THE WORLD GOES BLIND: THE NEED FOR IMAGINATION IN CANADIAN ABOLUTION

Marie Agib
ARTSSCI 1C06

In a study by Weinrath and Ricciardelli (2023) on Canadian prison environments, inmates reported concerns on food quality, quantity, and affordability; harassment and assault from staff and inmates, solitary confinement, lack of healthcare, rehabilitative programming, and unaffordable phone systems. According to a 2014 statistic, prisoners were eight to nine times more likely to end their lives than other Canadians (Mallea, 2017, p. 76).

Rather than reforming prisons or enforcing systems of retributive justice, scholars and abolitionists propose a future without prisons. They understand that prisons are part of the larger social fabric and present the framework of the prison industrial complex (PIC). The PIC is the array of relationships that link corporations, government, and correctional communities, used to contest the assumption that increased crime is the cause of mounting prison populations (Davis, 2003, p. 84). Abolitionist futures eliminate policing, imprisonment, surveillance, and any expansion and legitimization of these punitive practices (Kaba, 2021).

In this paper, I argue that dismantling Canada's prisons and building an effective practice of justice requires a reimagining of structures of neoliberal capitalism that entrench and interlink incarceration within Canada's neoliberal practice and ideology. This includes challenging individualist rhetoric that excuses systemic harm, restructuring current neoliberal economic policy that decreases access to critical aid, and envisioning a future for our shared space, away from private property and into the commons. This understanding of neoliberalism is informed by David Harvey (2007) which states that human well-being is best advanced through maximizing corporate freedoms, centering private property, individual liberty and free markets.

Individualism and Systemic Analysis

Incarceration Targets Marginalized Communities

Individualist rhetoric is coupled with tough-on-crime policies to mask the ways incarceration asymmetrically targets marginalized and poor communities. Abolitionists like Toronto-based Rinaldo Walcott (2021) provide evidence that neoliberal individualism increases criminalization and incarceration of the marginalized. He states that the remaking of the post-industrial economy in Canada from the mid-1980s begot cultural changes, including a heightened sense of individualism (2021). Indeed, neoliberalism as an ideological project celebrates "individual responsibility" (Wacquant, 2009).

Despite the focus on individual actions, these policies have created demographic disparities in incarceration rates. Data from 2017 shows that Indigenous peoples make up 26.4% of the total federal prison population and that Indigenous women comprised 37.6% of the federal women prisons (Chartrand, 2019, p. 4). The 2016 census shows that Indigenous populations represent 4.9% of the entire Canadian population (Government of Canada, 2017). In some provincial prisons, Indigenous incarceration rates are as high as 80-90% (Chartrand, 2019, p. 4). In 2018/2019, Black people accounted for 7.2% of federal offenders while comprising 3.5% of Canada's population (Owusu-Bempah et al., 2023, p. 533). When considering historical context, scholars propose that this disparity stems from the many arms of the state–incarceration, policing, social work–being

used as systems to control marginalized communities (Alberton et al., 2021; Kaba, 2021; Walcott, 2021). Canada's history of segregation in sectors like education, employment and housing (Owusu-Bempah et al., 2023), and its ongoing colonial relationship (Chartrand, 2019) have caused an overrepresentation of Black and Indigenous populations in Canada's penitentiaries. Therefore, neoliberal framing capitulates that crime, violence, and incarceration is an individual evil, masking the asymmetrical nature of criminal punishment.

This centering of individual responsibility coupled with Canada's punitive criminal system excuses systemic harms propagated by its settler colonial past (and present). The role of the state, introducing tough-on-crime policies and reforms, expanded lengths of incarceration and made prisons a permanent element in how society "manages targeted populations" (Walcott, 2021, p.72). Often, these reforms increased the severity of punishments for crimes associated with poverty, meaning these targeted populations would consist of Canada's most marginalized. Because of this reality, abolitionists push back against the prevailing assumption that prisons are useful in curbing violence. In an interview with Dean Spade and Rachel Herzing, Spade emphasizes that "it would be impossible to resolve violence while the punishment system is in place since *it is violence*" (Ansfield et al., 2023, p. 190). This notion of systemic violence does not exist within neoliberal conceptions of individual responsibility and is indicative of its failings when imagining new, effective practices of justice. To capitulate to this framing cedes ground to continued structural violence (Ansfield et al., 2023).

Abolition frameworks allow us to consider a larger context when conceptualizing prisons. Reports have shown the roots of youth violence in Ontario to be intimately tied to anti-Black racism and zero-tolerance policies in schools (Owusu-Bempah et al., 2023). Tough-on-crime rhetoric eliminates the context of structural violence that affects the criminalization of Indigenous youth,

whereas community-based organizations (CBOs) directly challenge these narratives in order to refuse criminalizing logic (Dobchuk-Land, 2017). These institutional barriers, colonizing logic and ongoing state violence lead to increased poverty, criminalization and incarceration. In essence, the causes of "crime" are left unaddressed by maintaining the posturing of "individual choice" in the face of clear systemic harm that overwhelmingly affects marginalized communities (Chennault & Sbicca, 2025).

Abolitionist Conceptions of Violence

Abolitionists imagine different approaches to addressing violence, beyond incarceration and the neoliberal posturing of "individual responsibility" (Wacquant, 2009). American organizer Mariame Kaba (2021) goes to great lengths to prove that retributive systems are insufficient in addressing systemic harms and breed a culture of punishment that will never address its root causes. As she explains, caging individuals is not an answer to the questions of *why* a harm could occur, why it keeps happening, and what can be done for an act of violence becomes inconceivable in the first place (p.21). This practice would create true transformation in societal approaches to harm and be a practical way of approaching justice. None of which is possible under the proposed "sacrosanctity" of individual thought (Harvey, 2007, p. 24).

Even when harm is extremely personal–like domestic abuse, or gender-based violence– abolitionists argue that a true transformation of the harm is impossible within the dichotomy of criminal/victim. Punishing an individual offender, in the case of sexual violence, cannot create accountability and fails to consider the larger systems that interact with said violence: power dynamics, financial incentives, patriarchal structures, the intersectionality of identities, and the poor treatment of victims (Kaba, 2021). Kaba holds that the "root causes of violence are masked by the carceral state" (Kaba, 2021, p.92) and that an

abolition politic insists on imagining and organizing outside of this dichotomy. This framework provides a holistic view of violence and the positionality to address harm in all its complications.

Additionally, Kaba (2021) addresses the shortcomings of neoliberal frameworks of individual responsibility: it masks violence caused by systems that serve capital, such as the inordinate harms involved in the pollution of local rivers and wildlife because of corporate interest. Incarceration is poorly equipped to deal with larger, more substantial harms as they are not deemed violent, lacking a clear perpetrator and victim, since the harm is diffused through systems rather than bodies. In Canada, over two hundred lawyers misappropriated $160 million dollars belonging to victims of residential schools–taking money belonging to the estates of the deceased, stealing trust funds and overcharging the government–and were simply allowed to the pay the money back (Mallea, 2017, p.37). This same treatment of amnesty is offered to wealthy Canadians who have used offshore accounts but is unavailable to marginalized and poorer Canadians who have stolen much less (p. 37). Thus, punishment is dished out unequally and is unable to manage and transform violence outside of the individual.

An individualistic approach to harm and justice is insufficient, as it could only conceive of incarceration and the violence *of* incarceration as singular points of contention rather than an expression of state-sanctioned violence. Other forms of violence, like gender-based violence in American prisons, are critiqued by abolitionists through a framework of intersectionality as an extension of patriarchy (Davis, 2003) and are often perpetrated within Canada's prisons (Mallea, 2017). Creative systems of accountability include uncomfortable consequences and address harms in their greater contexts, whereas current systems of retributive 'justice' are propagators of cruelty by the state, further harming individuals and communities alike. This alternative practice of justice cannot exist devoid of any systemic analysis, which directly opposes the individualistic ideology of neoliberalism.

Free Markets and Economic Reform

"Small Governments" Cannot Serve Justice

The practice of justice proposed by abolitionists are fundamentally at odds with neoliberal economic practices. Buitenhuis (2013) explains how prisons help the state manage neoliberal capitalism. The Keynesian state would use welfare systems to dissuade tensions between capital and labour, where the neoliberal state has set aside this priority. Neoliberal "small governments" decrease welfare spending while increasing funding for prisons (Buitenhuis, 2013). Instead, they use the prison to manage labour issues, especially with marginalized groups (Buitenhuis, 2013). Wacquant (2009) discusses how the penal state grows and is deployed in order to manage the disorder caused by a loss of welfare services and increased poverty. Herzing also stated the PIC is less about managing violence, but about "managing bodies," suppressing dissent and managing poverty (Ansfield et al., 2023, p. 190). Walcott (2021) reinforces this in the Canadian context, stating that the government's withdrawal of social services is part of the process of ongoing criminalization.

A necessary part of creating practical modes of justice is tackling economic priorities of the state in order to increase the population's safety. When state resources are overwhelmingly allocated to "security" measures, this does not necessarily make a population safer (Kaba, 2021). Using scholarly conceptions of the PIC, abolitionists understand that prisons are embedded in our economic systems, such that the organization of our economy is crucial to furthering a practice of justice (Walcott, 2021). According to Harvey (2007), the role of the neoliberal state is to preserve and maximize freely functioning markets. This could include creating new markets in sectors where they do not exist, but state interventions in markets (after creation) should be minimized (p.23). Alternatives proposed by the

abolition movement include a divestment in resources used for incarceration into social goods, like education, health care, employment opportunities, housing and social services (Walcott, 2021, p.76-77). These economic burdens have been offloaded onto families and individuals during the neoliberal era of welfare state reduction (p.77). While funding the physical "security" of the state, neoliberal economic policies reduce economic security (Wacquant, 2009).

Abolitionist justice through economic reform in Canada is necessary, as conditions in prisons continue to worsen and spending on correctional services continue to increase (Mallea, 2017). The federal government spends $2.4 billion annually on managing the prison system, with its spending increasing by over 20% over the past 5 years (Walcott, 2021, p. 70). Provincial costs, which are mainly spent on remand, are around $2.45 billion (Walcott, 2021, p. 70). Remand prisoners are people who have yet to be convicted but are confined while awaiting trial (Mallea, 2017). In 2022/23, remand accounted for 73% of provincial incarceration (Statistics Canada, 2022). Under the framing of PIC abolition, a divestment of these resources into caring for the vulnerable would be necessary for justice. Restructuring the economic responsibilities of government is one way abolition imagines just futures.

Creating Abolitionist Systems of Care

Under neoliberal economic policy, which demands the creation of markets in all facets of life, a reorganization of economic priorities would be impossible. Abolition does not solely require dismantling oppressive systems, but also a construction of extensive infrastructures for economic and social repair (Reinhart, 2023). It requires us to build and invent novel systems that do not currently exist (Ansfield et al., 2023). This includes basic infrastructure like housing, childcare and food for everyone, "not based [on] profit or domination" (Ansfield et al., 2023, p.189).

Greater economic instability motivates abolitionists to pursue a practice of justice steeped in an ethic of care. This ethic of care includes organizing with "economically abandoned" (Reinhart, 2023, p. 563) communities and disrupting dependence on the carceral system. This perspective regards solidarity with teacher unions, as they are an integral part of community work and belonging, and can directly intervene with cycles of youth incarceration and disrupt the pervasive school-to-prison pipeline prevalent in the States and Canada (Kaba, 2021).

An abolitionist ethic of care would tend to society's most vulnerable and disrupt carceral logic. In 2011-2012, Canada spent about 1.1% of GDP (20.3 billion) on its criminal punishment, but only $12 billion on Indigenous Affairs and Northern Development (Walcott, 2021, p. 61). This same trend of economic priorities exists in its municipalities: Toronto's policing budget alone accounted for the same combined budget allocated for employment services, financial assistance and social supports, becoming its largest publicly funded item in its budget (p.60-61). Instead of overcrowding prisons (Mallea, 2017), these funds would be better spent addressing the root causes of harms, building better infrastructure and supporting the public. These sorts of initiatives would be a better practice of justice that disregards "free market" interests.

Furthermore, care systems intervene in cycles of rearrest associated with high rates of poverty, mental illness, addiction, and disability, and offer a route to rebuild structures of community solutions (Reinhart, 2023). Organizations like generationFIVE, led by survivors of child sexual abuse, present an alternative response to interpersonal violence because of their understanding of the punitive environment that perpetuates its harm and leads to violent cycles (Kim, 2021). This same disruption of carceral logic is present within Hollow Waters First Nations Community Healing Circles: organizers who understand the environment and history that

perpetuated generational trauma and sexual abuse inside their community have seen much success in reducing recidivism rates (Mallea, 2017). Similar efforts have been done with Indigenous CBOs in Winnipeg, where there is the highest per-capita number of police in any Canadian city (Dobchuk-Land, 2017). Harm does not exist in a vacuum: "no one enters violence for the first time by committing it" (Kaba, 2021, p.146). These practices of justice would become a holistic response to harm within a community, empowering their abilities to care for their members and environment (Kaba, 2021).

Kaba (2021) speaks on advocacy for prison reforms that diminish the punitive practice as part of an effective practice of justice. The Canadian state's recourse to its carceral arm leads to fatalities like those in 2020: all nine police interventions that started as wellness checks led to shootings and were ultimately fatal (Walcott, 2021, p.62). Reinhart (2023) discusses the role of public health as justice, a framework equally applicable in Canada. Mental health issues are two to three times more common in prison, psychotropic drugs are prescribed for 30% of the incarcerated population (compared to 8%), and self-harm incidents in the federal system have tripled in the last decade (Mallea, 2017, pp. 101-102). In 2017, the College of Family Physicians of Canada (representative of thirty-five thousand doctors) called for an all-out ban on segregation practices in prisons (Mallea, 2017). The lack of healthcare for prisoners struggling with mental health issues, addictions, and physical ailments within Canada's prisons (Weinrath & Ricciardelli, 2023) provides evidence that current institutions do not participate in a practice of justice that cares for its population nor improves upon harm. Robust healthcare systems are required to care for these communities and the currently incarcerated individuals. Reforms like these stand in direct opposition to current neoliberal structuring of the economy, as it emphasises communal participation rather than placing the burden of healing and transformation on individual agents.

Private Property and the Commons

Accumulation by Dispossession

Privatizing space is at the center of the carceral logic. Walcott (2021) states that our current society places private ownership at the center of success, and that property-related crime such as break and enter, vehicle theft, arson, shoplifting and vandalism are coupled with street crime as the apparatus that targets poor and Black people. Within a larger discussion of carceral logic, Harvey's theory of neoliberal "accumulation by dispossession" (2007, p.34) provides a framework for understanding neoliberal modes of criminalization. This includes, amongst other things, converting various forms of property rights (common, collective, state) exclusively into the private sphere, suppressing the rights to the commons and imperial processes of appropriating assets (2007).

The commodification of space in Canada exists to protect property, not people. This is seen in an increase in urban renewal and gentrification-related projects (Chesnay et al., 2013) and anti-homeless infrastructure like fences, bars and spikes (Walcott, 2021). Parks, reserves and public spaces are being handed over to developers and corporations, creating a state of "organized abandonment" (Walcott 2021, p.84). Yet, our fear of the "other", of those in our public spaces who have been cast away by current neoliberal policies, stems from our subconscious acknowledgment of social insecurity (Wacquant, 2009). This can be understood as an extension of our communal dispossession of the public space.

Transformative Nature of the Commons

Herzing and Spade discuss how public infrastructure and space is necessary to transform relationships in a communal abolitionist practice (Ansfield et al., 2023). City infrastructure like free reliable public transportation, functional street lamps, and community spaces provide the safety necessary for the difficult work of transformative justice (2023). To end the criminalization of

homelessness, build transformative relationships between communities, and as Walcott (2021) argues, to complete the abolition of slavery, requires a return to the commons–a shared ownership between people and land.

The increased privatization of space defines our understanding of criminalization. The precarity produced by the housing crisis leading to homelessness and "antisocial behavior" can result in someone meeting the carceral arm of the state (Walcott, 2021). Canadian legislation like the *Safe Streets Act* in Ontario and British Columbia (BC) have attempted to regulate urban disorder and target the growing homeless population (Chesnay et al., 2013). Furthermore, crimes like theft highlight that other kinds of property are part of what must be protected from those who cannot afford to own such property (Walcott, 2021). Abolition of property means "creating new meanings" (Walcott, 2021, p.86) and necessitates a transformative shift in how we understand and interact with life.

Challenging the organized abandonment of the state's most vulnerable populations is at the heart of PIC abolition (Kaba, 2021). According to a 2008 statistic, 23% of charges in Canada were property offences whereas only 12% were considered violent (Mallea, 2017, p. 124). Under a neoliberal framework, the sanctity of private property means that a successful society is one that is organized around private ownership (Walcott, 2021). These priorities coupled with the punitive structures of "justice" leads to innumerable harms to poor and marginalized communities who are ultimately viewed as an "outsider" who did not belong in the space they occupied (2021).

Under an abolitionist ethic of care, we could shift and transform how we interact with these harms. A return to the commons would allow an expansive vision of our ethic of care, including the earth itself (2021). Shared ownership of the earth leads to its stewardship, and becomes a framework to addressing the harms that we cannot conceive as violent–such as Kaba's example of river pollution–under our current punishment model (Walcott,

2021). In addition to environmental justice, this framework gives room to conversations of Indigenous sovereignty and practices of justice that are conducive to their histories and identities. A return to the commons would transform our current relations with our surroundings and create an effective practice of justice.

Here and Now, Abolition is Progress

This paper discusses the underlying systems that perpetuate carceral logic and punishment within Canadian society and imagines an alternative future for addressing harms. One might deem this vision to consist solely of ideological criticism that ignores present material realities. However, an abolitionist praxis is incomplete if it fails to address the current individuals and communities affected by incarceration (Kaba, 2021). Indeed, Kaba (2021) argues that direct actions that focus on individual cases, such as participatory defense campaigns, organizing for bail reform, support for those on parole, court watches etc., are equally important as they pressure local authorities and tend to specific individuals who have been harmed by the carceral state. As Davis (2003) comments, prisons have become part of our ideological landscape, an abstraction to remove society's undesirables, relieving our need to inquire deeper into the causes of harm and violence–effectively rendering prisoners invisible "others." To favor a systemic approach without tending to those communities behind bars concedes to this framing.

Abolitionist Dean Spade explains that prisons will not disappear quickly, yet abolition is a tool for discerning the directionality of current reforms (Ansfield et al., 2023). There is valid advocacy for *non-reformist reforms*: policy and actions that decentralize state power and deinstitutionalize prisons from our collective consciousness (Kaba, 2021). Within Canada, reformist reforms that legitimize imprisonment are best exemplified in the Gladue reports. In order to curb the overincarceration of Indigenous peoples, a Gladue report–a shortened life story that details the

effects of colonialism and its link to the criminalized Indigenous person–is brought before the courts and must be taken into consideration when sentencing (Oudshoorn, 2024). Since its inception in 1999, Indigenous mass incarceration has risen from 15% to 30% in 2020 (Oudshoorn, 2024, p. 245). The lackluster success of this recourse demonstrates how reformist reforms, those who reinforce state power without addressing the state's role in oppression and violence, are not viable solutions to longstanding change.

In contrast, the Hollow Water First Nation (in so-called Manitoba), has found alternative, community-based approaches to justice that address the very specific history and context within which this violence has occurred (Mallea, 2017). In the 1980s, alcohol use was nearly 100%, unemployment at 70%, and three generations of residents had suffered from sexual abuse, had perpetrated sexual abuse, or both (Mallea, 2017, p.164). At the time, about 70% of the community had experienced this harm, and 50% had caused it (Mallea, 2017, p.164). When it comes to interpersonal harms, such as sexual violence, it is difficult to imagine what community-based organizing can achieve. Yet, a group of community leaders established the Community Holistic Circle Healing Program (CHCH) and revived their traditional recourse to interpersonal violence. Instead of going through the Manitoba court system, individuals who faced enough evidence to be convicted were delegated to a period of four months to traverse "four circles" that included CHCH workers, family members, victims, and community members (Mallea, 2017). The details of their healing process was attuned specifically to their community needs, outside of the colonial relationship between the Hollow Waters community, the RCMP and Manitoba courts. By 2001, only two of 107 individuals had reoffended–six times less than the national average of recidivism for sexual abuse cases (Mallea, 2017, p.165). This is but one example of Davis' (2003) call to imagine a "constellation of alternative strategies…[to remove] the prison from the social and ideological landscapes of our society" (p.107).

Conclusion: Prisons in the Global Context

Prison abolition is a refusal of the normalization of the present organization of human life (Walcott, 2021). Historically, Canada's carceral system has been a vehicle of settler state building (Chartrand, 2019). Dismantling Canada's prisons and building an effective practice of justice requires a reimagining of the methodologies that entrench incarceration within neoliberalist practice and ideology. This includes challenging individualist rhetoric that excuses systemic harm, neoliberal economic policy that worsens the population's safety, and moving from private property into the commons.

Global abolition means imagining a new world. Prisons have become a symbol of state legitimacy even though its reality is devoid of any semblance of justice (Drake, 2018). As an ideal of Western of democracy, prisons have been "exported" through the globalization of neoliberal thought (Drake, 2018). Currently, prisons detain refugees in the Global North (Mallea, 2017), subjugate populations under colonial and apartheid regimes (Qafisheh, 2016) and create modern-day concentration camps (Alemn & Cano, 2025). Prison abolition creates an opposing praxis that demands an imaginative and revolutionary approach to justice.

References

Alberton, A. M., Gorey, K. M., Angell, G. B., & McCue, H. A. (2021). Structural Violence Perpetrated Against Indigenous Peoples in Canadian Criminal Courts: Meta- Analytic Evidence of Longstanding Sentencing Inequities. *Critical Social Work*, *22*(1), Article 1. https://doi.org/10.22329/csw.v22i1.6896

Alemn, M., & Cano, R. G. (2025, March 23). *Inside the El Salvador mega-prison where Trump is sending hundreds of immigrants*. The Independent. https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/trump-deportation-el-salvador-cecot-prison-b2719997.html

Ansfield, B., Herzing, R., & Spade, D. (2023). Abolition Infrastructures: A Conversation on Transformative Justice with Rachel Herzing and Dean Spade. *Radical History Review*, *2023*(147), 187–203. https://doi.org/10.1215/01636545-10637246

Buitenhuis, A. J. (2013). *Public-Private Partnerships and Prison Expansion in Ontario: Shifts in Governance 1995 to 2012* [M.A., University of Toronto (Canada)]. https://www.proquest.com/docview/1634880176/abstract/BFDC074EAD1B4DEFPQ/1

Chartrand, V. (2019). Unsettled Times: Indigenous Incarceration and the Links between Colonialism and the Penitentiary in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, *61*(3), 67–89.

Chennault, C., & Sbicca, J. (2025). Abolition methodologies. *Environment and Planning D*, *43*(1), 157–180. https://doi.org/10.1177/02637758231193718

Chesnay, C. T., Bellot, C., & Sylvestre, M.-È. (2013). Taming Disorderly People One Ticket at a Time: The Penalization of Homelessness in Ontario and British Columbia. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, *55*(2), 161–185. https://doi.org/10.3138/cjccj.2011-E-46

Davis, A. Y. (2003). *Are Prisons Obsolete?* Seven Stories Press.

Dobchuk-Land, B. (2017). Resisting 'progressive' carceral expansion: Lessons for abolitionists from anti-colonial resistance. *Contemporary Justice Review*, *20*(4), 404–418. https://doi.org/10.1080/10282580.2017.1377057

Drake, D. H. (2018). Prisons and State Building: Promoting 'The Fiasco of the Prison' in a Global Context. *International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy*, *7*(4), Article 4. https://doi.org/10.5204/ijcjsd.v7i4.1041

Government of Canada, S. C. (2017, February 8). *Focus on Geography Series, 2016 Census—Canada*. https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/as-sa/fogs-spg/Facts-CAN-eng.cfm?Lang=Eng&GK=CAN&GC=01&TOPIC=9

Harvey, D. (2007). Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *610*(1), 21–44. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716206296780

Kaba, M. (2021). *We do this 'til we free us: Abolitionist organizing and transforming justice* (T. K. Nopper, Ed.). Haymarket books.

Kim, M. E. (2021). Transformative justice and restorative justice: Gender-based violence and alternative visions of justice in the United States. *International Review of Victimology*, *27*(2), 162–172. https://doi.org/10.1177/0269758020970414

Mallea, P. (2017). *Beyond incarceration: Safety and true criminal justice*. Dundurn.

Oudshoorn, J. (2024). Theorizing a way out of reformist reforms: Gladue reports and penal abolition. *Punishment & Society*, *26*(2), 243–260. https://doi.org/10.1177/14624745231208177

Owusu-Bempah, A., Jung, M., Sbaï, F., Wilton, A. S., & Kouyoumdjian, F. (2023). Race and Incarceration: The Representation and Characteristics of Black People in Provincial Correctional Facilities in Ontario, Canada. *Race and Justice*, *13*(4), 530–542. https://doi.org/10.1177/21533687211006461

Qafisheh, M. M. (2016). Palestinian prisoners in Israel versus Namibian prisoners under apartheid: A potential role for the International Criminal Court. *The International Journal of Human Rights*, *20*(6), 798–814. https://doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2016.1167686

Reinhart, E. (2023). Reconstructive Justice—Public Health Policy to End Mass Incarceration. *New England Journal of Medicine*, *388*(6), 559–564. https://doi.org/10.1056/NEJMms2208239

Statistics Canada. (2022). *Correctional services statistics: Interactive dashboard*. https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/71-607-x/71-607-x2019018-eng.htm

Wacquant, L. (2009). Social Insecurity and the Punitive Upsurge. In L. Wacquant (Ed.), *Punishing the Poor: The Neoliberal Government of Social Insecurity* (p. 0). Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822392255-001

Walcott, R. (2021). *On Property: Policing, Prisons, and the Call for Abolition*. Biblioasis. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/mcmu/detail.action?docID=6357581

Weinrath, M., & Ricciardelli, R. (2023). Canadian Prison Environments: A Mixed Methods Analysis. *The Prison Journal*, *103*(2), 215–238. https://doi.org/10.1177/00328855231154794