

# Deviant Care for Deviant Futures

## *QTBIPOC Radical Relationalism as Mutual Aid against Carceral Care*

REN-YO HWANG

**Abstract** This article introduces the concept of carceral care as those public-facing “do-better” penal practices, policies, and material actions used to ward off future investigation of underlying institutional violences of carceral spaces. As a model for denaturalizing carceral care, time, space, and the perpetuity of reform, it explores theories of deviant care, mutual aid, and QTBIPOC radical relationalism. It investigates how inhabiting deviance is a necessary care practice as modeled every day by queer bonds of survival, particularly from within the confines of carceral spaces. Based on relationships built over the last four years with trans women of color organizing inside a “male-designated” state prison in Corcoran, California, this article connects questions of deviant care as the refusal of the diagnosable and individuated self through queer black/indigenous feminist of color resistance and radical thought.

**Keywords** deviance, deviant care, mutual aid, QTBIPOC radical relationalism, carceral care

The very process of being caught and publicly labeled as “deviant” thus sets in motion a relentless self-fulfilling prophecy. . . . The experience of being singled out and publicly branded in this way usually culminates into a deviant world view . . . a kind of role imprisonment which locks the deviant into a symbolic jail.

—Andrew T. Scull, *Decarceration: Community Treatment and the Deviant—A Radical View*

I don’t want to be fixed, if being fixed means being bleached of memory, untaught by what I have learned through this miracle of surviving. My survivorhood is not an individual problem. I want the communion of all of us who have survived, and the knowledge. I do not want to be fixed. I want to change the world. I want to be alive, awake, grieving, and full of joy. I am.

—Leah Lakshmi Piepzna-Samarasinha, *Care Work: Dreaming Disability Justice*

Traveling north on Interstate 5 in March of 2017, I departed Koreatown, Los Angeles's smoggy low-lying landscape of strip malls punctuated only by high-rise luxury condominiums. From urban sprawl to stretches of yellow-brown agricultural fields and the strong stench of manure, this three-hour drive brought me to the doorsteps of the prison town Corcoran, California (Tachi-Yokut tribal territory), of Kings County. Historically known for its agricultural industrialization of cotton, wheat, alfalfa, and grains, Corcoran is now anchored by two public prisons: California State Prison, Corcoran (CSP-C, established in 1988) and California Substance Abuse Treatment Facility and Prison, Corcoran (CSATF or SATF, established in 1997).<sup>1</sup> In 2017, 43 percent of the town's twenty-two thousand residents were caged in these two facilities.<sup>2</sup> Together, CSP-C and CSATF employ roughly a third of Corcoran's nonincarcerated residents and have an annual operating budget upward of \$230 million, making the prison industry the leading employer in the county (CDCR 2018). The colonial romance with fertile and expansive "unworked" land and fungibility of the captive body has provided, to borrow from Saidiya Hartman, the very "stage of sufferance" through the ages.<sup>3</sup> Tracing a path from chattel slavery on plantation fields to convict lease labor of corporate and private plantations, slavery-to-prison history is evidenced by slave quarters turned prison farms.<sup>4</sup> Corcoran stands as an exemplary model of the "prison fix," what Gilmore (2006: 69) troubles as not simply an economic rationale of rural agricultural towns turned prison towns, but also the promise of domestic and militarized manifest destiny, a welfare-to-warfare state of surplus land as the rationale for surplus populations, and vice versa.<sup>5</sup> One might argue that the historical trajectory of penal reform exists in the progression from sovereign power's carceral exile (chattel slavery to capital punishment), to carceral cure (deviant bodies as the symbolic rationalization for expanding institutional punishment, a logical outcome of moral civil society), to carceral care (the liberal humanistic concern for the improved treatment of those incarcerated). However, such a linear trajectory misses the long-standing gendered and racialized history in which black femme subjectivity has and continues to defy the mutability of the carceral state.<sup>6</sup> Sarah Haley (2016: 72) chronicles this disruption of such a linear carceral reform narrative, stating, "The Jim Crow carceral state enforced one of the most consistently stable presumptions of American history, mobilized continuously for the justification of draconian racial institutions—that black women's inherent deviance reproduces (and thereby produces) black cultural pathology, necessitating legal and extralegal control over their bodies and behavior."

Such a black and gendered cultural pathology lingers today in the form of what is termed here as carceral care. I offer this concept to name the deathly liberal impulse of asking the prisons to do better, a compulsion by both advocates and

state actors to demand piecemeal reforms from institutions like the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation (CDCR). Progressive discourses concerning carceral reform as carceral care often gain traction because of some combination of investigative reporting, lawsuits, state audits, or prison reform policy initiatives—and such efforts often fail to credit the very extensive and direct action and labor of protest, political unrest, and organizing by those most impacted on the inside.<sup>7</sup> *Carceral care* thus denotes the messy and entangled conglomerate of discretionary practices, performative measures, and material actions used to forestall the possibility of future interference and or interrogation of the underlying institutional violences of carceral spaces. Carceral violence via carceral spaces can range from death-wielding enforcement to death-making negligence by institutions and their actors—parole boards, wardens, correctional officers, prison officials, medical staff, and administration. Similarly, carceral care is not simply the deterrence, reduction, or interruption of carceral violence; rather, it is a mode of tracing how the penal administration of care multiplies the very scales, technologies, and cultural structures of violence itself.<sup>8</sup> Disrupting those very impulses to be trapped by the rigged gamble that is carceral care requires us, those who have any distrust in the possibility of life-giving care in such death-making spaces, to inhabit a deviant set of relations not only to the state but also to one another.<sup>9</sup> How might we resist and build our collective capacity to continuously trouble our notions of care? How might we resist both inferred and overt modes of racialized and gendered pathologies of individuated care that require the weaponization of personhood?<sup>10</sup> How might we account for the dualisms embedded within care—success or failure, curable or incurable, rehabilitated or recidivistic? Care, even in its etymological tie to *cure*, is not necessarily carceral.<sup>11</sup> However, the attendant logics of care mimic a curative model of carcerality by requiring individuated pathologies as central to administrative measures of correction.

The rural prison stage of CSATF is where a dear friend and action research collaborator, Aliya Sanders, was transferred in 2016.<sup>12</sup> Aliya and I met in 2014, through the metal-netted and double-paned glass windows of the gridlike visitation corridors of the Los Angeles County Men's Central Jail (MCJ), one of the most populated jails in the world.<sup>13</sup> Our friendship, collaborative organizing, and action research were formed through a mutual friend named Fresh, an artist and community member of Dignity Power Now-Los Angeles (DPN).<sup>14</sup> Both were caged in MCJ's segregated housing unit of K6G (formerly K-11, established in 1985), the first and only official gay and transgender women's designated jail unit in the United States.<sup>15</sup> Unable to post the exorbitant cost of bail, and having exhausted community-gathered funds to retain less than adequate private legal counsel, Aliya and Fresh each awaited trial for over two years in pretrial detention.<sup>16</sup>

To survive in MCJ, Aliya and Fresh shared critical and live-saving queer family bonds. An all-too-common practice across spaces of detention, mechanisms of intensified isolation and restrictive housing are used to cordon off further contact when bonds of intimacy and survival are forged among those incarcerated. Often queer kinship, a means of survival for those inside, is institutionally classified and penalized as “gang affiliation” or “security threat group (STG).” Punitive measures such as solitary confinement, administrative/disciplinary segregation, and protective custody are used to isolate individuals to remote locations in the form of small windowless single cells, ensuring absolute noncontact for twenty-two to twenty-four hours a day (Cochran et al. 2018; Frost, Monteiro, and CSR Incorporated 2016). Further, as courts defer authority to state institutions to determine the conditions for safekeeping of those they are charged to confine, legal culpability concerning “excessive force” on behalf of correctional officers is largely unattainable.<sup>17</sup> The state once again, as conceived of under Giorgio Agamben’s (1998) sovereign exception, establishes the juridical order and administration of violence in the name of public safety.<sup>18</sup> Prior to being transferred to the “male-designated” prison of CSATF to complete her sentence, as a black transgender woman, Aliya would not be able to strategize a plan of community safety ahead of time since relocation with queer kin like Fresh was never a guarantee.<sup>19</sup> As carceral spaces psychically and materially breed forgetting, brick by brick, steel door by steel door, painted pathways demarcating who is in or “out of bounds,” how might we cultivate collective feelings of belonging when those inside are systemically and structurally being told they do not belong anywhere?

As many have previously argued, the notion of a kinder, gentler, gender-responsive and reformed prison, particularly as the end goal, simply reproduces, exacerbates, and diversifies the tactics and technologies of punitive control over bodies and practices deemed criminal.<sup>20</sup> This article will attend to the liberal impulse, seduction, and conditioning of wanting to make better, to heal or fix, particularly through the confines of carceral spaces. How do such impulses become destructive to the cultivation of alternative abolitionist visions and strategies, particularly when remaining attached to a particular logical antecedent of caring—diagnosis?<sup>21</sup> In introducing the discussions of carceral cure to carceral care, I hope to demonstrate how, even when positing a neoliberal politics of prison reform, therein lies the reproduction of a coercive orientation in relating to an-other, that is, the naturalization of the colonial practice of othering through the very practice of human caging.<sup>22</sup> Drawing from critiques of the sociology of deviance to anarcho theories of mutual aid, and through a series of collaborative ethnographic vignettes, this article will explore the queer possibilities of deviance (deviant care, deviant time, deviant travel, deviant space) as a mode of disrupting relationships of care as premised on the sentiment of “help given.”<sup>23</sup> Further, how

might we reconceive of care in ways that queer its teleological and colonial relationship to rehabilitation and cure? Ultimately, in writing on, with, and through the vexing questions of prison abolition, there is no such thing as an equitable acknowledgment, on my part to those inside who, through their everyday embodied experiences of interfacing with and surviving the carceral state, continue to generously teach us, on the outside, how exactly the prison industrial complex devastates and steals life on multiple scales of time, space, and existence. At the very least, this article offers an example of how showing up, witnessing, failing, and being willing to not know and to learn, might itself be the sometimes-inauspicious work of abolitionist praxis.

### **Deviance as Mutual Aid**

The study of deviance as a fixture of the social sciences found its roots in early nineteenth-century humanistic endeavors that sought to streamline the philosophy of science as positivism and self-evidently true.<sup>24</sup> To this day, sociological studies ranging from human behavior to criminology continue to be preoccupied with two general abstractions worth troubling here. First is the observation that any particular human trait can be deduced, extracted, and applied to forge a universal claim concerning particular subjects, that is, the permanent prefiguration of the deviant or the criminal. This logic assumes that social or legal norms are unchanging. Second, such positivistic empirical studies of deviance fail to acknowledge the genocidal colonial processes by which regulatory technologies of law, legal enforcement, and juridical discourses are normalized and naturalized. Thus the reproduction of the figure of the deviant as criminal, and vice versa, only further normalizes a pernicious cycle of expansion, reform, and research on carceral technologies and carceral spaces ranging from the ethics of solitary confinement, mental health jails, and youth in detention centers to debates on gender-responsive imprisonment. In “Deviance as Resistance: A New Research Agenda for the Study of Black Politics,” Cathy J. Cohen debates sociologist Howard Becker’s critique of the pathos framing of deviance. Cohen challenges the construction of deviance as an innate quality and reframes it as a consequence of an action that defies normative rules and sanctions.

Cohen (2004) asks us how we might imagine deviance and deviant practices in terms of a radical feminist black tradition and politics—that is, a mode of resistance to an otherwise reductive social and political ordering of respectability. Similarly, Sarah Haley (2016: 6) describes the carceral construction of deviance by way of “discursive and material process by which imprisoned black women became a point of passage between what was normative and what was queer.” Following Cohen and Haley, how does such a point of passage offer up the very conditions of possibility for radical deviance, one which dislodges those

regulatory norms and devices that naturalize the juridical world of law, order, crime, and punishment as an antiblack and heteropatriarchal precept?

Turning to the concept of mutual aid, I examine how collective practices of deviant care might offer us experimental models toward disrupting carceral care or ideological state apparatuses as managed through discourses of diagnosis?<sup>25</sup> Beyond a statist and philanthropic notion of mutual aid, in which only unidirectional relationships of resource redistribution are possible—a neoliberal trickle-down from the wealthy to the poor—how might a deviant praxis of mutual aid require us to question such short-term fixes, particularly ones that seek to decontextualize material and historical power relations that moderate the possibility for social change? Dean Spade pushes us to consider mutual aid as the building of antihierarchical social relations of material care through a political and participatory praxis of disrupting capitalistic models of individuation and need-based competition.<sup>26</sup> Mutual aid thus exists as the activation of interdependence, built over time through consensual interaction, reflection, and transformation. Such practices of relationality inhabit a radical deviance and a deviant relationship to care, whereby the social categorization and interpellation of a singular self-subject is queered, made less discreet and less “self-evident.” Such deviations allow us to further disorganize the inevitability of those who become passive and self-evidencing objects of carceral care.<sup>27</sup> This idea of deviant care is not new, although I hope that it brings together both past and future questions concerning the relationship between the carceral and the conception and administration of care, particularly in how we, as scholars and activists, count our time as “worthwhile.” How, then, might deviating from the constrictions of carceral time and space allow us to meditate on the possibility of a radical mutualism, one that remains illegible to the productivity metrics of late racial capitalism? Such illegibility might persist in the affective economies of intimacy, trust, misgivings, failures, disappointment, joy, connection, disconnection, and trial and error—all of which offer us endurance against the deathly predilections of carceral care. Perhaps deviant care as mutual aid offers an interstitial timespace, to borrow from Moran, against the otherwise constant, slow, and inconspicuous carceral clock that demands time owed, served, extracted, and stolen away?<sup>28</sup>

### **Deviance of Queer Bonds**

As I unknowingly circled twice around the two Corcoran prison facilities, I finally arrived at the gates of CSATF but was barred from an early entrance by the checkpoint deputy. He directed me to join the row of stationary cars, each suspended on the dusty dirt road outside the facilities’ walls where drivers waited for their prescheduled visitation time. That day, like many days in Southern California, was unreasonably hot. I could only attempt to imagine the swelter behind those nearly windowless steel and concrete walls. Friends inside have described

the creative survival strategies to cool themselves off—blacking out rooms, assembling makeshift curtains, disrobing, showering in ice-cold water, avoiding one's time outside on the yard, and prayers and rituals to keep calm, collected, and connected to a world beyond the death grip of the cages they are told are their home. These concrete walls separate two worlds, a material and ideological division that visitors can only begin to grasp. As with other prisons, moving through Corcoran requires one to dance the carceral shuffle through checkpoints staffed by apathetic correctional officers, physical barriers, and metal detectors, each a hurdle potentially barring entry—pat downs, ID checks, signing in, signing out, repeat—all while under constant CCTV surveillance.<sup>29</sup> When one is approved to enter the official prison premises, they are directed to a small portion of the otherwise vast parking lot designated for correctional officers and administrative and medical staff, a 24/7, year-round warehouse sale on stolen labor, time, and bodies. The concertina wire-lined metal gates, heavy steel doors, and glass watchtowers—the institutional taupe-green as a shadow hue of army fatigue—are an unmistakable signal of militarism at home, a domestic war on drugs, poverty, and racialized and unruly genders and bodies.

No amount of planning can appropriately prepare one for the discretionary enforcement of visitation regulations by correctional officers. Upon entry, I am confronted briskly, perhaps part routine, part suspicion, a new face—Asian, gender nonbinary in dress and body. I sense, with the darting gazes received from across the tall check-in desk, that my presence is a disruption of the assumed role of the majority of women of color who visit—devoted and/or exhausted mothers, wives, girlfriends, and their children. When asked whom I was visiting, I replied, “Aliya Sanders,” a feminine name. The officer snatched the visitation paper begrudgingly, replying, “Oh, Aaron Sanders, you booked the visitation incorrectly, come back at noon.” Next focusing on my “excessive” piercings, she asked, “Did you not read over the conditions for visitation . . . ? Either remove all but two piercings or don't bother to come back, this includes the one in your nose.” The officer's agitation grew with every second I remained in her line of sight. Was it the threat of jewelry being smuggled in, or the threat of foreign objects on perceived “foreign” bodies?<sup>30</sup> A wedding ring, cross necklace, or recognizable religious medallion are acceptable forms of jewelry, but queer bonds, queer kin, and queer bodies remain suspect from the moment of entry to the prisons. We—our queer bonds—are the contraband.<sup>31</sup>

Both embarrassed and frustrated that I had somehow already let Aliya down, I returned to my car to attempt to remove all but two piercings, as directed. With a pair of dulled dollar-store tweezers, yanking and twisting in the blazing heat, I cut up my skin with little success. Delirium washed over me, and I wondered, what kind of corporeal payment, perhaps in the shape of an ear, would allow an outsider to gain access to the visitation room? An airy cafeteria space

lined with well-stocked vending machines, the visitation room is the interstitial space for us nonstaff, noninmate persons. It remains one step closer to the exit door for those inside and one step closer for us visitors in comprehending the reality of those who live each day, behind bars, in human-sized cages. We on the outside have the privilege of never having to, within our bodies, comprehend fully such a reality, but we can listen and be present. The overseeing correctional officers are often on their best behavior, regulating and controlling the amount of intimacy and affection shared between those visiting with those in custody—hand-holding and a brief kiss or hug at the start and close of the visit are CDCR approved. Being made to do this carceral shuffle is one small yet critical way to gain familiarity with and yet deviate from the slow grate of carceral timespace.<sup>32</sup> In the end, I was denied entry because of excessive earrings, and it would be another several months before I could return to Corcoran. My visitations, whether failed or successful, are not simply a measure of providing support to Aliya. I am there to intimately learn, in relation to bodies stolen by prison time and places deemed out of sight and “out of the way.” Being denied entry to a place no one actually wishes to call home is an acute reminder that we, as visitors, inhabit the vexed privilege and burden of always getting to leave, though never with those inside whom we only wish to see free. Perhaps such thwarted forms of care and mutual aid, in the appearance of denied entry, remain powerful in their ability to teach us how relationships premised on individuated acts of to (care receiver) and from (care giver) can ensnare us within unidirectional frameworks of diagnosis, that is, to assume our work is to identify and know fully the needs of an-other. Perhaps this is the queer horizon in which a radical deviance as mutual aid remains a constancy of exchange without extractable or exactable value, always emerging, disordering, multidirectional, spiraling, and elsewhere.<sup>33</sup>

### **Deviant Care against Carceral Care**

Carceral feminism, as a predominant liberal investment in antiviolence, prison reform, provides the ideological contours for further understanding the stakes and logics of carceral care. Victoria Law (2014) describes procarceral feminism as

increased policing, prosecution, and imprisonment . . . [and] the primary solution to violence against women. . . . Carceral feminism ignores the ways in which race, class, gender identity, and immigration status leave certain women more vulnerable to violence and that greater criminalization often places these same women at risk of state violence.

Such politics, like discussions on carceral humanism, requires us to scrutinize the telos and mandate of care as laid bare through the prison itself. This prison, even



with every aspiration to be kinder, gentler, and more gender responsive, is fundamentally defined as that which administers life as much as it is underwritten by death (Braz 2006).<sup>34</sup> The doubling down of state securitization, domestic warfare, and state-sponsored strategies of gender-responsive antiviolenace as prison reform simply demonstrates the fungible capacity of the state to define safety as safe-keeping of carceral subjects—the necropolitical as carceral care.<sup>35</sup> How might we enact a refusal of the carceral calculator that hedges bets of coercive plea bargains as a just relief from the crushing intimidation of multiple life sentences? As carceral feminism and humanism continue to invest in the biopolitical multiplication of crimes, enhancement of crimes, convictions and being convicted, such actuarial carceral algorithms, even in the name of reform, only breed the inevitability of premature and social death, especially for those made to be surplus objects under state surveillance. In locating critiques of carceral feminisms and humanism within the long-standing history of carceral care as colonial cure, we must turn to an engagement with indigenous feminist interventions demanding models of radical resurgence, relationalism, and enthusiastic consensual engagement.<sup>36</sup> Such interventions shine a discerning light on those technocratic and managerial state-based prison reform strategies that hinge on a top-down politics of curative diagnosis.<sup>37</sup>

At CSATF, Aliya was placed in a special needs yard informally housing transgender women together, a model of trans-responsive imprisonment.<sup>38</sup> With support and encouragement from a small community team, Aliya slowly reinvigorated a preexisting yet defunct institutionally sponsored space titled Transgender Alternative Lifestyle Group, serving as the elected chairperson.<sup>39</sup> Led for and by mostly black and Latinx transgender women, the space is hosted twice a week to air grievances, share resources, address interpersonal conflict, build community trust, and offer gender-affirming somatic exercises to counter past and present traumatic experiences of harm. Through practices of mutuality and collective care, advocacy, peer support, dialogue, and strategies toward naming connections between structural, interpersonal, and material violence, this shared time is a deviation from a kind of carceral temporality and regulated space.<sup>40</sup> In the fall of 2018, with the successful organizing by the women inside to wage collective demands against the institutions, nonbinary and “femme gay boys,” as Aliya describes, asked to join the group to address interpersonal conflict and imposed competition for resources between those who identified as LGBTQ.<sup>41</sup> The institutional recognition and approval of the transgender women’s “alternative lifestyle group,” and by extension the organizing made possible through this gender-affirming and monitored space within a “designated male institution,” could be viewed as simply a propinson reform, preventing the possibility of wielding collective power away from the penal institutions themselves. However,

there is merit in distinguishing the problem with such claims—that is, the premise that resistance is automatically diluted, made respectable, when having to be incubated within institutionally authorized spaces. To interrogate these contradictions, the following section will focus on how the administration of carceral care requires us to go beyond a subjectless critique of the criminal punishment system writ large.

In May of 2018, the State of California Office of Administrative Law issued a statewide forty-four-page adopted regulation memo requiring timely compliance by CDCR to allow “transgender inmates and inmates having symptoms of gender dysphoria that are housed at designated institutions to have access to state-issued and authorized personal property items in accordance with their gender identities” via “The Transgender Inmates Authorized Personal Property Schedule” (TIAPPS).<sup>42</sup> The language of TIAPPS relies on the pathologization of carceral subjects as gender dysphoric. Such a diagnosis thus permits individuals to access previously unauthorized “female property,” termed here as feminine contraband, within a male-designated institution.<sup>43</sup> The memo opens with a detailed chart regulating the number limit for acceptable types of feminine clothing (“brassieres (7), panties (10), sandals (1)”), as well as personal care/hygiene items such as “body splash (2), mascara (1), lip gloss/lipstick (2), eyeliner (2), feminine hygiene wash (2).” The majority of the memo summarizes written public comments from community advocates, incarcerated transgender individuals, and prison officials. The repeated denial of particular personal property is debated as a potential cause of “security risk.” For instance, items such as “pajama/nightgown,” “robes,” “scarves,” and “body-size towels” are rebuffed because of the prospect of excessive fabric being used as “escape paraphernalia” (State of California 2018: 5–32). Plastic hairclips are disallowed because their metal components could be used for “manufacturing weapons or circumventing restraint gear such as handcuffs, waist chains, or leg restraints” (6, 22).

Following this memo in the summer of 2018, and after several failed orders from various for-profit, third-party vendors, the women inside CSATF and I finally were able to place a purchase order for female-designated items through Walkenhorst’s.<sup>44</sup> The success of receiving “female designated” personal items was considered a huge win for Aliya and other women inside. This material win was a direct result of years of organizing and advocacy by trans women of color inside, particularly in alliance with organizations such as the TGI Justice Project and the Transgender Law Center (TLC). TIAPPS as a legal document might read easily as a gender-responsive propirison reform. However, the organizing among women inside is in and of itself a mode of survival and resistance against the consolidation of hegemonic state power. The difference between the institutionalization of TIAPPS, like the institutionally approved Transgender Alternative Lifestyle Group, and the continual organizing of the women inside is that the former exists

as the end goal, a propinson reformist strategy, and the latter offers space for further abolitionist work, a nonreformist strategy.<sup>45</sup> Such abolitionist praxis in the strategy of reform perhaps offers a harm-reductive approach to a death-driven system otherwise hell-bent on administering only the most violent—if not completely negligent—notation of carceral care.<sup>46</sup> One of the CSATF women, quoted in the TIAPPS memo, offers an incisive critique of the policing of makeup in the yard, particularly when read as “noticeable” feminine contraband, stating, “Multiple ranking officers on our yard are wholly against [the emergency regulations of enforcing TIAPPS]” and are “circumventing them by subjective interpretation” (State of California 2018: 18). For Aliya and the women inside CSATF, deviant care and mutual aid persist in practices like redistributing and collectively circulating individual TIAPPS packages as well as forging feminine items even with the failed implementation of the institutional memo.

Aliya recently called me with gleeful news to let me know that the CDCR 602 Inmate/Parolee Appeal form that the women collectively filed with CSATF was finally granted, which would provide additional shower curtains in the otherwise open-area shower that both cisgender men and transgender women share simultaneously. CDCR’s decision, technically enforced through the federal Prison Rape Elimination Act (PREA) of 2003, to grant a shower curtain to the transgender women in CSATF is a perfect example of the embodiment of carceral care—that is, to provide an all-too-insulting translucent plastic tarp, offering no additional privacy whatsoever. Aliya, however, explained to me that the women rigged this “barrier” with makeshift canvas towels and, with a buddy system, collectively created a work-around to provide a sense of communal safety among one another. Although often an uphill battle with no relief in sight, reform for reform’s sake requires only the performance of compliance with gender-responsive legal memos like TIAPPS or PREA federal regulations, both of which frame carceral care as an institutional “it gets better.”<sup>47</sup> Ranging from reporting abusive medical and correctional staff to preventing and deterring sexual, interpersonal, and structural violence, deviant care nevertheless requires a constant stream of strategic demands. Demands, however small or large in scale, are often still made with the collective wisdom that most penal reform pathways, when strictly for and by the rules of the state, are largely self-enclosed and self-replicating sinkholes.<sup>48</sup>

### **QTBIPoC Radical Relationalism**

Deviant or devious care requires an insurrectionary mode of creating impossible bonds that harness the radical potential of an elsewhere care, one that is not inhibited by a telos of help, diagnosis, or curing. Such an elsewhere is not simply an aspirational horizon that is hauntingly unidentifiable. To borrow from Melanie K. Yazzie and Cutcha Risling Baldy (2018: 2), such an elsewhere requires a radical

relationality as a daily practice that divests from a liberal sympathizing individuated relationalism (which produces discrete subject-object relations). Radical relationality, or “queer trans black indigenous and people of color” (QTBIPOC) radical relationalism as I call it here, is an act of interrupting the philanthropic algorithm that pairs the colonial benefactor—the prison as social service provider—with surplus carceral objects.<sup>49</sup> Whether through survival, refusal, or an elsewhere, black, brown, and indigenous bodies, through their very existence have functioned as the marker of deviance as that which underwrites the possibility for colonial time and space. Whether through imperial warfare, settler colonial genocide, chattel slavery, boarding schools, guest worker programs, or eugenicist medical apartheid, these once-legal institutions reveal, again and again, the fungible nature of a curative carceral violence as state care.<sup>50</sup>

Deviant care demands an inhabitation of QTBIPOC radical relationalism that critically upends impulses to be simply against rules, regulation, and norms. Queer as a subjectless critique only feeds the white supremacist political voracity to simply drop in, detach from, or extract otherness as an exercise in peculiar/particular critical inquiry. Such absolutism and purity of abolitionist praxis as only ever that which is fully against and/or outside reformist strategies are often suspect postures of more radical than thou.<sup>51</sup> In other words, how might we deviate and disrupt our reliance on the seemingly inevitable futurity of surplus populations (the deviant, criminal, inmate, terrorist, illegal, black identity extremist, etc.) while engaging with a politics of relationalism that deals with, in the then and now, the legacies of such cyclical prefigurations?<sup>52</sup> Instead, how might a radical relationalism (beyond a sociological epistemology of the radical relational) offer a new mode of temporality and relationship to our present future?<sup>53</sup> Radical relationalism, as Cohen (2004: 33) describes, truly “[witnesses] the power of those at the bottom, whose everyday life decisions challenge, or at least counter, the basic normative assumptions of a society intent on protecting structural and social inequalities under the guise of some normal and natural order to life.” This mode of relationality redefines care or mutualism by its ability to reorient ourselves to one another, that is, beyond an assertion of capitalist extractive productivity.<sup>54</sup> In effect, radical QTBIPOC relationalism exists beyond reductive dichotomies such as success and failure, yet it centers the emotional and affective labor required in thinking about and attending to a collective politics of care. What, then, might a deviant present-future reveal concerning the ongoing reverberations of a living, breathing, and bleeding colonial curative temporality? What might a deviation from a curative, colonial, and carceral care look like? How might radical relationalism as deviant care require us to recalibrate the irreducibility of, to borrow from Scott Lauria Morgensen, the interdependent spaces between us—land, plants, species, and water—as all beings?<sup>55</sup> In conclusion, whether practiced as deviant care, mutual aid, radical mutualism, or

QTBIPoC radical relationalism, how might we counter the collective fatigue that tolerates a reformed model of carceral care as the end goal? How might we continue to work against and between institutional walls, where connections forged are often best envisioned through speculative praxis of imaginative closeness?<sup>56</sup> Tourmaline writes, “We all know the damage that it can be to be called nobody and yet there is power in that word and in that world of no-bodies. It’s a power Denise Ferreira da Silva cites when she asks ‘Do we want to be *somebody* under the state or *nobody* against it?’” (Tourmaline, Dunham, and Zavitsanos 2016). How might reckoning with mutual aid as research praxis promise us no-bodies and no-thing calculable of capitalist worth under the metrics of academic and or nonprofit-industrial-complex success? Perhaps QTBIPoC radical relationalism simply offers us a disordering of commonsense notions of the individuated self-evident self. Deviating from logics of carceral care require the sobering recognition that to build meaningful relationships across prison walls we are promised nothing in terms of self-fulfillment and progressive good feelings—and yet we must celebrate the clear-tarp-turned-makeshift-shower-curtain while, in the same breath, distrust the translucent promise of a kinder, gentler, gender-responsive prison as liberation and an inevitable future.

---

**Ren-yo Hwang** is an assistant professor in gender studies and critical social thought at Mount Holyoke College and researches and teaches on transformative justice, prison abolition, community accountability, queer/trans\* of color critique, antiviolence strategies and liberation, and participatory action research.

### Acknowledgments

I was granted permission to offer personal stories here from Aliya and the transgender women’s group inside CSATE. This article would not have been possible without the mutual support and friendship between Aliya and me. Aliya was released in early 2019 and is living and working in Los Angeles. Pseudonyms were selected and personal details changed by research collaborators for anonymity and safety. Thank you to California Coalition for Women Prisoners, Dignity Power Now, TGJJB, and Survived and Punished for their constant organizational wisdom that contributed to the completion of this article.

### Notes

1. Ruth Wilson Gilmore and Craig Gilmore (2004: 389) write, “Before the first prison opened, about 1,000 of Corcoran’s residents lived in households whose incomes put them below the poverty line. Ten years later, after the state spent around \$1 billion in Corcoran for the construction and operating costs of the two prisons, nearly 2,000 people lived beneath the poverty line. When the prison advertised two clerical positions with a starting wage of \$17,000, 800 people lined up waiting for the employment office to open so they could apply.”

2. Nearly 10,000 of 22,691 persons.
3. This is borrowed from her chapter titled “Innocent Amusements: The Stage of Sufferance,” where Hartman (1997: 21) writes, “The fungibility of the commodity makes the captive body an abstract and empty vessel vulnerable to the projection of others’ feelings, ideas, desires and values; and, as property, the dispossessed body of the enslaved is the surrogate for the master’s body since it guarantees his disembodied universality and act as a sign of his power and dominion.”
4. Most recognizably through long-standing institutions dating back to before the mid-nineteenth century, such as Louisiana State Penitentiary, also known as Angola or simply “The Farm” for its use of prisoners as convict farm labor. For more, see Davis 1998 and Oshinsky 1996.
5. For more, see Gilmore 1999 and 2006. On warfare-welfare, see O’Connor 1979.
6. For more, see Ellison 2019.
7. My use of *carceral care* breaks from Marquita R. Smith’s (2018) description of carceral care as the labor required, often by black women, to support the survival of those incarcerated.
8. This language of multiplication of scales is credited to Dylan Rodriguez (pers. comm., March 15, 2019).
9. A rigged gamble in the sense of the house, that is, the penal institution, always wins. Even in reforming the optics of carceral care, it is never to the direct benefit of those trapped within its confines. I therefore use *gamble* here to suggest the ways in which legislating to win one set of reformed penal conditions does not promise any actual reduction of harm for those it most impacts, but also, sometimes it might. Even when reforms are not just symbolic but demand a shift in the material conditions for those incarcerated, such reforms are so grossly uneven in their application.
10. Eli Clare (2017: 31) writes, “I’m trying to say that life and death sometimes hangs on an acknowledgement of personhood. . . . Personhood is used all too often as a weapon.”
11. The etymological root of the word *care*, whether as verb or noun, is derived from notions of lamenting, grief, and being filled with sorrow (Old High German, *chara*, *charon*; Old English, *caru*). The Latin root of the word *cure* is literally (*curare*) to “take care of” (Oxford English Dictionary Online, s.v. “care, n.1,” accessed June 2019, www.oed.com). If curing is to take care of, to remedy—how, then, do we reorient our relationship to care away from a death-driven politics of “curing” as routed through the carceral?
12. The action research mentioned here, where Aliya’s participation is fully driven by the collective desires of the trans women inside in community, is inspired here by Tuck and Yang 2014 and A. Simpson 2014. On ethnographic refusal, indigeneity, voice, and colonial citizenship, see A. Simpson 2014.
13. Up to twenty-two thousand persons await trial or sentencing on any given day.
14. DPN, formerly the Coalition to End Sheriff Violence in LA Jails, is an organization I had worked with for several years since its inception in 2012, particularly, leading editorial zine work, archiving campaigns, and assisting in on-site jail outreach events.
15. The official creation of K6G stemmed from a 1982 American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California class action lawsuit brought against Los Angeles County Sheriff’s Department on behalf of homosexual inmates due to threat of sexual and physical violence. See *Robertson v. Block*, No. 82-1442-WPG (Px) (C.D. Cal. May 11, 1982). K6G serves as a complex “carceral care” case study, in being a model institution for gender and sexual-minority responsive prison reform.

16. The commercial bail bond industry, legal only in the United States and Philippines, handles nearly US \$14 billion in bonds annually and US \$2 billion in revenues (Wing 2016). Relatedly, the United States has the largest pretrial detention population in the world, nearing half a million (Aborn and Cannon 2013).
17. Although in theory everyone, even a prisoner, has the constitutional right to practice self-defense, prisoners' rights derived from the Eighth Amendment are often obscured if not outright concealed, via loopholes, by constitutional jurisprudence that defers to the authority of correctional institutions. For more, see Kaye 1996.
18. Aliya and Fresh have described a critical bonding of queers inside the California prison system, named QRS, known as Queers Running Shit and sometimes Queers Reforming Society.
19. Dylan Rodriguez (2003) describes the collaboration between social scientists and prison wardens to create behavior modification techniques of segregation of emotional ties as a mode of brainwashing with an end goal of docility.
20. This has been argued most vehemently by community-led organizations such as Transgender Gender Variant Intersex Justice Project; California Coalition for Women Prisoners; Critical Resistance; Sylvia Rivera Law Project; Black and Pink; INCITE!, Women, Gender Non-Conforming, and Trans People of Color Against Violence; Dignity Power Now; Youth Justice Coalition; and many more.
21. For more on the history of diagnosis in regard to relations of power and subjectification, see Michel Foucault's *Birth of the Clinic* ([1975] 2010) and *Madness and Civilization* ([1965] 2009).
22. The hyphenation of *another* to *an-other* refers to and breaks from phenomenology's study of the self and constitutive other as also notated through similar interventions made in queer theory such as *an/other* and *(an)other*.
23. As in the field of health (e.g., healthcare), the terminology of care, either as practice and concept, evokes a linear ontology of to and from, a service rendered.
24. From Émile Durkheim to Foucault, the three schools of thought in conceptualizing deviance—structural functionalism, symbolic interaction, and conflict theory—share an understanding of deviance as generally that which violates norms, understandings, or expectations of social systems. Historically linked to the advent and diagnosis of criminal traits and activity, “deviant behavior” was established as a critical subfield that spanned various disciplines in the social sciences such as criminology, psychology, anthropology, and sociology.
25. For more, see Althusser 2014.
26. For more on mutual aid, see Spade 2018; Bigdoorbrigade.com n.d.; and Lazare 2017.
27. Bigdoorbrigade.com (n.d.) describes the radical potential of “mutual aid” as “a form of political participation in which people take responsibility for caring for one another and changing political conditions, not just through symbolic acts or putting pressure on their representatives in government, but by actually building new social relations that are more survivable.”
28. For more discussion of prison “clock time” and carceral timespace, see Moran 2012; see also Haley's (2016: 205) discussion of black women's sabotage of the late nineteenth-century convict lease system and “refusal of the carceral timetable [in] thwart[ing] carceral productivity.”
29. A nod to Mimi Kim's use of *carceral creep* in her 2015 article “Dancing the Carceral Creep.” Kim's use of *creep* describes the steps by which the mainstreaming of the feminist

antiviolence movement became seduced by the promise of state protection. With prison visitations, on the other hand, we are coerced into participating in this carceral shuffle with the hope of connecting with those inside.

30. The carceral logic of deviant behavior produces responses such as, “Earrings would have the potential to increase predatory behavior against weaker inmates. Earrings could be stolen or be used to barter or trade for contraband and other items” (State of California 2018: Response 7B).
31. As inspired by Assata Shakur’s (2001) poem “Love” that begins, “Love is contraband in Hell.”
32. Other attempts at connection reside in the space of state-surveilled outgoing phone calls, long-distance handwritten letters that often arrive faster than the sporadically delivered or disappeared e-mails sent to the CDCR-approved JPay tablet, mailed books like Janet Mock’s *Surpassing Certainty* with the beautiful hardcover ripped off, literature from organizations like *Surviving Prison in California: Advice by and for Transgender Women* by the Transgender Gender Variant Intersex (TGI) Justice Project.
33. I am thinking here of the clustering of collective care via the concept of “care web” described by Leah Lakshmi Piepzna-Samarasinha (2018) in *Care Work*, “pod mapping” by Mia Mingus (2017), or “building one’s team” as theorized by Patrisse Cullors. Cullors (pers. comm., 2009–17) would often use this phrasing and base-building strategy of “building one’s team” in the organizing work we shared in Los Angeles over the years, particularly via Dignity Power Now.
34. For more on carceral humanism, see Kilgore 2014 and Schept 2015.
35. Whether it be the restructuring of the rural or the gentrification of cities, Christina Hanhardt (2013: 223) describes how the politics of development have long been predicated on ideas of risk management, as she states “messy distinctions between crime and violence, safety and justice, underscore the flexibility of concepts such as risk and their centrality to the politics of development.”
36. “Within the context of settler colonialism, Indigenous peoples are not seen as worthy recipients of consent, informed or otherwise, and part of being colonized is having to engage in all kinds of processes on a daily basis that, given a choice, we likely wouldn’t consent to” (L. B. Simpson 2014: 15; see also L. B. Simpson 2017).
37. For more on the notion of cure as violence, in relation to illness and disability, see Ben-Moshe 2013.
38. CSATF was touted for its use of a “therapeutic community model” to reduce recidivism, described as “the largest addiction treatment center in the world.” However, such claims have been discredited by special investigative accountability audits by state institutions like California’s Office of the Inspector General (OIG) (Cate 2007).
39. Formerly defunct, the group had trouble being maintained, owing to a lack of leadership, resources, and solid external sponsorship—a requirement for any approved official group to exist within prisons—and general emotional exhaustion all around.
40. Beth Richie (2012) describes these intersections of harm through the conception of the violence matrix.
41. Such trans-sensitive harm reduction among the women inside might be read as a simply pinkwashed prison reform, or a function of carceral feminism. See the work of Survived and Punished National Coalition and scholar-activists such as Alisa Bierria, Beth Richie, Colby Lenz, Mariam Kaba, Emily Thuma, and Dean Spade.
42. For more, see State of California 2018: 1–2.



43. “Department staff at designated institutions need to be able to distinguish between property that is authorized for transgender inmates and inmates having symptoms of gender dysphoria . . . in order to ensure that all inmates are only in possession of authorized property items” (State of California 2018: 24).
44. Approved vendors such as Golden State Care Packages, Access SecurePak, and Union Supply Direct are marketed as providing a friendly service for families and loved ones to supply additional “care packages” not provided by the prison itself, a mode of purchasing care as commodities beyond the in-prison commissary.
45. For more on nonreformist reform, see Pisciotta 1996.
46. “CDCR has currently designated 14 institutions to house transgender inmates. The transgender inmate population, including inmates having symptoms of gender dysphoria, is very small in comparison with the overall inmate population; presently, CDCR has approximately 500 transgender inmates in an inmate population of approximately 129,000 inmates” (State of California 2018).
47. A critical dig at Dan Savage’s viral antibullying LGBT social media campaign turned nonprofit titled *It Gets Better* that also inhabits an upward mobility politics of linear self-reliance and self-cure.
48. Aliya, for instance, consulted with me concerning whether she should file a CDCR Form 602 Inmate/Parolee Appeal against a new nurse who was administering injections of hormone blockers in a way that left more bruising, excessive bleeding, and clear signs that the intramuscularly administered estrogen dosage was ineffective. Filing such forms can be risky, as retaliation or withholding of medication is a common response to such collective self-advocacy.
49. QTBIPOC is borrowed from community digital archives such as Marvellous Grounds in Toronto, Canada (Huron-Wendat, Petun, Seneca, and Mississaugas of the Credit River). See [marvellousgrounds.com/about/](http://marvellousgrounds.com/about/) (accessed June 30, 2019).
50. C. Riley Snorton (2017: 193–94) describes black life in relation to colonial time as the rupture that reveals “living beyond [Western episteme] life [which] also arranges, or perhaps exposes, time as outside of time and self, beyond self, which is to say that the ‘self’ is itself a rupture.”
51. Here I am not debating the philosophy and principles of abolition, rather, the everyday organizing and praxis that requires some kind of interface with strategies of nonreformist reform.
52. To affirm yet neutralize, in reference to Roderick Ferguson’s (2012) critique of the integration of minoritarian subject positions and interdisciplines.
53. “Radically relational” as containing “no residual dualist elements and therefore treats all social phenomena, including individuals themselves, as constituted through relations” (Powell 2013).
54. Christina Sharpe (2016: 21) offers “wake work” as a kind of care work done through connecting “containment, regulation, punishment, capture, and captivity and the ways the manifold representations of blackness become the symbol, par excellence, for the less-than-human being condemned to death.” She states that “thinking needs care (‘all thought is Black thought’) and that thinking and care need to stay in the wake” (5).
55. For more, see Morgensen 2011.
56. Here I am thinking about the many radical, deviant, and divergent strategies put forth by adrienne maree brown in *Emergent Strategy: Shaping Change, Changing Worlds* (2017).

## References

- Aborn, Richard M., and Ashley D. Cannon. 2013. "Prisons: In Jail, but Not Sentenced." *Americas Quarterly*, winter. [www.americasquarterly.org/aborn-prisons](http://www.americasquarterly.org/aborn-prisons).
- Agamben, Giorgio. 1998. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Althusser, Louis. 2014. *On the Reproduction of Capitalism: Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*. London: Verso.
- Ben-Moshe, Liat. 2013. "Disabling Incarceration: Connecting Disability to Divergent Confinements in the USA." *Critical Sociology* 39, no. 3: 385–403.
- Big Door Brigade. n.d. "What Is Mutual Aid?" [bigdoorbrigade.com/what-is-mutual-aid/](http://bigdoorbrigade.com/what-is-mutual-aid/) (accessed September 15, 2018).
- Braz, Rose. 2006. "'Kinder, Gentler, Gender Responsive' Cages: Prison Expansion Is Not Prison Reform." In *Women and Girls in the Criminal Justice System: Policy Issues and Practices*, vol. 2, edited by Russell Immarigeon, 87–91. Kingston, NJ: Civic Research Institute.
- Brown, Adrienne Maree. 2017. *Emergent Strategy: Shaping Change, Changing Worlds*. Chico, CA: AK.
- Cate, Matthew L. 2007. *Special Review into In-Prison Substance Abuse Programs Managed by the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation*. Sacramento, CA: Office of the Inspector General, State of California. [www.prisonlegalnews.org/news/publications/ca-oig-report-on-prison-drug-programs-2007/](http://www.prisonlegalnews.org/news/publications/ca-oig-report-on-prison-drug-programs-2007/).
- CDCR (California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation). 2018. Population Reports. [sites.cdcr.ca.gov/research/population-reports/](https://sites.cdcr.ca.gov/research/population-reports/) (accessed November 10, 2018).
- Clare, Eli. 2017. *Brilliant Imperfection: Grappling with Cure*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Cochran, Joshua C., Elisa L. Toman, Daniel P. Mears, and William D. Bales. 2018. "Solitary Confinement as Punishment: Examining In-Prison Sanctioning Disparities." *Justice Quarterly* 35, no. 3: 381–411.
- Cohen, Cathy. 2004. "Deviance as Resistance: A New Research Agenda for the Study of Black Politics." *Du Bois Review* 1, no. 1: 27–45.
- Davis, Angela Y. 1998. "From the Prison of Slavery to the Slavery of Prison: Frederick Douglass and the Convict Lease System." In *The Angela Y. Davis Reader*, edited by Joy James, 74–95. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Ellison, Treva C. 2019. "Black Femme Praxis and the Promise of Black Gender." *Black Scholar* 49, no. 1: 6–16.
- Ferguson, Roderick. 2012. *Reorder of Things: The University and Its Pedagogies of Minority Difference*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Foucault, Michel. (1965) 2009. *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*. Translated by Richard Howard. London: Routledge.
- Foucault, Michel. (1975) 2010. *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*. London: Routledge.
- Frost, Natasha A., Carlos, E. Monteiro, and CSR Incorporated. 2016. *Administrative Segregation in U.S. Prisons Executive Summary*. Arlington, VA: National Institute of Corrections, Department of Justice.
- Gilmore, Ruth. 1999. "Globalisation and US Prison Growth: From Military Keynesianism to Post-Keynesian Militarism." *Race and Class* 40, nos. 2–3: 171–88.
- Gilmore, Ruth. 2006. *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Gilmore, Ruth Wilson, and Craig Gilmore. 2003. "The Other California." In *Globalize Liberation: How to Uproot the System and Build a Better World*, edited by David Solnit, 381–96. San Francisco: City Light.
- Haley, Sarah. 2016. *No Mercy Here: Gender, Punishment, and the Making of Jim Crow Modernity*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Hanhardt, Christina. 2013. *Safe Space: Gay Neighborhood History and the Politics of Violence*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Hartman, Siadiya. 1997. "Innocent Amusements: The Stage of Sufferance." In *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kaye, Anders. 1996. "Dangerous Places: The Right to Self-Defense in Prison and Prison Conditions Jurisprudence." *University of Chicago Law Review* 63, no. 2: 693–726.
- Kilgore, James. 2014. "Repackaging Mass Incarceration." *CounterPunch*, June 6. [www.counterpunch.org/2014/06/06/repackaging-mass-incarceration/](http://www.counterpunch.org/2014/06/06/repackaging-mass-incarceration/).
- Kim, Mimi. 2015. *Dancing the Carceral Creep: The Anti-domestic Violence Movement and the Paradoxical Pursuit of Criminalization, 1973–1986*. ISSI Fellows Working Papers. Berkeley: University of California, Institute for the Study of Societal Issues.
- Law, Victoria. 2014. "Against Carceral Feminism." *Jacobin*, October 17. [www.jacobinmag.com/2014/10/against-carceral-feminism/](http://www.jacobinmag.com/2014/10/against-carceral-feminism/).
- Lazare, Sarah. 2018. "Now Is the Time for 'Nobodies': Dean Spade on Mutual Aid and Resistance in the Trump Era." *AlterNet*, January 5. [www.alternet.org/2017/01/now-time-nobodies-dean-spade-mutual-aid-and-resistance-trump-era/](http://www.alternet.org/2017/01/now-time-nobodies-dean-spade-mutual-aid-and-resistance-trump-era/).
- Mingus, Mia. 2017. "Transformative Justice and Creating Your Pods." Bay Area Transformative Justice Workshop presented at Asian Americans Advancing Justice, Los Angeles, April 30.
- Moran, Dominique. 2012. "'Doing Time' in Carceral Space: TimeSpace and Carceral Geography." *Human Geography* 94, no. 4: 305–16.
- Morgensen, Scott Lauria. 2011. *Spaces between Us: Queer Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Decolonization*. First Peoples: New Directions in Indigenous Studies Series. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- O'Connor, James. 1973. *The Fiscal Crisis of the State*. New York: St. Martin's.
- Oshinsky, David M. 1996. *"Worse than Slavery": Parchman Farm and the Ordeal of Jim Crow Justice*. New York: Free Press.
- Piepzna-Samarasinha, Leah Lakshmi. 2018. *Care Work: Dreaming Disability Justice*. Vancouver, BC: Arsenal Pulp.
- Pisciotta, Alexander W. 1996. *Benevolent Repression: Social Control and the American Reformatory-Prison Movement*. New York: New York University Press.
- Powell, Christopher. 2013. "Radical Relationism: A Proposal." In *Conceptualizing Relational Sociology: Ontological and Theoretical Issues*, edited by Christoher Powell and François Depelteau, 187–207. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Richie, Beth E. 2012. *Arrested Justice: Black Women, Violence, and America's Prison Nation*. New York: New York University Press.
- Rodriguez, Dylan. 2003. "State Terror and the Reproduction of Imprisoned Dissent." *Social Identities* 9, no. 2: 183–203.
- Schept, Judah Nathan. 2015. *Progressive Punishment: Job Loss, Jail Growth, and the Neoliberal Logic of Carceral Expansion*. New York: New York University Press.
- Shakur, Assata. 2001. "Love." In *Assata: An Autobiography*, 130. Chicago: Hill.
- Sharpe, Christina. 2016. *In the Wake: On Blackness and Being*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

- Simpson, Audra. 2014. *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life across the Borders of Settler States*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Simpson, Leanne Betasamosake. 2014. "Land as Pedagogy: Nishnaabeg Intelligence and Rebellious Transformation." *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education, and Society* 3, no. 3. [jps.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/des/article/view/22170](http://jps.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/des/article/view/22170).
- Simpson, Leanne Betasamosake. 2017. *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Smith, Marquita R. 2018. "Don't Be a Martyr': Kinship, Intimacy, and Carceral Care in Ava DuVernay's Middle of Nowhere." *Black Scholar* 48, no. 1: 6–19.
- Snorton, C. Riley. 2017. *Black on Both Sides: A Racial History of Trans Identity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Spade, Dean. 2018. "Having a Cause' versus Living in a Life Centered in Radical Transformation." *Dean Spade* (blog), November 23. [www.deanspade.net/2018/11/23/having-a-cause-versus-living-in-a-life-centered-in-radical-transformation/](http://www.deanspade.net/2018/11/23/having-a-cause-versus-living-in-a-life-centered-in-radical-transformation/).
- State of California Office of Administrative Law. 2018. Notice of Approval of Certificate of Compliance for "Transgender Inmates Authorized Personal Property Schedule" to CDCR, May 15, 2018.
- Tourmaline, Cyrus Grace Dunham, and Constantina Zavitzanos. 2016. "Commencement Address at Hampshire College." May 17. [www.reinagossett.com/commencement-address-hampshire-college](http://www.reinagossett.com/commencement-address-hampshire-college).
- Tuck, Eve, and K. Wayne Yang. 2014. "R-Words: Refusing Research." In *Humanizing Research: Decolonizing Qualitative Inquiry with Youth and Communities*, edited by Django Paris and Maisha T. Winn, 223–48. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Wing, Nick. 2016. "Our Bail System Is Leaving Innocent People to Die in Jail Because They're Poor." Justice Policy Institute, July 14. [www.justicepolicy.org/news/10585](http://www.justicepolicy.org/news/10585).
- Yazzie, Melanie K., and Cutcha Risling Baldy. 2018. "Introduction: Indigenous Peoples and the Politics of Water." *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education, and Society* 7, no. 1.