In her speech, “The Prison-Industrial Complex” (1997), renowned scholar, anti-prison activist, and former political prisoner Angela Y. Davis articulates a pedagogical philosophy that has inspired my years of teaching African American literature in the prisons of the American South. Recalling her experiences with teaching incarcerated women at a California jail, Davis states: “Coalitional formations that link academic communities and imprisoned communities can potentially produce great changes. [Yet] people in [jails and] prisons are generally considered to be people who have no agency. We often fail to recognize that prisoners are human beings who have a right to participate in transformative projects” (The Meaning of Freedom 53). Davis’s affirmation of the humanity and agency of incarcerated students reinforces a larger argument that she develops in the speech about inviting and incorporating instructional approaches to jail and prison classrooms that aim to undermine, to some degree, the asymmetries of power that operationalize our epoch’s “punishment industry.”¹ What Davis calls the prison-industrial complex is the post-Civil Rights era system of racialized social control and profit-driven, mass-based social isolation currently responsible for the punitive confinement of one in every ninety-nine adults in the United States and more black men than had been enslaved in 1850 (Liptak; Lu). The prison-industrial complex

¹I seek to cultivate classrooms where imprisoned men can, if only temporarily, experience desired learning community and human community amid ever more extreme forms of social isolation.

EDUCATION AS LIBERATION
African American Literature
and Abolition Pedagogy in the Sunbelt Prison Classroom
is typified by racial bias, discriminatory sentencing practices, political repression, state violence, sexual abuse, medical neglect, corporate greed, and the increasingly privatized warehousing of black, brown, and poor bodies in overcrowded jails, plantation prisons, supermaximum facilities, and six-foot-by-eight-foot security housing units. Yet what is also disturbing about the prison-industrial complex is its institutionalization of educational deprivation—a practice that I argue constitutes a breach in international human rights standards for the treatment of imprisoned people. Recall that when Congress eliminated Pell Grants for imprisoned learners by passing the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act in 1994, it effectively terminated public funding for the more than 350 college-in-prison programs then in existence and thereby reduced the number of these programs to a meager eight by 1997 (Petersilia 34). That law alone—passed under the Clinton administration—relegated higher education initiatives for imprisoned learners to the unpredictable whims of private support and donated labor and thus led to a mind-numbing disciplinary practice at odds with the United States’s position as a United Nations signatory. On the one hand, the United States has essentially institutionalized the deprivation of post-secondary education in prison; on the other, it remains a signatory of the United Nations’s 1990 resolution, “Basic Principles for the Treatment of Prisoners,” which states: “All prisoners shall have the right to take part in cultural activities and education aimed at the full development of the human personality” (emphasis added).

In this article, I argue that the student-centered college preparatory and for-credit college-in-prison programs that I have founded during the past decade at Parchman/Mississippi State Penitentiary and at Orange Correctional Center in North Carolina represent the beginning of an abolition pedagogy, a pedagogy that exposes and opposes educational deprivation and the mass-based social control logic that have come to define the prison-industrial complex. Taking cues from Davis’s work, my college-in-prison course curriculum and teaching style contest state underinvestment in the intellectual well-being of incarcerated learners—an underinvestment that simultaneously numbs minds, scars psyches, and stunts educational development. By designing courses and learning activities collaboratively with imprisoned students in ways that respond to their expressed intellectual curiosities and literary interests, I seek to cultivate classrooms where imprisoned men can, if only temporarily,
experience desired learning community and human community amid ever more extreme forms of social isolation.

The political significance of my developing abolition pedagogy is also noteworthy because I teach in prisons that are located within the Sunbelt—a region of the nation that legal scholar Mona Lynch defines as a distinctively carceral southern geography where “the bulk of post-rehabilitative innovations that increase[d] the severity of institutional conditions . . . originated” (9). Given these material conditions, my commitment, like Davis’s, to student-centered educational programming intends to facilitate more than knowledge acquisition, literacy development, critical thinking, or recidivism reduction. If, as Davis reminds us, “prisoners have a right to participate in transformative projects,” and one of those projects involves imprisoned people taking the lead in designing the college-in-prison programs that Sunbelt prison states so often withhold from them, then such a project can be understood as genuinely honoring their agency in addressing one dimension of prison abolition on the radar of scholars across the disciplines: countering the systemic under-education, unequal access to education, and militarized learning environments that precede and accompany too many incarcerations. In this way, college-in-prison programming can number among the coalitional methods by which imprisoned and non-imprisoned people combat Sunbelt (in)justice and the hyper-punitive logic of the U.S. prison system—a system that critical prison studies scholars like Davis, Dylan Rodríguez, and Victoria Law have shown to be premised not on rehabilitation but on state-sanctioned incapacitation.

When Davis speaks of abolition pedagogy in her speech “The Prison-Industrial Complex,” she recalls teaching a class on incarcerated women at San Francisco State University at the same time that she taught a similar class at the San Francisco County Jail. Many of Davis’s students from her university course participated in the class she taught at the jail. Interestingly, Davis speaks of having created a learning environment within the jail classroom in which the incarcerated students—rather than the non-incarcerated ones—were the primary teachers. She notes that such a “reversal of assumed hierarchies of knowledge created a radical and exciting learning environment” (53). Incarcerated women were understood as producers of knowledge rather than objects of knowledge. As these women led Davis and non-incarcerated students through lessons about life in jail, their very act of teaching helped them
to undermine, temporarily, the institutional power dynamics that governed their lives behind bars. Again, because Davis refused to subscribe to “the banking concept’ of education” that Pedagogy of the Oppressed author Paulo Freire critiques so well, her incarcerated students’ identities were not reducible to the reality of their criminalization. The inmate classified elsewhere in the jail by (alleged) crime became, in Davis’s jail classroom, an intellectual who could teach others about the complexities of her human identity and carceral experiences.

It should come as no surprise that most of Davis’s non-incarcerated students who were enrolled in her class immersed themselves in prison abolition work after the course. Davis is right to argue that she had “created productive traffic between the prison and the university,” for the thought patterns and actions of both the incarcerated and non-incarcerated students altered as a result of the abolitionist lens she brought to classroom instruction (53). All course participants’ worldviews expanded when inmates were reconceptualized as intellectuals. This revisioning work has defined Davis’s abolition pedagogy; it has also fanned the flames of the abolition pedagogy that I have aimed to cultivate in the southern prison classrooms where I’ve taught African American literature.

One such prison classroom is located within Orange Correctional Center (OCC), a men’s minimum-security prison in Hillsborough, North Carolina. Students at OCC have the opportunity to participate in University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill’s esteemed Correctional Educational Program. That program is one of a small number of onsite college-in-prison programs nationwide that survived—largely through the support of private benefactors—after Congress effectively ended public funding for higher education in prison in 1994. Despite this program’s meaningful existence, students enrolled in the UNC program expressed to me that they were not prepared for the volume, pace, and format of the program’s coursework, largely because academic support services were nonexistent at OCC. Unlike the universities that non-imprisoned college students frequent, postsecondary learners at OCC do not have access to the internet where they can complete an online tutorial on close reading. They cannot meet with a professor during office hours to go over an exam. They cannot set up an appointment to revise an argument paper with a trained tutor at a university writing center. As a result, OCC students were underperforming in and dropping out of college courses they enjoyed because they had no access to the academic support services that non-imprisoned college students often take for
granted. I hurt for these underserved OCC students. So I established a college preparatory program for them, a program that responded directly to their educational goals and intellectual curiosities. I co-founded the Stepping Stones program in 2007 at OCC with the help of professors and graduate students at Duke University and UNC, literacy tutors from the Orange County Literacy Council, and book and school supply donations from area churches and activist communities. Stepping Stones is an award-winning, college-preparatory prison education program that, as of August 2012, sharpened the critical thinking, academic writing, and creative writing skills of more than fifty pre-college and college-level imprisoned students and also aided them in completing college-level coursework with confidence.

At the level of pedagogy, Stepping Stones courses have brought to life Davis’s claim that “prisoners are human beings who have a right to participate in transformative projects” (53). For instance, Stepping Stones participants have taught or helped to teach class meetings in a manner of their choosing, and that opportunity has often helped them to transform a terrain of social isolation into an environment of desired intellectual and human community. Darnell Stanley was one student who discussed his experience in a Stepping Stones course along these lines. After Stanley read Washington Post journalist and Emory University professor Nathan McCall’s autobiography on coming of age in prison during the era of mass incarceration, Makes Me Wanna Holler (1994)—a book that I assigned for Stepping Stones students’ careful study in response to their expressed interest in it—Stanley eagerly requested to teach it. I gladly honored his request. Stanley received a standing ovation from his classmates after teaching McCall’s autobiography in a style that blended a team-based approach to close reading with hard-hitting historical context questions about the Virginia prison system, a prison system that figured prominently in the book and that many students knew well from firsthand experience. In an interview with a local news station near the end of the course, Stanley intimated that when a man is held in a disappearing site premised on social isolation, political passivity, and educational deprivation, a prison classroom that honors his personal, political, and educational needs brings him back into awareness of his own liveliness. In Stanley’s words, the student-centered nature of course development and dialogue in the Stepping Stones classroom helped him to “live and remain outside of the barb[ed] wire fence” even while he was imprisoned (Quintana). To recall Davis’s abolition pedagogy, my
intentional role reversal of teacher and student in the Stepping Stones classroom—that is, my positioning of Stanley as teacher and myself (then, a Duke University graduate instructor) as learner—created a rare space within the prison world where Stanley could freely express himself through the performance of his desired identity of pedagogue.

OCC students also actualize Davis’s abolition pedagogy because they select the primary literary texts and authors for Stepping Stones courses. Often, the texts that OCC students have chosen are classic works of African American literature—works whose very existence bespeaks a history of resistance to the enforcement of unchecked state power on bodies deemed less than citizen and less than human. In many ways, the whole of African American literary history casts its shadow on Stepping Stones students’ curriculum planning. One can imagine, for instance, the political significance of writers like Frederick Douglass—writers who were systemically undereducated within the institution of slavery—to Stepping Stones students’ own writings. As a field, African American literature has illuminated how a group of people relegated to a sub-citizen or subhuman social status—forcibly emigrated Africans in America and their descendants—could not only create literature but could also demonstrate their facility with an Enlightenment-minded U.S. culture’s signs of literacy while expressing their own social truth and unforeseen humanity. As Henry Louis Gates has argued:

The production of literature was taken to be the central arena in which persons of African descent could, or could not, establish and redefine their status within the human community. . . . At least since 1600, Europeans had wondered aloud whether or not the African ‘species of men’ as they most commonly put it, could ever create formal literature, could ever master the arts and sciences. If they could, then, the argument ran, the African variety of humanity and the European variety were fundamentally related. If not, then it seemed clear that the African was destined by nature to be a slave. (129)

With their published collection of essays, poems, and reflections, Writing Civil Rights: The Pursuit of Justice in African American Literature, Stepping Stones students have “create[d] formal literature” that offers social commentary on conditions and experiences in prison and in free society while also demonstrating their literacy—and humanness—in a prison system that has generally functioned to institutionalize educational
deprivation at the postsecondary level (recall that it is not the state, but liberation-minded supporters who fund Stepping Stones and the UNC Correctional Educational Program). For years, Stepping Stones students have elected to read and respond to works of African American literature that speak to social conditions and issues of importance to them—works such as W. E. B. Du Bois’s seminal volume of essays and stories, *The Souls of Black Folk*; Lorraine Hansberry’s Civil Rights-era play, *A Raisin in the Sun*; Maya Angelou’s classic autobiography of growing up in the Jim Crow South, *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*; and John Edgar Wideman’s memoir on his brother’s multi-decade imprisonment, *Brothers and Keepers*. The essays and poems that Stepping Stones students have written and published after classroom engagement with these works of African American literature have often transformed how they view confinement in the prison-industrial complex and also how they view themselves. In the words of Stepping Stones participant LeJhoyn Holland, who spoke with Duke University’s Office of News and Communications about reading of the struggles of black men in Richard Wright’s *Native Son*, Martin Luther King, Jr.’s “Letter from Birmingham Jail,” and Ernest Gaines’s acclaimed work of fiction *A Lesson Before Dying*, “These are people who had it hard anyway from the beginning . . . us being in prison, we can relate to [them] because the struggle is still before us” (Todd). Holland and other Stepping Stones participants have been remarkably attentive to ways in which segregated and incarcerated literary figures’ descriptions of “struggle” often parallel their own life experiences—including their encounters with racial profiling, racial bias, and discriminatory sentencing in the criminal justice system. “All we ever wanted was our constitutional rights,” thunders Rafee Booker, a 2011 Stepping Stones participant in his published poem on Malcolm X’s speeches; “I, too, will stare racism in the face with love,” wrote 2011 Stepping Stones participant Jesse Garner in his published essay on King’s “Letter from Birmingham Jail” (Alexander, *Writing Civil Rights* 40, 16).

Ultimately, as Stepping Stones students have read and discussed the literary works they love, and as they have written and presented with stage-production flourish their original poetry before classmates and non-imprisoned supporters from all parts of North Carolina, I have witnessed how the classroom becomes for them not only a site of knowledge production but also a space for creative expression and political–intellectual expressivity. The Stepping Stones classroom bears
striking resemblance to Davis’s jail classroom as well as to those revolutionary prison classrooms that Dylan Rodríguez has described as being “frequently transformed, appropriated, or rearticulated by imprisoned . . . intellectuals, who may galvanize new communities of solidarity or political kinship among and between course participants” (Forced Passages 93). To say it plain: our classroom is a coalition-built learning environment where imprisoned men often use works of African American literature to call into question the racial injustice imbedded in the criminal justice system as they are called on by desired names—not counted out by state-assigned numbers. In this locale of intellectual and human community, OCC students never cease to reveal to themselves, to non-imprisoned supporters, and to me, that they are teachers and agents for social change—which is a point that Stepping Stones participant Foma Fowler has made eloquently: “I can still . . . teach people” (Todd).

Davis’s abolition pedagogy model has also shaped my teaching of African American literature in another Sunbelt prison classroom. I currently teach for-credit courses at Parchman, Mississippi’s oldest prison, an 18,000-acre penitentiary that the award-winning historian David Oshinsky describes as “the closest thing to slavery that survived the Civil War” (4). In the summer of 2014, I co-founded the University of Mississippi Prison-to-College Pipeline Program (PTCPP) with Dr. Otis W. Pickett, and together, we taught a course at Parchman’s minimum-security pre-release unit for imprisoned men. We developed our upper-level seminar in response to these students’ intellectual curiosities, which included African American literature and the history of the Civil Rights Movement. This course, which we enhanced and also taught in 2015 and 2016, is titled “Justice Everywhere: The Civil Rights Stories of Martin Luther King, Jr., Ida B. Wells, Fannie Lou Hamer, and Barack Obama.” It examines, from literary and historical perspectives, the speeches and writings of King, Wells, Hamer, and Obama—four figures whom PTCPP students consistently desire to study.

Our commitment to abolition pedagogy at Parchman has fostered some unforeseeable moments of transformation. In 2014, while the first group of PTCPP students read The Speeches of Fannie Lou Hamer: To Tell It Like Is, they had a lot to share with us about Fannie Lou Hamer. Hamer was a proud Mississippian. She was also co-founder of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, a black sharecropper-turned-activist who stunned the U.S. public in 1964 when she testified on national television about the brutal beating and sexual intimidation that she suffered
at the hands of the state for participating in voter registration work. But, as many PT CPP students pointed out, Hamer was also from Ruleville, a city less than fifteen miles from Parchman. The students often articulated how deeply they could identify with the liberationist struggle of this working class, systemically undereducated, disenfranchised black woman who had literally lived right down the road from them. The frequency with which students made this point helped us to gather how much we had to learn from them about Hamer's speechmaking practices and their connection to a long history of disenfranchised people challenging white supremacy in the Mississippi Delta.

The eagerness of PT CPP students to teach on Hamer and our growing desire to learn more about her from them prompted us to hold share sessions during each class meeting in which students could present original writings that their course experiences inspired. During one session, a student named Carlos Temple performed a poem that paid homage to Hamer's nationally televised testimony at the Democratic National Convention in 1964. Through his poem alone, Temple taught everyone present much about Hamer's skill with using her harrowing incarceration experience as source material to expose and oppose white supremacy, black disenfranchisement, and sexualized state violence. Hamer has a famous conclusion to her eight-minute testimony on her subjection to state violence, which took the form of a blackjack beating issued by white state officials that left Hamer with permanent kidney damage, a lifelong leg injury, and a nearly blinded left eye. In her August 22, 1964 “Testimony Before the Credentials Committee,” Hamer puts America on trial for her subjection to state-sanctioned racial terror through masterful use of the rhetorical question: “All of this on account of we want to register, to become first-class citizens . . . I question America. Is this America, the land of the free and the home of the brave, where . . . our lives be threatened daily because we want to live as decent human beings, in America?” (Brooks and Houck 45). The irony implicit in Temple’s second performance of his ballad poem on Hamer superbly exemplified the power of abolition pedagogy.

Near the end of our “Justice Everywhere” course, prison administrators urged Dr. Pickett and me to help students create a course graduation ceremony. After we confirmed that the students actually wanted such a ceremony, we collaborated with them in designing the program. It was clear to us that the students wanted to devote the bulk of graduation time to sharing their essays, poems, and reflections on King, Hamer, and
Obama. Just days before the ceremony, prison administrators informed PTCPP students and us that all seventeen of them would be limited, collectively, to thirty minutes to orally share the writings they had worked so hard on. In other words, prison administrators were limiting each student to less than two minutes to share aloud his multi-page essays, poems, and reflections. Dr. Pickett and I were more shocked by this mandate than PTCPP students. They quickly regrouped, deciding which ones among them would share at the ceremony so that the writings that reflected the collective voice and spirit of our class meetings would be heard. One of the students who performed a poem was, of course, Temple. On that day, the irony in Temple's poem was undeniable. His poem spoke to a condition that he knew he shared with Hamer, that is, one whose voice the state of Mississippi had attempted to silence. In his case, one dimension of this silencing amounted to the prison administration limiting the total time that he and fellow PTCPP graduates could share their work—and express themselves—at graduation. Temple's sardonic performance of his Hamer poem brought to life, on that day, both the incriminating oratory of Hamer and the spirit of what I have called abolition pedagogy.

With the witnessing support of classmates, family members, friends, Dr. Pickett and me, deans and professors from the University of Mississippi and Mississippi College, Temple enjoyed a rare moment to speak his truth to enforcers of prison-industrial complex power. I conclude this article with a particularly telling excerpt from Temple's poem:

America, America!
Land of the free.
Why can't we go to
the polls to be like Thee?

I say, is this America?
Home of the brave?
'Cause down here in the South,
we still are slaves.

I feel like justice is
nowhere to be found.
They laugh at us all
and look at us like clowns.

We've tried so hard
to become first-class citizens.
But the state of Mississippi has not been listenin’.

Went to a different county trying to do our thang, but police and highwaymen kept us in shame.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Chairman, and Credentials Committee: can we please get some justice down here in Mississippi?

America, America! What you gonna do? Imagine the shoes we wear fit you.

NOTES
I would like to thank Rebecca Hill for her feedback on an earlier version of this article, which I presented at “The South and the Prison-Industrial Complex” panel at the 2015 Southern American Studies Association Biennial Conference in Atlanta, Georgia.

1 For more, see Davis, “Race and Criminalization: Black Americans and the Punishment Industry.”

2 My conception of abolition pedagogy is informed by the work of Davis and fellow critical prison studies scholar Dylan Rodríguez. Rodríguez has extensively examined the subject under the rubrics of “The Problem of Prison Education” and “Abolition as a Pedagogical Position.” (See Rodríguez, Forced Passages and “Disorientation of the Teaching Act: Abolition as a Pedagogical Position”). Also relevant to my thinking are the observations of bell hooks regarding “engaged pedagogy” as a liberatory teaching style that can be applied to any classroom because it prioritizes communal well being, undermines the conventional teacher/student binary, celebrates student leadership, and creates possibilities for testimony, healing, and empowerment (13–22) and Robert Scott on the use of critical pedagogy in college-in-prison. (See Scott, “Using Critical Pedagogy” and “Distinguishing Radical Teaching”).

3 Concerning what I call “systemic undereducation,” Robert G. Thomas and R. Murray Thomas note: “Statistics from the U.S. Dept. of Education indicate that 65% of all inmates are illiterate” (43). For more on what I call “militarized learning environments that precede and accompany too many incarcerations,” see Rios and Heiner and Mangual.

4 For more, see Davis, Are Prisons Obsolete?; Rodríguez, Forced Passages; and Law.
For more on Stanley’s teaching experience, see Alexander, “‘To live and remain outside of the barb[ed] wire and fence.’”

For more on the OCC student publication to which I refer, see Alexander, Writing Civil Rights.

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