

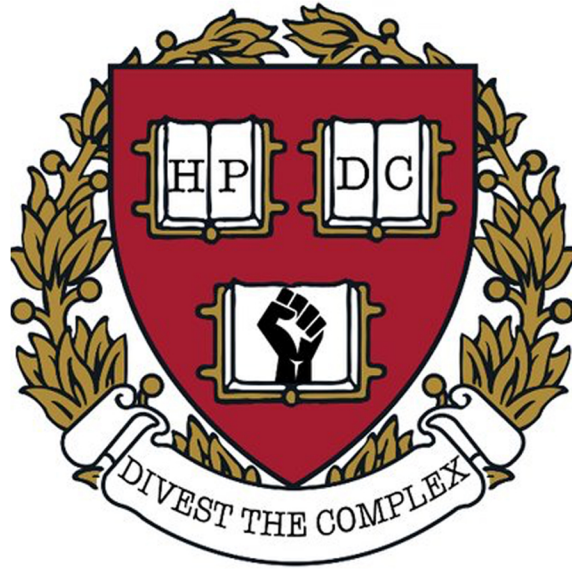
CRIMSON CASH

Following the Flow of Harvard's Blood Money

Harvard Prison Divestment Campaign
January 2021



INTRODUCTION



The Harvard Prison Divestment Campaign's first report on Harvard's investments in the prison industrial system in 2018 reported a staggering number of 3 million dollars, based merely on the 1% of the endowment which is publicly available. This updated report presents the even more staggering figure of \$11.2 million dollars.

Let's sit with this amount, and what we can imagine lies uncovered within the rest of the 99% of a 40 billion endowment.

Before we dig into how we arrived at that number, a few words on HPDC.

HPDC is a student-led abolitionist campaign centered on Harvard's relation to the prison industrial complex as one of the concrete manifestations of the afterlives of slavery. The prison industrial complex is a term used by activists and scholars to stress that the expansion of prisons throughout the world is primarily driven by profit rather than the usual justifications provided (i.e. increase in so-called "crimes"). The contours of the PIC are highly mutable and rapidly expanding. As Angela Davis states, "companies that one would assume are far removed from the work of state punishment have developed major stakes in the perpetuation of the prison system" (2004, 88). As such, the PIC names a set of symbiotic relationships between state capacity, private capital and forms of carcerality in an expanded sense: not just prisons but also parole, occupation, border control, policing, surveillance technologies...

Universities play a central role in this carceral political economy. This is not surprising, given the fact that US "imperial universities" (Oparah, 2014) are born – similarly to prisons – out of histories of genocide and dispossession, especially Black and Indigenous (see: <https://www.landgrabu.org/>). Universities provide moral capital and knowledge to the PIC, but they also make money out of it, through endowment investments.

(SOME OF)

HARVARD'S INVESTMENTS

IN THE PIC

over a million



over a million



over two million



Microsoft

\$140K



BANK OF AMERICA

\$61K

Raytheon

\$65K

LOCKHEED MARTIN



Goldman Sachs

\$43K



\$1,400



METHODOLOGY

HARVARD PUBLIC INVESTMENTS IN THE PRISON INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX									
TOTAL						\$ 11,196,316.24			
Ticker	Company	Subsidiaries	Primary PIC Role	Harvard \$ in Company	Name of Fund	Harvard \$ in Fund	Fund Weight		
3MINDIA3M (India)	3M Company		Prison Labor	\$ 309.70	Vanguard FTSE Emerging Markets	\$ 3,097,000.00	0.01%		
MMM	Aaron's		Prison Labor	\$ 65,165.10	iShares Core S&P 500 ETF	\$ 19,747,000.00	0.33%		
AAN	Aaron's		Donors	\$ 8,709.80	iShares Core S&P Mid-Cap ETF	\$ 3,959,000.00	0.22%		
ACHC	Acadia Healthcare*		Death Management	\$ 6,334.40	iShares Core S&P Mid-Cap ETF	\$ 3,959,000.00	0.16%		
ACN	Accenture Class A		Analytics & Surveillance	\$ 104,659.10	iShares Core S&P 500 ETF	\$ 19,747,000.00	0.53%		
ACM	AECOM*		Construction & Maintenance	\$ 14,252.40	iShares Core S&P Mid-Cap ETF	\$ 3,959,000.00	0.36%		
ALHE	Alony-Hetz Properties & Investments Ltd		Occupation	\$ 548.37	Vanguard FTSE Developed Market	\$ 9,028,000.00	0.01%		
GOOG	Alphabet (GOOG)		Analytics & Surveillance	\$ 579,379.43	Invesco QQQ	\$ 16,261,000.00	3.56%		
GOOGL	Alphabet (GOOGL)		Analytics & Surveillance	\$ 591,412.57	Invesco QQQ	\$ 16,261,000.00	3.64%		
GOOGL	Alphabet Class A	Google	Analytics & Surveillance	\$ 333,724.30	iShares Core S&P 500 ETF	\$ 19,747,000.00	1.69%		
GOOGL	Alphabet Class C	Google	Analytics & Surveillance	\$ 325,825.50	iShares Core S&P 500 ETF	\$ 19,747,000.00	1.65%		
ALO	Alstom SA		Transportation	\$ 5,066.83	Vanguard FTSE Developed Market	\$ 9,028,000.00	0.06%		
ALTC	Altice Europe NV		Telecommunications	\$ 1,316.72	Vanguard FTSE Developed Market	\$ 9,028,000.00	0.01%		
ATCB	Altice Europe NV Class B		Telecommunications	\$ 30.64	Vanguard FTSE Developed Market	\$ 9,028,000.00	0.00%		
AMZN	Amazon*		Analytics & Surveillance	\$ 1,778,140.35	Invesco QQQ	\$ 16,261,000.00	10.94%		
AMZN	Amazon*		Analytics & Surveillance	\$ 965,628.30	iShares Core S&P 500 ETF	\$ 19,747,000.00	4.89%		
AAL	American Airlines		Donors	\$ 3,949.40	iShares Core S&P 500 ETF	\$ 19,747,000.00	0.02%		
ASSA B	Assa Abloy AB Class B		Suppliers	\$ 9,905.19	Vanguard FTSE Developed Market	\$ 9,028,000.00	0.11%		
T	AT&T	Turner Broadcasting System	Donors	\$ 146,127.80	iShares Core S&P 500 ETF	\$ 9,028,000.00	0.74%		
AAXN	Axon (formerly TASER)		Weaponry	\$ 12,272.90	iShares Core S&P Mid-Cap ETF	\$ 3,959,000.00	0.31%		
BA	BAE Systems*		Weaponry	\$ 10,074.65	Vanguard FTSE Developed Market	\$ 9,028,000.00	0.11%		
POLI	Bank Hapoalim BM		Banks & Investors	\$ 3,205.36	Vanguard FTSE Developed Market	\$ 9,028,000.00	0.04%		

Our list consists of 456 companies, compiled through analysis of several sources. The public spreadsheet organizes the companies by several filtered categories explained below.

Parent Company and Subsidiaries:

Many companies on our list have significant connections with other corporations through parent/subsidiary relationships. For example, GEO Group has a number of subsidiaries that may appear in financial data when the parent company does not. In data analysis, we searched for both parent and subsidiary names when applicable.

Ownership:

Public: company is publicly traded on a stock exchange—anyone can be a shareholder (owner)

Private: company is owned by founders or other management team, not publicly traded

Private Equity: company is owned by investors, not publicly traded

Primary PIC Role:

This section lists the primary way the company is involved in the PIC. Some of these categories came from the Worth Rises report, and others were created by HPDC to better capture the category. The changes are in the chart to the left.

Worth Rises	HPDC
Community Corrections	Open Air Prisons
Data and Information	Analytics and Surveillance
Healthcare	Death Management
Security	Weaponry
Furnishing and Supplies	Supplier
Operations and Management	Private Prison Operators

ALL CATEGORIES

Category

Analytics & Surveillance

Supply law enforcement and carceral facilities with surveillance technology (Amazon, Gemalto, Unisys)

Bail Bonds

Underwrite each bond in exchange for a share of the profit, trapping people in debt (Fairfax Financial Holdings, Tokio Marine Holdings)

Banks & Investors

Offer lines of credit that allow for carceral facilities to keep expanding (Blackrock, Citizens Bank)

Construction & Maintenance

Build the prisons that keep people separated from their loved ones and community (Turner Construction, United Technologies)

Death Management

Private healthcare companies that cut corners and costs by understaffing facilities and providing inadequate care (United Health Services, Centene)

Donors

Fund the police foundations that facilitate many people's first point of contact with the prison-industrial complex (AlticeUSA, Georgia Power)

Food & Commissary

Offer substandard nutrition and create unsanitary working conditions in prison kitchens (Summit, TKC Holdings)

Money Transfer

Charge extra fees for incarcerated people to send or receive money (Western Union)

Open Air Prisons

Carceral systems that operate outside of prison facilities such as probation and rehabilitation programs that extend surveillance (Aspen Education Group, SuperCom)

Occupation

Companies whose illegal settlement on Palestinian lands justifies the expansion of the Israeli settler colonial carceral state (Kardan NV, Primo Water Corp; other companies connected to Israel that perform specific functions are listed in other categories)

ALL CATEGORIES

Category

Prison Labor

Used by many companies that pay extremely low wages (3M, Lincoln Electric)

Private Prison Operators

Own and manage the growing number of private prison facilities. (CoreCivic, GEO Group)

Suppliers

Offer furnishing and other supplies that support day to day facility operations (Thermo Fisher Scientific, Stanley Black and Decker)

Telecommunications

Charge exorbitant rates for incarcerated people to contact their loved ones (CenturyLink)

Transportation

Move incarcerated people between facilities (Motor Coach Industries, Navistar)

Weaponry

Restrict or cause harm to policed people is provided by companies that also supply the military (Axon, Vista Outdoor)

SOURCES

Every company on our list appears in at least one of the seven sources listed below. Having several sources allowed us to account for the wide reach of the PIC, including operations at the US border and in other countries through occupation.

Source

Worth Rises

Description

This yearly report contains over 4,100 companies connected to the PIC in the United States, with extensive research on each company including whether Worth Rises recommends them for divestment.

Worth Rises, The Prison Industry: Mapping Private Sector Players, <https://worthrises.org/theprisonindustry2020#block-5bc4c1200a7eaff4fcef>

American Friends Service Committee

The Investigate report features a database of companies connected to prisons, occupation, and/or borders.

American Friends Service Committee, Investigate: Action/Research on State Violence. <https://investigate.afsc.org/>

Department of Homeland Security

DHS publishes a list of their top 100 contractors each year, most significantly related to borders.

Department of Homeland Security, Federal Procurement Data System Top 100 Contractors. <https://www.fpds.gov/fpdsng/cms/index.php/en/reports/62-top-100-contractors-report>

Mijente

This report lists tech and data companies that work with ICE.

Mijente, Who's Behind ICE?: The Tech and Data Companies Fueling Deportations, https://mijente.net/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/WHO'S-BEHIND-ICE_-The-Tech-and-Data-Companies-Fueling-Deportations-_v1.pdf

LittleSis

The site identifies corporations and individuals that fund police foundations across the US.

LittleSis, Corporations Funding Police Foundations https://littlesis.org/maps/5200-corporations-funding-police-foundations?Corporations_fund_police_foundations

Action Center on Race and the Economy

The ACRE report reveals nearly a billion dollars in profit for those who invest in police brutality bonds.

Action Center on Race and the Economy, Police Brutality Bonds: How Wall Street Profits from Police Violence. https://acrecampaigns.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/ACRE_PBB_2020_2.pdf

Prison Free Funds

Prison Free Funds ranks and analyzes ETFs by how much they have invested in the PIC.

Prison Free Funds ranks and analyzes ETFs by how much they have invested in the PIC.

ANALYSIS OF RESULTS



Close to half of Harvard's investments into the prison-industrial complex come from the broad industry of analytics and surveillance, a figure consistent with our 2019 findings. While Google and Amazon occupy the lionshare of that number, nearly a dozen other companies--some doing business with Immigration and Customs Enforcement, others with the Israeli occupation of Palestine--are implicated as well. Besides analytics and surveillance, Harvard's financial footprints are most felt in the following four categories: suppliers, donors, banks & investors, and weaponry. Corporations that manufacture the steel bars of jail cells, bankroll police brutality, and design drones all have their value enriched by Harvard's hand. In short, the university's endowment deals directly in death, destruction, and the dollars that help to fuel them.

This is not an irreversible investment arrangement, given that \$10.8 million of the \$11.1 million--or 97%--that Harvard has in the prison-industrial complex is invested in just two exchange traded funds: the Core S&P 500 ETF from iShares and the QQQ ETF from Invesco. With the click of a computer key, the university's endowment manager could nearly bankrupt Harvard's public ties to economies of caging and capture. With just a few more clicks, he could completely sever ties with Vanguard's Developed Markets and Emerging Markets ETF's, both of which contribute heavily to the construction and financial stability of jails, prisons, and carceral space of the Global South.

Indeed, the impact of Harvard's investments into the prison-industrial complex stretches far beyond the imperial core.

Indeed, the impact of Harvard's investments into the prison-industrial complex stretches far beyond the imperial core. While it is true that when focusing on the United States, private prisons and private security forces constitute barely a crumble of the carceral pie, the infrastructure of caging and cops beyond the United States is chiefly reliant on the private prison and security industry, especially in other settler colonial contexts such as Australia and South Africa, thereby linking the ongoing project of land dispossession with the movement of transnational capital. Another context through which to observe this phenomenon is a country such as Nigeria, where young organizers sparked the #EndSARS campaign as a larger critique of the policing and militarization of Nigerian daily life. That policing and militarization quite literally could not happen without G4S, the private security firm that is also helping to ravage other parts of the African continent through the lens of securitization. Harvard has ties to G4S through Vanguard's Emerging Markets ETF. Thus, the investments highlighted herein are not marginal to the proliferation to the prison-industrial complex; they are central. The impact is global and so must be the resistance.

CALL TO ACTION!

As our updated report shows, Harvard continues to invest heavily in the prison-industrial complex through its public holdings. The full extent of this university's financial complicity in caging people, however, is unknown because the university refuses to create avenues of transparency regarding how it invests the rest of its 40-billion dollar endowment. The Harvard Prison Divestment Campaign is committed to doing the research necessary to learn more about Harvard's profiteering from global systems of caging, but we also recognize that research alone is insufficient in successfully pressuring Harvard to do the right thing. To get Harvard to divest in whole from the Prison Industrial Complex, mass collective action will be necessary. Everyone can play a part in pressuring Harvard University to divest from the prison-industrial complex. Below, we have compiled a list of suggested action steps.

EVERYONE:

Subscribe to HPDC's mailing list (<https://harvardprisondivest.org/getinvolved/>), Twitter (@HarvardPDC), and Facebook (<https://www.facebook.com/HarvardPDC>) accounts.

Join the Harvard Prison Divestment Campaign as core member.
Email us at harvardpdc@gmail.com to get onboarded.

TENURE-TRACK AND TENURED FACULTY:

1. At faculty meetings, bring up votes in support of divestment at the departmental and/or school level.
2. Incorporate information about the prison-industrial complex, Harvard's investments in it, and abolition in the courses you teach.
3. Use your professional visibility to call attention to Harvard's investments in the prison-industrial complex by posting on social media and writing op-eds.
4. Reinvest: Given that only 1% of Harvard's endowment is public, consider contributing at least 1% of your salary to organizations based in communities disproportionately harmed by the prison-industrial complex.

Black and Pink: <https://www.blackandpink.org/DONATE/>

Families for Justice as Healing and Building Up People Not Prisons:
<https://justiceashealing.org/donate/>

Muslim Justice League: <https://www.muslimjusticeleague.org/donate/>

Sisters Unchained: <https://www.sistersunchained.com/donate>

Youth Justice and Power Union: <https://www.yjpu.org/new-page>

CALL TO ACTION!

STAFF AND CONTINGENT FACULTY:

1. If you are represented by a union, organize your co-workers to issue a statement in support of HPDC's demands (<https://harvardprisondivest.org/about/>).
2. If you are represented by a union and are currently paying into retirement, organize your co-workers to make sure that your retirement plan is not being managed by a fund that invests in the prison-industrial complex (see Prison Free Funds: <https://prisonfreefunds.org>).

STUDENTS:

1. If your school's student government has not already passed a resolution in support of divestment, organize to get them to do so.
2. In student organizations that you are already affiliated with, bring conversations about Harvard's investment in the prison-industrial complex and abolition into your work.
3. At events where you may encounter President Bacow or other administrators, publicly ask them about Harvard's investment in the prison-industrial complex and whether the university will ever divest from violent economies of surveillance and caging.

ALUMNI:

1. Sign HPDC's #HarvardDonorsDivest Pledge (<https://harvardprisondivest.org/getinvolved/>).
2. In lieu of making donations to Harvard, donate to the Just Reinvestment Fund (<https://www.economicdemocracy.us/reinvest>), a fund created by HPDC alums to financially support the work of Boston and Massachusetts-based "community organizations working to ameliorate the effects of the prison industrial complex 'until the university discloses its direct and indirect holdings in companies that profit off of human caging, and takes meaningful steps to divest these holdings or pressure investment companies to divest from those holdings.'"
3. At events where you may encounter President Bacow or other administrators, publicly ask them about Harvard's investment in the PIC and whether the university will ever divest from violent economies of surveillance and caging.