, "Unconstitutionally Crowded: *Brown v. Plata* and How the Supreme Court Pushed Back..." (C)

Malcolm Feeley and Edward Rubin, *Judicial Policy Making and the Modern State: How the Courts Reformed America's Prisons* (C)

James Jacobs, "The Prisoners' Rights Movement and its Impacts, 1960-80" (C) Susanne Mason, *The Writ Writer* (B, video)

Week 11 Prison Labor and the "Prison Industrial Complex"

Prison labor and the privatization of prisons and prison services offer two distinct complications to the essential relationship between work and citizenship in the United States: that citizens are free in so far as they labor and retain property. What obstacles does Stephen Garvey envision in the prospect of prison labor given its historical and ethical challenges, and why does he advocate it nonetheless? Which theories of punishment might prison labor reflect, and how might it pave the way for reentry? Another group of critics point to the "prison industrial complex" as the unjust intrusion of the market on incarceration: should we see private prisons and the privatization of services as usurping the government's role in punishment or increasing the efficiency of punishment through market competition?

Nov. 7 Stephen Garvey, "Freeing Prisoners' Labor" (C) Locke, Second Treatise (review ch. 5)

Further

Douglas Blackmon, Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black
People in America from the Civil War to World War II
Lippke, "Work, Welfare, and Responsibility," in Rethinking Imprisonment
Martha Myers, Race, Labor, and Punishment in the New South
David Oshinsky, "Worse than Slavery": Parchman Farm and the Ordeal of Jim

Crow Justice
Jeremy Travis, "Work," in But They All Come Back (C)

Nov. 9 Analytic paper 2 due in class

Angela Davis, "The Prison Industrial Complex," in *Are Prisons Obsolete?* (C)

Eric Schlosser, "The Prison-Industrial Complex" (C)

Further

Andrew Coyle et al., eds., Capitalist Punishment: Prison Privatization and Human Rights

Marie Gottschalk, "Squaring the Political Circle," in *Caught: The Prison State* and the Lockdown of American Politics

Michael Hallett, "Race, Crime, and For-Profit Imprisonment" (C)

Donna Selman and Paul Leighton, *Punishment for Sale: Private Prisons, Big Business, and the Incarceration Binge.*

Week 12 Faith and Worship in a Prison

Thomas Jefferson famously argued for a "wall of separation" between religion and government. What rights should prisoners have to pursue a plurality of faiths in private and in concert? What does Josh Dubler's book tell us about religion in prisons: does it offer a coping mechanism, a path for moral redemption, or a communal form of political mobilization? How should we compare the legal justice by which prisoners are punished with their individual moral conceptions of justice, guilt and innocence? Is there room in democracy for both?

Nov. 14, 16 John Locke, "A Letter Concerning Toleration," (117-24, 132-33, 140-41) Josh Dubler, *Down in the Chapel: Religious Life in an American Prison*

Week 13 Imprisoning Race and Immigration

Although racial inequality is evident throughout many of our readings, many authors have connected contemporary inequalities to a long American history of injustice against peoples of color. What does Loïc Wacquant mean by "racial control," and in what context does he place present trends in race and incarceration? How might we read George Jackson's memoir as a personal complement to Wacquant's structural argument? For both authors, how should we read the relationship between race and class? Immigration provides an overlapping set of ethical questions given its connection to race and dependence on questions of democratic self-determination: how and to what degree we can decide through law and culture "who we are." In Marie Gottschalk's estimation, what is the result of the increasing overlap between penal and immigration policy? What challenges does this pose for both areas of public policy?

Nov. 21 Research paper proposal due in class

Loïc Wacquant, "Deadly Symbiosis: When Ghetto and Prison Meet and Mesh" (C)

George Jackson, Soledad Brother (C)

Further Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow*

Lisa Marie Cacho, Social Death: Racialized Rightlessness and the

Criminalization of the Unprotected

Khalil Muhammad, The Condemnation of Blackness: Race, Crime, and the Making of Modern Urban America

Naomi Murakawa, The First Civil Right

Göran Olsson, The Black Power Mixtape (Film)

Vesla Weaver, "Frontlash: Race and the Development of Punitive Crime Policy" (C)

Nov. 23 Sarah Fine, "The Ethics of Immigration: Self-Determination and the Right to Exclude" (C)

Marie Gottschalk, "Catch and Keep," in *Caught* (C)

Further

Joseph Carens, The Ethics of Immigration

Nicholas de Genova, "The Legal Production of Mexican/Migrant 'Illegality'" (C)

Juliet Stumpf, "The Crimmigration Crisis: Immigrants, Crime, and

Sovereign Power" (C)

Christie Thompson, "The Long and Winding Detainment of Diana Ramos" (C)

Daniel Tichenor, "The Political Dynamics of Unauthorized Immigration: Conflict,

Change, and Agency in Time" (C)

U.S. Supreme Court, Plyler v. Doe

Week 14 Collateral Consequences and Civic Exclusion

Almost all those incarcerated will return home one day, and their reentry poses a number of ethical and policy challenges. What restrictions should a democracy place upon those leaving prison, and how should we distinguish between obstacles that are just and the unintended effects scholars call "collateral consequences"? What policies best balance the concern for public safety and the reintegration of those formerly incarcerated into society? Should present and former felons be restricted from voting, or is their democratic participation a necessary requirement of their citizenship and return to political society? As Vesla Weaver and Amy Lerman argue, what might be the ultimate ethical conundrum for how those leaving prison see government?

Nov. 28 Jeremy Travis, "Prisoner Reentry and Public Safety," in *But They All Come*Back: Facing the Challenges of Prisoner Reentry (C) Contact all "The Prison I have all the Prison "in County (C)

Gottschalk, "The Prison beyond the Prison," in *Caught* (C) "Should a Jail Record Be an Employer's First Impression?" (C)

Further

Donald Braman, Doing Time on the Outside: Incarceration and Family Life in Urban America

Todd Clear, Imprisoning Communities: How Mass Incarceration Makes Disadvantaged Neighborhoods Worse

Mary Katzenstein and Maureen Waller, "Taxing the Poor: Incarceration, Poverty Governance, and the Seizure of Family Resources" (C)

Marc Mauer and Meda Chesney-Lind, eds., Invisible Punishment

Devah Pager, Marked: Race, Crime, and Finding Work in an Age of Mass Incarceration

Joan Petersilia, When Prisoners Come Home: Parole and Prisoner Reentry Travis, But They All Come Back (Ch. 4, 9, 10, 12)

Rebecca Vallas et al., "One Strike and You're Out" (C)

Nov. 30 Jeffrey Reiman, "Liberal and Republican Arguments Against the Disenfranchisement of Felons" (C)

Vesla Weaver and Amy Lerman, "Political Consequences of the Carceral State" (C)

Further

Andrew Altman, "Democratic Self-Determination and the Disenfranchisement of Felons" (C)

Andrew Dilts, Punishment and Inclusion: Race, Membership, and the Limits of American Liberalism

Mary Fainsod Katzenstein et al., "The Dark Side of American Liberalism" (C)

Amy Lerman and Vesla Weaver, Arresting Citizenship: The Democratic

Consequences of American Crime Control

Jeff Manza and Christopher Uggen, "Punishment and Democracy:

Disenfranchisement of Nonincarcerated Felons in the United States" (C)

Judith Shklar, American Citizenship

Mary Sigler, "Defensible Disenfranchisement" (C)

U.S. Supreme Court, Richardson v. Ramirez

U.S. Supreme Court, Hunter v. Underwood

Week 15 Beyond Incarceration

Solving the present crisis of mass incarceration in the United States will require a balance of ethical argument, policy reform, and new political possibilities. What do our final set of authors offer us in the way of imagining those innovative possibilities? How might we best combine the tools of philosophy, politics and policy to effect these changes? Most importantly, how might we improve not only prisons but society as a whole in responding to these issues?

Dec. 5 No readings: class presentations

Dec. 7 Gottschalk, "Bring it On," in Caught (C)

Joseph Margulies, "The Limits of Criminal Justice Reform" (C)

Angela Davis, introduction and "Abolitionist Alternatives," in *Are Prisons Obsolete?* (C)

Shaka Senghor, "Why Your Worst Deeds Don't Define You" (B, video)

Further

Herman Bianchi, "Abolition: Assensus and Sanctuary" (C)

Todd Clear and David Karp, The Community Justice Ideal

Ta-Nehisi Coates, Between the World and Me

Shaka Senghor, Writing My Wrongs

Dec. 19 Research papers due