

UNDERSTANDING THE PRISON INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

Mayaba Liebenthal

After the floods caused by broken levees, many Gulf Coast residents went through the process of gutting their houses. Taking everything out that once was, in order to create an environment in which to rebuild.

As many individuals were going through this process, corporate and state interests saw an opportunity to do the same thing, to use this moment as a “clean slate” to rebuild New Orleans according to the profit motives of private enterprise, rather than in the best interest of the community.

As journalist Naomi Klein documented in her book The Shock Doctrine, during the first few weeks after Hurricane Katrina proponents of privatization descended upon Louisiana State Legislature in order to move forward their agenda, with much support from politicians themselves.

...Richard Baker, a prominent Republican congressman from this city, had told a group of lobbyists, ‘we finally cleaned up public housing in New Orleans. We couldn’t do it, but God did.’ Joseph Cannizaro, one of New Orleans’ wealthiest developers, had just expressed a similar sentiment: “I think we have a clean sheet to start again. And with that clean sheet we have some very big opportunities.” All that week the Louisiana State Legislature in Baton Rouge had been crawling with corporate lobbyists helping to lock in those big opportunities: lower taxes, fewer regulations, cheaper workers and a ‘smaller safer city-which in practice meant plans to level the public housing projects and replace them with condos. pg 4

Objectives

Although Hurricanes Katrina and Rita affected many states along the Gulf Coast, the following lesson plan will focus mostly on New Orleans. The overall objective is to introduce the **Prison Industrial Complex (PIC)** framework, and to use it to help students and viewers understand the interplay between **criminal justice** and **privatization**.

Though New Orleans is an extreme example of **gentrification**, many cities around the nation have experienced, or are experiencing

a similar process. This lesson plan can be used as a 5 part lesson, to take participants/students through the basic concepts of the PIC and the “Life cycle” of **displacement** and gentrification: neglect, criminalization, displacement/ disenfranchisement, land grab, and finally private development. However, each lesson can also stand on its own.

Outline

Lesson 1 is a basic introduction to the PIC through the lens of Hurricane Katrina and its immediate aftermath

Lesson 2 examines the process of displacement as created by the PIC

Lesson 3 highlights explicit relationships between the PIC and privatization

Lesson 4 makes the connection between gender-based violence, displacement and the PIC

Lesson 5 seeks to demonstrate that people are not victims of these systems, but survivors with agency who are fighting back, by proactively doing community building projects that create community infrastructure.

The unit is organized to mimic the flow of the process of the PIC and privatization.

All lessons are meant to be participant oriented, with an introduction of basic terminology followed by guided, facilitated dialogues and a group activity. The readings that accompany the lessons can be assigned as homework or read together in a workshop or just be guiding literature. Simultaneously, this lesson plan is intended to be an activist resource for people to use to connect with people doing work in the Gulf South and in their local area.

Materials

- *Trouble the Water*
- List of Key Terminology and Definitions
- Selected Readings for Understanding the PIC
- Selected web video links

Mayaba Liebenthal is a long term New Orleans resident and has worked with Critical Resistance, INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence and other groups working to end the Prison Industrial Complex. She is a radical black feminist and human rights advocate committed to creating projects and institutions that support self-determined and sustainable communities stability.

Lesson I: Disaster response, Militarization and Law Enforcement Violence as a response to crisis.

“These troops are fresh back from Iraq, well trained, experienced, battle tested, and under my orders to restore order in the streets. They have M-16’s and are locked and loaded. These troops know how to shoot and kill and I expect they will.”

—Then Louisiana Governor Kathleen Blanco, September 2, 2005

“It’s like, here, in New Orleans they’re preparing us for prison.”

—Kimberly Rivers, from *Trouble the Water*

The goal of this lesson is to have participants understand the concept of **The Prison Industrial Complex (PIC)**. The PIC is a term used to describe the overlapping interests of government and industry that use surveillance, policing, and imprisonment as solutions to what are in actuality, economic, social and political ‘problems.’ Oftentimes people think that the police exist for public safety. As we saw in the immediate aftermath of the storm, law enforcement (police as well as military) was often used for protecting private property.

In the United States as a whole, we are seeing a decrease in the public sector. As this shift occurs we see mass prison expansion, an increase in policing, and increased militarization, the process in which the character of law enforcement comes to resemble more closely that of the U.S. military, including being equipped with the same technologies. Hurricane Katrina ushered in a new extreme of this process by the government **actually having the military acting as police**. The PIC is a profit-based system within itself, justified through criminalization; the process by which behaviors, individuals, and groups of people are transformed into crime and criminals, which diverts public/community resources into prisons and policing activities. The government divests from public entities and institutions and invests in the PIC.

Many people saw the complete absence of any government response to the humanitarian disaster immediately following the flooding as a failure of the system. However, if we consider the concept of the Prison Industrial Complex (PIC), then we see this inaction as a logical outcome of a cruel, yet profitable system that was functioning at its best.

By the end of the lesson participants will understand the basic concepts of the PIC as an intentional system, and understand the government response to Katrina in that context. For example, from a PIC framework, we can see that identifying people as looters was a way to criminalize a vast group of people trying to survive.

The criminalization of the people of New Orleans created an excuse to shift law enforcement resources from rescue, to property protection, creating inhumane conditions of confinement; for those who were walking free before the storm, in the superdome, and on rooftops, and for those stranded in Orleans Parish Prison in cells

filling with water.


Thousands of inmates at the Orleans Parish Prison, which is the city jail, were left in locked cells during Hurricane Katrina, abandoned by guards and Sheriff’s deputies to fend for themselves as the floodwaters rose. The authorities had full physical control of this captive population, many of whom were being held on misdemeanor charges, yet failed to evacuate them -- even after ordering a mandatory evacuation of all others in the city. The horror of this incident is vividly retold from the perspective of a prisoner in *Trouble the Water* whose experience was like the thousands of others eventually transferred by the authorities without any record of their identity, or their location. Many others simply disappeared and never were reunited with their families.

Group Exercise: Katrina Overview

Complete this exercise before looking over additional materials: Break the class into small groups and assign each group to develop a brief survey that measures folks’ knowledge of Katrina, their attitudes and beliefs. At the top of the instrument caution students to put: “This survey is unanious, it is intended for classroom learning only and will not be used in a professional research project. Confidentiality is ensured. Please do not identify yourself in anyway.” Have student groups survey 20 other students and then gather the data and discuss the outcomes the next class. Base questions such as:

- Katrina to me means...
- My reaction to Katrina in 2005 was...
- I believe that today, New Orleans has recovered from Katrina [yes/no]
- I think that FEMA and the US Government in general rushed to New Orleans and the surrounding area to help the poor [yes/no]
- In my opinion, the media did a great job in keeping me abreast of the aftermath of Katrina [yes/no]

Teaching Materials:

 Chapter 5: 0:34:37 – 0:36:27, incident at the naval base
Chapter 11-12: 01:25:10 -01:26:00 police harassment

- *Audio Clip:* Angela Davis speaks about the PIC, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yh8ZrGhzJIM>
- *Visual:* AP “looters” link, <http://www.snopes.com/katrina/photos/looters.asp>
- *Selected Readings:*
- Rachel Herzog, *Defending Justice - What Is The Prison Industrial Complex?*
- ACLU, National Prison Project, *Abandoned and Abused* pgs 12-17, Chapter 3.
- Critical Resistance, *Amnesty for Prisoners of Katrina:* pgs 2-5

Group Discussion:

Guiding questions:

How did we get here in the first place?

In the film clip at the Naval Base, whose interests were being protected?

What was the role of government, in response to Katrina, expected and actual?

What Situations/Conditions of Confinement (cages) did people find themselves in?

For ex: In homes / on roofs/ Superdome / Astrodome (emergency shelters), surrounded by guards

In Orleans Parish Prison. What role did the media play in shaping people's ideas of the people of New Orleans?

How do we see women being disparately impacted in the film or readings?

What solutions do you see?

Lesson II: Refugee? Evacuee? Internally Displaced Person; Human Rights and the PIC.

“Its been called the largest migration of people since the dust bowl in the ‘30’s”

-audio clip from *Trouble the Water*, 0:00:39-0:00:43

“The number of those immediately displaced by Hurricanes Katrina and Rita is estimated at 1.3 million people,40 placing the 2005 storms on par with the 1.5 million internally displaced persons in the tsunami-affected countries of Asia one year after that disaster.”

-Hurricane Katrina and the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, pg 10

At first, those living in the general Katrina **Diaspora** (a group of persons associated by some common tie that have been spread out from of where they were originally localized) were called **refugees**, and later even now referred to as “evacuees”. An “**Evacuee**” is an informal term and therefore not protected under any local, national, or international laws or treaties. The goal of this lesson is to use the PIC framework to understand how policing and prisons have led to protracted displacement

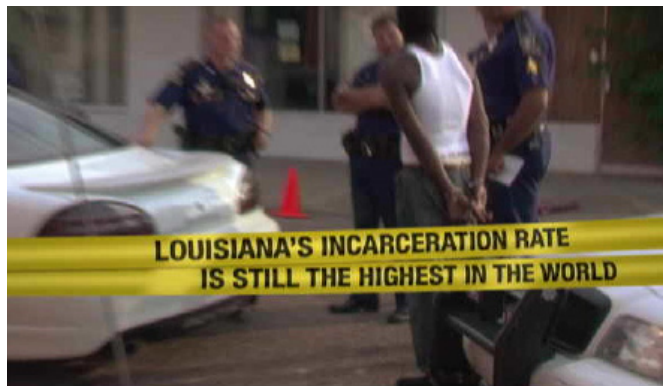


Image Courtesy of Elsewhere Films

According to International Legal Organizations such as the United Nation, those unable to return home after Katrina are **Internally Displaced Persons (IDP)**. Internally displaced persons are persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence. The international laws around Internal Displacement are part of a set of laws that


implement a human rights framework. **Human Rights** are a set of universal rights that encompasses a vast array of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, inherent in every individual and transcend national boundaries. An individual’s human rights are the same regardless of which country they are from or in.

For the purpose of this lesson we will focus on displacement, the process of being forced or obliged to leave a place and how it is enforced by the PIC in multiple forms. For example, the dysfunctional court system that emphasizes locking people up, not encouraging a fair process. This includes keeping people incarcerated well past their release date, or losing peoples records which prohibits any right to a fair trial. Criminalization, the process by which behaviors, individuals, and groups of people are transformed into crime and criminals, of black New Orleanians has validated mass policing. This mass policing included using the

military as a police force and setting up checkpoints around the city. According to the Metropolitan Crime Commission, “There were 58,219 state, municipal, and traffic arrests in 2007, one for every five New Orleans residents.” That is over 4800 arrests per month.

With communities displaced, the process of gentrification, the transformation of neighborhoods from low value to high value, was able to progress fairly easily. By the 3rd week after Hurricane Katrina, the doors to the Lafitte Housing Development were bolted shut, covered with fitted steel doors, ensuring that no one would be able to reenter the premises, though people’s belongings were still visible on their porches. Electricity had only been restored to the French Quarter, and the Red Cross had finally started bringing provisions to the city. Since August 2005, all but one of the public housing developments were demolished.

Teaching Materials:

 Chapter 11: 01:19:43 - 01:22:32 return home find to an eviction notice.

- *Visual*: Institute for Women’s Policy Research, *Doubly Displaced*; ‘General Katrina Diaspora’, pg 26
- *Selected Readings*: Institute of Southern Studies, *Hurricane Katrina and the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement*, pgs. 6-7, 12-21;
- Critical Resistance, *Amnesty for Prisoners of Katrina*, pgs 4-7, begin with part C.
- Safe Streets Strong Communities, *Indigent Defense Report*, pgs 2-5; *Metropolitan Crime Commission, Orleans Parish Criminal Justice System Accountability Report 2007*, pgs 1-2; ACLU, National Prison Project,
- *Abandoned and Abused* Chapter IX NAACP-ACLU, *Criminal Justice Position Paper*, part 1

Exercise 1:

Watch: **Big Noise Films, NOLA city Council Shuts Down Public Housing Debate Warning: the following clip depicts graphic violence.** <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cMBWAXfGsc4>

Discussion Questions:

How do you see the PIC functioning in this clip, directly and indirectly (particularly on the debate around public housing)? How do you see the debate around public housing connecting to displacement? How are women disparately impacted by the housing crisis?

Exercise 2: What do human rights mean to you?

Materials: Large sheet of paper or blackboard with Guiding Principle on Internal Displacement #28:

Principle 28

1. Competent authorities have the primary duty and responsibility to establish conditions, as well as provide the means, which allow internally displaced persons to return voluntarily, in safety and with dignity, to their homes or places of habitual residence, or to resettle voluntarily in another part of the country. Such authorities shall endeavor to facilitate the reintegration of returned or resettled internally displaced persons.

2. Special efforts should be made to ensure the full participation of internally displaced persons in the planning and management of their return or resettlement and reintegration.

Discussion points:

- Have students rewrite this principle in their own words.
- Have them explain ways in which they see people's human rights being violated in the case of Hurricane Katrina.
- Have them discuss how this may be relevant to them.

Lesson III. The PIC and Privatization in the Aftermath of Katrina.

‘We finally cleaned up public housing in New Orleans. We couldn’t do it, but God did.’

– Representative Richard Baker

Though the United States as a whole has **private prisons**, built by, operating and contracting with private companies, Hurricane Katrina gives us a particular opportunity to examine the multifaceted relationship between privatization, transferring to private ownership an economic enterprise or public utility that has been understates ownership, and the PIC. Not only do we see the prisons and policing agencies as turning a profit in themselves, but also how government divests from public services and invests in private development and police and prison expansion, and what effect that has on communities.

On one hand, the PIC generates profit through criminalization by exploiting free labor from people, for example; by arresting people and using prison labor to do clean up, or contractors hiring immigrant labor then calling Immigration and Custom Enforcement (ICE) to arrest the workers before paying them. The city was also glutted with private security forces funded by FEMA (public money).

On the other hand, dramatically shifting away from public services such as housing, healthcare and education leads to increases in violence and a reliance on the PIC (prison beds instead of metal health beds, call the police during crisis instead of extended family). This has resulted in gentrification. Since private models such as condos and “mixed income” housing, a private, university run healthcare system, and charter schools, respectively were favored, 1/3rd of the former residents are still displaced and communities remain destabilized and prone to violence.

Teaching Materials



Chapter 11: 1:22:33-1:25:06 marketing and tourism board

- *Selected Readings:*
- Naomi Klein, *The Shock Doctrine*, Chapter 1;
- Judith Browne Diallis, et al, *And Injustice for All*, Chapter 3; Corpwatch, *Big Easy Money*, pgs 24-26;
- Mike Davis, *Gentrifying Disaster*, all pages;
- Asian Communities for Reproductive Justice: *Looking Both Ways*, pgs 4-8;
- *US: No-Bid Contracts Win Katrina Work*, Corpwatch; Fact Sheet: Save Charity Hospital, Fact Sheet on Healthcare

Exercise 1

Split into 3 groups

Group 1 watch

Big Noise Films, NOLA city Council Shuts Down Public Housing Debate

Warning: the following clip depicts graphic violence

<http://youtube.com/watch?v=cMBWAXfGsc4>

Group 2 examine this fact:

Louisiana lost 180,000 workers in 2005 as a result of Hurricane Katrina, of which 103,000 were women. Female-dominated industries-health education, and hospitality –were especially hit hard.

Group 3 read this article

Police officer shoots and kills suicidal man

Each Group discuss and take notes on these questions

- How do you see public safety being effected by privatization?
- Where do you see gender based violence in the privatization process?
- What connections do you see between private profit and policing/prisons?
- How does displacement lay the groundwork for privatization, or vice versa?

Have each group report back to the larger whole.

Exercise 2

Instruct Students to do the following:

- Research privatization in their local area.
- Go and take or find pictures, advertisements or articles that relate to privatization.
- Come back and share with the group why each picture or article etc. relates to privatization.
- Create a collage with the class.

Lesson IV: Gender based violence and Hurricane Katrina, how the PIC negatively affects women and increases displacement.

For those who are not aware, on Tuesday, September 23rd, 2008 Rep. LaBruzzo of Metairie, Louisiana (a suburb of New Orleans) made the statement that he's looking to propose a bill to "voluntarily" sterilize the number of people he feels are dependent on the government as a way to decrease the state burden, so that Louisiana wouldn't be in an economic crisis.

-New Orleans Women's' Health and Justice Initiative

"What I'm really studying is any and all possibilities that we can reduce the number of people that are going from generational welfare to generational welfare, "

- Representative John Labruzzo, R-Metarie

Representative Labruzzo is a (a little more context about who he is...) His blatantly racist and sexist attitude has been echoed in various state based responses and policies that affect women of color during and after Hurricane Katrina. In the wake of the storm, the world watched as thousands of women and children, majority black, were left behind on rooftops, interstate bridges and evacuation centers.


The neglect women of color faced in relief efforts, as well as well as subsequent actions on behalf of the state that focus rebuilding on a profit model, has done little to effect or improve the lives of women of color. It is well known that after a disaster sexual assault and domestic violence increase, though no provisions were made for this situation. This, as well as the housing crisis, denial of health care, and various other systemic issues are examples of reproductive violence, an action or policy that actively and violently restricts a persons reproductive freedom; e.g. forced sterilization or being shackled while giving birth and gender based violence, a term used to collectively refer to violent acts that are primarily or exclusively committed against a person based on their gender or gender expression.

By using an intersectional analysis; an analysis that seeks to examine how various socially and culturally constructed categories of discrimination interact on multiple and often simultaneous levels, contribute to systematic social inequality, we can examine how the PIC disparately impacts women of color in disaster response and rebuilding.

Direct law enforcement violence enacted by police, military and correctional officers are just one element of the PIC that impacts the lives of women of color. Investing in prisons policing and military (the PIC) instead of housing and healthcare indirectly increases gender-based violence.

Centering the analysis around the experiences of women of color, women who exist at the intersection of the constructs of race, and gender, helps to reveal the complex intrinsic links between sexism, racism, classism and the PIC.

Teaching Materials

 *Chapter 11: 1:22:33-1:25:06 marketing and tourism board, Chapter 11: 01:19:43 - 01:22:32 came home to an eviction notice*

- Selected Readings:
- Asian Communities for Reproductive Justice: *Looking Both Ways*, pgs 4-8;
- INCITE! *Law Enforcement Violence and Disaster*, pgs 1-2;
- Safe Streets Strong Communities, *Big Jails*, pgs 2-3, 5-6;
- Janelle White, *New Orleans and Women of Color*

Discussion Questions

- How do you see Kimberley Roberts and her story as depicted in *Trouble the Water* as experiencing gender-based violence, or living at the intersection of racism and sexism?
- What does gender based violence mean?
- What ways do you see women of color disproportionately affected by Hurricane Katrina?
- What role do you see the PIC playing in gender based violence?

Exercise, Living at the Intersection

- Separate the room into 5 groups.
- Have each group look at different woman's story
Case Studies: ACLU National Prison Project, *Abandoned and Abused*, pg 41, Keanna Herbert Pg 60, Joyce Gilson Pg 68, Ashley and Ruby Ann George Institute of Southern Studies, *Hurricane Katrina and the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement*, pg 16, Sharon Hanshaw INCITE! *Law Enforcement Violence and Disaster*; example: Sharlie Arpollo
- Discuss how the PIC increased violence towards women and in what ways
- Have each group report back what they noticed, make note if several groups are saying the same thing.

Lesson V: Movement Building, Grassroots Resistance to the PIC in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina

Though the situation in New Orleans and the Gulf Coast has been bleak over the past several years, people have not taken their situation lying down. Survivors of Hurricanes Katrina and Rita are not without agency and have been taking action in their own best interest over the past several years.

From the first day after Katrina those stuck in flood waters or displaced throughout the country have built mutual support networks and organized campaigns and projects to fight for justice. The indictment of the Danziger seven, several New Orleans Police officers accused of murder after the storm, is the direct result of the unrelenting efforts of the families of the deceased and local community organizations.

The following readings are examples of articles and “Calls to Action” in the first month to several months after the storm. Resistance as multifaceted as oppression, these documents reflect the different voices, actions, and projects that came into existence as a response to Hurricane Katrina.

Teaching Materials



Chapter 12: 1:29:00 1:31:09 fair housing rally

- Selected Readings:
- Eric Tang, Boat People;
- San Francisco Bay View, Malik Rahim and medics from SF to DC set up health clinic in New Orleans;
- Curtis Muhammed, Becky Belacore, Displaced New Orleans Community Group Demands Action, Accountability and Initiates A People’s Hurricane Fund;
- INCITE! Call to Action; Allied Organizations, Come Volunteer in New Orleans

Discussion Questions:

- Who are the people who wrote these articles etc.?
- What projects/campaigns are they doing?
- What type of documents/ documentation are people creating?
- How does this fight the PIC?
- What does resistance to oppression look like?

Exercise: Where y’at?

Have students/participants do the following

- Research community groups and non-profits in their local area doing work against the PIC
- Interview someone from that community group
- Document the interview by video, audio recording, written, or other.
- Give a copy of the interview to the organization

Get a flier from said organization and post it on campus, or somewhere you feel is appropriate

Key Terminology and Definitions in Understanding the Prison Industrial Complex

1. Prison Industrial Complex (PIC) – a term used to describe the overlapping interests of government and industry that use surveillance, policing, and imprisonment as solutions to what are in actuality, economic, social and political ‘problems’.
2. Privatization - transferring to private ownership an economic enterprise or public utility that has been understate ownership.
3. Gentrification – the transformation of neighborhoods from low value to high value.
4. Displacement – the process of being forced or obliged to leave a place.
5. Militarization - the process in which the character of law enforcement comes to resemble more closely that of the U.S. military, including being equipped with the same technologies.
6. Diaspora – a group of persons associated by some common tie that has been spread out from of where they were originally localized (refugee/evacuee).
7. Internally Displaced Person (IDP) – persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence.
8. Human Rights - are a set of universal rights that encompasses a vast array of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, inherent in every individual and transcend national boundaries.
9. Criminalization – the process by which behaviors, individuals, and groups of people are transformed into crime and criminals.
10. Reproductive Violence - an action or policy that actively and violently restricts a persons reproductive freedom; e.g. forced sterilization or being shackled while giving birth
11. Gender Based Violence – a term used to collectively refer to violent acts that are primarily or exclusively committed against a person based on their gender or gender expression.
12. Intersectional Analysis - an analysis that seeks to examine how various socially and culturally constructed categories of discrimination interact on multiple and often simultaneous levels, contribute to systematic social inequality.

Selected Readings for Understanding the Prison Industrial Complex

Lesson 1

- Rachel Herzing, *Defending Justice - What Is The Prison Industrial Complex?* http://www.defendingjustice.org/overview/herzing_pic
- ACLU, National Prison Project, *Abandoned and Abused* pgs 12-17 Chapter 3. <http://www.aclu.org/prisoners-rights/abandoned-abused-complete-report>
- Critical Resistance, *Amnesty for Prisoners of Katrina* <http://www.criticalresistance.org/katrina/>

Lesson 2

- Institute of Southern Studies, *Hurricane Katrina and the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement*, pgs. 6-7, 12-21 (First option on Google link – PDF) http://www.incite-national.org/media/docs/3896_toolkitrev-levdisaster.pdf
- Critical Resistance, *Amnesty for Prisoners of Katrina*, pgs 4-7, begin with part C. <http://www.criticalresistance.org/katrina/> (Report Summary as PDF on website)
- Safe Streets Strong Communities, *Indigent Defense Report*, pgs 2-5, http://www.safestreetsnola.org/reform_defense/ (PDF on site)
- *Metropolitan Crime Commission, Orleans Parish Criminal Justice System Accountability Report 2007*, pgs 1-2 <http://www.metropolitancrimecommission.org/html/research.html>
- ACLU, National Prison Project, *Abandoned and Abused* Chapter IX, <http://www.aclu.org/prisoners-rights/abandoned-abused-complete-report> (you can download the entire PDF from here)
- NAACP-ACLU, *Criminal Justice Position Paper*, part 1

Lesson 3

- Klein, Naomi. “1.” *The Shock Doctrine: the Rise of Disaster Capitalism*. New York: Metropolitan /Henry Holt, 2007. Print.
- Judith Browne Diallis, et al, *And Injustice for All*, Chapter 3 http://www.nilc.org/disaster_assistance/workersreport_2006-7-17.pdf
- Corpwatch, *Big Easy Money*, pgs 24-26, August 17, 2006, <http://www.corpwatch.org/article.php?id=14023>
- Mike Davis, *Gentrifying Disaster*, October 25, 2005 <http://motherjones.com/politics/2005/10/gentrifying-disaster>
- Asian Communities for Reproductive Justice: *Looking Both Ways*, pgs 4-8 (Can access the PDF on this site) <http://reproductivejustice.org/tools-and-media>
- Article: *US: No-Bid Contracts Win Katrina Work*, Corpwatch September 12, 2005 <http://www.corpwatch.org/article.php?id=12620>
- Fact Sheet: Save Charity Hospital, Fact Sheet on Healthcare <http://www.savecharityhospital.com/content/fact-sheet-health-care>

Lesson 4

- Asian Communities for Reproductive Justice: *Looking Both Ways*, pgs 4-8 (Can access the PDF on this site) <http://reproductivejustice.org/tools-and-media>
- INCITE! *Law Enforcement Violence and Disaster*, pgs 1-2 http://www.incite-national.org/media/docs/3896_toolkitrev-levdisaster.pdf
- Safe Streets Strong Communities, *Big Jails*, pgs 2-3, 5-6 (PDF on left sidebar) http://www.safestreetsnola.org/reform_prison/
- Janelle White, *New Orleans and Women of Color* <http://www.satyamag.com/nov05/white.html>

Lesson 5

- Eric Tang, *Boat People* http://www.colorlines.com/archives/2006/03/boat_people.html
- San Francisco Bay View, *Malik Rahim and medics from SF to DC set up health clinic in New Orleans* <http://sfbayview.com/2007/birth-of-the-common-ground-health-clinic/>
- Curtis Muhammed, Becky Belacore, *Displaced New Orleans Community Group Demands Action, Accountability and Initiates A People’s Hurricane Fund* <http://houston.indymedia.org/print.php?id=42937>
- INCITE! *Call to Action* <http://www.cwsworkshop.org/katrinareader/node/489>