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Ripping Off Some Room for People to “Breathe Together”: Peer-to-Peer Education in Prison

Simone Weil Davis, with Bruce Michaels*

LET US START BY LOCATING THE TWO PARTICIPANTS IN THIS EXCHANGE: AS A MEMBER OF the Walls to Bridges Collective, a group of incarcerated and non-incarcerated people that meets regularly at the Grand Valley Institution for Women in Kitchener, Ontario (with a second circle in Toronto), Simone Davis helps to coordinate the Walls to Bridges program. The Collective offers a reciprocal learning model and we seek to help usher into this world profound transformations of both educational and justice paradigms. Our work includes training and supporting faculty from around Canada who want to bring incarcerated and non-incarcerated students together to learn in community. While the “I” voice in this essay is Simone Davis’s (and I take full responsibility for the views I present), this piece emerges out of and introduces an ongoing conversation between Davis and Bruce Michaels, a peer-to-peer educator (his chosen term) who has helped to found, facilitate, and grow a multifaceted, robust, entirely prisoner-run college program at the facility in a Midwestern state where he is incarcerated.¹

* * *

The central intention behind this essay is to argue that outside allies and faculty who work in higher-education prison programs affiliated with a university need to learn from and work with educators inside, who are “acquiring our education under severe circumstances, and sharing what we’re learning,” as Michaels puts it.

In the face of the mid-1990s squelching of prison postsecondary programs on both sides of the US-Canada border, long-swollen incarceration rates (now growing in Canada), and today’s slashed programming budgets, scores of North American outside groups affiliated with universities are developing higher-education prison programs.² These typically navigate a complex ethical terrain on several fronts at once.

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The central challenges for such programs circulate around the danger of bolstering up a penal system that needs more radical transformation than reform. In *Forced Passages: Imprisoned Radical Intellectuals and the US Prison Regime*, Dylan Rodriguez (2006, 75–108) draws a useful and very sharp distinction between the analyses and praxis of radical prison intellectuals and those of formally accepted higher-education prison programs. For Rodriguez, higher-education programs in prison, even when course content or (faculty/student) intent are critical and anti-oppressive, serve ultimately to uphold the prison industrial complex, because they support its claims to a rehabilitative mission. Thereby, they make the prison system more palatable and thus more viable, when in fact it needs to be dismantled and our justice practices need to be entirely reconceived. As Brian D. Maclean argued in a 1992 piece in the *Journal of Prisoners on Prison*, higher-education facilitators from universities on the outside can wind up increasing the scale and scope of surveillance and scrutiny of imprisoned people. So too, they can find themselves inadvertently eliciting from students the compulsory narratives of redemption and gratitude that they know to be a requisite for people moving through the criminal justice system, seeking appeals, approaching parole, etc.

In so doing, whether accidentally or intentionally, programs of higher education in prison can also promote the myth of education as social mobility for the individual striver, if s/he can just grab the proper bootstraps. Based on a construct of individual fault and achievement that obscures structural, political, legal, economic, racialized, and gendered inequities, this story about the way education works shores up and extends the analogous tales we tell about punishment. Meanwhile, those who choose to go inside argue that the risk of abetting a violent system is worth navigating because of the urgent need for educational justice and for opened lines of communication for and with people locked inside.

I see a bottleneck or stasis that has emerged in the debate about higher education in prison—a frozen place in the conversation about whether these programs help to shore up a flawed system or to instigate meaningful social transformation. Both of these positions can be and are argued passionately and convincingly—ultimately, each feels partial and needs augmenting.³ Because the bottleneck comes, I think, as a direct and natural outcropping of the internal contradictions of both the educational and the justice systems, it is actually somewhat productive for the debate to simply continue, exposing as it does the very incommensurabilities that have the potential to unsettle status quo power relations. But here, I would like to suggest that to progress beyond this stuck place, we need to “get over ourselves”: Those in academia involved in this debate need to learn from educators inside and to support their work in the ways that they request.

Intentional, insistent, and deep collaboration with the men and women engaged in this work may make possible a larger shift—beyond the practices and premises that can turn education into indoctrination, a fortification of entrenched privileges

and oppressions, and part of the regulatory nexus that makes today's criminal justice and educational structures homologous.

* * *

This is an era in which grassroots, breakaway, do-it yourself (DIY) activities are proliferating. Such projects seek to launch new ways of organizing community while circumventing mainstream channels: urban farming and produce distribution in "food desert" communities; neighborhood-based transformative justice and conflict resolution practices, often meant as an alternative to calling the police; informal reading groups and arts cooperatives; and bartered exchanges that avoid the transfer of currency. Vulnerable, aspirational, sometimes delusional, and sometimes inspired, some people work to reject capitalism's protocols and dictates (as supervised by the state) by trying to meet more of their life needs and obligations beneath the radar or beyond the status quo—not to wait for permission or recognition, but to just go do stuff—and on terms they can establish for themselves.

Meanwhile, inside prisons, where resources are starkly diminished and the stakes and the dangers of off-the-grid ventures are far higher, people engage and have always engaged together informally in many shared teaching and learning practices. Especially around reading, writing, and political or artistic expression, this work goes on either in defiance of the authorities, beneath their radar, or in strained negotiation with them. Such work can establish and sustain very different foundations for educational practice than those that are shaped by institutional mandates—be they academic or correctional.

Vivian Nixon, executive director of the College and Community Fellowship, co-founder of the Education Inside Out Coalition (unrelated to the Inside-Out Prison Exchange Program), and former peer educator at Albion State Correctional Facility, writes:

We often attribute the role of teaching only to those who have acquired knowledge in a certain way—which presents a problem. Many of us have not had access to the traditional ways of acquiring knowledge. Furthermore, how knowledge is defined and how one acquires it is a function of privilege. This is an issue yet to be adequately addressed by the Academy and one that is particularly troublesome in the context of education in the prison. There are hundreds, perhaps thousands, of incarcerated and formerly incarcerated people who ... teach a variety of subjects, they teach out of the desire and necessity to share knowledge, they teach adult basic education, they teach high school equivalency, they teach life skills, survival skills, health education, trades, and job acquisition skills. The fact that they are not trained academics and that they are not teaching at the college level for college credit by virtue of their circumstances does

not make them any less teachers. They have been among those who have taught with the most dedication, the most compassion, and the greatest results. (Nixon 2014)

More formalized examples of such results abound, from James Kilgore's courses in California to the Women's Village educational advisory and advocacy work at Washington Correctional Center (linked to the Freedom Education Project in Puget Sound, WA); by no means are they limited to North American settings. As Mohammed Daraghme reported for the Associated Press, Marwan Barghouti, perhaps the most influential Palestinian prisoner currently being held in Israel's jails, teaches master's level courses in a clandestine but widespread continuation of educational work inside—even though Israel withdrew its support for degree-granting programs for Palestinian prisoners in 2011. Significantly, those now-cancelled programs were originally made available only after a 14-day hunger strike. And an (anonymous) woman who served time as a political prisoner in Iran's Evin Prison in the late 1970s recently described to me a brief window during her time inside when the regime allowed young prisoners to take college admissions tests, and the older, typically well-educated political prisoners like herself were allowed to prepare the young people to do so.⁴ She said that when the tests ran, all the highest scores in the region were from people incarcerated at Evin, and she recounted that the highest score of all was given to one of her students, who was brilliant across many fields.

From Israel's prisons to Attica in 1971, to New Mexico in 1980, to Georgia in 2010, we see education as a key demand in many of the most forceful prisoner protests, work stoppages, and hunger strikes, and indeed the significant increase in college programming inside North American prisons up until the mid-1990s came as a (direct or indirect) result of the Attica uprising.⁵ So the demands emerged out of a radical context, one more aligned with the Black Panther Party's neighborhood schools or the study groups for Chicano youth in Chino than with the "rehabilitation as social control" model that Brian D. MacLean critiques in his 1992 article "Postsecondary Education in the Prison: Cognitive and Moral Development or Social Control?"

But Vivian Nixon's focus in the above quotation is less squarely on those instances where imprisoned people militate for, co-administrate, and/or serve as instructors and tutors in educational programs inside; she also draws our attention to other pivotal ways that teaching and learning happen in prisons and jails, from clandestine shared writing and reading, to mutual aid around legal cases, ad hoc study groups, and one-on-one support or collaboration as readers, writers, artists, as well as political and historical analysts.⁶ Of course, the people thus engaged have varying perspectives on whether or not their work is an act of resistance, and on the meaning of education and the reasons for pursuing it.

In some cases, peer-led teaching and learning pursuits and practices in prison instantiate a fundamentally radical pedagogic foundation and intent. In her 1992

volume, *Barred: Women, Writing and Political Detention*, Barbara Harlow quotes an undated piece by Palestinian prisoner Nizam Aboulhejleh: ““One person in each room gave cultural seminars according to his specialty. . . . We succeeded in turning the prisons of torture and oppression into schools that radiated knowledge and culture for the freedom fighter”” (Harlow 1992, 15). Harlow continues, “In Neve Tertza, the women’s section of the Ramla prison, the older women, long-term prisoners, provided education and instruction, from primary and secondary school levels, to the younger detainees” (ibid.). Here, Harlow presumes a continuum between informal peer-to-peer educational practices that are explicitly political and those that are not. Her assumption is worth underscoring—that teaching and learning exchanges between people who share the status of prisoner open up transformative possibilities. As cited by Judith Scheffler (2002, 223), this is from the preface to an undated chapbook of writing by women at Riker’s Island, *Songs from a Free Space: Writings by Women in Prison*:

This anthology is a crime. A crime of conspiracy, an informed, fully-consenting adult decision to commit poetry, that . . . has ripped off some room for people to “breathe together” (another definition of “conspiracy”) and pulled off a heist of institutional supermind, liberated the space as a continuum. This anthology is about possibilities.

What possibilities are there in prison? In “Distinguishing Radical Teaching from Merely Having Intense Experiences while Teaching in Prison,” Rob Scott suggests that people inside sometimes take from the violent alienations and relocations of imprisonment the opportunity to deconstruct and reconstruct knowledge that is otherwise too “stable” to be examined in the broader society (Scott 2012, 28). Looking at Native prison newsletters like *Arrows to Freedom*, Deena Rhymus argues that Indigenous people in Canada’s prison system, forcibly dislocated and brought together with people from other bands and nations, create possibilities for intertribal exchange and consciousness out of the location of prison (Rhymus 2012, 229–44). Thereby, Rhymus suggests, Native people inside are transmuted Canada’s prisons into a location for teaching and learning, for spiritual and political recovery, and for the building of a new pan-Indigenous identity that highlights solidarity across national lines—a solidarity based on a diasporic “double consciousness,” to invoke Lukacs, DuBois, and feminist standpoint theory. Although prison provides the site—insists on the site—for these explorations, this collective analysis and education is unfolding entirely outside of prison’s (intermittent) programmatic gestures toward “rehabilitation.” Together, building coalitions in this shared crucible, Indigenous prisoners are uniquely positioned to recognize and explore “their betrayal by liberal capitalism and the state’s political manipulation of indigenous people” (ibid., 238).

In an atmosphere in which isolation is fundamental to suppression, that this exploration is done collectively is key to its radical impact. Jimmy Santiago Baca’s

2001 memoir, *A Place to Stand*, is beautiful, and/but it seems to construct and celebrate his own prison literacy acquisition, learning, and emergence as a writer in very familiar terms—as a solo enterprise, a triumph of the individual will, assisted by generous outside supporters. However, Baca’s book gives us the opportunity, briefly, to reflect on “the cons on death row on the other side of the block [who] began to send [him] good books” by Rilke, Neruda, Emily Dickinson, and Faulkner (Baca 2001, 193). And key to Baca’s education is a fellow prisoner named Chelo, who is the first to deepen Baca’s understanding of his Chicano identity by teaching him about Aztec history and Mexican/Indian language (ibid., 223). Chelo, whom Baca presents with care, had “established a group of Chicanos in Chino [a youth facility] to study, educate themselves and stick together for protection and to help every young Chicano coming through the gates. He raised money to build small satellite educational sites throughout California where prisoners could meet and learn” (ibid., 224). Chelo’s story (and the role he played in educating Baca) illustrates the collective impacts of educational praxis inside—here his work as an educator went from informal to formal, and, for Chelo, that divide was not insurmountable.

* * *

Bruce Michaels has walked a comparable path. Sentenced to life in prison as a juvenile, he is incarcerated at a state correctional institution in the Midwest of the United States. Bruce is one of a small group of prisoners that has been designing, advocating for, and building educational communities inside since around 2006. They have seen this work as an engagement against the prison industrial complex. Over its history, the group has faced significant retaliation, including retaliatory transfers for some, and these roadblocks could always reappear.⁷

In its early formation, the group decided collaboratively on a two-pronged approach: Some members would take more overtly radical, critical stances and others would work more “diplomatically” to keep the educational program flourishing in the face of administrative pushback. Such pushback evidences that administrations also see it as a potential threat to the status quo when people in prison galvanize other people inside. Michaels’s work includes: a resource manual called *College in Prison*, a grammar book created with imprisoned writers in mind, a pamphlet for short-timers who may want to continue their education outside, and an activity program that brings new and old students together to collaborate on projects for social change. His materials always include information about book- and resource-sharing between people inside, about how to get access to free or cheap materials, and about how to use test-out exams to work toward an associate degree inside. Michaels’s current projects look beyond the walls of his facility, including design and outreach around correspondence-based educational offerings for people in solitary confinement and free national distribution of his resource guides and composition handbooks to people studying in prisons and jails:

Incarcerated students need more than instructions on how to find funding, correspondence courses, and distance education degree plans. Students need fraternity and inspiration. . . . [Michaels proposes the formation of a national Incarcerated Students Association]. The prisoners can rally around the ISA concepts, principles, methods, history, success stories, goals, organization and culture. The ISA will be supported by prisoners because it will offer a truly organized and effective solution to the disenfranchisement that has plagued the prisoner population for so long. Through the ISA, prisoners might find their voices again and offer society something worth listening to. These people can change, and when they do, they become among the most committed activists—because the cause is personal for them. Their life has been affected by discrimination, by repression, by the imposition of unfair political policies. My work helps to open the minds of prisoners, preparing them to resist the attacks being waged against them and other vulnerable groups in prison and society.

Bruce writes about the program he co-facilitates, their autonomy, and their isolation:

We are all prisoners, Simone. We have an entirely, 100 percent, prisoner-established, directed, and maintained college program. No one from our board will be attending a conference this year, but we want to network with professionals in the field—despite our social status. We are working with no budget, yet we are facilitating college prep classes in seven subjects for an estimated 150 prisoners this year, and several of them are going to go on to enroll in college courses afterward. Our program attracts students off the yard by offering college prep classes. Then, after the students develop skills and a feeling of belonging, we teach them how to transition out of college prep and into college. Right now we have a couple dozen students taking college courses from Adams State University, the University of Idaho, and Louisiana State University. We are writing books, booklets, pamphlets, legislation, course curricula, organization bylaws, policies, and a host of other technical material. And we have been operating like this, to a greater or lesser degree, since 2006. But, to be clear, we are tired of being alone. We never wanted to do everything ourselves; we asked for help many, many times. Maybe it was better that we never found people to show us what to do; if we had, maybe we would never have applied ourselves as much as we have. Whatever the case, we want to talk to other prison educators, read their literature, and grow together.

In and of itself, the *content* of this work is only sometimes engaged with explicitly radical critique. Perhaps the group's extended wrangles with administrators are more a reflection of the institutional alarm bells set off by their *process*. Mi-

Michaels describes this work as based on premises distinctly counter to the founding logic behind much carceral and academic practice. First, in keeping with the DIY principle of forming freestanding, independent structures for getting things done, Bruce writes:

Most of our attempts at advancing education in here *are* formal by our standards, but they may be informal by yours.... The college prep classes are currently functioning with administrative approval, but that hasn't always been the case. Initially, we simply ran study groups. The groups became more involved (i.e., more detailed and organized curriculum, more request for seats by other prisoners), and formal proposals to conduct college prep classes followed. Because we conduct the classes in the general library during regular library hours, no additional supervision is necessary. The administration has no reason to deny us. The library is noisy, but other than that we benefit the prisoner population.... I have seen the program evolve; it's been rejected time-and-time again along the way, and has needlessly suffered as the administration learned to tolerate us.... [The program] works well here because we view it as ours. No one is giving us what we have. We are acquiring our education under severe circumstances, and we are sharing what we are learning with the next class of students because we are learning to value education.

A self-fashioned and self-governing educational program means that people engaged in academic pursuits are not required to shape those goals or pursuits around correctional definitions of rehabilitation. And they are perhaps less likely to expand the field of correctional scrutiny than are programs led by university-based educators from outside institutions. The latter can wind up inadvertently increasing the scale and scope of surveillance of imprisoned people, whose actions and (assumed) attitudes are already tracked by staff and camera, and whose ideas and intellectual output are then formally evaluated by faculty being hosted by the site.

A second premise Bruce articulates is to challenge the hierarchical logic that so profoundly shapes postsecondary practice that it remains a persistent blind spot for many in the academy. If a teacher reads a new student in prison as the "before" picture in a "before & after" salute to postsecondary study, then that person's entire, multifaceted value system will be read only as a lack or a liability. As Michaels argues, "The outside educator [can] fail to investigate why their students see life as they do." Blind to their own perpetuation of the notion of educational capital, of individual worth predicated on formal academic achievement, the outside educators, "proceeding on assumptions, push their beliefs, views, perspective on the student." Michaels writes, "Incarcerated students' values change as they become more educated." And here many academic listeners could predictably begin to preen with satisfaction ("Ah yes, their minds are being opened!"), but Michaels is making a very different point:

Incarcerated students' values change as they become more educated. Sometimes they become arrogant and self-righteous because they think they are smart; a similar thing occurs among rich people who view poor thieves with disdain.... The biggest thing I think outside educators miss when teaching prisoners is the commonality we all share, teachers and students alike: we all want to function with purpose. Teachers often receive a thrill when standing in front of a class. The teacher gets unparalleled attention, satisfaction with helping others, recognition as the superior of the group, and authority over the students. What do the students get? Outside educators often fail to apply enough weight to this dynamic. Incarcerated students—usually new students—are often sensitive to this disparity. The educator who uses more non-traditional teaching techniques, coupled with personal interactions that lead to quality relationships based in trust and integrity, usually do better than traditional educators. I open most of my classes with a mission or project for the class. They immediately find their purpose from the first day. Learning becomes something they do to achieve their purpose, and as a result, learning becomes tolerable—if not exciting and fulfilling.

Many who wind up in Canadian and US prisons have no particular reason to feel well served by the formal educational system outside. In *The Classroom and the Cell*, Mumia Abu-Jamal and Marc Lamont Hill talk about schooling and incarceration in the United States, discussing what Erica Meiners and Mariame Kaba call the school-to-prison nexus, the cluster of institutional forces that criminalize youth from economically oppressed, racialized communities (Kaba and Meiners 2014). Hill remarks that it is common for racialized people in North America to make “a critical distinction between education and schooling,” and that many other spaces—from community bookstores and Freedom Schools to prisons—become the sites for learning. Abu-Jamal invokes Mark Twain, who remarked, “I never let my schooling interfere with my education!” (Abu-Jamal and Hill 2012, 114). Although they speak with respect about informal learning in alternate spaces like Freedom Schools, each speaker is careful to return to the necessity of a public educational system that works. That said, their critique of a school system where the teacher can call kids in from recess with the prison guard's cry, “Yaaarrd up! Yaaarrd up!” is one useful counter to the invocation of formal education as a magic bullet (ibid., 116).

Celebrations of alternative approaches to collective learning notwithstanding, there are competing goals here and lives to be lived. External utilities—diplomas, university credits for courses passed, institutional acknowledgements for achievement, and pay for the labor of teaching and administering programs—are not just formal trappings to distract us from hegemony, but essential life resources that people fight for, deserve, and require.

Indeed, another ethical issue for the current spate of higher education in prison programs is that of uncompensated or undercompensated labor—a lot of informal labor gets performed for free by people inside who seek to strengthen the higher-education program’s presence. Shouldn’t the work of educating be rewarded, and in currency that can help one move his/her life forward? But, on the other hand, what of value is lost when teaching and learning experiences in prison get folded into correctional “programming”? And finally, how to balance the very real and present danger of exploitation against the significant merit that informal labor, work of the heart, is likely far freer from surveillance and constraint than institutionally funneled work?

My fellow Walls to Bridges Collective member, Tiina Eldridge, spoke briefly with me “on record” about the theme of this article.⁸ She reminded me of a conversation one night at a Walls to Bridges meeting. An incarcerated member pointed out that we had been doing a lot of work and yet she had very few certificates of completion to mark this labor in her parole file. Recording achievement in this form, this member stated, could improve her circumstances while appropriately serving as a kind of compensation for the work performed. Tiina and a third incarcerated member responded that they were doing the Walls to Bridges work and gaining from it precisely *because* they were the ones defining its purpose, *because* it was not “utile” within the carcerally mandated context, not a token to be defined as rehabilitation by the administration. As Tiina recounts the incident, she emphasizes that the other collective member’s point was important, despite their different stances, and that differing circumstances play a role in one’s approach. Seeking to accumulate usable records of institutionally recognized success is a highly reasonable response to the circumstances of prison, Eldridge agrees, but she contends that, for her at that time, it felt significantly more meaningful to assert her freedom to define the purpose of her work with the collective and to reject the notion that the prison system was successfully “rehabilitating” her.

Although Michaels does not eschew correctional recognitions, in key ways he echoes Tiina’s valuation. I asked him whether, in its present form, his college prep program counted as waged work at the prison. He responded:

Nope. We do it because it gives us great satisfaction to stick it to the man [laughing]. No, we do not get paid, but we do derive some satisfaction from doing something productive, repairing our lives, and exercising our will to choose the people we will be—rather than accepting the labels we perhaps once embraced. There is a certain freedom in being the loser in life. I think we incarcerated students are finding new ways to win. I like that, and I think my peers like it, too. We don’t need money to motivate us to invest in one another if we see ourselves in every other student. [I feel] connected with others in ways that previously seemed inconceivable to me.

* * *

This essay wraps in manifesto mode, though my central takeaway is a call to listen. Those of us who are not in the system but who seek justice for people in prison can learn from, and listen hard to, those who are creating educational opportunities while living with the experiences of criminalization and confinement. We can learn to critically examine our own disavowed engagements with hierarchic structures and the neoliberal work of self-management. We can embrace the radical potential of self-structured, non-institutionalized learning opportunities for self-definition and new community definition—“sticking it to the man,” perhaps, by turning our backs on him, while we just go ahead and do things. And we can seek balance, trying to keep that principle alive while nonetheless providing the external utilities—the credits, recognition, and compensation—that criminalized students and teachers need to get stuff moving and to minimize exploitation. But outsiders greatly curb this work’s radical impact when they do not engage with (or sometimes even see) the educators already working inside.

The term “peer-to-peer” education calls out for reflection. Who is and is not a “peer,” and why? Groups like the Walls to Bridges Collective, or Transformative Education Behind Bars at the University of Washington, or SALT (Schools for Alternative Learning and Transformation) and TRIO (Transformation and Reconciliation from the Inside Out) in Nashville, Tennessee, offer faculty from outside and educators in prison the chance to team-teach, to build curricula collectively, to bring advocacy and academic inquiry into concert, and to strengthen prisoner-led projects (Harkins 2012; *Moving Beyond the Walls* 2012). Coordination and collaboration between people who do and do not have lived experience of criminalization should be intentional, sustained, and far-reaching enough that we are *all* working and living as peers—not to minimize the differences, but to honor or address them rigorously, and together.

NOTES

1. Correspondence, mostly written and occasionally by phone, began in April 2013 and continues.
2. A small, but perhaps representative, handful include the Education Justice Project out of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, the Prison University Project at San Quentin, the Prison Education Program at Cornell University, the consortium of programs that have emerged out of the Bard Prison Initiative, over 100 programs linked to the Inside-Out Prison Exchange Program, and in Canada, the Walls to Bridges network.
3. I have mentioned Dylan Rodriguez already; see M. Kay Harris (2013) for a powerful exploration of the value of dialogue-based prison education.
4. Conversation, May 15, 2014, Toronto.
5. At Attica, revamped educational programming was one of the 17 practical proposals brought to the table; at the Penitentiary of New Mexico, it was one of 11 demands leveled in 1980; and education was also central to the protest strike across Georgia prisons in 2010 (Black Agenda Report 2010; Gallagher 1999; *Rethinking Schools* 2014).

6. In *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist* (1912), Alexander Berkman lovingly portrays instances of these, especially in the form of the *Zuchthausblüthen*, or *Prison Blossoms*, a surreptitious, collaborative newsletter formed and disseminated through the passing of “kites” (Berkman 1912, 176–85).

7. Crucially, just as this article goes to print, such constriction has indeed again taken place. At present the program, which was serving 100 to 150 imprisoned students per year, has been faced with a set of severe new roadblocks. Those involved in its facilitation are continuing some components as possible, while designing new ways to support their commitment to higher-education access for people in prison, both at their own facility and beyond.

8. Conversation, April 7, 2014, Toronto.

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