The Carceral Body Multiple: Intake in the New York City jails

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ABSTRACT

This ethnographic dissertation project is an applied philosophical project that takes an ontological and critical phenomenological approach to the enactment of carceral bodies. This dissertation set out to answer two central questions. First, how do jail intake processes enact carceral bodies (analog and digital) and what are the ontological implications? Second, how are jail intake processes reflective of the values and logics of a carceral society? The process of answering these questions offers an early attempt at empirical abolitionist science and technology studies research as it offers an intervention in the essentializing biomedical and criminological understandings of "the criminal." This is achieved by tracing the enactment pf carceral bodies across the domains of datafication, space, and time.

First, with the advent of digital technologies, the science and technology of *criminality* continues to be informed by the desire to use metrics to identify and define *criminal man*. Like their precursors, however; when taken together these quantified characteristics contribute to the production of a body predisposed not to crime but to incarceration. This predisposition arises out of datafication and algorithmic characterization. The data comprising the raw material of this assignation pulls together the digitization of one's race, ethnicity, school (reflective of the school-to-prison-pipeline), address, sex, socio-economic status, disability status, mental health status, etc. Carceral algorithms, and the structures they arise out of, inform one's incarcerability.

The carceral body of data and its *risks* are multiple and are represented in a number of ways, just as it is experienced variously. There are infinite permutations of the intake process across which categories come to stand in for human suffering, for risk, for job performance, etc. The data generated and its infrastructures are reflective of the broader political and socioeconomic context. The role of data collection, management, and analysis surrounding the intake process makes visible the politics and stakes of the carceral bodies enacted.

The two primary epistemologies and attendant professions brought to bear upon the carceral body are medicine and criminology. These epistemologies rely upon quantification, categorization, and calculations of *risk* to generate data from which carceral knowledge is made (and in turn makes). This project characterizes the data infrastructures of the jails as socio-technical objects, practices, and architectures that are multiple and complex. It is through this lens that managerialism, algorithms, and knowledge production are characterized. Together, these facets provide insight into the making of carceral bodies of data and the logics and mechanisms of the carceral-data-industrial-complex.

Second, this project addresses the spatialities that carceral bodies are generative of and situated in. The spaces of intake are suffused with values, politics, and epistemologies that play out in a number of ways. In order draw out these facets, the ontological approach was integrated with carceral geography. This approach elevates micro-scales of space and time, placing the personal and particular beside within the broader social and political contexts. This shift in scale has important implications for the study of correctional facilities as it is from this scale that the complexities, relationalities, materialities, contradictions, and multiplicities are visible.

This approach relates to Foucault's *carceral archipelago*, which conveys the complexities of carceral spaces, surveillances, and their leakiness. Carceral geography's reading of Foucault requires an engagement across carceral societies that incorporates the body as a prime site from which to understand complex dynamics of control. Carceral geography offers a helpful approach drawing out spatialities enacted through performances and experiences, making concertina wire fences permeable and ever-mutable. The carceral body carries carceral spaces within it and beyond it that arise out of epistemes, policies, and practices that are mutually reinforcing and enmeshed. These embodied spaces include emotions and mental self-scapes alongside digitally recorded diagnoses and correctional designations.

When considering how security infrastructures permeate society, well beyond correctional facility gates, this has important implications for this carceral society. The buildings and physical spaces of incarceration are read as reflective of the values and logics of the state, this brings into view the extra-penological function of incarceration, in which specific populations are disproportionately removed and *disciplined/ punished* by the state even before they are determined to be *guilty* or *not guilty* by a court. This hyper-incarceration of certain populations underlines the spatial logics of carceral networks that reflect the machinations of a neoliberal state that *disappears* those who have been *Othered* via carceral networks. This takes on even more problematic hues when considering the torturous conditions unsuitable for any creature, including humans.

Third, despite Western constructs of linear or absolute time, the study of the carceral temporal body demonstrates the relativities, multiplicities, and disjunctures that challenge the notion of a *universal* clock. This dissertation tells of carceral bodies made into and across multiple time points. Bodies become metaphoric *timeclocks* through managerial oversight processes in which they are assigned varying times across different electronic record systems, with these different from their time of arrest and remand. In this space, the temporal jurisdictions diverge, giving rise to frictions and conflict. Further, these assigned temporalities differ greatly from the ways time is experienced across embodied states (e.g. experiencing acute withdrawal symptoms).

The theoretical frameworks employed to understand carceral time are designed to address how carceral bodies come to be anticipated. In part, this is enacted through professional and bureaucratic routines that are often protracted and repetitive. These routines give rise to *waiting* and *urgency*. This empirical engagement with carceral temporalities draws out epistemic and experiential forces.

Ultimately, this dissertation suggests that drawing out the ontological multiplicities of mass incarceration can countermand its fixities and generate abolitionist epistemologies. Abolition has generative potentials that coalesce with science and technology studies' investment in the *otherwise*. Over time carceral abolition has come to refer to a wide range of social movements, theoretical frameworks, and activism. The various approaches to abolition share a sense of urgency and resistance to gradual or eventual change, as this has historically led to the perpetuation and maintenance of racialized criminal justice systems and mass incarceration.

Carceral epistemologies (e.g. penology, criminology, biomedicine, public health) are steeped in racisms and classisms, which inform broader imaginaries of *crime* and *criminality*. As political discourse has been reduced to simplistic chants and pithy soundbites, the aim of this dissertation has been to "complicate the discourse" surrounding the carceral-industrial-complex and the carceral body in particular. Understanding the carceral body through its ontological multiplicities serves as the grounds from which resistances to the status quo can be formulated. This is vitally important in light of the diffuse assemblages detailed in this project and the pervasiveness of carceral logics.

In sum, this dissertation has demonstrated that carceral bodies are made and not born. It points to the difficult work still needed and the utility of ethnography in eliciting the multiplicities of practices and materialities in carceral settings. The abolitionist dreams arising from this project demand the embrace of ontological multiplicities as new logics and imaginaries unweave the criminal justice system. While it does not fall within the purview of this project to delineate a specific set of directives, it does suggest that abolitionist dis-epistemology requires logics and tactics equally as multifaceted and nuanced as the criminal justice system itself.

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GENERAL AUDIENCE ABSTRACT

This is an applied philosophy project based on ethnographic research in the New York City jails. It provides insight into the practices of jail intake as a way to draw out the ways in which carceral bodies come to be enacted. The project grows out of feminist science studies. The two central questions are 1) how do jail intake processes produce carceral bodies (analog and digital) and what are the implications? 2) how are jail intake processes reflective of the values and logics of a carceral society?

These questions are addressed through the domains of data, space, and time, which serve as the organizing framework of this project. The focus on intake enactments draws out the multiplicities of carceral realities, which has the potential to resist essentializing conceptualizations of the criminal. In doing so, this dissertation project demonstrates the potential for abolitionist science and technology studies to disrupt the criminal justice status quo.

Dedication

For Joe and Lilly without whom this would not be possible.

In eternal gratitude to my mother and Michael for all of their generosity.

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This dissertation is indebted to my committee members who have been profoundly helpful across this process. Their feedback and guidance have made what seemed like an impossible tangle of experiences and theories into a far more cohesive and accessible manuscript. I am beyond grateful for their multiple readings, incisive comments, and overall support for this project.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

> The massive prison-building project that began in the 1980s created the means of concentrating and managing what the capitalist system had implicitly declared to be human surplus. In the meantime, elected officials and the dominant media justified the new draconian sentencing practices, sending more and more people to prison in the frenzied drive to build more and more prisons by arguing that it was the only way to make our communities safe from murderers, rapists, and robbers.[1]

Project Description:

This dissertation takes foundational steps towards defining the carceral body, a term coined here, through an ethnographic investigation of intake in the New York City jails (also referred to as Rikers). It posits that the carceral body is an ontological multiplicity hewn from the techniques of criminology/ penology and biomedicine. The carceral body is hard to pin down. It is always in a state of becoming, shifting, coiling and unfurling. It is for this reason that the term is used contingently without the pretense of completeness or generalizability. Moreover, it is, in truth, a body/ mind.

The carceral body stands in contrast to *homo criminalis*, or the *born criminal*, as it draws out enactments through socio-technical processes.[2] By providing a historical overview of the theories of criminal man*,* it becomes evident that any rendering of such a scientific object is context-dependent and multiple. It is from this vantage point that I undertook a highly local study of the enactment of the carceral body. In doing so, it embraces Wacquant's recognition

[1] Davis, Angela. 2003. *Are Prisons Obsolete?* New York, NY: Seven Stories Press, 91.
[2] Beirne, Piers. *Inventing Criminology: Essays on the rise of 'homo criminalis'*. SUNY Press, 1993.; Gould, Stephen Jay. 1981. *The Mismeasure of Man*. Norton.; Speicher, David. 2016. "The Myth of the Born Criminal: Psychopathy, Neurobiology, and the Creation of the Modern Degenerate." *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 52 (4): 414–16.

that “one cannot separate the body, the social and penal state, and urban marginality: they have to be grasped and understood in their mutual imbrications.”[3] The carceral body is enacted in ways that recapitulate certain ideas about socio-epistemological *criminals.*

This project positions itself as an early foray into abolitionist science and technology studies. It acknowledges the considerable work that is needed to advance this approach to science and technology studies, particularly given the variability of the term *abolition* itself. Thus, this project does not claim a unitary path forward, but attempts to build upon Ruha Benjamin’s call for attention to abolitionist technology.[4] Just as Benjamin notes that abolition is not just an undoing and a disassembling, this project draws out multiplicities that resist carceral bodies being made into unitary objects.[5] This is a philosophical move is intended as productive resistance.

This project draws out the ways in which the ontological formation of the carceral body often chafes against the person’s ontology. The stakes of this project lie in a resistance to the *sciences of man* that enact bodies as always already criminal.[6] In this way, the process of intake reveals bodies anticipated in certain ways, while being (re)made in dynamic permutations. This entails an ontological approach to intervene in carceral epistemologies.

Research Questions:

[3] Wacquant, L. 2019. “The Body, the Ghetto and the Penal State.” *Qualitative Sociology* 32 (1): 114.
[4] Benjamin, Ruha. 2019. *Race After Technology : Abolitionist Tools for the New Jim Code*. Medford, MA: Polity.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Rafter, Nicole Hahn. *Creating born criminals*. University of Illinois Press, 1997.; Rafter, Nicole Hahn. "Criminal anthropology in the United States." *Criminology* 30, no. 4 (1992): 525-546.; Rafter, Nicole Hahn, ed. *White trash: The eugenic family studies, 1877-1919*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988.; Seigel, Micol. "" Convict Race": Racialization in the Era of Hyperincarceration." *Social Justice* (2014): 31-51.

While bodies remain central to feminist and post-feminist inquiry, the carceral body has yet to be theorized. Similarly, incarcerated populations have been intensely studied using biomedical and criminal justice frameworks, but the practices and processes that enact bodies as carceral have yet to be examined using ontological approaches.[7] This dissertation proposes to answer two central questions regarding the carceral body. First, how do jail intake processes enact carceral bodies (analog and digital) and what are the ontological implications? Second, how are jail intake processes reflective of the values and logics of a carceral society? Together, these questions illuminate the embodied and institutional (physical, epistemic, imaginary, and virtual) enactments of those tracked towards incarceration.[8] The process of answering these questions offers an early attempt at empirical abolitionist science and technology studies research.

Significance

Intake processes and their underlying logics have been understudied despite their potential as sites for criminal justice activism aimed at ending the carceral status quo. Despite its essential role in shaping the incarceration experience and beyond, little is known about what

[7] Fazel, Seena, and Jacques Baillargeon. "The health of prisoners." *The Lancet* 377, no. 9769 (2011): 956-965.; Gendreau, Paul, Claire E. Goggin, and Moira A. Law. "Predicting prison misconducts." *Criminal Justice and behavior* 24, no. 4 (1997): 414-431.; Hanson, R. Karl, and Monique T. Bussiere. "Predicting relapse: a meta-analysis of sexual offender recidivism studies." *Journal of consulting and clinical psychology* 66, no. 2 (1998): 348.; Heil, Peggy, Linda Harrison, Kim English, and Sean Ahlmeyer. "Is prison sexual offending indicative of community risk?." *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 36, no. 9 (2009): 892-908.; Lintonen, Tomi Petteri, Heikki Vartiainen, Jorma Aarnio, Sirpa Hakamäki, Päivi Viitanen, Terhi Wuolijoki, and Matti Joukamaa. "Drug use among prisoners: by any definition, it's a big problem." *Substance use & misuse* 46, no. 4 (2011): 440-451.; Merrall, Elizabeth LC, Azar Kariminia, Ingrid A. Binswanger, Michael S. Hobbs, Michael Farrell, John Marsden, Sharon J. Hutchinson, and Sheila M. Bird. "Meta-analysis of drug-related deaths soon after release from prison." *Addiction* 105, no. 9 (2010): 1545-1554.; Vescio, M. F., B. Longo, S. Babudieri, G. Starnini, S. Carbonara, G. Rezza, and R. Monarca. "Correlates of hepatitis C virus seropositivity in prison inmates: a meta-analysis." *Journal of Epidemiology & Community Health* 62, no. 4 (2008): 305-313.

[8] Mol, Annemarie. *The body multiple: Ontology in medical practice*. Duke University Press, 2002.

occurs at this important juncture. This renders invisible the decisions and designations that inform healthcare appointments, housing, clothing, medication, classification, and overall treatment. Additionally, drawing out and delineating carceral practices and their logics have important implications not just for science and technology studies, but also for correctional health, corrections, criminology, policing, and forensics.

This dissertation illuminates a step often overlooked in these studies - the transition from a *free person* to an incarcerated person. Opening the black box of intake sheds light on how incarcerated individuals are categorized, shaped, and ultimately produced. It reveals intake governmentalities enacted through bureaucratic processes that surveil, search, categorize, and sort bodies.[9]

The stakes of this research are high, as what takes place in jails is largely invisible, despite the millions of people who pass through them. Intake is characterized by intense categorization (e.g. misdemeanor/ felony charges, chronic conditions, disabilities) and risk-assessment (e.g. Clinical Institute Withdrawal Assessment for Alcohol, Prison Rape Elimination Act Assessment, Suicide Prevention Screening). It is through these categorizations and assessments that disparities are encoded in new ways, altering the trajectory of the incarcerated in the correctional facility and beyond. To date, there has not been a feminist/ post-feminist science studies analysis of how carceral bodies are enacted. Understanding this process is central to our understanding of the carceral. Furthermore, when considering the disparities within mass incarceration in the United States, this research takes on specific ethical,

[9] Burchell, Graham, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller, eds. "The Foucault effect: Studies in governmentality." University of Chicago Press, (1991).; Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. Vintage, 2012.; Foucault, Michel. *The birth of the clinic*. Routledge, 2002.; Lupton, Deborah. "Foucault and the medicalisation." *Foucault, health and medicine* (2002): 94.

moral and political dimensions.[10]

Mass Incarceration in the United States

The United States has the highest incarceration rate in the world.[11] From 1970 to 2016, the United States state and federal prison population burgeoned from an estimated 200,000 incarcerated individuals to nearly 1.5 million.[12] Between 1970 and 2000 alone the incarceration rate demonstrated a 486% increase.[13] This dramatic escalation of incarceration is often attributed to the rise of drug-related arrests, stricter sentencing laws for non-violent drug offenses, and the wide scale lobbying of special-interest groups, including private prison companies.[14] While less than 8% of correctional facilities in the United States are private

[10] Alexander, Michelle., and Cornel West. *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration In the Age of Colorblindness.* Rev. ed. New York, N.Y.: New Press, 2012.
[11] Gramlich, John. "America's incarceration rate is at a two-decade low." *Pew Research Center*. Published May 2, 2018 https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/05/02/americas-incarceration-rate-is-at-a-two-decade-low. Schmitt, John, Kris Warner, and Sarika Gupta. "The high budgetary cost of incarceration." (2010) *Center for Economic and Policy Research*. https://files.givewell.org/files/criminaljustice/The%20high%20budgetary%20costs%20of%20incarceration.pdf; The World Prison Brief. 2019." Highest to Lowest - Prison Population Total" The World Prison Brief. Retrieved from https://www.prisonstudies.org/highest-to-lowest/prison-population-total?field_region_taxonomy_tid=All
[12] Gottschalk, Marie. "Past, Present and Future of Mass Incarceration in the United States." *Criminology and Public Policy*, no. Issue 3 (2011): 483.; The Sentencing Project, "The United States is the world's leader in incarceration." *The Sentencing Project*, Retrieved from https://www.sentencingproject.org/criminal-justice-facts/.
[13] David Greenberg & Valerie West, "State Prison Populations and Their Growth, 1971-1991," *Criminology*, 39 no. 3, (2001): 615.
[14] Blumstein, Alfred and Allen Beck. "Population growth in US prisons, 1980-1996." *Crime & Justice* 26 (1999): 17; Ibid., 24-25..; Jewkes, Yvonne, Ben Crewe, and Jamie Bennett. 2016. *Handbook on Prisons*. Vol. Second edition. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.; Lynch, Mona & Anjuli Verma, "The Imprisonment Boom of the Late Twentieth Century: Past, present, and future." In Wooldredge, John, and Paula Smith, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Prisons and Imprisonment*. Oxford University Press, 2018.; (McBride et al., 2009). Morris, J., and Byron Eugene Price. 2012. *Prison Privatization: The Many Facets of a Controversial Industry [3 Volumes]: The Many Facets of a Controversial Industry*. Prison Privatization. Santa Barbara, Calif: Praeger; Musick, D., Gunsaulus-Musick, K. (2017). American Prisons. London: Routledge.

facilities, the supply of services, goods, and personnel (e.g. uniforms, food, toiletries) to correctional facilities is big business.[15]

Mass incarceration continues today with an estimated 2.2 million individuals incarcerated in jails and prisons.[16] They only represent a fraction of the 6.8 million adults under United States criminal justice supervision (e.g., probation, incarceration), however. Structural inequities have resulted in an incarcerated population that is drastically different from the overall United States population. Incarcerated people are far more likely to be African American, Hispanic, poor, male, Trans and to be living with at least one chronic condition, mental health condition, and/ or disability.[17] For instance,

[15] Appleman, Laura I. 2018. "Cashing in on Convicts: Privatization, Punishment, and the People and the People." *Utah Law Review* 2018 (3): 579–637.; Eldridge, Taylor E. 2017. "The Big Business of Prisoner Care Packages." 12.21.2017; New York: Corrections and Community Supervision, NYS Dept. of Issues Solicitation for "Inmate Vendor Food and Sundry Package Program." (2017). *US Official News*. Prison Legal News. "List of major for-profit prison services and companies." Last updated June 5, 2016. https://www.prisonlegalnews.org/news/publications/list-major-profit-prison-services-and-companies/; Requarth, Tim. 2019. "Prisoners of Profit." *Nation* 308 (14): 12–25.

[16] Gottschalk, Marie. "Past, Present and Future of Mass Incarceration in the United States, The." *Criminology and Public Policy*, no. Issue 3 (2011): 483.; Gottschalk, Marie. "The Long Reach of the Carceral State: The Politics of Crime, Mass Imprisonment, and Penal Reform in the United States and Abroad." *Law and Social Inquiry*, no. Issue 2 (2009): 439.; Kaeble, Danielle, and Mary Cowhig. "Correctional populations in the United States, 2016." *United States Department of Justice* 251211 (2016).

[17] Baillargeon, Jacques, Sandra A. Black, John Pulvino, and Kim Dunn. "The disease profile of Texas prison inmates," *Annals of Epidemiology* 10, no. 2 (2000): 74-80.; Columbia University, "*Behind bars: Substance abuse and America's prison population*" National Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse at Columbia University, 1998.; Pettit, Becky and Bruce Western, "Mass imprisonment and the life course: Race and class inequality in US incarceration," *American Sociological Review* 69, no. 2 (2004): 151-169.; Rasmussen, Kirsten R., Almvik Levander, and Sten Levander. "Attention deficit hyperactivity disorder, reading disability, and personality disorders in a prison population." *Journal of the American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law Online* 29, no. 2 (2001): 186-193.; Roth, Alisa. *Insane: America's criminal treatment of mental illness*. Basic Books. New York: New York, 2018.; Seigel, Micol. "" Convict Race": Racialization in the Era of Hyperincarceration." *Social Justice* (2014): 31-51.; Stanley, Eric A., and Nat Smith. *Captive Genders: Trans Embodiment and the Prison Industrial Complex.* Expanded second edition. Oakland, CA, USA: AK Press, 2015.; West, Heather C., William J. Sabol, and Sarah J. Greenman. "Prisoners in 2009." *Bureau of justice statistics bulletin* (2010): 1-37.

> black males aged 18-19 are incarcerated at a rate nine times that of white males of the same age (1,544 per 100,000 vs. 166 per 100,000, respectively) and nearly three times that of Hispanic males of the same age (574 per 100,000).[18]

This is also reflected in young women. While over 90% of people incarcerated in the United States are men, women are the fastest growing group of incarcerated people.[19] Further, incarcerated women have been disproportionately affected by harsher sentencing for non-violent offenses.[20] There are also significant disparities in education level and employment status (i.e. unemployed or underemployed) between the incarcerated and unincarcerated. [21] This makes mass incarceration a critical site for social science research.[22]

These disparities have been traced directly to the legacy of slavery and socio-economic values that have become systematized and codified in the United States criminal justice system.[23] Wacquant establishes correctional facilities as having an extra-penological function that requires one to "r*ethink the prison as a political institution*" in which the state comes to

[18] Mears, Daniel and Joshua Cochran, "Who goes to prison?" in Wooldredge, John, and Paula Smith, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Prisons and Imprisonment*. Oxford University Press, 2018, 35.
[19] Ibid., 36.; Sawyer, Wendy. "The Gender Divide: Tracking Women's State Prison Growth." *Prison Policy Initiative*. January 9, 2018. https://www.prisonpolicy.org/reports/women_overtime.html.
[20] Gostin, Lawrence Ogalthorpe, Cori Vanchieri, Andrew Pope, and Institute of Medicine (US) Committee on Ethical Considerations for Revisions to DHHS Regulations for Protection of Prisoners Involved in Research. *Ethical considerations for research involving prisoners*. National Academies Press (US), 2007.; Hatton, Diane C., Dorothy Kleffel, and Anastasia A. Fisher. "Prisoners' perspectives of health problems and healthcare in a US women's jail." *Women & health* 44, no. 1 (2006): 119-136.; Staton, Michele, Carl Leukefeld, and T. K. Logan. "Health service utilization and victimization among incarcerated female substance users." *Substance Use & Misuse* 36, no. 6-7 (2001): 701-715.
[21] Mears, Daniel and Joshua Cochran, "Who goes to prison?" in Wooldredge, John, and Paula Smith, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Prisons and Imprisonment*. Oxford University Press, 2018, 36-37.
[22] Ibid.; Wooldredge, John, and Paula Smith, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Prisons and Imprisonment*. Oxford University Press, 2018.
[23] Beck, Allen J., and Alfred Blumstein. 2018. "Racial Disproportionality in U.S. State Prisons: Accounting for the Effects of Racial and Ethnic Differences in Criminal Involvement, Arrests, Sentencing, and Time Served." *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* 34 (3): 853–83.; Christianson, S. 1998. "With Liberty for Some: 500 Years of Imprisonment in America." *With Liberty for Some: 500 Years of Imprisonment in America*; Wacquant, L. "Deadly Symbiosis: When Ghetto and Prison Meet and Mesh." *Punishment & Society* 3, no. 1: 95–133. Accessed December 30, 2019.

enact penalties as a form of economic and racial control.[24] In this reading, mass incarceration is a mechanism that generates and perpetuates economic and ethnoracial stigma. Wacquant has suggested that mass incarceration is the reflections of the societal shift from *social welfare* to punishment in the wake of neoliberalism.[25]

Further, what counts as a crime and the way it is responded to is not predestined, instead it reflects the values and interests of *dominant* society.[26] Acknowledging this destabilizes the seeming givenness of the criminal justice system. From here, the effects and manifestations of the system become legible as purposeful and systematic. Thus, the disproportionate incarceration of marginalized people reveals a carceral logic that makes certain bodies destined for incarceration, or at the very least symbolically tied to incarceration. For instance, a number of scholars have carefully detailed the ways the *War on Drugs* worked to oppress and eliminate (via incarceration) people of color.[27] In this context, carceral logics serve to posit certain bodies and spaces (i.e. *territorial stigmatization* of the *hyper-ghetto*) as requiring containment and discipline.[28]

Further, the nexus of health and incarceration has become a site of intense focus as the cost of carceral health care has grown exponentially. [29] This has been attributed not only to

[24] Wacquant, Loic. 2009. "The Body, the Ghetto and the Penal State." *Qualitative Sociology*, no. 1: 111.
[25] Ibid., 101-129.
[26] Alexander, Michelle. 2012. *The New Jim Crow : Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. The New Press.; Tonry, Michael. *Malign Neglect: Race, Crime, and Punishment in America*. United States of America: Oxford Univ. Press, 1995.; Tonry, Michael H. *Thinking About Crime : Sense and Sensibility in American Penal Culture*. Studies in Crime and Public Policy. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Wacquant, Loic. 2009. "The Body, the Ghetto and the Penal State." *Qualitative Sociology*, no. 1: 101-129.
[29] Chettiar, Inimai M., W. C. Bunting, and Geoffrey Schotter. "At America's expense: The mass incarceration of the elderly." (2012).; National Institute of Corrections, and United States of America,

rising health care costs and the number of incarcerated people, but also to the aging and poor health of the United States incarcerated population.[30] The percentage of older incarcerated people in United States correctional facilities is estimated to rise over 4,000% by 2030.[31] Furthermore, the same structural inequities (e.g. poverty, race, ethnicity) that have been identified as negatively impacting health also increases the likelihood of arrest.[32] This is compounded by the increased risk of "intentional violence, infectious disease outbreaks, depression, and other ailments" in correctional settings.[33]

Correctional facilities are legally required to provide adequate health care comparable to that which is available in the community.[34] This has important implications when considering that many incarcerated people have acute, chronic, and/or untreated medical conditions prior to their arrest, which can be compounded by injuries during arrest and the easy spread of infectious diseases in correctional facilities.[35] Moreover, the challenges of managing and providing healthcare in a correctional setting are multifaceted and involve multiple parties. To date, there has been limited study of the way that health and health care is practiced in jail settings, particularly in light of jails' interstitial positions between the community, courts, prison, and community corrections.

"Correctional Health Care: Addressing the Needs of Elderly, Chronically Ill, and Terminally Ill Inmates." (2004).

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid.; Seigel, Micol. "" Convict Race": Racialization in the Era of Hyperincarceration." *Social Justice* (2014): 31-51.; Simon, Jonathan. "Racing Abnormality, Normalizing Race: The Origins of America's Peculiar Carceral State and Its Prospects for Democratic Transformation Today." *Nw. UL Rev.* 111 (2016): 1625.; Wacquant, Loïc. "Race as civic felony." *International social science journal* 57, no. 183 (2005): 127-142.

[33] Siever, Richard. "HMOs Behind Bars: Constitutional Implications of Managed Health Care in the Prison System." *Vanderbilt Law Review.* 58 (2005): 1365.

[34] Estelle v. Gamble. 429 US 97 (1976)

[35] PEW Charitable Trusts, 2014; Bai et al., 2015.

The New York City Jails

> Rikers Island is a stain on our great City. It leaves its mark on everyone it touches: the correction officers working back-to-back shifts under dangerous conditions, the inmates waiting for their day in court in an inhumane and violent environment, the family members forced to miss work and travel long distances to see their loved ones, the attorneys who cannot easily visit their clients to prepare their defense and the taxpayers who devote billions of dollars each year to keep the whole dysfunctional apparatus running year after year. Rikers Island is a 19th century solution to a 21st century problem.[36]

The New York City jail system is the second largest in the United States It is comprised of twelve jail facilities, two hospital wards, and court holding cells in all five boroughs.[37] Nine of the jail facilities are located on Rikers Island, including: Anna M. Kross Center (AMKC),[38] Eric M. Taylor Center (EMTC),[39] George Motchan Detention Center (GMDC),[40] George R. Vierno Center (GRVC),[41] North Infirmary Command (NIC),[42] Otis Bantum Correctional Center (OBCC),[43] Rose

[36] Independent Commission on New York City Criminal Justice and Incarceration Reform. (2017) "A More Just New York City" Retrieved from https://www.ncsc.org/~/media/C056A0513F0C4D34B779E875CBD2472B.ashx.
[37] The City of New York Correction Department. "Facilities Overview." *The City of New York Correction Department*. Retrieved December 2017 https://www1.nyc.gov/site/doc/about/facilities.page
[38] AMKC houses "male detainees in 40 housing areas spread over 40 acres. It includes a Methadone Detoxification Unit for detainees and DOC's Mental Health Center established in 1962."
[39] EMTC "houses adolescent and adult male inmates sentenced to terms of one year or less."
[40] GMDC originally housed women, but now houses adult males.
[41] GRVC houses adult, incarcerated men.
[42] NIC is comprised of "two infirmary buildings, one of them the original Rikers Island Hospital built in 1932. The facility has 153 beds for housing infirmary care inmates and 263 beds - in specialized units - for inmates who require extreme protective custody because of their notoriety or the nature of their cases, and for inmates with HIV and AIDS-related conditions."
[43] OBCC houses incarcerated males and "and includes the Department's 400-bed Central Punitive Segregation Unit."

M. Singer Center (RMSC/ Rosies),[44] Robert N. Davoren Center (RNDC),[45] West Facility - Contagious Disease Unit (West).[46,47] The other facilities include Vernon C. Bain Center (VCBC), a moored barge off of the Bronx and the Manhattan Detention Complex in Lower Manhattan.[48] The incarceration of people on Rikers Island coalesces with the long history of having correctional facilities hidden in plain sight, obscuring their presence, thereby allowing their conditions and practices to continue.[49] This is even reflected in the two hospital wards in Bellevue and Elmhurst hospitals, which are largely invisible to others in these hospitals.[50]

Jails primarily hold individuals awaiting trial, extradition, and/or transfer to Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) detention facilities.[51] The New York City jails have over 58,000

[44] RMSC a.k.a. "Rosie" houses incarcerated female juveniles and adults, as well as providing "the nation's first jail-based baby nursery at the old Correctional Institution for Women. The new jail features an expanded 25-bed baby nursery."

[45] RNDC houses "- in separate quarters - adolescent male detainees (ages 16-17) and adult male detainees in modular dormitories, sprung structures and cells. The jail was formally dedicated the Robert N. Davoren Center in May 2006 in honor of the former Chief of Department."

[46] West "was designed to be a 940-bed facility constructed of Sprung Structures- rigid aluminum framed structures covered by a heavy-duty plastic fabric. Part of the West Facility was converted into the Department's Contagious Disease Unit (CDU) center in which 140 specially air-controlled housing units are reserved for incarcerated men and women with contagious diseases such as tuberculosis. With the exception of the CDU, West Facility is operationally off-line and in reserve status at present."

[47] City of New York Correction Department, "Facilities Overview," *City of New York Office of the Mayor*, last retrieved April 6, 2016, http://www.nyc.gov/html/doc/html/about/facilities-overview.shtml.

[48] The City of New York Correction Department. "Facilities Overview: Facility Locations." City of New York Correction Department. Last retrieved May 25, 2017. https://www1.nyc.gov/site/doc/about/facilities.page.

[49] Morin, K. M. (2018). *Carceral Space, Prisoners and Animals.* Milton: Taylor & Francis Group.

[50] The City of New York Correction Department, "Facilities Overview," *City of New York Office of the Mayor*, last retrieved April 6, 2016, http://www.nyc.gov/html/doc/html/about/facilities-overview.shtml.

[51] City of New York Correction Department. "Summary of Discharges of Inmates with Federal Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) Detainers." *City of New York Correction Department*. Last accessed January 14, 2020. https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/doc/downloads/pdf/ICE_Report_2017_Final.pdf; Moran, Dominique. "Between outside and inside? Prison visiting rooms as liminal carceral spaces." *GeoJournal* 78, no. 2 (2013): 339-351.; Moran, Dominique. *Carceral geography: Spaces and practices of incarceration*. Routledge, 2016, 21.

admissions annually and an average daily incarcerated population of 9,500.[52] The overall population of New York City is 33% White, 29% Hispanic, 23% Black, and 13% Asian, however; the New York City jail population is 7% White, 34% Hispanic, 53% Black, and 2% Asian.[53] These disparities are consistent with the broader picture of incarceration in the United States, in which people of color are at a far greater risk of being arrested and incarcerated.

The City of New York Correction Department, whose official moniker is New York's Boldest, has the stated mission of

> enhancing public safety by maintaining a safe and secure environment for our staff, while providing inmates with the tools and opportunities they need to successfully re-enter their communities.[54]

The Department's website lists the following units and divisions: Recruitment Unit, Applicant Investigations Unit, Correction Academy, Canine (K-9) Unit, Fire Safety, Emergency Services Unit, Firearms and Tactics Unit, Communications Unit, Correction Assistance Response for Employees, Transportation Division, and Facility Maintenance and Repair Division.[55] This list

[52] City of New York Correction Department, "New York City Department of Correction at a Glance: Information for 1st 6 months FY2019" City of New York Correction Department. Last visited January 14, 2020. https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/doc/downloads/press-release/DOC_At%20a%20Glance-1st6_Months_FY2019_012919.pdf

[53] Ibid.; The City of New York Department of Planning, "Population." *The City of New York Department of Planning*. Last accessed January 14, 2020. https://www1.nyc.gov/site/planning/planning-level/nyc-population/american-community-survey.page.

[54] The City of New York Correction Department. "About: Mission" *The City of New York Correction Department.* Retrieved December 27th, 2019 https://www1.nyc.gov/site/doc/about/mission.page

[55] The City of New York Correction Department. "About: Units/ Divisions" *The City of New York Correction Department.* retrieved December 27th, 2019https://www1.nyc.gov/site/doc/about/units-divisions.page

does not include some of the units that I observed during my data collection, for instance, there was also a Gang Intelligence Unit and a Correctional Intelligence Bureau.[56]

As is common amongst corrections departments, The City of New York Correction Department is hierarchical with a paramilitary structure.[57] For instance, each facility has a warden, deputy wardens in command, deputy wardens (e.g. security, programs), assistant deputy wardens, captains, corrections officers, uniform staff, and non-uniform staff.[58] It is extremely difficult to access information about The Department from the outside, and even within the jails information is highly restricted, even from facility corrections officers, which results in many of my questions resulting in the statement "that's above my paygrade."[59]

Health care is similarly hierarchical, although diverges in important ways from the City of New York Correction Department. A year and a half prior to my starting my ethnographic data collection, the provision of health care in the New York City jails transitioned from Corizon, a private prison health care corporation, to the New York City Health and Hospitals Corporation (HHC), a public health care provider.[60] This change of management has primarily been justified

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[56] Fieldnotes; Du, Alice See Kee. (2019). "You Will Never See Them Coming." The Official Newsletter of the New York City Department of Correction Bold Print January-February, 2019. https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/doc/downloads/pdf/BoldPrint_JAN_FEB_022619.pdf

[57] Goldstein, Dana. "What are Corrections Officers so Afraid of?" The Marshall Project. Published July 13, 2015. https://www.themarshallproject.org/2015/07/13/what-are-correction-officers-so-afraid-of

[58] Fieldnotes, The City of New York Correction Department. (2019). "African Americans in the Department." The Official Newsletter of the New York City Department of Correction Bold Print January-February, 2019. https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/doc/downloads/pdf/BoldPrint_JAN_FEB_022619.pdf

[59] Fieldnotes.

[60] Ewing, Maura, "Why New York Dropped Corizon: It's not just the big profits and dead inmates," *The Marshall Project,* last revised June 11, 2016, https://www.themarshallproject.org/2015/06/11/why-new-york-dropped-corizon#.KfD2zh25F; The City of New York, "Health and Hospitals Corporation To Run City Correctional Health Service," *The Official Website of the City of New York*, last revised June 10, 2015 http://www1.nyc.gov/office-of-the-mayor/news/383-15/health-hospitals-corporation-run-city-correctional-health-service.

by the abysmal care provided by Corizon.[61] However, it is worth noting that this shift allowed HHC to expand their share of health care provision, and thus their budget. This is likely important as HHC has been facing substantial financial deficits, and their acquisition of jail health services increase the likelihood of jail care being reimbursed by Medicaid, Medicare, or other private insurance companies for care provided.[62] The reverberations of this shift were omnipresent during this time of transition as the health care staff shifted from a private to a public employer.[63] While this shift is not the focus of this project, it certainly influenced the research site and is deserving of further ethnographic study.

Approximately 80% of the staff remained across this transition. The majority of the health care staff who work in the facilities I observed were from other countries, and English was not their first language. This frequently gave rise to confusion and misunderstanding, and I spent a great deal of time translating and deescalating.[64]

There is also an overrepresentation of people of color among City of New York corrections officers who identify as 64% Black, 21% Hispanic, 11% White, and 3% Asian.[65] This disproportionality matters because it reflects socio-political conditions (e.g. White supremacy,

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[61] Ibid.

[62]Citizens Budget Commission, "Fiscal Challenges Facing the New York City Health and Hospitals Corporation," Citizens Budget Commission, last revised Nov 06, 2014, http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:HuW1q5Us2n0J:www.cbcny.org/content/fiscal-challenges-facing-new-york-city-health-and-hospitals-corporation+&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us.; New York City Health and Hospitals Corporation, "New York City Health and Hospitals Corporation Restructuring HHC: The Road Ahead," *New York City Health and Hospitals Corporation*, last accessed May 10, 2016, www.nyc.gov/html/**hhc**/.../pdf/**hhc**-road-ahead-report.pdf.

[63] Fieldnotes.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid.; Rempel, Michael , Ashmini Kerodal, Joseph Spadafore, and Chris Mai. "Jail in New York City Evidence-Based Opportunities for Reform." *Center for Court Innovation*. January, 2017. https://www.courtinnovation.org/sites/default/files/documents/NYC_Path_Analysis_Final%20Report.pdf.

neoliberalism, ableism) and illuminates *which* bodies are tracked toward incarceration and which towards dangerous and/ or stigmatizing work. Unsurprisingly, these are often one and the same. This results in the bodies of those working in correctional facilities being made carceral in related ways. While addressing how the bodies of corrections officers and correctional health workers are made carceral is largely outside the scope of this project, I do touch upon it in specific instances. Further theorization and empirical study are needed.

The New York City Health and Hospitals Corporation's Correctional Health Services, which states that they have "the unique opportunity to cushion the impact of incarceration and the responsibility to address the health needs of patients to better prepare them to leave jail and not return."[66] Their listed services include Enhanced Pre-Arraignment Screening Services (EPASS), Forensic Psychiatric Evaluation Court Clinics (FPECC), jail medical care, mental health care, substance use treatment, nursing services, social work services, specialty and Urgi-care services, geriatric and complex care, dental care, pharmacy services, telehealth services, dialysis, nursery care, discharge planning and re-entry services, and transitional care services.[67] Each jail clinic has a Site Medical Director who oversees the medical providers (e.g. medical doctor, physician assistant) and a facility Director of Nursing who oversees the Charge Nurse, nursing staff, and patient care assistants. There is also a health services administrator who does not have clinical training and oversees the operations of the clinic.[68] This gives rise to tensions when the health services administrator attempts to expedite clinical processes. There is also a

[66] New York City Health and Hospitals Corporation, "Correctional Health Services: Our Services," *New York City Health and Hospitals Corporation*, last accessed December 31, 2019, https://www.nychealthandhospitals.org/correctionalhealthservices/our-services/#infocus.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Fieldnotes.

mental health supervisor who oversees the mental health side of the clinic and tries to expedite those new intakes identified as needing mental health screening. In this role, they oversee psychiatrists, licensed clinical social workers, mental health technicians, and other counselors.[69]

As jails are sites of rapid transition and extreme vulnerability, the first hours and days in jail carry an increased risk of death and permanent harm.[70] This is compounded when placed in the "culture of violence" associated with the New York City jails. For instance, The New York Times found that over eleven months at least "129 inmates suffered "serious injuries" — ones beyond the capacity of doctors at the jail's clinics to treat — in altercations with correction department staff members alone."[71] It is in these first encounters that designations are made that will follow the incarcerated person across their incarceration(s) and beyond their release or transfer to another facility (e.g. sentenced to prison, extradition to a different jurisdiction, deportation by Immigration and Customs Enforcement).[72] The severity indicated here becomes jarring when considering that there is an urgent care center on the Island. This points to the culture and the power dynamics that are especially pronounced across the intake process.[73]

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[69] Ibid.

[70] Blau, Reuven, "Cops probe death of Rikers Island inmate after being punched by correction officer," *The Daily News,* last revised July 26, 2011, http://www.nydailynews.com/news/crime/cops-probe-death-rikers-island-inmate-punched-correction-officer-article-1.162464.; Marzulli, John, "Exclusive: City will pay &1.25M to estate of Rikers Island inmate allegedly beaten to death by guards" *The New York Daily News*, last revised June 29, 2015, http://www.nydailynews.com/new-york/nyc-crime/exclusive-city-pay-1-25m-estate-rikers-inmate-article-1.2274385.; Subramanian, Ram, Ruth Delaney, Stephen Roberts, Nancy Fishman, and Peggy McGarry. "Incarceration's front door: The misuse of jails in America." (2015).

[71] Winerip, Michael & Schwirtz, Michael, "Rikers: Where Mental Illness Meets Brutality in Jail," *The New York Times*, last revised July 14, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/14/nyregion/rikers-study-finds-prisoners-injured-by-employees.html.

[72] Fieldnotes.

[73] Ibid.

As jails are the foyers of corrections, they become the space in which remanded people *become residents* of correctional institutions. The jail intake process is when individuals are most likely to experience the acute symptoms of withdrawal from drugs (illegal or prescribed) and/ or alcohol that can lead to fatal outcomes.[74] Additionally, intake is associated with increased distress, feelings of hopelessness, and elevated rates of suicide attempts and completion.[75] This may be attributed to newly incarcerated people facing the realities of their arrest, while simultaneously being separated from families, friends, colleagues, and communities. The conditions of intake and the jail environment are likely to compound this. For instance, the New York City jails are primarily comprised of dilapidated buildings that are often filthy.[76]

These conditions point to the underlying assumption of the arrested or newly incarcerated person's *guilt*, despite the legal presumption in the United States that "persons charged with a crime are innocent until they are proven by competent evidence to be guilty."[77] Given this maxim it becomes evident that pretrial detention is not a given and, in fact, was a site of controversy in early United States legal history.[78] Today, the federal Bail Reform Act of 1984 (18 USCS § 3142) allows judges to detain arrestees prior to their trials if there is concern that the person is unlikely to return for their trial or whether they *pose a threat* or *"serious risk"*

[74] Venters, Homer. *Life and Death in Rikers Island*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Beilein, Thomas, Loughren, Thomas & Riley, Allen. "The worst offenders report: the most problematic local correctional facilities of New York State." *The New York State Commission of Correction*. February, 2018.
[77] Coffin vs. U.S., 156 U.S. 432, 432—463 (1894).; Pennington, Kenneth. "Innocent until proven guilty: The origins of a legal maxim." *Jurist* 63 (2003): 106-124.
[78] Ibid.

if they are released.[79] The subjective nature of the language of this Act gives a great deal of discretion to judges and jurisdictions.[80]

The right to detain a person prior to their trial, was tempered by the Sixth Amendment to the United States Constitution's guarantee of the "right to a speedy public trial." [81] The New York City courts have been periodically infamous for long waits for court due to docket backlogs.[82] These waits can be further protracted if the incarcerated person has an illness or disability that makes it difficult for them to be transported to court.[83]

Given the conditions in the New York City jails as well as the potential for considerable waits for one's court date, there is immense pressure to either submit a guilty plea or have someone post bail, if the judge has set one. Even today, there is great variety in how states and cities carry out determinations of remand and bail. While the Eight Amendment of the United States Constitution prohibits "excessive" bail, its ambiguity grants further latitude to judges.[84] Moreover, the bail bond industry, with an annual revenue of $3 billion, has opposed bail reform and managed to block reform bills from taking place in California, for example.[85]

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[79] NY CLS Family Ct Act § 320.5
[80] Meyer, Hermine Herta. "Constitutionality of Pretrial Detention." *GEO. LJ* 60 (1972): 1381-1417.
[81] Constitution of the United States of America. 6th Amendment.
[82] Blau, Reuven. "De Blasio hit for failure to fill judge openings, slowing backlogged state courts." *The New York Daily News.* January 1, 2019. https://www.nydailynews.com/new-york/ny-metro-judges-20190101-story.html.; Winston, Ali. "Speedy Trials Return to a Bronx Court Known for Delays and Dysfunction." The New York Times. August 9, 2018. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/09/nyregion/bronx-misdemeanor-backlog-settlement.html.
[83] Fieldnotes.
[84] Goldkamp, John S., and Michael R. Gottfredson. "Bail decision making and pretrial detention." *Law and Human Behavior* 3, no. 4 (1979): 227-249.; Oleson, James C., Marie VanNostrand, Christopher T. Lowenkamp, and Timothy P. Cadigan. "Pretrial detention choices and federal sentencing." *Fed. Probation* 78 (2014): 12.
[85] American Civil Liberties Union. "$elling Off Our Freedom: How insurance corporations have taken over our bail system." May, 2017. https://d11gn0ip9m46ig.cloudfront.net/images/059_Bail_Report.pdf; Hiltzik, Michael. "Column: Facing eradication, the bail industry gears up to mislead the public about its

On my first day of data collection, the medical director describes the setting of bail as "extortion of a plea." [86] This extortion is ensured by the increased violences and retaliation in the jails, as well as the torture of withdrawal symptoms, withholding of basic needs (e.g. food, water, sleep), and medical neglect.[87] Further, people in pretrial detention are more likely to be people of color and to be found guilty.[88] In this way, the jails extort the guilt assumed or the money demanded for, at least temporary, release. While New York enacted bail reform set to start on January 1, 2020, this was not enacted during my data collection.[89]

Across all of these domains, this project allows for the exploration of the interactions between structuring forces and practices as carceral bodies are enacted. Intake in the New York City jails was a site of great concern when I worked there years ago and my concern only deepened when other deaths were made public.[90] In response, bureaucratic processes were

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value." *The Los Angeles Times*, October 4, 2019 https://www.latimes.com/business/story/2019-10-04/hiltzik-bail-industry-eradication; Ulloa, Jazmine. "California has ended money bail. Who will bail out the industry?" *The Los Angeles Times*, September 9, 2018 https://www.latimes.com/politics/la-pol-ca-bail-agents-react-bail-reform-california-20180909-story.html.; White, Gillian B. "Who Really Makes Money Off of Bail Bonds? A new report finds that the global insurance companies underwriting bonds are reaping their rewards while shouldering virtually none of their risk." *The Atlantic*. May 12 2017.https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2017/05/bail-bonds/526542/.

[86] Fieldnotes.

[87] Henning, Justin, Spiros Frangos, Ronald Simon, H. Leon Pachter, and Omar S. Bholat. "Patterns of traumatic injury in New York City prisoners requiring hospital admission." *Journal of correctional health care* 21, no. 1 (2015): 53-58.; Ludwig, Ariel, Louise Cohen, Amanda Parsons, and Homer Venters. "Injury surveillance in New York City jails." *American journal of public health* 102, no. 6 (2012): 1108-1111.; Venters, Homer. *Life and Death in Rikers Island*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019.

[87] Fieldnotes.

[88] Rankin, Anne. "The effect of pretrial detention." *NYUL Rev.* 39 (1964): 641; Williams, Marian R. "The effect of pretrial detention on imprisonment decisions." *Criminal Justice Review* 28, no. 2 (2003): 299-316.

[89] Insha Rahman. New York, New York: Highlights of the 2019 Bail Reform Law. New York: Vera Institute of Justice, 2019. www.vera.org/new-york-bail-reform

[90] Blau, Reuven, "Cops probe death of Rikers Island inmate after being punched by correction officer," *The Daily News,* last revised July 26, 2011, http://www.nydailynews.com/news/crime/cops-probe-death-rikers-island-inmate-punched-correction-officer-article-1.162464.; Marzulli, John, "Exclusive: City will pay &1.25M to estate of Rikers Island inmate allegedly beaten to death by guards" *The New York*

adopted and monitored by corrections and health management. Line staff come to be surveilled electronically and consequences were typically in the form of a reprimand by a "white shirt" (i.e. captain) for corrections officers or a site medical director (SMD), health services administrator (HSA), or a charge nurse for health care staff.[91] This management and oversight falls along hierarchical lines as only the SMD or HSA are able to confront providers, while any of them are able to approach nursing staff. These reprimands are often done publicly, reinforcing the culture of shaming and punitivity.[92] In this way, staff monitoring comes to form one more layer of surveillance in this securitized setting.

In sum, the current state of mass incarceration, including the criminalizing of migrants, give this project political urgency.[93] The current neoliberal approach of mass incarceration has taken the place of social welfare.[94] In the United States, this is racialized as people of color are disproportionately incarcerated, thereby removing them from society.[95] Further, the largest mental health and substance use disorder treatment providers in the United States are jails,

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Daily News, last revised June 29, 2015, http://www.nydailynews.com/new-york/nyc-crime/exclusive-city-pay-1-25m-estate-rikers-inmate-article-1.2274385., Venters, Homer. *Life and Death in Rikers Island*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019.

[91] Fieldnotes.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Bosworth, Mary, and Sarah Turnbull. "Immigration detention, punishment and the criminalization of migration." In *The Routledge handbook on crime and international migration*, pp. 121-136. Routledge, 2017.; Jiwani, Yasmin. "Trapped in the Carceral Net: Race, Gender, and the" War on Terror"." *Global Media Journal* 4, no. 2 (2011): 13.

[94] Wacquant, Loïc. "Class, race and hyperincarceration in revanchist America." *Socialism and Democracy* 28, no. 3 (2014): 35-56.; Wacquant, L. 2009. "The Body, the Ghetto and the Penal State." *Qualitative Sociology* 32 (1): 101–29.

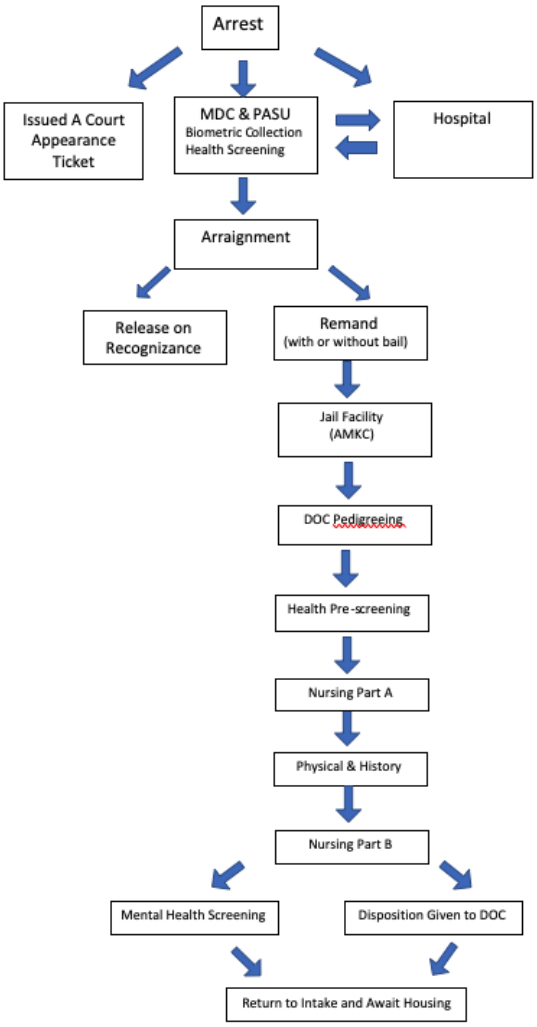
[95] Alexander, Michelle. (2010). *The new Jim Crow: mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness.* New York: New Press; Weaver, Vesla M. "Frontlash: Race and the development of punitive crime policy." *Studies in American political development* 21, no. 2 (2007): 230-265.

detention facilities, and prisons.[96] With the *graying* of the incarcerated population and the higher burden of chronic and infectious diseases, correctional facilities are tasked with treating people with severe and/ or multiple health conditions. This is particularly true in jails, which serve as the *front door* of the correctional health system, and bear the responsibility of "medically stabilizing" newly incarcerated people.[97] This makes the professional practices and underlying epistemologies deployed at intake of great significance to the broader health care and corrections fields, and offers a particularly important site for science and technology studies scholars.

[96] Gottschalk, Marie. "Hiding in plain sight: American politics and the carceral state." *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.* 11 (2008): 235-260.; Lerman, Amy, and Vesla Weaver. "The Carceral State and American Political Development." In *The Oxford Handbook of American Political Development*. 2014.; Mulvey, Edward P., and Carol A. Schubert. 2017. "Mentally Ill Individuals in Jails and Prisons." *Crime & Justice* 46 (1): 231.; Seigel, Micol. "" Convict Race": Racialization in the Era of Hyperincarceration." *Social Justice* (2014): 31-51.; Summers, Martin. 2019. *Madness in the City of Magnificent Intentions : A History of Race and Mental Illness in the Nation's Capital*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.; Trestman, Robert L., American Psychiatric Association, Michael K. Champion, Elizabeth Ford, Jeffrey L. Metzner, Cassandra Newkirk, Joseph V. Penn, et al. 2016. *Psychiatric Services in Jails and Prisons*. Vol. Third edition. Arlington, Virginia: American Psychiatric Association.

[97] Barr, Heather. "Prisons and jails: Hospitals of last resort." *New York: Correctional Association of New York and the Urban Justice Center* (1999).; Freudenberg, Nicholas. "Jails, prisons, and the health of urban populations: a review of the impact of the correctional system on community health." *Journal of Urban Health* 78, no. 2 (2001): 214-235.; Greenberg, Greg A., and Robert A. Rosenheck. "Jail incarceration, homelessness, and mental health: A national study." *Psychiatric services* 59, no. 2 (2008): 170-177.; Lindquist, Christine H., and Charles A. Lindquist. "Health behind bars: utilization and evaluation of medical care among jail inmates." *Journal of Community Health* 24, no. 4 (1999): 285-303.; Staton, Michele, Carl Leukefeld, and J. Matthew Webster. "Substance use, health, and mental health: Problems and service utilization among incarcerated women." *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology* 47, no. 2 (2003): 224-239.

Title: City of New York Jail Intake Flowchart



The intake process reviewed here is specific to Manhattan and is only a very broad overview of a tremendously complex, inconsistent, and time-consuming process The process begins with a person's arrest and their transportation to a police department. After waiting in the police department, the arrested person is transported to MDC. Manhattan Detention Center's basement is connected to the Manhattan courthouse by a long hallway that appears to end in a wall, but has a door to the right that leads to the arraignment courtrooms. Upon arriving in the dismal basement, the arresting officer brings the arrested person to a machine that looks like a blend of a large automated teller machines (ATMs) found outside banks and

the small ATMs in bodegas.[98] The machine digitizes the person's fingerprints, irises, and facial features. This data is used to identify the physical carceral body as Browne explains

> Biometric information technology, or biometrics, in its simplest form, is a means of body measurement that is put to use to allow the body, or parts and pieces and performances of the human body, to function as identification.[99]

The digitized biological traces are joined to the arrested person's age, race, ethnicity, charges, existing DNA samples, etc. This opens the person to a perpetual carceral gaze. Thus, the digital carceral body remains in the custody of the criminal justice system, even if the person is released from court by the arraignment judge, the charges are dropped, or the person is found not guilty. After arrest, biometric information is sent to the New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services.[100] This allows for the person to be identified statewide, using the same NYSID number and digital historical information. While the New York City Police Department was supposed to remove fingerprint records from juvenile arrestees, a scandal erupted when it was discovered they were maintaining a database with these records and using it to identify suspects.[101] This raises questions about the degree to which the protocols are followed, even

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[98] Fieldnotes.

[99] Browne, Simone. *Dark Matters: On the Surveillance of Blackness.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2015, 91.

[100] New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services. "New York State Standard Practices For Fingerprinting Juveniles." *New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services*. October, 2018 https://www.criminaljustice.ny.gov/stdpractices/jj-stdpractices/jj-full-manual.pdf; New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services. "New York State Standard Practices Manual Processing Fingerprintable Criminal Cases." *New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services*. October, 2018 https://www.criminaljustice.ny.gov/stdpractices/downloads/standardpractices.pdf. ; New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services. "State Identification Bureau." *New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services*. Visited January 11, 2020. https://www.criminaljustice.ny.gov/pio/fp_services.htm

[101] NBC New York Channel 4. "NYPD Kept Illegal Fingerprint Database of Juveniles Arrested, Legal Group Finds The NYPD said Wednesday it has purged all juvenile fingerprints records from the database and will no longer keep them indefinitely." *NBC New York Channel 4*. Published at 10:14 pm on November 13, 2019. https://www.nbcnewyork.com/news/local/nypd-kept-illegal-fingerprint-database-of-juveniles-arrested-legal-group-finds/2159611/

when privacy protections are put in place. It also points to the assumption of the criminal, who by nature will re-offend.

The New York City Police Department's digital biometric body is one with its own temporalities and longevities. For instance, this is a body that will be searched each time evidence is collected (e.g. fingerprint matching or facial recognition). The search for biometric matches will draw these digitized bodies into the future as they are permanently suspect.

After the logging of biometrics, the arrested person is cuffed again and then either attached to others in a "hub" with leg and wrist cuffs or kept separate. Eventually, they will be guided down the hallway where they will line up against the wall again and wait until they are called for a health screening. During my research, the Enhanced Pre-arraignment Screening Unit (PASU) pilot project was being tested in MDC with the established the aims of:

> performing more rapid, accurate health assessments of people prior to arraignment, delivering needed treatment, communicating with correctional healthcare providers, providing defense attorneys with health screening summaries that aid them in arguing for their clients, and, when appropriate, diverting arrested people from jail. [102]

In this regard, the health care staff take the first step in sorting bodies by health status. The patient care assistant's initial categorization leads some to be tracked for additional health screening, mental health/ substance use screening, and/ or medical clearance to go before the arraignment judge. Some carceral bodies will seem ripe for diversion (those with mental health and/ or substance use disorders) and provided with letters recommending they have access to drug courts, mental health courts, or other programs; while others will be without medical

[102] David Cloud, Anne Siegler, Michelle Martelle, Leah Pope, and Jim Parsons. The Enhanced Pre-Arraignment Screening Unit: Improving Health Services, Medical Triage, and Diversion Opportunities in Manhattan's Central Booking. New York: Vera Institute of Justice, 2017, 3.

justification for such an alternative. Beyond insanity pleas, this determination serves as an instance of biomedical power in the court system.

If someone is remanded, they are held in the basement of MDC under the jurisdiction of The City of New York Correction Department. Eventually, the incarcerated people will be transported in converted school buses to their assigned facility (if other than MDC). Once arriving in the jail, The City of New York Correction Department officers collect demographic and biometric information digitally, complete The Prison Rape Elimination Act (PREA) screening for perpetrators and/ or victims, conduct bodily searches for contraband, provide uniforms, provide facility identifications, and complete a triplicate suicide-risk assessment (330) form.

Title: State of New York Commission of Correction Office of Mental Health: Form 330 ADM Suicide Prevention Screening Guidelines

Form 330 ADM (CC) (10/11)

State of New York
COMMISSION OF CORRECTION
Office of Mental Health

SUICIDE PREVENTION SCREENING GUIDELINES

DETAINEE'S NAME	SEX	DATE OF BIRTH	MOST SERIOUS CHARGE(S)	DATE	TIME

NAME OF FACILITY	NAME OF SCREENING OFFICER	*Does detainee have prior ADM 330 on file.* YES ☐ if yes, review NO ☐
Book and Case #	*Check appropriate column for each question*	NYSID #

	Column A **YES**	Column B **NO**	General Comments/Observations All "YES" Responses Require Note to Document
OBSERVATIONS OF ARRESTING/TRANSPORTING OFFICER			
1. Arresting or transporting officer believes or has received information that detainee may be a suicide risk. **If YES, notify supervisor.**			
PERSONAL DATA			
2. Detainee lacks support of family or friends in the community.	No Family Friends		
3. Detainee has experienced a significant loss within the last six months (e.g., loss of job, loss of relationship, death of close family member).			
4. Detainee is very worried about major problems other than legal situation (e.g., serious financial or family problems, a medical condition or fear of losing job).			
5. Detainee's family member or significant other (spouse, parent, close friend, lover) has attempted or committed suicide.			
6. Detainee has history of drug or alcohol abuse. **(Note drug and when last used.)**			
7. Detainee has history of counseling or mental health evaluation/treatment. (Note current psychotropic medications and name of most recent treatment agency.)			
8. Detainee expresses **EXTREME** embarrassment, shame, or feelings of humiliation as result of charge/incarceration (ie. Are you worried arrest/incarceration will cause embarrassment for self or family?) **If YES, notify supervisor.**			
9. Detainee is thinking about killing self. **If YES, notify supervisor.**			
10a. Detainee has previous suicide attempt. (Explore method and check for scars.)			
b. Attempt occurred within last year. **If YES, notify supervisor.**			
11. Detainee is expressing feelings of hopelessness (nothing to look forward to). **If YES, notify supervisor.**			
12. This is detainee's first incarceration in lockup/jail.			
BEHAVIOR/APPEARANCE			
13. Detainee shows signs of depression (e.g., crying, emotional flatness).			
14. Detainee appears overly anxious, panicked, afraid or angry.			
15. Detainee is displaying unusual behaviors or is acting and/or talking in a strange manner. (e.g., cannot focus attention; hearing or seeing things which are not there).			
16a. Detainee is apparently under the influence of alcohol or drugs.			
b. Detainee self reports or is showing signs of withdrawal from alcohol or drugs.			
c. Detainee is incoherent, disoriented, or showing signs of mental illness. **If YES to b or c, notify supervisor.**			

Reference: State of New York Commission of Correction Office of Mental Health. "The City of New York Department of Correction Directive 4521: Suicide Prevention." State of New York Commission of Correction. Last accessed March 20, 2020, retrieved from https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/doc/downloads/directives/4521_Suicide_Prevention_11_15.pdf

In AMKC, there is an additional health pre-screening pilot conducted by an assigned facility nurse. This is done through a Plexiglas window with findings entered into the person's

electronic health record. The screening results in the person either being expedited (which is very rare) or not expedited. Either way, the person will be held until they have completed a urine screening.

This is followed by a "Part A" nursing screening across which drug testing, pregnancy testing, vital sign measures, recording of medical histories, HIV testing, hepatitis C testing, and confirmation of community information are completed and documented. After this the incarcerated person is returned to the pen to wait, sometimes for an extremely long time, before being moved to the clinic intake pen.

The incarcerated person will eventually be called by an intake provider for a physical examination and released from the clinic intake pens. During this process they will be diagnosed, "ascribed severity levels," prescribed medications, wound care, immunizations, assistive technologies, imaging, mental health care, and/ or follow-up testing. The provider assigns the incarcerated person a housing "health disposition" that connotes a level of health acuity, which must be one of the following categories - general population, detox, double detox, pending MH evaluation, CDU (communicable disease unit), infirmary, EMS (emergency medical services), 3-hour (hospital) runs.[103] Dispositions are comprised of in-facility housing statuses as well as the routes to the hospital for physical or mental health conditions either in an ambulance for emergencies or in a van that is supposed to take them to the hospital within three hours, although it routinely takes well over eight hours.[104] They must also document

[103] Fieldnotes.
[104] Ibid.

whether the person needs "heat-sensitive" housing and whether there are any restrictions on the types of *force* that can be used by DOC staff.[105]

This is followed by the "Part B" nursing process in which the nurse provides STAT medications, gives immunizations, draws blood for laboratory testing, and completes the review of the intake chart review. This is followed by a mental health assessment, if the provider has deemed it necessary. The mental health clinician schedules follow-up appointments and can influence whether the person is given a mental health disposition requiring them to be housed in a mental health housing unit.

Together, the health and mental health intake processes culminate in the ascription of a final "disposition."[106] Then, dispositions are printed and a copy is given to the clinic's expediting corrections officer. This copy of the disposition is the way that the determination is conveyed from health to corrections, it becomes a summary statement of the health, enacting a composite carceral body.

The corrections officer will eventually escort the incarcerated person back to the intake area where they will wait until they are given a classification and housing area assignment. The classification is determined by algorithms that account for a number of factors, in order to divide people into groups based on their forecasted risk of violence or rule breaking.[107] Once

[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Austin, James. *Findings in prison classification and risk assessment*. Washington, DC: US Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Prisons, 2003.; Austin, James, and Kenneth McGinnis. *Classification of high-risk and special management prisoners: A national assessment of current practices*. Washington, DC: US Department of Justice, National Institute of Corrections, 2004.; Hardyman, Patricia L., James Austin, and Owan C. Tulloch. *Revalidating external prison classification systems: The experience of ten states and*

again, it can take considerable time until a bed is "open."[108] How this happens is the subject of this dissertation.

The practices of intake are messy as they draw from flesh, machines, written words, metal cuffs, test strips, drops of blood, etc. They take place simultaneously or in varying orders. The lines between corrections and health are muddy in this space that relies on a series of technologies to be read as bodily representations.

Definitions

Before approaching the remaining chapters, it is important to set forth and define key terms, while acknowledging that they are neither solid nor fixed, that they too are multiple. The terms and concepts addressed here include enactment, assemblage, carceral, abolition, data, database, tacit knowledge, categorization, algorithm, and technocarceralism.

Enactment

Here, the term enactment borrows from Annemarie Mol who uses it to draws out the performative without the baggage of theater connotations (i.e. the playing of roles and a backstage or hidden reality).[109] Mol offers enactment as an alternative to the fixity of

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model for classification reform. US Department of Justice, National Institute of Corrections, 2002.; Seiter, Richard P. *Correctional administration: Integrating theory and practice*. Boston: Prentice Hall, 2012.; Totaro, Paolo, and Domenico Ninno. "The concept of algorithm as an interpretative key of modern rationality." *Theory, Culture & Society* 31, no. 4 (2014): 29-49.; Van Voorhis, Patricia, and Lois Presser. *Classification of women offenders: A national assessment of current practices*. Washington, DC: US Department of Justice, National Institute of Corrections, 2001.

[108] Fieldnotes.

[109] Martin, Denise, Mary Jane Spink, and Pedro Paulo Gomes Pereira. 2018. "Multiple Bodies, Political Ontologies and the Logic of Care: An Interview with Annemarie Mol." *Interface: Comunicacao Saude Educacao*, no. 64: 295.; Mol, 2002; 33-36.

"construction," as objects are hewn from ontological multiplicities.[110] Enactments of the carceral body refer to the numerous ways that the body is *done* across intake. For instance, across the intake process an incarcerated person's level of "suicidality" is determined and characterized differently by police officers, corrections officers, nurses, physicians, and mental health clinicians. These assessments require suicidality to be enacted in different ways and rely on different *objects* (e.g. 330 forms, electronic health records, pre-screening tools, scar tissue from prior suicide attempts) and positionalities (e.g. correctional classification, history of arrest, sex, race, ethnicity, economic status, history of arrest, charges).[111] This points to the structures, epistemologies, materialities, and contexts that make enactments of the carceral political.[112]

In Mol's approach to ontology, "knowledge is no longer treated primarily as referential, as a set of statements about reality, but as a practice that interferes with other practices."[113] Rather than taking the body as a given, this project relies upon Barad's ontological agential realism, which posits that "everything is performative and has agency," and thus has "real effects of intra-activity."[114] The premise is that correctional spaces, knowledges, and technologies enact particular kinds of bodies and that such embodied productions are

[110] Mol, Annemarie. *The body multiple: Ontology in medical practice*. Duke University Press, 2002, 41-42.
[111] Fieldnotes.
[112] Mol, Annemarie. "Ontological Politics. A Word and Some Questions." *The Sociological Review* 47, no. 1_suppl (May 1999): 74–89.
[113] Mol, Annemarie. *The body multiple: Ontology in medical practice*. Duke University Press, 2002, 152-153.
[114] Barad, Karen Michelle. 2007. *Meeting the Universe Halfway : Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning*. Durham : Duke University Press, 2007; Højgaard, Lis, and Dorte Marie Søndergaard. "Theorizing the complexities of discursive and material subjectivity: Agential realism and poststructural analyses." *Theory & Psychology* 21, no. 3 (2011): 345-346.

relational and material. Enactments are, therefore, the primary ontological units, that render the lenses of science(s) (e.g. medicine, criminology) visible.[115]

Assemblage

The term assemblage draws from Deleuze and Guatarri who define it as an "increase in the dimensions of a multiplicity that necessarily changes in nature as it expands its connections."[116] Assemblages hang together, but have the potential to resist the fixities of structures and relationalities in order to allow for momentums, becomings, and ruptures.[117] Here, the term includes interiorities and emotion, consistent with later feminist theorists.[118] It also responds to the concerns of carceral scholars that "assemblage-thinking" is a barrier to gleaning structural forces (e.g. racism, capitalism, neoliberalism) that give rise to and sustain mass incarceration.[119] This project suggests, instead, that it is the multiplicities and relationalities of assemblages have the potential to draw out and resist carceral monisms, and in doing so connections can be made to the forces that sustain certain elements while eliminating others.[120]

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[115] Ibid., 135.
[116] Guattari, Félix, and Gilles Deleuze. *A thousand plateaus: capitalism and schizophrenia*. London: Athlone Press, 2000, 8.
[117] Haggerty, Kevin D., and Richard V. Ericson. 2000. "The Surveillant Assemblage." *British Journal of Sociology* 51 (4): 605–22.; Patton, Paul. "Metamorpho-logic: Bodies and powers in A Thousand Plateaus." *Journal of the British Society for Phenomenology* 25, no. 2 (1994): 157-169.; Weheliye, Alexander G. 2014. *Habeas Viscus : Racializing Assemblages, Biopolitics, and Black Feminist Theories of the Human*. Durham: Duke University Press Books.
[118] Grosz, Elizabeth A., and Elizabeth Grosz. *Volatile bodies: Toward a corporeal feminism*. Indiana University Press, 1994.
[119] Gill, Nick, Deirdre Conlon, Dominique Moran, and Andrew Burridge. 2018. "Carceral Circuitry." *Progress in Human Geography* 42 (2): 186.
[120] Berry, David M. "Against Infrasomatization: Towards a critical theory of algorithms." in Eds. Bigo, Didier, Engin F. Isin, and Evelyn Sharon Ruppert. *Data Politics: Worlds, Subjects, Rights.* (2019) Routledge

Carceral

Here, the term carceral refers to the diffuse assemblage that forms around, through, and beyond the correctional facility.[121] It suggests that correctional facilities are formed out of carceral imaginaries, epistemologies, materialities, and practices.[122] This makes it impossible to provide a single, temporally circumscribed definition. It does, however; resist the Foucauldian impulse of diffusion in which the notion of carcerality can be seen everywhere, and is therefore impossible to characterize. [123] Moran suggests that the carceral entails particular forms of surveillance, confinement, and punishment.[124] The carceral is not only spatial, but also epistemic and comes to be played out through a set of practices. This definition is provisionally adopted here as the particularities of carcerality come to be enacted.

Carceral Logic

The related term *carceral logic* requires some breaking down, as it can easily be interpreted too narrowly (i.e. only inside correctional facilities) or diffusely (i.e. the universality

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Studies in International Political Sociology. London: Routledge; Weheliye, Alexander G. 2014. *Habeas Viscus : Racializing Assemblages, Biopolitics, and Black Feminist Theories of the Human*. Durham: Duke University Press Books.

[121] Brown, M. 2019. "Visual Criminology and Carceral Studies: Counter-Images in the Carceral Age." *Theoretical Criminology* 18 (2): 176–97.; Gill, Nick, Deirdre Conlon, Dominique Moran, and Andrew Burridge. "Carceral Circuitry." *Progress in Human Geography* 42, no. 2 (April 2018): 183–204.; Hamlin, Madeleine, and Jessie Speer. "The Politics of Conceptualizing the Carceral: A Commentary on Moran et Al. (2017)." *Progress in Human Geography* 42, no. 5 (October 2018): 799–802.; Moran, Dominique, Jennifer Turner, and Anna K. Schliehe. "Conceptualizing the Carceral in Carceral Geography." *Progress in Human Geography* 42, no. 5 (October 2018): 666–86.

[122] Ibid.

[123] Driver, Felix. "Power, space, and the body: a critical assessment of Foucault's Discipline and Punish." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 3, no. 4 (1985): 425-446.;
Morin, Karen M. *Carceral Space, Prisoners and Animals.* Milton: Taylor & Francis Group, 2018.

[124] Moran, Dominique. *Carceral Geography: Spaces and Practices of Incarceration.* London: Taylor and Francis, 2016; Moran, Dominique., and Anna K Schliehe. *Carceral Spatiality: Dialogues Between Geography and Criminology.* London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2017; Morin, Karen M. *Carceral Space, Prisoners and Animals.* Milton: Taylor & Francis Group, 2018.

of a carceral era). Carceral logic refers to the rationalities that subject certain populations to incarceration, and exclude others. Morin suggests that these are logics of "detriment and agentic confinement." [125] They are reflected in carceral epistemologies and techniques that form the tautological loop through which current "characteristics" (e.g. race, ethnicity, socio-economic status, educational attainment, mental health status, disability) of incarcerated populations are used to project risks of "criminality," thereby maintaining certain bodies as carceral.[126] The realities of this become apparent when sitting in the Enhanced Pre-Arraignment Screening Unit (PASU) in MDC.[127] We watch as a line of arrested people are taken before the arraignment judge, who determines whether they can be released on their own recognizance, or whether they are remanded with or without bail.[128] Afterwards, we see a line of people, sometimes cuffed, escorted back to the pens where they will wait to be transported to the facilities to await their trial/ for bail to be paid.[129] The line of people returning is always shockingly different from those going before the judge, with far more people of color remanded. This points to the carceral logics that make it possible for the courts' determinations to go unquestioned.

Abolition

As this is an abolitionist project, it is important to define the term, at least provisionally. Abolition is the term that was used to call for the end of the transatlantic slave trade in the

[125] Morin, Karen M. *Carceral Space, Prisoners and Animals.* Milton: Taylor & Francis Group, 2018, 18.
[126] Fieldnotes.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Ibid.

United States.[130] In the 1970s, it was adopted to refer to penal abolition, which has been widely recognized as necessary because of the caveat of the Thirteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution that abolished slavery for everyone except incarcerated people.[131] This constitutional allowance of enslavement for a certain segment of the population has been traced to the practices of convict leasing, state prison farms, and the unpaid or underpaid carceral labor that exists today.[132] Abolitionist scholars have disagreed on the degree to which the linkage between slavery and mass incarceration should be foregrounded.[133] For instance, the link to forced labor is not always present with great variation across location and time.[134] Additionally, for-profit prisons earn profits from the number of bodies they hold captive, shifting the economic calculus.[135]

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[130] Davis, Angela Y. *Abolition democracy: Beyond empire, prisons, and torture*. Seven Stories Press, 2011; Gilmore, Kim. "Slavery and prison—understanding the connections." *Social Justice* 27, no. 3 (81 (2000): 195-205.

[131] The House Joint Resolution proposing the 13th amendment to the Constitution, January 31, 1865; Enrolled Acts and Resolutions of Congress, 1789-1999; General Records of the United States Government; Record Group 11; National Archives.

[132] Alexander, Michelle. (2010). *The new Jim Crow: mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness.* New York: New Press; Seigel, Micol. "Convict Race": Racialization in the Era of Hyperincarceration." *Social Justice* (2014): 31-51.; Weaver, Vesla M. "Frontlash: Race and the development of punitive crime policy." *Studies in American political development* 21, no. 2 (2007): 230-265.

[133] Brewer, Rose M., and Nancy A. Heitzeg. "The racialization of crime and punishment: Criminal justice, color-blind racism, and the political economy of the prison industrial complex." *American Behavioral Scientist* 51, no. 5 (2008): 625-644.; Mathiesen, Thomas. "The abolitionist stance." *Journal of Prisoners on Prisons* 17, no. 2 (2008): 58-63.; Roberts, Dorothy E. "Constructing a criminal justice system free of racial bias: An abolitionist framework." *Colum. Hum. Rts. L. Rev.* 39 (2007).; Sudbury, Julia. "Maroon abolitionists: Black gender-oppressed activists in the anti-prison movement in the US and Canada." *Meridians* 9, no. 1 (2009): 1-29.

[134] Sudbury, Julia. "Maroon abolitionists: Black gender-oppressed activists in the anti-prison movement in the US and Canada." *Meridians* 9, no. 1 (2009): 1-29.

[135] Donahue, John D. *Prisons for Profit: Public Justice, Private Interests*. Economic Policy Institute, 1730 Rhode Island Avenue, NW, Suite 812, Washington, DC 20036, 1988.; Hallett, Michael A. *Private prisons in America: A critical race perspective*. University of Illinois Press, 2006.; Shichor, David. *Punishment for profit: Private prisons/public concerns*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1995.

Despite these disagreements surrounding a focus on labor, the legacy of racism and the logics of carcerality are apparent. Moreover, it is clear that a focus on poverty and economic "fixes" do not address White supremacy.[136] Conversely, if abolition only focuses on race, then intersectionalities (race, class, ethnicity, gender, nationality, immigration status) cannot be addressed.[137] Similarly, it may foreclose the further abolition of forced psychiatric confinement and the confinement of disabled people.[138] While framing abolition only in terms of its analogy to slavery and/ or Jim Crow is not enough, addressing racism remains central.[139]

In the age of mass incarceration, Angela Davis and other scholars and activists have called for an end to the criminal justice system as we know it. This is often referred to as the abolition of the "prison-industrial-complex (PIC)," which draws its lineage from the abolition of slavery.[140] Davis defines abolition as

> a political vision with the goal of eliminating imprisonment, policing, and surveillance and creating lasting alternatives to punishment and imprisonment … Abolition isn't just about getting rid of buildings full of cages. It's also about undoing the society we live in

[136] Davis, Angela Yvonne. *The prison industrial complex*. ReadHowYouWant. com, 1999.; Gordon, Avery F. "Globalism and the prison industrial complex: an interview with Angela Davis." *Race & Class* 40, no. 2-3 (1999): 145-157.
[137] Sudbury, Julia. "Maroon abolitionists: Black gender-oppressed activists in the anti-prison movement in the US and Canada." *Meridians* 9, no. 1 (2009): 1-29.
[138] Appleman, Laura I. "Deviancy, Dependency, and Disability: The Forgotten History of Eugenics and Mass Incarceration." *Duke LJ* 68 (2018): 417.; Davis, Angela Y. *Disability incarcerated: Imprisonment and disability in the United States and Canada*. Springer, 2014.; Dowbiggin, Ian Robert. *Keeping America sane: Psychiatry and eugenics in the United States and Canada, 1880-1940*. Cornell University Press, 1997.
[139] Sudbury, Julia. "Maroon abolitionists: Black gender-oppressed activists in the anti-prison movement in the US and Canada." *Meridians* 9, no. 1 (2009): 1-29.
[140] Davis, Angela Y. *Abolition Democracy: Beyond Empire, Prisons, and Torture*. Seven Stories Press 1st ed. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2005.

> because the PIC both feeds on and maintains oppression and inequalities through punishment, violence, and controls millions of people.[141]

The prison-industrial-complex will be referred to here as the carceral-industrial-complex in order to include jails and what is typically referred to as the prison-industrial-complex.[142] This project aligns itself with abolitionist approaches as it seeks to advance abolitionist science and technology studies.

Abolition stands in contrast to prison reform. Prison reform, which often calls for increased reliance on "biomedical solutions" (e.g. increased access to substance use treatment, trauma-informed care, mental health care, public health monitoring), maintains and solidifies reliance upon correctional institutions.[143] The prison reform movement assumes that prisons will continue to be the cornerstone of the criminal justice system and calls for improvements to conditions.[144] Angela Davis, writing out of her experience with the United States criminal justice system, offers abolition as an alternative. This dissertation project suggests that carceral

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[141] Critical Resistance. "About: Not so common language." *Critical Resistance.* http://criticalresistance.org/about/not-so-common-language/

[142] Davis, Angela Y. *Abolition Democracy: Beyond Empire, Prisons, and Torture.* Seven Stories Press 1st ed. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2005.; Davis, Mike. 1995. "Hell Factories in the Field. (Cover Story)." *Nation* 260 (7): 229.; Morin, K. M. (2018). *Carceral Space, Prisoners and Animals.* Milton: Taylor & Francis Group.

[143] Cloud, David, and Chelsea Davis. "Treatment alternatives to incarceration for people with mental health needs in the criminal justice system: The cost-savings implications." *Vera Institute of Justice* (2013).; Fielding, Jonathan E., Grace Tye, Patrick L. Ogawa, Iraj J. Imam, and Anna M. Long. "Los Angeles County drug court programs: Initial results." *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment* 23, no. 3 (2002): 217-224.; Fisler, Carol. "Building trust and managing risk: A look at a felony mental health court." *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law* 11, no. 4 (2005): 587.; Gottschalk, Marie. "The long reach of the carceral state: The politics of crime, mass imprisonment, and penal reform in the United States and abroad." *Law & Social Inquiry* 34, no. 2 (2009): 439-472.; Kalich, DeAnn M., and Rhonda D. Evans. "Drug court: An effective alternative to incarceration." *Deviant Behavior* 27, no. 6 (2006): 569-590.; Peters, Kimberly A. "Chemical castration: An alternative to incarceration." *Duq. L. Rev.* 31 (1992): 307.; Seltzer, Tammy. "Mental health courts: A misguided attempt to address the criminal justice system's unfair treatment of people with mental illnesses." *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law* 11, no. 4 (2005): 570.

[144] Gottschalk, Marie. "The long reach of the carceral state: The politics of crime, mass imprisonment, and penal reform in the United States and abroad." *Law & Social Inquiry* 34, no. 2 (2009): 439-472.

abolition not only requires an undoing of correctional institutions, but also of the knowledge and socio-political structures that maintain them. The intake process points to these epistemologies and the ways they are (re)inscribed into/ onto bodies (e.g. through categorization, datafication, assignations of risks).

Data

This research project made it possible to engage with the specific carceral data assemblages of intake. It made apparent that data generation is a core function of intake.

> Data are commonly understood to be the raw material produced by abstracting the world into categories, measures, and other representational forms … that constitute the building blocks from which information and knowledge are created.[145]

In this project, data were understood to be representations of aspects of the carceral body and data collection was read as a set of social and political practices, including the ones I employed.[146]

Data has come to be characterized by the binary – big and small.[147] This divide has been challenged by many scholars.[148] During my data collection in which I took notes with as much

[145] Kitchin, Rob. 2014. *The Data Revolution : Big Data, Open Data, Data Infrastructures and Their Consequences*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2.
[146] Bowker, G.C. (2000) "Biodiversity Data Diversity." Social Studies of Science 30(5), pp. 643-683.; Lisa Gitelman, Virginia Jackson, Daniel Rosenberg, Travis D. Williams, Kevin R. Brine, Mary Poovey, Matthew Stanley, et al. 2013. *"Raw Data" Is an Oxymoron*. Infrastructures. MIT Press; Schuurman, Nadine. 2008. " Database Ethnographies Using Social Science Methodologies to Enhance Data Analysis and Interpretation" *Geography Compass* Volume: 2 Issue 5.
[147] Iliadis, Andrew, and Federica Russo. "Critical data studies: An introduction." Big Data & Society 3, no. 2 (2016):1-7; Kitchin, Rob. "Big Data, new epistemologies and paradigm shifts." *Big data & society* 1, no. 1 (2014):1-12; Kitchin, Rob, and Tracey P. Lauriault. "Small data in the era of big data." *GeoJournal* 80, no. 4 (2015): 463-475.; Rieder, Gernot, and Judith Simon. "Datatrust: Or, the political quest for numerical evidence and the epistemologies of Big Data." *Big Data & Society* 3, no. 1 (2016): 1-6.
[148] Kitchin, Rob. 2014. *The Data Revolution : Big Data, Open Data, Data Infrastructures and Their Consequences*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, Chapter 2.

detail and description as possible, I was keenly aware of its juxtaposition with the datafication of the incarcerated person going through the intake process through which digital traces were documented in preparation for population-level analysis with its predictive modeling.

Categorization

Scholars of mass incarceration have noted a push towards the categorization and digitalization (i.e. the conversion or entry of data in an electronic form) of carceral bodies by corrections and correctional health administrations in the United States.[149] It has been noted that

> penal policy has seen a broad shift away from interest on 'rehabilitating' individual offenders, towards methods of categorizing them according to their 'level of risk' and the development of strategies – including surveillance, curfews, and preventive prison sentences – to manage that risk.[150]

The New York City jail system exemplifies this push toward particular kinds of scientific and technological taxonomies. Additionally, across this research, the electronic systems calcified what questions were asked, how they were asked, and how responses were coded or documented (e.g. binary, categorical, numeric).[151]

[149] Lopez-Aguado, Patrick. "The collateral consequences of prisonization: Racial sorting, carceral identity, and community criminalization." *Sociology Compass* 10, no. 1 (2016): 12-23.; Meiners, Erica R. "Trouble with the child in the carceral state." *Social Justice* 41, no. 3 (137 (2015): 120-144.; Murakawa, Naomi. "The origins of the carceral crisis: Racial order as "law and order" in postwar American politics." In *Race and American political development*, pp. 245-266. Routledge, 2012; Weaver, Vesla M., and Amy E. Lerman. "Political consequences of the carceral state." *American Political Science Review* 104, no. 4 (2010): 817-833.

[150] King, Roy D., and Emma Wincup. *Doing Research on Crime and Justice.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 123.

[151] Schuurman, Nadine. 2008. "Database Ethnographies Using Social Science Methodologies to Enhance Data Analysis and Interpretation" *Geography Compass* Volume: 2 Issue 5.

The approach to categorization taken here draws from Bowker and Star's assertion that "[a]ssigning things, people, or their actions to categories is a ubiquitous part of work in the modern, bureaucratic state."[152] This dissertation project highlights the specialized work it takes to maintain the categories, which are read as "historical and political artifacts." [153] Given that this project engages with the enactment of carceral bodies, it becomes immediately apparent that categorization and classification are not merely symbolic or abstract, but are also material and embodied. [154]

Databases, or digital data troves, have been described as demonstrating panoptic sensibilities, due to the openness of cells of data to their surveillors.[155] In the context of carceral data, this panopticism is multiplied as it transverses the analog and digital, making carceral bodies open to multiple surveillances.[156] The push for the amassment of data has arisen out of the promise of prediction and prevention. Predictive models have been offered as a way to project futurities based on different factors and conditions. In this regard, there is an imperative to subject carceral data to particular statistical models.

Database

The data of intake is entered into a series of electronic record systems (e.g. police, health, corrections, and pharmacy). Despite the front-end appearance of the electronic

[152] Bowker, Geoffrey C., and Susan Leigh Star. 1999. *Sorting Things Out : Classification and Its Consequences*. Inside Technology. Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 285.
[153] Ibid.
[154] Ibid.
[155] Bowker, G.C. (2000) "Biodiversity Data Diversity." Social Studies of Science 30(5), pp. 643-683.
[156] Browne, Simone. 2015. *Dark Matters : On the Surveillance of Blackness*. Durham: Duke University Press Books.

systems, information is collated into grid-like databases. The term database refers to information stored, in this case in a tabular, electronic format.[157] It has been noted that increasingly the database has become an end in and of itself.[158] Moreover, its very structure makes it possible to construct certain arguments while occluding others, thereby upholding certain politics.[159] This project addresses the complexity of carceral digital infrastructures, which are defined as "the institutional, physical and digital means for storing sharing and consuming data across networked technologies."[160] These infrastructures also control the movement of data, often restricting its ability to travel between and across departments and divisions. The database is also expected to maintain data over time so that it is perpetually open to new analyses, an imagined digital memory bank.[161]

Tacit Knowledge

Further, data fitted into the neat rows and columns of databases has the potential to obscure the ways in which it was made, thereby masking the role of tacit knowledges. Here, the approach to tacit knowledge drew from Schurrman and Collins.[162] Across intake, tacit

[157] Bowker, G.C. (2000) "Biodiversity Data Diversity." Social Studies of Science 30(5), pp. 643-683.
[158] Bigo, Didier, Engin F. Isin, and Evelyn Sharon Ruppert. 2019. *Data Politics : Worlds, Subjects, Rights*. Routledge Studies in International Political Sociology. London: Routledge; Kitchin, Rob. 2014. *The Data Revolution : Big Data, Open Data, Data Infrastructures and Their Consequences*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd..; Lake, Robert W. 2017. "Big Data, Urban Governance, and the Ontological Politics of Hyperindividualism." *Big Data & Society*.
[159] Ruppert, Evelyn, Engin Isin, and Didier Bigo. "Data politics." *Big Data & Society* 4, no. 2 (2017): 205; Bigo, Didier, Engin Isin, and Evelyn Ruppert, eds. *Data Politics: Worlds, Subjects, Rights*. Routledge, 2019.
[160] Kitchin, Rob. 2014. *The Data Revolution : Big Data, Open Data, Data Infrastructures and Their Consequences*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 6.
[161] Schuurman, Nadine. "Database ethnographies using social science methodologies to enhance data analysis and interpretation." *Geography Compass* 2, no. 5 (2008): 1529-1548.
[162] Collins, H. M. 2010. *Tacit and Explicit Knowledge*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Schuurman, Nadine. 2008. " Database Ethnographies Using Social Science Methodologies to Enhance Data Analysis

knowledge is revealed as multiple and contingent, however; it is primarily comprised of knowledge that is hard to describe in language (e.g. how the lymph nodes are *supposed* to feel), knowledge passed on through doing (e.g. finding a vein in someone who is severely dehydrated and injects drugs), and knowledge that is secret or not *politically correct* (e.g. assumption that incarcerated people are manipulative and "gaming the system," steps to take when "sharps counts" are off).[163] These forms of tacit knowledge are evident in the staff trainings in which new staff are *told* to look for signs of *urgency* and *distress* requiring a higher level of care. Tacit knowledge across jail intake is embodied and sensory, just as it is tethered to particular carceral imaginaries. While there has been considerable attention paid to the role of tacit knowledge in the ascription of medical diagnoses, there has been little, or no, research addressing it in corrections.[164]

Algorithm

As this project draws out multiplicities, it complicates the perception of neat, mathematical algorithms of intake. Algorithms are typically defined as a set of rules aimed at attaining a particular conclusion or end.[165] While algorithms are often envisioned as being digital and abstract, the medical intake cubicles alone demonstrated this was not the case. In nearly every provider's cubicle there were reminders of steps to take for chronic health conditions. Even the medical part of intake was made into a series of algorithms. These

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and Interpretation" *Geography Compass* Volume: 2 Issue 5.
[163] Ibid.; Fieldnotes.
[164] Star, Susan Leigh, and Geoffrey C. Bowker. 1997. "Of Lungs and Lungers: The Classified Story of Tuberculosis." *Mind, Culture & Activity* 4 (1): 3–23.
[165] Neyland, Daniel. "On organizing algorithms." *Theory, Culture & Society* 32, no. 1 (2015): 119-132.

algorithms address determinations of health status, medication dosage, expediting and classification. This demonstrates that much of the data of intake is produced in such a way that it will be open to algorithms arched towards particular ends.

Berry suggests that the internalization of algorithms, despite their digital imaginary, "shape and mediate our direct experience."[166] In the context of intake this is true not only for the incarcerated person, who becomes subject to certain tests, medication dosages, and classifications, but shapes the lenses through which health care and corrections professionals evaluate bodies.[167] The algorithms of intake aim for standardization and become codified in policies.[168] In turn, compliance monitoring and data analysis add algorithms that assess the data arrived at through other intake algorithms.

Given the explosion of computing power and the immense troves of data, algorithms have become increasingly complex and impenetrable. For instance, in the City of New York Correction Department's Compliance and Safety Center (CASC) engages the services of Genetec for surveillance camera footage storage and analysis using proprietary algorithms designed to identify images that are *suggestive* of *violence* or *furtive* movement.[169] These are not algorithms

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[166] Berry, David. (2019). "Against Infrasomatization: Towards a critical theory of algorithms." in Bigo, Didier, Engin F. Isin, and Evelyn Sharon Ruppert. Eds. *Data Politics : Worlds, Subjects, Rights*. Routledge Studies in International Political Sociology. London: Routledge, 44.; Totaro, Paolo, and Domenico Ninno. "The concept of algorithm as an interpretative key of modern rationality." *Theory, Culture & Society* 31, no. 4 (2014): 29-49.

[167] Ruppert, Evelyn, John Law, and Mike Savage. "Reassembling social science methods: The challenge of digital devices." *Theory, culture & society* 30, no. 4 (2013): 22-46.

[168] Bigo, Didier, Engin F. Isin, and Evelyn Sharon Ruppert. 2019. *Data Politics : Worlds, Subjects, Rights*. Routledge Studies in International Political Sociology. London: Routledge.

[169] Du, Alice See Kee. (2019). "You Will Never See Them Coming." The Official Newsletter of the New York City Department of Correction Bold Print January-February, 2019. https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/doc/downloads/pdf/BoldPrint_JAN_FEB_022619.pdf; Genetec, "Public Safety: Secure your changing environment." *Genetec*. Last retrieved January 1, 2020. https://www.genetec.com/solutions/industries/public-safety.

I am privy to, but even as I write this, I think back to my previous role analyzing jail data for the New York City Department of Health and Mental Hygiene (DOHMH), years ago in which I too generated algorithms. I wrote code that was a series of *If, Then* statements. I transformed instances of reported injuries into neatly manipulatable categories and numbers with particular evaluative ends.

Technocarceralism

Just as there has been a broader societal shift towards increasingly complex technological systems and the amassment of vast quantities of data, this is mirrored in the jails. I have elected to use the term technocarceralism to refer to the technological assemblages pervasive in the New York City jails and grounds. Technocarceralism includes the digital data infrastructures, monitoring devices (e.g. surveillance cameras, RFID identification bracelets), counts, housing area logs, transportation information systems, drug tests, biometric data collection devices, stun shields, surveillance algorithms, etc. The application of science and technology studies approaches to technocarceralism offers great promise for enriching understandings by drawing out the carcerality built into such technologies and attendant technologies.

Together, these definitions lend insight into the medicalization and criminalization that inform enactments of carceral bodies. While there are significant distinctions between these frameworks, they arise out of and collaborate in ways that will be drawn out across this

manuscript.[170] The following section provides a broad overview of the chapters that engage these concepts.

Overview of Chapters

This dissertation begins by delineating the theories and methods adopted and applied. It goes on to trace the enactment of carceral bodies as data, spatialities, and temporalities. To start, chapter two provides a literature review covering the history of theories used to approach the study of "criminal man" (i.e. criminology, and biocriminology in particular). It demonstrates how ontological multiplicities and the application of critical phenomenology are well positioned to resist these monistic frameworks. Chapter two then goes on to list and summarize the theories that were influential in formulating and conducting this project.

Chapter three addresses methodologies. This research project primarily relied upon ethnography and interviews, with a particular focus on enactment and materialities. To date, the vast majority of criminal justice research has been quantitative, which makes this an important contribution. There is, however; precedent for prison ethnography, which is detailed in the history of prison ethnography provided, which is largely contrasted with this project. These methods are demonstrated to be well-suited to answering the core research questions, while offering an early attempt at abolitionist science and technology studies research practices.

Chapter four takes the datafication of the carceral body as its object of study. It addresses the use of electronic record systems by corrections (Rikers Island Information System) and

[170] Mol, Annemarie. *The body multiple: Ontology in medical practice*. Duke University Press, 2002.

health care staff (eClinical Works).[171] This chapter addresses key facets: data and databases, algorithms, boundary objects, and knowledge production through publication. In drawing out carceral bodies of data with certain anticipated risks it becomes possible to see the spatiotemporal implications of such calculations, which emphasizes the role of documentation and the numerous assessments of clinical and correctional risk.

Chapter five addresses the spatialities of carceral bodies across the intake process by integrating science and technology studies and carceral geography. This chapter opens with a broad introduction to carceral geography and draws out its implications for boundaries, mobilities, animalizations, materialities, and digitalization. Engaging with intake demonstrates the ways in which the spaces themselves are punishing and induce guilty pleas, regardless of *actual* culpability.[172]

The temporalities of carceral bodies are the subject of chapter six. This chapter addresses the carceral bodies connected to the specific temporalities of anticipation, routinization, waiting, knowledge, memory, and haunting. It is across these domains that this section connects to conceptualizations of racial time, which provide the footing for calls for abolition.[173]

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[171] Fieldnotes.

[172] Martin, Lauren L., and Matthew L. Mitchelson. "Geographies of detention and imprisonment: Interrogating spatial practices of confinement, discipline, law, and state power." *Geography Compass* 3, no. 1 (2009): 459-477.; Moran, Dominique. "Carceral geography and the spatialities of prison visiting: visitation, recidivism, and hyperincarceration." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 31, no. 1 (2013): 174-190.

[173] Brendese, P.J. 2014. *The Power of Memory in Democratic Politics.* University of Rochester Press; Hanchard, Michael. 1999. "Afro-Modernity: Temporality, Politics, and the African Diaspora." *Public Culture* 11 (1): 245-268.; Hanchard, Michael George. 1998. *Orpheus and Power : The "Movimento Negro" of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, Brazil 1945-1988*. PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY: Princeton University Press; Hanchard, Michael George. 2018. *The Spectre of Race : How Discrimination Haunts Western Democracy*. Princeton University Press.

The final chapter reviews the findings of this project and calls for further scholarly engagement in abolitionist Science and Technology Studies. Given that this is an early attempt at empirical abolitionist Science and Technology Studies research, there is still a great deal of work needed. Research into "mass incarceration" takes on unique ethical and moral valences given the disparities between those who are incarcerated and those who are not.

This dissertation project illustrates the ways carceral bodies both exceed and defy the narrow ways they are produced within and by intake, thereby suggesting they are never ontologically or biologically circumscribed *criminals*. Such a perspective has important implications for assumptions about individual responsibility and intent, as well as for the ways we impute *criminality* onto individual biology or psychology.

Chapter 2 Theory

Introduction

The man brings his urine in a clear, labeled cup with a green lid. I show him where to put it. The urine test holds great power; it determines detoxification medication (e.g. methadone, suboxone, Librium) and guides the questions asked. Here, urine is a commodity. It makes one "dirty" or "clean," with medication-assistance, which can be used as a form of currency, contingent upon its results.[174] The colors on the urine test strip inform one's housing area, program eligibility, health acuity, and the type of "inmate" / "patient" one *is*.[175]

The man places his urine on the counter, he is body moving stiffly when the patient care assistant tells him to sit down and cuff himself to the wall. She points to a handcuff attached to a fixed metal handle. The patient care assistant is searching the "intake console" of the electronic health record (EHR) system, only to find he is not there.[176] In this moment, the man is there and not there, he is only present in the digital health record from his previous arrests, followed by nothingness. Yet, I am talking to him. He is both material and immaterial.[177]

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[174] "Diversion" of these medications holds a great price in the hidden correctional economy. For instance, methadone may be traded for a large amount of commissary items.

[175] It should be noted that this really just determines whether one is housed in "detoxification housing" areas and/or whether they might qualify preliminarily for drug program housing. A great number of other considerations are taken into account for housing, primarily related to City of New York Department of Correction.

[176] In this moment I also take an active role as I watch the man across from me, shivering and sick, and realize that I can show the patient care assistant how to expand the search date of the intake console in order to increase the chances of her finding the patient. However, this does not work in this case as he is not in the intake console at all.

[177] Callon, Michel, and John Law. "Introduction: Absence—presence, circulation, and encountering in complex space." (2004): 3-11.; Crewe, Ben, Alison Liebling, and Susie Hulley. "Heavy–light, absent–present: rethinking the 'weight' of imprisonment." *The British Journal of Sociology* 65, no. 3 (2014): 387-410.; Scholl, Sebastian, Matthias Lahr-Kurten, and Marc Redepenning. "Considering the role of presence

I make small talk as the patient care assistant dips the drug test strip in his urine and returns to the EHR, unsure how to proceed. The EHR remains in the background, a part of a series of well-trodden steps that are unremarkable until there is problem. While the man looks on, the intake corrections officer steps in, and the patient care assistant tells him "the patient isn't here."[178] The corrections officer says that the man has to be there because he is in their system and there were labels for him (one of which is wrapped around the urine cup). The incarcerated man, who is "not here," and I continue to talk. His physical presence, the urine on the counter, the label on the cup, and the reading on the test strip are evidence of the fact that he is, indeed, "here," despite his absence in the EHR intake console.

The corrections officer and patient care assistant go back and forth while the cuffed man waits and watches, a body deprived of things it depends upon (sleep, food, fluids, alcohol, and opioids). The digital impasse is eventually resolved through a workaround, but it marked a moment of the in-between, where the carceral body was visibly present and absent simultaneously – a body flesh and digital at once. Through the confusion, time makes itself known in the discomfort of worsening withdrawal symptoms, symptoms that remind the incarcerated man he is here even if the patient care assistant "can't find him.[179]

How can a body be here and not? Present and absent?[180] In a cup, chained to a wall, on a label, and in a database, while also "not here?" This chapter offers a theoretical framework to

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and absence in space constructions. Ethnography as methodology in human geography." *Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung* (2014): 51-67.

[178] Fieldnotes.

[179] Ibid.

[180] Callon, Michel, and John Law. "Introduction: Absence—presence, circulation, and encountering in complex space." (2004): 3-11.; Callon, M., J. Law, and J. Urry. "Absent presence: localities, globalities and

engage the "body multiple"[181] by blending ontological approaches with critical phenomenology. This approach shows how the practices described here—searching, finding, measuring, labeling, talking, withdrawing, etc.—together produce a dynamic body/ mind multiple.[182] The purpose is to counteract ideas that *criminals* are either solely an effect of social phenomena or are *born*. Against these theories, I argue that those whose bodies and minds have been labeled *criminal*, and thus *in need* of incarceration, are produced through the practices of everyday life. The carceral body is an accomplishment of the relations within which it is embedded.

Literature Review

In this chapter, I outline the ways "criminal bodies" have been understood through the history of science of criminology, and biocriminology in particular. I show how this science is built on the idea of an ontologically singular "criminal man" whose criminality is read into and off of "his body."[183] I then turn to critical studies of incarceration. While helpful for showing how social factors produce the idea of "criminal man," these accounts reproduce an ontological monism that assumes a coherent and essentialized "criminal."[184] In the final part of the chapter, I show how feminist science studies approaches that integrate ontological and critical phenomenological theories so as to offer an intervention in "criminal man." Through such

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methods." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 22, no. 1 (2004): 3-11.; Neyland, Daniel. "On organizing algorithms." *Theory, Culture & Society* 32, no. 1 (2015): 119-132.

[181] Annemarie Mol, 2002. *The body multiple: Ontology in medical practice*. Durham: Duke University Press.

[182] Callon, Michel, and John Law. "Introduction: Absence—presence, circulation, and encountering in complex space." (2004): 3-11.; Callon, M., J. Law, and J. Urry. "Absent presence: localities, globalities and methods." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 22, no. 1 (2004): 3-11.; Neyland, Daniel. "On organizing algorithms." *Theory, Culture & Society* 32, no. 1 (2015): 119-132.

[183] Rafter, Nicole Hahn. *The Origins of Criminology : A Reader*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge-Cavendish, 2009.

[184] Covey, Russell D. "Criminal Madness: Cultural Iconography and Insanity." *Stan. L. Rev.* 61 (2008): 1375.; Wachspress, Megan. "Pirates, Highwaymen, and the Origins of the Criminal in Seventeenth-Century English Thought." *Yale JL & Human.* 26 (2014): 301.

approaches, “criminal man” is not as an ontological essence, but a multiplicity enacted in and through everyday practices. Together, Karen Barad, Annemarie Mol, and Lisa Guenther’s theories make it possible to theorize the carceral body multiple, to interrupt the empirical, quantitative approaches of criminology and biomedicine.

In undertaking a history of criminology and biocriminology, it is important to acknowledge the complexity and contradictions that characterize its theoretical frameworks. Here, the intention is to foreground the significant philosophical move of theorizing the *carceral body* as an intervention into the essentialist framework of “criminal man” refers to a spectral figure arising out of criminology and biomedicine.

The monistic “criminal man” demands certain forms of disciplining. Ontological monism refers to the philosophical approach that understands objects, or beings, as single and therefore knowable through certain analytic tactics.[185] For instance, the use of predictive technologies to determine a person’s *risk* of violence assumes that there is an inborn, knowable level of violence. Further, its individualization occludes complex relationalities, societal structures and infrastructures.

When existence is thought to be unitary, it serves as the premise for the perfectibility of analytic approach that calcifies around *best practices*.[186] In the case of intake, the medical and corrections processes use *evidence-based* assessments to come to enact the incarcerated person’s health and *criminal* characteristics. Such knowledge is only possible when there is faith in the unitary, stable reality of an *object*. Ontological monism as a framework for understanding

[185] Drake, Durant. "What Is a Mind? Ontological Pluralism versus Ontological Monism." *Mind*, New Series, 35, no. 138 (1926): 230-36.
[186] Ibid.

criminal man is essentializing as quantitative analyses of "big data" makes the *criminal* it seeks.[187] It is because of the ontologically monistic impulse that both health and criminal justice fields approach criminality by analyzing shared variables to identify statistical relationships often presented as causal. *Criminal man* demonstrated here to be multiple and enacted through everyday practice.

Criminology

Criminology, as the science of crime and "criminal man," only entered common parlance in the late 1800s.[188] Criminology is a field that sets out to theorize crime and criminality. [189] It is an extremely broad field with subspecialties that range from the structural (e.g. convict criminology, queer criminology and critical criminology) to the individual (e.g. biocriminology, biosocial theories and psychological) to the social (e.g. conflict theories, social ecology).[190]

Criminology is overwhelmingly a positivist science of man, which is reflected both in its founding and across its history. Metrics about the body and mind have been used to conceptualize, communicate, and define *criminal man* across time and space.[191] These quantitative measures have changed over time, but the impetus to read criminality off of and onto bodies has remained. When approaching the science and techniques of the criminal

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[187] Brayne, Sarah. "Big data surveillance: The case of policing." *American sociological review* 82, no. 5 (2017): 977-1008.; Ferguson, Andrew G. 2017. *The Rise of Big Data Policing : Surveillance, Race, and the Future of Law Enforcement*. New York University Press.

[188]Rafter, Nicole. 2008. *Constitutional Theory: Bodytypes and Criminality*. New York: NYU Press.; Rafter, Nicole. 2004. "Criminology Earnest A. Hooton and the Biological Tradition in American Criminology." *Criminology* 42 (3): 735–72.; Rafter, Nicole. 2004. "Criminology The Unrepentant Horse-Slasher: Moral Insanity and the Origins of Criminological Thought." *Criminology* 42 (4): 979–1008.; Rafter, Nicole Hahn. *The Origins of Criminology : A Reader*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge-Cavendish, 2009.;
Rafter, Nicole Hahn, Chad Posick, and Michael Rocque. 2016. *The Criminal Brain, Second Edition : Understanding Biological Theories of Crime*. Vol. Second edition. New York: NYU Press.

[189] Ibid.

[190] Ibid.

[191] Ibid.

justice system, it becomes clear that crime and "the criminal" are shaped by broader forces - social, political, economic, medical, epistemic, legal, and cultural.[192] The *sciences of man* addressed here include criminology, penology, and correctional biomedicine.[193]

The origins of criminology are typically traced to Cesare Beccaria's 1764 text *Dei Delitti e Delle Pene*, which laid the groundwork for the field through its delineation of probabilism and associationism.[194] Beccaria is central to classical criminology, which is characterized by the understanding of *man*, and therefore *the criminal*, as rational and calculating. The result of this was harsher punishments that would be worse than the benefits of committing the crime. The "penal calculus" that arose from *Dei Delitti e Delle Pene* not only sought to change the criminal justice system, but also called for the prevention of crime through the identification of those who were *likely* to commit crimes. This approach led to the concept of a *pre-crime criminal*.[195]

The way that classical criminologists read Beccaria largely ignored his inclusion of social inequalities as causal factors that required institutional and structural reform.[196] Classical approaches to crime and criminality, instead, relied upon the notion of the wholeness and individualization of people who are, by nature, rational. Beccaria is the progenitor of criminology because he found its object – *the criminal*.

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[192] Ibid.
[193] Ibid.
[194] Beccaria, Cesare, Graeme R Newman, and Pietro Marongiu. *On Crimes and Punishments.* 5th ed. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2009.; Beirne, Piers. *Inventing Criminology : Essays on the Rise of Homo Criminalis*. SUNY Series in Deviance and Social Control. Albany : State University of New York Press, c1993., 1993.; Beirne, Piers. 1991. "Inventing Criminology: The 'Science of Man' in Cesare Beccaria's Dei Delittie Delle Pene (1764)." *Criminology* 29 (4): 777–820.
[195] Beirne, Piers. *Inventing Criminology : Essays on the Rise of Homo Criminalis*. SUNY Series in Deviance and Social Control. Albany : State University of New York Press, c1993., 1993.;
Beirne, Piers. 1991. "Inventing Criminology: The 'Science of Man' in Cesare Beccaria's Dei Delittie Delle Pene (1764)." *Criminology* 29 (4): 777–820.
[196] Vold, George B., and Thomas J Bernard. *Theoretical Criminology.* 3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986, 29.

When it became apparent that institutions "failed to normalize the dangerous classes" in early nineteenth century Europe, grounds were laid for the positivist movement.[197] Beginning in the 1820's, Adolphe Quetelet undertook longitudinal data collection and demographic analysis.[198] Quetelet applied statistics to humans in search of underlying "social facts."[199] This application of statistics, rooted in normal distribution (i.e. the bell curve), made an "average man" from which certain embodied characteristics (e.g. sex, education, economic status, and age) could be associated with *criminality*.[200]

It was through statistical analyses that Quetelet discovered statistical associations between crime and certain measurements of the body (e.g. phrenological features). [201] Although critics would accuse Quetelet of determinism, he and the "moral statisticians" argued that it was not that *criminal man* lacked free will, but rather that population crime rates are constant and therefore a segment of the population must be *criminal*. This made crime rates known, revealing of the propensity (i.e. risk) for crime within certain bodies. [202] They further refuted accusations of determinism by suggesting that criminality was not inborn destiny and that

[197] Beirne, Piers. *Inventing Criminology : Essays on the Rise of Homo Criminalis*. SUNY Series in Deviance and Social Control. Albany : State University of New York Press, c1993., 1993.
[198] Ibid., 96.; Anselin et al., 216.; Quetelet, Adolphe. *Adolphe Quetelet's Research on the Propensity for Crime at Different Ages*. Anderson Publishing Company, 1984.; Mike Maguire, Rod Morgan, and Robert Reiner. *The Oxford handbook of criminology*. Oxford University Press, 2012.
[199] Beirne, Piers. *Inventing Criminology : Essays on the Rise of Homo Criminalis*. SUNY Series in Deviance and Social Control. Albany : State University of New York Press, c1993., 1993, 70.
[200] Ibid.; Gould, Stephen Jay. *The Mismeasure of Man*. New York : Norton, c1996., 1996.
[201] Ibid.
[202] Beirne, Piers. *Inventing Criminology : Essays on the Rise of Homo Criminalis*. SUNY Series in Deviance and Social Control. Albany : State University of New York Press, c1993, 155-156.

society and legislation were important.[203] Although socially produced, *the criminal* theorized here remains ontologically monistic.

Despite arguments to the contrary, the logics advanced by the "moral statisticians" established the pathological, *criminal body* as statistically *deviant* from the "normal body."[204] This justified the amassment of large amounts of quantitative data so that knowledge could be produced through its analysis. Quetelet's focus on demographic and categorical data and the application of statistics to populations remains the nucleus of criminology today.

Quetelet was followed by early social cartographers, who built upon Dupin's 1826 charting of demographic data on a choropleth map. Their work correlated human characteristics with particular spaces.[205] This was made possible with the centralized crime reporting beginning in France in 1825.[206] Adriano Balbi and Andre-Michel Guerry Dupin's theories built upon this by mapping a range of human characteristics, including crime.[207]

Crime mapping integrated Quetelet's statistical frameworks with Dupin's choropleth mapping, which were interpreted through lenses of Enlightenment and nationalism.[208] The

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[203] Ibid., 156.; Dupin, Charles, *Effets De L'enseignement Populaire De La Lecture, De L'écriture Et De L'arithmétique, De La Géometrie Et De La Méchanique Appliquées Aux Arts, Sur Les Prospérités De La France: Discours Prononcé Dans La Séance D'ouverture Du Cours Normal De Géométrie Et De Méchanique Appliquées, Le 30 Novembre 1826, Au Conservatoire Des Arts Et Métiers.* Paris: Bachelier, 1826.; Dupin, Charles, *Forces Productives Et Commerciales De La France.* Paris: Bachelier, 1827.
[204] Beirne, Piers. *Inventing Criminology : Essays on the Rise of Homo Criminalis*. SUNY Series in Deviance and Social Control. Albany : State University of New York Press, c1993., 1993.
[205] Gyuris, Ferenc. "A Contextual Analysis of the Emergence of Spatial Disparity Research." In *The Political Discourse of Spatial Disparities*, Springer, 2014, 96.
[206] Friendly, Michael. "A.-M. Guerry's" Moral Statistics of France": Challenges for Multivariable Spatial Analysis." *Statistical Science* (2007): 368-399.
[207] André-Michel Guerry, *A Translation of Andre-Michel Guerry's Essay on the Moral Statistics of France (1883): a sociological report to the French Academy of Science*. Vol. 26. Edwin Mellen Press, 2002: ix-xiii.
[208] Friendly, Michael "A.M. Guerry's" Moral Statistics of France": Challenges for Multivariable Spatial Analysis." *Statistical Science* (2007): 368-399.; Gyuris, Ferenc. "A Contextual Analysis of the Emergence of Spatial Disparity Research." In *The Political Discourse of Spatial Disparities*, Springer, 2014, 93-102.

mapping of social physics was rooted in the belief that human actions were governed by social laws that paralleled the physics of the natural world.[209] Quetelet's approach to social physics suggested that human social actions accorded with natural law, which could be understood through social statistics.[210] Social physics applied the bell curve, or normal distribution curve, to humans and their behaviors, including the commission of crime.[211] The human ecologists, who acknowledged the potential for geographic features to influence social interactions, would later expound upon this model. From Quetelet to the human ecologists, statistical approaches to crime were necessarily ontologically monistic as they were rooted in a faith in natural laws that were decipherable by man through analysis of populations. Human ecology relies upon carceral bodies in space that comprise populations. This made criminal man a natural phenomenon open to certain forms of analysis and representation of their deviance (which was both statistical and moral).[212] In this regard, even when populations were the subject of statistical calculations, it was specific bodies in specific places that were acted upon.

The next wave of criminology is broadly characterized as criminal anthropology, a field through which the measurable body came to be understood as the site of criminality. [213] For instance, biological positivists theorized that high rates of recidivism were proof of the

[209] Friendly, Michael "A.M. Guerry's" Moral Statistics of France": Challenges for Multivariable Spatial Analysis." *Statistical Science* (2007): 368-399.
[210] Beirne, Piers. "Adolphe Quetelet and the origins of positivist criminology." *American Journal of Sociology* 92, no. 5 (1987): 1140-1169.; Grue, Lars, and Arvid Heiberg. "Notes on the history of normality–reflections on the work of Quetelet and Galton." *Scandinavian Journal of Disability Research* 8, no. 4 (2006): 232-246.; Porter, Theodore M. "From Quetelet to Maxwell: Social statistics and the origins of statistical physics." In *The natural sciences and the social sciences*, pp. 345-362. Springer, Dordrecht, 1994.; Porter, Theodore M. "The mathematics of society: variation and error in Quetelet's Statistics." *The British Journal for the History of Science* 18, no. 1 (1985): 51-69.
[211] Ibid.
[212] Ibid.
[213] Vold, George B., and Thomas J Bernard. *Theoretical Criminology.* 3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

existence of "born criminals," who, together, comprised the "dangerous class." [214] Cesare Lombroso, perhaps the most well-known criminal anthropologist, undertook an extensive anthropometric study involving six corpses of formerly incarcerated people, 832 people convicted of crimes, ninety "lunatics," and 868 soldiers.[215] In his extensive writings, Lombroso noted numerous physical differences that supported his claims that "born criminals" and "lunatics" were related to "the American black" and therefore to "prehistoric man."[216] Lombroso's brand of "scientific racism" is reflected in the theories of race and crime today.[217]

Criminal anthropology averred that "moral atavism" was the root cause of criminality and was evident in physiological differences. The construct of the "born criminal" is most problematic when considering the givenness and immutability of this assignation, which means that the only response to crime/ criminality is the permanent removal of *criminal man* from society or their subjection to potentially harmful or even fatal medical treatments.[218] This approach makes *criminal man* knowable through visual assessments of deviance, revealing a scientized racism. For instance, in the 1939 Hooten explained that the higher rates of crime

[214] Beirne, Piers. *Inventing Criminology : Essays on the Rise of Homo Criminalis*. SUNY Series in Deviance and Social Control. Albany : State University of New York Press, c1993., 1993.
[215] Jones, David Arthur, *History of Criminology: A Philosophical Perspective.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1986.; Lombroso, Cesare, Mary Gibson, and Nicole Hahn Rafter. *Criminal Man.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006.; Lombroso, Cesare, and Henry P Horton. *Crime, Its Causes and Remedies.* Boston: Little, Brown, and company, 1918.
[216] Beirne, Piers. *Inventing Criminology : Essays on the Rise of Homo Criminalis*. SUNY Series in Deviance and Social Control. Albany : State University of New York Press, c1993., 1993, 148.
[217] Rollins, Oliver. "Risky Bodies: Race and the science of crime and violence" in Ed. Rajack-Talley, Theresa Ann, and Derrick R. Brooms. *Living Racism: Through the Barrel of the Book.* Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2018.
[218] Conrad, Peter, and Joseph W. Schneider. 1992. *Deviance and Medicalization : From Badness to Sickness*. Philadelphia : Temple University Press, [1992].

among African Americans were due to their biological and heritable inferiority.[219]

On largely social psychological grounds, Gabriel Tarde opposed Cesare Lombroso and the biological positivism of the criminal anthropologists.[220] Associated with early neo-classical criminology and sociopsychological theories, Tarde sought to explain the high rates of recidivism observed outside of the normal/ pathological binary of the biological *criminal man*.[221] He refuted Lombroso's reliance on statistical associations to formulate conceptualizations of inherited criminality and highlighted the contradictory findings of other criminal anthropologists attempting to replicate his findings.[222] Tarde went on to question whether *moral atavism* was the cause or effect of crime. [223] In his theory of repetition, Tarde posited crime as arising from imitation, customs, and the unconscious.[224] This resisted notions that significant deviations from the norm must be interpreted as either pathological or criminal. Instead, for Tarde, criminality is socially heritable. This opened habits and customs to quantitative and ontologically monistic criminological study. For instance, Tarde became "the head of the French Justice Department's Bureau of Statistics," demonstrating the continued acceptance of government-collected statistics to provide insight into criminal man.[225] This wave

[219] Hooton, Earnest Albert, and Harvard University. Faculty of Arts and Sciences. Division of anthropology. 1939. "The American Criminal."
[220] Beirne, Piers. *Inventing Criminology : Essays on the Rise of Homo Criminalis*. SUNY Series in Deviance and Social Control. Albany : State University of New York Press, c1993., 1993.
[221] Tarde, Gabriel. *Les Lois Sociales: Esquisse D'une Sociologie.* Paris: BnF-P, 2016.; Tarde, Gabriel de, and Rapelje Howell. *Penal Philosophy.* Boston: Little, Brown, and company, 1912.; Tarde, Gabriel de, and Elsie Worthington Clews Parsons. *The Laws of Imitation.* New York: H. Holt and company, 1903.
[222] Beirne, Piers. *Inventing Criminology : Essays on the Rise of Homo Criminalis*. SUNY Series in Deviance and Social Control. Albany : State University of New York Press, c1993., 1993.
[223] Ibid.
[224] Ibid., 157-161.
[225] Jones, David Arthur, *History of Criminology: A Philosophical Perspective.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1986, 160.

of criminology did not shift away from population data, but read it differently, focusing more keenly on the *criminal mind* and its patterns of learning.[226]

Biocriminology

The history of biocriminology begins with Beccaria and includes the works of Quetelet, Balbi and Guerry, Lombroso, Tarde, Hooten, the Gluecks, Dugdale, and Goddard. These theorists laid the foundation for biosocial theories of crime, including brain research and predictive models of *criminality*.[227] Biocriminological approaches are characterized by essentialist views confirmed through scientific and technological apparatuses that reinforce notions of a single knowable body.

In the 19th century "physicians and other scientists contended that in some cases biological defects determine[d] who will commit crimes."[228] It was from this premise that the idea of moral insanity, phrenology, criminal anthropology (rooted in Darwinism and Galtonism), and other evolutionary theories became thinkable. [229] These theories were carried into the 20th century beginning with criminological theories of feeblemindedness or low intelligence, and immorality. [230] Biocriminological impulses were brought to their apogee with the eugenics movement.

[226] Ibid.
[227] Beaver, Kevin M., J. (James) C Barnes, and Brian B Boutwell. *The Nurture Versus Biosocial Debate in Criminology: On the Origins of Criminal Behavior and Criminality.* Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2014; Walsh, A., and Kevin M Beaver. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Biosocial Theories of Crime.* London: Taylor and Francis, 2016.
[228] Rafter, Nicole Hahn. 1997. Creating born criminals. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1.
[229] Rafter, Nicole Hahn. 1997. Creating born criminals. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 14.
[230] Ibid., 15.

The biological basis of crime served as justificatory evidence of the inferiority and dangerousness of people of color by the eugenics movement, which developed alongside the Western medical system.[231] For instance, in the 1920's it was suggested that type B blood, which is more common among African Americans, was linked to "criminality and mental illness."[232] Any individual who had type B blood was categorized as being at increased *risk* of criminality (i.e. pathologically predisposed to crime). This shows how the science of *criminal man* made that which it sought to find.

The criminal anthropologists who followed rooted their work in biological positivism. They included Earnest A. Hooten, who developed theories of physical types based on a physiometric study of almost 17,000 people that compared criminals with "normal" residents.[233] This was followed by a series of body type theorists, such as Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, who suggested certain physiques were more likely to be *criminal* than others.[234] The focus on measures of specific body parts marked a shift to a broader heuristic of the body,

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[231] Battaglini, Giulio Q., and Robert W. Millar. "Eugenics and the criminal law." *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology* (1914): 12-15.; Katz, Janet, and Charles F. Abel. "The medicalization of repression: Eugenics and crime." *Crime, Law and Social Change* 8, no. 3 (1984): 227-241.; Rafter, Nicole Hahn. 1997. Creating born criminals. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 35-166.; Rafter, Nicole Hahn, ed. *White trash: The eugenic family studies, 1877-1919*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988.; Roberts, Dorothy E. "Crime, race, and reproduction." *Tul. L. Rev.* 67 (1992): 1945.; Sullivan, W. C. "Eugenics and crime." *The Eugenics review* 1, no. 2 (1909): 112.

[232] Goodman, Alan H., Deborah Heath, and M. Susan Lindee. 2003. Genetic nature/culture: Anthropology and science beyond the two-culture divide. 1st ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 259.; Gundel. 1926. Einige beobachtungen bei der rassenbiologischen durchforschung schleswig-holsteins. Klinische Wochenschrift 5, (26): 1186-1186.

[233] Hooton, Earnest Albert, *Apes, Men, and Morons.* New York: G. P. Putnam's sons, 1937.; Hooton, Earnest Albert, *Crime and the Man.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard university press, 1939.;
Jones, David Arthur, *History of Criminology: A Philosophical Perspective.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1986.

[234] Gould, Stephen Jay. *The Mismeasure of Man.* Rev. and expanded. New York: Norton, 1996.; Rafter, Nicole. 2004. "Earnest A. Hooton and the Biological Tradition in American Criminology." *Criminology* 42 (3): 735–71.; Vold, George B., and Thomas J Bernard. *Theoretical Criminology.* 3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

using terms such as – endomorphy, mesomorphy, and ectomorphy.[235] Endomorphy refers to an overweight body associated with lethargy and extroversion. This stands in contrast to mesomorphy, which refers to a muscular body type associated with crime and criminality. Ectomorphy was a thin body type considered to indicate a scholarly and introverted person.[236] These approaches point to the rise of biology as an explanatory regime reliant on bodies made categorical and quantitative. Measurement and analysis were considered to make the *truth* of the body evident. This *truth* is singular (i.e. criminal or non-criminal) and often immutable. In sum, criminal anthropology rooted in biological positivism enacted *criminal man* through processes of categorization and rudimentary statistical analyses.

In turn, biological and eugenic theories of crime informed criminal genealogies whereby theorists traced family trees searching for signs of *atavism*, the existence of some people or creatures that are "atavistic throwbacks to an earlier age." [237] Galton and Spenser's notion of social Darwinism is based on the premise of "survival of the fittest," however; here criminals were considered to have persisted despite their inborn inferiority. [238] It was hypothesized that this inferiority persisted due to characteristics such as violence and manipulation. This was compounded by the belief that criminals and other inferior groups were more fertile, leading to

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[235] Glueck, Sheldon, and Eleanor Touroff Glueck. *Delinquents and Nondelinquents In Perspective.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968.; Glueck, Sheldon, and Eleanor Touroff Glueck. *Of Delinquency and Crime: A Panorama of Years of Search and Research.* Springfield, Ill.: C. C. Thomas, 1974.; Glueck, Sheldon, and Eleanor Touroff Glueck. *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency.* Cambridge, Mass.: Published for the Commonwealth Fund by Harvard University Press, 1957.; Vold, George B., and Thomas J Bernard. *Theoretical Criminology.* 3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986, 63.

[236] Ibid.; Jones, David Arthur, *History of Criminology: A Philosophical Perspective.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1986.

[237] Vold, George B., and Thomas J Bernard. *Theoretical Criminology.* 3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986, 68.

[238] Rafter, Nicole Hahn, *Creating Born Criminals.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997.; Vold, George B., and Thomas J Bernard. *Theoretical Criminology.* 3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

calls for greater control of their reproduction. These understandings supported eugenic theories of crime.

Perhaps the most famous genealogical criminology text is Dugdale's *The Jukes* characterizing the "degeneration" of a single family said to exhibit widespread *criminality* across generations. [239] Genealogical criminology turned entire families into objects of study as they are searched for signs of atavism and degeneracy. Dugdale traced the Jukes' family tree identifying "a higher-than-anticipated proportion of alcoholics, criminals, paupers, prostitutes, and syphilitics."[240] Here, certain relationalities are made pathological and criminal – an entire family always, and inherently, already criminal.

The causes of heritable criminality began to be conceived of as low intelligence with the invention and widespread application of the *Binet-Simon Scale of Intelligence*, or the intelligence quotient (IQ) test in the early 1900's.[241] The connection between low IQ and crime was theorized through the conceptualization of the *feebleminded criminal*, which was laden with moral and biological pathology.[242] The IQ test was widely applied in correctional settings and was considered to provide a stable measure of someone's intelligence.[243]

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[239] Dugdale, R. L. *The Jukes :: A Study in Crime, Pauperism, Disease, and Heredity.* 4th ed. New York: G.P. Putnam's sons, 1910.; Jones, David Arthur, *History of Criminology: A Philosophical Perspective.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1986.; Rafter, Nicole Hahn, *Creating Born Criminals.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997.; Vold, George B., and Thomas J Bernard. *Theoretical Criminology.* 3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

[240] Jones, David Arthur, *History of Criminology: A Philosophical Perspective.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1986, 144.

[241] Rafter, Nicole., Chad Posick, and Michael Rocque. *The Criminal Brain, Second Edition: Understanding Biological Theories of Crime.* New York: New York University Press, 2016.

[242] Goddard, Henry Herbert, *The Binet-Simon Measuring Scale for Intelligence.* Rev. ed. 1911, Vineland: Department of psychological research, The Training school, 1910.; Gould, Stephen Jay. *The Mismeasure of Man*. New York : Norton, c1996., 1996.

[243] Rafter, Nicole Hahn, *Creating Born Criminals.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997.; Vold, George B., and Thomas J Bernard. *Theoretical Criminology.* 3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Psychologist Henry Herbert Goddard brought measures of intellectual age to the United States where he established the notion of the "criminalistic 'moron.'"[244] This made it possible to identify *born criminals* and furthered Goddard's eugenic conflation of criminality and "feeblemindedness."[245] Goddard's precedent advanced the professional credibility of psychology in institutions, which continues today. Later, the concern with intelligence would lead theorists to link learning disabilities with criminality. [246] Disability and intelligence continue to be data collected during jail intake. These designations are primarily self-reported as people are asked if they have had any learning disabilities or were in "special education."[247] Given the stigma, it is likely that many people choose not to disclose this. Disability and intelligence are also court designations that are derived through court requests for intelligence and mental health testing, however.[248]

Charles Goring's 1913 *The English Convict* purported to rebut some of Lombroso's claims while advancing parallel eugenics of criminality that demonstrated criminals' "inferior weight, stature, and mental capacity" compared to "normal men." [249] While the emphasis on biometrics initially arose in the late 1800's, it regained prominence during the eugenics movement. Goring brought his training in biometry to the study of incarcerated people and the

[244] Rafter, Nicole Hahn, *Creating Born Criminals.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997.;
[245] Gould, Stephen Jay. *The Mismeasure of Man*. New York : Norton, c1996., 1996.; Vold, George B., and Thomas J Bernard. *Theoretical Criminology.* 3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.
[246] Vold, George B., and Thomas J Bernard. *Theoretical Criminology.* 3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.
[247] Fieldnotes.
[248] Ibid.
[249] Beirne, Piers. *Inventing Criminology : Essays on the Rise of Homo Criminalis*. SUNY Series in Deviance and Social Control. Albany : State University of New York Press, c1993., 213.; Cohen, Albert Kircidel. *Deviance and Control*. Foundations of Modern Sociology Series. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall [1966], 1966.; Goring, Charles. *The English Convict; a Statistical Study*. Patterson Smith Reprint Series in Criminology, Law Enforcement, and Social Problems: Publication No. 137. Montclair, N.J., Patterson Smith, 1972.

heredity of criminality.[250] His findings reflected his eugenics training, averring that psychiatric concerns superseded the influence of environment. This supremacy of nature over nurture supported his recommendation that reproduction be tightly controlled to curb crime.[251] The methods Goring relied upon required large sample sizes and uniform categories. Such metrics of the body were assumed to be static, homogenous, and quantifiable and continue to be used today.

The 21st century ushered in the rise of biosocial theories of criminal man.[252] Biosocial approaches began with a return to evolutionary theories that were rooted in the notion that humans were inherently self-serving and violent. These characteristics were assumed to advance genetic survival.[253] Biosocial theories gave rise to a set of *control theories* that made laws and their enforcement necessary in order to curb the *nature of man*.

Biosocial theories treated race as genetic and problematically perpetuated the science that made black bodies evolutionary throwbacks prone to crime and criminality.[254] The legacy

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[250] Beirne, Piers. *Inventing Criminology : Essays on the Rise of Homo Criminalis*. SUNY Series in Deviance and Social Control. Albany : State University of New York Press, c1993.
[251] Ibid., 211.; Jones, David Arthur, *History of Criminology: A Philosophical Perspective.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1986.
[252] Beaver, K.M., Barnes, J.C. & Boutwell, B.B. "The 2-Repeat Allele of the MAOA Gene Confers an Increased Risk for Shooting and Stabbing Behaviors." Psychiatric Quarterly. (2014) 85: 257-65.; Beecher-Monas, Erica, and Edgar Garcia-Rill. 2006. "Genetic Predictions of Future Dangerousness: Is There a Blueprint for Violence?" *Law & Contemporary Problems* 69 (1/2): 301–41.; Mellen, Ronald R., and Nancy B. Mellen. 2013. "Brain Dysfunctions and Predispositions." *American Jails* 27 (1): 41.
[253] Ibid.
[254] Beaver, Kevin M., J. (James) C Barnes, and Brian B Boutwell. *The Nurture Versus Biosocial Debate in Criminology: On the Origins of Criminal Behavior and Criminality.* Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2014.; Beaver, Kevin M., Joseph L. Nedelec, Christian da Silva Costa, and Maria Margareth Vidal. "The future of biosocial criminology." *Criminal justice studies* 28, no. 1 (2015): 6-17.; Burt, Callie H., and Ronald L. Simons. "Pulling back the curtain on heritability studies: Biosocial criminology in the postgenomic era." *Criminology* 52, no. 2 (2014): 223-262.; Carrier, Nicolas, and Kevin Walby. "PTOLEMIZING LOMBROSO THE PSEUDO-REVOLUTION OF BIOSOCIAL CRIMINOLOGY." *Journal of Theoretical & Philosophical Criminology* 7, no. 1 (2015).; Loury, Glenn C. *Race, Incarceration, and*

of racist epistemology was perpetuated in more recent genetic research linking specific genes to violence with weapons (e.g. MAOA polymorphisms).[255] This conflation of race, violence, and criminality reverberates across carceral risk assessment and prediction today.[256]

Biosocial theories were further shored up by evolutionary psychology research demonstrating that people diagnosed with "antisocial personality disorders" had higher rates of reproduction.[257] This was meaningful given that people convicted of crime were determined to

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American Values. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2008.; Muhammad, Khalil Gibran, *The Condemnation of Blackness: Race, Crime, and the Making of Modern Urban America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010.; Walsh, Anthony and Kevin M. Beaver. Ed. *Biosocial criminology : new directions in theory and research.* New York : Routledge/Taylor and Francis Group, 2009.; Walsh, Anthony, and Kevin M. Beaver. "Biosocial criminology." In *Handbook on crime and deviance*, pp. 79-101. Springer, New York, NY, 2009.; Walsh, Anthony, and Ilhong Yun. 2011. "Race and Criminology in the Age of Genomic Science." *Social Science Quarterly* 92: 1279–96.; Wright, John Paul, and Francis T. Cullen. "The future of biosocial criminology: Beyond scholars' professional ideology." *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 28, no. 3 (2012): 237-253.

[255] Beaver, Kevin M., J. C. Barnes, and Brian B. Boutwell. "The 2-repeat allele of the MAOA gene confers an increased risk for shooting and stabbing behaviors." *Psychiatric quarterly* 85, no. 3 (2014): 257-265.; Beaver, Kevin M., Matt DeLisi, Michael G. Vaughn, and J. C. Barnes. "Monoamine oxidase A genotype is associated with gang membership and weapon use." *Comprehensive Psychiatry* 51, no. 2 (2010): 130-134.; Beaver, Kevin M., Joseph L. Nedelec, Meghan Wilde, Courtney Lippoff, and Dylan Jackson. "Examining the association between MAOA genotype and incarceration, anger and hostility: The moderating influences of risk and protective factors." *Journal of Research in Personality* 45, no. 3 (2011): 279-284.; Beaver, Kevin M., John Paul Wright, Brian B. Boutwell, J. C. Barnes, Matt DeLisi, and Michael G. Vaughn. "Exploring the association between the 2-repeat allele of the MAOA gene promoter polymorphism and psychopathic personality traits, arrests, incarceration, and lifetime antisocial behavior." *Personality and Individual Differences* 54, no. 2 (2013): 164-168.; Beecher-Monas, Erica, and Edgar Garcia-Rill. 2006. "Genetic Predictions of Future Dangerousness: Is There a Blueprint for Violence?" *Law & Contemporary Problems* 69 (1/2): 301–41.; Haberstick, Brett C., Jeffrey M. Lessem, Christian J. Hopfer, Andrew Smolen, Marissa A. Ehringer, David Timberlake, and John K. Hewitt. "Monoamine oxidase A (MAOA) and antisocial behaviors in the presence of childhood and adolescent maltreatment." *American Journal of Medical Genetics Part B: Neuropsychiatric Genetics* 135, no. 1 (2005): 59-64.; Schwartz, Joseph A., and Kevin M. Beaver. "Evidence of a gene× environment interaction between perceived prejudice and MAOA genotype in the prediction of criminal arrests." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 39, no. 5 (2011): 378-384.

[256] Rafter, Nicole Hahn, *The Criminal Brain: Understanding Biological Theories of Crime.* New York: New York University Press, 2008.

[257] Boutwell, Brian B., Kevin M. Beaver, and J. C. Barnes. 2012. "More Alike than Different: Assortative Mating and Antisocial Propensity in Adulthood." *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, no. Issue 9: 1240.; Rafter, Nicole Hahn. 2008. *The Criminal Brain : Understanding Biological Theories of Crime*. New York : New York University; Wertz, J., A. Caspi, D. W. Belsky, Amber L. Beckley, L. Arseneault, J. C. Barnes, David L.

have a higher prevalence of antisocial personality disorders. Moreover, personality disorders are widely considered to be incurable.[258] These statistical prevalence studies and associations are often presented using causal language, which perpetuates the idea of criminal man, providing scientific justification for eugenic impulses. [259]

In addition to evolutionary theories, the idea of the criminal brain returned as a site of criminality as imaging technologies (i.e. magnetic resonance imaging, functional magnetic resonance imaging, computerized tomography, positron emission tomography, electroencephalogram) proliferated.[260] These technologies made it possible to *see the criminal brain* and its activity in greater detail.[261] In studies comparing the brains of criminals with those of the "general public," a number of differences in genetics, hormones, and neurotransmitters

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Corcoran et al. "Genetics and crime: Integrating new genomic discoveries into psychological research about antisocial behavior." *Psychological science* 29, no. 5 (2018): 791-803.

[258] Herpertz, Sabine C., Ulrike Werth, Gerald Lukas, Mutaz Qunaibi, Annette Schuerkens, Hanns-Juergen Kunert, Roland Freese et al. "Emotion in criminal offenders with psychopathy and borderline personality disorder." *Archives of general psychiatry* 58, no. 8 (2001): 737-745.; Petras, Hanno, Sheppard G. Kellam, C. Hendricks Brown, Bengt O. Muthén, Nicholas S. Ialongo, and Jeanne M. Poduska. "Developmental epidemiological courses leading to antisocial personality disorder and violent and criminal behavior: Effects by young adulthood of a universal preventive intervention in first-and second-grade classrooms." *Drug and alcohol dependence* 95 (2008): S45-S59.; Schaeffer, Cindy M., Hanno Petras, Nicholas Ialongo, Jeanne Poduska, and Sheppard Kellam. "Modeling growth in boys' aggressive behavior across elementary school: links to later criminal involvement, conduct disorder, and antisocial personality disorder." *Developmental Psychology* 39, no. 6 (2003): 1020.

[259] Ibid.

[260] Anderson, Nathaniel E., and Kent A. Kiehl. "The psychopath magnetized: insights from brain imaging." *Trends in cognitive sciences* 16, no. 1 (2012): 52-60.; Blair, R. James R. "Neuroimaging of psychopathy and antisocial behavior: a targeted review." *Current psychiatry reports* 12, no. 1 (2010): 76-82.; Koenigs, Michael, Arielle Baskin-Sommers, J. Zeier, and Joseph P. Newman. "Investigating the neural correlates of psychopathy: a critical review." *Molecular psychiatry* 16, no. 8 (2011): 792.; Pridmore, Saxby, Amber Chambers, and Milford McArthur. "Neuroimaging in psychopathy." Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry 39, no. 10 (2005): 856-865.; Weber, Sabrina, Ute Habel, Katrin Amunts, and Frank Schneider. "Structural brain abnormalities in psychopaths—A review." *Behavioral sciences & the law* 26, no. 1 (2008): 7-28.

[261] Ibid.

were identified.[262] Brain chemistry added to the structural and functional explanations of imaging research through dopamine, serotonin, cortisol, and testosterone levels.[263] These findings were used to advance the argument for biological causes of crime.[264] Novel imaging technologies made crime visible in the brain, reinforcing its monism.

Biological theories of crime became increasingly technologically complex, with epigenetic biocriminology as the next wave.[265] Epigenetic biocriminology was suggested to reconcile biological and environmental theories of crime by identifying DNA changes (e.g. via

[262] Ibid.

[263] Beaver, Kevin M. "Molecular genetics and crime." In *Biosocial Criminology*, pp. 68-90. Routledge, 2008.; Dabbs Jr, James M., Jasmin K. Riad, and Susan E. Chance. "Testosterone and ruthless homicide." *Personality and Individual Differences* 31, no. 4 (2001): 599-603.; Dabbs, James M., Gregory J. Jurkovic, and Robert L. Frady. "Salivary testosterone and cortisol among late adolescent male offenders." *Journal of abnormal child psychology* 19, no. 4 (1991): 469-478.; Liao, Ding-Lieh, Chen-Jee Hong, Hao-Ling Shih, and Shih-Jen Tsai. "Possible association between serotonin transporter promoter region polymorphism and extremely violent crime in Chinese males." *Neuropsychobiology* 50, no. 4 (2004): 284-287.; Molero, Yasmina, Paul Lichtenstein, Johan Zetterqvist, Clara Hellner Gumpert, and Seena Fazel. "Selective serotonin reuptake inhibitors and violent crime: a cohort study." *PLoS medicine* 12, no. 9 (2015): e1001875.; Raine, Adrian. "The biological basis of crime." *Crime: Public policies for crime control* 43 (2002): 74.; Rowe, David C. *Biology and crime*. Los Angeles, CA: Roxbury, 2002.; Tong, Youren, and Jie Shen. "α-Synuclein and LRRK2: Partners in crime." *Neuron* 64, no. 6 (2009): 771-773.

[264] Beckman, Mary. "Crime, culpability, and the adolescent brain." (2004): 596-599.; Raine, Adrian. *The anatomy of violence: The biological roots of crime*. Vintage, 2014.; Raine, Adrian. "The biological basis of crime." *Crime: Public policies for crime control* 43 (2002): 74.; Rafter, Nicole. The criminal brain: Understanding biological theories of crime. NYU Press, 2008.; Turkstra, L., Deann Jones, and Hon L. Toler. "Brain injury and violent crime." *Brain Injury* 17, no. 1 (2003): 39-47.

[265] Basoglu, C., O. Oner, A. Ates, A. Algul, and Y. Cetin Bez. "M., Herken, H., Erdal, ME & Munir, KM (2011) Synaptosomal-associated protein 25 gene polymorphisms and antisocial personality disorder: Association with temperament and psychopathy." *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry* 56, no. 6: 341-47.; Blair, R. James R. "Neurobiological basis of psychopathy." *The British Journal of Psychiatry* 182, no. 1 (2003): 5-7.; Dadds, Mark R., Caroline Moul, Avril Cauchi, Carol Dobson-Stone, David J. Hawes, John Brennan, and Richard E. Ebstein. "Methylation of the oxytocin receptor gene and oxytocin blood levels in the development of psychopathy." *Development and psychopathology* 26, no. 01 (2014): 33-40.; Fowler, Tom, Kate Langley, Frances Rice, Marianne BM van den Bree, Kenny Ross, Lawrence S. Wilkinson, Michael J. Owen, Michael C. O'Donovan, and Anita Thapar. "Psychopathy trait scores in adolescents with childhood ADHD: the contribution of genotypes affecting MAOA, 5HTT and COMT activity." *Psychiatric Genetics* 19, no. 6 (2009): 312-319.; Glenn, Andrea L. "The other allele: exploring the long allele of the serotonin transporter gene as a potential risk factor for psychopathy: a review of the parallels in findings." *Neuroscience & Biobehavioral Reviews* 35, no. 3 (2011): 612-620.

methylation) associated with select criminological features. For instance, there has been a proliferation of research outlining the epigenetics of "psychopathy" and "substance use disorders," which are, in turn, then linked to *criminality*.[266] While epigenetics purported to address the influence of social inequities such as racism, it is often deployed to link place or specific environments with biological outcomes.[267] Instead of problematizing racism and xenophobia, a geographic, material, and embodied space is targeted for intervention.[268]

Biocriminological approaches assume certain bodies are more likely to be *criminal*, which renders criminality knowable, treatable, predictable, and/ or preventable.[269] At its core

[266] Ibid,; Cecil, Charlotte AM, Laura J. Lysenko, Sara R. Jaffee, Jean-Baptiste Pingault, Rebecca G. Smith, Caroline L. Relton, Geoffrey Woodward, Wendy McArdle, Jonathan Mill, and Edward D. Barker. "Environmental risk, Oxytocin Receptor Gene (OXTR) methylation and youth callous-unemotional traits: a 13-year longitudinal study." *Molecular psychiatry* 19, no. 10 (2014): 1071.; Dadds, Mark R., Caroline Moul, Avril Cauchi, Carol Dobson-Stone, David J. Hawes, John Brennan, and Richard E. Ebstein. "Methylation of the oxytocin receptor gene and oxytocin blood levels in the development of psychopathy." *Development and psychopathology* 26, no. 1 (2014): 33-40.; Gunter, Tracy D., Michael G. Vaughn, and Robert A. Philibert. "Behavioral genetics in antisocial spectrum disorders and psychopathy: A review of the recent literature." *Behavioral sciences & the law* 28, no. 2 (2010): 148-173.

[267] Meloni, Maurizio. *Impressionable Biologies: From the Archaeology of Plasticity to the Sociology of Epigenetics.* Milton: Routledge, 2019.; Rollins, Oliver. "Risky Bodies: Race and the science of crime and violence" in Ed. Rajack-Talley, Theresa Ann, and Derrick R. Brooms. *Living Racism: Through the Barrel of the Book.* Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2018.

[268] Ibid.

[269] Bazzul, Jesse. "Science education as a site for biopolitical engagement and the reworking of subjectivities: Theoretical considerations and possibilities for research." In Activist Science and Technology Education, pp. 37-53. Springer Netherlands, 2014.; Fink, Arthur E. 1962. *Causes of crime: Biological theories in the united states, 1800-1915*. Perpetua ed. New York: A.S. Barnes.; Gerlach, Neil, Sheryl N. Hamilton, Rebecca Sullivan, and Priscilla L. Walton. Becoming biosubjects: Bodies, systems, technologies. University of Toronto Press, 2011.; L'Espérance, Audrey. "Review of Becoming Biosubjects: Bodies, Systems, Technologies." Studies in Social Justice 6, no. 1 (2012): 147.; Gillett, Grant, and Armon J. Tamatea. "The warrior gene: epigenetic considerations." *New Genetics and Society* 31, no. 1 (2012): 41-53.; Lombroso, Cesare, Mary Gibson, and Nicole Hahn Rafter. 2006. *Criminal man*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.; Lombroso, Cesare, Guglielmo Ferrero, Nicole Hahn Rafter, Mary Gibson, and Inc ebrary. 2004;2003;. *Criminal woman, the prostitute, and the normal woman*. Durham: Duke University Press.; Moffitt, Terrie E., and Amber Beckley. "Abandon Twin Research-Embrace Epigenetic Research: Premature Advice for Criminologists." *Criminology* 53 (2015): 121.; Rafter, Nicole Hahn. 1997. *Creating born criminals*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.; Rafter, Nicole Hahn, Chad Posick, and Michael

biocriminological approaches are ontologically monistic as they are premised on a single, knowable and predictable biocriminality. Biocriminological approaches have also raised questions about whether biosocial factors might mitigate legal responsibility or whether biomedical treatments are the appropriate response to crime, rather than incarceration.[270]

Beyond identifying the origins of criminality, today biomedical models play a central role in determining the placement of people who have been arrested (i.e. hospital, treatment facility, or jail). Psychiatry has played an especially large role.

> From its early concern with the issues of insanity as a defense in criminal proceedings, psychiatry has grown to become the most dominant rehabilitative perspective in dealing with society's 'legal' deviants.[271]

Police officers can request special mental health workers or trained officers to assist in the screening of individuals perceived as having mental health conditions.[272] Even outside of court diversion, mental illness and disability have long been seen as mediating factors by the United States legal system. Beyond demonstrating the entrenched nature of the biomedical model in the criminal justice system, this highlights the tethering of an individual's health status and

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Rocque. 2016. *The criminal brain: Understanding biological theories of crime*. Second ed. New York: New York University Press.

[270] Rafter, Nicole Hahn. 2008. *The Criminal Brain : Understanding Biological Theories of Crime*. New York : New York University Press, c2008.; Raine, Adrian. *The Psychopathology of Crime: Criminal Behavior As a Clinical Disorder.* San Diego: Academic Press, 1993.

[271] Zola, Irving Kenneth. "Medicine as an institution of social control." *The sociological review* 20, no. 4 (1972), 488.

[272] Abbott, Sarah E. 2011. Evaluating the impact of a jail diversion program on police officer's attitudes toward the mentally ill. ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.; Colwell, Brian, Soila F. Villarreal, and Erin M. Espinosa. 2012. Preliminary outcomes of a pre-adjudication diversion initiative for juvenile justice involved youth with mental health needs in Texas. *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 39 (4): 447-60.; Hartford, Kathleen, Robert Carey, and James Mendonca. 2006. Pre-arrest diversion of people with mental illness: Literature review and international survey. *Behavioral Sciences & the Law* 24 (6): 845-56.; Landsberg, Gerald. 2002. *Serving mentally ill offenders: Challenges and opportunities for mental health professionals*. New York: Springer Pub.; Schneider, Richard D. 2010. Mental health courts and diversion programs: A global survey. *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry* 33 (4): 201-6.

their identity to their *criminal offense*, advancing the shared stigma of certain illnesses and crime. [273] It also reinforces essentialist understandings of *criminal man*, with the tropes of biomedicalization sustaining moralizing across the domains of health and crime.

> Clarke and her colleagues define, biomedicalization as
>
> the increasingly complex, multisited, multidirectional processes of medicalization that today are being both ex-tended and reconstituted through the emergent social forms and practices of a highly and increasingly technoscientific biomedicine. We signal with the "bio" in biomedicalization the transformations of both the human and nonhuman made possible by such technoscientific innovations as molecular biology, biotechnologies, genomization, transplant medicine, and new medical technologies. That is, medicalization is intensifying, but in new and complex, usually technoscientifically enmeshed ways.[274]

The biomedicalization of *the criminal* presents the possibility of simultaneously reducing and increasing stigma. [275] The increase in stigma arises from the moralizing that surrounds the demand to maintain one's health and remain ever vigilant. In turn, a potential decrease in stigma is frequently contingent upon bodies submitting and entering into biomedical treatment regimes in which they become objects of study. [276] Ultimately, this results in the disciplining of bodies through medical institutions.

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[273] Raine, Adrian. 2008. "From Genes to Brain to Antisocial Behavior." *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 17 (5): 323–28.; Skeem, Jennifer L., Kevin S. Douglas, and Scott O. Lilienfeld. 2009. *Psychological science in the courtroom: consensus and controversy*. New York: Guilford Press.
[274] Clarke, Adele E., Laura Mamo, Jennifer R. Fishman, Janet K. Shim, and Jennifer Ruth Fosket Fosket. "Biomedicalization: Technoscientific Transformations of Health, Illness and U.S. Biomedicine." *American Sociological Review* 68, no. 2 (April 2003): 161–94.; Zola, Irving Kenneth. "Medicine as an institution of social control." *The sociological review* 20, no. 4 (1972): 487-504.
[275] Zola, Irving Kenneth. "Medicine as an institution of social control." *The sociological review* 20, no. 4 (1972): 491.
[276] Ibid., 489.

Predictive models deployed in criminal justice settings are imbricated with those of health.[277] In the context of biomedicine, surveillance relates to the prevalence of illness, disability, or *risk*-behaviors that are epidemiologically mapped onto bodies.[278] These maps are based on longitudinal data and predicated on the assumption that past behavior and select characteristics predict future behavior.

With the advent of digital technologies, the science and technology of *criminality* continues to be informed by the desire to use metrics to find and define *criminal man* through quantitative data analysis. Like their precursors, however; when taken together these quantified characteristics contribute to the production of a body predisposed not to crime but to incarceration. This predisposition arises out of one's datafication and algorithmic characterization. Data comprises the raw material and makes digital one's race, ethnicity, school (reflective of the school-to-prison-pipeline), address, sex, socio-economic status, disability status, mental health status, etc. Carceral algorithms both arise out of and inform one's incarcerability.

Further, criminology and its legal implications are deeply imbricated with carceral biomedicine. It is the nexus between these epistemes with their correlative professions and practices that this project takes as an object of study. The current biomedico-carceral tactics

[277] Chamberlain, Marty. "Crime, Biotechnologies and Risk: A Critical Appraisal." In *Critical Approaches to Risk and Security*. 2017.; Choudhury, Jahar Bikram. "Competing Risks Models for the Analysis of Multivariate Failure-time Data: Applications to Biomedicine and Criminology." PhD diss., University of Western Australia, 2003.; Waldby, Catherine. *AIDS and the body politic: Biomedicine and sexual difference*. Routledge, 2003.
[278] Burnham, John. 2009. *Biomedicine and health: Epidemiology*. Cengage Gale.

have a long history tracing back to the origins of criminology.[279] Over time the line between criminalization and medicalization has becoming increasingly fuzzy, and often the only alternative to incarceration offered is medical.[280] An example of this is the explosion of mental health and drug courts that require compulsory treatment and adherence as a form of diversion, at least initially, from incarceration.[281]

Criminology is, by and large, a field that privileges the quantitative and the individual or categorical explanations of *crime* and *criminality*. [282] This positivist approach results in bodies being sites of risks (e.g. of committing crimes, recidivism, relapse, violent charges).[283] The enactment of bodies of risk relies upon large datasets and increasingly complex electronic record systems, tracking technologies, predictive algorithms, etc.[284] These technologies require bodies to be made in ways that facilitate their comparison with averages in order to calculate deviances. This means that bodies must be translated into uniform categories so as to fit within

[279] Rafter, Nicole Hahn, and Mary Gibson. 2004. "Part III: Pathological Anatomy and Anthropometry of Criminal Woman and the Prostitute: Chapter 14: Anthropometry of Female Criminals." In *Criminal Woman, the Prostitute & the Normal Woman*, 121–26.; Rafter, Nicole, Posick, Chad, and Rocque, Michael. 2016. The Criminal Brain, Second Edition: Understanding Biological Theories of Crime. New York: New York University Press.
[280] Alarid, Leanne Fiftal, and Maureen Rubin. "Misdemeanor Arrestees with Mental Health Needs: Diversion and Outpatient Services as a Recidivism Reduction Strategy." *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology* 62, no. 3 (February 2018): 575–90.; Clark, N., Dolan, K., & Farabee, D. (2017). Public health alternatives to incarceration for drug offenders. *Eastern Mediterranean Health Journal, 23*(3), 222-230.; Smelson, David A., Debra A. Pinals, Leon Sawh, Carl Fulwiler, Stephanie Singer, Nathan Guevremont, William Fisher, Henry J. Steadman, and Stephanie Hartwell. 2015. "An Alternative to Incarceration: Co-Occurring Disorders Treatment Intervention for Justice-Involved Veterans." *World Medical & Health Policy* 7 (4): 329–48.
[281] Ibid.
[282] Ibid.
[283] Ibid.
[284] Ibid.

the architectures of the database.[285] These technologies mask their politics and obscure their role in enacting that which they define.

Ultimately, each of the sciences of man that come to form *the criminal* are ontologically monistic. This monism suggests not only that the biological criminal exists, but also that criminals are knowable through a fixed set of methods. Here, the carceral body is considered to be deviant, Other, and ill and require discipline and surveillance.[286] This section has highlighted the essentialization of criminal man through the imbrication of racism and the sciences of criminality. This imbrication is particularly concerning given that biocriminological theories and the analyses they rely upon define medical best practices today.[287] Given that these statistical methods at the core of current criminology and biomedicine remain, the ontological monisms of the carceral body live on.

Critical Criminology

Alongside a reinvestment in biological approaches to criminality, the 1960s saw the rise of critical criminology.[288] The critical theorists addressed here include Erving Goffman (1959, 1963; 1968, 1974, 1979, 1981),[289] Michel Foucault (1961, 1963, 1969, 1972, 1976, 1977,

[285] Ibid.
[286] Ibid.
[287] Ibid.
[288] Ibid.
[289] Goffman, Erving. *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates.* Harmondsworth, Eng.: Penguin, 1968.; Goffman, Erving. *Behavior in Public Places: Notes on the Social Organization of Gatherings.* [New York]: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963.;
Goffman, Erving. *Forms of Talk.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981.; Goffman, Erving. *Gender Advertisements.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979.; Goffman, Erving. *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity.* New York: J. Aronson, 1974.; Goffman, Erving. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.* 1st Anchor Books ed. New York: Anchor Books, 1959.

2015),[290] Loic Wacquant (1992, 2008, 2009, 2013),[291] and Angela Davis (1974, 1981, 2003, 2005).[292] These theorists were selected because they moved beyond the idea of the individual criminal to take the criminal justice system as its object of study. While there are considerable differences between these scholars, each contributed in important ways to the theorization of and methodological toolkit used in this dissertation project. Although their theorizations shifted the etiology of crime to the level of the social, economic, and political (as opposed to the individual); ontological monisms persist in their work. The following section establishes 1) the important precedents set by these theorists in their approaches to correctional facilities, 2) situates this project in relation to their frameworks, and 3) demonstrates the underlying philosophical assumptions.

[290] Foucault, Michel, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison.* 1st American ed. New York: Pantheon Books, 1977.; Foucault, Michel, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1965.; Michel Foucault. *The Archaeology of Knowledge ; And, The Discourse on Language.* [First Pantheon Paperback Edition] New York: Pantheon Books, 1982.; Foucault, Michel, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception.* [1st American ed.] New York: Pantheon Books, 1973.; Michel Foucault. *The History of Sexuality.* 1st American ed. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.; Foucault, Michel, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences.* 1st American ed. New York: Pantheon Books, 1970.; Foucault, Michel, Bernard E. Harcourt, François Ewald, Alessandro Fontana, and Graham Burchell. *The Punitive Society: Lectures at the Collège De France 1972-1973.* Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

[291] Squires, Peter, John Lea, and Loïc J. D Wacquant. *Criminalisation and Advanced Marginality: Critically Exploring the Work of Loïc Wacquant.* Bristol, UK: Policy Press, 2013.; Bourdieu, Pierre, and Loïc J. D Wacquant. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.; Wacquant, Loïc J. D. *Prisons of Poverty.* Expanded ed. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009.; Wacquant, Loïc J. D. *Punishing the Poor: The Neoliberal Government of Social Insecurity.* English language ed. Durham [NC]: Duke University Press, 2009.; Wacquant, Loïc J. D. *Urban Outcasts: A Comparative Sociology of Advanced Marginality.* Cambridge: Polity, 2008.

[292] Davis, Angela Y. *Abolition Democracy: Beyond Empire, Prisons, and Torture.* Seven Stories Press 1st ed. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2005.; Davis, Angela Y. *Angela Davis--An Autobiography.* [New York]: Random House, 1974.; Davis, Angela Y. *Are Prisons Obsolete?.* New York: Seven Stories Press, 2003.; Davis, Angela Y. *Women, Race, & Class.* New York: Random House, 1981.

Erving Goffman was one of the leading sociologists of the twentieth century because of his work on self-performance and symbolic interactionism.[293] His theorization of "total institutions" became central to sociological understandings of incarceration. For Goffman, the "total institution" was a largely insular organization that disciplined staff and patients alike through set social roles.[294] This rendering of asylums has been challenged in the correctional context, given the porous borders and multitude of resistances that characterize any correctional facility.[295] Nevertheless, Goffman's theorization provided a platform for critical carceral geography to call for the close study of institutions (even as this term is, itself, fluid and contested) and interactions within and across them.[296] For instance, Dominique Moran, one of the most influential critical carceral geographers, notes the diffuseness of carcerality beyond correctional facilities, "the carceral is a social and psychological construction of relevance both within and outside carceral spaces."[297] Moran views Goffman's work as a call to engage with the power relations, administrative regimes, and surveillances within and across carceral sites and the ways in which sites become embodied.[298] Nevertheless, Goffman's monolithic rendering of institutions, tends to flatten the realities of incarceration into types and forms. This is problematic in that it perpetuates essentialization of carceral spaces and bodies, proposing them as endpoints or products.

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[293] Goffman, Erving, Charles C. Lemert, and Ann Branaman. *The Goffman Reader.* Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1997.
[294] Goffman, Erving *Asylums; Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1961.
[295] Ibid.
[296] Schliehe, Anna K. 2016. "Re-Discovering Goffman: Contemporary Carceral Geography, the 'Total' Institution and Notes on Heterotopia." *Geografiska Annaler Series B: Human Geography* 98 (1): 19–35.
[297] Moran, Dominique. *Carceral geography: Spaces and practices of incarceration*. London: Routledge, 2015, 87.
[298] Ibid.

Foucault's "carceral archipelago" partially addresses the diffusivity of carcerality.[299] In providing a history of correctional facilities, Foucault generates the concept of a *carceral archipelago* "operating at every level of the social body."[300] This reveals the carceral nature of society that goes beyond the complex network of the criminal justice system. It also points to how carceral systems propagate the social need for them.

In Foucault's broad characterizations, he theorizes *discipline* and the making of *docile bodies* as the central pillar of critical studies of incarceration.[301] Importantly, he places the origin of the correctional institution in the context of shifting understandings of the body and punishment. He defines disciplines as

> pedagogic rules which bind because they have been internalized. They produce 'docile bodies' and, as their tiers become more and more refined, disciplines become political anatomies of detail … *Disciplinarities* thus become ideologies of governance and persons who question their relevance to the contemporary situation are not seen as being engaged in legitimate argument.[302]

Foucault's rendering of governmentality is the foundation for post-structural theorists who suggest that carceral disciplinarities have resulted in an extreme bureaucratization of the correctional facility and its bodies. It has been noted that, contrary to Foucault's hypothesis that physical punishment would be replaced by internalized governmentality, "the disciplinary transformations in the penal body politic have not supplanted the old disciplinarities designed

[299] Ibid., 297.
[300] Ibid., 304.
[301] Ibid.
[302] Carlen, Pat. "Imprisonment and the penal body politic: the cancer of disciplinary government." In Liebling, Alison, and Shadd Maruna, eds. *The effects of imprisonment*. Routledge, 2013, 430.

to keep prisoners both docilely and securely in prison." [303] Instead, they continue alongside and are blended with earlier corporeal punishments.[304]

Foucault notes that prisons in the United States are too expensive and "complex to be reduced to purely negative functions of exclusion," and he questioned "their importance in the exercise and the maintenance of power."[305] In his later work, Foucault moved beyond surveillance and punishment to describe incarceration as "an eliminative process."[306] He envisions this elimination as taking place not only through the physical removal of incarcerated people from society, but also through a set of procedures that "consumes, destroys, breaks up, and then rejects" them.[307] In this sense, there is a breaking down of the incarcerated person that leaves them unable to be *reintegrated* into the community after their release.[308] Foucault also envisions a multiplicative elimination. He states that people in the mental health units in correctional facilities are subject to an "elimination in the second degree." [309]

Loic Wacquant and Angela Davis make explicit the racial and economic brutalities of the United States criminal justice system fueled by the demands of a neoliberal, capitalist nation.[310] Davis identifies how the making of the prison-industrial-complex arose as a way to maintain

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[303] Carlen, Pat. "Imprisonment and the penal body politic: the cancer of disciplinary government." In Liebling, Alison, and Shadd Maruna, eds. *The effects of imprisonment*. Routledge, 2013, 431.
[304] Fieldnotes.
[305] Foucault, Michel, and John K. Simon. "Michel Foucault on Attica: an interview." *Social Justice* 18, no. 3 (45 (1991): 28.
[306] Ibid., 30.
[307] Ibid., 27.
[308] Ibid.
[309] Ibid., 27.
[310] Davis, Angela Yvonne. *The Angela Y. Davis Reader*. John Wiley & Sons, 1998.; Squires, Peter, John Lea, and Loïc J. D Wacquant. *Criminalisation and Advanced Marginality: Critically Exploring the Work of Loïc Wacquant.* Bristol, UK: Policy Press, 2013.; Wacquant, Loïc J. D. *Prisons of Poverty.* Expanded ed. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009.

economic and racial hegemony once the state prohibited slavery.[311] These hegemonies led to the rise of convict leasing and state farms as a way to fill the labor vacuum, thereby permitting the state and private corporations to continue to both separate and profit off of the bodies of people of color.[312]

Similarly, Wacquant, drawing from Bourdieu's approach to class, noted that as social welfare was whittled away in the U.S., the *carceral turn* filled its place, punishing those already marginalized through carceral policies and practices.[313] Wacquant defined the *carceral turn* as the United States government's response to poverty and its perpetuation of the legacy of slavery and racism. The hyper-incarceration of certain populations highlights the logics of carceral networks that reflect the machinations of the neoliberal state, giving rise to the carceral archipelago we find ourselves a part of today.[314]

These foundational theoretical frameworks connect individual carceral experience to the new punitive state.[315] From there, the extra-penological function of incarceration, in which specific populations are disproportionately removed from society and *disciplined* by the state, are brought into view.[316] The role of White supremacy, capitalism, and neoliberalism in mass

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[311] Ibid.
[312] Alexander, Michelle. (2010). *The new Jim Crow : mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness.* New York: New Press.; Davis, Angela Yvonne. *The Angela Y. Davis Reader*. John Wiley & Sons, 1998.
[313] Wacquant, Loic. 2009. "The Body, the Ghetto and the Penal State." *Qualitative Sociology*, no. 1.; Wacquant, Loïc. "Class, race and hyperincarceration in revanchist America." *Socialism and Democracy* 28, no. 3 (2014): 35-56.
[314] Wacquant, Loic. 2009. "The Body, the Ghetto and the Penal State." *Qualitative Sociology*, no. 1, 161.; Loïc Wacquant. 2002. "The Curious Eclipse of Prison Ethnography in the Age of Mass Incarceration." *Ethnography* 3 (4): 371.
[315] Pratt, J. (2005), Elias, Punishment, and Decivilization, *in* Pratt, J., Brown, D., Brown, M., Hallsworth, S., Morrison, W. (eds), *The New Punitiveness: Trends, Theories, Perspectives*, Cullompton, Willan Publishing, 256-271.
[316] Moran, Dominique. *Carceral geography: Spaces and practices of incarceration*. London: Routledge, 2015, 106-107.

incarceration is hard to overstate.[317] Further, the carceral population that comes to be formed from these bodies is taken for granted. If structural forces remain abstract, then there is not a way to address their impact.

The study of incarceration has a long history of essentialization sustaining the status quo. Focusing on enactment moves beyond these carceral epistemologies. When engaging the ontological multiplicities performed, it significantly shifts the way carceral knowledge is engaged with, opening space for an *otherwise*.

Goffman, Foucault, Davis, and Wacquant directly informed this project. Their theoretical approaches provide both a foundation and a point of departure. Across my fieldwork, I found countless resonances and contradictions of their theories, which demanded I attend to the multiple carceral body across intake. This called out for attention to dynamic and nuanced carceral ontologies. Here, incarcerated populations are not what the *sciences of man* or critical scholars imagine. They are both more and less.

In the final part of this chapter, I show how feminist science studies approaches that integrate ontological and critical phenomenological approaches offer a different understanding of c*riminal man*. Together, Barad, Mol, and Guenther's work make it possible to theorize the carceral body multiple, which contrasts with the typical empirical, quantitative approaches to subjectivity used in criminology and biomedicine.

Each component of intake enacts multiplicities of carceral bodies across scales - through visual searches for urgencies/ vulnerabilities, verbal accounts, reviews of extant records, vital signs, rapid laboratory test results, etc. Such enactments occur at the molecular, the molar,

[317] Ibid.

individual, and digital scales. One might expect that they would conflict with one another or remain isolated, instead; they work with and alongside each to produce a carceral body multiple.

Theoretical Framework

After reviewing the literature, it became clear that the carceral body has largely gone unexplored and, when addressed, is most often presented as an *object* (something *things* were done to) or a fixed essence even by critical scholars.[318] However, my research project challenges this and argues that the carceral body carries within it carceral spaces of epistemes and practices that are mutually reinforcing and enmeshed.[319] These embodiments include emotions, digitally recorded diagnoses, charges, and correctional designations.[320]

Prior work has demonstrated that even social science research in correctional facilities is

[318] Atkins, D. Lanette, Andres J. Pumariega, Kenneth Rogers, Larry Montgomery, Cheryl Nybro, Gary Jeffers, and Franklin Sease. "Mental health and incarcerated youth. I: Prevalence and nature of psychopathology." *Journal of Child and Family Studies* 8, no. 2 (1999): 193-204.; Crewe, Ben. "Not looking hard enough: Masculinity, emotion, and prison research." *Qualitative Inquiry* 20, no. 4 (2014): 392-403.; Dixon, Louise, Catherine Hamilton-Giachritsis, and Kevin Browne. "Classifying partner femicide." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 23, no. 1 (2008): 74-93.; Farr, Kathryn Ann. "Classification for female inmates: Moving forward." *Crime & Delinquency* 46, no. 1 (2000): 3-17.; Fogel, Catherine Ingram, Sandra L. Martin, Nancy LR Anderson, Shirley A. Murphy, and Lou Ann S. Dickson. "The mental health of incarcerated women." *Western Journal of Nursing Research* 14, no. 1 (1992): 30-47.; Forrest, Christopher B., Ellen Tambor, Anne W. Riley, Margaret E. Ensminger, and Barbara Starfield. "The health profile of incarcerated male youths." *Pediatrics* 105, no. Supplement 2 (2000): 286-291.; Shields, Ian W., and David J. Simourd. "Predicting predatory behavior in a population of incarcerated young offenders." *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 18, no. 2 (1991): 180-194.; Sorensen, Erik, and Eric Johnson. "Subtypes of incarcerated delinquents constructed via cluster analysis." *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry* 37, no. 3 (1996): 293-303.

[319] Crewe, Ben, Jason Warr, Peter Bennett, and Alan Smith. "The emotional geography of prison life." *Theoretical Criminology* 18, no. 1 (2014): 56-74.

[320] Fieldnotes.

susceptible to calcifying stereotypic beliefs and understandings.[321] This research project seeks to undo such flattening by explicitly engaging with carceral enactments. It is the specificities and nuances that will come to form this foray into empirical philosophy.[322]

Health and corrections processes form carceral bodies across intake and beyond. The theorization of these bodies can inform more than just correctional health care, as it elucidates the broader implications of mass incarceration and opens new sites for intervention. This project uncovers the epistemological frameworks that inform practices in the carceral context. This is critically important as medicalization is often offered as the sole alternative to criminalization. Of course, it would be problematic to suggest that the fields of medicine and corrections are unitary, mutually exclusive, or homogenous. Such assumptions of "epistemological normativity" falter in this ethnographic approach to knowledge and professional practices interacting in a complex ecosystem always in flux.

Ontology & Critical Phenomenology

[321] Atkins, D. Lanette, Andres J. Pumariega, Kenneth Rogers, Larry Montgomery, Cheryl Nybro, Gary Jeffers, and Franklin Sease. "Mental health and incarcerated youth. I: Prevalence and nature of psychopathology." *Journal of Child and Family Studies* 8, no. 2 (1999): 193-204.; Crewe, Ben. "Not looking hard enough: Masculinity, emotion, and prison research." *Qualitative Inquiry* 20, no. 4 (2014): 392-403.; Dixon, Louise, Catherine Hamilton-Giachritsis, and Kevin Browne. "Classifying partner femicide." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 23, no. 1 (2008): 74-93.; Farr, Kathryn Ann. "Classification for female inmates: Moving forward." *Crime & Delinquency* 46, no. 1 (2000): 3-17.; Fogel, Catherine Ingram, Sandra L. Martin, Nancy LR Anderson, Shirley A. Murphy, and Lou Ann S. Dickson. "The mental health of incarcerated women." *Western Journal of Nursing Research* 14, no. 1 (1992): 30-47.; Forrest, Christopher B., Ellen Tambor, Anne W. Riley, Margaret E. Ensminger, and Barbara Starfield. "The health profile of incarcerated male youths." *Pediatrics* 105, no. Supplement 2 (2000): 286-291.; Shields, Ian W., and David J. Simourd. "Predicting predatory behavior in a population of incarcerated young offenders." *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 18, no. 2 (1991): 180-194.; Sorensen, Erik, and Eric Johnson. "Subtypes of incarcerated delinquents constructed via cluster analysis." *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry* 37, no. 3 (1996): 293-303.

[322] Annemarie Mol, 2002. *The body multiple: Ontology in medical practice*. Durham: Duke University Press, 4.

The works of Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1984, 1992, 2001),[323] Donna Haraway(1985, 1989, 1991, 1997, 2003),[324] Annemarie Mol (2002, 2008),[325] Karen Barad (2007),[326] and Lisa Guenther (2006, 2013, 2015)[327] are utilized here to understand the practices that *make up* carceral ontologies. Their work resists the ways criminology and biocriminology has come to fashion an essentialized carceral body knowable only through statistical analysis or a social constructivist frame that produces *the criminal*.[328] Instead, these theoretical approaches facilitate the drawing out of the carceral body multiple.

Bourdieu's focus on practice offers a way to draw out carceral ontologies, while foregrounding my own positionality and sensory experiences. To start, Bourdieu championed

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[323] Bourdieu, Pierre, and Loïc J. D Wacquant. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.; Bourdieu, Pierre, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste.* Rev ed. London: Routledge, 2010.; Bourdieu, Pierre, *Outline of a Theory of Practice.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.; Bourdieu, Pierre., and Richard Nice. *Science of Science and Reflexivity.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

[324] Donna, Haraway. "A manifesto for cyborgs: science, technology, and socialist feminism in the 1980s." *Socialist review* 15, no. 2 (1985): 65-107.; Haraway, Donna Jeanne. *Modest Witness@Second Millennium.FemaleMan Meets OncoMouse : Feminism and Technoscience*. New York : Routledge, 1997., 1997.; Haraway, Donna Jeanne. 1992. *Primate Visions : Gender, Race, and Nature in the World of Modern Science*. London ; New York : Verso, 1992, c1989.; Haraway, Donna Jeanne. *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women : The Reinvention of Nature*. New York : Routledge, 1991., 1991.; Haraway, Donna Jeanne. 2003. *The Companion Species Manifesto : Dogs, People, and Significant Otherness*. Paradigm: 8. Chicago : Prickly Paradigm Press, c2003.; Haraway, Donna Jeanne. 2004. *The Haraway Reader*. New York : Routledge, 2004.

[325] Mol, Annemarie. *The Body Multiple: Ontology in Medical Practice.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.

[326] Barad, Karen Michelle, *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning.* Durham [N.C.]: Duke University Press, 2007.

[327] Adelsberg, Geoffrey, Lisa Guenther, and Scott Zeman. *Death and Other Penalties: Philosophy In a Time of Mass Incarceration.* First edition. New York: Fordham University Press, 2015.; Guenther, Lisa, *Solitary Confinement: Social Death and Its Afterlives.* Minneapolis: University Of Minnesota Press, 2013.; Guenther, Lisa, *The Gift of the Other: Levinas and the Politics of Reproduction.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006.

[328] Mangels, Nancie J. "Latent biases in biocriminological research." *Criminal Justice Studies* 13, no. 2 (2000): 105-123.; Rafter, Nicole. "Criminology's darkest hour: biocriminology in Nazi Germany." *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology* 41, no. 2 (2008): 287-306.; Walby, Kevin, and Nicolas Carrier. "The rise of biocriminology: Capturing observable bodily economies of 'criminal man'." Criminology & Criminal Justice 10, no. 3 (2010): 261-285.

the importance of attending to practices. He theorized the driving force behind practices as the *habitus*, comprised of "propensities" and proclivities.[329] These "inclinations" are not deterministic or even conscious, instead Bourdieu identifies them as having a force impossible to contain in a "theory of practice."[330] For Bourdieu, *doxa*, or common knowledge, belief, or opinion; is the precursor to action and informs *what* is done and *how*.[331] While doxa may be subconscious or taken for granted, they inform what is thinkable and doable.[332] For Bourdieu, the objects made through practices are sociotechnical and impossible to comprehensively describe or characterize as they are experienced over time. Bourdieu further acknowledges the distance between theories of practice and how they actually unfold.[333]

Donna Haraway addresses this unfolding and suggests that organisms are "natural-technical entities" that emerge from discursive practices.[334] She notes that "organisms are not born; they are made in world-changing technoscientific practices by particular collective actors in particular times and places."[335] Haraway goes on to establish a biological body comprised of

> biological research, writing, and publishing; medical and other business practices; cultural productions of all kinds, including available metaphors and narratives; and technology, such as the visualization technologies. [336]

This is a body that hangs together in its scientific, social, and technological multiplicities.[337]

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[329] Bourdieu, Pierre. "Structures, habitus, practices." *The logic of practice* (1990): 52-65.
[330] Bourdieu, Pierre, *Outline of a Theory of Practice.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
[331] Bourdieu, Pierre, and Loïc J. D Wacquant. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.; Bourdieu, Pierre, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste.* Rev ed. London: Routledge, 2010.; Bourdieu, Pierre, *Outline of a Theory of Practice.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.; Bourdieu, Pierre., and Richard Nice. *Science of Science and Reflexivity.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
[332] Ibid.
[333] Ibid.
[334] Haraway, Donna Jeanne. 2004. *The Haraway Reader*. New York : Routledge, 2004, 67.
[335] Ibid., 65.
[336] Ibid., 68.

Bourdieu and Haraway's frameworks set the scene for Mol's theorization of the body multiple. This approach takes Mol's reading of ontology as "not given in the order of things, but instead … brought into being, sustained, or allowed to wither away in common, day-to-day sociomaterial practices."[338] In *The Body Multiple: Ontology in Medical Practice*, Mol addresses the ontological multiplicities of atherosclerosis, engaging the realities made by and from patients, family members, clinicians, and public health workers. Across this text, Mol shows how "attending to the multiplicity of reality is also an act."[339] When such an act is conceptualized in correctional spaces, ontological multiplicities suggest the need to move beyond conditions rendered as either *objects* or *discourses*, towards understanding the practices and events in which they are enacted. Mol applies her approach to ontological multiplicities to atherosclerosis and suggests that the

> manyfoldedness of objects enacted does not imply their fragmentation. Although atherosclerosis in the hospital comes in different versions, these somehow hang together.[340]

For Mol, ontologies emerge and wane as ontologies are made and sustained, rather than being singular and essentialized.[341] Eschewing an assumed singular body, Mol posits that attending to

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[337] Ibid
[338] Mol, Annemarie. 2002. *The body multiple: Ontology in medical practice*. Durham: Duke University Press, 6.
[339] Ibid.
[340] Haraway, Donna Jeanne. 2004. *The Haraway Reader*. New York : Routledge, 2004.; Mol, Annemarie. *The Body Multiple: Ontology In Medical Practice.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2002, 84.; Mol, Annemarie. *The Logic of Care: Health and the Problem of Patient Choice.* London: Routledge, 2008.
[341] Mol, Annemarie. 2002. *The body multiple: Ontology in medical practice*. Durham: Duke University Press.

multiplicities is an intervention in itself.[342]

To illustrate this, Mol delineates the politics of crafting multiplicities.[343] She provides the example of the various ways atherosclerosis comes to be characterized and treated by different types of health care workers (e.g. vascular surgeons scrape arteries, hematological researchers receive blood samples from which to search for a medication, primary care providers review lifestyle and eating habits) and patients.[344] She shows how a disease can be multiple even as it goes by one name. The stakes of each atherosclerosis lie in the different interventions.[345] Mol disrupts assumed hierarchies when she finds that the atherosclerosis made by different specialties hang together without incoherence or clashing as they are distributed over space and time, even with some interdependence.[346]

My conceptualization of the carceral body multiple, like Mol's *body multiple*, hangs together with ruptures and disagreements alongside shared conceptualizations and reliances. Here, Mol's approach to ontologies was integrated with Barad's conceptualization of ontological agential realism in order to bring into view the roles of epistemologies, beliefs and matter.[347] Accordingly, this project does not deny the importance of language, but advances a "*posthumanist performative* approach to understanding technoscience and other

[342] Mol, Annemarie. "Ontological politics. A word and some questions." *The Sociological Review* 47, no. 1_suppl (1999): 74-89.; Mol, Annemarie. *The Body Multiple: Ontology in Medical Practice.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.
[343] Ibid., 7.; Ibid., 13.
[344] Ibid.
[345] Ibid.
[346] Ibid., 115.
[347] Barad, Karen. *Meeting the universe halfway: Quantum physics and the entanglement of matter and meaning*. Duke University Press, 2007.

naturalcultural practices."[348] This has specific implications for bodies, highlighting the importance of boundaries and material entanglements.[349] Barad's approach to *agential reality* resists the post-modern linguistic turn, placing an emphasis on phenomena rather than prioritizing language.[350] She offers the term *agential* to convey that "everything is performative and has agency." [351] Here, *reality* refers to the very real effects of, as well as the connections within and between, everything.[352]

Barad's ontological agential realism, offers a way to address the materialities engaged in the enactment of carcerality across intake. Ontological agential realism "insists that mutually exclusive, shifting, multiple positionings are necessary if the complexity of our intra-actions are to be appreciated."[353] Further, it "involves located or situated knowledges that reject transcendental, universal, unifying master theories in favor of understandings that are embodied and contextual."[354] Their conceptualization of agential reality has the potential to advance an understanding of corrections and correctional health epistemes ontologically as it draws out the ways epistemologies inform the perceptions of and practices surrounding the enactment of carceral bodies.[355] In doing so, this project suggests that corrections and health

[348] Ibid., 32.
[349] Ibid.
[350] Ibid.
[351] Højgaard, Lis, and Dorte Marie Søndergaard. "Theorizing the complexities of discursive and material subjectivity: Agential realism and poststructural analyses." *Theory & Psychology* 21, no. 3 (2011): 345-346.
[352] Højgaard, Lis, and Dorte Marie Søndergaard. "Theorizing the complexities of discursive and material subjectivity: Agential realism and poststructural analyses." *Theory & Psychology* 21, no. 3 (2011): 345-346.
[353]Barad, Karen. "Meeting the Universe Halfway." in Nelson, Lynn Hankinson, and Jack Nelson. *Feminism, Science, and the Philosophy of Science.* Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 1996, 187.
[354] Ibid., 187.
[355] Ibid.

ontologies and epistemologies are deeply imbricated, making it impossible to draw neat distinctions between them. For instance, across intake the incarcerated person is understood and anticipated to *be* a certain *type* of object, and this shapes how they are enacted (through categorizations, rating scales, bodily signs, etc.). For instance, through population data it was determined that incarcerated people are more likely to have mental health diagnoses.[356] There are simultaneously numerous mental health screenings across arrest and intake with various signs taken to be indicators of mental illness or potential mental illness.[357] In seeking signs of mental illness, mental health assessments and diagnoses proliferate.[358]

Barad delineates the importance of studying bodies which she establishes are experiential, epistemological, and ontological. She suggests that, "how the body is positioned and situated in the world is the matter of how bodies are constituted along with the world."[359] When boundaries are demonstrated to be historically produced and socio-politically contingent, the meaning of the carceral body shifts. [360] By attending to embodied boundaries, this project responds to Barad's call for "genealogies of the material-discursive apparatuses of

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[356] Atkins, D. Lanette, Andres J. Pumariega, Kenneth Rogers, Larry Montgomery, Cheryl Nybro, Gary Jeffers, and Franklin Sease. "Mental health and incarcerated youth. I: Prevalence and nature of psychopathology." *Journal of Child and Family Studies* 8, no. 2 (1999): 193-204.; Greenberg, Greg A., and Robert A. Rosenheck. "Jail incarceration, homelessness, and mental health: A national study." *Psychiatric services* 59, no. 2 (2008): 170-177.; Odgers, Candice L., Mandi L. Burnette, Preeti Chauhan, Marlene M. Moretti, and N. Dickon Reppucci. "Misdiagnosing the problem: Mental health profiles of incarcerated juveniles." *The Canadian Child and Adolescent Psychiatry Review* 14, no. 1 (2005): 26.; Teplin, Linda A., Karen M. Abram, and Gary M. McClelland. "Prevalence of psychiatric disorders among incarcerated women: I. Pretrial jail detainees." *Archives of general psychiatry* 53, no. 6 (1996): 505-512.
[357] Fieldnotes.
[358] Ibid.
[359] Barad, Karen. "Meeting the Universe Halfway." in Nelson, Lynn Hankinson, and Jack Nelson. *Feminism, Science, and the Philosophy of Science.* Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 1996, 160.
[360] Ibid., 172.; Barad, Karen. "Posthumanist performativity: Toward an understanding of how matter comes to matter." *Signs: Journal of women in culture and society* 28, no. 3 (2003): 801-831.

production which take account of the intra-active topographical dynamics that reconfigure the space time manifold."[361] At stake is the foundational premise of racialized Western configurations of *criminal man*.[362]

In this project, enactments are the primary ontological unit, rather than *things*.[363] This renders the lenses of the sciences (biomedical and criminology) visible, while simultaneously highlighting my participatory role and the implications of the theoretical and methodological tools I employ. It also acknowledges the inseparability of research tools and their findings, making ethnography a participant in this research.[364]

Matter is central and shapes how intake is experienced and how bodies (analog and digital) are enacted. Intake is comprised of a complex series of steps (e.g. screenings by police officers, screenings by health care staff both before and after arraignment, the provision of uniforms, screenings by corrections officers, searches for contraband, medical testing, and mental health screenings) that enroll matter and spatial contexts that have real and embodied effects.[365] The focus on materialities was particularly important in informing my data collection practices. This attention to matter included the detailed documentation of both digital and analog enactments.

Lisa Guenther's approach to phenomenology provided the final piece of the puzzle. Guenther's critical phenomenology responds to Elizabeth Grosz's concerns about the

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[361] Barad, Karen. "Meeting the Universe Halfway." in Nelson, Lynn Hankinson, and Jack Nelson. *Feminism, Science, and the Philosophy of Science.* Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 1996, 103.
[362] This has the potential to challenge the idea of *the criminal* by foregrounding the system that calcifies identities, practices, and phenomena.
[363] Barad, Karen. *Meeting the universe halfway: Quantum physics and the entanglement of matter and meaning*. Duke University Press, 2007, 135.
[364] Ibid., 103.
[365] Ibid.,160.

progenitors and early history of phenomenology and its implications for female embodiment. [366] Grosz notes that early male phenomenologists took it upon themselves to describe women's experiences and privileged the mind over the body, and sight above other senses. [367] Guenther's conceptualization of critical phenomenology engages the beneficial aspects of phenomenology, while resolving some of these concerns.[368] Guenther defines critical phenomenology as "first-person accounts of experience" that are "also critical of classical phenomenology's claim that the first-person singular is absolutely prior to intersubjectivity and to the complex textures of social life."[369] This makes it possible to approach the experiential and systemic simultaneously.

The experience of intake, with its embodied affects, are part of the complex multiplicities of carceral bodies. As perspectivalism makes the carceral body both everywhere and nowhere, it is through engagement with the experiential that the stakes of mass incarceration can be made *real* as they are enacted and *felt*. Across this project, events are recounted that have connections (some fragile like spiderwebs, some direct and weighty) to the carceral body. Beside the accounting of events are the feelings and sensations that arise and persist, taking on their own ebb and flow. These are the ways of understanding the hurt, the pain, the discomfort, the relief, the disappointment, etc. of being newly incarcerated.

Guenther draws upon Merleau-Ponty, Levinas, and Fanon to delineate a

[366] Grosz, Elizabeth A. *Volatile bodies: Toward a corporeal feminism*. Indiana University Press, 1994, 111.
[367] Ibid., 111.
[368] Guenther, Lisa, *Solitary Confinement: Social Death and Its Afterlives.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013, xiii.
[369]Ibid., 20.

phenomenology that addresses systemic racism, sexism, and mass incarceration.[370] She suggests that without this critical component, phenomenology is unable to address structural violences that "explain why some subjects are more likely targets of this violence than others."[371] This acknowledges that experience and embodied knowledge is also mediated, not just by representation (language/ jargon), but also by social, economic, material, and political structures.[372] These structures, in turn, shape practices. In sum, critical phenomenology is equipped to address both the embodied experience of incarceration and the significant disparities in the United States criminal justice system.

Together, these theoretical frameworks make it possible to resist hegemonic representations of knowledges, such as biocriminology, through which marginalized bodies are made *pathological* and *criminal*. Knowledge is reordered and released from the strictures of traditional hierarchies and linear practices. For instance, the embodied experience of schizophrenia is entangled with clinical diagnoses, family experiences, correctional classifications, paper gowns, and treatment protocols. The form of ontology delineated here illuminates the mutual constitution of the body and the carceral archipelago, the mechanisms that animate them, and the strictures that are made and remade to contain and reimagine them.

This project positions itself as an abolitionist science and technology studies text in relation to feminist science and technology studies as it furthers understandings of how

[370] Ibid., xiii-xiv.
[371] Ibid., xiv.
[372] Guenther, Lisa, *Solitary Confinement: Social Death and Its Afterlives.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013.; Mol, Annemarie. *The Body Multiple: Ontology in Medical Practice.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2002, 26.

epistemes and materialities influence the enactment of carceral bodies. While the body was long dismissed as unimportant compared to the mind, feminist theorists reclaimed the body as an essential site of study. This project addresses the body and mind. The premise of feminist studies is that bodies and minds are neither singular entities nor epistemological effects, but rather ontological multiplicities or assemblages shaped in relation to broader forces. The idea underlying such a conceptualization is that individuals and their bodies are both more and less than we credit them with being. The methods adopted here foreground this by describing the multiplicities enacted.

Conclusion

The form of ontology adopted here incorporates critical phenomenology, binding together the work of Pierre Bourdieu, Donna Haraway, Elizabeth Grosz, Karen Barad, Annemarie Mol, and Lisa Guenther. Joined, this allows for an 'incarcerated body multiple' that ranges from internal sensorial experiences to those made through the large datasets of public health and criminology.[373] These frameworks account for the entanglement of broad social constructs, power dynamics, technical objects, etc.

As can be seen in the vignette at the outset of the chapter, there are multiple manifestations of what otherwise looks like a single actor - a carceral body. Given how these multiplicities, it is no longer possible to accept the ontological assumptions embedded in the fields of biomedicine and criminology. This suggests the need to move beyond readings of

[373] Guenther, Lisa. 2013. *Solitary confinement: Social death and its afterlives*. Minneapolis: University Of Minnesota Press.

bodies as objects, discourses, or representations, and instead to understand the phenomena, practices, materialities, and events in which they are enacted.

The study of the carceral body stands in stark contrast to the biotechnical approach to criminal man, thereby serving as grounds for abolition. Whereas biocriminology seeks a biological criminal, critical phenomenology and feminist studies reveal that there is no such thing as a biological criminal. For instance, drawing out the multiplicities of substance use disorders and their treatments enacted in correctional settings makes their politics visible.[374] Substance use disorders are political in the sense that they are not given. For instance, some diagnoses will be perpetuated while others will fizzle out, some criminalized while others are pathologized.[375] These ebbs and flows are shaped by social structures, epistemologies, technologies, spatialities, politics, etc.; each of which are delineated so as to be made future sites of abolition. Such ontological approaches mark a shift from monisms and plays an explanatory role in the ontological effects of correctional health and corrections regimes.

This work positions itself in the nascent subfield of abolitionist science and technology studies. Acknowledging that "reality is multiple" means that "it is also political."[376] The conclusion chapter addresses the politics of carceral ontologies and what it might mean for abolition. The hope is that in contributing to the abolitionist science and technology studies literature, this project can serve as one additional voice championing the importance of science and technology studies in addressing the criminal justice system and mass incarceration.

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[374] Mol, Annemarie. *The Body Multiple: Ontology in Medical Practice.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2002, 7.
[374] Ibid., 7-13.;
[375] Rafter, Nicole. *The criminal brain: Understanding biological theories of crime*. NYU Press, 2008.
[376] Mol, Annemarie. *The Body Multiple: Ontology in Medical Practice.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2002, 13.

Ultimately, by attending to the practices and processes of intake, this project resists Western conceptions of individual and independent selves. Focusing on intake enactments draws out configurations of the carceral body in its instabilities and contingencies. This stands in stark contrast to the stated goals of the health and corrections intakes, which seeks to neatly identify, categorize, and eventually place carceral bodies. The incorporation of these theoretical approaches demands a set of methodologies that draw out multiplicities and the complex relationalities of carceral bodies as will be delineated in the next chapter.

Chapter 3: Methods

> Ethnography helps me to avoid looking at the embodied experiences of incarceration from an (at times) disembodied perspective, or detached position.[377]

Introduction

This chapter addresses the methods that grow out of the ontological and critical phenomenological approaches set forth by Pierre Bourdieu, Donna Haraway, Annemarie Mol, Karen Barad, and Lisa Guenther. The methods were selected for their ability to theorize the carceral body and address the two central questions – 1) how do jail intake processes produce carceral bodies (analog and digital) and what are the ontological implications? 2) how are jail intake processes reflective of the values and logics of a carceral society?

The choice of methodologies was, in part, political as I intended for them to shed light upon jail sites that are largely inaccessible to those largely untouched by the direct affects of the criminal justice system. My research is suffused with abolitionist politics, as this is an attempt at scholarly activism.[378] Given the access, albeit precarious, I had, I felt a responsibility to contribute to the efforts of scholars and activists working towards carceral abolition.[379] This research came at a cost to my own wellbeing, as jails are incredibly difficult places. Ultimately,

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[377] Piacentini, Palgrave handbook of prison ethnography, 81.

[378] Mathiesen, Thomas. *The politics of abolition revisited*. London and New York: Routledge, 2014.

[379] Ben-Moshe, Liat. 2018. "Dis-Epistemologies of Abolition." *Critical Criminology* 26 (3): 341–55.; Calathes, William. 2017. "Racial Capitalism and Punishment Philosophy and Practices: What Really Stands in the Way of Prison Abolition." *Contemporary Justice Review* 20 (4): 442–55.; Davis, Angela Y., and Dylan Rodriguez. "The challenge of prison abolition: A conversation." *Social Justice* 27, no. 3 (81 (2000): 212-218.; McLeod, Allegra M. 2015. "Prison Abolition and Grounded Justice." *UCLA Law Review*, no. Issue 5: 1156.; Roberts, Dorothy E. "Constructing a criminal justice system free of racial bias: An abolitionist framework." *Colum. Hum. Rts. L. Rev.* 39 (2007): 261.; Roberts, Dorothy E. 2019. "Foreword: Abolition Constitutionalism." *Harvard Law Review* 133 (1): 3–122.; Stanley, Eric, Dean Spade, and Queer (In)Justice. 2012. "Queering Prison Abolition, Now?" *American Quarterly* 64 (1): 115.

the methods I selected allow for the steps of intake to demonstrate the ways in which the carceral body is enacted, rather than given or born.

Focusing on enactments draws out the carceral epistemologies made and, in turn, remade through carceral bodies. From its founding, science and technology studies has focused on the practices, processes, and materialities of the making and application of knowledge within broader socio-political contexts.[380] When science and technology studies began to be applied to the criminal justice system and its attendant epistemic frameworks (criminology, forensics, biomedicine), the underlying logics were denaturalized.[381]

Further, the carceral body multiple as it is experienced, assessed, and assembled calls for attention to nuance and detail. To this end, ethnographic methods best served the theoretical mandates. The fraught history of prison ethnography is acknowledged here, with this project positioned as a way to intervene in this legacy.[382] To this end, this chapter begins

[380] Rowe, Abigail. 2014. "Situating the Self in Prison Research: Power, Identity, and Epistemology." *Qualitative Inquiry* 20, no. 4: 468.

[381] Ruha Benjamin. 2016. "Catching Our Breath: Critical Race STS and the Carceral Imagination." *Engaging Science, Technology, and Society*, 145.; Cole, Simon A. 2016. "Scandal, Fraud, and the Reform of Forensic Science: The Case of Fingerprint Analysis." *West Virginia Law Review*, no. Issue 2: 523.; Cole, Simon A. "Who Will Regulate American Forensic Science." *Seton Hall Law Review*, no. Issue 3 (2017): 563.; Cole, Simon A., and Barry C. Scheck. 2017. "Fingerprints and Miscarriages of Justice: Other Types of Error and a Post-Conviction Right to Database Searching." *Albany Law Review*, no. Issue 3: 807.

[382] Biondi, Karina, and John F. Collins. *Sharing This Walk: An Ethnography of Prison Life and the PCC In Brazil.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016.; Chantraine, Gilles. "Prisons under the lens of ethnographic criticism: Gilles Chantraine advocates for ethnographies of the social uses of law in prisons." *Criminal Justice Matters* 91, no. 1 (2013): 30-31.; Crewe, Ben. "Prison drug dealing and the ethnographic lens." *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice* 45, no. 4 (2006): 347-368.; Cunha, Manuela. "The ethnography of prisons and penal confinement." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 43 (2014): 217-233.; Drake, Deborah H., Rod Earle, and Jennifer Sloan. "General introduction: What ethnography tells us about prisons and what prisons tell us about ethnography." In *The Palgrave handbook of prison ethnography*, pp. 1-16. Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2015.; Fassin, Didier. *Prison Worlds: An Ethnography of the Carceral Condition.* Oxford: Polity Press, 2016.; Frois, Catarina. *Female Imprisonment: An Ethnography of Everyday Life in Confinement.* Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017.; Gariglio, Luigi.´*Doing' Coercion in Male Custodial Settings: An Ethnography of Italian Prison Officers Using Force.* London: Taylor and Francis, 2017.

with an overview of the methods that were adopted, followed by a narrative that delineates the challenges of gaining access to correctional facilities and developing trust. Then, the role of emotions and reflexivity is addressed. The hope is that the detailed engagement with access, the role of emotions, and reflexivity can serve as a roadmap for other carceral researchers.

Methods

Applied Feminist Ontological Approach

In order to address the core research questions, this dissertation took an applied feminist ontological approach to the enactment of carceral bodies. This drew heavily from Annemarie Mol's approach to the *body multiple*, which engaged ethnography and interviews.[383] Mol builds upon Haraway's acknowledgment that the study of phenomena changes them, pointing to the myth of direct knowability and objectivity.[384]

This project acknowledged that the questions asked and methods employed have politics that span from the practices of data collection to the authoring of manuscripts.[385] This makes a multiplicative politics as my research, which engages a politics of abolition, draws out the methods used by health and corrections professionals in the New York City jails. Taking an ontological feminist approach meant paying careful attention to and prioritizing the

[383] Martin, Denise, Mary Jane Spink, and Pedro Paulo Gomes Pereira. 2018. "Multiple Bodies, Political Ontologies and the Logic of Care: An Interview with Annemarie Mol." *Interface: Comunicacao Saude Educacao*, no. 64: 295–305.; Mol, Annemarie. 2002. *The Body Multiple : Ontology in Medical Practice*. Science and Cultural Theory. Duke University Press.
[384] Haraway, Donna Jeanne. 2004. *The Haraway Reader*. Routledge.
[385] Trinh, T. Minh-Ha. *Woman, Native, Other : Writing Postcoloniality and Feminism*. Indiana University Press, 1989.

documentation of how intake is *done* in practice.[386] In taking an empirical philosophical approach to the carceral body multiple, careful attention to materialities, physicalities, and emotion was essential to countermand a purely logistic description of steps and stages alone.[387]

Beyond observations recorded in fieldnotes, this ethnography incorporates individual interviews and the collection, recording and analysis of documents, forms, electronic health record templates, corrections technologies (helmets with face shields, Tasers, shivs/ handmade weapons), health technologies (e.g. surgical masks, "sharps," centrifuge, vaccines) and physical practices (e.g. verbal directives, drawing blood, palpation, use of restraints).[388] This careful documentation of non-human actants (e.g. forms, signage, equipment, structural features) was in keeping with feminist and materialist science and technology studies traditions that go beyond the human.[389]

Practices

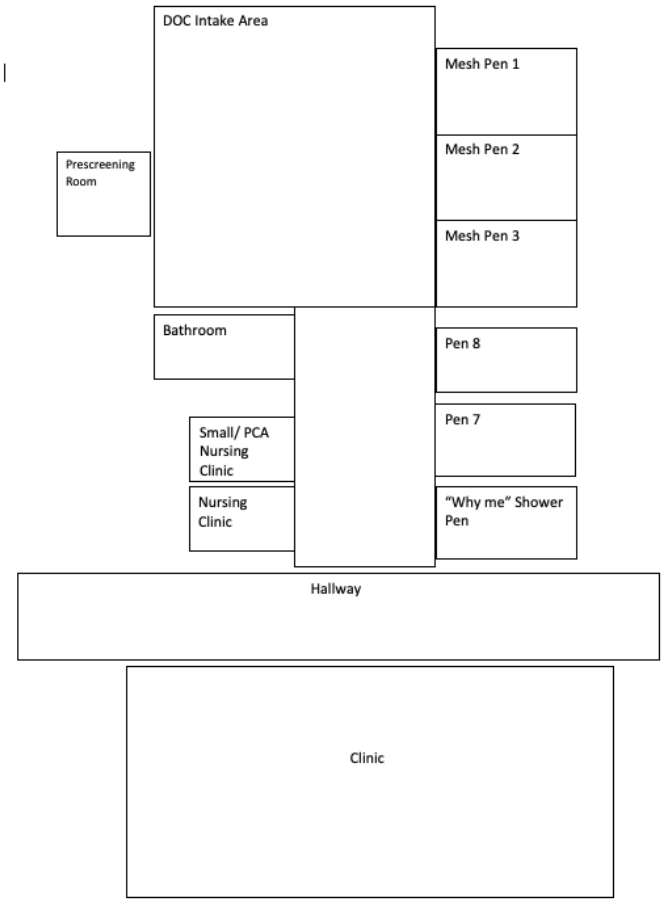
My research process began with reaching out to my former supervisor in the New York City jails in April, 2016. This was initiated through a series of emails and phone calls in which to narrow the focus of my dissertation. At first I planned to look at health acuity, but after a number of conversations, it became clear that intake was the process that my former supervisor was most concerned about. He spoke about the numerous barriers to health

[386] Mol, Annemarie. 2002. *The Body Multiple : Ontology in Medical Practice*. Science and Cultural Theory. Duke University Press.
[387] Martin, Denise, Mary Jane Spink, and Pedro Paulo Gomes Pereira. 2018. "Multiple Bodies, Political Ontologies and the Logic of Care: An Interview with Annemarie Mol." *Interface: Comunicacao Saude Educacao*, no. 64: 295–305.; Mol, Annemarie. 2002. *The Body Multiple : Ontology in Medical Practice*. Science and Cultural Theory. Duke University Press.
[388] Clifford et al., 1986; Fortun, 2003
[389] Latour, Bruno. *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*, Oxford University Press USA - OSO, 2005.

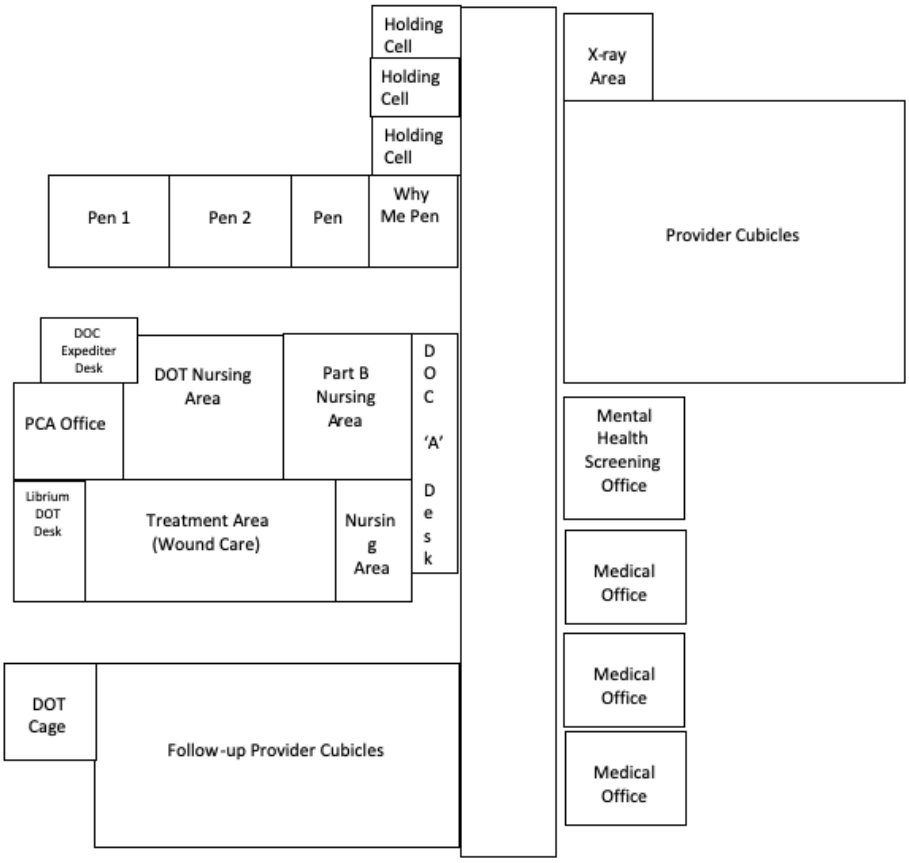
oversight, which he saw as problematic, and of corrections processes and a number of instances in which incarcerated people had almost died in the intake pens. These concerns were greatest in AMKC, the male facility that receives the majority of incarcerated people with severe substance use and/ or mental health needs requiring medication.

All of my background and security checks were completed by March, 2017. I then began to go between three facilities (AMKC, MDC, and RMSC) from March through November, 2017. As AMKC had the largest number of intakes, and had a reputation for having a particularly dangerous intake process, I spent most of my time in AMKC.

Title: AMKC DOC Intake Area Map



Title: AMKC Clinic Intake Area Map



I rotated the time of day in order to get a sense of intake across different shifts. I also worked with a variety of staff as I hoped to understand the varying roles of nursing, medical, corrections, pharmacy and mental health staff. Given that there were considerable differences in intake between shifts and personnel, this provided insight into the variations.[390]

Seven formal interviews took place in various locations across this time including the offices in 55 Water Street, correctional health trailers inside West Facility, and Health and Hospital Trailers outside of RNDC. These interviews were with New York City Health and Hospitals Corporation Correctional Health Services staff in positions of leadership. They do not

[390] Fieldnotes.

include the countless conversations that I took notes on during my ethnographic data collection. This type of data collection was particularly common due to the long stretches of waiting (e.g. for escort officers, for alarms to "clear").

Over the course of this project, I went approximately 31 times between January 24th, 2017 and October 8th, 2017 to collect ethnographic data onsite. This ethnographic data collection began with my own difficulties being "cleared." Given the length of time that it took me to get onto and off of the Island amongst other factors, I would spend as long as possible in the jails. On the days that I began prior to midnight and stayed past midnight, this was counted as a single visit in my fieldnotes. During this time of data collection, I was often limited in terms of where I was able to go in facilities without officer *escort*. This was highly enforced in the women's' facility (RMSC) in which I was largely restricted to clinic spaces and had to wait for an escort officer to cross the hallway to get to the clinic from the inner gate, which was only a matter of feet.

I also took ethnographic notes on public transportation (i.e. on the Q100 and route buses) to and from as well as around the Island. These notes provided insight into the journey families made to visit their loved ones and the routes of staff and volunteers as they made their way to facilities. Further, I made a note of newspaper and other public media stories about the New York City jails which were mentioned by staff, incarcerated people, or visitors during data collection.

This project relied upon fieldnotes taken by hand and typed up as soon as possible afterwards. Even the pad and paper I used were regulated, as the notebooks could not be spiral-bound and I had to remain vigilant so as not to put my pen down. This was the only

avenue of recording allowed given the restrictions surrounding recording devices or any other technologies that might assist in the transcription of data. The politics of this are clear and such restrictions are strategic. There is the sense in the New York City jails that they are careening from one scandal to the next. These scandals increasingly surround the *proof* of rule breaking or abuse gathered on smuggled or prohibited cellphones.[391] For instance, while conducting my research there was a photograph that went viral of an officer kissing an incarcerated man and another of a sleeping corrections officers with the incarcerated men in her housing area taking a group photo standing around her.[392]

Given the material limitations, the data collected here relied upon notes taken in the moment and the recreation of scenes from memory. This makes the data, as with all ethnographic projects, deeply mediated and partial.[393] It is even further fragmented when considering the layers of sounds, sights, smells, feelings occurring at once. This layering resulted in my having to choose which of the elements to record in the moment, a process that was often not conscious. That being said, even if I had been able to write everything down in the moment, it would still be difficult to convey. Often times, this resulted in my writing as much as possible at the time and then leaving guideposts in my notes as a reminder to add more details on the long journeys in and out of the jails or when typing up the notes. I also experienced

[391] Celona, Larry. "How'd these inmates take this picture?" *New York Post*. Published May 23, 2016. https://nypost.com/2016/05/23/howd-these-inmates-get-a-contraband-phone-to-take-this-picture/.; Doyle, John. "Rikers officer busted sleeping on job." *New York Post.* Published December 29, 2009.; Thompson, Desire. "Rikers Island Captain Resigns After Footage Surfaces Of Her Kissing Inmate." Vibe. Published March 15, 2017. https://www.vibe.com/2017/03/rikers-island-captian-resigns-kissing-inmate.

[392] Fieldnotes.

[393] Davies, Charlotte Aull. 2002. *Reflexive Ethnography : A Guide to Researching Selves and Others*. Vol. Taylor & Francis e-Library ed. ASA Research Methods in Social Anthropology. London: Taylor & Francis Routledge.; Harrison, Anthony Kwame. 2018. *Ethnography*. Understanding Qualitative Research. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

physical limits. I have carpal tunnel and another condition that affects my hands, which led to a constant pain that served as another limitation.[394]

The formal interviews as well as the informal conversations that took place across my ethnographic work were aimed at eliciting participants' embodied experiences to supplement my own observations. The interviews employed open-ended questions that were flexible enough to follow-up on participant responses and engage subjective experiences. Anonymity was of great concern across this project as the stakes are high. The New York City jails are not only punitive for incarcerated people, but also for corrections and health care staff.[395] It was for this reason that I changed all of the names and remain vague about the specific positions of those reflected in my ethnographic work. I also masked the dates so that it would not be possible to match the position of those described with the name of those working on specific dates. For instance, I am aware that there might be dire consequences for a provider who screened a female officer's blood pressure per her request and found that it was dangerously high. The provider counseled her on going to the hospital and immediately taking her medications, which she had left at home. In the end, the provider asked her if she wanted a record of the encounter. The officer declined and went back to her shift that had just started.[396] The privacy of data such as this is multiple in that it is not only health information, but there could be serious professional implications for both staff members. This is just one of countless examples that demonstrate the special attention needed to protect the identities of participants in corrections research.

[394] Fieldnotes.
[395] Ibid.
[396] Ibid.

Sensory Data

It is in response to these dynamics that some contemporary carceral ethnographers have foregrounded the embodied nature of ethnography.[397]

> The prison is where one simply cannot avoid effect on vision, mobility and hearing. Presented in these terms, the researcher's body cannot be ignored but becomes central to alerting us to new ways of understanding how the circuits of power flow, or are disrupted.[398]

It is through one's senses that the realities of incarceration can begin to be understood. Across this project I found myself confronted by my own bodily demands and vulnerabilities. For instance, I had a very difficult time breathing because of the poor air quality in the jails, worsened by the frequent use of pepper spray. This gave rise to sensations of panic when during one of the frequent lockdowns I had an asthma attack and realized that I left my inhaler in the clinic. I imagine that this is also a concern for those who have been arrested without their inhaler or had their inhaler taken from them during the search process. In fact, part of the relief of having my inhaler with me is knowing that in case of emergency, I have it on hand for anyone unable to breathe.

My sensory experience and attention are reflected in my fieldnotes and are reflective of my history in these spaces and my voice. I entered the jails with particular knowledges, memories, and intentions and these cannot be extricated, nor would it be desirable to do so.

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[397] Fassin, Didier. *Prison Worlds: An Ethnography of the Carceral Condition.* Oxford: Polity Press, 2016.; Frois, Catarina. *Female Imprisonment: An Ethnography of Everyday Life in Confinement.* Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017.

[398] Piacentini, Palgrave handbook of prison ethnography, 86.

This history enriched my research and helped me to navigate the jails. This past also informs why I chose this research in the first place.

Additionally, the ambient noise is nearly overwhelming and at times I transcribed these sounds and noises, although I could not be certain that I sought consent from the person beyond the dividers or doors yelling. However, being able to document the ambient noises and the unheeded screams for help seemed essential for understanding intake spaces. I had a strong affective reaction to the screams for help, sobbing, and the banging of skulls on concrete walls. It is out of these experiences that I feel the carceral ethnographer's moral responsibility to shed light on the black box of jail intake and incarceration.

There is also a terrible odor in your nose that sours your belly when you are sitting in the intake area across from a pen where two men are painting the walls with their feces, for instance. I am ashamed when I feel revolted by the smell emanating from a homeless man with necrotic tissue on his foot and leg. The body acclimates to most smells, they fade into the background, but with human feces and rotting flesh, this is not the case. I smell them weeks later conjured from nowhere, making me instantly sick. These smells take on a physical force and they linger in the nose and haunt. This, and countless other instances, fostered visceral understanding of carceral spaces, tiny filaments of the complex tapestry of power, security, and surveillance in carceral settings.

Analysis

I began the analysis process while I was collecting data. Data was coded and grouped with recurring themes identified. This iterative analytic process shaped data collection (e.g.

documents, digital and analog forms, observations, interviews) answer remaining questions and address uncertainties. Given that this project sought to draw out ontological multiplicities, the objective of data collection and analysis was not to establish a universal theory. Instead, it was careful attention to the particularities that were central. Furthermore, the theoretical frameworks resisted clear notions of "saturation" and my data collection ceased when I lost access to my research site.

Access: Waits and Gates

Carceral ethnography continues to be anemic, particularly in the United States, as access is complex and extremely challenging.[399] This is likely due to concerns about anything negative being discovered and reported, despite the fact that it is cloaked in the language of *security* and *risk*. This gives rise to months awaiting clearance from corrections and health care systems, multiple IRB applications and reviews, and the barring of most research tools.

Gaining access to the New York City jails and intake spaces was an extremely protracted and difficult process. For instance, as I sought to enter into new spaces or spaces that required additional clearances, this was often contingent upon the development of personal relationships with staff, timing, and luck. It is worth noting that this account of the process of gaining entry to the jails also speaks to the intentional bureaucratic process that deters and blocks access. This narrative should be read with an eye towards the politics of the protracted "clearance" process.

[399] Wacquant, Loïc. "Class, race and hyperincarceration in revanchist America." *Socialism and Democracy* 28, no. 3 (2014): 35-56.; Wacquant, Loïc. "The curious eclipse of prison ethnography in the age of mass incarceration." *Ethnography* 3, no. 4 (2002): 371-397.

I began my Virginia Tech IRB application in April, 2016, at which time I provided those in supervisory positions at the New York City Health and Hospitals Corporation with a timeline and requested a letter of support. I then began a second IRB for process New York City Health and Hospitals Corporation through the private corporation they are contracted with - Biomedical Research Alliance of New York. Such ethics boards have been critiqued for their role in homogenizing and serving as a barrier to critical carceral research.[400]

The IRB used by New York City Health and Hospitals Corporation was a private IRB that seemed to primarily anticipate medical, and specifically pharmaceutical, research.[401] This medical bent made much of the review process inapplicable to my research. Across the submission and monitoring process, the role of the IRB as a risk management tool was made evident. While IRBs serve as a body that confers a degree of legal protection, the use of for-profit IRBs by government agencies raises a number of questions given the financial relationship between reviewers and reviewees. It is also indicative of the numerous for-profit companies that are engaged in mass incarceration, even when these are state, county, city, or federally run facilities.[402]

I also completed a New York City Health and Hospitals Corporation volunteer application, which gave me a recognized status in the jails. Once the volunteer application has

[400] Balfour, Gillian, and Joane Martel. "Critical Prison Research and University Research Ethics Boards: Homogenization of Inquiry and Policing of Carceral Knowledge." *Oñati Socio-Legal Series* 8, no. 2 (2018).; Schlosser, Jennifer A. "Issues in interviewing inmates: Navigating the methodological landmines of prison research." *Qualitative Inquiry* 14, no. 8 (2008): 1500-1525.

[401] Fieldnotes.

[402] Aviram, Hadar. "Are Private Prisons to Blame for Mass Incarceration and Its Evils: Prison Conditions, Neoliberalism, and Public Choice." *Fordham Urb. LJ* 42 (2014): 411.; Gottschalk, Marie. *The prison and the gallows: The politics of mass incarceration in America*. Cambridge University Press, 2006.; Wagner, Peter, and Bernadette Rabuy. "Following the money of mass incarceration." *Prison Policy Initiative* (2017).; Wagner, Peter, and Bernadette Rabuy. "Mass incarceration: The whole pie 2017." *Prison policy initiative* 14 (2017).

been reviewed and "cleared," I scheduled a fingerprinting session with the New York City Corrections Department for December 13th, 2017. This was necessary, despite my previous employment there, because of a scandal after I left in which it was revealed that staff fingerprints were rarely if ever checked and had just been placed in New York City Corrections Department file cabinets.[403]

I was living in Los Angeles at the time that I was requesting access to Rikers and flew to New York City to get fingerprinted. They had great difficulty fingerprinting me because of the cracked skin on my fingertips. The City of New York Corrections Department has begun using a new electronic fingerprint system and it rejected my prints again and again as "unreadable."[404] In this way, my fingertips were and were not made digital – making me "unreadable," and therefore "unclearable." Eventually the printing corrections officer gave up and said that they would submit them "as they are" and "see what comes back."[405] She told me that sometimes the prints get accepted anyway.[406] She then suggested that when I came back I should bring gummy bears to press against my fingers as the tackiness might make my fingerprints readable.[407]

I flew back to Los Angeles and had the sinking feeling I would have to go back a second time. To prepare for re-printing, I purchase cornhusker's lotion, which is toxic to humans, but I use it almost constantly to try to make my fingerprints *legible*. I then flew back to New York City

[403] Winerip, Michael and Schwirtz, Michael. "New York City to End Contract With Rikers Health Care Provider." *The New York Times.* June 10, 2015. https://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/11/nyregion/report-details-failings-of-corizon-rikers-island-health-provider.html
[404] Fieldnotes.
[405] Ibid.
[406] Ibid.
[407] Ibid.

and entered Rikers Island again on January 24th, 2017 for reprinting. This required additional clearances to get to The City of New York Correction Department fingerprinting trailer on Rikers Island. I sat and waited for the fingerprinting officer for almost three hours, but this time my prints were accepted. I then anxiously waited several more weeks for my fingerprints to be read and my background check to "clear."[408]

Across this printing and clearance process, I was always vigilant about how I presented myself. I wore conservative business attire, which included slacks, oxford shirts, closed-toed shoes without metal, and sweaters[409]. These were loose fitting and I refer to them as my "grandpa outfits."[410] I was mindful to always be patient as I could be, as I was at the mercy of the timing of others. This management of the self was exhausting and required constant care and transitions from one person or setting to another.

When I was finally cleared by the New York City Corrections Department, I went to New York City Health and Hospitals Corporation's main Correctional Health Services office at 55 Water Street to receive a volunteer identification badge that allowed me to enter the jails. This tiny plastic card gave any entry to the front gates and jail facilities where I trade the New York City Health and Hospitals Corporation volunteer identification badge for a "facility badge."[411]

It routinely took me around three hours each way to get to and from the jails. In part, this was because of the erratic schedule of the Q100 Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) bus that goes to the Rikers Island Visit Center, but there were also often long waits for

[408] Ibid.
[409] Ibid.
[410] Ibid.
[411] Ibid.

the on-island buses, particularly at night and on the weekends.[412] This process of entering and exiting the jails left me with about six hours of travel daily. If I left at night, the trip would take even longer due to the less frequent public transportation schedules and nighttime track maintenance and repair. The purpose of disclosing this aspect of my research is to make explicit that even once a researcher has a certain amount of access, actually entering the research site remains encumbered, forming a further deterrent. There are also parallels between my waiting, often in uncomfortable weather conditions, and the waiting that takes place for incarcerated people (e.g. waiting for medication, sleep, a call to family), staff (e.g. waiting for alarms to end, relief, access to patients), and visiting family members (e.g. waiting for the bus, to store items, to be searched). Even when thinking back to these waits is difficult because of the sense of powerlessness, frustration and anxiety of knowing that you are at the mercy of a punishing system.

Another form of access, interpersonal access, is contingent upon the building and maintenance of trust. The dance of "fitting in" at the jails is very difficult and I felt exhausted by the daily work required. This meant that there were times I was unable to record all that was unfolding around me because I had to maintain eye contact or respond empathically. I would come to think of this as a careful dance that was enervating in a way that is hard to describe. I felt myself in a perpetual battle with the mistrust and frustration that working in jails can bring, and was careful to present myself in particular ways to staff in order for them to feel more comfortable around me and more willing to speak. Further, this state of constant vigilance is felt even more acutely by incarcerated people and new staff as they are scrutinized,

[412] Ibid.

categorized, and placed. It was another form of precarity as any social mishaps could limit or end my access.[413]

Across this, I find myself chafing against the strict "institutional and moral hierarchies" as I must build and maintain rapport with incarcerated people, corrections personnel, and health care staff across titles and roles.[414] My unease revealed the workings and nuances of the ever-morphing negotiations they required. For instance, the tension and strife between the patient care assistant, nurse, and the corrections officer assigned to the first part of the health intake is palpable across each "tour," which refers to a work shift but comes from the military phrase "tour of duty."[415]

For instance, I felt very close to the primary patient care assistants and the corrections officer assigned to the Part A intake post and yet there is great strain between them. This frustration arises from the long wait for the corrections officer to arrive, as he routinely has a "shifted tour" because he has to wait for his "relief" to arrive before he can leave. This means that the patient care assistant must wait hours because the corrections officer is needed to unlock the intake area, distribute urine cups, and stand outside the intake area clinic rooms.

One day I am sitting with a patient care assistant I genuinely love spending time with. She is humming as she sets up the testing materials. I am always happy to see her and it is soothing to sit in her presence, despite the chaos around us. On this tour, she and the corrections officer begin screaming at one another and I freeze. I cannot take sides and the

[413] Fieldnotes.
[414] Rowe, Abigail. 2014. "Situating the Self in Prison Research: Power, Identity, and Epistemology." *Qualitative Inquiry* 20 (4): 464.
[415] Loeser, Stu and Jennifer Falk. "Mayor Bloomberg Signs Legislation Modifying Tour Of Duty Rotation For Correction Officers." November 9, 2006. https://www1.nyc.gov/office-of-the-mayor/news/394-06/mayor-bloomberg-signs-legislation-modifying-tour-duty-rotation-correction-officers

corrections officer is having a hard time understanding what the PCA is yelling at him because of her thick accent. I am stuck in between them and feel utterly helpless.[416] Normally, I would translate, but this time I am silent. This demonstrates the rising tensions as pressures bear down on them. There is also a lack of understanding of the other's role and the ways in which they are monitored by their respective managers.

Thus, even once access is gained, there is a sense of precarity that comes with the knowledge that you can be kicked out at any time. This was particularly true for me as my former boss, outgoing medical director, was moving on to a new job just as I was just starting my research. Additionally, while I had a relationship with him and a shared set of values, it was not clear that these would be in place with new staff.

Emotion

Ethnographic research has the potential to engage not with that which is ephemeral and felt.[417] Correctional facilities are "emotionally laden" sites, with jails being particularly, so given their liminal status in which incarcerated people are unexpectedly plucked from their daily lives, families, and all those who depend upon them.[418] For instance, one woman going through the intake process was tormented by the thought that she would not be there to pick up her son from school as she did every day. She was very worried about what would happen to him and this came with a deluge of tears, guilt, and pain.[419] In attending to emotions, the internal anguish of being separated from a child with disabilities who depends on you for everything

[416] Fieldnotes.
[417] Drake, Palgrave handbook of prison ethnography, 167.
[418] Drake, Deborah H., and Joel Harvey. 2014. "Performing the role of ethnographer: processing and managing the emotional dimensions of prison research." *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 17, no. 5: 490.
[419] Fieldnotes.

comes to form a particular carceral body of separation and suffering.[420]

Drake and Harvey suggest that "emotive topics and settings may add a further layer of tacit data that researchers need to find a way to consciously sense, collect, and analyse." [421] The emotional difficulties of researching correctional spaces, and jail intake in particular, make emotions a particularly integral source of data. Emotions cross boundaries and roles. For instance, in carceral contexts "anxiety defenses are mutually at play for both researchers entering the world from the relative comforts of life outside, and prisoners themselves."[422] My anxiety got much worse during my time conducting research and it took well over a year for it to lessen. Based on the accounts of incarcerated people and former staff, this emotional lingering affects everyone.[423] Piacentini suggests that while "emotional commitment" may not be a formalized methodology, it shapes understandings and observations in carceral spaces and should not be overlooked. For instance, a great deal can be learned from feelings of uneasiness and discomfort.

While emotions are particularly informative, incorporating them in carceral research is tremendously difficult in a number of ways.[424] I, like other carceral ethnographers, often found myself in the role of an empathic listener. This caused emotional strain in two primary ways. First, the stories, sensations, and emotions that one absorbs can be devastating and are

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[420] Fieldnotes.
[421] Drake, Deborah H., and Joel Harvey. 2014. "Performing the role of ethnographer: processing and managing the emotional dimensions of prison research." *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 17, no. 5: 490.
[422] Brown, Geraldine, and Elizabeth Bos. (2017). "'We were there too': There is much to learn from embedding auto/biography in the knowing and doing of prison research." *Methodological Innovations* 10, no. 2.
[423] Fieldnotes.
[424] Liebling, Alison. "Postscript: Integrity and emotion in prisons research." *Qualitative Inquiry* 20, no. 4 (2014): 481.

cumulative.[425] I realize the extent of this when I find myself unable to describe the sorrow and anger that comes from sitting with the stories of the pain of intake. Following my data collection, I grapple with depression and anxiety in a new way. I find myself transcribing my notes and being returned to this dehumanizing and cruel space.

This is compounded over time as the systemic elements of oppression that breed personal tragedies are made apparent. I sit with people awaiting "processing" who are in profound pain from withdrawal symptoms as well as the reality that they will miss their child's birthday party. [426] No matter how accurately I express discomfort, the nuances and sensations of being incarcerated and working in carceral spaces can only be even partially, understood through this type of foregrounding of emotion.

Intake is routinely referred to as the "processing" of "inmates."[427] The notion of processing implies that the ingredients remain the same while simultaneously becoming something other. For instance, food processors remix, chew up, and spit out a different version of their original content. In this way, the *product* is both the *same* and *other* at once. Here, incarcerated people are broken down through a protracted series of steps and across abysmal conditions.

There is also a particular form of anxiety that arises surrounding self-presentation. I was afraid of being perceived as unprofessional or giving any reason for my presence to be mistrusted. For instance, I left a plastic bottle of water in a medical cubicle with a provider and was chastised as this was not an object that should have been left unattended (even though he

[425] Fieldnotes.
[426] Ibid.
[427] Ibid.

was there the whole time as I knew he would be) and there were no incarcerated people in the area.[428] Every movement and object in the correctional facilities is watched and policed, ostensibly with the concern that an incarcerated person could take the "contraband" item and use it as a weapon or currency in the informal trade of goods.[429] This leads to exhausting self-policing and a constant state of vigilance.[430] I felt my own precarity in this setting across so many domains, which is reflected in the experiences of nearly everyone I spoke with.[431]

The result of such monitoring and my own attempts to attain and maintain trust, meant that I was often left without food or water for extended periods of time, particularly if there was an alarm and we were unable to leave the corrections intake area. The elevated anxiety and the vulnerabilities of being in this space affects everyone, albeit in different ways. There is something oppressive about knowing that you are locked into a space, unable to leave on your own volition.[432] The oppressiveness of this setting becomes embodied. This may shed light on high staff turnover and worse health.[433]

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[428] Fieldnotes.
[429] Ibid.
[430] Ibid.
[431] Ibid.
[432] Ibid.
[433] Bourbonnais, Renée, Natalie Jauvin, Julie Dussault, and Michel Vézina. "Psychosocial work environment, interpersonal violence at work and mental health among correctional officers." *International journal of law and psychiatry* 30, no. 4-5 (2007): 355-368.; Honan, Katie. 2018. "More Correction Officers Are Quitting Their Jobs: The number of departures from New York City's Correction Department has more than doubled since 2013 amid concerns about job security and safety." The Wall Street Journal. Published Sept. 12, 2018." McCraty, Rollin, Mike Atkinson, Lee Lipsenthal, and Lourdes Arguelles. "New hope for correctional officers: an innovative program for reducing stress and health risks." *Applied Psychophysiology and Biofeedback* 34, no. 4 (2009): 251.; Morse, Tim, Jeffrey Dussetschleger, Nicholas Warren, and Martin Cherniack. "Talking about health: correction employees' assessments of obstacles to healthy living." *Journal of Occupational and Environmental Medicine* 53, no. 9 (2011): 1037-1045.; Spinaris, Caterina G., Michael D. Denhof, and Julie A. Kellaway. "Posttraumatic stress disorder in United States corrections professionals: Prevalence and impact on health and functioning." *Desert Waters Correctional Outreach* (2012): 1-32.

Further, Drake and Harvey refer to a "fragmentation" that occurs when a carceral ethnographer empathizes, or must appear to empathize, while experiencing an erasure of identity outside of their role as a researcher.[434] They provide the example of a research participant's behavior that challenges the researcher's values. For instance, after observing a corrections officer using his elbow to press a man into the wall so hard that he could not breathe while threatening him, I found myself avoiding the officer and feeling anxious around him.[435] I find myself skittish even though I am aware of the ways other corrections officers have described the deleterious effects of their work on them over time.[436] It is work that changes their sense of self.[437] This is a change that coalesces with the findings of other carceral researchers who note that officers "described themselves as having become hardened, cynical and detached, and anger and frustration were the most frequently cited emotions they experienced while doing their job." [438]

The force of the jail intake process, not to mention the larger correctional complex, makes it impossible to ignore the strong feelings that arise and linger. The inclusion of emotions and the haunting is not to advocate for protracted navel gazing, but rather to suggest that the emotional lingerings of carceral research have the potential to provide greater nuance and

[434] Drake, Deborah H., and Joel Harvey. 2014. "Performing the role of ethnographer: processing and managing the emotional dimensions of prison research." *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 17, no. 5: 489-501.
[435] Fieldnotes.
[436] Ibid.
[437] Ibid.
[438] Arnold, Helen. "The effects of prison work." In Liebling, Alison, and Shadd Maruna, eds. *The effects of imprisonment*. Routledge, 2013, 81.

inform more complex understandings of correctional institutions.[439] It is through the details and contradictions that the realities of the jails can be understood beyond their imaginaries.[440]

Despite recognition of the emotional vulnerabilities and legacies of correctional research, the incorporation of emotions as data continues to be marginal in criminology. [441] In the New York City jails, emotions come to form complex assemblages with darting and unexpected trajectories and tendrils that curl under the surface of the mundane routines and performances. It is the embodied, emotional attentiveness of ethnographic research that has the potential to challenge stereotypes of carceral systems and bodies. These multiplicities contradict media portrayals of uniformly corrupt corrections staff and violent incarcerated people.

Reflexivity

> In the prison I feel not fear but guilt. I felt inconsequential and brutalised, not by the harshness of the atmosphere but by my choice to adopt a bystander/witness stance in the face of seemingly endless and tragic stories of *judicial* limbo. [442]

Jails are places of tensions laden with moral and ethical residues. They are spaces that make filthy those who enter. Beyond the physical violences, the interpersonal harms, and the multiple layers of surveillance; carceral research sites are fraught with asymmetries.[443] Here, the overarching ethical question becomes how a researcher can study these sites of violence

[439] Sloan and Wright, Palgrave handbook of prison ethnography, 159-160.
[440] Drake, Deborah H., and Joel Harvey. 2014. "Performing the role of ethnographer: processing and managing the emotional dimensions of prison research." *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 17, no. 5: 498.
[441] Drake, Deborah H., and Joel Harvey. 2014. "Performing the role of ethnographer: processing and managing the emotional dimensions of prison research." *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 17, no. 5: 490.; Jefferson, Palgrave handbook of prison ethnography, 183.
[442] Jefferson, Palgrave handbook of prison ethnography, 178.
[443] Jefferson, Palgrave handbook of prison ethnography, 178.

and degradation without being complicit? While there is no clear answer, Rowe notes that "making the self visible in the text offers both substantive insights and a response to some of the dilemmas generated by even marginal participation." [444] In keeping with this, I have attempted to foreground the moral valences of carceral research across this project.

Though understandings of reflexivity vary widely and can be contradictory, the approach adopted here seeks to acknowledge my positionality across the elements of the project (data collection, analysis, and writing), while avoiding self-indulgence. [445] This coalesces with Davies's definition of reflexivity as "the ways in which the products of research are affected by the personnel and process of doing research."[446, 447] Davies goes on to note that explicit engagement with reflexivity is particularly important in the context of ethnography given the role of the researcher in the making and analysis of data.[448]

My approach to reflexivity reads Bourdieu and Wacquant alongside carceral ethnographers.[449] This includes the recognition of myself as an active participant with socio-

[444] Rowe, Abigail. 2014. "Situating the Self in Prison Research: Power, Identity, and Epistemology." *Qualitative Inquiry* 20, no. 4: 404.
[445] England, Kim VL. "Getting personal: Reflexivity, positionality, and feminist research." *The Professional Geographer* 46, no. 1 (1994): 80-89.; Moss, Pamela "A Bodily Notion of Research: Power, Difference, and Specificity in Feminist Methodology." In Nelson, Lise., and Joni Seager. *A Companion to Feminist Geography.* Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2005, 41-59.; Roberts, John Michael, and Teela Sanders. 2005. "Before, during and after: realism, reflexivity and ethnography." *Sociological Review* 53, no. 2: 294-313.
[446] Davies, Charlotte Aull. *Reflexive ethnography : a guide to researching selves and others, Second Edition*. London ; New York : Routledge, 2008, 4.
[447] Davies relies upon Bhaskar's critical realism as the philosophical foundation for ethnography.; Bhaskar, Roy. 1998. The Possibility of Naturalism : A Philosophical Critique of the Contemporary Human Sciences. London: Routledge.
[448] Davies, Charlotte Aull. *Reflexive ethnography : a guide to researching selves and others, Second Edition*. London ; New York : Routledge, 2008.
[449] Bourdieu, Pierre., and Richard Nice. *Science of Science and Reflexivity.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.; Bourdieu, Pierre, and Loïc J. D Wacquant. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.; (Bosworth, 2002; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Drake et al., 2015; Phillips & Earle, 2010)

political and epistemological positionalities.[450] Furthermore, as an ethnographic researcher I, like my "research subjects, may be variously shaped by powerful hierarchies of race/ ethnicity, gender and class."[451] While I touch upon my positionality across this work, I will begin by disclosing that I am a White, American woman who has worked in the fields of correctional health and reentry for a number of years prior to returning to school to pursue a doctoral degree. I do not have a history of being arrested or incarcerated. I worked in the New York City jails previously as a public health educator and analyst, but have not done so for many years. My work at that time ranged from housing area health education to quality assurance and compliance monitoring. It was due to this prior experience that I was familiar with the jail. While it was not technically part of my job, during my previous employment I spent a great deal of time advocating for incarcerated people, particularly in terms of the physical environment of housing areas and health care services. I make this statement as reinforcement of feminist epistemologies that support a view from somewhere.[452]

It is also important to note the ways in which my experiences diverge from incarcerated people and employees. In my role as a researcher, I am able to leave the jails, as long as there are no alarms or counts, with relative freedom. This places me apart from corrections officers who must stay until they are relieved by a fellow officer assigned to their post on the next shift. This can expand across days if their "relief," which refers to the officer assigned to their post on

[450] Bourdieu, Pierre. *The logic of practice*. Stanford university press, 1990.; Bourdieu, Pierre, and Jean-Claude Passeron. *Reproduction in education, society and culture*. Vol. 4. Sage, 1990.
[451] Phillips, Coretta, and Rod Earle. 2010. "Reading difference differently? Identity, epistemology and prison ethnography." *British Journal of Criminology* 50, no. 2: 363.
[452] Moss, Pamela "A Bodily Notion of Research: Power, Difference, and Specificity in Feminist Methodology." In Nelson, Lise and Joni Seager. *A Companion to Feminist Geography.* Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2005, 45.

the next shift, does not arrive. Additionally, I am not subject to the same managerial forms of surveillance and oversight as staff, although I am subject to other forms of surveillance and oversight including through Institutional Review Boards and the suspicions surrounding my presence.

It is also important to I acknowledge my own privilege in being able to conduct this research. While I had to forego some doctors' appointments and choose which prescriptions to fill due to the cost of care/ medications, I do receive a small graduate school stipend that I am lucky to have, as many of my fellow graduate students don't. I am keenly aware of my own privilege in being able to afford flights to New York City and my good fortune to have family in the area to stay with.

Another area of reflexivity surrounds my place within the history of prison ethnography. Across data collection, I found myself grappling with uncomfortable parallels to the early history of carceral ethnography, as I was an invested observer chronicling goings on in the jails.[453] I enter this space for a relatively brief time, due to limitations placed on my access. This sense was furthered when I found myself in situations in which I felt like a voyeur with a notebook, a pen, and ideas about social science.[454] I wrestle with the related concern that I am taking from the research site and bodies held captive for personal gains (i.e. the completion of my dissertation), fearing that it may have no effect upon the criminal justice system. The latent power dynamics of this methodology are felt across data collection and analysis, a constant reminder of their colonial legacy and the history of the self/other that characterized the ethnographic imagination.

[453] Fieldnotes.
[454] Ibid.

Further, when writing up my research findings, I grapple with the specter of *speaking for* others with all of the frailties and power dynamics implied. This calls for an engagement with what it means to tell stories that involve the lives of others, who may not even have access to a flexi-pen and/ or paper. But this is a double-edged sword as I am frequently exhorted by incarcerated people to "tell the world" about what has happened in the jails or to them. I can only say that I will do my best, but what does it mean to do one's best? How can I write about what is happening while avoiding impinging upon the voices of others? How do I balance what I choose to write about so as to avoid producing "suffering porn" (i.e. the exploitative representation of the suffering of others)? At times these questions become paralyzing. The best I can do is show their multiplicities and complexities. As a form of situated knowledge production and data generation, the ethnographic form holds potential for sustained attentiveness to the ethics and politics of "speaking for others," voyeurism, and how data may be misused by authorities and/ or the state. [455]

In writing reflexively, the intention is to foreground the ways in which the setting is changed by my presence. My role as a carceral researcher is value-laden, just as my presence disturbed the field. I interfere in the intake process in a number of ways, and often find myself feeling morally compelled to do so, or at least grappling with how best to respond. Embodied ethnographic research allowed me to engage with how my presence disrupted "intake as

[455] Hammersley, Palgrave handbook of prison ethnography.

usual."[456] This reflexivity formed a recursive relationship "between the field and researcher," which I found both revealing and disturbing.[457]

Over my research there were times I took an active role. For instance, I got an ice pack for an incarcerated man whose jaw was healing after being broken on both sides. When I handed it to him, I made him promise to be polite to the corrections officer he was cursing at and angering. I was afraid for him and found myself taking a disciplinary role because I didn't want his swollen jaw to sustain any more trauma. I also found myself feeling frustrated because he was only in the clinic because the provider who had completed his "hospital return evaluation" failed to order his seizure medication or Tylenol for pain.[458] In that moment, the way I engaged was surveilled as I was keenly aware that the officers could hear my attempts to keep the man calm and safe.[459]

Beyond the aforementioned dimensions of reflexivity, Bourdieu calls for epistemic reflexivity. He suggests that "one cannot disassociate the construction of the object from the instruments of construction of the object and their critique."[460] The specific ethnographic methods and analytical approaches adopted here were shaped by the research site and the

[456] Rowe, Abigail. 2014. "Situating the Self in Prison Research: Power, Identity, and Epistemology." *Qualitative Inquiry* 20, no. 4: 476.
[457] Ibid.
[458] Fieldnotes.
[459] Ibid.
[460] Bourdieu, Pierre, and Loïc J. D. Wacquant. *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1992; 30.

questions that arose.[461] This is resonant with Karen Barad's conceptualization of ontological agential reality in which the instruments themselves are part of the data.[462]

This research project entailed continuous awareness of the ways the research site was read through the cypher of my disciplinary lenses, values, and contexts; as well as those of Western societies more broadly.[463] Ian Hacking suggests that the very act of representation can be viewed as intervening.[464] In this way, the instruments used and theoretical conceptualizations *matter* as they are reflected in the construction of carceral body multiples, which, serve as an important intervention into the carceral status quo.

The epistemic reflexivity adopted here attempts to "identify key filters that alter sociological perception" alongside the "limits of knowledge specifically associated with the analyst's membership and position in the intellectual field."[465] For instance, as a science and technology studies trained ethnographer and former public health worker, I reflected upon what these epistemologies made thinkable, categorizable, and utterable. This reflexivity helped attend to the epistemologies that surrounded me in the intake areas as they seeped into my own consciousness through parlance and performance. I found myself documenting how to read urine dipsticks and how to administer and rate CIWA scores (The Clinical Institute Withdrawal Assessment for Alcohol). I noticed that at some point, I began to calculate them in

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[461] Phillips, Coretta, and Rod Earle. "Reading difference differently? Identity, epistemology and prison ethnography." *The British Journal of Criminology* 50, no. 2 (2010): 360-378.
[462] Barad, Karen. "Meeting the universe halfway: Realism and social constructivism without contradiction." In *Feminism, science, and the philosophy of science*, pp. 161-194. Springer, Dordrecht, 1996.
[463] Bourdieu, Pierre, and Loïc J. D. Wacquant. *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992; 36-37.
[464] Hacking, Ian, *Representing and Intervening: Introductory Topics in the Philosophy of Natural Science.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
[465] Bourdieu, Pierre, and Loïc J. D. Wacquant. *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992; 38-39.

my head, predicting whether an incarcerated person would be "a double-detox" (i.e. assigned to "double-detox" or "detox" housing areas) or not.[466] I had internalized the language and scales characterizing the drug and alcohol screenings that enacted a pathologized and criminalized body of the "criminal addict."[467]

Despite attempts to draw out epistemologies and socio-political determinisms, there are blind spots and residues that remain. While I continually questioned (and continue to question and doubt) the categories put 'into questions and into play," I am keenly aware of the limits of my own reflexivity.[468] The disclosures made here are not intended to reinforce stark insider/outsider binaries, but rather to articulate some of my positionalities.[469] This is further complicated when considering the "fundamental distinction between the person who the research subject encounters (or assumes they encounter) and the person who eventually writes the text."[470] In light of the emotional and physical toll of carceral research, the changes within researchers deserves a great deal of further scholarship and theorization. This project sought to engender a reflexivity appropriate for a carceral ethnography that aspires to convey the richness, complexities, and contradictions of such settings.[471] Given the impossibility of fully disclosing all of the elements that shape this research, there is a need for readers to remain mindful of the unstated.

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[466] Fieldnotes.
[467] Bourdieu, Pierre, and Loïc J. D. Wacquant. *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1992; 40.; Carol Cohn. 1987. "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals." *Signs* 12 (4): 687.
[468] Wacquant, Loic. 2009. "The Body, the Ghetto and the Penal State." *Qualitative Sociology*, no. 1: 122.
[469] Hammersley, Palgrave handbook of prison ethnography, 21-39.
[470] Crewe and Levins, Palgrave handbook of prison ethnography, 126.
[471] Earle, Rod. 2013. "What do ethnographers do in prison?." *Criminal Justice Matters* 91, no. 1: 18.

Conclusion

Ethnography, as an approach rich in particularities, has the potential to challenge abstract, algorithmic tactics that have embodied consequences.[472] Experiential, embodied, and multiple bodies resist categorical flattening. Across this research, the methodology facilitated the delineation of entangled bodies, including my own. When combined, the selected methodologies are intended to establish a way to delineate a carceral body multiple enacted through intake, thereby responding to the core questions.

This research demonstrated both the protracted nature of obtaining access to correctional facilities and the precarities that exist even once cleared. In contrast to large quantitative datasets, this ethnographic approach honors the experiential, the narrative, and the detailed through thick description. When addressing mass incarceration, emotion and incarcerations' affective implications are integral. Further, taking a reflexive approach allowed me to foreground my own emotions and sensory experiences, while highlighting my positionality. Looking forward, there is a need for further engagement with methods and their implications in critical carceral research.

[472] Totaro, Paolo, and Domenico Ninno. "The concept of algorithm as an interpretative key of modern rationality." *Theory, Culture & Society* 31, no. 4 (2014): 29-49.

Chapter 4: Carceral Bodies of Data

Introduction

With the advent of digital technologies, the science and technology of *criminality* continues to be informed by the desire to use metrics to identify and define *criminal man*. Like their precursors, however; when taken together these quantified characteristics contribute to the production of a body predisposed not to crime but to incarceration. This predisposition arises out of datafication and algorithmic characterization.[473] The data comprising the raw material of this assignation pulls together the digitization of one's race, ethnicity, school (reflective of the school-to-prison-pipeline), address, sex, socio-economic status, disability status, mental health status, etc. Carceral algorithms, and the structures they arise out of, inform one's incarcerability. The role of data collection, management, and analysis surrounding the intake process makes visible the politics and stakes of the carceral bodies enacted.

The carceral body of data and its *risks* are multiple and are represented in a number of ways, just as it is experienced variously. There are infinite permutations of the intake process across which categories come to stand in for human suffering, for risk, for job performance, etc. The data generated and its infrastructures are reflective of the broader political and socioeconomic context.[474]

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[473] Neyland, Daniel. 2015. "On Organizing Algorithms." *Theory, Culture and Society* 32 (1): 119–32.; Rieder, Gernot and Judith Simon. 2016. "Datatrust: Or, the Political Quest for Numerical Evidence and the Epistemologies of Big Data." *Big Data & Society*.

[474] Kitchin, Rob. 2014. *The Data Revolution : Big Data, Open Data, Data Infrastructures and Their Consequences*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

This chapter traces the ways in which data comes to be made and mobilized across the New York City jail intake process. The two primary digital systems used to house the majority of intake data are the corrections electronic record system, Inmate Information System (IIS), and the electronic health record system, eClinical Works (eCW).[475] These systems primarily rely on structured data in the form of numbers and categories. The limited unstructured fields are primarily used for descriptions and clinical notes. Structured data is preferred because of the ease of large sample analysis, which aids in oversight and the production of knowledge.[476]

The Inmate Information System is an ancient electronic jail records system that is at least thirty years old.[477] It contains incarcerated peoples' demographic information, movement, housing area assignments, infractions, court dates, transportation, on-island or off-island medical care (e.g. surgeries), etc.[478] It maintains the data that the City of New York Correction Department relies upon for internal and external reporting and is responsible for the generation of knowledge about New York City incarcerated populations.[479] Data, in this form, makes a specific form of carceral quantification possible. For instance, IIS requires that incarcerated people be characterized through particular categorizations of their bodies and minds (e.g. name, race, sex, address in the community, homelessness status, ethnicity, criminal

[475] Fieldnotes.; Venters, Homer. *Life and Death in Rikers Island*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019.
[476] Ibid.
[477] The City of New York Correction Department. "Get Inmate Release Information." The City of New York Correction Department. Retrieved on January 20, 2019. https://www1.nyc.gov/site/doc/inmate-info/get-inmate-release-information.page
[478] Ibid.; Fieldnotes.
[479] The City of New York Correction Department. "NYC Department of CorrectionNYC Board of Correction Sexual Abuse and Sexual Harassment Minimum Standards 5-40 Assessment Report –August 14, 2018." *The City of New York Correction Department.* https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/doc/downloads/pdf/Bi-Annual_August_2018.pdf

charges, immigration status, “severe and persistent mental illness”).[480] It is worth making explicit that these categories are not given. They arise out of particular histories and structures and require a single designation.

This illustrates the first set of categorizations and biometrics as well as the digital and analog bodies that facilitate the surveillance of the carceral body. These categories populate the electronic health record and point to the logics that undergird both the biomedical and corrections epistemes. For example, the categories available to characterize race are transported across digital platforms, the sinews quantified knowledge production relies upon.

eClinical Works was initiated in the New York City jails in 2008, a process that I assisted in at the time.[481] This electronic health record system was an off-the-shelf product intended for outpatient clinics, and because of this required a large number of workarounds to meet the needs, structures, and strictures of the jails. It was through these modifications to this electronic system that carcerality was made evident (e.g. additional fields for New York State Identification (NYSID), booking and case number, court date, red identification card template).[482]

While IIS and eCW are spoken about as distinct systems that “protect” information, this is revealed to be in practice. There is an interface between IIS and eCW across which limited information passes based on linked indexing of records (e.g. through the NYSID and B&C numbers). These identifiers make it possible for corrections and health care intakes to presume

[480] Fieldnotes.
[481] Stazesky, Richard, Jennifer Hughes, and Homer Venters. "Implementation of an electronic health record in the New York City jail system." *Community Oriented Correctional Services, April* (2012): 1-6.; Venters, Homer. *Life and Death in Rikers Island*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019.
[482] Ibid.

"a single, common object" (i.e. the *incarcerated person*).[483] During the intake process, the interface is a threshold across which the information systems communicate. There are shared categories and designations across systems, which are reflective of the intermixing of categorizations of incarcerated people that have meaning for both corrections and health care staff.

These shared conventions can be read as boundary objects, which refers to terms, constructs, and/ or objects that are used across disciplines and/ or communities to convey meaning.[484] Bowker and Star characterize boundary objects as having

> different meanings in different social worlds but their structure is common enough to more than one world to make them recognizable, a means of translation. The creation and management of boundary objects is a key process in developing and maintaining coherence across intersecting communities.[485]

This project demonstrates that even when terminology is the same, multiplicities arise across and within communities, epistemologies, disciplines etc.[486] Here, boundary objects tell particular stories about the making and use of information. The two primary epistemologies and attendant professions brought to bear upon the carceral body are medicine and

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[483] Mol, Annemarie. 2002. *The Body Multiple : Ontology in Medical Practice*. Science and Cultural Theory. Duke University Press, 36.

[484] Bowker, Geoffrey C., and Susan Leigh Star. 1999. *Sorting Things Out : Classification and Its Consequences*. Inside Technology. Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press; Geoffrey C. Bowker, Stefan Timmermans, Adele E. Clarke, and Ellen Balka. 2016. *Boundary Objects and Beyond : Working with Leigh Star*. Infrastructures. MIT Press.; Fujimura, J. (1992) "Crafting science: standardized packages, boundary objects, and translation" in Pickering, Andrew, ed. 1992. Science as Practice and Culture. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 168-211.; Gießmann, Sebastian. 2015. "[The Durkheim Test. Remarks on Susan Leigh Star's Boundary Objects]." *Berichte Zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 38 (3): 211–26.; Star, Susan. 1989. "Institutional Ecology, `Translations' and Boundary Objects: Amateurs and Professionals in Berkeley's Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, 1907-39" *Social Studies of Science: An International Review of Research in the Social Dimensions of Science and Technology* Volume: 19 Issue 3.

[485] Bowker, Geoffrey C., and Susan Leigh Star. 1999. *Sorting Things Out : Classification and Its Consequences*. Inside Technology. Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press.

[486] Schuurman, Nadine. 2008. "Database Ethnographies Using Social Science Methodologies to Enhance Data Analysis and Interpretation" *Geography Compass* Volume: 2 Issue 5.

criminology. These epistemologies rely upon quantification, categorization, and calculations of *risk* to generate data from which carceral knowledge is made (and in turn makes).[487] Quantification is the privileging of numbers in the making of disciplinary "truths."[488] It is predicated upon notions of objectivity that give rise to the desired *validity* and *generalizability*.[489]

This chapter addresses carceral bodies of *data* and serves to characterize the data infrastructures of the jails. First, data and databases are addressed in order to establish them as socio-technical objects, practices, and architectures that are multiple and complex. Second, managerialism and algorithms are examined through boundary objects, power dynamics, and the stories they tell. Lastly, this chapter analyzes the role of data in the production of publications and knowledge. Together, these facets provide insight into the making of carceral bodies of data and the logics and mechanisms of the carceral-data-industrial-complex.

Data & Databases

The hyper-individualization of *the criminal* has epistemological and societal affects. When the biotechnical revolution took *the criminal* as an *object of study*, it necessitated the amassment of large databases with ever increasing detail. These databases facilitate calculations of risk and the attendant search for threats. The conscription of *risk* models is generative of an anxiety that demands further knowledge of criminal man in ever more technical detail – genetics, epigenetics, microbiomes, hormones, etc.

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[487] Clapham, Andrew. "Performativity, fabrication and trust: exploring computer-mediated moderation." *Ethnography and Education* 8, no. 3 (2013): 371-387.
[488] Rose, Nikolas. 1991. Governing by numbers: Figuring out democracy. *Accounting, Organizations and Society* 16 (7): 673-92.
[489] Daston, Lorraine, and Peter Galison. 2007. *objectivity*. New York; Cambridge, Mass: Zone Books.

For some incarcerated people, the health pre-screening in the antechamber of AMKC will be the first health information logged digitally. In this moment, these are bodies that may or may not be *expedited*. They are bodies in between and multiple. Their digital bodies are nebulous forms as they stand in the entryway of the jail and are enacted as carceral bodies of disease and acuity. Here, bodies of *risk* are asthmatic, diabetic, mentally ill, withdrawing, etc.

Across intake, data is the monitored work product, they are digital traces that demand particular responses and temporalities.[490] The digital data that comes to populate the fields in electronic records as "raw," is imagined to be representative and factual. As Borgman notes, data come to be formed through characterizations of observations, records (e.g. electronic health record systems), and analyses.[491] It is *always, already* sifted through professional practices (e.g. doctors palpating in search of swollen lymph nodes), measuring devices (e.g. blood pressure), and/ or established categories.[492] This points to the partialities and politics of data. From this vantage point that it becomes clear that "raw data," the kind I used to ask for in my health "data dump requests," is not raw material at all.[493]

This project analyzed how intake data comes to be made and used. Generating particular forms of data is necessary for analysis in which variables are considered to have a relationship to one another and can be aggregated for large sample analyses. Across intake it became apparent that data cannot be disassociated from the instruments, logics, storage

[490] Fieldnotes.
[491] Borgman, Christine, Jillian Wallis, and Noel Enyedy. 2007. "Little Science Confronts the Data Deluge: Habitat Ecology, Embedded Sensor Networks, and Digital Libraries." *International Journal on Digital Libraries* 7 (1/2): 17–30.; Lisa Gitelman, Editor, Author Virginia Jackson, Author Daniel Rosenberg, Author Travis D. Williams, Author Kevin R. Brine, Author Mary Poovey, Author Matthew Stanley, et al. 2013. *"Raw Data" Is an Oxymoron*. Infrastructures. MIT Press.
[492] Fieldnotes.
[493] Ibid.

infrastructures, linguistic forms, analytical frameworks, applications, etc.[494] Data are inextricably tethered to the design of the "front-end," user interfaces, and "back-end," the data tables used by statisticians, public health analysts, and administration.[495]

In these infrastructures, data are hyper-individualized. This aspect of data is often occluded by the seemingly antithetical "big data" imaginary.[496] Lake, however; notes that data and its analysis assume "the world is knowable via calculation and measurement and can be represented as the aggregation of discrete, independent, empirically observable units."[497] In this regard, data is imagined to be atomistic.[498] The following example illustrates this as the incarcerated man's responses must take certain forms in order to be legible to the EHR.

I follow a middle-aged, Latinx man into the next room where Nurse Beard is sitting. She asks if he is taking any medications and he tells her that he is taking Neurontin, Seroquel, busbar, lithium, hydroxyzine, and risperidone.[499] He is rocking behind the computer that blocks him from the nurse's view. Here, the technology is literally mediating the interaction and aptly represents the work of the nursing screening as the making of data. We listen to the nurse clicking the mouse. The incarcerated man has his sunglasses on, which is the first time I have seen someone permitted to keep their sunglasses. The nurse asks him what hospital he would go to "if he needed to." He says "Lutheran." She asks "When was the last time?" and he says that he went to the hospital right before … (she doesn't give him a chance to answer further.)

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[494] Blouin, G.G. 2019. "Data Performativity and Health: The Politics of Health Data Practices in Europe." *Science Technology and Human Values*.
[495] Ibid.
[496] Lake, Robert W. "Big Data, urban governance, and the ontological politics of hyperindividualism." *Big Data & Society* 4, no. 1 (2017): 1-10.
[497] Ibid., 3.
[498] Ibid.
[499] Fieldnotes.

The next set of questions and responses go extremely quickly with Nurse Beard immediately cutting him off after he says a word, making it clear that he is taking up her time and she doesn't care. The tension in the room is punctuated by the clicking of her mouse as she selects options from the eCW dropdown menus.

"Disabilities?" She asks curtly.

"My jaw, I can't open it because it healed wrong after the surgery and it hurts and is swollen all the time, my left leg is shorter than my right, scoliosis, …" The nurse abruptly picks up the phone and is talking to someone about giving something to someone else and says that the charge nurse said she would do it. The man and I look at each other and listen to someone screaming in the pen behind us. It is noisy and my lips and nose are tingling with residual oleoresin capsicum (OC) spray.

Nurse Beard slams the phone down and barks, "Seizures?"

"Since I was a little kid …"

"Last time you had one!?" She cuts him off. He looks at me and then back at the nurse and swallows.

"One month ago …"

"Mental health or nervous problems?" Nurse Beard is getting increasingly frustrated and is almost yelling at this point.

"Yes."

"Mental health medications!?"

"Anxiety, depression, bipolar …" The nurse does not ask about his medications again and just continues to move through the electronic form.

“You’ve been to the hospital for mental health?”

“Yes.” He then lists a long string of hospitals. He speaks in a quiet voice and has sensitive eyes behind his red-tinged sunglasses.

“When?” Nurse Beard is getting angry and raises her voice. “MONTH AND YEAR?!!”

“Woodhull.” There is a moment of silence. “Last month.” He eventually says.

“Ever tried to hurt yourself?”

“Yes.”

“How many times?”

“A lot.”

“How many times?!! … One, two, three, four, five, six?!” She yells at him, while looking at the drop-down choices available.

“More than that.” She lets out a sigh that is more like a grunt of annoyance.

“How did you do it?”

“Cut my wrists, hang up, starve myself …” There is not a way to choose multiple responses in the electronic record and the nurse rolls her eyes.

“When was the last time? Your last attempt?!!” She cuts him off.

He is not able to move his jaw very much and is soft spoken as he keeps his mouth mostly still when speaking. While he is thinking, the patient care assistant brings in a paper and Nurse Beard tells him that it is a consent for HIV testing. “Last year or the year before.” He eventually says while signing the form. Nurse Beard then asks him about a family history of mental illness. He says that he didn’t grow up with his family, so he doesn’t know.

“YES OR NO!?” She shouts at him. He again explains that he can’t say.

"YES OR NO!?" She screams. He continues to say that he has no way to know. She then asks whether anyone in his family has committed suicide and the same argument ensues. Eventually she rolls her eyes and makes a clucking sound at him. She tells him to leave and I wonder what she has entered. He shuffles out with drooped shoulders and I feel terrible.

As demonstrated in this vignette, the health intake process is guided by the eCW intake template and limited to the categories provided. These questions directly reflect the flow of the electronic records and the options available for data entry. This electronic system makes information transmissions possible across time and location.[500]

There is a tendency to view record systems as outside of politics and social forces.[501] Their imaginary is one of neutrality, an open frame for the recording of *objective* data.[502] This imaginary is countermanded by the reality that this record system is deeply enmeshed with the analog practices and structures of intake. The implication is that data does not exist prior to, or independent of, its enactment.[503] Moreover, the characterization and classification reflect data infrastructures that were established with certain priorities and aims that allow for population sorting, specific types of monitoring, and limited/ selective information sharing.[504]

Each of the answers to these questions comes together to form data composites of the answerer. For instance, all of the questions about mental health are taken together to

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[500] Bowker, Geoffrey C., and Susan Leigh Star. 1999. *Sorting Things Out : Classification and Its Consequences*. Inside Technology. Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press.
[501] Kitchin, Rob. 2014. *The Data Revolution : Big Data, Open Data, Data Infrastructures and Their Consequences*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
[502] Ibid.
[503] Bowker, Geoffrey C., and Susan Leigh Star. 1999. *Sorting Things Out : Classification and Its Consequences*. Inside Technology. Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press.; Kitchin, Rob. 2014. *The Data Revolution : Big Data, Open Data, Data Infrastructures and Their Consequences*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 18.
[504] Blouin, G.G. 2019. "Data Performativity and Health: The Politics of Health Data Practices in Europe." *Science Technology and Human Values*.

determine an overall heuristic of a person's mental health status. In turn, this heuristic informs whether someone requires a "STAT mental health intake," "suicide watch," and/ or whether they will need to be placed in a specialized mental health housing unit.[505] In the assignment of mental health severity levels, the data that comprise this assemblage are gathered in particular ways and assigned different weights. The making of such diagnostic and severity categories becomes further complicated when considering the embodied experience of intake. In the vignette, the making of data was a violent process, and because it informs the labels placed upon this man, it has the potential to open him to countless other violences.[506]

Data comes to be most mistrusted in the correctional setting when it is perceived to be vulnerable to human *error*.[507] This demonstrates a trust in data that is imagined to be disembodied or untethered from human *interference*.[508] From this premise, the professionals become measuring devices their *human failings* abstracted.

Distrust of data also becomes connected to professional hierarchies. For instance, while providers are told to review the digital form completed by nursing staff, there is a mistrust of the nursing intake record. One of the site medical directors stands in the middle of the intake provider area and says to a group of all male providers "I don't trust any of the nurses who do intakes, especially if they are women."[509] The providers laugh in agreement.[510] The clinical and gender hierarchy plays out in the mistrust of the Part A nursing forms, by physicians while there is implicit trust in diagnoses conferred by providers during a person's prior incarceration(s). This

[505] Fieldnotes.
[506] Ibid.
[507] Ibid.
[508] Ibid.
[509] Ibid.
[510] Ibid.

dynamic is also reflected digitally as providers "correct" (i.e. recategorize) information entered by nursing staff, but often believe the information entered by providers over patients' self-report.[511] This sits comfortably beside the virtue of the "standardization" of data, which remains an abstract ideal.

Next, it is important to address the materialities of data. They not only take up bytes of data on servers, but they also have material consequences.[512] Data is constitutive and has fleshly implications. It is a reflection of particular facets of its subject that are named and scored in order to be run through risk machines that tell stories of estranged futurities, possible futurities. For instance, the intake process culminates in the assignation of a "health disposition" (e.g. only if this is the first time) and corrections "classification" (e.g. general population, general population escort, close custody, high security).[513] Both of the health and corrections designations inform and assign people to housing areas that have distinct characteristics of their own.

These electronic systems provide population data about both incarcerated populations and the performance and compliance of staff.[514] Borrowing from Langdon Winner, when these technologies are seen from a science and technology studies perspective, they have politics and

[511] Ibid.
[512] Ibid.
[513] The City of New York Correction Department. "Inmate Handbook English." *The City of New York Correction Department.* https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/doc/downloads/pdf/inmate_hand_book_english.pdf
[514] Stazesky, Richard, Jennifer Hughes, and Homer Venters. "Implementation of an electronic health record in the New York City jail system." *Community Oriented Correctional Services, April* (2012): 1-6.

being products and reinforce certain epistemologies. They enable the recording of data that produces and reproduces scientific knowledge and quantified, datafied carceral bodies.[515]

In this project, what is at stake is the potential to identify which *categories* of incarcerated people (e.g. certain diagnoses, correctional risk designations, or risk behaviors) are made through these processes and what becomes thinkable and doable because of them.[516] Moreover, these systems are ever in flux with changing priorities, practices, physical structures, staffing, etc.[517] Data ontologies once stable and seemingly fixed come to be sites of disagreement or shifting notions of what is important and how it is to be assessed and encoded. It is from this vantage point that data can be imagined *otherwise*. The door opens to an abolitionist disruption of data that is perceived to be raw, objective, and pre-existing.[518]

Abolition also holds promise for intervening at the level of the database and entire electronic systems. Here, the electronic record systems are read as sociotechnical digital architectures that are eerily reflective of the carceral spaces themselves. They enroll the language and imaginary of cells in grids that are wholly separated and individuated. These are isolative infrastructures that make and reflect particular Western carceral imaginaries. While this suggests that traditional databases, generally, are carceral in form, this is multiplied in the context of jail-based, digital infrastructures. These databases exist in the larger jail landscapes and are reflective of the relationships between, and epistemological premises of, their

[515] Winner, Langdon. "Do artifacts have politics?" *Daedalus* (1980): 121-136.
[516] Ibid.
[517] Fieldnotes.
[518] Lisa Gitelman, Editor, Author Virginia Jackson, Author Daniel Rosenberg, Author Travis D. Williams, Author Kevin R. Brine, Author Mary Poovey, Author Matthew Stanley, et al. 2013. *"Raw Data" Is an Oxymoron*. Infrastructures. MIT Press.

designers and users.[519] Further, these structures have politics and make it possible to answer some questions and not others. As data and its housing becomes standardized and customized, it is enacted certain features while eschewing others.[520]

These infrastructures also matter in terms of how the data can be used and by whom.[521] For instance, there are numerous levels of *permissions* assigned to staff, which limits what they are able to see and edit. Additionally, while certain health care staff are able to access the Rikers Island Information System (RIIS), which has some corrections information; corrections staff are not supposed to have access to incarcerated people's electronic health record.[522] This makes it possible for health staff to pull data that draws connections between medical diagnoses and criminal charges, for instance, while corrections staff rely on proxies for health conditions such as mental health housing history.[523] The algorithms and statistical analyses that draw from and interact with these data infrastructures will be addressed in the following section.

Boundary Objects

[519] Susan Leigh Star, and Karen Ruhleder. 2010. "Steps toward an Ecology of Infrastructure : Design and Access for Large Information Spaces." *Revue d'anthropologie Des Connaissances*, Back to the Notion of Boundary Object (2), no. 1: 114.
[520] Bowker, Geoffrey C., and Susan Leigh Star. 1999. *Sorting Things Out : Classification and Its Consequences*. Inside Technology. Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press.; Kitchin, Rob. 2014. *The Data Revolution : Big Data, Open Data, Data Infrastructures and Their Consequences*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
[521] Karasti, Helena, Florence Millerand, Christine M. Hine, and Geoffrey C. Bowker. "Knowledge Infrastructures: Part II." *Science & Technology Studies* 29, no. 2 (May 2016): 2–6.
[522] Fieldnotes.
[523] Ibid.

The enactment of carceral bodies connected to *disciplines* that define what the body *is* and what constitutes legitimate production of knowledge. When I worked in the New York City jails a common refrain was to be mindful that the jails were "DOC's [The City of New York Correction Department] sandbox, they just let us play in it."[524] This statement suggests a clear division between corrections and health. The ways epistemologies are territorialized in practice, however, is suggestive of a far more complex relationship. An artificial division between corrections and health becomes evident across the intake practices that assume stable referents, which only need to be assessed to be neatly objectified and recorded as a series of categories, numbers, and truncated text. While some of these practices coalesce and work together, others even as they evaluate the same bodies and come to enact digital carceral bodies clash.

In part, these professional and bureaucratic divisions are undergirded by a shared informal, tacit knowledge. They are also rooted in a shared system of knowledge-making (e.g. population data analysis). These fundamental frameworks lead to both digital and analog commonalities and shared territories.

For instance, a doctor comes into the mental health office where I am sitting with a mental health care worker assigned to cover any urgent mental health needs of incarcerated people going through intake. The doctor is carrying a folder that holds the intake documents for a man he has designated as needing a "STAT mental health" referral. He explains that he just "saw a patient who is internally preoccupied" and had a previous suicide attempt in Trinidad,

[524] Ibid.

where he tried to jump from a bridge.[525] The doctor says that the man is thinking about suicide presently and appears to be distant, but his eyes tear up when he is asked questions. He says that the mental health counselor will have to engage him because he is "non-verbal." He then says that the man "spazzed" and then had tears come to his eyes during the screening. He explains that he gave the anxiety disorder diagnosis because "his urine popped for benzos" (i.e. his urine reveals that he has traces of benzodiazepines such as Klonopin, Librium, Valium, Xanax, Ativan, etc.). He says "I gave him a Librium taper because they're not going to give him Klonopin [clonazepam] here" and "he appears to be severely mentally ill." [526]

Here, the border between the medical doctor and the mental health worker are negotiated, with the doctor both figuratively and literally moving the incarcerated man to mental health, which occupies the other side of the clinic. In this case the spaces of diagnosis are multiplied as the medical doctor is not permitted to select a mental health diagnosis and must find other ways to describe the symptoms he observes. In this case, the story of the molecular traces of "benzos" comes to point to a set of possible diagnoses. The man's performance of tears and a history of suicide attempts comes to move him from "medical" to "mental health" areas demarcated by a green folder. Later, this man will become "a mental health" for DOC when he is assigned to the mental observation unit where officers and clinicians will *monitor* him.

Medical epistemologies and their carceral applications render certain spatialities pathological. The status of illness or suspected illness delineates a new set of spaces to be navigated and endured. For instance, newly incarcerated people have to wait after seeing the

[525] Ibid.
[526] Ibid.

Part B nurse to be called by the mental health triage staff member who will bring the person into a small mental health office. Once in the office, they will be asked more questions, with responses (or lack thereof) recorded in eCW. It is from here that the incarcerated person will be either hospitalized if the symptoms are too severe, or sent back to the clinic intake pen where they will wait to be taken back to the corrections intake area. However, based on the mental health care worker's findings newly incarcerated people may also be scheduled for additional follow-ups that will be require them to return to the mental health clinic in the future. Here, the spaces of mental health are made/ remade in architectural, structural, disciplinary, embodied, etc. terms. These are designations that flow across time.

There are countless permutations of intake mental health enactments, however; within the carceral context they come to take on particular valences and are subject to enhanced *securities*. The securitization of mental health in the jails comes to form a set of knowledges and practices that at the intersectionality of the fields and the bodies they anticipate. The role of corrections officers is highlighted in the statement made by a corrections captain who places this particular case in the context of the broader de-institutionalization of the infamous New York mental institutions (e.g. Willowbrook).

Corrections Officer Hurst takes me with him to the corrections intake area. There, a captain is saying "the public and the mayor doesn't understand that corrections officers (COs) are putting their lives on the line and have to be mental health counselors, drug counselors, social workers, health providers/ screeners (i.e. determining what is needed) on top of being officers, and that is far from the public perception."[527]

[527] Ibid.

She gives the example of sanitation workers. She says that "people might say, sanitation workers have it easy, they just have to pick up the trash and put it in the back of the truck, but that's not like what we do. We have to play a lot of roles and things can change on a dime. You can be speaking with someone and they are fine and then the next minute you turn around and it is night and day." In this moment, it becomes clear that mental illness is read as *unpredictability* and anticipated violence. It is a threat that comes without warning, thereby requiring constant vigilance.

The captain goes on to say that she doesn't "believe that they will ever close Rikers Island because they have to get the population down to 5,000," which she says "will never happen because that's the number of people who were pushed out of the mental institutions, and now have no place else to go except jail."[528] She gives me an example of a man who was "arrested on vagrancy-related charges" and the judge keeps giving him 90 days again and again because he still doesn't have a place to live after he is released."[529] She says that he wasn't hurting anybody by living in the train station, but instead of releasing him, he has become a "permanent ward of the island."**[530]** This statement demonstrates the ways in which epistemologies and roles blur and become further complicated in the context of institutions and politics. This is a manmade criminal because of his homelessness, languishing because he can't find shelter while incarcerated.

In the jails, boundary objects also reveal power dynamics and form certain relationalities through which the carceral body comes to be made and remade. For instance, there is tension

[528] Ibid.
[529] Ibid.
[530] Ibid.

between the PASU staff and the corrections officers who hold the new arrestees in pens until they are transported to jail. As I am about to leave one night, the nurse tells me about how frustrating working in the PASU can be. She is extremely quiet most of the time, so I leap at the opportunity to hear her perspective. “While the program has a lot of potential, there are still challenges. DOC routinely send patients we cleared to the hospital, despite the fact that they haven’t had a day of medical or nursing training.”[531] She gives me the example of a man who was drunk. “He was happy drunk and not scary drunk, and I told DOC he was stable and did not need to go to the hospital.”[532] We are sitting in the nursing room of the PASU. She is wearing a heavy shawl over her shoulders because the room is so cold and I am wishing I had an extra layer.[533]

She says that she sent the man back after monitoring his vitals. “Later, DOC was about to send him out to the hospital, but one of the officers came to tell me what was happening. I had the patient come back and asked what was going on. Then, the officer came back and told me they were sending him out because he has diabetes. I told them he does not have diabetes and I even checked his blood sugar as a courtesy. His blood glucose was normal and I cleared him again.”[534] She documented her findings, affirming the man’s status as “medically stable.”[535]

The officer came back again to let her know that this time, his fellow officers were “sending the man out (to the hospital) for asthma. I called the patient back and he says that he

[531] Ibid.
[532] Ibid.
[533] Ibid.
[534] Ibid.
[535] Ibid.

had childhood asthma, but he doesn't use an inhaler. I didn't think he needed an inhaler, but I ordered one anyway and wrote in the notes 'per DOC request.'"[536] The nurse is usually extremely mellow and soft-spoken, but I can hear how frustrating this was for her. In this moment, she is resisting the City of New York Correction Department document that has identified the man as "diabetic" and "severe." She gives the man an inhaler that is given "for corrections."[537]

The nurse goes on to explain that a little later the officer came back again to tell her that the patient was going to be sent out again, but this time for psychiatric reasons. "He had a history of psychiatric diagnoses, I mean people with substance use disorders also have mental health problems. So, I called the patient back and asked him all of the mental health questions again. Then I documented 'he is not at risk to himself or others.'" [538] While he hit on her as she asked the questions, she says he seemed *harmless*.[539] She sent him back, now for the third time, and a "DOC captain ended up sending him out (to the hospital) anyway to intox (inpatient detox)."[540] Here, the nurse describes a conflict of data, meaning, and risk. [541] In this instance, which she says is a routine occurrence, diabetes, asthma, mental health, and alcohol withdrawals are boundary objects that demonstrate the disparities in meanings and responses between health and corrections.[542]

[536] Ibid.
[537] Ibid.
[538] Ibid.
[539] Ibid.
[540] Ibid.
[541] Ibid.
[542] Ibid.

The nurse explains that The City of New York Correction Department officers routinely send remanded people to the hospital, even after they have been *medically cleared* by the PASU. She says it is a great source of frustration because the corrections officers have no medical training and send people out just because they are being *disruptive*, or seem like they might be a *problem*.[543] "This happens over and over, even though the program has been here for two years. The drunk man probably would have dozed off the moment he went in the pen and all of his vitals were stable."[544] In part, the nurse's frustration arises from the primary mandate of the PASU to reduce costs by decreasing the number of "hospital runs."[545]

It is clear that the nurse is frustrated with the potentially strategic misrepresentation that advanced by the captain. This example shows the frictions surrounding expertise and the power dynamics played out through bodies of incarcerated people. Indeed, here bodies are the territory of bureaucratic tensions. In this instance, being sent to the hospital may have been punitive, but it is also possible that the officers are aware of the time it will take this man to reach his assigned jail, as it could be days before he gets Librium and any other medication. Such a wait can leave people with alcohol dependence with serious, and even fatal withdrawal symptoms. Alternatively, it is entirely possible that they found him annoying and didn't want to have to deal with his behavior. Regardless of motivation, the movement of this man will generate a new circuit of data that will render him as a body of severity and cost.[546]

Spending time in intake means observing the intersection of corrections and health care workers. There is often a sort of rhythmic rise and fall of tensions. These tensions arise out of

[543] Ibid.
[544] Ibid.
[545] Ibid.
[546] Ibid.

the related, but divergent, logics and practices for reducing risk. The nurse is assessing risk of serious illness, infectiousness, or death in the short-term. The officers are mandated with *maintaining order*. Both enroll extensive bureaucratic processes to reduce the risk of lawsuits. Moreover, this paperwork, which bloats the intake process, serves as the supportive documentation for Department lawyers defending these institutions. For City of New York Correction Department, cost-savings comes from the reduction of lawsuits lost or settled following death or morbidities.[547] Regardless of the mechanisms of cost and risk reduction, these dynamics support the idea that carceral bodies are enacted out of, at times, competing and contradictory logics.

Algorithms

Numerical figures characterize the neoliberal, managerial impulses at the core of both corrections and health care regimes in United States correctional facilities. Carceral managerialism is part of how and why carceral bodies are "made up" in particular ways. Jewkes notes that

> the 'official' audit culture … has led to prisons being judged on a plethora of government-instigated rules, directives and performance targets that render individual prisoners anonymous administrative targets.[548]

Carceral managerialism is experienced at every scale in the New York City jails, generating the need for ever more electronic data that forms digitized, carceral bodies open to surveillance, classification, disposition, and categorization. This is reflected in the following vignette that

[547] Fieldnotes.
[548] Jewkes, Palgrave handbook of prison ethnography, xii.

takes place in the PASU in MDC, which enacts particular bureaucratic *bodies of risk* read and acted upon based on the established algorithms.

Health Algorithms

I am sitting in a broken office chair near the stairs when a White detective in an oxford shirt brings an arrested man down the stairs. I have been reading because it has been slow and my eyes take a moment to adjust.[549] The detective flirts lightly with the PASU patient care assistants while handing them papers with information about the arrested man, who is now standing on the duct tape "X" on the stairs.[550] The patient care assistants are both young African American women wearing colorful scrubs. They have been watching cooking videos online and laughing and are annoyed to see the arrested man.[551]

The officer stands beside the arrested man who does his best to stand at attention. One patient care assistant begins to rattle off the screening questions very, very quickly while the other looks him up in eCW. The patient care assistant starts by listing medical diagnoses so fast that I am unable to hear them from where I am sitting. I scoot forward to hear the man's response to the question "Do you have any of the following problems: breathing problems, seizures, heart problems, HIV/AIDs, Blood Clots, Dialysis, Hep C?" The man looks at the police officer and then shakes his head "no," although it is not clear that he understands.[552] The patient care assistant then says "Sick or injured?" The arrested man looks confused and says

[549] Fieldnotes.
[550] Ibid.
[551] Ibid.
[552] Ibid.

"What?" The patient care assistant repeats in annoyed exaggerated slowness "Sick or injured?!" "Oh, no." the man responds.[553]

"Hospital or ER this week?" The patient care assistant asks so fast it is hard to understand. The man looks confused for a moment "This week, in the hospital?!" The patient care assistant shouts. The question in the electronic record states "Have you been in the hospital or ED (emergency room) for medical or psychiatric reasons within the last week including since arrest?" Eventually the man says "No, not before *they* took me." He says, as he nods towards the officer.

The text of the next question reads "Have you been prescribed any psychiatric medications in the last 3 months?" The patient care assistant just says "Psych meds?" The man says "Yeah, Seroquel to sleep and Klonopin and Xanax for bad anxiety…" The patient care assistant cuts him off. "How often?" she asks. "I take it every day, my medication."

"In a program?" she asks. This blends together two of the questions in the electronic health record screen, "Are you currently in a drug or alcohol program?" and "Are you currently in a mental health program?" The man says "I'm in a mental health program now …" The patient care assistant interjects and asks "Drugs alcohol?" He says that he drinks and the patient care assistant asks him how often he drinks. "Every day," he says.[554] She then asks him what happens if he stops drinking or taking his medication. "I get the shakes real bad and get real sick. If I don't take my medications, I get bad panic attacks. It feels like a heart attack, like I can't breathe right."[555] She asks when he "used last," and he says it was right before he got

[553] Ibid.
[554] Ibid.
[555] Ibid.

arrested.[556] She cuts him off and asks for the date of his last use. He asks what day it is and the patient care assistant says that it's the 17th. He says that he thinks he was arrested yesterday and a female officer in a uniform confirms he was arrested just after midnight. He says "I thought I was locked up a long time."[557] Being kept from clocks or windows that might orient arrested or incarcerated people to time or day is a recurring theme across this research and is strategic.[558]

In this moment, a carceral body has been enacted through a series of yes or no questions translated into health risk categorizations. Each of the questions asked by the PASU patient care assistants serve as a measure of risk surrounding specific health domains. For instance, the screening questions seek to identify potentially critical withdrawal symptoms from either prescribed or illicit drugs, fatal asthma attacks, suicide (attempts/ completion), diabetic ketoacidosis, or other over-the-counter medications. The answers to the established screening questions are intended to make categorized data that can be read through a decisional algorithm. The algorithm consists of responses that include – 1) advance to the arraignment judge, 2) receive an asthma rescue inhaler, minor wound care, blood pressure medication, etc. and advance to the arraignment judge, 3) go to the hospital for health reasons, 4) go to the hospital for mental health reasons, 5) go to the hospital for substance abuse disorder "intox," etc. Each of these steps indicates multiple evaluators and attendant enactments. Evaluations begin with responses to questions encoded as data for algorithmic evaluation. The decisional algorithm is intended to establish a framework that reduces the risk

[556] Ibid.
[557] Ibid.
[558] Ibid.

of lawsuits due to premature death or serious health harms, while simultaneously lowering costs. It determines the risk of the body it evaluates by assigning an outcome to an enfleshed body.[559]

Given that this is a pilot project, the PASU itself is subject to numerous layers of monitoring as their outcomes are reviewed by Vera Institute for Justice as well as The New York City Health and Hospitals Corporation.[560] The New York City Corrections Department, The New York City Health and Hospitals Corporation, and the New York City Police Department all have stakes in this process and monitor performance. This points to the enactment of a carceral body that will be evaluated over and over again for a variety of purposes, in this way proliferating carceral bodies assumed to be unitary, stable *objects*. As one of the main objectives of this pilot project is to reduce the high cost of emergency room "runs" (i.e. visits that require transportation and police escort) and lawsuits surrounding mortalities and morbidities, this is a body justified monetarily.[561]

The PASU pilot project is intended to divert cost by preventing remand, thereby decreasing the size of the incarcerated population. If an arrested person meets with the PASU social worker, the arrested person may be given a letter to give to their defense counsel to assist in advocating for *alternatives* based on their mental health or substance use disorder status. It includes a section based on the person's self-report, the health records from eCW, and "notes" describing their current state as observed by the social worker. The letter is important

[559] Ibid.
[560] Cloud, David, Anne Siegler, Michelle Martelle, Leah Pope, and Jim Parsons. 2017. The Enhanced Pre-Arraignment Screening Unit: Improving Health Services, Medical Triage, and Diversion Opportunities in Manhattan's Central Booking. New York: Vera Institute of Justice.
[561] Ibid.

as it is not uncommon for public defenders to have only a few minutes with their *clients* before going before the arraignment judge. This illustrates a point at which the carceral body is read through both biomedical and criminal justice lenses. For instance, if a person does not have or disclose their substance abuse or mental health diagnoses they become ineligible for special courts or leniency.[562] The responses to their arrest demonstrates the dual logic of the criminal justice system that suggests that responses to crime/ criminality must be disciplined through either biomedical or penal techniques.

Criminal justice logics calculate risk of (violent) reoffending, which results in arrested people being either released from court or remanded to custody with or without bail. In the allocation of carceral bodies, it becomes evident that these frameworks have related but different logics. Each logic is predicated on the diminishment of *risk* and responsibility for staff and their departments, although they may be defined differently.[563]

Across intake, risk is something to be monitored and managed, making documentation the primary work. Copious amounts of documentation are justified through the specter of lawsuits from those harmed or the families of those harmed or killed (by neglect or violence). Here, documentation can be viewed as an act of "risk-management," a paper trail that has meaning to courts and investigators. At first, I thought of this only in the context of staff, but later I realized that arrested and incarcerated people recognize the importance of documentation and its legal heft as well. For instance, one recently arrested man, who had not yet gone before a judge for arraignment, asked to be taken to the hospital so that they could document the injuries he sustained during his arrest. When the PASU patient care assistant

[562] Fieldnotes.
[563] Ibid.

asked more about why he went to the hospital, he tells her he's "not going to lie," he wanted "documentation" that he had been beaten badly by the arresting police officers.[564] This demonstrates how the carceral body as paper-trail has juridical heft, a body of liability and economic recompense.

Documentation is supposed to be largely separate for health, law enforcement, and corrections staff. In practice, this separation is not complete. In many cases, this separation of information and information systems leads to a duplication of questions alongside the unquestioning acceptance of the other's records.

Corrections Algorithms

As the central work of the City of New York Correction Department is the *maintenance of order* in correctional facilities, holding cells, corrections grounds, and vehicles; incarcerated people are assigned risk levels, called classifications.

> Under an ideal prison research and monitoring approach, states would profile their inmate populations along a range of dimensions (e.g., age, sex, race, ethnicity, education, mental health) and do so with an eye towards addressing specific needs that groups may have and toward identifying how the dimensions may be associated with adjustment and misconduct.[565]

Classification is designated using an algorithm that draws upon information from IIS to analyze the data of corrections pedigreeing and the person's criminal justice history. Although I was not given access to the corrections electronic system or the classification algorithm, I am told that

[564] Ibid.
[565] Mears, Daniel P., and Joshua C. Cochran. "Who Goes to Prison?." *The Oxford Handbook of Prisons and Imprisonment* (2018): 29.

they primarily consider "tickets" (which are given for violation of jail rules and range from 0-10), age, "crime committed" (which refers to the types of current and former criminal charges), record of contraband possession, identification as an intended contraband recipient (ICR), number or frequency of previous incarcerations, suspected gang affiliation, other demographic information, and zip code.[566] I ask the officers whether they know what specific demographic information is used and how it is weighted, but am repeatedly told that this is not something that facility officers are privy to. This risk classification inscribes statuses of likely/ future perpetrators upon certain incarcerated people. These risk calculations/ classifications rely upon digital and analog correctional architectures that work to predict, ostensibly in order to prevent, violence, contraband, and other rule violations.

Housing area assignment is the result of numerous, and often overlapping, assessments of health and corrections risks.[567] Corrections departments rely on predictive models similar to those developed by epidemiologists predictive of disease.[568] Risk models are central to health interventions and rely on specific forms of data, typically surrounding demographic

[566] Fieldnotes.

[567] Fielding, Jane, and Nigel Fielding. 2013. Integrating information from multiple methods into the analysis of perceived risk of crime: The role of geo-referenced field data and mobile methods. *Journal of Criminology* 2013 : 1-13.; Russo, Silvia, Michele Roccato, and Alessio Vieno. 2011;2010;. Predicting perceived risk of crime: A multilevel study. *American Journal of Community Psychology* 48 (3): 384-94.; Schuilenburg, Marc. 2015. *The securitization of society: Crime, risk, and social order*. New York; London;: New York University Press.

[568] Henry, David B., Allison Dymnicki, Candice Kane, Elena Quintana, Jenifer Cartland, Kimberly Bromann, Shaun Bhatia, and Elise Wisnieski. 2014. Community monitoring for youth violence surveillance: Testing a prediction model. *Prevention Science* 15 (4): 437-47.; Oakes, J. Michael, and Jay S. Kaufman. 2006. *Methods in social epidemiology*. 1st ed. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.; Ready, Justin, Nancy Morris, and David Weisburd. 2008. Risk-focused policing at places: An experimental evaluation. *Justice Quarterly* 25 (1): 163-200.

categorizations (e.g. race, ethnicity, educational attainment, socio-economic status. neighborhood) read through calculative lenses.[569]

The use of algorithms and machine learning mechanisms that make such determinations have been conceived of by Hayles as "distributed cognitive systems that include human and non-human actors."[570] This points to the complex intersection of human and machine learning and their imbrication in carceral risk assignment and monitoring. Hayles refers to this as the cognisphere.[571] For instance, while the classification may be determined electronically by an algorithm, officers play an active role in the assignment of housing units. Although classifications have broader implications their main affect in the assignation, however; this must also account for the incarcerated person's health disposition. Together, the health and corrections intake processes demonstrate the frailties of the autonomous algorithmic imaginary.[572]

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[569] Chiricos, Ted, Ranee McEntire, and Marc Gertz. 2001. Perceived racial and ethnic composition of neighborhood and perceived risk of crime. *Social Problems* 48 (3): 322-40.; Clapham, Andrew. "Performativity, fabrication and trust: exploring computer-mediated moderation." *Ethnography and Education* 8, no. 3 (2013): 371-387.; Farrington, David P., and Brandon Welsh. 2007. *Saving children from a life of crime: Early risk factors and effective interventions*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.; Kennedy, Leslie W., and Erin Gibbs Van Brunschot. 2009. *The risk in crime*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Pub.; Loeber, Rolf, and David Farrington. 2000. Young children who commit crime: Epidemiology, developmental origins, risk factors, early interventions, and policy implications. *Development and Psychopathology* 12 (4): 737-62. ; O'Malley, Pat. 2010. *Crime and risk*. Los Angeles: SAGE.; Willits, Dale, Lisa Broidy, and Kristine Denman. 2013. Schools, neighborhood risk factors, and crime. *Crime & Delinquency* 59 (2): 292-315.; Rice, Stephen K., and Michael D. White. 2010. *Race, ethnicity, and policing: New and essential readings*. New York: New York University Press.

[570] Hayles, N. Katherine. 2006. "Unfinished Work: From Cyborg to Cognisphere." *Theory, Culture & Society*, no. 7–8: 159-166.

[571] Ibid.

[572] Fieldnotes.

Housing assignments ultimately account for health disposition, corrections classification, age, pregnancy status, recognized need for "heat sensitive housing" for medical reasons (as most housing areas do not have air conditioning), need for palliative care, gang affiliation, need for assistive technology, eligibility for AIDS-related palliative care, available beds, "program house" assignment, etc. Housing assignments are enacted through human and digital decisions. These cascades of categories and decision points, in turn, shape nearly every aspect of a person's incarceration experience. This demonstrates one way that digital carceral bodies and other carceral technologies shape analog bodies.

Electronic record systems and correctional algorithms are built upon the assumption that violence and rule breaking can be forecasted like the weather.[573] The classification algorithms are routinely spoken about as objective and free of bias, even though they rely upon data enacted through subjective categorizations. Corrections officers characterize incarcerated people both formally (e.g. criminal charges, previous "points" accrued during a previous incarceration) and informally (e.g. junkie, gang banger, threatening), highlighting the role of human judgment even when it is obscured through their documentation in the electronic records systems. In this way, data and decisional algorithms play a sort of ablutional function as they are perceived as purifying "data."

[573] Rajack-Talley, Theresa & Brooms, Derrick. 2018. Living Racism: Through the Barrel of the Book.

The process of categorizing translates the complexity of lived experiences and embodied multiplicities into numbers and types that can be combined and compared to means. Carceral categories, like racial categories, are complex technologies hewn from cultural materialities within specific socio-political contexts.[574] These technologies shed light on how carceral society is anticipatory, conjuring risks and identifying deviance.[575] In this regard, each of the categories enrolled tells stories about the broader carceral society from which they are made.

Given their direct impact on nearly every aspect of incarcerated individuals' lives the stakes of carceral algorithms are high. Research has found that machine learning algorithms "have devastating consequences for people who are already marginalized by institutional racism and sexism."[576] Thus, algorithmic determinations of carceral risk have the potential to cause greater harms to people of color, those who do not identify as heterosexual, gender nonconforming people, etc.[577] Similarly, the corrections' labelling of "high-classification" can be read as self-fulfilling. If, for instance, a person with high-classification or a "global alert" marking them as an "aggressive patient" means they will be placed in a housing area with high rates of violence and conflict. Then, if they engage in violence as a result, even if only protecting

[574] Ruha Benjamin. (2016). Catching Our Breath: Critical Race STS and the Carceral Imagination. *Engaging Science, Technology, and Society*, 145.; Benjamin, Ruha1. "Innovating Inequity: If Race Is a Technology, Postracialism Is the Genius Bar." *Ethnic & Racial Studies* 39, no. 13 (October 15, 2016): 2227–34. Benjamin, Ruha. "Prophets and Profits of Racial Science." *Kalfou* 5, no. 1 (Spring 2018): 41.; Benjamin, Ruha. 2019. *Race after Technology*. Polity.
[575] Ibid.
[576] Neyland, Daniel. "On organizing algorithms." *Theory, Culture & Society* 32, no. 1 (2015): 119-132.
[577] Fieldnotes.

themselves this comes to reinforce the "correctness" of the algorithm. Their "violent act" forms the *evidence* for its continued use.

In assessing and *managing* risk, medical and corrections disciplines offer a sense of security, while simultaneously raising the specter of the *dangerous* and *pathological* criminal. The quantification, categorization, and calculation of risks shape the pervasive sense of human (biological and behavioral) threat that reinforces the necessity of the criminal justice system and biomedicine. Together, they enact bodies of threat (e.g. genetic or behavioral), while *clearing* others.[578]

These models of carceral risk have complex implications. Individuals are expected to utilize *self-control* to manage *risk*. [579] This implies a *criminal* beyond *self-control*, possibly even incapable of it. In this regard, it becomes possible to focus on the risks of individuals, while occluding systemic harms.[580] For instance, this frame obscures the often-traumatic and harmful influence of the experience of incarceration itself.[581] The omission of carceral trauma points to how models discard ontologies considered irrelevant to carceral risk.

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[578] Barnes, J. C., Brian B. Boutwell, and Kevin M. Beaver. 2013. Genetic risk factors correlate with county-level violent crime rates and collective disadvantage. *Journal of Criminal Justice* 41 (5): 350-6.; Castel, Robert. "From dangerousness to risk." *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales.* 47-4 (1983): 119-127.; Clapham, Andrew. "Performativity, fabrication and trust: exploring computer-mediated moderation." *Ethnography and Education* 8, no. 3 (2013): 371-387.; Foucault, Michel, Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller. 1991. The Foucault effect: Studies in governmentality : With two lectures by and an interview with Michel Foucault. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. ; Willits, Dale, Lisa Broidy, and Kristine Denman. 2013. Schools, neighborhood risk factors, and crime. *Crime & Delinquency* 59 (2): 292-315.

[579] Simmons, W. Michele, and Jeffrey Grabill. 1998. Toward a critical rhetoric of risk communication: Producing citizens and the role of technical communicators. *Technical Communication Quarterly* 7 (4): 415.

[580] Fieldnotes.

[581] Ibid.

Quantifying people in terms of risk, whether cloaked in tropes of health or crime, produces fear and anxiety for staff who are conditioned to anticipate violence and infection.[582] In fact, when violence occurs, staff are often looked down upon for their own injuries, which are attributed to their lack of *precaution*.[583] This logic carries with it the logic that incarcerated people are not to be trusted and vigilance must be constant.

Risk also leads to the application of preventative interventions.[584] In public health, predictive models are used to circumvent the spread of disease and/or identify individuals or groups most *susceptible* to preventive interventions, while in the criminal justice system the focus is on crime, arrest, rule violations, and re-arrest.[585] Carceral technologies establish logics that have facilitated the healthitization of crime, contributing to a culture of fear in which it becomes thinkable, and seemingly necessary, to predict, surveil, and incarcerate on a national and international scale.[586] The multiple carceral bodies enacted through data and its analysis

[582] Barnes, J. C., Brian B. Boutwell, and Kevin M. Beaver. 2013. Genetic risk factors correlate with county-level violent crime rates and collective disadvantage. *Journal of Criminal Justice* 41 (5): 350-6.; Castel, Robert. "From dangerousness to risk." *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales.* 47-4 (1983): 119-127.; Clapham, Andrew. "Performativity, fabrication and trust: exploring computer-mediated moderation." *Ethnography and Education* 8, no. 3 (2013): 371-387.; Foucault, Michel, Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller. 1991. The Foucault effect: Studies in governmentality: With two lectures by and an interview with Michel Foucault. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. ; Willits, Dale, Lisa Broidy, and Kristine Denman. 2013. Schools, neighborhood risk factors, and crime. *Crime & Delinquency* 59 (2): 292-315.

[583] Petersen, Alan, "Risk, governance and the new public health," in Foucault, Health and Medicine, 190.

[584] Rose, Nikolas. 1991. Governing by numbers: Figuring out democracy. *Accounting, Organizations and Society* 16 (7): 673-92.

[585] Simon, Jonathan. 2007. *Governing through crime: How the war on crime transformed American democracy and created a culture of fear*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press; Viens, A. M., John Coggon, and A. Kessel. 2013. *Criminal law, philosophy and public health practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[586] Sanders, Bill, Yonette F. Thomas, and Bethany Deeds. 2010;2013;2012;. *Crime, HIV and health intersections of criminal justice and public health concerns*. 1stition.;1;2013; ed. Dordrecht; New York;: Springer.; Youde, Jeremy R. 2010. *Biopolitical surveillance and public health in international politics*. 1st ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

are open to certain types of interventions and have the potential to justify critical harms/ deprivations.[587]

Data and decisional algorithms also play a large role in professional risk management. For example, the Part B nursing visit includes an administrative process of oversight. Nurse Carter explained that as a Part B nurse, she had to check all the previous health intake data before" signing off on the chart."[588] She says that if there are any errors she "will stand alone (in responsibility), not any of those trying to expedite the process will be held accountable."[589] She says that "everyone is involved until there is a problem or error in giving medication for instance," which would "fall" on her.[590] This demonstrates the way that carceral data and algorithms enact bodies open to certain forms of managerialisms, making all bodies engaged in intake carceral.

Publications & Knowledge Production

Data moves across carceral borders in a number of ways, including through the publication of academic papers.[591] These academic publications cover a range of topics.[592] For

[587] Athanasiou, Athena. "Mourning Otherwise." In *Agonistic Mourning: Political Dissidence and the Women in Black*. New York: Edinburgh University Press, 2017. University Press Scholarship Online, 2018.
[588] Fieldnotes.
[589] Ibid.
[590] Ibid.
[591] Reeves, Joshua. *Citizen spies: The long rise of America's surveillance society*. NYU Press, 2019.
[592] Akiyama, Matthew J., Devin Columbus, Ross MacDonald, Alison O. Jordan, Jessie Schwartz, Alain H. Litwin, Benjamin Eckhardt, and Ellie Carmody. "Linkage to hepatitis C care after incarceration in jail: a prospective, single arm clinical trial." BMC infectious diseases 19, no. 1 (2019): 703.; Barber-Rioja, Virginia, Merrill Rotter, and Faith Schombs. "Diversion evaluations: a specialized forensic examination." *Behavioral sciences & the law* 35, no. 5-6 (2017): 418-430.; Bursac, Rahela, Laura Raffa, Angela Solimo, Connor Bell, and Elizabeth Ford. "Boundary-spanning care: reducing psychiatric rehospitalization and self-injury in a jail population." *Journal of correctional health care* 24, no. 4 (2018): 365-370.; Harocopos, Alex, Bennett Allen, Sarah Glowa-Kollisch, Homer Venters, Denise Paone, and Ross Macdonald. "The

instance, a New York City jail article, authored by Health and Hospitals Corporation staff, used data from the electronic health records to identify "hot spotters," a term used to refer to those most frequently incarcerated, and to define the health and financial "burdens" attributed to them.[593] It is worth noting that "hot spotting" began with public health, but has also been adopted in predictive policing in which small geographic areas were targeted for increased police surveillance based on crimes predicted using historical policing data.[594] In this study, staff compared the records of 800 of the most frequently incarcerated people with a control group of 800 with lower incarceration rates.[595] Their findings identified significantly higher rates of mental health conditions, substance use disorders, and homelessness.[596] They compared their annual jail health care costs and attributed $129 million per year to their "frequent flyers"

Rikers Island Hot Spotters: Exploring the Needs of the Most Frequently Incarcerated." *Journal of health care for the poor and underserved* 28, no. 4 (2017): 1436-1451.; Huxley-Reicher, Zina, Lara Maldjian, Emily Winkelstein, Anne Siegler, Denise Paone, Ellenie Tuazon, Michelle L. Nolan, Alison Jordan, Ross MacDonald, and Hillary V. Kunins. "Witnessed overdoses and naloxone use among visitors to Rikers Island jails trained in overdose rescue." *Addictive behaviors* 86 (2018): 73-78.; Katyal, Monica, Ruth Leibowitz, and Homer Venters. "IGRA-based screening for latent tuberculosis infection in persons newly incarcerated in New York City Jails." *Journal of Correctional Health Care* 24, no. 2 (2018): 156-170.; Ravi, Anita, Megan R. Pfeiffer, Zachary Rosner, and Judy A. Shea. "Trafficking and trauma: insight and advice for the healthcare system from sex-trafficked women incarcerated on Rikers Island." *Medical care* 55, no. 12 (2017): 1017-1022.; Wiersema, Janet J., Anthony J. Santella, Allison Dansby, and Alison O. Jordan. "Adaptation of an Evidence-Based Intervention to Reduce HIV Risk in an Underserved Population: Young Minority Men in New York City Jails." *AIDS Education and Prevention* 31, no. 2 (2019): 163-178.; Wiersema, Janet J., Anthony J. Santella, Press Canady, and Alison O. Jordan. "Self-Justifications for Unsafe Sex Among Incarcerated Young Men Who Have Sex with Men and Are Living with HIV: Results from a New York City Jail-Based Pilot Intervention." Journal of community health (2019): 1-11.

[593] MacDonald, Ross, Fatos Kaba, Zachary Rosner, Allison Vise, David Weiss, Mindy Brittner, Molly Skerker, Nathaniel Dickey, and Homer Venters. "The Rikers Island hot spotters: defining the needs of the most frequently incarcerated." *American journal of public health* 105, no. 11 (2015): 2262-2268.

[594] Ehlers, Nadine., and Leslie R Hinkson. *Subprime Health: Debt and Race in U. S. Medicine.* Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2017.

[595] MacDonald, Ross, Fatos Kaba, Zachary Rosner, Allison Vise, David Weiss, Mindy Brittner, Molly Skerker, Nathaniel Dickey, and Homer Venters. "The Rikers Island hot spotters: defining the needs of the most frequently incarcerated." *American journal of public health* 105, no. 11 (2015): 2262-2268.

[596] Ibid.

versus $38 million to the control group.[597] This study argues for jail diversion for this *high-risk* population alongside the increased availability of community services, such as housing. [598] In making this argument, the frequently incarcerated group is reinforced as one of carcerality, pathology, and costliness.[599] Problematically, it advances the logic of carceral bodies as "debt-producing subjects that are a drain on society and require intervention."[600] Given the stigma of incarceration, this study makes hotspotters further stigmatized subpopulation in need of closer monitoring until diversion can be enacted and surveillance shifted to the community.[601] This public health article makes carceral bodies of risk that flows beyond carceral walls, a cost to all taxpayers.[602]

In sum, this section shows how digital, bureaucratic bodies are generated, while existing virtual bodies are subjected to searches for signs of urgency, deviance, violence, and infectiousness. Digitized bodies come to form populations open to risk identification. For instance, the PASU process makes a body "cleared" for a set of legal and correctional processes. It is also an early site from which the tensions between health and corrections staff plays out, in borderland skirmishes. The interconnectedness of health and corrections across the NYC jail intake process serves as a small example of the far broader, systemic manifestations of this. For instance, health paradigms have increasingly come to be viewed as ***t****he* alternative to the

[597] Ibid.
[598] Ibid.
[599] Ibid.
[600] Ehlers, Nadine., and Leslie R Hinkson. *Subprime Health: Debt and Race in U. S. Medicine.* Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2017, 44.
[601] Krupar, Shiloh, and Nadine Ehlers. "'When Treating Patients Like Criminals Makes Sense': Medical Hot Spotting, Race, and Debt." *Living In the Red: The American Health-care System and Racebased Medicine* (2017) 31-46.
[602] Ibid.

criminal justice system.[603] This is reflected in the rise of therapeutic jurisprudence models, drug/ mental health courts, treatment-based re-entry, etc.[604] Justifications for such changes are advanced in publications and studies that form the *evidence-base*.[605]

Most public health and corrections research applies statistical approaches in the name of prevention and/ or optimization.[606] The attendant risk calculations enroll *people* into *populations* that can be neatly characterized and lobbed into the future with anticipatory illness and/or criminality. Risk projections applied to individuals and groups they are the static, representationalist paradigms this project is working against.

Conclusion

Despite acknowledging the perils of datafication across this chapter, I cannot claim a wholesale eschewal of them or deny their sway. In fact, I use statistics at the beginning of grant applications, some conference proposals, and academic papers to communicate the importance of studying correctional institutions. I use them as "hard evidence" to support my claims that people of color, people with disabilities, people living in poverty, etc. are disproportionately incarcerated. At times, I even rely upon the monetary costs of incarceration,

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[603] (2016). *The international journal of therapeutic jurisprudence.* Phoenix, Arizona: Arizona Summit Law School.

[604] Ibid.; Bartels, Lorana. *Swift, Certain and Fair: Does Project HOPE Provide a Therapeutic Paradigm for Managing Offenders?.* Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017.; Knight, Kevin *Criminal Justice Drug Abuse Treatment Studies (CJ-DATS): Targeted Intervention Components (TIC) for Correctional Re-Entry Programs, 2002-2008 [United States].* 2010-09-29 Ann Arbor, Michigan: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2010.; Perlin, Michael L. 2017. "'Have You Seen Dignity?': The Story of the Development of Therapeutic Jurisprudence." *New Zealand Universities Law Review* 27 (4B): 1135–61.

[605] Ibid.

[606] Ibid.

imbuing my work with the neoliberal values that I simultaneously try to work against. Carceral logics are stubborn, even in attempts at their undoing/ resistance.

My enrollment of statistics is illuminating as it speaks to the values held either by my direct audience and/ or the broader audiences they are a part of. This type of quantification reveals the capitalist impulse that has brought surprising allies to support limited criminal justice *reforms*. Theodore Porter identified a 'trust in numbers' as being tied to the veneer of objectivity that has been naturalized in teleological stories of Western science and its inscrutable knowledge. [607] In this sense, I am making my work pass, recognizing this broader context with its tales and trajectories.

Kitchin's description of data and their assemblages as "co-determinous and mutually constituted, bound together in a set of contingent, relational and contextual discursive and material practices and relations" have been reflected in the practices of intake.[608] This chapter addressed detailed data enactments and infrastructures that facilitate insight into digital, carceral records and their analysis. Given the rapid proliferation of digital data, this denaturalization serves as an important intervention in the formation of carceral digital bodies and the stories they are made to tell.

Considering the data of intake is generated and maintained by two large governmental departments, access to and analysis of data is tightly controlled and political. These politics give rise to certain forms and figures being generated for purposes that range from *performance*

[607] Porter, Theodore M., *Trust in Numbers: The Pursuit of Objectivity in Science and Public Life.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995.
[608] Kitchin, Rob. 2014. *The Data Revolution : Big Data, Open Data, Data Infrastructures and Their Consequences*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 23.

indicators to mayoral reports.[609] While some data is drawn out, other data is kept inaccessible, untrusted (i.e. characterized as inaccurate or invalid) and/ or unreported.[610] This "stranded data" comes to reflect Rikers Island itself, largely separated and hidden from view.

Across intake, the tests, vital sign measures, and responses to questions are searched for signs of *deviance* and *risk*. Such approaches are premised upon ontological monism. For instance, each question asked by the nurse is believed to elicit a response that reveals the *actual health* of the incarcerated person and their risks of disease or harmful health behaviors (e.g. suicidality, intravenous drug use). Rather than conceiving of the carceral body as enacted multiply, here the nurse is assessing a unitary body and responding to it in prescribed ways (e.g. patient education, immunizations, testing). It is only through ontological monistic approaches that the carceral data analyses can have credibility and, in turn, justify the ever-increasing amassment of intake data.

> For communities and states, data are a means by which political agendas and work can be legitimated, conducted, and contested by enabling the construction of evidence-informed narratives and counter-discourses that have greater rhetorical value than anecdote or sentiment… In other words, data are manifested and situated within complex and contested political economies and at the same time, they are used to shape such debates and regimes.[611]

[609] New York City Mayor's Office of Operations "" Mayor's Management Report." *New York City Mayor's Office of Operations*. Last accessed February 3, 2020. https://www1.nyc.gov/site/operations/performance/mmr.page
[610] Kitchin, Rob. 2014. *The Data Revolution : Big Data, Open Data, Data Infrastructures and Their Consequences*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd. Chapter 9.
[611] Ibid., 15.

The use of data becomes a legitimizing force for specific readings of carceral bodies and practices of incarceration. This legitimacy arises out of the imaginaries of data's objectivity, transparency, and accuracy.[612]

Further, this chapter and the ones that follow demonstrate the ways in which databases come to be the primary work and legacy of those who design data infrastructures.[613] The data analysis that informs everything from the daily operations of the jail to academic papers reinforces the need for its own continuance and expansion. As carceral data proliferates, this project supports Berry's call for equally complex critical approaches.

> The processes of algorithm production, reproduction, distribution, exchange, and consumption are complex and multi-layered, as a result a set of critical methods for understanding these new tools, mechanisms and procedures need to be further refined to capture this complexity.[614]

Out of the tyranny of quantitative and predictive carceral research, there has been a call for ethnographies that attend to particularities and nuances, that resist the opacity of statistics with their summative surfaces.[615] Carceral statistics can be a soporific, whether intentionally or unintentionally, masking the embodied realities of a criminal justice system that perpetuates legacies of slavery and oppression. This is not to suggest that data cannot speak in ways that tell compelling stories of suffering and oppression, but rather that this is most often not the case in carceral research and bureaucratic reports. This statistical masking has led to calls for

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[612] Porter, Theodore M., *Trust in Numbers: The Pursuit of Objectivity in Science and Public Life.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995.

[613] Borgman, Christine, Peter Darch, Ashley Sands, Irene Pasquetto, Milena Golshan, Jillian Wallis, and Sharon Traweek. 2015. "Knowledge Infrastructures in Science: Data, Diversity, and Digital Libraries." *International Journal on Digital Libraries* 16 (3/4): 207–27.

[614] Berry, David. (2019). "Against Infrasomatization: Towards a critical theory of algorithms." in Bigo, Didier, Engin F. Isin, and Evelyn Sharon Ruppert. Eds. *Data Politics : Worlds, Subjects, Rights*. Routledge Studies in International Political Sociology. London: Routledge, 61.

[615] Drake, Deborah H., Rod Earle, and Jennifer Sloan, eds. *The Palgrave handbook of prison ethnography*. Springer, 2016.

resistance to traditional prison research comprised of "objective data collection and statistical outputs – reducing those involved within the penal system to inhuman objects, with serious moral as well as analytical consequences."[616]

In sum, this chapter has traced the rise of electronic record systems and the datafication of carceral bodies. This points to technocarceralisms that require increasing amounts of data for quantitative and predictive analyses. Intake pursues quantified and categorized carceral bodies in order to produce bodies predisposed not to *crime* but to *incarcerability*. Moreover, bodies of data are spatially situated and at once shot into the future while their pasts and current presentations are open to perpetual surveillances. These spatialities and temporalities are the subject of the next chapters.

[616] Turner, Jennifer. *The Prison Boundary: Between Society and Carceral Space.* London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2016, 5.

Chapter 5: Carceral Bodies of Space

Introduction

In this chapter, carceral bodies enacted across jail intake are explored through the spatialities they are generative of and situated in. The spaces of intake are suffused with values, politics, and epistemologies that play out in a number of ways. This chapter will address the intricacies of the connections between carceral bodies and spaces, making explicit the relationship between the ontological approach and carceral geography.

Dominique Moran established the term carceral geography in 2011 and formalized the discipline in her 2016 book *Carceral Geography: Spaces and Practices of Incarceration*. Carceral geography positions itself in relation to the works of Erving Goffman, Michel Foucault, and Doreen Massey.[617] This chapter lends insight into the theory and practice of medicine and corrections in relation to the carceral enacted through sited jail intake processes.

Instead of seeking *generalizable* or *universal truths*, feminist geographers called for an engagement with the specific and the interactive.[618] They elevated micro-scales of space and time and placed the personal and particular beside the national and the global.[619] While

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[617] Foucault, Michel, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison.* New York: Vintage Books, 1979.; Foucault, Michel, and John K. Simon. "Michel Foucault on Attica: an interview." *Social Justice* 18, no. 3 (45 (1991).; Goffman, Erving. *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates.* Harmondsworth, Eng.: Penguin, 1968.; Massey, Doreen B. *For Space.* London: SAGE, 2005.; Massey, Doreen B. *Space, Place and Gender.* Cambridge: Polity, 1994.; Wacquant, Loïc J. D. *Punishing the Poor: The Neoliberal Government of Social Insecurity.* English language ed. Durham [NC]: Duke University Press, 2009.; Wacquant, Loïc J. D. *Prisons of Poverty.* Expanded ed. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009.

[618] Moss, Pamela "A Bodily Notion of Research: Power, Difference, and Specificity in Feminist Methodology." In Nelson, Lise and Joni Seager. *A Companion to Feminist Geography.* Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2005, 44.

[619] Moran, Dominique. *Carceral geography: Spaces and practices of incarceration*. London: Routledge, 2015.

specific, these scales are not disconnected or siloed, but are instead relational and reflective of broader social and political contexts.[620] This shift in scale has important implications for the study of correctional facilities as it is from this scale that the complexities, contradictions, and multiplicities are visible.[621]

Carceral geography approaches space as *relational*, allowing for the blurring of the borders historically applied to carceral spaces.[622]

> It invokes an understanding of objects and processes as space, and of space as objects and processes, each only in relation to the other in a perpetual process of becoming.[623]

In this regard, the carceral body multiple comes to be enacted spatially in the context of intake areas. This space is made out of interpersonal and material relationalities, which comprise carceralities in knotted and complex ways.[624] Moreover, carceral space is in a constant state of becoming, as will be demonstrated in this chapter.[625]

This dissertation project points to the stakes of such carceral logics and their reverberations, and calls for further examination. This call relates to Foucault's *carceral archipelago*, which conveys the complexities of carceral spaces and their leakiness. In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault outlines the ways in which carceral surveillance is manufactured in correctional facilities. Carceral geography's reading of Foucault requires an engagement across

[620] Ibid.
[621] Ibid.
[622] Ibid., 149.
[623] Ibid.
[624] Ibid.
[625] Ibid.

carceral societies that incorporates the body as a prime site from which to understand complex dynamics of control.[626]

Carceral geography offers a helpful approach drawing out spatialities enacted through performances and experiences, making concertina wire fences permeable and ever-mutable. This chapter seeks to respond to Gil et al.'s proposed critical counter-mapping process that focuses on

> the recurrence of carceral systems; the passing of time, diseases and lives in carceral space; the component-like nature of carceral places that ensures that they play their part in wider systems of risk containment; the compulsory character of circulation in liberal democratic prisons; the obfuscated nature of carceral space and its mappable quality.[627]

This research project further resists flattening by explicitly engaging with spatialized carceral imaginaries that influence correctional facilities and their bodies.[628] The carceral body carries carceral spaces within it and beyond it that arise out of epistemes, policies, and practices that are mutually reinforcing and enmeshed.[629] These embodied spaces include emotions and mental self-scapes alongside digitally recorded diagnoses and correctional designations. In sum, the carceral geography adopted here relies upon a

> dwelling on meaning, performance, media, embodiment, materiality and spectacle, in order to provide an expanded inquiry into the relational, fluid, contradictory, and nuanced spaces of imprisonment.[630]

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[626] Moran, Dominique. *Carceral geography: Spaces and practices of incarceration*. Routledge, 2016, 22.
[627] Gill, Nick, Deirdre Conlon, Dominique Moran, and Andrew Burridge. "Carceral circuitry: New directions in carceral geography." *Progress in Human Geography* 42, no. 2 (2018): 183-204.
[628] Ibid.
[629] Crewe et al., 2014; Frois, 2017; Peck, Jamie. 2003. "Geography and Public Policy: Mapping the Penal State." *Progress in Human Geography* 27 (2): 222–32.
[630] Turner, Jennifer. *The Prison Boundary: Between Society and Carceral Space.* London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2016, 10.

When considering how the "security infrastructure of the prison seeps into urban spaces in complex ways" (e.g. airport security, barred windows, home alarm systems) this type of approach has important implications for our carceral society.[631] Further research at the intersection of science and technology studies and carceral geography has the potential to reveal underlying logics and the implications of correctional spaces and the practices within them.

The chapter begins by defining carceral geography in this context. It then applies carceral geography to correctional borders; boundaries-as-processes; the housing of the carceral body; forced mobilities and stasis; and epistemological spaces. These sites come together to tell a nuanced story about the enactments of carceral bodies. This chapter concludes by addressing how carceral spatialities and embodiments proliferate well beyond the gates of correctional facilities.[632]

Carceral Geography

The panopticon with its "spatialized mechanisms of power and discipline" is the obvious starting point for carceral geography.[633] The panopticon is a structure offered by Bentham and taken up by Foucault, who describes a structure in which there is a central guard post around which there are floors of cells in a circle.[634] Within this concentric structure there is not a way

[631] Moran, Dominique. *Carceral geography: Spaces and practices of incarceration*. Routledge, 2015, 12.
[632] Ibid.
[633] Moran, Dominique. *Carceral geography: Spaces and practices of incarceration*. Routledge, 2015, 21.
[634] Dirsuweit, T. 1999. Carceral spaces in South Africa: A case study of institutional power, sexuality and transgression in a women's prison. Geoforum 30: 71–83.

for the people in the cells to know when they are being observed by those in the guard post, which Foucault suggests leads to an internalization of the surveillant gaze.[635]

Scholars have pointed out the limits of the literal and metaphorical power dynamics of this rendering of the panopticon.[636] They note that it is not just the physical spaces of carceral geography that manifest specific forms of surveillance, it is also made from disciplined knowledges, practices, and procedures.[637] It is through the internalization of these elements along with their accompanying self-monitoring that Foucault suggests "docile bodies" are formed.[638] Nevertheless, this rendering of the panoptic gaze and its docile bodies falters in practice as the daily lives and materialities of the correctional setting diverge markedly.[639] Feminist scholars further critiqued Foucault's geographies of surveillance noting that Foucault did not specifically address gender, internal, or embodied spatialities.[640] In this way, taking an ontological feminist approach countermands the critique of his neglect of the particularities and materialities that are complicating and even contradictory at times.[641]

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[635] Moran, Dominique. *Carceral geography: Spaces and practices of incarceration*. Routledge, 2016.
[636] Aas, Katja Franko, Helene Oppen Gundhus, and Heidi Mork Lomell. *Technologies of InSecurity : The Surveillance of Everyday Life*. Routledge-Cavendish, 2009.; Alford, C. F. 2000. What would it matter if everything Foucault said about prison were wrong? Discipline and Punish after twenty years. Theory and Society 29(1): 125–146.; Downes, D. 2007. Visions of Penal Control in the Netherlands. In Crime, Punishment, and Politics in Comparative Perspective – Crime and Justice: A Review of Research, edited by M. Tonry. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, pp. 93–125.
[637] Ibid.
[638] Foucault, M. 1991. Governmentality. In The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality, edited by G. Burchell, C. Gordon and P. Miller. Harvester Wheatsheaf, London, pp. 87–104.; Foucault, M. 2003. Abnormal: Lectures at the Collège de France 1974–75,trans. G. Burchell. Verso, London.; Sibley, D. and B. Van Hoven 2008. The contamination of personal space: Boundary construction in a prison environment. Area 41(2): 198–206.
[639] Fieldnotes.
[640] Aas, Katja Franko, Helene Oppen Gundhus, and Heidi Mork Lomell. *Technologies of InSecurity : The Surveillance of Everyday Life*. Routledge-Cavendish, 2009.; Moran, Dominique. *Carceral geography: Spaces and practices of incarceration*. Routledge, 2016, 21.
[641] Ibid.

Foucault's panopticon also fails to address the scales across which surveillance happens. This is reflected in the Part A intake process, which illustrates the scales across which the carceral body comes to be characterized and travels. The testing of urine happens, in part, at the molecular level. The incarcerated person's pulse, blood pressure, and temperature are technologically mediated with the numerical results being revealed on the vital sign machine. These results inform diagnoses. Paper documentation goes into a file and the digital information travels through the electronic system, all while the person remains in the holding pen. Incarcerated people become a pathological population enacted and recorded across space and scales from molecular traces of drugs to family mental health histories.[642] This part of the process demonstrates the multiple scales across which intake enacts bodies at once *biomedical* and *criminal*.[643]

Beyond the surveilled body, contemporary carceral geography draws from feminist geography, which engages the spaces within and the experiential.[644] Doreen Massey and the rise of feminist geography brought about a shift from traditional notions of space as external and tangible, to space as internal, embodied, emotional, experienced, and temporally situated.[645] Feminist theorists rejected traditional geography's almost exclusive reliance on the quantitative. They noted the absence of women in geography and set out to reveal gendered

[642] Fieldnotes
[643] Ibid.
[644] Massey, Doreen B. *For Space.* London: SAGE, 2005.; Massey, Doreen B. *Space, Place and Gender.* Cambridge: Polity, 1994.
[645] Anderson, K. and S. Smith. 2001. Emotional Geographies. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 26: 7–10.; Massey, Doreen B. *For Space.* London: SAGE, 2005.; Massey, Doreen B. *Space, Place and Gender.* Cambridge: Polity, 1994.; Massey et al., 2013

and gendering spaces.[646] Bodies have been central to feminist theory and were woven into feminist geography, which is premised upon "bodies are imbricated in spatialized power relations."[647] Additionally, in approaching the body, feminist geographers pushed back against reading bodies as inscriptive surfaces.[648] Instead, the body and its spatial contexts are viewed as co-productive.[649] This dovetails with Deleuze's approach to body/ space assemblages, in which the division of body and space is artificial. This means the carceral body can be approached spatially and vice versa. Such embodied and sensorial power relations were evident sitting in the MDC PASU area, as detailed in the following vignette.

The story of intake begins in the bowels of MDC. The Manhattan Detention Center is called "The Tombs" and it feels like a tomb, particularly in the basement where new arrestees wait to go before the arraignment judge who will determine whether or not they will be remanded and/ or eligible for bail. The Manhattan Detention Center was completed in 1941

[646] Longhurst, Robyn. "Situating Bodies." In Nelson, Lise and Joni Seager. *A Companion to Feminist Geography.* Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2005, 341.; Longhurst, Robyn. "Viewpoint: The body and geography." *Gender, Place & Culture* 2, no. 1 (1995): 97-106.
[647] Davis, Kathy, ed. *Embodied practices: Feminist perspectives on the body*. Vol. 1. Sage, 1997.; Duncan, Nancy, *Bodyspace: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality.* New York: Routledge, 1996.; McDowell, Linda, *Gender, Identity and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies.* Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1999.; Mountz, Alison. 2004. "Embodying the Nation-State: Canada's Response to Human Smuggling." *Political Geography* 23 (January): 323–45.; Silvey, Rachel "Borders, Embodiment, and Mobility." In Nelson, Lise and Joni Seager. *A Companion to Feminist Geography.* Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2005, 44.; Tyner, James, and Donna Houston. 2000. "Controlling Bodies: The Punishment of Multiracialized Sexual Relations." *Antipode* 32 (4): 387.
[648] Ibid.
[649] Colomina, Beatriz, and Jennifer Bloomer. *Sexuality & space*. No. 1. Princeton Architectural Press, 1992.; Longhurst, Robyn. "Situating Bodies." In Nelson, Lise and Joni Seager. *A Companion to Feminist Geography.* Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2005, 341.; Grosz, Elizabeth A. Volatile bodies: Toward a corporeal feminism. Indiana University Press, 1994.

and by 1969 it was already infamous for its poor conditions and overcrowding.[650] Since then, The Manhattan Detention Center was remodeled and expanded, but today are once again in ill-repair and filthy.[651]

The Enhanced Pre-Arraignment Screening Unit clinic is comprised of four repurposed pens that have retained their bars and cinder block ledges.[652] Each of the four pens is attached to a central hub that contains a desk and a computer stand where the patient care assistants sit and ask arrested people the initial screening questions.[653] One of the cells is a nursing room where arrested people identified as having greater health needs are sent for further screening.[654] The converted pen across from the nurse's room is used by the PASU social worker and the other pen serves as the overflow patient care assistant triage pen for when there is a high volume of arrested people brought down at once. This overflow pen is frequently utilized as large groups of people will be brought down in "hubs," which means that they are cuffed together, and must wait in the hallway to be called one by one.

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[650] Trumble, Alfred. *The New York Tombs: Its History and Its Mysteries: Life and Death In New York's Famous Prison.* New York: R.K. Fox, 1881.
[651] New York City Department of Records and Information Services. "The Tombs" New York City Department of Records and Information. Services.http://nycma.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/view/search;JSESSIONID=03838d82-48f1-44bd-9b8e-18bfa76d7b42?search=SUBMIT&q=The+Tombs&dateRangeStart=&dateRangeEnd=; Fieldnotes.
[652] Fieldnotes.
[653] Ibid.
[654] Ibid.

It is impossible to describe the smell in this "clinic" space. It is so bad that it makes it difficult to eat or drink.[655] One of the patient care assistants uses a pungent diffuser to try to cover the smell, which helps on one hand, but makes my asthma much worse on the other.[656] The clinic smells of countless people waiting to be remanded to one of the jails. It is the smell of ancient sewage, nervous sweat, and vomit.[657] It is acrid in its humidity. The smell clings to you when leave this subterranean world for the Lower Manhattan streets. Even the fish stalls in nearby Chinatown feel like a relief.[658] The smell is one part of the phenomenological, sensorial experience of this space that is violent and dehumanizing.[659] The layers of paint, the grime, the bars, the dead roaches, all of it feels unsuitable for life, and yet people are alive and transformed in this space. This architecture is not only resonant of the panopticon (with its central hub and surrounding cells), but engagement with the structure alone enrolls sensorial cruelties.[660] This is a space in which powerlessness is enfleshed, nausea is inevitable and this space unfit for humans clings to your flesh even after you leave. It is a place that haunts.[661]

[655] Ibid.
[656] Ibid.
[657] Ibid.
[658] Ibid.
[659] Meisenhelder, Thomas. "An essay on time and the phenomenology of imprisonment." *Deviant Behavior* 6, no. 1 (1985): 39-56.
[660] Fieldnotes.
[661] Ibid.

Feminist geographers incorporate materialities into conceptualizations of space and place.[662] When applied to intake, it challenges the traditional rendering of topography with clear borders, as it engages the role of matter and bodies. Textural engagements with "the material conditions of people's lives" reveals how "inequalities and oppressions are forged and perpetuated."[663] The carceral bodies in these spaces are subject to sensory violences that are felt more strongly by some (e.g. those of us with asthma) than others.[664]

Carceral spaces facilitate certain forms of surveillances and absences. They disappear incarcerated people from their daily lives while subjecting them to carceral gazes and monitoring by both corrections and health care professionals.[665] Carceral geographers have read these presences and absences as having politics arising out of a punitive state.[666] Given the way that social problems have increasingly become addressed by the criminal justice system, the punitive state has resulted in the ballooning of the incarcerated population, resulting in an unprecedented number of people with criminal records.[667] The physical conditions of the correctional facilities and their workings embody the logics of a system that disproportionately

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[662] Mountz, Alison. 2018. "Political Geography III: Bodies." *Progress in Human Geography* 42 (5): 759–69.; Sharp, Joanne. 2009. "Geography and Gender: What Belongs to Feminist Geography? Emotion, Power and Change." *Progress in Human Geography* 33 (1): 74–80.; Wright, Melissa W. 2010. "Gender and Geography II: Bridging the Gap -- Feminist, Queer, and the Geographical Imaginary." *Progress in Human Geography* 34 (1): 56–66.

[663] Bondi, Liz and Joyce Davidson. "Situating Gender." In Nelson, Lise and Joni Seager. *A Companion to Feminist Geography.* Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2005, 26.

[664] Fieldnotes.

[665] Ibid.

[666] Pratt, J. (2005), Elias, Punishment, and Decivilization, *in* Pratt, J., Brown, D., Brown, M., Hallsworth, S., Morrison, W. (eds), *The New Punitiveness: Trends, Theories, Perspectives*, Cullompton, Willan Publishing, 256-271.

[667] Wacquant, Loïc. *Punishing the poor: The neoliberal government of social insecurity*. Duke university Press, 2009.

disappears certain populations (i.e. people of color, the disabled, people with mental health conditions, etc.).[668] The importance of studying carceral spaces goes well beyond jail walls as carceral logics are found in the sinews of urban spaces, institutional settings, home security systems, etc.[669] This is particularly true given the proliferation of surveillant technologies in recent years. [670]

Boundaries

Controlling mobility is a management technique built into space (e.g. architectures, infrastructures, epistemes, society) itself. Both forced movement and stasis are implements of violence. Through its engagement with liminality, carceral geography traces the digital and corporeal bodies of incarcerated people in ways that highlight the transcarceral nature of the jail experience.[671] It disassembles the binary of inside and outside, focusing on the liminalities and violences of jail incarceration.[672] Here, spaces (digital and analog) are read as manifestations of underlying rationalities that engage with contingencies and contradictions. [673]

Carceral geographers have theorized the permeability of borders.[674] Carcerality and the penal system flow far beyond the gates of correctional institutions and leave traces in surprising

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[668] Turner, Jennifer. *The Prison Boundary: Between Society and Carceral Space.* London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2016, 224.
[669] Ibid.
[670] Aas, Katja Franko, Helene Oppen Gundhus, and Heidi Mork Lomell. *Technologies of InSecurity : The Surveillance of Everyday Life*. Routledge-Cavendish, 2009.; Moran, Dominique. *Carceral geography: Spaces and practices of incarceration*. Routledge, 2016, 12.
[671] Moran, Dominique. "Between outside and inside? Prison visiting rooms as liminal carceral spaces." *GeoJournal* 78, no. 2 (2013): 339-351.
[672] Ibid.
[673] Ibid.
[674] Garton-Smith, J. 2000. The Prison Wall: Interpretation Problems for Prison Museums. Open Museum Journal 2.; Moran, Dominique, Jennifer Turner, and Anna K. Schliehe. 2018. "Conceptualizing the Carceral in Carceral Geography." *Progress in Human Geography* 42 (5): 666.

places.[675] The boundaries of the NYC jails are simultaneously material, social, and symbolic forms.[676] The borderlands are felt from the cellular to the systemic. The gates around Rikers Island with the reams of concertina wire are firm and will pierce skin.[677] The brick edifices and concrete block interiors have an undeniable heft.[678] However, there are numerous layers of "security" (i.e. gates manned by officers who require identification) that serve as invisible barriers before and after these tangible borders.[679] They leave behind and grow out of what we imagine correctional facilities to be, and the forms they are expected to take.

In approaching the bridge to Rikers, its borders beyond borders come into view. Before the bridge there is a checkpoint, this is followed by the Hudson River, an environmental border.[680] The bridge is narrow with periodic joints that cause a bump even on the large Q100 MTA buses.[681] The seemingly clear inside/ outside binary is both *real*, in terms of the way that it becomes weaponized against bodies, and *partial* at once. These physical borders become internalized. Research has demonstrated that pleasant, well-tailored facilities improve "psychological quality" of life.[682] Such knowledge makes the intentional cruelty of this geography apparent. It is meant to punish carceral bodies through its dilapidation, filth, islandic

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[675] Baer, Leonard D., and Bodil Ravneberg. "The outside and inside in Norwegian and English prisons." *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 90, no. 2 (2008): 205-216.; Moran, Dominique. *Carceral geography: Spaces and practices of incarceration*. Routledge, 2016, 11.; Judith Pallot. 2005. "Russia's Penal Peripheries: Space, Place and Penalty in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, no. 1: 98.
[676] Fieldnotes.
[677] Ibid.
[678] Ibid.
[679] Ibid.
[680] Ibid.
[681] Ibid.
[682] Simon, Jonathan, Nicholas Temple, & Renee Tobe. Architecture and Justice: Judicial Meanings in the Public Realm. London: Routledge, 2013, 15.

isolation, countless checkpoints, and militarized scape - the implication being that incarcerated people are guilty regardless of an eventual verdict.[683]

When arriving at the New York City jails, it is clear that their purpose is not restricted to those within their walls. Instead, many are disciplinary spectacles that serve as a warning via media coverage and to those who pass by.[684] While the facades of the Rikers Island jails are not overtly punitive with their stark government-modern design, it is the jail assemblage that works in concert to form the bleak carceral spectacle. For instance, when arriving on Rikers you are faced with layers of fencing and concertina wire. This gives the impression of metal teeth as one passes into the carceral body of the island after being swallowed through gate posts. Moreover, the facilities show their age as they are in disrepair and have been worn down by the winds with their dust and smoke that coats the facilities.[685] There are broken windows and some annexes appear abandoned.[686] This disrepair is punitive and can even prove fatal as weapons are often forged from the parts of the windows and buildings that are literally falling apart.[687] There is also a sense of scale that comes from the strange additions cobbled onto facilities. It tells of a time when the jails were bursting at the seams. Some seem like they were meant to be temporary, but have now settled into the earth and look flimsy in the cold.[688]

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[683] Mountz, Alison. "Island detention: Affective eruption as trauma's disruption." *Emotion, space and society* 24 (2017): 74-82.
[684] Simon, Jonathan, Nicholas Temple, & Renee Tobe. Architecture and Justice: Judicial Meanings in the Public Realm. London: Routledge, 2013.
[685] Fieldnotes.
[686] It is worth noting that when I was working on Rikers there were annexes that I assumed had been long abandoned, but were actually still in use. The conditions in these annexes were often very poor and even finding them was often a challenge.
[687] Fieldnotes.
[688] Ibid.

Rikers Island is more of a carceral spectacle than many other more contemporary facilities, perhaps because it is not subject to the "not in my backyard" sentiment that gives rise to pressure for *mainland* correctional facilities to disguise their carcerality.[689] Instead, the waters make a seal, reducing community fears of escape and decreased property value. Additionally, the northernmost part of Queens, where the bridge to Rikers is located, is largely commercial, making an extra boundary between the jails and dense residential areas.[690] Thus, the carceral spectacle is inflicted only upon those who drive over the bridge – visitors, incarcerated people, staff, volunteers, lawyers, parole officers, probation officers, etc.[691]

Scholars have noted, however, that while these facilities are represented as being outside of and separate from the broader society, they are in fact productive of one another. Without detention facilities there would be no "free society," one necessarily gains meaning through the other.[692] In this way, the carceral body is suggested to make its inverse. This makes practices and processes of border-making of central importance. The enactments of borders are sometimes referred to as 'borderwork,' connoting the un-givenness of borders that require constant maintenance and border performance.[693] Moreover, in understanding carceral boundary-making, it becomes possible to see carceral boundaries beyond correctional facility

[689] Simon, Jonathan, Nicholas Temple, & Renee Tobe. Architecture and Justice: Judicial Meanings in the Public Realm. London: Routledge, 2013, 12-13.
[690] Fieldnotes.
[691] Ibid.
[692] Turner, Jennifer. *The Prison Boundary: Between Society and Carceral Space.* London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2016, 27.
[693] Ibid., 52.

gates. It is through the existence of correctional facilities that notions of an *ordered*, *rationa*l, and *controlled* society is advanced.[694]

> The prison, put simply, is a technique of bordering – of creating a defined pocket of spaces – set out by the state. As just one example of a state-constructed border, the prison has come to be one of the primary mechanisms for physically segregating undesirables from 'law-abiding' society.[695]

Carceral boundaries take place across scales and temporalities, they are relational even as they are portrayed as isolated, they are multiple even as they are described as set and singular.[696] They are in a cycle of making, maintenance, and dissolution even as they are suggested to be static.[697]

In the New York City jails, borders are made and remade not only through material structures (i.e. fences, gates, and concertina wire), but through the various procedures and performances required of staff and incarcerated people. The process of getting onto the island and into the jails is a protracted dance through liminal spaces with various distances from the Island's bridge. These distances are made of the screenings that mark the numerous thresholds. The City of New York Correction Department staff enact border screenings that leave material and experiential marks. Moreover, border crossing is anxiety producing and is attended by its own violences.[698] These violences are worst for incarcerated people and their visiting family and friends, who are put through invasive search processes.[699] Their bodies are suspected to be vessels of contraband requiring scrutiny.

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[694] Ibid., 31.
[695] Ibid, 31.
[696] Ibid.
[697] Ibid.
[698] Fieldnotes.
[699] Ibid.

This is made evident in the pre-screening process that draws out borderland bodies of carcerality. A remanded person is not yet incarcerated and simultaneously not free. They have become *wards* of the City's Correction Department, but have not yet been given a bed, a security classification, or a medical designation. In this moment they are residents of a treacherous in between.[700] The securitized space with its layers of Plexiglas also suggests that the carceral body is anticipated to be violent and reactive, a body expected to lash out with violence of bodily fluids.[701]

As previously noted, reaching the clinic or intake area (including my commute) takes me at least three hours each way. Over this time, boundaries and the processes of entry reveal performativity. For instance, each screening step makes a new boundary. The slow process of proving one's authorization to enter the facility (e.g. showing identification and exchanging identification badges for facility badges) and compliance with the rules (e.g. appropriate attire and the storage of firearms, cellphones, and other electronic devices) makes processual boundaries that are time consuming. The clearance of borders is also degrading (e.g. having to explain the presence of underwire bras or a snap on your pants) and carries with it particular weight given the similar "stop and frisk" practices disproportionately experienced by people of color on a daily basis.

As these borders are ontologically multiple, there is not one gate, but many. In the name of security, one can easily pass through more than eleven doors and iron gates before reaching one's destination/ "post." Moreover, each of these borders comes with its own precarities. For instance, if there is an alarm, one can be caught between two gates for hours

[700] Ibid.
[701] Ibid.

until *order* is *restored* and you are permitted to proceed to the next set of gates/ doors. These borders and boundaries enact particular kinds of carceral bodies.[702] These are bodies that endure processing, along with their belongings that come to disrobe and perform as *clearable* bodies without weapons or contraband.[703] It is a process that allows certain *types* of bodies to enter into prescribed spaces, while remaining excluded from others.[704]

The journey out has a similar multiplicity of boundaries and borders. One must once again pass through the doors and gates with its waits and requisite examination of forms of identifications and black-light stamps. When I leave late at night, it often takes well over four hours for me to get home, given the sparse schedule of each bus and train that I rely on.[705] There is less close scrutiny on the way out. I feel a sort of loosening as I get closer to the exit and even in the cold, it is nice to feel the outside air while waiting for the route bus. I routinely think about the toll that such waits and travel times take on visitors and staff.[706]

A nurse I am speaking with describes the sigh of relief he feels the moment he closes his car door in the island parking lot.[707] He imitates the sound of the door and I notice that even in describing it, his voice sounds less tense. Others will tell me it is only when they are on the other side of the bridge that they feel a wash of relief.[708] One officer tells me that he can't listen to music on his drive home, he just needs silence to know he has actually left the jails.[709]

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[702] Ibid.
[703] Ibid.
[704] Ibid.
[705] Ibid.
[706] Ibid.
[707] Ibid.
[708] Ibid.
[709] Ibid.

Beyond the leaky borders of correctional facilities, the intake process itself is a borderland. It is the moment in which a remanded person is not yet incarcerated and simultaneously not *free*.[710] They have become *wards* of the city, but have not yet been given a number, a bed, a security classification, or a medical designation.[711] This ambiguous status is countermanded by the harsh intake spaces that are borderland spectacles of denigration.[712] For instance, in AMKC the first cage-like pens are directly across from an officer station. These are concrete floored cages with bolted benches in which men are asked to remove and submit their "street" clothing.[713]

Nevertheless, these antechambers of *processing* are messy and resist unidirectionalities and purposive singularities. For instance, the corrections intake areas do not only hold the newly arrived, but also those whose bail has been paid and are waiting to be taken to the visit command center, those being transferred to or from another facility, those going to or from court, and those who have been fighting or smearing feces and have been placed in the facility's "why me pen" (which is essentially a large shower cell with a drain).[714]

This use of intake spaces is reflective of the complexities of intake processes and eddies that disturb directional flows. Furthermore, in these spaces, correctional and correctional

[710] Ibid.
[711] Ibid.
[712] Turner, Jennifer. *The Prison Boundary: Between Society and Carceral Space.* London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2016, 30.
[713] Fieldnotes.
[714] All cells that are used to hold "problematic" incarcerated people in isolation are referred to "why me pens" by both correctional and health care staff.

health practices come to constitute another border within this *antechamber*.[715] Turner describes this as "boundary-as-process."[716]

> Whilst previous scholarship has focused attention on the prison boundary, and relations between 'inside' and 'outside', it has not yet interrogated the work of the boundary as a process in creating and stabilising these categories. Nor have the meaning, practices, articulations, materialities, and embodied performances that are in turn produced by that stabilisation been sufficiently examined.[717]

This has methodological implications as it underscores the importance of attending to and documenting the myriad ways boundaries are negotiated and renegotiated.[718] For instance, the interdependency of corrections and health staff across intake process points to the professional borderland that is perpetually negotiated and shifting, with the bounds of carceral bodies hanging in the balance.

Similarly, different phases of the intake process enroll certain borders, which are often portrayed as linear and spatially specific, but are anything but.[719] For instance, in AMKC intake is ostensibly demarcated by a series of physical borders – City of New York Correction Department vehicles, anterior jail doors in a human (un)loading dock, mesh wire cage doors, concrete and bars of pens, the concrete *search* room, the metal door of the clinic, etc. These physical borders require keys kept by corrections officers on their utility belts.[720] The cold metal

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[715] Gill, Nick, Deirdre Conlon, Dominique Moran, and Andrew Burridge. 2018. "Carceral Circuitry." *Progress in Human Geography* 42 (2): 183–204. doi:10.1177/0309132516671823.; Mountz, Alison, Kate Coddington, R. Tina Catania, and Jenna M. Loyd. 2013. "Conceptualizing Detention: Mobility, Containment, Bordering, and Exclusion." *Progress in Human Geography* 37 (4): 522–41.; Turner, Jennifer. *The Prison Boundary: Between Society and Carceral Space.* London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2016, 48-49.;

[716] Turner, Jennifer. *The Prison Boundary: Between Society and Carceral Space.* London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2016, 5.

[717] Ibid., 5.

[718] Ibid., 228.

[719] Fieldnotes.

[720] Ibid.

of the keys with their symbolic and material heft make the tempo of the sluggish choreography of intake.

This engagement with carceral boundaries demonstrates a multiplicity and leakiness through which the carceral seeps in while simultaneously arising out of a carceral society. Turner refers to this as a "boundary patchwork" in which the correctional facility is one component of the broader societal assemblage.[721] Here, society and incarceration are mutually constitutive.

> The relationship between inside and outside forms more than a system of inclusion and exclusion; it occupies a central role in the fabric of society, one founded on economic, political and (importantly) cultural negotiations.[722]

The diminution of clear borders challenges the distance between the carceral structure and the broader boroughs, city, and society. Just as Foucault drew out the systemic nature of carcerality through his conceptualization of the carceral archipelago, these murky borders reveal the productive nature of correctional institutions. This approach to borders goes beyond power negotiations to engage the emotional and psychological load of correctional facilities that complicate borders and time (e.g. haunting or traumatic memories).[723] Boundaries and borders shape carceral bodies, and are also enacted through processes, that enroll mobilities and materialities.[724] In the following section, I explore the forced mobility and stasis of intake.

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[721] Turner, Jennifer. *The Prison Boundary: Between Society and Carceral Space.* London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2016, 51-54.
[722] Ibid.
[723] Crewe, Ben, Jason Warr, Peter Bennett, and Alan Smith. "The emotional geography of prison life." *Theoretical Criminology* 18, no. 1 (2014): 56-74.
[724] Mincke, Christophe. "Prison: Legitimacy through mobility?." *Carceral Mobilities. Interrogating Movement in Incarceration* (2017): 236-49.

The Cold Storage Imaginary & Bodies of Forced Mobilities

The hallmark of the Western carceral, sociotechnical imaginary is its restriction of movement.[725] As neoliberal *man* is premised upon conceptualizations of autonomous movement, the incarceration and imagined *elimination* of *self-governing* movement makes this a punishment that strikes at the core of societal definitions of *man*. The loss of *freedom* is shorthand for the segregation of a person not granted bail or unable to pay it. It is the *Othering* steeped in an *always, already* carceral status.

Incarcerated people are alternately referred to as *inmates* and *detainees.* It is the latter term that points to the function of the correctional facility as human storage (detainment). Storage conjures anticipatory stillness. It is the preservation of *things* to be used (or not) at a later date and time. It also points to the punitive removal of that which Western society purportedly privileges above all else - agency.[726] While storage and stagnation are prominent aspects of carceral imaginaries, they are undermined by the realities of daily life in correctional facilities. In this cold storage, there are freezer burns that come from the harsh interpersonal and facility environment.

Given that this text is in conversation with Foucault, it is important to acknowledge that he would regard all movement to be constrained through "self-regulation."[727] This self-

[725] Jasanoff, Sheila, and Sang-Hyun Kim, eds. *Dreamscapes of modernity: Sociotechnical imaginaries and the fabrication of power*. University of Chicago Press, 2015.
[726] Moore, Linda, and Phil Scraton. *The incarceration of women: Punishing bodies, breaking spirits*. Springer, 2013, 36.
[727] Foucault, Michel, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison.* New York: Vintage Books, 1979.

monitoring takes place in structures that disciplines through techniques of the body.[728] In this way, actions are always already in service of broader structural demands. The question then becomes how we can understand the specific mobilities within correctional facilities. This section suggests that the forced movement of incarcerated people has a particular texture as it is often experienced as violence. These violences (physical and psychological) vary, but Foucault does not capture the force, nuance, complexity or multiplicity of *actual* manifestations of carceral mobilities.

Moran calls for an approach to carceral geography that incorporates mobility and the power relations it makes visible. She highlights the ways in which mobility in correctional facilities has been "underexplored and undertheorized."[729] One reason for this may be the ways in which incarcerated people are largely absented and made (in)visible.[730] This means that the stress of forced movement is not publicly witnessed and therefore its violences have remained hidden behind the prevailing image of unabating stasis.

Across intake, there is a tension between forced movement and forced stasis. The row of filthy intake pens is used as a management technique, each reserved for different steps of the process, each a weapon sharpened by time. They are places of concrete and metal when the incarcerated person is often experiencing extreme sleep deprivation, dehydration, and withdrawal symptoms. This drawn out the following vignette.

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[728] Ibid.; Lupton, Deborah. "You are your data: Self-tracking practices and concepts of data." In *Lifelogging*, pp. 61-79. Springer VS, Wiesbaden, 2016.; Moran, Dominique. *Carceral geography: Spaces and practices of incarceration*. Routledge, 2016, 73.
[729] Moran, Dominique. *Carceral geography: Spaces and practices of incarceration*. Routledge, 2016, 71.
[730] Ibid.

The bus is cold and it is a dreary day on the Island. On the route bus, I am looking out the window at VCBC across the river, when my view is interrupted by a dilapidated brown trailer labelled "Inmate Property."[731] I begin to think about the concept of storage and its relationship to the carceral body. I reflect upon the amount of space taken up by the storage of property and supplies (e.g. food, uniforms, medications, hygiene products, assistive technologies). Moreover, numerous incarcerated people complain about never getting back their property, particularly anything of value. For instance, one man was arrested in his power wheelchair that was taken and he had to wait for ten years after his release for his Medicare to cover a new one. This points to the reality that even after an incarcerated person is released, their "belongings" remain in carceral storage.[732]

This separation of people from the items that they arrived with points to how incarcerated people and matter come to be *filed away*.[733] The booking and case numbers and New York State ID numbers assigned to incarcerated people become a way to store humans and their belongings (e.g. clothing, purses, wallets, shoes, jewelry).[734] These numbers are used to determine when and where incarcerated people must be "produced" (i.e. for court cases, scheduled surgeries).[735] It is a *storage* of people, but it is not a stillness. Jail systems have a strange circulation of their own with a temporal cadence that is explored in the next chapter.

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[731] Fieldnotes.
[732] Ibid.
[733] Ibid.
[734] The City of New York, "Department of Correction Inmates," *The City of New York*, last retrieved December 21, 2018 https://www1.nyc.gov/nyc-resources/service/1159/department-of-correction-inmates.
[735] Fieldnotes.

Carceral geographers have attempted to address the lacuna of forced or coerced movement by highlighting power relations.[736] For instance, forced movement may be particularly harsh for incarcerated women, people of color, disabled people, people with serious health conditions, people who are not fluent in English, and those with ICE (Immigration and Customs Enforcement) holds.[737] For instance, assistive technologies are often confiscated because of their potential to be used as weapons, this makes moving extremely difficult and even painful. These dynamics make the jails ablest spaces weaponized for purposes of conformity and subjugated movement.[738] In this way, movement can be used as punishment, or part of a punishment, and there are often "traumatic conditions of transfer."[739]

Those unable to complete forced movements often find themselves in forced stasis. For instance, in AMKC men with assistive technologies and/ or who require higher levels of care are kept in the intake pens until a bed opens in the North Infirmary Command (NIC). The following example arises from a conversation with a PA who is devastated about a situation in which a mild-mannered, older man with cancer is being kept in the intake area, indefinitely.

PA Keaton says that she just "had an intake with a patient in a wheelchair, but there are no beds available and he can't be housed in AMKC so he will have to stay in the intake pens until a space that opens up in the NIC."[740] She tells me that there might be room in Dorm 4, but that only people with human immunodeficiency virus / acquired immunodeficiency syndrome

[736] Moran, Dominique. *Carceral geography: Spaces and practices of incarceration*. Routledge, 2016, 71, 85.
[737] Cresswell, Tim. "Embodiment, power and the politics of mobility: the case of female tramps and hobos." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 24, no. 2 (1999): 175-192.
[738] Moran, Dominique. *Carceral geography: Spaces and practices of incarceration*. Routledge, 2016, 76.
[739] Adams-Hutcheson, Gail. "Spatialising skin: Pushing the boundaries of trauma geographies." *Emotion, Space and Society* 24 (2017): 105-112.; Moran, Dominique. *Carceral geography: Spaces and practices of incarceration*. Routledge, 2016, 79.
[740] Fieldnotes.

(HIV/AIDS) can be housed there and the "disability houses" are full.[741] She says that this patient has bone cancer and they are evaluating him for a hip replacement because the cancer has eaten away the bone. She knows what the intake pens are like, and her distress is clear. In the background, an officer says that someone in the pens is vomiting. The officers are talking about people being dope sick, saying they are "making themselves sick."[742] The man with cancer will be returned to this pen where he will wait, unable to shower or use an accessible toilet indefinitely.[743]

The strong able-bodied and even hyper-violent incarcerated person is anticipated based on the criminal man imaginary. This is both demonstrated in the limited number of spaces that can accommodate, at least to some degree, (it is worth noting that these spaces are also problematic and inaccessible in a number of ways) disabled people. Bodies that deviate from this are subject to additional time waiting in punishing and dangerous conditions.[744]

Despite the mobilities and frequency of short-term incarcerations, the exceptions to this must be acknowledged. There are some people who are unable to be transported to court because they are too sick or injured. This results in some people remaining in the jails for years because of their health or mental health statuses.[745] While this fits better with the (cold) storage imaginary, it diverges from the conditions of the vast majority of incarcerated people in the jails. For instance, nearly 30% of the incarcerated people will be held in the jails for less

[741] Ibid.
[742] Ibid.
[743] Ibid.
[744] Ibid.
[745] Fieldnotes.

than four days.[746] When it comes to jails, one of the problems of using storage to *think with* is its stagnancy and assumption that people are kept in stillness, unchanged by incarceration.

The aforementioned instances of movement and stasis reflect why it is important to go beyond the superficial tracings of movement to develop "an understanding of the experience of those movements themselves and the power relations inherent in them and reinforced through them."[747] A far greater engagement with the phenomenology of carceral movement is needed, as jails are places suffused with constrained movements and their complexities hold great insight into the broader carceral archipelago.

Gill et al. offered the term *carceral circuits* to characterize the fluidities of boundaries and abundance of carceral mobilities using the Marxist conceptualization of circuits.[748] This move in critical carceral geography facilitated the delineation of circuits of people, objects, and practices.[749] While the concept of the circuit is imperfect, as it conjures up a closed system, it does facilitate the contextualization of carceral spaces and their attendant routes.[750] For instance, there are tentacles from the jails that unfurl from senses of *severity* and the impulse to manage *risk*. While the Rikers Island jails have clinics and are able to manage most moderate health conditions, when an incarcerated person requires a higher level of care, they must be sent either to Urgi-care or an outside jail hospital ward (i.e. in Bellevue or Elmhurst). Urgi-care serves as the on-island urgent care facility, as well as a phone triage service for emergent

[746] City of New York Correction Department. "NYC Department of Correction at a GlanceInformation for the 12 months of FY 2019." City of New York Correction Department. https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/doc/downloads/press-release/DOC_At_Glance_FY2019_072319.pdf
[747] Moran, Dominique. *Carceral geography: Spaces and practices of incarceration*. Routledge, 2016, 85.
[748] Gill, Nick, Deirdre Conlon, Dominique Moran, and Andrew Burridge. 2018. "Carceral Circuitry." *Progress in Human Geography* 42 (2): 183–204.
[749] Ibid.
[750] Ibid.

conditions to determine if cases should be brought to Urgi-care, in the West Facility compound, or if they should be sent to the hospital in an ambulance or van (3-hour run).[751] The Urgi-care provider is a gatekeeper measuring the chances of serious or permanent injury, harm, or death with the high monetary cost of sending an incarcerated person to an outside hospital.[752] They may also have to take into consideration a variety of other factors such as whether there are "beds" available in the hospital.[753]

There are two secure hospital wings where severe and critical health and mental health conditions are treated. Incarcerated men are sent to Bellevue, while women are sent to Elmhurst.[754] These *secure* hospital wings become sites where physical or mental health conditions are *stabilized* with the objective of returning the incarcerated person to the jails. These hospital wings reveal that the places we imagine to be health care facilities are simultaneously jails. However, just as entering Rikers Island and the NYC jails is time consuming and challenging, even the transportation of a "critically ill" incarcerated person can take a great deal of time.[755] This is illustrated in the following vignette.

Dr. Astra, a provider who conducts training and also holds an administrative title is walking through an orientation with a new part-time provider when he is interrupted by a call from the treatment room regarding a man with stomach and other bodily spasms. He tells the nurse in the treatment to ask the patient if he wants to go to the hospital. The nurse says "I think that he said that he did not," but then turns and asks the man and "he says that he will go

[751] Fieldnotes
[752] Ibid.
[753] Ibid.
[754] The City of New York Correction Department. "Facilities Overview." The City of New York Correction Department. https://www1.nyc.gov/site/doc/about/facilities.page
[755] Fieldnotes.

to the ER (emergency room)."[756] They decide to begin the process of calling a "three-hour run."[757] This means that the man will be placed on a van with a group of other incarcerated men. It is ostensibly supposed to be within a three-hour window, but it typically takes far, far longer (more of a twenty-four-hour run).[758]

Dr. Astra then gets back to the orientation training in which he is addressing the topic of primary care physicians' prescribing (i.e. refilling or "bridging") mental health medications. The trainee gives the example of a person on Seroquel not needing to be seen if he has been stable and asks whether he can extend it by thirty days. The training provider cautions him, and says that "Seroquel is commonly misused, so patients on Seroquel should have a 'Stat Mental Health referral.'" He says that there are a few medications that should trigger a "Stat Mental Health" referral. [759] The trainee asks for a list of them, but the training provider says that there isn't really a list … This is interrupted by another call from the nurse in the treatment room.[760]

Dr. Astra talks to the nurse and he says they are going to send him out. He calls a deputy medical director to let him know that he is sending the man out on a "three-hour run."[761] Dr. Astra prints out the disposition form for the three-hour hospital run, which he will give to a clinic corrections officer in order for them to initiate their transportation processes. The training provider then calls and explains the situation to the jail hospital ward doctor and says that it is especially important because there is going to be a storm and if they don't get the man

[756] Ibid.
[757] Ibid.
[758] Ibid.
[759] Ibid.
[760] Ibid.
[761] Ibid.

out in time, he will be trapped in the facility.[762] The doctor says that he may still be trapped in the facility because the three-hour hospital runs regularly take ten to twelve hours, so he may need to go out faster.[763] The secure hospital ward physician then confirms that there is a bed available in Ward 19 at Bellevue.[764] Dr. Astra further explains that the patient is decompensating and can't bear weight and that the treatment is "benzos" (benzodiazepines), so they need the backing of a neurologist. [765] The reason that this man is unable to get relief immediately is because of limitations placed on providers about prescribing benzos in the jails. This ties back into the imaginary of "manipulative" incarcerated people who just want drugs to "get high and pull the wool over the eyes" of providers. [766]

The trainee doctor says that it seems like a cat and mouse game to try to get incarcerated people to the hospital and Dr. Astra nods in agreement. Dr. Astra then makes another call to a deputy medical director asking whether there is someone "in operations working on expediting the three-hour runs and leaning on corrections officers to try to get people out before the storm. He then asks the deputy whether anyone is looking at the length of time it takes to get three-hour runs out overall. Dr. Astra explains that it is a chronic problem and these runs have to be monitored because they are tough on the staff. Eventually, the training provider prints out the disposition and brings it to nursing and they stamp it and give it to an officer.[767]

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[762] Ibid.
[763] Ibid.
[764] Ibid.
[765] Ibid.
[766] Ibid.
[767]Ibid.

Later, it will turn out that the incarcerated man, who was supposed to be sent out on a 3-hour run, is unable to go because he cannot sit up, which is required for him to take the van to the hospital.[768] This incarcerated man will eventually make it to a hospital in an ambulance before an anticipated winter storm. He will be off-island and yet the lines of communication will continue along *carceral circuits* until his return. [769]

Mobilities, forced and otherwise, have fleshly implications. The protracted wait for one man means the loss of an eye, while another man's body remains contorted in agony. These mobilities come with permanent repercussions.

Similarly, there are parallel juridico-carceral tentacles reaching beyond the jails as incarcerated people are sent early in the morning to courthouse pens to await their hearings.[770] The jails provide a sort of waiting room for the backlogged courts and delayed extradition procedures. There are also inter-carceral tentacles as the assignation of *guilt* can mean transportation to one of the New York State prisons or federal facilities. Although, those sentenced to a year or less may return to Rikers Island to serve their sentence in EMTC, if they are male, or RMSC, if they are female. [771] A return to Rikers can also happen to those who are waiting for a "treatment bed" to open in the community on the orders of the judge. This dearth of community capacity for court-mandated treatment results in the jail incarceration of those who are experiencing a relapse or worsening of symptoms.

In sum, despite the carceral imaginary of "cold storage," jails are also sites of forced movement and complex circuitries. Forced movements can have dire consequences and

[768] Ibid.
[769] Ibid.
[770] Ibid.
[771] Ibid.

resistance to forced movement can jeopardize one's safety and life.[772] Further, when mobilities are read as "instruments of power" this makes very real barriers to reaching this site for friends, family members, and legal counsel political.[773]

Animalization

This project stops short of fully adopting Morin's notion that the process of becoming an incarcerated person is an *animalization*.[774] The purpose of this project is not to separate human from nonhuman animals, but to describe specific processes and spaces enacted and experienced in the New York City jails.[775] Resistance to the *animalization* of the incarcerated person is intended to highlight the imbrication of racism and criminalization alongside the specific sciences of man that produce the *criminal*.[776] It does, however; grapple with the inhumane conditions of the jail and the connection between incarceration and the animal-industrial-complex.

As Guenther states

> Animals in factory farms or laboratories face many of the same challenges as prison inmates, and suffer many similar effects on their physical, mental, and emotional health. They are often held in conditions beyond dehumanization of both extreme isolation and extreme proximity.[777]

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[772] Ibid.
[773] Moran, Dominique. *Carceral geography: Spaces and practices of incarceration*. Routledge, 2015, 75.
[774] Morin, Karen M. *Carceral Space, Prisoners and Animals.* Milton: Taylor & Francis Group, 2018, 18-19.
[775] Leder, Drew. *The distressed body: rethinking illness, imprisonment, and healing*. University of Chicago Press, 2016.
[776] This acknowledges the historical criminal trials of animals as well as the current practice of euthanizing animals deemed "dangerous," but finds this to be outside of the scope of this narrow research project.; Leder, Drew. *The distressed body: rethinking illness, imprisonment, and healing*. University of Chicago Press, 2016.
[777] Guenther, Lisa. 2013. *Solitary confinement: Social death and its afterlives*. Minneapolis: University Of Minnesota Press, 149-150.

Guenther notes that being placed either in isolation or in a space where there is no opportunity for privacy, deprives people of a "constitutive relationality."[778] The intake process in the New York City jails prevents even brief moments of privacy as incarcerated people are often held in crowded, filthy pens.

These pens are sites of indignity as they have a single metal toilet in plain view. Having to use the toilet in these pens is described as "dehumanizing," and can result in the holding of bodily functions until moments of urgency that compound feelings of violation, particularly given the gastrointestinal symptoms of withdrawal.[779] These were compounded by the previous hours and days in which arrestees are chained to one another prior to and following arraignment and transported in groups to reduce costs. This represents just one of the barbs of carceral spaces felt through embodied experience and resonant with the animal-industrial-complex.[780] Scenes of animalization abound across my fieldwork.

For instance, in AMKC, there is a preliminary screening pilot program that was intended to take place as the incarcerated men exit the transport buses on what is best described as a human loading dock, a sort of human border inspection. This part of the process marks entry into the jail facility and the (re)initiation of electronic records.

The pre-screening process continues with and happens alongside correctional pedigreeing.[781] Pedigreeing refers to the corrections process through the identification and confirmation of the incarcerated person's demographic information (e.g. date of birth, race, ethnicity, religion), descriptions of physical characteristics (e.g. tattoos, missing limbs/ digits,

[778] Ibid., 151.
[779] Fieldnotes.
[780] Ibid.
[781] Ibid.

existing injuries, scarring, birthmarks), biometric information, dietary restrictions (e.g. kosher, Hallal), criminal charges, correctional behavioral history, body cavity search information, community address, primary language, etc.[782] The term pedigree is typically applies to animals who hold value based on their lineage and characteristics. Pedigree refers to the "ancestry of a domesticated animal, esp. of a horse or a dog; a record of this."[783]

Pedigreeing fixes the incarcerated person as a set of digital features that remain, often even if they are incorrect (e.g. names misspelled). It becomes their documented lineage, and the way they will be collated and traced moving forward. The use of this term is significant in its resonances with farm and domesticated animals. The implication of this is a carceral body symbolically animalized and subjugated as a less-than-human subject that must become known and disciplined through pedigreeing.[784]

Pedigreeing as a form of animalization further links the locally produced carceral body to the history of the carceral state.[785] This technical practice of categorization is reflective of the history of race in the United States.[786] It contains the echoes of the slave trade in which human property was categorized for sale alongside farm animals.[787] Due to the loophole in the Thirteenth Amendment, incarcerated people continued to be enslaved, drawing this animalization into the future.[788] Today, the practices of pedigreeing connects incarcerated

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[782] Ibid.
[783] Oxford English Dictionary. "Pedigree." *Oxford English Dictionary*.
[784] Fieldnotes.
[785] Ibid.
[786] Seigel, Micol. "" Convict Race": Racialization in the Era of Hyperincarceration." *Social Justice* (2014): 31-51.; Simon, Jonathan. "Racing Abnormality, Normalizing Race: The Origins of America's Peculiar Carceral State and Its Prospects for Democratic Transformation Today." *Nw. UL Rev.* 111 (2016): 1625.
[787] Fieldnotes.
[788] Seigel, Micol. "" Convict Race": Racialization in the Era of Hyperincarceration." *Social Justice* (2014): 31-51.

people wearing jackets stamped with "Property of DOC," a type of branding, to the datafication and categorization necessitated by the carceral state.[789]

Animalization is also embodied, as is evident in the following vignette. An incarcerated man is called by the nurse. He is curled up and covering himself in an extra uniform and gown.[790] He was sleeping on the metal bench and says "it's freezing."[791] He rubs his face and I notice he was allowed to keep his bracelets. The incarcerated man sits down and says "not even a dog gets treated like that, it's like being treated worse than a dog." [792] I ask "In what way?" [793] He replies "It is the closed in space and that's the problem, they leave you in there freezing." [794] He explains that he kept the gown they searched him in as an extra layer but it doesn't help. He is still shivering and has dark circles under his eyes.[795]

He says that he has been "there (pointing to the clinic pen) for a day and was in the intake pens on the other side (i.e. the corrections intake area) for a day." [796] I ask, "What has it been like?"[797] He says that it was also cold. He says "it's like a torture tactic for you not to come back or something." [798] I ask if he thinks that it works and he says "It could work, but it could kill people."[799]

When he says that he was treated "worse than a dog," his words point at once to the anthropocentrism of our society, while simultaneously giving voice to the dehumanization of

[789] Fieldnotes.
[790] Ibid.
[791] Ibid.
[792] Ibid.
[793] Ibid.
[794] Ibid.
[795] Ibid.
[796] Ibid.
[797] Ibid.
[798] Fieldnotes.
[799] Ibid.

the intake conditions.[800] The dehumanization of incarceration is widely recognized, and in some ways becomes the unstated form of punishment meted out in United States correctional facilities.[801] Here, the carceral body is an animal body, or less than animal body. This is reflected in the man's statement in which the denigration of the incarcerated person is so complete that he perceives death as an outcome accepted for the carceral body. This dehumanization rubs against the simultaneous responsibilization of the carceral body. [802] The incarcerated person is dehumanized, but still required to function as a *rational* subject. [803]

The language of intake points to the animalization experienced across incarceration.[804] Intake and its violences are sometimes described by officers in terms that are resonant with the breaking of horses or other such processes of domestication for the purposes of labor. [805] The denigration of the carceral body when it is animalized reveals the cruel Western logics of colonization and enslavement across the carceral-industrial-complex and the animal-industrial-complex. This animalized carceral body stands in contrast to the liberal subject, suggesting at once that the incarcerated person lacks agency (and therefore responsibility), despite the rhetorics of "innocent until proven guilty" and rehabilitation, while simultaneously requiring them to be compliant bodies.

[800] Ibid.
[801] Venters, Homer. *Life and Death in Rikers Island*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019.
[802] Fieldnotes.
[803] Ibid.
[804] Leder, Drew. *The distressed body: rethinking illness, imprisonment, and healing*. University of Chicago Press, 2016.
[805] Ibid.

Viewing incarcerated people as *dangerous* means that they are treated in animalized ways that often enact the violences they anticipate.[806] For instance, there are times that officers take seemingly minor delays in compliance as grounds to either verbally or physically assault an incarcerated person. Bodies in pain at some point react, which is read as confirmation of intrinsic or ingrained violence. Incarcerated people repeatedly talk about having to "act out" to get what they need because just asking corrections officers for something (e.g. toilet paper, food, water) goes ignored.[807]

Animalization is also gendered, which is reflected in the following vignette. A woman in an intake housing area says "The COs feel like they can talk to inmates however they want to. In intake the COs yelled at a woman calling her a 'fucking bitch.' It's sad they treat us like animals and not human beings. At first I thought two inmates were arguing, but then she (a CO) started yelling that she was going to call in a search on them to have them strip-searched. The CO yelled 'You are not our fucking children, we are not fucking here to babysit.'"[808] In this moment, the incarcerated woman finds herself dreading isolation while experiencing the violences of being in an intake housing area with fifty-five other women.[809]

She tells of an accumulation of degradations that leave her struggling and unmoored. There is not a clear name for the specific forms of deprivation she is experiencing. Guenther would describe it as "a mixture of contact and withdrawal in relation to other living beings" that

[806] Fieldnotes.
[807] Ibid.
[808] Ibid.
[809] Ibid.

disrupts the sense of "being-in-the-world."[810] The effects of degrading treatment are often pathologized here.[811] The sensations this woman is describing are often ascribed mental health diagnoses, such as "adjustment disorders."[812] This diagnosis provides the medical code required for treatments, including medication. In its extreme form, this sense can give rise to self-harm, which is also seen among factory farm animal, held in similar conditions.[813] Suicidality and mental health symptoms, in turn, inform the correctional experience as the incarcerated person will be given mental health medications and possibly shunted to a mental health housing unit where they may be forced to wear paper gowns regardless of the temperature.[814] In pathologizing the effects of incarceration, the spatial and emotional disorientation of such pathologizing becomes transmuted into a personal rather than structural problem.

Ultimately, pedigreeing carceral bodies is a process through which incarcerated people are measured, categorized, digitized, facilitating the Corrections Department's ability to "keep track" of them while using the data for analysis.[815] This makes the carceral body a multiplicity not only through the number of ways it is enacted, but also in the sense that each carceral body becomes part of the composite carceral population.[816] The statistical analyses applied to the composite carceral body can be read as descending from earlier theories of *criminal man*. The logic by which populations are made from individuals and then, in turn, used to predict those

[810] Guenther, Lisa. 2013. *Solitary Confinement : Social Death and Its Afterlives*. Minneapolis: Univ Of Minnesota Press, 153.
[811] Ibid.
[812] Arrigo, Bruce A. 2003. *Introduction to Forensic Psychology : Issues and Controversies in Crime and Justice*. San Diego: Academic Press.; DeVeaux, Mika'il. 2013. "The Trauma of the Incarceration Experience." *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review* 48 (1): 257–77.
[813] Guenther, Lisa. 2013. *Solitary Confinement : Social Death and Its Afterlives*. Minneapolis: Univ Of Minnesota Press.
[814] Fieldnotes.
[815] Ibid.
[816] Ibid.

most likely to become carceral, violent, or break rules remains the same despite increasingly complex analyses. The pedigreeing of carceral bodies serves to perpetuate the status quo. This highlights the disjuncture between rhetorics of "innocent until proven guilty" and the lived reality of languishing in jail that gives rise to the duress to "cop a plea."[817]

Digital Spatialities of Carceral Bodies

Carceral spatial dynamics are both analog and digital, which is reflected in a conversation I had with an intake patient care assistant sitting at his computer during a slower period at the end of his shift. I ask him how he knows when there are intake "patients" available for him to screen. He shows me the "intake console" screen, which looks like an electronic patient check-in list and demonstrates the "drop-down facility" functionality that allows him to filter the list so that he sees those who are assigned to AMKC.[818] He then changes the "facility" to "unknown facility" and another list is conjured. He explains that people are placed in "unknown facility" categories prior to being "processed" (digitally and analogly) at a specific facility and updated in the corrections electronic system. Here, incarcerated people are in a digital "unknown," despite the complex software and processes used by The City of New York Correction Department to assign and track incarcerated people as they are distributed to appropriate facilties.

The patient care assistant says that he always checks the eCW intake console so he will know "what to expect."[819] He shows me that there are forty-five people in the intake console with an "unknown facility." He estimates that about twenty-five of them will be coming to

[817] Ibid.
[818] Ibid.
[819] Ibid.

AMKC. He says that they will be placed in the AMKC facility category in eCW by the officer after they have been stripped, searched, and given new clothes.[820] The City of New York Correction Department staff only changes it as they *process* the person and enter information into their electronic system. I ask if he ever has to change the facility and he says that he sometimes "gets folders with 330e's (a police and corrections suicide screening form) and the rest of the information from The City of New York Correction Department and will have to look up the 'patient' and change their facility because they are still in an 'unknown facility.'"[821]

This conversation then shifts back to a previous conversation regarding his *country-of-origin* and how hard his family worked to afford his flight to the United States. While he is talking, the ways in which an incarcerated person can be simultaneously in an "unknown facility" and twenty feet away lingers in my mind.[822] I consider the distances that the patient care assistant describes in his movement across continents and the strange disarticulation of the incarcerated body that is at once present and absent. This is a place of so many divides across boundaries of land and water. Each is a move with politics and of carceral bodies seems particularly cruel in this unintentional juxtaposition. Across this conversation, carceral mobilities are revealed as complex and global as well as local. However, it is clear that these digital reflections can diverge from physical presences. In this moment, the enactment of the digital carceral body reveals itself as a spatial Other. There is a rift between analog and digital in

[820] Ibid.
[821] Ibid.
[822] Ibid.

which being out-of-synch can mean a languishing in the intake pens outside of digital time and therefore temporal monitoring. [823]

Next, while I anticipated the digitization of carceral bodies across intake, I was unprepared for the public access to these digital records. When I am working on a creative project and can't quite remember how many numbers are in the NYSID (New York State Identification), I discover the "Inmate Lookup Service" website.[824] I do a quick search online and am surprised to find a search function on the New York City Correction Department.[825] There are two options for the search criteria that require either a "NYSID or Book & Case Number" or the person's first and last name. [826] I put in a common first and last name and three people's records appear. This initial search return page displays the following.[827]

Title: The City of New York: Inmate Lookup Service

New York City Correction Department, "Inmate Lookup Service." *New York City Department of Correction*, http://a073-ils-web.nyc.gov/inmatelookup/pages/common/find.jsf

When I click on the first record, there are two columns of information displayed. The first column is the person's "last name, first name, NYSID, year of birth, sex, race, height,

[823] Ibid.
[824] Ibid.
[825] New York City Department of Correction, "Inmate Lookup Service." *New York City Department of Correction*, http://a073-ils-web.nyc.gov/inmatelookup/pages/common/find.jsf; http://www.doccs.ny.gov/Directives/4007.pdf
[826] Ibid.
[827] Ibid.

weight, hair color, eye color, and nativity."[828] The second column is broken into two subsections. The top part of the second column includes "booking information" (i.e. incarceration status and current incarceration start date), current housing facility, arrest date, arrest number, next court date, and bail and/or bond. The second subsection of the column is titled "charge information" and is comprised of docket, indictment, court part, court name, criminal charge. Below this, there is a new feature that allows you to send money or pay bail. However, the pay bail button is grayed out and does not function.[829] At the bottom of the page there is small text that explains that "Inmates released over 30 days ago will not be displayed" and gives instructions about how to pay bail in person.[830]

This creates a strange carceral body comprised of three digital cavities. The first column provides the demographic details spanning time from birth to NYSID designation.[831] This is revealing of the categories opened before the eyes of the public. This can also contain health related information as NYSID numbers that begin with 'M' represent individuals designated as having severe mental health conditions.[832] In this way, these electronic carceral bodies conjure the bureaucratic likenesses and provide the Corrections Department number by which the incarcerated person can be tracked across New York facilities.

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[828] New York City Department of Correction, "Inmate Lookup Service." *New York City Department of Correction*, http://a073-ils-web.nyc.gov/inmatelookup/pages/common/find.jsf

[829] Ibid.

[830] "Inmates released over 30 days ago will not be displayed. If you encounter a difficulty trying to pay bail online, please call 718-546-1500 Monday to Friday during business hours for more information. You are always able to travel to a DOC facility in person to pay bail 24/7 using cash, money order or cashier's check at the DOC facilities. More information about how and where to pay bail is available at [http://www1.nyc.gov/site/doc/inmate-info/post-bail.page];" New York City Department of Correction, "Inmate Lookup Service." *New York City Department of Correction*, http://a073-ils-web.nyc.gov/inmatelookup/pages/common/find.jsf; https://www1.nyc.gov/site/doc/inmate-info/post-bail.page

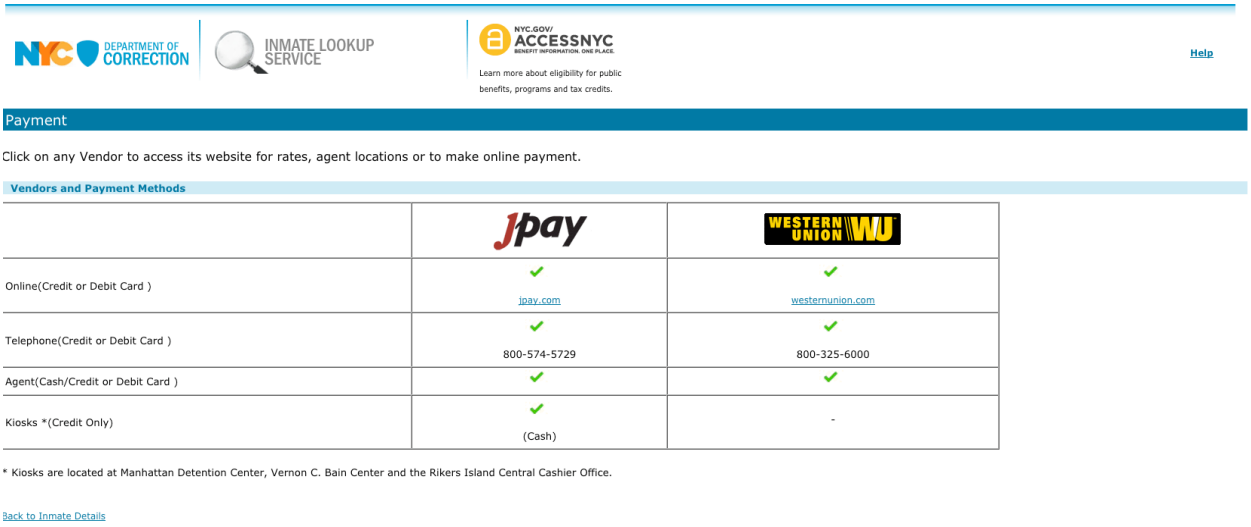
[831] Ibid.

[832] Fieldnotes.

The second column is a mélange of corrections and legal information. This spans from the time of their most recent arrest to their future court dates. The buttons at the bottom of the screen and the bail amount from the second column form a monetized carceral body. This is a relational body for those with the economic resources and personal connections to form them.

When choosing to add money to a person's jail account, the following screen arises.

Title: Inmate Lookup Service: Send Money



The City of New York Correction Department. "Inmate Information: Send Money." *The City of New York Correction Department*, https://www1.nyc.gov/site/doc/inmate-info/send-money.page

The accounts of incarcerated people allow them to purchase commissary items and pay fines or fees. Given the deprivations of correctional facilities, these accounts, in turn, become translated into and facilitate the incarcerated person's participation in the complex jail economies. Adding money to jail accounts electronically relies on Jpay and Western Union, both of which are outside, for-profit corporations that charge fees, increasing the economic

burden of families.[833] There are also warnings surrounding the illegality of giving cash directly to incarcerated people, which can result in the arrest of the visitor with arraignment taking place in Rikers Island Court.[834] This warning makes the person adding money to the account aware of their own vulnerability. This reinforces a state-controlled economy in the jails, while simultaneously restating the illegality of and punishment for the extra-state jail economy. [835]

The line between inside and outside becomes strained, however; as the digital carceral body is at least partially accessible online, enacting a sort of estranged un/citizen.[836] This representation reveals monetized and legal carceral bodies. The carceral body is monetized through both the ability to add to the incarcerated person's account and receive bail information.[837] This grayed out "pay bail" button hides the challenges of paying bail and the long wait even once it has been paid.[838] Further, this leads to a disparity between carceral bodies who remain only by virtue of an inability to pay.[839]

When clicking on the "Frequently Asked Questions" link, the questions surround accuracy, timeliness, history, and ways to get additional information are provided.[840]

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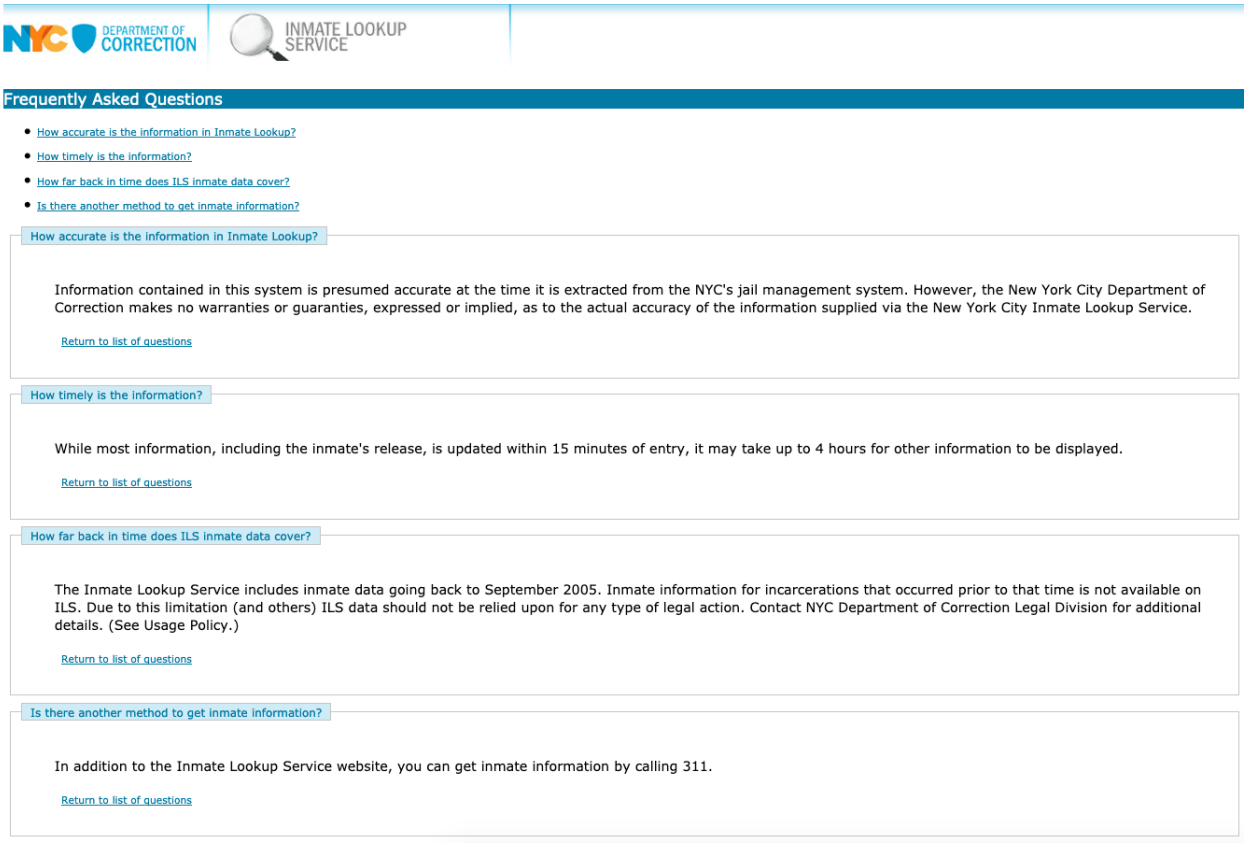
[833] Ibid.
[834] The City of New York Correction Department. "Inmate Information: Send Money." *The City of New York Correction Department*, https://www1.nyc.gov/site/doc/inmate-info/send-money.page
[835] Ibid.
[836] Isin, Engin, and Evelyn Ruppert. *Being digital citizens*. Rowman & Littlefield International, 2015.
[837] The City of New York Correction Department. "Inmate Lookup Service: Help." *The City of New York Correction Department*, http://a073-ils-web.nyc.gov/inmatelookup/ils/pages/help/help.jsf.
[838] Ibid.
[839] Ibid.
[840] New York City Department of Correction, "Inmate Lookup Service: Help." *New York City Department of Correction*, http://a073-ils-web.nyc.gov/inmatelookup/ils/pages/help/help.jsf.

Title: Inmate Lookup Service: Frequently Asked Questions



The City of New York Correction Department. "Inmate Information: Send Money." *The City of New York Correction Department*, http://a073-ils-web.nyc.gov/inmatelookup/ils/pages/help/help.jsf.

Links to the New York State and national correctional facility offender search functions are made available below this.[841] The site also provides a non-working link to a searchable New

[841] "Usage Policy: The New York City Inmate Lookup Service is operated by the New York City Department of Correction (DOC) for the use and benefit of DOC law enforcement partners and members of the public. This service is designed to provide information about the identity of NYC jail inmates and their location, bail amount, and associated booking information. Anyone who uses the information on this web site to injure, harass, or commit a criminal act against any person may be subject to criminal prosecution. Information provided by this system is presumed accurate at the time it is accessed. However, the intake and release of individuals within a jail requires processing time that must elapse before the information can appear on Inmate Lookup Service. In addition, Inmate Lookup Service has historical data that goes back only to September 2005. DOC makes no warranties or guarantees as to the accuracy or completeness of the information supplied via the New York City Inmate Lookup Service. Any and all uses of this system may be intercepted, monitored, recorded, or disclosed to law enforcement personnel. By using this system, you consent to these terms and conditions of use. The information

York State registry of sex offenders and criminal court search website.[842] This illustrates how the carceral archipelago extends well beyond intake areas and clinic walls. Digital intake data becomes partially visible from the outside and is shot into the future whether incarcerated people are sentenced or found *not guilty*. It also demonstrates the ways the carceral body is presumed guilty and therefore deserving of a loss of privacy, regardless of the future court determinations.

As previously noted, boundaries can reveal how incarcerated bodies are "made-up" through analog and digital practices and phenomena that contribute to calcifications.[843] Here, the digital carceral body blurs boundaries in certain ways and directionalities, opening their digital bodies to the public regardless of the incarcerated person's wishes. Additionally, this digital carceral body is monetized, allowing for a relational body solely in the form of electronic payments. In sum, the fuzziness of material and analog carceral bodies reveals the making of a monetized bodily spectacle made public.

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contained in this web site should not be relied upon for any type of legal action. Contact NYC Department of Correction Legal Division for additional details. No government agency or other organization can use Inmate Lookup Service data on any computer-based system, including but not limited to the Internet, without advance written approval by the New York City Department of Correction. Any authorized government agency or other organization granted permission to use Inmate Lookup Service data on any computer-based system must include an electronic link to this Inmate Lookup Service Usage Policy."

[842] New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services, "Search Public Registry of Sex Offenders." New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services. http://www.criminaljustice.ny.gov/SomsSUBDirectory/search_index.jsp

[843] One example of this is the counseling that takes place before the drawing of blood versus the digital transmission of laboratory orders and their results. A specific instance of this arises when determining either compliance or accuracy of self-report through the testing of blood levels of valproic acid, a psychiatric medication. The outcomes of this laboratory arrive electronically with numerical results, which are then used to designate whether the incarcerated person is deemed compliant/ non-compliant or honest/ "manipulative." Moreover, these labels become generalized to all incarcerated people as being "manipulative," or at least more likely to be "manipulative."

Conclusion

This chapter has integrated science and technology studies and carceral geography to draw out the complexities and multiplicities of intake. This made it possible to conceive of spatialized carceral bodies and processes embedded in institutions perpetuated across the architectures of the New York City jails and the broader United States corrections system.[844] Across this analysis the making of carceral bodies was spatialized as processes were read as territorializing.

One of the major findings of this research is that intake spaces are in and of themselves punishing both for incarcerated people and staff. We tend to think that the punishment of incarceration is the privation of *liberty*. Yet, as this research found, there are many forms of punishment occurring. The level of filth, overcrowded pens, and lack of privacy served to emphasize the role of space in the experiences of violences, as intake areas were often described as "dehumanizing."[845] Thus, the space itself plays an active role in compelling guilty pleas as a way out of the vile and dangerous setting. In this way, jail spaces extort the guilt assumed or the money demanded for, at least temporary, release.

The question becomes how to understand carceral embodiment in a carceral society. Just as the borders of this carceral island are both leaky and multiple, becoming a diffuse carceral archipelago, so too are the borders of the carceral body. As demonstrated, the digital carceral body is part of the carceral archipelago that travels outside of the jails as un-incarcerated people interact digitally with the incarcerated. There are not clean lines that divide

[844] Braun, Lundy. *Breathing Race into the Machine: The Surprising Career of the Spirometer from Plantation to Genetics.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014.
[845] Fieldnotes.

carceral bodies from non-carceral bodies, and yet, some bodies (that are disproportionately people of color, disabled, and/ or poor) are subjected to very real and degrading treatment within correctional facilities. This suggests that carceral bodies are productive, conferring benefits to some while removing benefits from others who become *profits* for the carceral-industrial-complex.

Here, carceral geography connected individual carceral experiences to understandings of the new punitive state.[846] Carceral geography considers correctional facilities to be

> coded, scripted entities which represent particular positions and imperatives, and the notion of the experience of these buildings as dynamic, multi-sensory, affective encounters."[847]

The buildings and physical spaces of incarceration are read as reflective of the values and logics of the state.[848] Moran states that carceral geography allows one to

> explore [the] relationship between the 'carceral' and the state, as it is manifested in the built form of prisons, as a mechanism through which the goals of a criminal justice system are materially expressed.[849]

This brings into view the extra-penological function of incarceration, in which specific populations are disproportionately removed and *disciplined* or *punished* by the state even before they are determined to be *guilty* or *not guilty* by a court.[850] Further, feminist and

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[846] Pratt, J. (2005), Elias, Punishment, and Decivilization, *in* Pratt, J., Brown, D., Brown, M., Hallsworth, S., Morrison, W. (eds), *The New Punitiveness: Trends, Theories, Perspectives*, Cullompton, Willan Publishing, 256-271.

[847] Moran, Dominique. *Carceral geography: Spaces and practices of incarceration*. London: Routledge, 2015, 113.; Anderson, K. and S. Smith. 2001. Emotional geographies. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 26: 7–10.

[848] Moran, Dominique. *Carceral geography: Spaces and practices of incarceration*. London: Routledge, 2015, 114.

[849] Ibid., 105.

[850] Ibid., 106-7.

carceral geographers focus on the erasure of groups of people (women/ incarcerated people) in conceptualizations and studies of space.[851] This has particular importance and relevance for incarcerated people who are not only disproportionately people of color and living in poverty at their time of arrest, but are being conferred a new social status, "incarcerated," that will lead to further social exclusion and oppression. [852]

As social welfare was whittled away in the U.S., the carceral took its place.[853] The hyper-incarceration of certain "excess" populations underlines the spatial logics of carceral networks that reflect the machinations of a neoliberal state that *disappears* those who have been *Othered* via carceral networks.[854] This takes on even more problematic hues when considering the torturous conditions unsuitable for any creature, including humans.

When lived experience becomes spatialized, time is brought to the fore, giving rise to the notion of spacetime from which mobilities studies arise. This has been built upon by carceral theorists who have traced carceral mobilities and circuitries.[855] It also provides the

[851] Longhurst, Robyn. "Situating Bodies." In Nelson, Lise and Joni Seager. *A Companion to Feminist Geography.* Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2005, 342.; Nash, Catherine. "Performativity in practice: some recent work in cultural geography." *Progress in human geography* 24, no. 4 (2000): 653-664.
[852] Duncan, Nancy, ed. *BodySpace: Destabilizing geographies of gender and sexuality*. Psychology Press, 1996.
[853] Wacquant, Loïc. "Class, race and hyperincarceration in revanchist America." *Socialism and Democracy* 28, no. 3 (2014): 35-56.; Wacquant, L. 2009. "The Body, the Ghetto and the Penal State." *Qualitative Sociology* 32 (1): 101–29.
[854] Turner, Jennifer. *The Prison Boundary: Between Society and Carceral Space.* London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2016, 224.
[855] Gill, Nick, Deirdre Conlon, Dominique Moran, and Andrew Burridge. "Carceral circuitry: New directions in carceral geography." *Progress in Human Geography* 42, no. 2 (2018): 183-204.; Peters, Kimberley, and Jennifer Turner. "Journeying towards new methods in prison tourism research: Mobilizing penal histories at the Convict Ship Exhibition." In *The Palgrave handbook of prison tourism*, pp. 631-649. Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2017.

footing for the incorporation of feminist approaches to waiting and the spatialities and dynamics that comprise them.[856] These facets are further addressed in the following chapter.

[856] Conlon, Deirdre. "Waiting: Feminist perspectives on the spacings/timings of migrant (im) mobility." *Gender, Place & Culture* 18, no. 3 (2011): 353-360.

Chapter 6 – Temporal Carceral Bodies

Nurse Carter turns to me and says she wishes providers understood her job and the amount of time it takes. "They understand the process, but they don't understand the competing demands. Everything has a time attached to it."[857] She says "blood has time attached to it before it goes bad, each of the charts has a time attached to it."[858] This attention to time means that it is after 2:00 and she hasn't taken lunch. Here, the nurses' bodily needs go unheeded as she attends to the matters of other bodies. Later, the Charge Nurse will reprimand her for not taking a lunch break.[859] The reprimand links to the idea of "self-discipline" that nurses impose on *patients*, a parallel that links them as carceral bodies. Here, each carceral body has temporalities that come to be managed and surveilled in certain ways.[860]

Introduction

Despite Western constructs of linear or absolute time that draws one forward in consistent units, the study of the carceral temporal body demonstrates the relativities, multiplicities, and disjunctures that challenge this presumed *universal* clock.[861] This dissertation tells of carceral bodies made into and across multiple time points and spaces. Bodies that become metaphoric timeclocks through managerial oversight processes. Most changes to intake practices are in response to scandal (e.g. death, lawsuit, federal oversight) that initiates a new standards, infrastructures, and monitoring practices. It must also be acknowledged that

[857] Fieldnotes.
[858] Ibid.
[859] Ibid.
[860] Ibid.
[861] Kotova, A. 2019. "'Time … Lost Time': Exploring How Partners of Long-Term Prisoners Experience the Temporal Pains of Imprisonment." *Time and Society* 28 (2): 478–98.

these chapters have artificially separated space and time, despite their inseparability (spacetime), in order to increase conceptual accessibility.[862]

The carceral temporal bodies are ontologically multiple with different arrival times in eCW and IIS, which are different from the time of arrest and remand.[863] Just as there are different times recorded, there are variances in how time is experienced. For instance, the sense of time varies between someone who is experiencing acute withdrawal symptoms and someone who is not.[864] Time is multiple and diverse across embodied states and the *timeclocks* applied to each arrested person are different across the police department, courts, health care workers, and corrections officers.[865] In this space, the temporal jurisdictions diverge, giving rise to frictions and conflict.[866]

While time comes to have particular implications for incarcerated people, it would be remiss to overlook the urgencies that arise for staff and affect everyone. For instance, when Nelson, the Health Services Administrators (HSA), shows me how he monitors the health intake process, and more specifically intake health care staff, using the eCW "intake registration console," he explains a lot of incarcerated people "arrived yesterday morning and that the clinic is supposed to get four hours to process a new intake."[867] However, he notes that "DOC may have them on their clock as nearing or exceeding twenty-four hours," so, while the health care staff may be first getting a chance to see the incarcerated person, they are already "hot bodies"

[862] Hacker, P. M. S. 1982. "Events, Ontology and Grammar." *Philosophy* 57 (October): 477–86.
[863] Fieldnotes.
[864] Ibid.
[865] Ibid.
[866] Ibid.
[867] Ibid.

for corrections.[868] The term "hot bodies" refers to the nearing of the 24-hour limit for corrections staff to complete intake; it stands in stark contrast to the often-freezing conditions that incarcerated people experience in the pens.[869] Nelson goes on to note that "Wednesday through Saturday night they have heavy loads of "new" incarcerated people and "the clock is always ticking the entire time." [870]

When "hot bodies" are identified there is a flurry of motion and a rise in noise.[871] These are tense moments in which corrections staff press health care staff to prioritize particular incarcerated people. Some of the tension arises due to the conflict between the priorities of the officers (due to their IIS clock) versus the medical or mental health priorities of the health care staff (i.e. medical or mental health urgencies).[872] There is also resentment between corrections and health care staff that often crest during these times of temporal disjuncture. [873] The clashes of temporalities points to the multiplicities of carceral bodies characterized by varying timeclocks.

Additionally, a variety of velocities enact carceral bodies. For instance, in the PASU when "hubs or groups of incarcerated people are brought down the result is vast spans of downtime for staff, leading to long stretches of boredom punctuated by periods of hectic rush.[874] The police officers and detectives escorting arrested people to the PASU clinical screening often tell

[868] Ibid.
[869] Ibid.
[870] Ibid.
[871] Ibid.
[872] Ibid.
[873] Ibid.
[874] Ibid.

them to "say no to everything" so that they can "go before the judge and get out faster."[875] This demonstrates the time across which carceral bodies are encouraged to "speed things up" and also points to the disparities between the carceral body disclosed, one that is healthy without health or mental health needs, and the embodied one that may have chronic conditions, serious injuries, withdrawal symptoms, mental health symptoms, etc. The disclosed, "speedy" body is made digital as the person's responses are entered into the electronic health record.[876]

This chapter draws out the multiplicity of carceral bodies enacted *through* and *with* time. First, the chapter provides theoretical frameworks and applies them to carceral contexts. Second, it addresses how carceral bodies come to be anticipated. The third section demonstrates how carceral bodies are enacted through professional and bureaucratic routines, or repetitions, across/ over time. These routines give rise to the fourth theme of *waiting* and *urgency*. Overall, this chapter draws out the role of time in the experience and enactment of the carceral body multiple. This empirical engagement with carceral temporalities aims to delineate epistemic and experiential forces.

Theory & Context

While the theorization and philosophies of time have a long and rich history, this chapter addresses carceral time and its role in the enactment of the carceral body multiple.[877]

[875] Ibid.
[876] Fieldnotes.
[877]Aristotle, R. trans. P. Hardie, and R. K. Gaye. 2019. *Physics*. Raleigh, N.C.: Generic NL Freebook Publisher.; Gilles Deleuze, and Melissa McMuhan. 1998. "The Brain Is the Screen: Interview with Gilles Deleuze on 'The Time-Image.'" *Discourse* 20 (3): 47-55.; Hacker, P. M. S. 1982. "Events, Ontology and Grammar." *Philosophy* 57 (October): 477–86.; Heidegger, Martin, and Joan Stambaugh. 1996. *Being and Time : A Translation of Sein Und Zeit*. SUNY Series in Contemporary Continental Philosophy. Albany:

This means that a detailed engagement with the history and philosophy of time will be eschewed for a more targeted approach to *carceral time* and its particularities.[878] In taking this tact, time is recognized as a "vector of power" and serves to increase the visibility of mass incarceration's "segregated temporalities." [879]

Time is associated with progress, with linear sequential time serving as the organizing force of Western culture. In this context, racialized time relies upon assumptions of *backwardness* or *primitivity* that finds analogs in *criminal man*.[880] As demonstrated the history of *criminal man*, which was reviewed in the second chapter, incarcerated people come to be

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State University of New York Press.; Husserl, Edmund, and John (trans) Barnett Brough. 1991. *On the Phenomenology of the Consciousness of Internal Time (1893-1917): Edmund Husserl*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.; Whitehead, Alfred North, David Ray Griffin, and Donald W. Sherburne. 1978. *Process and Reality : An Essay in Cosmology*. Gifford Lectures: 1927-28. Free Press.

[878] Aday, Ronald, and Azrini Wahidin. 2016. "Older Prisoners' Experiences of Death, Dying and Grief behind Bars." *Howard Journal of Crime and Justice*, no. Issue 3: 312.--327.; Brown, A.. 1998. "'Doing Time': The Extended Present of the Long-Term Prisoner"***Time*** *& Society*. 7(1):93-103.; Guenther, Lisa. 2013. *Solitary Confinement : Social Death and Its Afterlives*. Minneapolis: Univ Of Minnesota Press.; Manocchio, Anthony J., and Jimmy Dunn. 1970. *The Time Game ; Two Views of a Prison*. Sage Publications.; Medlicott, D. 2019. "Surviving in the Time Machine: Suicidal Prisoners and the Pains of Prison Time." *Time & Society* 8 (3): 211–30.; Meisenhelder, Thomas. 1985. "An Essay on Time and the Phenomenology of Imprisonment." *Deviant Behavior* 6 (1): 39-56.; Moran, Dominique. 2012. "'Doing Time' in Carceral Space: Timespace and Carceral Geography." *Geografiska Annaler Series B: Human Geography* 94 (4): 305-316.; O'Donnell, Ian. 2014. *Prisoners, Solitude, and Time*. Vol. First edition. Clarendon Studies in Criminology. New York, New York: OUP Oxford.; Ricœur, Paul, Kathleen (translator, vols. 1-2) McLaughlin, David (translator, vols. 1-3) Pellauer, and Kathleen (translator, vol. 3) Blamey. 1984. *Time and Narrative*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.; Wacquant, L. 2019. "Deadly Symbiosis: When Ghetto and Prison Meet and Mesh." *Punishment & Society* 3 (1): 95–133.; Wahidin, A. 2019. "Time and the Prison Experience." *Sociological Research Online* 11 (1): 127–38.; Wahidin, Azrini, Linda Moore, and Una Convery. 2012. "Unlocking a Locked-Down Regime: The Role of Penal Policy and Administration in Northern Ireland and the Challenges of Change." *Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, no. Issue 5: 458-473.; Wahidin, Azrini, and Shirley Tate. 2005. "Prison (E)Scapes and Body Tropes: Older Women in the Prison Time Machine." *Body & Society* 11 (2): 59-79.

[879] Brendese, P.J. (2014) "Black Noise in White Time" In Eds. Coles, Romand, Mark Reinhardt, and George Shulman. "Radical Future Pasts." University Press of Kentucky, 102.

[880] Brendese, P.J. (2014) "Black Noise in White Time" In Eds. Coles, Romand, Mark Reinhardt, and George Shulman. "Radical Future Pasts." University Press of Kentucky.; Hanchard, Michael. "Afro-modernity: Temporality, politics, and the African diaspora." *Public Culture* 11, no. 1 (1999): 256.

read as *always, already* outside of hegemonic "white time" and therefore requiring discipline.[881]

Michael Hanchard and P.J. Brendese theorize the politics of racially segregated temporalities.[882] They note how enslavement and oppression served to disrupt temporal coherence, just as incarceration does today. Hanchard defines racial time as

> the inequalities of temporality that results from power relations between racially dominant and subordinate groups. Unequal relationships between dominant and subordinate groups produce unequal temporal access to institutions, goods, services, resources, power and knowledge.[883]

Here, time is read as structure that is imposed and reflective of power relations. In a society in which "time is money," forced waiting is associated with a loss of value and worth, which is evident in "subordinate groups" being made to "literally wait for goods and services that are delivered first to members of the dominant group." [884] This becomes amplified in the jails in which time is an instrument of power and violence.

> The carceral state functions as an instrument of racial subordination that robs nonwhites of time through mass imprisonment and the enduring stigma of a felony conviction. What emerges is a racialized way of 'keeping time' in the present day – a contemporary face of segregated temporality. [885]

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[881] Brendese, P.J. (2014) "Black Noise in White Time" In Eds. Coles, Romand, Mark Reinhardt, and George Shulman. "Radical Future Pasts." University Press of Kentucky, 93.
[882] Brendese, Philip J. *The power of memory in democratic politics*. Boydell & Brewer, 2014.; Coles, Romand, Mark Reinhardt, and George Shulman, eds. *Radical future pasts: Untimely political theory*. University Press of Kentucky, 2014.; Hanchard, Michael. "Afro-modernity: Temporality, politics, and the African diaspora." *Public Culture* 11, no. 1 (1999): 245-268.; Hanchard, Michael. "Black memory versus state memory: Notes toward a method." *Small Axe: a Caribbean journal of criticism* 12, no. 2 (2008): 45-62.
[883] Hanchard, Michael. "Afro-modernity: Temporality, politics, and the African diaspora." *Public Culture* 11, no. 1 (1999): 253.
[884] Ibid., 256.
[885] Brendese, P.J. (2014) "Black Noise in White Time" In Eds. Coles, Romand, Mark Reinhardt, and George Shulman. "Radical Future Pasts." University Press of Kentucky, 86.

In this way, mass incarceration perpetuates the legacy of temporal oppression through its immediate and distal effects.

Time has been granted less attention in the critical carceral literature compared to space. In fact, it has largely been carceral geographers, who have delineated the timespace/ spacetime of incarceration.[886] This points to the need for empirical study of carceral time that goes beyond the frameworks of geography and the supposition that incarceration is outside of "everyday time" to engage with the multiple and varied realities of carceral temporalities.[887] This chapter takes some preliminary steps, but much further research is needed.

In carceral time, it is important to acknowledge that jails vary considerably from prisons in which "doing time [sentenced]" is the norm.[888] As jails primarily hold people awaiting their court date and/ or the posting of bail, jails are closer to moments of rupture than those of stasis. This is generative of a certain form of waiting less aligned with immobility or protracted stasis. People going through intake have been plucked from their daily lives and experienced an abrupt rupture from their temporal commitments and routines, as is demonstrated in the following passage.

Luckstead, is crying again and says that he is going to miss his daughter's birthday because he hasn't been allowed bail and his first court date is May 12th and his daughter's birthday is May 2nd.[889] Luckstead says that his daughter had been asking every day, "Daddy what are we doing for my birthday?" He is sobbing and says that he hasn't been in trouble for

[886] Moran, Dominique. 2012. "'Doing Time' in Carceral Space: Timespace and Carceral Geography." *Geografiska Annaler Series B: Human Geography* 94 (4): 305-316.
[887] Ibid.
[888] Kotova, A. 2019. "'Time … Lost Time': Exploring How Partners of Long-Term Prisoners Experience the Temporal Pains of Imprisonment." *Time and Society* 28 (2): 478–98.
[889] Fieldnotes.

nineteen years.[890] He says that he doesn't think that he will be able to get housed in time to call his family and they don't know where is or what happened to him. I ask what time the phones are turned off in the housing areas, and he says they are turned off at 8:45pm.[891] The physician assistant tells him that he will get housed in time, which seems immensely out of touch with the reality of intake. She is an older West African woman who moves impossibly slowly, but is kind. [892] She has been working in the New York City jails for over forty years. Luckstead says that he doesn't think he will get housed in time because has been watching guys come back after seeing the physician assistant waiting in the clinic pens for hours. [893] The physician assistant makes soothing and sympathetic sounds, as if he were a young child. [894]

This points to temporal interconnectedness that arises from the relationships (e.g. mother, father, partner, spouse, child) that are often jarringly disrupted, leaving unanticipated disjunctures. Despite incarcerations' abundant temporal metaphors (doing time, serving time, out of time, time served),[895] the notion of cohesive and singular carceral time is contradicted by its ontological multiplicities. For instance, the above vignette also points to the carceral temporalities experienced by families who don't know what happened to their loved ones for days.

Temporal multiplicities are also enacted through practices of documentation. For example, a Health Services Administrator explains that "the DOC twenty-four-hour clock"

[890] Ibid.
[891] Ibid.
[892] Ibid.
[893] Ibid.
[894] Ibid.
[895] Kotova, A. 2019. "'Time … Lost Time': Exploring How Partners of Long-Term Prisoners Experience the Temporal Pains of Imprisonment." *Time and Society* 28 (2): 478–98.

comes to a complete stop for court, STAT mental health referrals, refusals of health intake, and/ or placement in an isolation."[896] When any of these occur, the incarcerated person steps outside of the twenty-four-hour clock, making "twenty-four hours" potentially much longer[897]

The City of New York Correction Department temporality precedes the health care "timeclock."[898] Prior to being seen by a nurse or patient care assistant, the incarcerated person is in a digital, temporal antechamber. It is only once the patient care assistant clicks the eCW "checked-in" icon that their digital "medical clock" begins.[899] This leads to waiting for the check-in until the incarcerated person's urine has been tested and they have been physically brought before health care staff.[900] Across intake carceral bodies are characterized by a multiplicity of times, each connected to metrics and stakes.[901]

The attendant paper forms document the time based on digital corrections clocks, as this takes on the mantle of "legal proof" should there be a death or serious injury due to the conditions and time-consuming nature of intake. This is resonant with the practice of defensive medicine, which makes intake health practices a form of "defensive processing." [902] Across intake, the primary objective of corrections and correctional health care management is to "cover" themselves in the event of a lawsuit.[903] This chafes against the clinical imaginary of altruistic health care for the incarcerated person's well-being. It also points to the tension that arises surrounding the "time management" of clinical staff who may continue to hold these

[896] Fieldnotes
[897] Ibid.
[898] Ibid.
[899] Ibid.
[900] Ibid.
[901] Ibid.
[902] Ibid.
[903] Ibid.

ideals.[904] In daily practice, this often leads to long stretches of waiting broken by periods of frenetic rush. Corrections and health care staff find ways to make time work to their advantage.

Anticipated Bodies

Anticipation refers to a temporally-sited state of expectancy.[905] It is the preceding moments in which *forecasting* takes place, even if only subconsciously. Hägglund suggests that *the moment* comes to be "refracted in memory and anticipation."[906] In this reading, the present is inextricably linked to the experiential past that informs expectations. This framing is helpful in understanding carceral anticipation, but it does not explicitly account for the role of knowledge and the heft of the output of predictive data.[907]

Pearce reads Bradley and Myerscough's approach to anticipation as a trans temporality highlighting the role of "social patterning" in the meaning of time and what comes to be *expected*.[908] In this regard, they draw out the socially-mediated experiences of time and the bodies presumed.[909] This is rooted in the theorization of "queer time," which resists the hegemonies of pervasive heterosexual culture's temporalities.[910] In the context of this research, carceral time can serve to make visible and resist the temporalities *expected* by *free* society. Carceral time is rife with anticipatory logics and populations. This is reflected in the following passage in which PA Amer is describing the anticipation of carceral bodies.

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[904] Fieldnotes.
[905] Hägglund, Martin. 2012. *Dying for Time*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
[906] Ibid., 58.
[907] Ibid.
[908] Pearce, Ruth. 2018. "Understanding Trans Health: Discourse, Power and Possibility."
[909] Ibid.
[910] Fieldnotes.

PA Amer says that "now the violence numbers [in the jail] look bad because there are so many ATIs (alternatives to incarceration programs), which only take non-violent offenders."[911] He explains that "of course the jails are going to have higher rates of violence because the only ones left are the *violent ones*."[912] PA Amer gives me the example of one man "who killed a cop and had been in six ATIs before the murder."[913] He says that some people get programs even after they reoffend, and explains that some incarcerated people "want to get dirty urine so that they can get off with a program."[914]

PA Amer goes on to say that he was living with nine women in East New York Brooklyn on Kay Street and a drug dealer lived next door. He explains that "the women were too afraid to call the cops because the dealers would know who called (and there could be retribution) and the dealers would just be released from the ATI in two months."[915] He says that is why he is not sympathetic, he explains "dealers just say that they are users and continue to terrorize the neighborhood. They had a system where one guy would get the money and then two guys would run out small amounts of drugs so that if they got caught, they only got caught with small amounts of drugs on them." [916] He explains "that is how they *get a program* instead of *time*."[917] This points to the way PA Amer anticipates incarcerated people with substance use disorders. He views them as "drug dealers pretending," which makes a carceral body

[911] Ibid.
[912] Ibid.
[913] Ibid.
[914] Ibid.
[915] Ibid.
[916] Ibid.
[917] Ibid.

pretending to experience withdrawal symptoms, while *really* being a drug dealer and program seeker.[918] In this statement *program time* is different from and preferable to *jail time*.

I ask him about how he balances this understanding of *who* is incarcerated with treating patients.[919] PA Amer explains that he "treats patients and never wants to know their charges."[920] He says that he will give me three examples that illustrate why. He says that he was treating a middle-aged guy who was balding and pleasant and was eventually told by one of the corrections officers that the man "killed a seven-year-old and raped his body and that changed everything" for him.[921] He says that "if you know someone's charges then you can be jaded."[922] PA Amer gives another case of "a patient who tied up people in a Wendy's and killed them."[923] He says that there was a nurse who was tough as nails and told him that she couldn't treat him.[924] PA Amer said that everyone knew about the man because he was all over the news. He says that the third "was an HIV patient he treated for three years and he was always nice and pleasant. He told me one day that he blew trial and asked if I had heard."[925] PA Amer explains that is when he learned that the man had "killed a mother and daughter and had sex with their bodies and positioned the daughter between the mother's legs."[926]

Across this conversation, it becomes apparent that PA Amer anticipates carceral bodies that are sexually and physically violent. In these cases, he presents incarcerated people as

[918] Ibid.
[919] Ibid.
[920] Ibid.
[921] Ibid.
[922] Ibid.
[923] Ibid.
[924] Ibid.
[925] Ibid.
[926] Ibid.

seeming one way, while *really* being *another*.[927] It is this expectancy of their *true* nature that, in turn, justifies the implementation of "punitive time," such as long waits for care or abrupt removal from substance use maintenance medication and pain medications. PA Amer ties together the injury reports and uses-of-force datasets, the increase in the number of alternatives, and his personal experience working with incarcerated people, who even when they seem otherwise, are dangerous and depraved. These anticipations are multifaceted and perpetuated across the various forms of knowledge and knowing that mediate interactions.[928]

Here, the anticipated carceral body cannot be separated from the carceral body that comes to be enacted. The anticipated body arises from population data as well as the personal and institutional *knowledges* of incarcerated people.[929] In this context, experiences of the past are lobbed into the future through the expectancy of repetitions and consistencies. A temporality suffused with anticipation of carceral "monsters" enrolls intake assessments as tools of sorting and containing in order to *see through* the pretending, or passing of carceral bodies.

Anticipation is also enacted as a clinical practice through intake pre-screening processes that arise out of specific temporalities and the search for *signs* of urgencies.[930] The urgencies that come to be anticipated are reflective of past deaths and disabilities (e.g. from kidney failure, substance-related withdrawal, diabetic ketoacidosis, seizures, asthma) and the consequences of them (e.g. current or pending lawsuits or negative press coverage).[931]

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[927] Ibid.
[928] Ibid.
[929] Ibid.
[930] Ibid.
[931] Ibid.

Stripped down to its most basic function, pre-screening sets out to enact bodies that are either *expedited* (giving them greater momentum across time)or *not*.[932] This binary category, a branch in the intake algorithm, is predicated on the past and anticipates specific urgencies (e.g. a *diabetic*, an *alcoholic*, alert and oriented), while occluding others.[933] As will be seen across the following example, carceral anticipation both exceeds and eschews attempts to fit temporalities into neat categories of past, present, and future. It resists operating in a unidirectional linear trajectory.[934]

This temporal complexity is reflected in the initiation of the Prison Rape Elimination Act (PREA) Intake Questionnaire added to the intake process after I had been doing research in the jails for a number of months.[935] This form is part of the City's response to the 2003 congressional act aimed at reducing incidences of rape and sexual violence in correctional facilities.[936] This Act arose from data and advocacy.[937] Statistics were enrolled to demonstrate

[932] Ibid.
[933] Ibid.
[934] McTaggart, J.E. 2019. "The Unreality of Time." *Epistemology and Philosophy of Science* 56 (2): 211–28
[935] The City of New York Correction Department. "Prison Rape Elimination Act." *The City of New York Correction Department.* https://rules.cityofnewyork.us/tags/prea.
[936] PREA, P.L. 108-79.
[937] Arkles, Gabriel. "Prison Rape Elimination Act Litigation and the Perpetuation of Sexual Harm." *NYUJ Legis. & Pub. Pol'y* 17 (2013): 801.; Barrett, Carla I. "Does the Prison Rape Elimination Act Adequately Address the Problems Posed by Prison Overcrowding-If Not, What Will." *New Eng. L. Rev.* 39 (2004): 391.; Calhoun, Avery J., and Heather D. Coleman. "Female inmates' perspectives on sexual abuse by correctional personnel: An exploratory study." *Women & Criminal Justice* 13, no. 2-3 (2002): 101-124.; Congress, U. S. "Civil Rights of Institutionalized Persons Act." *Ref Type: Statute* (1980).; Dumond, Robert W. "Confronting America's most ignored crime problem: the Prison Rape Elimination Act of 2003." *Journal of the American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law Online* 31, no. 3 (2003): 354-360.; Dumond, Robert W., and Doris A. Dumond. "The treatment of sexual assault victims." *Prison sex: Practice and policy* (2002): 67-87.; Hoeflinger, Monique M. "All Too Familiar: Sexual Abuse of Women in US State Prisons, and: Nowhere to Hide: Retaliation Against Women in Michigan State Prisons." *Human Rights Quarterly* 21, no. 1 (1999): 254-259.; National Prison Rape Elimination Commission. "National Prison Rape Elimination Commission Report." Published June, 2009.; Rifkin, Marjorie. "Farmer v. Brennan: Spotlight on a obvious risk of rape in a hidden world." *Colum. Hum. Rts. L. Rev.* 26 (1994): 273.; Robertson, James E. "Compassionate Conservatism and Prison Rape: The Prison Rape Elimination Act of

that the risk of sexual assault and rape were a problem in correctional facilities, flying in the face of state's responsibility to protect those living within institutions.[938] This national Act eventually gave rise to the City of New York's establishment of Subchapter E – of the rules titled "Screening for Risk of Victimization and Abusiveness."[939]

> Rules §§ 5-17 and 5-18, which incorporate PREA Standards §§ 115.41 and 115.42, require the Department to screen inmates for their risk of being sexually abused or sexually abusive (§ 5-17), and to use that screening information to inform housing, bed, work, education and program assignments (§ 5-18). The goal is to keep inmates at high risk of victimization away from inmates at high risk of committing abuse.[940]

These rules and the PREA screening enact mutually exclusive carceral bodies that are "at high risk of victimization" *or* "at high risk of committing abuse" and therefore in need of spatio-temporal segregation. The Prison Rape Elimination Act screening is aimed at segregation and assumes victim and perpetrator statuses can be predicted based on certain characteristics, including whether one has previously been victimized, which suggests that they *are,* and thus *will be* victims.[941]

2003." *New Eng. J. on Crim. & Civ. Confinement* 30 (2004): 1.; Schuhmann, Robert A., and Eric J. Wodahl. "Prison reform through federal legislative intervention: The case of the Prison Rape Elimination Act." *Criminal justice policy review* 22, no. 1 (2011): 111-128.; Smith, Brenda V. "Sexual abuse against women in prison." *Crim. Just.* 16 (2001): 30.; Smith, Brenda V. "Sexual abuse of women in United States prisons: A modern corollary of slavery." *Fordham Urb. LJ* 33 (2005): 571.; Struckman-Johnson, Cindy, David Struckman-Johnson, Lila Rucker, Kurt Bumby, and Stephen Donaldson. "Sexual coercion reported by men and women in prison." *Journal of Sex Research* 33, no. 1 (1996): 67-76.; Thomas, Dorothy Q., Sarah Lai, Joanne Mariner, and Regan Ralph. *All too familiar: Sexual abuse of women in US state prisons*. Human Rights Watch, 1996.; Wake, Sarah K. "Not Part of the Penalty: The Prison Rape Elimination Act of 2003." *J. Legis.* 32 (2005): 220.

[938] Ibid.

[939] The City of New York Correction Department. "Prison Rape Elimination Act." *The City of New York Correction Department.* https://rules.cityofnewyork.us/tags/prea.

[940] The City of New York Correction Department. "Prison Rape Elimination Act." *The City of New York Correction Department.* https://rules.cityofnewyork.us/tags/prea.

[941] Fieldnotes.

Anticipation of carceral bodies of victimization and predation are not the forward-looking, prospective entities they seem. The triplicate PREA form, which is comprised of three main parts, draws from the past, present, and informal or tacit knowledge and

Title: City of New York Correction Department PREA Intake Questionnaire

CORRECTION DEPARTMENT
CITY OF NEW YORK

PREA INTAKE QUESTIONNAIRE

Form: PREA-2
Rev. : 3/10/17
Ref. : Dir. 5011

Form Instructions: Intake Staff shall initiate this form upon intake of each inmate. Upon completion of the required sections (shaded), Intake Staff shall sign and date this form. Classification Staff shall complete the remainder of the form. Classification Staff shall also sign and date this form upon completion. Question and Scoring instructions are below.

Inmate's Last Name:	Inmate's First Name:	Book & Case Number:	NYSID Number:

AT RISK OF VICTIMIZATION	INTAKE	CLASSIFICATION
1. " Do you have any mental, physical or developmental disabilities?"		
2. "How old are you?"		
3. (*Is the inmate small in stature?*)		
4. "Is this your first time being incarcerated?"		
5. *(Does inmate have only a non-violent offense history?)*		
6. "Do you have any prior convictions for sex offenses against an adult or child?"		
7. "Do you consider yourself to be lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex, or gender non-conforming?" *(INTAKE STAFF: If NO, does the inmate appear lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or gender non-conforming? If YES, check the Documentation Reflects box to the right)*	Inmate / Staff	
8. "Have you ever experienced prior sexual abuse, been molested, or been sexually assaulted?"		
9. "Do you have any concerns for your own safety while you are here? *(INTAKE STAFF: If YES, note what the inmate says in the* **NOTES** *below.)*		
10. (Is the inmate here only for civil immigration purposes? The answer is typically NO.)		

AT RISK OF ABUSIVENESS	INTAKE	CLASSIFICATION
11. "Have you ever committed sexual abuse or a sex crime such as rape or a sex offense?" *(INTAKE STAFF: Tell inmate this does not include Prostitution.)*		
12. "Have you committed a violent act or a sexual act while in jail or prison before?"		
13. "Do you have convictions for a violent crime (such as Robbery, Murder, Rape, Carjacking, or any type of Assault)?"		

INTAKE NOTES

Intake Staff Preparing:	Signature:	Rank/Title:	Shield/ID:	Date:

CLASSIFICATION NOTES

Classification Staff Preparing:	Signature:	Rank/Title:	Shield/ID:	Date:

Reference: City of New York Correction Department. "City of New York Correction Department PREA Intake Questionnaire" City of New York Correction Department. Rev. March 10, 2017. Retrieved from: https://doccs.ny.gov/system/files/documents/2020/02/115.41m.pdf

The PREA questions are comprised of the following: "Is the inmate small in stature?, Does the inmate have only a non-violent offense history? Is the inmate here only for civil immigration purposes? The answer is typically NO.; Does the inmate appear lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex, or gender non-conforming?"

It is the physical presentation and incarcerated person's account that comes to be read through the predictive cypher of this form, which is integrated with their perceived accordance with the victims and perpetrator imaginaries. For instance, the first part of the form ostensibly assesses the degree to which a person is "at risk of victimization."[942] This notion of *risk* is anticipatory and victimization is generated through responses to questions and visual assessments.[943]

The factors/ variables considered to have predictive heft, include – disabilities, age, incarceration history, previous convictions for sexual crimes, sexuality, previous sexual victimization, size of stature, immigration status, previous violent or sexual acts during incarceration, and the appearance of "sexuality / gender (non) conformity[944] The core assumption is that the past is predictive of the future, and that the relationships between *variables* will remain the same. It also assumes a knowability based on signs of deviance from a *norm* and/ or accordance with an imaginary. This faith in knowable bodies of rape points, once again, to the central, organizing ontological monisms. Here, *population* data is co-constitutive

[942] Ibid.
[943] Ibid.
[944] Ibid.

of anticipated "victims" and "perpetrators."[945] This makes it possible for corrections officers to visually assess carceral bodies and categorize risk, suggestive of a temporally specific population data that functions both as a descriptor of the past and future because of the sense of its story about *truth* that is imagined as unchanging over time.[946]

When the PREA screening is first rolled out, the corrections officers assigned to intake complain that they were not trained on how to administer it.[947] One conscientious officer spoke about how uncomfortable he was asking the questions, which he considered to be "medical."[948] He worried that the incarcerated person's responses to the questions in and of themselves could increase their risk of harm.[949] This suggests that the screening process leads to the future enactment of the very *thing* it seeks to classify (victims/ perpetrators). It forms another temporality of risk for the officer who is concerned about his own responsibility in any future sexual assault that he "missed."[950] This reveals the anxiety that is tethered to the moral heft of future violences.

Carceral bodies anticipated, by the PREA screening, to be vulnerable may be relegated to segregated housing, which is solitary confinement, for "their own protection" for thirty days without the incarcerated person's request for "protective custody" or even their consent.[951]

> Rule § 5-19(a)-(e) (protective custody), which incorporates PREA Standard § 115.43, and prohibits the placement of inmates at risk of sexual victimization in segregated housing for that reason against their will, *unless certain conditions are met*. These conditions

[945] Mol, 133.
[946] Fieldnotes.
[947] Ibid.
[948] Ibid.
[949] Ibid.
[950] Ibid.
[951] The City of New York Correction Department. "Prison Rape Elimination Act." *The City of New York Correction Department.* https://rules.cityofnewyork.us/tags/prea.

include placement in involuntary segregated housing *only until an alternative means of separation from likely abusers can be arranged; and that such assignment may not ordinarily exceed 30 days* (emphasis is mine).[952]

The implication of this is that people who are deemed to be at-risk, are preemptively isolated.[953] For instance, anyone who self-identifies as "lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex, or gender non-conforming" or who may "appear" to be so can be placed in *preemptive* solitary confinement against their will.[954] Here, anticipated sexual violence is preemptively disciplined through time, space (i.e. solitary confinement, housing area segregation), language, medical practices, [955] and policy.[956]

The PREA Screening enacts anticipatory temporalities. Here, anticipation was both retrospective, in terms of its reliance on predetermined *predictive factors* gleaned from associations in the population data, as well as prospective, as risk assignations are propelled into the future.[957] Additionally, this particular anticipatory temporality is limited to the bodies of incarcerated people, implying that sexual assault only occurs between incarcerated people

[952] Ibid.
[953] Ibid.
[954] Ibid.
[955] Subchapter J: Medical and Mental Care: Rule § 5-36 ("Medical and mental health screenings; history of sexual abuse"), which incorporates PREA Standards §115.81(c), (d) and (e), provides, among other things, that if the intake screening pursuant to rule § 5-17 indicates that [if] an inmate has experienced prior sexual victimization (in an institutional setting or in the community), Department staff must ensure that the inmate is offered a follow-up meeting with a medical or mental health practitioner within 14 days of the intake screening.
https://rules.cityofnewyork.us/tags/prea
[956] Bigo, Didier, Engin F. Isin, and Evelyn Sharon Ruppert. 2019. *Data Politics : Worlds, Subjects, Rights*. Routledge Studies in International Political Sociology. London: Routledge.
[957] Fieldnotes.

(and not staff).[958] This algorithmically informed temporality launches institutionalized narratives of personhood, normality, and blame into the future.

While anticipatory assessments assume a knowable, ontologically monistic carceral body, this analysis demonstrates the pluralities of temporal carceral bodies. In this regard, carceral bodies are enacted through multiple temporalities (e.g. the raped carceral body as a site of anticipated sexually transmitted infections, mental health conditions, future sexual assault). These anticipated bodies are reflected in segregation justified through *prevention*. This assessment reveals the temporal mixture that comes to coalesce around the PREA status ascribed to the newly incarcerated person through bureaucratic processes. Overall, the anticipated bodies described here are revealed as requiring certain forms of spatial and temporal segregation, discipline, and surveillance.

Routinization

The intake process is nothing if not a set of routines, a set of steps taken again and again, day after day. Here, the routines of intake come to be layered one on top of the other as levels of oversight make their own routines monitoring other routines. The relationship between routine and time is complex and varied. This analysis is limited to the way that time-discipline does and does not interact with the routines of jail intake.

Time-discipline is a term that has been applied to routinization in correctional facilities.[959] It includes repetitions of counts, meals, medication pick-up, recreation, etc. Each of

[958] Ibid.

the daily routines are documented by corrections officers who are also subject to the daily routines of passing through security, clocking-in and out, documenting counts, documenting recreation and movement, etc. The daily routines of the jails are extended further as they cross days and months. These ripples incorporate medical care through follow-up visits, mental health counseling, follow-up testing, wound care, medication, lab work, etc.

Routines are sometimes the soothing choreography of matter in preparation for assessment and categorical enactment of carceral bodies, other times they are violent (e.g. strip searches particularly for those charged with felonies who are not permitted to wear a gown). The following vignette demonstrates the way that matter comes to be enrolled in the intake process and how intake materialities have temporalities associated with them.

After waiting hours for the corrections officer assigned to the health intake post, he finally arrives and escorts the intake nurse, the intake patient care assistant and myself to the corrections intake area. The "Part A" nursing process begins with the patient care assistant reviewing the folders provided by the intake officer. These folders are comprised of corrections *pedigree* forms and the labels used for urine samples and test-tubes. Each patient care assistant has their own set of routines and customs for preparing the intake clinic space. The patient care assistant, an older woman from Haiti, goes into the tiny clinic room, which is a converted cell, and clears everything off the counter and wipes it down with germicidal wipes. She puts three "chucks" (absorbent underpads) down on the counter so it is completely covered.[960] She then uses the germicidal wipes to clean the computer keyboard and monitor. She changes the trash

[959] Medlicott, D. 2019. "Surviving in the Time Machine: Suicidal Prisoners and the Pains of Prison Time." *Time & Society* 8 (3): 211–30.
[960] Fieldnotes.

bag in the yellow urine cup collection tub and the small trash bag in the garbage container and puts out the trash.[961] It feels strange when she places the trash bag beside large, clear trash bags in rolling bins containing all of the personal effects of the incarcerated men in Pen Eight, who are being transferred from VCBC.

The patient care assistant takes down plain printer paper and sets up the OraSure HIV and Hepatitis C test kits and the blue test kit stand that holds the small vials. She checks the masks and takes out two that she first places on the higher shelf to the right of the computer station, but then moves to the top of the printer.[962] By this time, we are comfortable in each other's presence and this set of practices feels soothing in its predictability. I still haven't mastered my guilt about sitting and watching her work, doing nothing but writing.[963]

The above choreographed scene involves the preparation of matter for the enactment of urinalysis results, HIV/ Hepatitis C test results, vital signs, etc. Each of the testing processes enrolls specific temporalities and requires a set of controls to be maintained in order to ensure accuracy or trustworthiness of outcomes.[964] The care taken in this clinical room stands in stark contrast to the chaos and overcrowding in the pens across the way. During this time the patient care assistant has begun to assemble the health intake folders. She reviews the 330e Suicidality Screening forms and turns on the vitals machine and computer. [965] They are old and wheeze back to life with a loud fan sound. [966] These are the precious moments before the chaos.

[961] Ibid.
[962] Ibid.
[963] Ibid.
[964] Ibid.
[965] Ibid.
[966] Ibid.

Once labeled, the urine cups, are given to the officer to distribute to each incarcerated person in Seven Pen.[967] The health intake corrections officer yells each person's last name and hands them the corresponding urine cup.[968] These cups are distributed all at once, which means that men are all urinating in the pen at the same time, which leads to the aforementioned suspicions of shared, "dirty" urine. Despite this, it is done this way to save time or perhaps it is out of a sense of futility.[969] The corrections officer comes back later with a yellow tub to collect the cups and gives them to the patient care assistant for drug testing.[970]

Once the officer returns the urine cups, the patient care assistant dips the drug test strips in the urine for a few seconds, pulls them out, pushes the outside cover down over the part where urine was touching the stick, tightens the lid of the urine cup and places the stick on top of the corresponding, labeled urine cup to wait for the results.[971] Here, the material forms of the tests enroll specific temporalities in which they will reveal their results with an established degree of certainty.[972] They will tell stories of traces left in the body moments ago, hours ago, days ago. In these moments, time is told through the emergence of colorful bands on a test-strip.[973]

The patient care assistant will then read each test strip and enter the results on the paper "UA/Drug Screen" log.[974] In this way, the carceral body is documented based on the colors on a strip of test paper, a proxy for *recent* use of certain drugs. These make a body that

[967] Ibid.
[968] Ibid.
[969] Ibid.
[970] Ibid.
[971] Ibid.
[972] Ibid.
[973] Ibid.
[974] Ibid.

"pops positive" for drugs, is negative, or is indeterminate. These results are entered into each incarcerated person's EHR, making the drug use digital. Entries into the medical records and logs appear clear and solid and have a permanency, even though the medical staff mistrust these results, assuming that urine is shared so that people can get "detox medications" (e.g. Librium, methadone).[975] This enacts a carceral body that does or does not use drugs, and will or will not have access to medication-assisted detoxification, demonstrating how the temporally-situated results during intake inform future access to care and placement.

The urinalysis results inform diagnoses, which enact carceral bodies that require certain forms of testing, medical examinations, and treatment – each of these will lead to the enactment of other carceral bodies with their own temporalities.[976] Further, while the urine can be discarded for those over the age of thirty-five, it is required to be sent for gonorrhea and chlamydia testing for anyone under thirty-five.[977] This age-based cutoff points to the population level data that was analyzed, likely using a cost-benefit analysis, to see what testing should be provided and to whom. Here, *age* is a variable that is read as being universal/ uniform even though the age of incarcerated people has been demonstrated to be ten years older, biologically, than the broader population.[978] This marks a temporal disjuncture in health logics

[975] Fieldnotes
[976] Ibid.
[977] Ibid.
[978] Binswanger, Ingrid A., Patrick M. Krueger, and John F. Steiner. "Prevalence of chronic medical conditions among jail and prison inmates in the USA compared with the general population." *Journal of Epidemiology & Community Health* 63, no. 11 (2009): 912-919.; Chettiar, Inimai M., W. C. Bunting, and Geoffrey Schotter. "At America's expense: The mass incarceration of the elderly." (2012).; Fazel, Seena, Tony Hope, Ian O'Donnell, Mary Piper, and Robin Jacoby. "Health of elderly male prisoners: worse than the general population, worse than younger prisoners." *Age and ageing* 30, no. 5 (2001): 403-407.; National Institute of Corrections, and United States of America, "Correctional Health Care: Addressing the Needs of Elderly, Chronically Ill, and Terminally Ill Inmates." (2004).; Reviere, Rebecca, and Vernetta

as risk-factors are considered to be equivalent, even while the biological body is aged by a decade.[979]

There are additional paper logs to be completed once all the tests are finished. These forms are kept in a series of large binders in the patient care assistant's tiny office in the main clinic, tucked behind the corrections intake expediter desk. The duplication of documentation points to the punitive audit culture in which documentation is *protection*. It also reflects mistrust of the electronic health records, which leads to the enactment of both digital and paper medicalized carceral bodies made of and into separate temporalities. The completion of the logs takes time, making intake take even longer. Mistrust arises, pointing to the anxiety in the punitive workplace environment and the erratic disciplining of staff. The notion of mistrust is rooted in anxiety and suspicion (anticipatory emotions), with trust considered naïve and dangerous. It is from these places that routines are cleaved to and passed along to new staff. Electronic records have not taken the place of paper carceral bodies, but the paper legacy of the past is brought into the future as a form of additional occupational protection.[980] The tensions between the data-making of the past and present point to the multiplicity of temporalities from which carceral bodies, including those of staff, are enacted.[981]

Routines come to play out across intake and enter into enacted bodies. These temporalities are a mixture of what has come before and reenactments, which are not precise

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D. Young. "Aging behind bars: Health care for older female inmates." *Journal of women & aging* 16, no. 1-2 (2004): 55-69.

[979] Ibid.

[980] Fieldnotes.

[981] Ibid.

copies, but likenesses.[982] This repetition also comes to be reflected in the accounts of incarcerated people as they are asked the same or similar questions again and again. Repetition arises within the health intake in particular as determinations of *consistency* come to be read as *truthfulness* and *reliability* of the information reported by the incarcerated person. This gives rise to countless reiterations of one's personal and family medical history.[983] The expectation across this process is that a personal and family medical history will inform the person's future health and illness. As has been demonstrated, incarcerated people are treated as "unreliable reporters" this repetition is a professional practice of getting *the* truth.[984]

In sum, routines enter into and enact bodies of staff and incarcerated people. In the jail intake process, routinization reveals the role of time-discipline in the practices undertaken with their layers of oversight and monitoring. This section has illustrated the role of materialities and digital templates in the reiteration of temporally-sited practices and procedures. There is an expectation of consistency that comes to coat not just the actions of staff, but also the accounts of incarcerated people. Routinization is also shown to contribute to protracted waiting as documentation is done again and again.

Waiting

Feminist theorists have called for the rereading of "waiting as an active practice."[985] These theorists have drawn from mobility studies to point to the social and political production

[982] Ibid.
[983] Ibid.
[984] Fieldnotes.
[985] Conlon, Deirdre. "Waiting: Feminist perspectives on the spacings/timings of migrant (im) mobility." *Gender, Place & Culture* 18, no. 3 (2011): 353.; Hyndman, Jennifer, and Wenona Giles. "Waiting for

of waiting.[986] It has been noted that waiting has been associated with immobility and passivity with their gendered and gendering implications.[987] Feminist scholars have resisted this dichotomy and called for engagement with the complexities and resistances of waiting and sites of (im)mobilities.[988] In the carceral context, this comes to be associated with punishment and degradation. Brendese suggests that waiting

> is a sensation made ever more insufferable when fused with a sense of inferiority that percolates beneath the unmistakable impression that someone else's time is more valuable than your own … Waiting is an articulation of structural inequality that functions as an indefinite denial of any passage whatsoever.[989]

Waiting causes immense strain, suffering, and strife across intake for both incarcerated people and staff.[990]

Waiting has been described as time in which "nothing happens but time itself."[991] During intake, temporality is expressed in the pooling of time in which the desired act (e.g. being seen by a doctor, getting medication) is held in abeyance. Instead, there is anticipation

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what? The feminization of asylum in protracted situations." *Gender, Place & Culture* 18, no. 3 (2011): 361-379.; Rotter, Rebecca. "Waiting in the asylum determination process: Just an empty interlude?." *Time & Society* 25, no. 1 (2016): 80-101.; Vozyanov, Andrey. "Approaches to waiting in mobility studies: Utilization, conceptualization, historicizing." *Mobility in History* 5, no. 1 (2014): 64-73.

[986] Conlon, Deirdre. "Waiting: Feminist perspectives on the spacings/timings of migrant (im) mobility." *Gender, Place & Culture* 18, no. 3 (2011): 353-360.; Jeffries, C. "Guest Editorial: Waiting." Environment and Planning D: Society and Space2008, volume 26, pages 954-958.; Turner, Jennifer, and Kimberley Peters. 2017. "Rethinking Mobility in Criminology: Beyond Horizontal Mobilities of Prisoner Transportation." *Punishment & Society* 19 (1): 96.

[987] Conlon, Deirdre. "Waiting: Feminist perspectives on the spacings/timings of migrant (im) mobility." *Gender, Place & Culture* 18, no. 3 (2011): 353-360.; Hanson, Susan. "Gender and mobility: new approaches for informing sustainability." *Gender, Place & Culture* 17, no. 1 (2010): 5-23.; Hyndman, Jennifer, and Wenona Giles. "Waiting for what? The feminization of asylum in protracted situations." *Gender, Place & Culture* 18, no. 3 (2011): 361-379.

[988] Ibid.

[989] Brendese, P.J. 2014. *The Power of Memory in Democratic Politics.* University of Rochester Press, 103.

[990] Ibid.

[991] Fujita, Mikio. "Modes of waiting." *Writing in the dark: Phenomenological studies in interpretive inquiry* (2002): 126-136.; Schweizer, Harold. "On waiting." *University of Toronto Quarterly* 74, no. 3 (2005): 777-792.

and desire, even as there is fear and anxiety.[992] The temporality of waiting is open to both desired outcomes as well as ruptures and violences.[993]

This research found that waiting and urgency are tethered to one another, and this section addresses their imbrication. Scholars have noted that jail and prison cells come to serve as the primary metaphors of waiting in the broader United States cultural imaginary.[994] This is reflected in the imaginary in which time stops for incarcerated people, while the world *goes on* without them.[995] Such a reading, however, is premised upon the notion that waiting is somehow a "period of empty time."[996] When this temporal imaginary is applied to carceral bodies there is a notion of an immobile corporeality that is subject to detemporalization. It is an imaginary of isolation and stillness arising out of spatialized time. The intake process stands in contrast to this imagined waiting comprised of absence. Instead, there are multiplicities of temporalities enrolled in the proliferation of carceral bodies.

One example of this arises from the way temporalities are encoded in diagnoses. Dr. Field asks the training doctor, Dr. Wald, if he is allowed to "clean up" diagnoses from the problem list as there are numerous entries for *active* colds, which should only be in the digital records' medical history list.[997] The "problem list" is supposed to be the "current list," of presently occurring medical diagnoses, but often contains every diagnosis ever given. Dr. Wald selects SMI-No and says that it was an "old diagnosis for when people were seen by mental

[992] Ibid.
[993] Hägglund, Martin. 2012. *Dying for Time*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
[994] Armstrong, Sarah. 2018. "The Cell and the Corridor: Imprisonment as Waiting, and Waiting as Mobile." *Time & Society* 27 (2): 133-154.
[995] Ibid.
[996] Armstrong, Sarah. 2018. "The Cell and the Corridor: Imprisonment as Waiting, and Waiting as Mobile." *Time & Society* 27 (2): 133.; Schweizer, Harold. "On waiting." *University of Toronto Quarterly* 74, no. 3 (2005): 777-792.
[997] Fieldnotes.

health, but did not reach a certain level of severity."[998] He points out that "diagnosis deferred" is another diagnosis that was a placeholder until a more thorough/ specific mental health diagnosis could be determined by a psychiatrist.[999] He also notes that "opiate abuse" is often selected incorrectly as it refers to "dangerous use without physical dependence."[1000] He gives another example, such as a one-time elevated blood pressure.[1001] The diagnostic temporalities point to the multiplicities of bodies temporalized that contrast with monolithic images of stasis and temporal exteriority. They are made real in the externally present list of maladies.

Additionally, waiting trickles down. Staff are subjected to certain forms of waiting (e.g. routinely waiting over three hours for a corrections officer to escort intake nurses to the intake area). These periods are sometimes beneficial for my data collection, as there is nothing to do but talk. Despite this, it is a grating sensation that erupts in puddles of fury over helplessness and interdependency. This is a structure in which bureaucracies and the demands for the suppressions of various risks give rise to painful stretches of protracted waiting as is demonstrated in the following vignette.

There are two incarcerated men standing in the window of Intake Clinic Pen 1. A younger Latinx man with a ponytail is asking Corrections Officer Mills, a clinic expediting officer, to use the bathroom.[1002] Corrections Officer Mills tells the man he will have to use the open toilet in the pen because he gave him tissue and let him use the clinic bathroom earlier. The

[998] Ibid.
[999] Ibid.
[1000] Ibid.
[1001] Ibid.
[1002] Ibid.

man says that he is “going through it” (i.e. having withdrawal symptoms). Corrections Officer Mills says “Okay!” sarcastically and doesn’t let him out.[1003]

Dr. Milton, a physician assistant, walks up and tells Corrections Officer Mills that she needs “to see the patients” so that she can “give them dispositions,” a medical housing categorization.[1004] Corrections Officer Mills cuts her off and tells her that he’s “not taking any inmates out, you’ll have to wait ‘til next tour.”[1005] She seems flustered but goes back to the provider area. [1006] This was her attempt at intervening and now there is nothing left to do.

One of the incarcerated men in the pen says “It’s not right!” Corrections Officer Mills responds “As far as being seen, you’ll be seen when you get seen, now I’m gonna’ be an asshole.” The man asking to use the bathroom says “I’m going through it man and I’m gonna’ have diarrhea in my pants. I’ma get in a fight (as the others in the cramped pen will get angry if he has a bowel movement, presumably because of the smell and no access to toilet paper). Additionally, there is no airflow in the pen and it is unclear that the small metal toilet bowl is functioning.[1007] Corrections Officer Mills shouts “Do what you gotta’ do!”[1008]

Corrections Officer Mills walks away and the man is banging on the pen’s door loudly, but no one responds. Eventually, a female officer walks by and says that he needs to stop banging and the man tells her that he needs to use the bathroom.[1009] Corrections Officer Mills comes back and tells the man “I don’t give a shit, you’re not coming out! I told you, you are

[1003] Ibid.
[1004] Ibid.
[1005] Ibid.
[1006] Ibid.
[1007] Ibid.
[1008] Ibid.
[1009] Ibid.

going to fucking wait!!"[1010] The incarcerated man apologizes. Corrections Officer Mills screams "It's too late to apologize, you should have fucking listened! Before I said to wait and now I'm saying fucking NO!"[1011]

This vignette points to the ways in which bodily urgencies form across the long waits. Materiality and its absence have temporalities that become punitive. This vignette demonstrates how time comes to stretch out in experiences of urgency. Toilet paper, like the large menstrual pads for women, is routinely an object of degradation through its withholding, which simultaneously generates waiting and urgencies that make time itself painful and degrading.[1012] It entails a particular type of humiliation that you must announce your bowel movements or menstrual blood publicly, and often have them denied.[1013] Here, time and matter (or its absence) assert control as need becomes a way to compel compliance, exert punishment, or just "let off stream."[1014]

These dynamics reveal power relations enacted through contingent temporalities with disruptions and eruptions taking place periodically.[1015] There can be moments of physical violence with corporeal clashes, but much of the precarities are far subtler (e.g. through the forced waiting as withdrawal symptoms crest).[1016] Such temporal lurching is encoded in the behavioral expectations of incarcerated people that are often obscure, subjective, and or tacit.

[1010] Ibid.
[1011] Ibid.
[1012] Ibid.
[1013] Ibid.
[1014] Ibid.
[1015] Ibid.
[1016] Ibid.

Perceived violations of these rules and expectations justifies eruptions of violences, preceded by its anticipation.[1017]

In sum, despite the image of waiting as an absence, a sort of deep freeze, my fieldwork demonstrated its productive nature. During intake, waiting engendered a qualitative temporality that was experienced in particular, embodied ways. Waiting was productive and takes place in particular ways as time is experienced as speeding up and/ or slowing down. Thus, intake proliferates temporalities, despite hiding them from view.

Pathological Time

Theorists like Lisa Guenther have suggested that such deprivations are systematic and intentional in their infantilization that renders the carceral body reliant upon corrections and health care staff.[1018] The above example highlights the precarity of intake when people are routinely deprived of food, water, sleep, medication, access to a phone, etc.[1019] These withholdings can be read as a form of weaponized time. This is not abstract, but an embodied temporality. For instance, it is often difficult for intake nurses to draw blood because newly incarcerated people are routinely dehydrated. The result is numerous futile attempts on sunken veins. This is an accepted part of the intake process and with the lack of basic necessities, other needs of incarcerated people can be completely obscured. Intake makes an embodied temporality of pain and withdrawal.

[1017] Ibid.
[1018] Guenther, Lisa, *Solitary Confinement: Social Death and Its Afterlives.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013, 97.
[1019]Butler, Judith. 2006. *Precarious Life : The Powers of Mourning and Violence*. Verso.; Millar, Kathleen M. 2017. "Toward a Critical Politics of Precarity." *Sociology Compass* 11 (6):1-11.

While there are period of "'enforced idleness,'" of this during the intake process, intake also marks time in which routines have not been set for incarcerated people, who must first be characterized and sorted.[1020] Carceral idleness and anticipation affects incarcerated people differently and can be particularly difficult for women, disabled people, and those with mental health conditions, as is reflected in the following vignette.

I sit with a woman in the intake housing area as she describes her experience of the intake process. She says "I am on medications, and I saw mental health two days ago (at the end of intake), but I still haven't been seen by a doctor for my asthma, anxiety, depression, or anger issues. I want to strangle the women in here. I can't sleep because there is always noise and it's freezing cold, even with this blanket. It's like hell. They freeze people like popsicles."[1021] The blanket looks like a pressed gray mat and she is shaking, as am I.[1022]

I ask about the intake mental health process and she says that she spoke with a mental health counselor and they put in a referral for her to see the doctor. I ask if she was taking medications before she was arrested and she says "the day I got arrested I was supposed to see my psychiatrist for a new prescription. Now all I can do is wait."[1023] She repeats this again and, as if trying to take it in, her eyes start to tear.[1024]

She says "I'm trying to stay calm for as long as possible because I don't want to catch a case. I can't catch a case. I need to be released from court on Wednesday."[1025] There is a

[1020] Medlicott, D. 2019. "Surviving in the Time Machine: Suicidal Prisoners and the Pains of Prison Time." *Time & Society* 8 (3): 220.
[1021] Fieldnotes.
[1022] Ibid.
[1023] Ibid.
[1024] Ibid.
[1025] Ibid.

moment of quiet and then she says, “I didn’t see mental health even though I told the doctor about my anxiety and depression. This is my first time here and it’s horrible … I’ve been waiting for two days to go to church and no one has come to get me. I want to get a rosary.”[1026] The woman looks away and starts rocking slightly and says “I can’t be housed.” She looks terrified. I ask her what she means and she says “I just can’t be housed because I’ll be in a cell and I don’t want to be on suicide watch. I just can’t be alone.” She is crying quietly.[1027]

While sitting with this woman, I am overwhelmed by her distress and realize that when she does see a mental health care provider, if she sees a mental health provider, she is likely to receive an adjustment disorder diagnosis.[1028] Adjustment disorder is defined by the International Classification of Diseases version eleven as

> a maladaptive reaction to an identifiable psychosocial stressor or multiple stressors (e.g., divorce, illness or disability, socio-economic problems, conflicts at home or work) that usually emerges within a month of the stressor. The disorder is characterized by preoccupation with the stressor or its consequences, including excessive worry, recurrent and distressing thoughts about the stressor, or constant rumination about its implications, as well as by failure to adapt to the stressor that causes significant impairment in personal, family, social, educational, occupational or other important areas of functioning.[1029]

This definition, when applied to intake, brings into view the pathologization of intake temporalities.[1030] Here, the experience of arrest and intake are the “stressors” that cause responses that must fit within an acceptable spectrum. When reactions to times of disturbance surpasses perceived *appropriate* bounds, the temporalized reaction comes to be

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[1026] Ibid.
[1027] Fieldnotes.
[1028] Ibid.
[1029] World Health Organization. 2019. “International Classification of Diseases: Adjustment Disorder.” International Classification of Diseases v11. *http://id.who.int/icd/entity/264310751*
[1030] Fieldnotes.

pathologized.[1031] This occurs despite the fact that it is incarceration that has caused the "significant impairment in personal, family, social, educational, occupational or other important areas of functioning." [1032] The suggestion is that biomedical mental health frameworks read certain temporalities (e.g. the presence of certain symptoms or emotional states) as pathological and in need of biomedical intervention (e.g. placement in a suicide watch or mental health housing area, medication).[1033]

This diagnosis of "temporal malfunction" has a long history, which will not be delved into in detail here, but is worth noting. Since the early 1900's mental illness has been characterized, perhaps most famously by Meyer, Freud and Minkowski, as a pathological *sense* of time.[1034] These theorists pathologized different aspects of time, but share a pathologization of time experienced outside of the linear past, present and future.[1035] Today, this comes to be reflected in diagnosing some as being unwilling or unable "to cope" with the temporalities of their incarceration.[1036] The dissonance between the experience of time and electronic clocks, comes to characterize a particular form of distress open to clinical diagnosis. This relationship between time, the mind, and pathologization is deserving of a great deal of further research, particularly within the context of the criminal justice system.

Old School and Old Knowledge

[1031] Ibid.
[1032] World Health Organization. 2019. "International Classification of Diseases: Adjustment Disorder." International Classification of Diseases v11. *http://id.who.int/icd/entity/264310751*
[1033] Fieldnotes.
[1034] Fryxell, Allegra R. P. 2019. "Psychopathologies of Time: Defining Mental Illness in Early 20th-Century Psychiatry." *HISTORY OF THE HUMAN SCIENCES.* 32 (2): 3–31.
[1035] Ibid.
[1036] Medlicott, D. 2019. "Surviving in the Time Machine: Suicidal Prisoners and the Pains of Prison Time." *Time & Society* 8 (3): 211-230.

Beyond the differences in the corrections and healthcare records, there are other temporalities that arise out of professional memory comprised of epistemic, tacit, and institutional knowledge. A common refrain that eventually comes to make my skin crawl, is the self-identification of officers as being "old school." This harkens back to a time before the proliferation of cameras and the establishment of a Fusion Center on Rikers Island that surveils both incarcerated people and staff. The professional nostalgia of being "old school" coalesces around *certain* understandings of carceral bodies.[1037] This section offers a series of vignettes that point to the multiplicities of carceral bodies enacted through professional imaginaries and nostalgia.

The first vignette takes place in the AMKC main clinic. There is an alarm and we go back into lockdown with the clinic doors closed and all incarcerated people returned to the pens. In the background, I hear a female corrections officer saying "fuckin faggot ass dudes. I'm old-school, this place needs a purge. We need to get back in old-school ways. That's all they respect anyway. I knew it was bad when crackheads started crackin' it up (mocking an incarcerated person refusing to go into a pen) 'I'm not steppin' in that pen.' One man come in actin crazy and callin' me a 'black bitch.' I show him what crazy is. I cracked that nigga' so hard I dislocated my shoulder. Mad disrespectful though. Never got called anything racist in my life, called me a monkey!"[1038]

References to being "old school" abound.[1039] They harken back to an earlier time when there was less oversight and corporal punishment was accepted and practiced with

[1037] Fieldnotes.
[1038] Ibid.
[1039] Ibid.

impunity.[1040] This time is spoken about wistfully as an era before cameras with algorithms that flag violence.[1041] But this is also a temporally sited threat. It comes to be screamed at incarcerated people "I'm old school, I don't care. I will come in there."[1042] Within this professional, temporal imaginary is the assumption that "violence is the only thing they understand."[1043] When this is the premise, carceral bodies are anticipated and responded to physically. It also absolves the officer of responsibility for assault, as violence is read as *necessary*.[1044]

This idea of there being certain codes and lines that are physically enforced live on and are reinforced not just in the threats made, but also in the stories told. One day when it is mostly quiet in the clinic I hear an officer at the A-desk talking about working in a housing area and ignoring an incarcerated person "shit talking with all this 'us' versus 'them' shit. Going on and on."[1045] In the officer's story, the incarcerated man had a cast on his leg and the officer says that the "last straw" was when the man asked a female officer to shower him and when she refused and "he called her a bitch."[1046]

The officer said that he "closed up his food and walked to the shower area" where the man had turned on the water and hit him three times until he fell. All of the officers are laughing as he makes sound effects for each punch and the sound of flesh and plaster hitting

[1040] Ibid.
[1041] Ibid.
[1042] Ibid.
[1043] Ibid.
[1044] Ibid.
[1045] Ibid.
[1046] Ibid.

the wet shower floor.[1047] He does this over and over making thwapping sounds to raucous laughter.[1048] In this moment, "bitch" is characterized as a provocation that requires a violent response.[1049] The laughter of the officers listening is affirmation of the ways carceral bodies require violence.[1050] Here, the breaking of bones is acceptable and even necessary to *control* incarcerated bodies and mouths.[1051] These stories serve another purpose though as they also connect to futurities. In hearing these stories a code of professional conduct and allowable behavior is reinforced.

This notion of being old-school harkens back to a time of violence or corporeal punishment as the primary mode of control, but there are also subtler knowledges associated with professional experience and the *nature* of incarcerated people.[1052] Officer Witte pokes his head into the Part B nursing station and I ask how he is doing. He says "I'll put it this way, I can tell it's a full moon."[1053] I ask whether he has been there overnight and he says he came in this morning when the moon was still up. "But it's alright because I get paid for my bad days, not the good ones."[1054] He laughs and heads back to the expediting desk. It is accepted carceral knowledge that the full moon exacerbates mental health symptoms among incarcerated people.[1055] This is the case across facilities and harkens back to ancient associations between

[1047] Ibid.
[1048] Ibid.
[1049] Ibid.
[1050] Ibid.
[1051] Ibid.
[1052] Ibid.
[1053] Ibid.
[1054] Ibid.
[1055] Ibid.

the moon and madness.[1056] The officer's interjection serves as a reminder about the complexity of tacit knowledge that stands beside and within datafication and digitization. In this way the ancient and the history of corrections and correctional health is drawn through the present and into the future.

Beyond the expectation of certain connections between the natural environment and the mind, there are also accumulated knowledges arising out of professional experience. For instance, Nurse Carter shows me the thick green book where she logs the incarcerated people going to C-71 (the psychiatric wing) and explains that she has to get an officer's signature.[1057] The officer who comes in to sign the book jokes and says "I called that one."[1058] He explains that the man "was just sitting there quietly and that's how you know they're going to kill theyselves."[1059] Nurse Carter thanks the officer, checks the book and closes it.[1060] The accumulation of professional knowledge comes to coalesce around specific *forms* and expectations. [1061] Here, a person's silence is linked with the silences of those who have come

[1056] Benbadis, Selim R., Stanley Chang, Joel Hunter, and Wei Wang. "The influence of the full moon on seizure frequency: myth or reality?." *Epilepsy & Behavior* 5, no. 4 (2004): 596-597.; Iosif, Alina, and Bruce Ballon. "Bad Moon Rising: the persistent belief in lunar connections to madness." *Cmaj* 173, no. 12 (2005): 1498-1500.; Jones, Paul K., and Susan L. Jones. "Lunar association with suicide." *Suicide and Life-Threatening Behavior* 7, no. 1 (1977): 31-39.; Owens, Mark, and Iain W. McGowan. "Madness and the moon: the lunar cycle and psychopathology." *German Journal of Psychiatry* 9, no. 1 (2006): 123-127.; Raison, Charles L., Haven M. Klein, and Morgan Steckler. "The moon and madness reconsidered." *Journal of affective disorders* 53, no. 1 (1999): 99-106.; Templer, Donald I., and David M. Veleber. "The moon and madness: a comprehensive perspective." *Journal of Clinical Psychology* 36, no. 4 (1980): 865-868.

[1057] Fieldnotes.
[1058] Ibid.
[1059] Ibid.
[1060] Ibid.
[1061] Ibid.

before. It also demonstrates the messiness of the borders between health and corrections in the identification of mental health conditions.[1062]

These examples point to the temporalities of carceral "communities of practice."[1063] The old-school imaginary and conceptualizations of the *nature* of incarcerated people are just two examples of the accumulation and perpetuation of varying knowledges. They also point to the fact that such conceptualizations must be maintained over time, regardless of the degree of their fluidity. In this way it becomes possible to understand carceral knowledges as having imperatives of repetition in order for it to persist.

Memory & Haunting

Memory is another of the multiplicities of intake temporalities. Staff *do* intake from memory. Each step is committed to memory for ease of repetition, connecting past experience with current practices and projections. With steps *done* from memory, expectations accumulate and ossify. It is such *applied* memory I watch being formed in staff trainings.

Signage comes to tell stories of lapses of memory and changes in practices that have yet to be integrated into rote practice. The facility walls, and the clinic cubicles in particular, are littered with reminders for everything from "WASH HANDS" to the correct dosages of diabetes medications and warnings about proper handcuffing procedures.[1064] The decisional charts inform providers about the *proper* treatment algorithms and documentation.

[1062] Ibid.
[1063] Bowker, Geoffrey C., and Susan Leigh Star. 1999. *Sorting Things Out : Classification and Its Consequences*. Inside Technology. Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 294.
[1064] Fieldnotes.

Intake is also made legible through and is reliant upon digital memory. While I am conducting research, the correctional health servers that had long been sited on the island were being transitioned to a vast server farm in New Mexico.[1065] I imagine the digital memory of incarcerated bodies being released from the island and sitting beside servers containing the digital bodies of countless others - both incarcerated and not. These are the places of memory that make it possible for carceral bodies to be searched, verified, conjured, and added to.[1066] This memory chafes against privacy and makes bodies perpetually open for analysis and review. These are medical and carceral histories that become accessible to staff who have never met the incarcerated person and have no memories of their own.[1067] It is hard not to think of the servers as carceral in and of themselves, each with their borders and boundaries, securities and vulnerabilities. They sit in warehouses controlled and secured, kept from the sun and the bustle of city life.[1068]

Memories are conjured for incarcerated people and others, including officers, who have experienced prior incarcerations or traumas that bubble to the surface with resonant sensations.[1069] This type of memory coalesces and hardens into haunting. Haunting frames my own experience, as I feel reverberations that last long after my data collection.[1070] Across this

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[1065] Ibid.
[1066] Ibid.
[1067] Ibid.
[1068] Baxtel. "The New Mexico Data Center Map Has 5 Sites" *Baxtel*. https://baxtel.com/data-center/new-mexico; Chou, Wesley. "Inside SSL: Accelerating secure transactions." *IT professional* 4, no. 5 (2002): 37-41.; Innes, Andrew, Chris Mayers, Mark Syms, and David OTWAY. "A method and system for authenticating servers in a server farm." U.S. Patent Application 10/905,654, filed October 19, 2006.; Smith, Sean W., and David Safford. "Practical server privacy with secure coprocessors." *IBM Systems Journal* 40, no. 3 (2001): 683-695.
[1069] Fieldnotes.
[1070] Gordon, Avery F. *Ghostly matters: Haunting and the sociological imagination*. University of Minnesota Press, 2008, 65-66.; Gordon, Avery. "Some thoughts on haunting and futurity." *Borderlands*

ethnographic project I have found myself surprised by my emotional responses and visitations by carceral apparitions. Avery Gordon defines haunting as charged absences,

> a history, remaining nonetheless alive and accessible to encounter … Upon recognition, the oppressed past or the ghostly will shock us into recognizing its animating force.[1071]

For me, haunting is linked inextricably to my memories of working in and researching the jails. Unlike memories that require conjuring, these visit me without being called upon. [1072] They arise at inconvenient times and out of a similitude of sight, sound, feeling, or maybe nothing at all. [1073] They make my skin prickle and heart race. They come in waves that rip me out of the present or bring the past rushing in without permission. But they are not only negative. I am surprised when I am getting on a plane and feel the physical pangs of how much I will miss the patient care assistant and corrections officer I spent most of my time with. In these moments, the body-present is overridden.[1074]

In this project, I find myself drawn to the concept of haunting not only to describe my personal experiences, in which difficult memories rise up and, but it also has the potential to describe broader societal phenomena.[1075] In sitting with my hauntings, inviting them in, I am able to see things over time that were hidden and seemingly singular events that are actually

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10, no. 2 (2011): 1-21.; Gunn, Joshua. "Review essay: Mourning humanism, or, the idiom of haunting." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 92, no. 1 (2006): 77-102.; Overend, Alissa. "Haunting and the ghostly matters of undefined illness." *Social Theory & Health* 12, no. 1 (2014): 63-83.

[1071] Gordon, Avery F. *Ghostly matters: Haunting and the sociological imagination*. University of Minnesota Press, 2008, 65-66.

[1072] Fieldnotes.

[1073] Ibid.

[1074] Ibid.

[1075] Gordon, Avery F. 2011. “Some Thoughts on Haunting and Futurity.” *Borderlands E-Journal: New Spaces in the Humanities* 10 (2): 1–21.; Mountz, Alison. "The enforcement archipelago: Detention, haunting, and asylum on islands." *Political Geography* 30, no. 3 (2011): 118-128.; Overend, A. 2019. “Haunting and the Ghostly Matters of Undefined Illness.” *Social Theory and Health* 12 (1): 63–83.

routinized and systematic.[1076] Having worked in correctional settings previously does not inoculate me from the emotional toll, instead connections are made to other space-times that come with their own weight.[1077] My emotional experience also points well beyond me to societal haunting "that is something akin to what it feels like to be the object of a social totality vexed by the phantoms of modernity's violence." [1078]

Here, haunting is not only an individual experience, but a political tool. This has particular resonance for over-incarcerated populations as "disappearance is a state-sponsored method for haunting."[1079] This is the legacy of slavery and the oppression of people of color made present. These hauntings are felt in the body.[1080] They are the absences of loved ones and the terrors of enduring oppression. In this carceral society we are all haunted by the cruelty, guilt, and fear, even if we belong to the classes and racial groups benefited by this systematized cruelty and violence. Mass incarceration has moral and ethical consequences that haunt all in the carceral society.

Conclusion

> Dynamic ontologies are unified by the claim that the quality of flow in lived time i.e. temporality, cannot be divorced from being without oversimplication.[1081]

[1076] Ibid.
[1077] Ibid.
[1078] Gordon, Avery F. *Ghostly matters: Haunting and the sociological imagination*. U of Minnesota Press, 2008, 19.
[1079] Ibid., 131.
[1080] Ibid.
[1081] Röck, T. 2019. "Time for Ontology? The Role of Ontological Time in Anticipation." *Axiomathes* 29 (1): 36.

While the objective of this chapter was not to delve deeply into the philosophy of time. The accounts of intake included here support Röck's assertion of dynamic ontologies across the flow of time, which take place not in blocks or units, but across flows that are between and within.[1082] This resonates with the flows of intake in which time and being are multiple. [1083]

This chapter addressed some of the temporalities of intake in the New York City jails. Intake is predicated on the assumption that what is being drawn out is a carceral body that existed prior to intake. Intake seeks essentialized bodies knowable and recordable in established categorization and frameworks. This assumed preexisting carceral body is then read for health and corrections risks.[1084] These predictive models project a body *always, already* carceral into the future.[1085]

Together, the sections of this chapter resonate with Hanchard's conceptualizations of "racial time."[1086] In acknowledging that time has politics, mass incarceration perpetuates racial

[1082] Röck, T. 2019. "Time for Ontology? The Role of Ontological Time in Anticipation." *Axiomathes* 29 (1): 33–47.
[1083] Hägglund, Martin. 2012. *Dying for Time*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
[1084] Fielding, Jane, and Nigel Fielding. 2013. Integrating information from multiple methods into the analysis of perceived risk of crime: The role of geo-referenced field data and mobile methods. *Journal of Criminology* 2013 : 1-13.; Russo, Silvia, Michele Roccato, and Alessio Vieno. 2011;2010;. Predicting perceived risk of crime: A multilevel study. *American Journal of Community Psychology* 48 (3): 384-94.; Schuilenburg, Marc. 2015. *The securitization of society: Crime, risk, and social order*. New York; London;: New York University Press.
[1085] Henry, David B., Allison Dymnicki, Candice Kane, Elena Quintana, Jenifer Cartland, Kimberly Bromann, Shaun Bhatia, and Elise Wisnieski. 2014. Community monitoring for youth violence surveillance: Testing a prediction model. *Prevention Science* 15 (4): 437-47.; Oakes, J. Michael, and Jay S. Kaufman. 2006. *Methods in social epidemiology*. 1st ed. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.; Ready, Justin, Nancy Morris, and David Weisburd. 2008. Risk-focused policing at places: An experimental evaluation. *Justice Quarterly* 25 (1): 163-200.
[1086] Brendese, P.J. 2014. *The Power of Memory in Democratic Politics.* University of Rochester Press.; Hanchard, Michael. 1999. "Afro-Modernity: Temporality, Politics, and the African Diaspora." *Public Culture* 11 (1): 245-268.; Hanchard, Michael George. 1998. *Orpheus and Power : The "Movimento Negro" of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, Brazil 1945-1988*. PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY: Princeton

disparities and oppressions, thereby bringing the past into the future (e.g. mass incarceration as the latest iteration of Jim Crow laws and racial oppression).[1087] In the New York City jails, the racial and ethnic composition of both incarcerated people and staff reveals a perpetuation of racial and socio-economic regimes, which play out in particular, embodied ways. The temporalities of carceral bodies carry with them legacies, they are haunted multiplicities sacrificed in carceral times.

In sum, one of the major findings of this research is that the spaces and temporalities of intake are, in and of themselves, punishing for incarcerated people and staff. We tend to think that the punishment of incarceration is the privation of liberty. Yet, this research found many more forms of punishment occurring. The level of filth, overcrowded pens, protracted waits, and lack of privacy served to emphasize the role of space and time in the experiences of violences, as intake areas were often described as "dehumanizing."[1088] This alights upon the assumption of criminality, despite the fact that the newly incarcerated people have not yet gone to trial.

University Press.; Hanchard, Michael George. 2018. *The Spectre of Race : How Discrimination Haunts Western Democracy*. Princeton University Press.

[1087] Alexander, Michelle. (2010). *The new Jim Crow : mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness.* New York: New Press.; Seigel, Micol. "Convict Race": Racialization in the Era of Hyperincarceration." *Social Justice* (2014): 31-51.; Weaver, Vesla M. "Frontlash: Race and the development of punitive crime policy." *Studies in American political development* 21, no. 2 (2007): 230-265.

[1088] Fieldnotes.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

> [S]pecific lives cannot be apprehended as injured or lost if they are not first apprehended as living. If certain lives do not qualify as lives or are, from the start, not conceivable as lives within certain epistemological frames, then these lives are never lived nor lost in the full sense. [1089]

Why does it matter that there are islands (literal and/or metaphorical) on our peripheries where people are subjected to painful carceralisms? What is the point of their study? These are the questions I am asked directly or indirectly after I present my research. For those who will never directly know these sites, it is easier to leave them unexplored, foreclosing knowledge of their terrors. It is easier to read carceral bodies as *Other*, as *criminal*, as in some way deserving of such conditions and treatment. Even those who spend their working lives in these places will not enter the frame, aside from periodic eruptions of public scandals.[1090]

My reasons for approaching the criminal justice system and for theorizing the carceral body are moral and ethical. The stakes of this are profound given the racialization of mass detention.[1091] In this carceral age in which carceral bodies are made, not born, it is important to

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[1089] Butler, Judith, *Frames of War: When Is Life Grievable?.* London: New York, 2009, 1.

[1090] Blau, Reuven. "Physician's assistant indicted on charges of raping four Rikers Island inmates." The New York Daily News. Published April 24, 2017. https://www.nydailynews.com/new-york/nyc-crime/doctor-assistant-charged-raping-rikers-island-inmates-article-1.3095975.; Denney, Audrey. "Ex-Rikers inmate who says she was raped by guards gets $1.2M." *The New York Post.* Published July 1, 2019. https://nypost.com/2019/07/01/ex-rikers-inmate-who-says-she-was-raped-by-guards-gets-1-2m/; Rutkoff, Aaron. "Rikers Fight Club Alleged Teenager's Death Leads to New Probe of Whether Officers Organize 'the Program.'" *The Wall Street Journal.* Published May 4, 2012. https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052702304752804577384511006841038.; Shanahan, Ed and William K. Rashbaum "Guards Stood By for 7 Minutes as Inmate Tried to Hang Himself Four Rikers officers have been suspended as investigators examine their failure to stop an 18-year-old detainee's suicide attempt." *The New York Times.* Published December 3, 2019. https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/03/nyregion/rikers-island-inmate-suicide.html

[1091] Weaver, Vesla M. "Frontlash: Race and the development of punitive crime policy." *Studies in American political development* 21, no. 2 (2007): 230-265.

create a concept around which the embodied stakes of mass incarceration can be made explicit.

Carceral epistemologies (e.g. penology, criminology, biomedicine, public health) are steeped in racisms and classisms, which inform broader imaginaries of *crime* and *criminality*. As political discourse has been reduced to simplistic chants and pithy soundbites, the aim of this dissertation has been to "complicate the discourse" surrounding the carceral-industrial-complex and the carceral body in particular. [1092] Understanding the carceral body through its ontological multiplicities serves as the grounds from which resistances to the status quo can be formulated.[1093] This is vitally important in light of the diffuse assemblages detailed in this project and the pervasiveness of carceral logics.

This dissertation has suggested that the carceral body is an ontological multiplicity hewn from notions about socio-epistemological *criminals.* This points to the practices and processes that enact bodies as carceral and, in doing so, their opposite, bodies who will never be carceral.[1094] My hope is that drawing out the carceral body, as a fluid construct, can serve other criminal justice scholars and make space for a thriving abolitionist science and technology studies.

[1092] Davis, Angela Y. *Abolition Democracy: Beyond Empire, Prisons, and Torture.* Seven Stories Press 1st ed. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2005, 125.

[1093] Law, John. 2004. *After Method : Mess in Social Science Research*. International Library of Sociology. Routledge.

[1094] Hanson, R. Karl, and Monique T. Bussiere. "Predicting relapse: a meta-analysis of sexual offender recidivism studies." *Journal of consulting and clinical psychology* 66, no. 2 (1998): 348.; Merrall, Elizabeth LC, Azar Kariminia, Ingrid A. Binswanger, Michael S. Hobbs, Michael Farrell, John Marsden, Sharon J. Hutchinson, and Sheila M. Bird. "Meta-analysis of drug-related deaths soon after release from prison." *Addiction* 105, no. 9 (2010): 1545-1554.; Vescio, M. F., B. Longo, S. Babudieri, G. Starnini, S. Carbonara, G. Rezza, and R. Monarca. "Correlates of hepatitis C virus seropositivity in prison inmates: a meta-analysis." *Journal of Epidemiology & Community Health* 62, no. 4 (2008): 305-313.

This dissertation found that while intake was enacted in the name of health and security, the technical practices of intake produced social worlds that were not what they purported to be. Ferguson offers the concept of "instrument effects" in *The Anti-Politics Machine* to address this tension, although he does so in the context of "development" projects in Lesotho.[1095] He suggests that *instrument effects* of "development" are "two-fold: alongside the institutional effect of expanding bureaucratic state power is the conceptual or ideological effect of depoliticizing both poverty and the state."[1096] This is paralleled in intake in which, for instance, medical care purports to be about health and wellness, and in doing so depoliticize its reinforcement of carceral imaginaries and state power.

When the *instrument effects* of intake are considered, it becomes apparent that the biomedicalized carceral body is a productive construct. It serves at once to exert biopower, while simultaneously converting the violences and traumas of incarceration into *medical problems*. In rendering the harms of incarceration in biomedical terms, state power comes to be read into and off of bodies as individual *pathologies*. This shifts the response to the embodied effects of incarceration from the systemic to the enfleshed, incarcerated person. This form of politics is further reflected in the health literature that suggests carceral bodies pose serious health risks to the communities to which they return.[1097] In this sense, they are

[1095] Ferguson, James. 1990. *The Anti-Politics Machine : Development, Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*. Cambridge University Press.
[1096] Ibid., 256.
[1097] Bick, Joseph A. "Infection control in jails and prisons." *Clinical Infectious Diseases* 45, no. 8 (2007): 1047-1055.; Dumont, Dora M., Scott A. Allen, Bradley W. Brockmann, Nicole E. Alexander, and Josiah D. Rich. "Incarceration, community health, and racial disparities." *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved* 24, no. 1 (2013): 78-88.; Massoglia, Michael. "Incarceration as exposure: the prison, infectious disease, and other stress-related illnesses." *Journal of health and social behavior* 49, no. 1 (2008): 56-71.; Restum, Zulficar Gregory. "Public health implications of substandard correctional health care." *American Journal of Public Health* 95, no. 10 (2005): 1689-1691.; Thomas, James C., and Lynne A.

infectious bodies that pose not only a "safety" risk (via crime), but also a public health risk. This logic of infection taken to its terminus results in the grounds for permanent incarceration, in order to protect *community health*.[1098]

Today, *the criminal* has become a way to perpetuate disparities, placing blame and stigma upon those most discriminated against.[1099] The figure of *the criminal* makes individual the violences of a society that perpetuates disparities in education, housing, child care, nutrition, health, and safety. This individualization of blame at first seems at odds with the ways the carceral body is abstracted to the population level through its measurement and categorization. These carceral statistics, however, facilitate the harms and premature deaths to be spoken about at the population level, obscuring personal pain and loss.[1100]

The rendering is connected to Butler's theorization of bodies open to torture. She suggests that:

> Some populations are "lose-able," or can be forfeited, precisely because they are framed as being already lost or forfeited, precisely because they are … cast as threats to human life as we know it rather than as living populations in need of protection.[1101]

When witnessing incarcerated people enduring terrible withdrawal symptoms Butler's work on torture feels particularly salient. Her framework draws out the precarities of incarceration as "the body's vulnerability to subject ion is exploited, the fact of interdependency is abused." [1102]

Sampson. "High rates of incarceration as a social force associated with community rates of sexually transmitted infection." *The Journal of infectious diseases* 191, no. Supplement_1 (2005): S55-S60.; Thomas, James C., and Elizabeth Torrone. "Incarceration as forced migration: effects on selected community health outcomes." *American journal of public health* 98, no. Supplement_1 (2008): S181-S184.

[1098] Ibid.

[1099] Ibid.

[1100] Ibid.

[1101] Butler, Judith, *Frames of War: When Is Life Grievable?.* London: New York, 2009, 31.

[1102] Ibid., 61.

Such subjection of the carceral body is especially evident during the strip search, which is an unnecessary degradation and breach of bodily privacy.[1103] These violences and degradations come to haunt incarcerated people, staff, families, and society.

Abolition & Ontological Politics

Adopting an ontological approach to the enactment of particular carceral forms is in itself political.[1104] Mol defines ontological politics in the following way.

> If the term 'ontology' is combined with that of 'politics' then this suggests that the conditions of possibility are not given. That reality does not precede the mundane practices in which we interact with it, but is rather shaped within these practices. So, the term politics works to underline this active mode, this process of shaping, and the fact that its character is both open and contested.[1105]

This stands in stark contrast to the anterior, immutable essentialism of *criminal man*, who is *knowable* through a set of established scientific and clinical processes. Instead, this project has illustrated multiple carceral bodies that are not perspectival, but *real*.[1106]

This matters because stakes of the carceral body go beyond the carceral body itself. The carceral body, like clinical bodies, involve other objects and beings.[1107] For instance, across

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[1103] CorrectionsOne Staff. "Pa. prison to get body scanners The system will allow non-contact inspections for inmates." CorrectionsOne. Published June 21, 2019. https://www.correctionsone.com/products/facility-products/body-scanners/articles/pa-prison-to-get-body-scanners-sktOfT9vxisCwnex/; Lovett, Kenneth. "New law allows Rikers to use body scanners to detect contraband: The bill, signed Tuesday, allows jail personnel to operate devices that detect nonmetallic weapons hidden within body cavities" New York Daily News. Published October 3, 2018. https://www.correctionsone.com/products/facility-products/body-scanners/articles/new-law-allows-rikers-to-use-body-scanners-to-detect-contraband-zno5sGckTPc9y8Tc/

[1104] Mol, Annemarie. "Ontological politics. A word and some questions." *The Sociological Review* 47, no. 1_suppl (1999): 74-89.

[1105] Ibid., 75.

[1106] Dwyer, Robyn, and David Moore. 2013. "Enacting Multiple Methamphetamines: The Ontological Politics of Public Discourse and Consumer Accounts of a Drug and Its Effects." *International Journal of Drug Policy* 24 (3): 203–11.

intake, bodies are enacted based on norms (i.e. population averages) and expectations of characterizing groups (e.g. sex-specific screenings and metrics, age categorizations and associated health *risks*, race and algorithmic and unconscious predictions of violence). It is the existence of these categorizations, with their bell-curve derived norms, that are at stake as well. The implication is that the carceral body carries other objects with it, beside it, and inside of it, making existences interconnected. Thus, when the essentialisms of the carceral body are resisted, revisions become possible across related beings.[1108]

Langwick highlights the politics of such interconnections when she suggests that "[t]raditional medicine is a highly politicized and deeply intimate battle over who and what has the right to exist."[1109] Here, she suggests that Western medicine in fighting to assert its dominance is defining existence (e.g. health states, diagnoses, outcomes, health determinants, treatment). While the relationship between medicine, corrections, and mental health in the jails is far too complex to label a "battle," as each supports and resists the other, they each hold claims and enact specific existences, while eschewing others.[1110]

[1107] Dwyer, Robyn, and David Moore. 2013. "Enacting Multiple Methamphetamines: The Ontological Politics of Public Discourse and Consumer Accounts of a Drug and Its Effects." *International Journal of Drug Policy* 24 (3): 203–11.; Law J., Mol A. (2008) The Actor-Enacted: Cumbrian Sheep in 2001. In: Knappett C., Malafouris L. (eds) Material Agency. Springer, Boston, MA.; Mol, Annemarie. "Ontological politics. A word and some questions." *The Sociological Review* 47, no. 1_suppl (1999): 74-89.
[1108] Dwyer, Robyn, and David Moore. 2013. "Enacting Multiple Methamphetamines: The Ontological Politics of Public Discourse and Consumer Accounts of a Drug and Its Effects." *International Journal of Drug Policy* 24 (3): 203–11.
[1109] Langwick, Stacey Ann. 2011. *Bodies, Politics, and African Healing : The Matter of Maladies in Tanzania*. Bloomington: Indiana, 232.
[1110] Law J., Mol A. (2008) The Actor-Enacted: Cumbrian Sheep in 2001. In: Knappett C., Malafouris L. (eds) Material Agency. Springer, Boston, MA.

It is the recognition of realities nested within one another that Mol suggests are the grounds from which "new conceptions of politics need to be crafted."[1111] Realities are not viewed as fixed or permanent, but rather part of an ever-changing stream in which some enactments proliferate as others peter out. In this ontological flow, sociomaterial practices (hewn from media, epistemological frameworks, politics, power dynamics, etc.) enact carceral bodies.[1112] The suggestion is that if "conditions of possibility are not given," then they are open to radical change. This means that abolitionist practices can enact divergent realities. It thus becomes possible to imagine a carceral body that is no longer targeting incarcerated individuals, but a body politic from which carceral abolition can be enacted. In this light, abolitionist science and technology studies offers both resistance and productive potentials.

Abolitionist Science and Technology Studies

This dissertation has advanced science and technology studies and criminal justice studies scholarship by opening the black box of jail intake. It challenged how incarceration is typically understood by both critical and traditional criminology scholars (i.e. largely from an essentialist framework).[1113] The process of enacting carceral bodies is profoundly complex and

[1111] Mol, Annemarie. "Ontological politics. A word and some questions." *The Sociological Review* 47, no. 1_suppl (1999): 85.
[1112] Pienaar, Kiran, and Ella Dilkes-Frayne. 2017. "Telling Different Stories, Making New Realities: The Ontological Politics of 'Addiction' Biographies." *International Journal of Drug Policy* 44 (June): 145–54.
[1113]Andrews, Don A., James Bonta, and Robert D. Hoge. "Classification for effective rehabilitation: Rediscovering psychology." *Criminal justice and Behavior* 17, no. 1 (1990): 19-52.; Bench, Lawrence L., and Terry D. Allen. "Investigating the stigma of prison classification: An experimental design." *The Prison Journal* 83, no. 4 (2003): 367-382.; Camp, Scott D., and Gerald G. Gaes. "Criminogenic effects of the prison environment on inmate behavior: Some experimental evidence." *Crime & Delinquency* 51, no. 3 (2005): 425-442.; Myers, Louis B., and Girard W. Levy. "Description and prediction of the intractable inmate." *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 15, no. 2 (1978): 214-228.; Richards, Stephen C., and Jeffrey Ian Ross. "A convict perspective on the classification of prisoners." *Criminology & Public*

contingent, requiring an engagement with the epistemologies and attendant imaginaries that animate them.

Science and technology studies has been used to study many facets of the criminal justice system, such as forensic sciences[1114] and emerging technologies of surveillance.[1115] Across these works, the nature of knowledge formation and mobilization in the name of *justice* comes to be laden with historical context and any pretense of a *science of man* arising out of

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Policy 2, no. 2 (2003): 243-252.; Teplin, Linda A., and James Swartz. "Screening for severe mental disorder in jails." *Law and Human Behavior* 13, no. 1 (1989): 1-18.; Torrey, E. Fuller. "Jails and prisons--America's new mental hospitals." *American Journal of Public Health* 85, no. 12 (1995): 1611-1613.; Vold, George Bryan. *Theoretical criminology*. oxford university press, 1958.

[1114] Cole, Simon A., and Rachel Dioso-Villa. "Investigating the CSI effect effect: Media and litigation crisis in criminal law." *Stan. L. Rev.* 61 (2008): 1335.; Cole, Simon A. "More than zero: Accounting for error in latent fingerprint identification." *J. Crim. l. & Criminology* 95 (2004): 985.; Cole, Simon A. *Suspect identities: A history of fingerprinting and criminal identification*. Harvard University Press, 2009.; Lynch, Michael, Simon A. Cole, Ruth McNally, and Kathleen Jordan. *Truth machine: The contentious history of DNA fingerprinting*. University of Chicago Press, 2010.; Lynch, Michael, and Sheila Jasanoff. "Contested identities: Science, law and forensic practice." *Social Studies of Science* 28, no. 5-6 (1998): 675-686.

[1115] Aas, Katja Franko. "'Crimmigrant'bodies and bona fide travelers: Surveillance, citizenship and global governance." *Theoretical criminology* 15, no. 3 (2011): 331-346.; Aas, Katja Franko. "Surveillance: Citizens and the State." *Surveillance & Society* 6, no. 3 (2009): 317-321.; Aas, Katja Franko, Helene Oppen Gundhus, and Heidi Mork Lomell, eds. *Technologies of inSecurity: the surveillance of everyday life*. Routledge, 2008.; Haggerty, Kevin D., and Richard V. Ericson. "The surveillant assemblage." *The British journal of sociology* 51, no. 4 (2000): 605-622.; Jewkes, Yvonne. "High-Tech Solutions to Low-Tech Crimes? Crime and terror in the surveillance assemblage." *Criminal Justice Matters* 58, no. 1 (2004): 6-7.Lippert, Randy. "Signs of the surveillant assemblage: Privacy regulation, urban CCTV, and governmentality." *Social & Legal Studies* 18, no. 4 (2009): 505-522.; Mantello, Peter. "The machine that ate bad people: The ontopolitics of the precrime assemblage." *Big data & society* 3, no. 2 (2016).; Trottier, Daniel. "Crowdsourcing CCTV surveillance on the Internet." *Information, Communication & Society* 17, no. 5 (2014): 609-626.; Wall, David S. "Mapping out cybercrimes in a cyberspatial surveillant assemblage." *The intensification of surveillance: Crime terrorism and warfare in the information age* (2003): 112-36.; Wilkinson, Blair, and Randy Lippert. "Moving images through an assemblage: Police, visual information, and resistance." *Critical Criminology* 20, no. 3 (2012): 311-325.; Williams, Matthew L., Adam Edwards, William Housley, Peter Burnap, Omer Rana, Nick Avis, Jeffrey Morgan, and Luke Sloan. "Policing cyber-neighbourhoods: tension monitoring and social media networks." *Policing and society* 23, no. 4 (2013): 461-481.

objective dispassion is refuted.[1116] The politics of this knowledge formation, in turn, reveals a nucleus of racial and economic oppression.

The question becomes what science and technology studies can add to abolition and how it connects to the ontological multiplicities of intake. How does a movement of undoing, which is sewn into the very term abolition, become a productive and generative locus?[1117] How can these threads come together around the notion of the carceral body? This project positions itself as an early foray into abolitionist science and technology studies. It acknowledges the considerable work needed to flesh out this approach, particularly given the variability in the definitions of *abolition*. This project does not claim a unitary path forward, but attempts to build from Ruha Benjamin's call for abolitionist technologies.[1118]

Abolition necessitates a leap that is both burdened and propelled by an understanding of carceral, and therefore racial, United States history. This dissertation has drawn out carceral epistemologies and imaginaries to open them as sites of abolition. While abolition has long been understood as requiring changes well beyond the criminal justice system (e.g. the economy, education system, military, health care), the role of knowledge-making and its attendant technologies are rarely included as sites of such intervention. This dissertation calls for an abolitionist science and technology studies rooted in ontological multiplicities that resist the determinist hegemonic productions of the criminal justice system. Abolitionist science and technology studies is not an undoing, but a generative proliferation of multiplicities that resist carceral power dynamics.

[1116] Ibid.
[1117] Benjamin, Ruha. 2019. *Race After Technology : Abolitionist Tools for the New Jim Code*. Medford, MA: Polity.
[1118] Ibid.

In bringing this project to a conclusion, I offer three paths forward for abolitionist science and technology studies. First, the history of abolition itself is ripe for scholarly engagement that draws out its past and current logics, epistemological frameworks, and technologies. In reading the history of abolition through a science and technology studies lens, the formation of abolitionist knowledge and the influence of those with first-hand experience of incarceration has the potential to shape what carceral expertise looks like. It is from this vantage point that the intellectual and philosophical inheritance of abolition can be drawn out and built upon.

Second, this project has demonstrated the value of undertaking empirical science and technology studies research that engages with the particularities and specificities of various sites across the criminal justice system and in correctional facilities in particular. Such research can offer interventions in both theory and practice. Just as science and technology studies has offered sustained insight and intervention in the areas of environmental science,[1119] nuclear

[1119] Allen, Barbara L. 2003. *Uneasy Alchemy : Citizens and Experts in Louisiana's Chemical Corridor Disputes*. Urban and Industrial Environments. MIT Press.; Bäckstrand, Karin. "Civic Science for Sustainability: Reframing the Role of Experts, Policy-Makers and Citizens in Environmental Governance." *Global Environmental Politics* 3, no. 4 (November 2003): 24–41.; Corburn, Jason. 2005. *Street Science : Community Knowledge and Environmental Health Justice*. Urban and Industrial Environments. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.; Caudill, David S., Shannon N. Conley, Michael E. Gorman, and Martin Weinel. 2019. *The Third Wave in Science and Technology Studies : Future Research Directions on Expertise and Experience*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.; Felt, Ulrike. *The Handbook of Science and Technology Studies*. Vol. Fourth edition. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2017.; Hackett, Edward J., and Society for Social Studies of Science. *The Handbook of Science and Technology Studies*. Vol. Third edition. Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 2008.; Ladd, Anthony E. 2017. *Fractured Communities : Risk, Impacts, and Protest Against Hydraulic Fracking in U.S. Shale Regions*. Nature, Society, and Culture. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.; Lidskog, Rolf, and Goran Sundqvist. 2018. "Environmental Expertise as Group Belonging: Environmental Sociology Meets Science and Technology Studies." *Nature and Culture*, no. 3: 309.; Little, Peter C. *Toxic Town : IBM, Pollution, and Industrial Risks*. New York: NYU Press, 2014.; McCally, Michael. *Life Support : The Environment and Human Health*. Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 2002.; Nost, Eric. "Fields and Streams: Stream Restoration, Neoliberalism, and the Future of Environmental Science." *Southeastern Geographer* 54, no.

technologies,[1120] medicine,[1121] and digital privacy;[1122] it holds similar promise for mass incarceration.[1123] The logics and knowledge structures that maintain mass incarceration span

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2 (June 22, 2014): 208.; Princen, Thomas, Michael Maniates, and Ken Conca. *Confronting Consumption*. Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 2002.; Whitney, Kristoffer. "It's about Time: Adaptive Resource Management, Environmental Governance, and Science Studies." *Science, Technology & Human Values* 44, no. 2 (March 2019): 263.

[1120] Johnstone, Phil, and Andy Stirling. "Comparing Nuclear Trajectories in Germany and the United Kingdom: From Regimes to Democracies in Sociotechnical Transitions and Discontinuities." *Energy Research & Social Science.* 59.; Josephson, Paul R. 2005. *Red Atom : Russias Nuclear Power Program From Stalin To Today*. Vol. First University of Pittsburgh Press pbk. edition. Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies. Pittsburgh, Pa: University of Pittsburgh Press.; Lee, Clarissa Ai Ling. 2019. "Nuclear Science and Technology in the Malaysian Context: Three Phases of Technoscientific Knowledge Transfer (ETTLG)." *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science* 77 (October): 130–40.; Schmid, Sonja D. 2015. *Producing Power : The Pre-Chernobyl History of the Soviet Nuclear Industry*. Inside Technology Series. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.; Schmid, Sonja D. 2011. "When Safe Enough Is Not Good Enough: Organizing Safety at Chernobyl." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 67 (2): 19–29.; Szulecki, Kacper. 2020. "Securitization and State Encroachment on the Energy Sector: Politics of Exception in Poland's Energy Governance." *Energy Policy* 136 (January).

[1121] Dumit, Joseph, and Regula Valérie Burri. 2007. *Biomedicine As Culture : Instrumental Practices, Technoscientific Knowledge, and New Modes of Life*. Routledge Studies in Science, Technology and Society. New York: Routledge.; Greenland, Joanne. 2017. "Marginalising Homœopathy: An Australian Case Study." *Prometheus* 35 (3): 171–92.; Hatch, Anthony Ryan, author. 2016. *Blood Sugar: Racial Pharmacology and Food Justice in Black America*. University of Minnesota Press.; Knopes, Julia. "Science, Technology, and Human Health: The Value of STS in Medical and Health Humanities Pedagogy." *Journal of Medical Humanities* 40, no. 4 (December 2019): 461.; Lock, Margaret M., and Vinh-Kim Nguyen. 2010. *An Anthropology of Biomedicine*. Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell.; Martin, Daryl, Sarah Nettleton, Christina Buse, Lindsay Prior, and Julia Twigg. "Architecture and Health Care: A Place for Sociology." *Sociology of Health & Illness* 37, no. 7 (September 2015): 1007–22.; Oudshoorn, N. 2020. "Hybrid Bodies and the Materiality of Everyday Life: How People Living with Pacemakers and Defibrillators Reinvent Everyday Routines and Intimate Relations." *Sociology of Health and Illness* 40 (1): 171–87.; Schneider, William H. 2002. *Rockefeller Philanthropy and Modern Biomedicine : International Initiatives From World War I to the Cold War*. Philanthropic and Nonprofit Studies. Bloomington, Ind: Indiana University Press.; Weiner, K. (1), P. (1) Martin, M. (2) Richards, and R. (3) Tutton. 2020. "Have We Seen the Geneticisation of Society? Expectations and Evidence." *Sociology of Health and Illness* 39 (7): 989–1004.

[1122] Campbell-Verduyn, Malcolm. 2017. *Bitcoin and Beyond : Cryptocurrencies, Blockchains, and Global Governance*. Vol. First edition. RIPE Series in Global Political Economy. London: Routledge.; Friedewald, Michael. 2017. *Surveillance, Privacy and Security : Citizens' Perspectives*. PRIO New Security Studies. London: Routledge.; Muñoz-González, Rodrigo. 2018. "Online Human Rights? Towards a Cosmopolitan Framework for Internet Policymaking in the Digital Era." *Correspondencias & Analisis* 8 (January): 13.; Neyland, Daniel, and Sveta Milyaeva. 2016. "The Entangling of Problems, Solutions and Markets: On Building a Market for Privacy." *Science as Culture* 25 (3): 305.; Powell, Anastasia, Gregory Stratton, and Robin Cameron. 2018. *Digital Criminology : Crime and Justice in Digital Society*. New York, NY:

far beyond the field of criminology or the practices of policing. Instead, traces of carcerality (e.g. cells of data, cellular biology) abound across the structures of Western knowledge systems, spaces, and temporalities.[1124] This makes abolition radical in its potential scope. Further research aimed at identifying carcerality and unsettling carceral knowledge and technologies is a crucial component of an abolitionist future.

Third, explicit engagement with the politics and activism of abolitionist science and technology studies has the potential to offer a type of intervention currently missing.[1125] Carceral abolition connects itself to the abolition of slavery, which draws lines from the enslavement of Black people to mass incarceration. Given that abolition is not "simply about bringing harmful systems to an end but also envisioning new ones," this is a call for creative and innovative contributions.[1126]

Carceral epistemologies and imaginaries remain inextricably linked to the

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[1123]Bosworth, Mary, and Carolyn Hoyle. 2011. *What Is Criminology?* Oxford: OUP Oxford.; Cole, Simon A. 2002. *Suspect Identities*. Vol. 1st Harvard University Press pbk. ed. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.; Fallin, Mallory, Owen Whooley, and Kristin Kay Barker. 2019. "Criminalizing the Brain: Neurocriminology and the Production of Strategic Ignorance." *BioSocieties* 14 (3): 438.; Jasanoff S. 2006. "Just Evidence: The Limits of Science in the Legal Process." *Journal of Law, Medicine & Ethics* 34 (2): 328–41.; Kruse, Corinna. 2016. *The Social Life of Forensic Evidence*. Oakland, California: University of California Press.; Lindgren, S. (2005). Social Constructionism and Criminology: Traditions, Problems and Possibilities. *Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology & Crime Prevention*, *6*(1), 4–22.; Queirós, Filipa. 2019. "The Visibilities and Invisibilities of Race Entangled with Forensic DNA Phenotyping Technology." *Journal of Forensic and Legal Medicine* 68 (November).

[1124] Ibid.

[1125] Gottschalk, Marie. "Dismantling the Carceral State: The Future of Penal Policy Reform." *Texas Law Review*, no. Issue 7 (2005): 1693.; Gottschalk, Marie. "Raze the Carceral State." *Dissent (00123846)* 62, no. 4 (Fall 2015): 54.

[1126] Benjamin, Ruha. 2019. *Race After Technology : Abolitionist Tools for the New Jim Code*. Medford, MA: Polity, 118.

> intellectual disciplines rationalizing and promoting theories of 'crime' (criminology/ biocriminology) and responses to it (criminal justice) in addition to their role in training violence workers.[1127]

Ben-Moshe suggests that "abolition is a radical epistemology," that is a disinvestment from carceral epistemologies while alternative ways of making knowledge are generated and adopted. [1128] Building on Mathiesen, Ben-Moshe suggests that abolitionist dis-epistemology rejects certainty, professional expertise, and forecasting.[1129] This points to the premise of epistemic change and disorientation as opposed to fixity and self-fulfilling predictive modeling.[1130] As carceral logics and technologies flow well beyond the gates of correctional facilities, abolitionist science and technology studies has a broad mandate.

This dissertation suggests that drawing out the ontological multiplicities of mass incarceration can countermand its fixities. This is not to suggest a blind optimism about the implications of such a shift, but offers an avenue for the affective, embodied, and structural to be included.[1131] Abolition has generative potentials that coalesce with science and technology studies' investment in the *otherwise*.

Over time carceral abolition has come to refer to a wide range of social movements, theoretical frameworks, and activism.[1132] The various approaches to abolition share a sense of

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[1127] Coyle, Michael J., and Judah Schept. 2018. "Penal Abolition Praxis." *Critical Criminology* 26 (3): 320.
[1128] Ben-Moshe, Liat. "Dis-Epistemologies of Abolition." *Critical Criminology* 26, no. 3 (September 2018): 347.
[1129] Ibid.
[1130] Ibid.
[1131] Coyle, Michael J. "Who Is Mired in Utopia? the Logics of Criminal Justice and Penal Abolition." *Social Justice* 45, no. 4 (2019): 79-164.
[1132] Brown, Michelle, and Judah Schept. "New abolition, criminology and a critical carceral studies." *Punishment & Society* 19, no. 4 (2017): 440-462.; Davis, Angela Y., and Dylan Rodriguez. "The challenge of prison abolition: A conversation." *Social Justice* 27, no. 3 (81 (2000): 212-218.; Griffith, Lee. *The fall of the prison: Biblical perspectives on prison abolition*. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1993.; Lawston, Jodie M., and Erica R. Meiners. "Ending our expertise: Feminists, scholarship, and prison abolition." *Feminist*

urgency and a resistance to gradual or eventual change, as this has historically led to the perpetuation and maintenance of racialized criminal justice systems and mass incarceration.[1133] The critics of carceral abolition frame it as a utopian vision that lacks viability in the current socio-political climate.[1134] This fails to acknowledge the utopian imaginary that surrounds the current carceral system that conjures narratives of justice and truth that protect citizens and are a salve to *victims*.[1135]

In sum, this dissertation has demonstrated that carceral bodies are *made* and not *born*. It points to the difficult work still needed and the utility of ethnography in eliciting the multiplicities of practices and materialities in carceral settings. The abolitionist dreams arising from this project demand the embrace of ontological multiplicities as new logics and imaginaries unweave the criminal justice system. While it does not fall within the purview of this project to delineate a specific set of directives, it does suggest that abolitionist dis-

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[1133] Ben-Moshe, Liat. “Dis-Epistemologies of Abolition.” *Critical Criminology* 26, no. 3 (September 2018): 341–55.

[1134] Coyle, Michael J. "Who Is Mired in Utopia? the Logics of Criminal Justice and Penal Abolition." *Social Justice* 45, no. 4 (2019): 79-164.; Morris, Ruth. *Penal Abolition: A Practical Choice*. Canadian Scholar's Press, 1995.

[1135] Ibid.

epistemology requires logics and tactics equally as multifaceted and nuanced as the criminal justice system itself.[1136]

[1136] Ben-Moshe, Liat. "Dis-Epistemologies of Abolition." *Critical Criminology* 26, no. 3 (September 2018): 341–55.; Davis, Angela. 2003. *Are Prisons Obsolete?* New York, NY: Seven Stories Press, 24.