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Iolanthe Brooks
Clark University

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Cover Page Footnote

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A New Mass Incarceration: GPS Surveillance, Carceral Geography, and Spatial Power

Iolanthe Brooks

“Is this community corrections or a community of corrections?”
-William Staples, *Small Acts of Cunning* (1994)

ABSTRACT

In the age of Michelle Alexander’s *The New Jim Crow* (2010), promises to depopulate overcrowded American prisons, and a mainstream acknowledgement of mass incarceration, the American criminal justice system is anything but inert. Instead, modalities of punishment are shifting, particularly towards community-located corrections involving GPS surveillance. This paper seeks to examine this evolution of the carceral state through the marriage of two theoretical lenses: carceral geography and Foucauldian spatial power analysis. Carceral geography offers a theory of the embodied nuance of movement. Its work revolves around the three mobilities of the carceral system: movement to/from, within, and between prisons. This paper argues that community-located corrections comprises a fourth mobility, moving the carceral regime into communities and coercively moving bodies within those communities. Foucault supplements this analysis by offering a system to evaluate how space expresses power; this paper argues that community corrections fit Foucault’s model in that they distribute and disciplined bodies into partitioned space. Finally, having dug into the theoretical ramifications of a shift to community corrections, this paper will evaluate policy decisions, arguing that the racist violence of brick-and-mortar prisons justifies policy evolution, but that typical community corrections will not be a panacea for deeply rooted structural flaws.

I. Introduction: The Rise of Community Corrections

The story of mass incarceration in America is often told as the exponential rise in prison populations, made up disproportionately of Black men, from the mid-1980s. This narrative revolves around a systematically hyper-zealous and militarized police force, with broken windows policing, stop and frisk, and quotas for routine traffic stops. It is fueled by a biased legal landscape with mandatory minimum sentences, plea bargains, and racialized differential sentencing for similar offenses. It culminates in overcrowded, inhumane prisons, leached off of by private corporations and funded by taxpayers.

This narrative is indeed one of massive dimensions. In 2017 2.3 million Americans were held in local, state, and federal prisons (Wagner and Rabuy 2017). Where other industrialized nations incarcerate about 100 people per every 100,000, the United States incarcerates 693, almost seven times as much (Wagner and Walsh 2016). This narrative is also deeply racial and classed; though Black Americans make up 13% of the population, in 2017 they made up 39% of all those incarcerated (Wagner and Rabuy 2017). Poor people, particularly poor people of color, are also disproportionately represented in prison populations (Rabuy 2015).

This popular narrative is focused on incarceration. Yet in the face of growing criticism of mass incarcer-

ation, the story of punishment in the United States is shifting. It is changing in ways that have not been well-examined, nor well-researched. In the arena of potential amendments to penal policy in the United States, public opinion and technological capability interact to center certain alternatives. Many of the programs suggested, including community corrections and higher rates of parole, do not take place in prison but on “the outside.”

Community corrections are programs that offenders enroll in “outside” with surveillance. Parole, on the other hand, comes at the completion of a sentence in, or after early release from, prison. Parole returns formerly incarcerated people to their communities under surveillance and sanctions before entirely freeing them. These two policy proposals are parallel; they shift the site of punishment from prisons—bounded spaces—into communities. To make this shift, they both rely on a correctional logic that prioritizes surveillance, mandated programming, and strict sanctions (such as prison or extended community sentences). Particularly striking is both policies’ focus on surveillance as a mechanism for control. One common, increasingly precise, and affordable mode of surveillance is the use of GPS tracking devices. GPS devices are the extreme example of an emerging alternative to incarceration. They have immense capabilities and have been understudied (Gies et al. 2012; Padgett et al. 2006). Further still, they manifest the central logic of community corrections programs – that is, surveillance. As such, they speak to the heart of potential directions in American criminal justice policy.

The story of mass incarceration, then, is searching for its next chapter. This paper seeks to unpack one potential movement of the American criminal justice system: to community-located corrections involving GPS surveillance. Research on GPS surveillance is slim and dominated by a few voices. Even slimmer, however, is an understanding not of GPS’ efficacy, but for whom GPS surveillance works and why it is touted as the next elixir for the American incarceration crisis. Rather than empirical analysis, I turn to theory to understand what it is that GPS surveillance means for those employing it (the American state and the American carceral regime) and those experiencing it (offenders and communities). To apply theory is to offer an alternate way of knowing GPS surveillance, beyond a ‘what works’ quantitative framework. Since GPS surveillance tracks place (via location) and mobilities (via movement), we will first turn to literature on the spatiality of prison and carceral mobilities. The field of carceral geography grounds a discussion of GPS in a set of approaches to considering mobilities, power, and criminalization. When applied to GPS surveillance, these approaches unearth the convergence of GPS tagging with Michel Foucault’s notes on spatial

power. Collectively, both sets of theory (carceral geography and Foucault) allow us to see GPS surveillance as distributing criminalized bodies in categorized space and regulating their mobilities in embodied, dialectical, and power-infused ways. Finally, having parsed out one dimension of the theoretical implications of an extra-prison shift, it is possible to position this paper within policy discourse.

II. Previous Literature: Carceral Mobilities and Power

Prison and (Im)mobility

In the American cultural imagination, the prison is traditionally stagnant. Its image as immobile is powerfully expressed in American discourse, which equates prison’s immobility with prisoners’ immobility. Both in popular culture and academic literature, the rhetoric surrounding prisons is often that of immobility. We speak, for example, about locking people up in “human warehouses,” language that assumes prisons are frozen holding zones for immobile human bodies. This assumption begins with the understanding of prisons as spatially-specific institutions, as places. In other words, “‘prison’ is a sentence, but also a building” (Mincke and Lemonne 2014). The fixity of the physical buildings of prisons – brick and mortar, immobile in space – feeds its cultural representation as a place of immobility. In this way, the notion of prison (the space) as immobile permutes into understanding incarceration (prison, the institution) as immobilizing. “Prison is seen as a place isolated from the rest of the world, and used solely to serve liberty depriving sentences...[wherein] incapacitation is one of the main functions of detention.” Understanding prison as immobile and immobilizing, then, seeps into conceptions of prisoners. As Moran et al write (2011) in “Disciplined Mobility and Carceral Geography: Prisoner Transport in Russia,” prisoners seem “immobile by virtue of their imprisonment” in fixed institutions, which supposedly function to keep them still. Even as other factions of sociology and geography have experienced a mobility turn,¹ the pull of prison-as-immobile has largely

1 The “Mobility Turn” was an academic movement within geography, diaspora, and migration studies in the 1990s to consider mobility as a lens within the social sciences. It was spurred by a recognition of “the gradual increase at the turn of the century in the movement of people, goods, services, capital as well as ideas and mental imaginaries; and its far-reaching social consequences.” The mobilities turn has previously led to work on “mobile spatiality and temporality, immobilities and social exclusions, tourism and travel

left incarceration out of the conversation (Philo 2014).

Yet, upon closer inspection, prisons and those incarcerated in them are far from stationary. They, inmates and the institution alike, are engulfed in movement. Moran's (2011) seminal paper on prisoner transport and Gilmore's (2007) book on the political and economic forces behind mass incarceration opened the door to carceral geography, the study of movement in and through criminal justice systems. Though young, this literature addresses the flows, churns, and embodied daily lives of people who interact with the prison system. Its work is particularly rich in its analysis of the meanings of movement, from power to resistance, rather than its mere recognition of it. Three modes of movement dominate the literature: movement to and from prison; movement within prisons; and movement between prisons. A

mobilities, transportation and communication technologies, migration and diasporas" (Szymanowski n.d.:183).

brief review of these movements opens up possibilities to consider surveillance in community corrections and parole as a fourth form of mobility.

Three Carceral Mobilities

Movement to and from prison is perhaps the most commonly considered form of prison mobility, with a focus on the high rates of recidivism of American incarceration. It is often presented as a movement from freedom (the "outside") to captivity (the "inside"). In this way, movement to and from prison is represented as a movement between two polar identities. It is, however, also the physical process of moving from one's place of residence to a prison and then back into one's community, a motion between actual locations. The distances between these places are significant; in studies of prisons in Georgia, "The analysis provides overwhelming support for the claim that prisoners are often held great distances from their homes," with an average of 100 miles

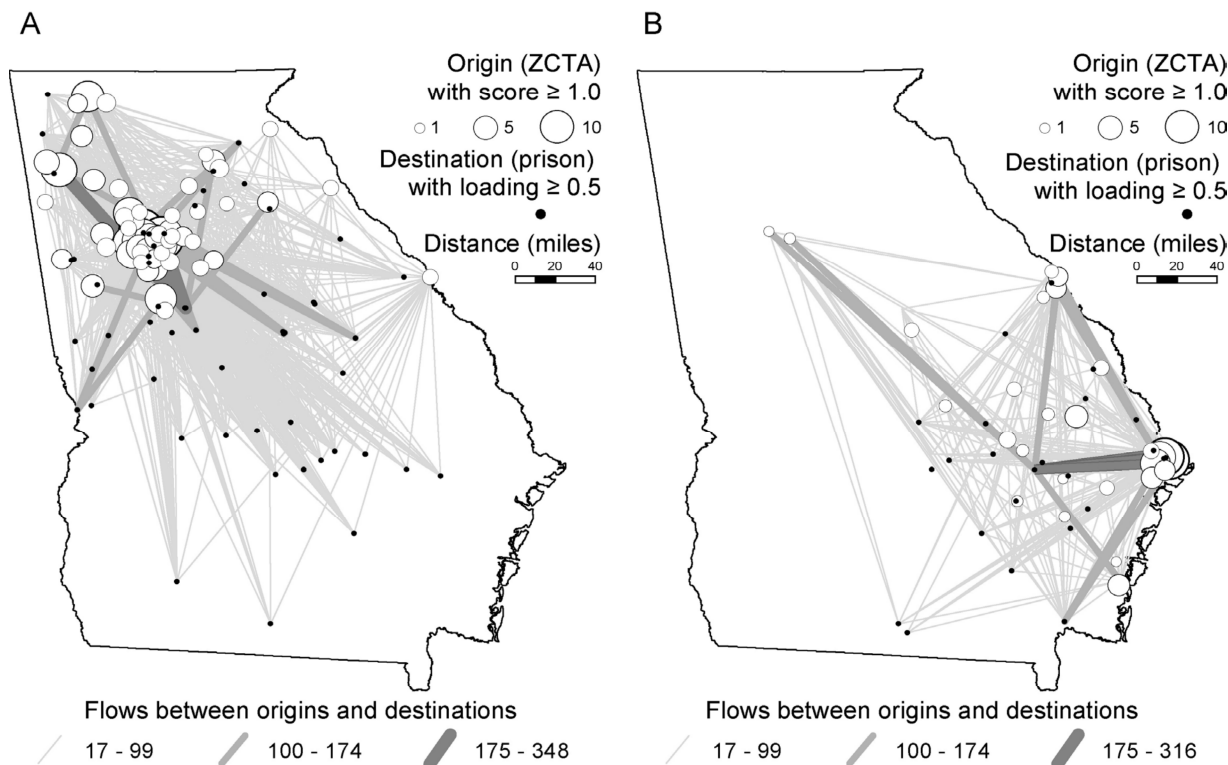


Figure 1: Origins and Destination Facilities in the Georgia Department of Corrections (1990-2006). Figure 1 illustrates the carceral web formed from aggregated flows of transport to and from prison, and is taken directly from Mitchelson's article, *The Urban Geography of Prisons: Mapping the City's "Other" Gated Community* (2013).

between a prisoner's home and their placement (Mitchelson 2013:149). The journey between one's home and a usually distant facility is rich with complex interactions, economic flows, and embodied experience. Given "the reality...that the flows both into and out of prisons are continuous and large in scale, while the average length of incarceration is typically short," (Peck and Theodore 2008:252) this process-specific movement accumulates quickly. The massive nature of mass incarceration's human flows mean that the system is constantly negotiating placements, organizing transport, and checking in new inmates. These chains of movement, from communities across the country to prisons, form webs of mobilities. In the case of Georgia, this covers much of the state, implicating its entire area in a process of motion, wrapping up roadways and neighborhoods in a constant flow of bodies.

Movement to and from prison is not, however, the only mode of mobility within the carceral system. People move through the prison system, both in everyday life and transfers between facilities. Indeed, as Turner and Peters (2017:98) explain, "mobility was a constant in the embodied lives of those incarcerated...[f]ar from being static within the confines of prison space, prisoners – on a micro, intimate scale – still moved; be it disciplined, coerced or otherwise." Being in prison not only includes moving throughout the facility, often in defined, specific, and meaning-rich ways—it requires it. As Turner and Peters (2017) reference, much of the mobility called for in prisons is closely disciplined movement, from bunk checks to scheduled routines (Foucault 1995). Further, most inmates will move between facilities during their sentences. In insightful research on prison transfers in the British system, Follis (2015:945) argues that prisons exist as a network, tied together by regimes of circulation (prison transfers). Between 2007 and 2009, the Ministry of Justice enacted 270,000 transfers, making them so common that displacement (and its disruptions) were normalized within it (Follis 2015:253). García Fernández (2011) and Ethan Blue (2015) expand upon the subjective experience of inmates in studying liminality within prison and detention center transfers; inmates were, they found, caught in the disempowering experience of indeterminate placement. In Blue's (2015:183) words, "Deportees moved through national space, but at the level of their bodies, they were very much trapped." They were trapped by a spatial system of power, where their agential movements were overwhelmed by the totalizing power of a transfer. In a conversation, men incarcerated at a prison in Massachusetts referred to this process as "diesel therapy," acknowledging the power dynamics of forced transfers within the rhetoric of prison rehabilitation. In these mens' words, prison transfers were initiated to deal with problem inmates, those who submitted 'too

many' complaints against staff, who acted disrespectfully, or attempted to organize a "food strike" (personal communication, 4/2017). Clearly movement, in this form, is not power-neutral. The stagnancy of the *concept* of prison obscures a daily rush of moving bodies through marked, power-infused spaces within a disciplined regime.

Carceral Mobilities and Power

Dissecting these forms of mobility unearths three key theoretical perspectives: that mobilities express power; break down simple binaries; and draw attention to the convergence of state-level power with embodied experience. Beyond prison walls, these dynamics provide a framework to consider surveillance in corrections.

Movement, as raised in Moran's (2011:446) work, is a manifestation and an operationalization of power. The 'mobilities turn' has too often linked mobility to autonomy and immobility to restriction, a simple binary that prison complicates. Carceral geography, instead, has worked to explore mobility as a modality of power and as a process. In Moran et al's (2011:448) words, "mobility is itself an instrument of power...Missing from the mobilities literature is consideration of coercion – what might be described as forced or 'disciplined' mobility." In this way, it is important to consider mobility and motion in terms of its method, interrogating the ways motion is mediated and contended with, rather than its existence or nonexistence. Mobility is both structural and viscerally individual. It describes how movement is inscribed onto individual bodies and, in turn, how power is expressed, invoked, and contested through movement.

Mobility calls into question the stark lines that are drawn around the penal process: between inside and outside; free and unfree; and between mobility and immobility itself. Analyzing movement problematizes notions of mobile and immobile spaces, offering instead a vision of immobile spaces "beset with movement" (Griffiths 2013). In other words, mobility exists within the immobile prison, which exists within networks of mobile flows. Fluidity is embedded in fixity in intersecting, rather than counteracting, ways. Thus, mobility critiques its own dialectic; if motion and stagnancy are contained within, flowing into and out of one another and are not clearly defined, we see "immobility on the brink of movement" (Philo 2014) and its reverse. In short, mobility in the carceral context complicates the dichotomies dominant narratives are built upon. Examining movement in any carceral context, then, requires the juggling of useful dialectics – fluidity and fixity, power and resistance, macro and micro – with the recognition that these binaries are problematized by movement, as an action that can exist on multiple levels and can express multiple meanings.

Finally, studying carceral mobility requires the recognition that a grey-area understanding, which contends with and thinks beyond binaries, does not account for the nuance of mobility as embodied. Indeed, mobility studies mandates thinking three-dimensionally. For example, carceral geography has offered the terminology of prison's 'churn' to bring a sense of volume into the concept of the "revolving door" of recidivism. Instead of implying recidivism is a smooth, contained process, the three-dimensionality of a "churning" between poor, ghettoized communities and prisons "alludes to an altogether more voluminous phenomenon – a motion that has ups and downs as well as backs and forths" (Turner and Peters 2017, p. 100; see also Steinberg and Peters, 2015). The revolving door implicates those caught in its revolutions, but also the communities – at either end of its motion – that experience its current. Thinking three-dimensionally opens new avenues for research. The implications of carceral mobilities as embedded in churning flows are that movements to are also movements from (e.g., to prison and from communities). It is a reminder that mobilities are undertaken by individuals with unique roots in complex community networks. Movement's three-dimensionality and reverberations (beyond people who are directly implicated) profoundly shape its meanings and effect. The voluminous movements of incarcerated bodies echo through the neighborhoods and cities they are embedded in.

III. Introducing GPS Surveillance

Carceral mobilities is a powerful and nuanced lens to view the penal state in its complicated embodied forms, its institutional dynamics, and its spatiality. Given this theoretical grounding in its three forms, this paper will consider a fourth form of carceral mobility—mobilities outside of the prison but within the prison apparatus' reach. An ideal type² for such mobility is GPS surveillance for those in community corrections programs or on parole. GPS surveillance is traditionally "a supervision tool to track the movement of offenders. It has been used with a wide variety of offender types and within different criminal justice contexts (e.g., preadjudication, dispositional and post-release)," Gies (2015:20) writes for the National Institute of Justice. GPS has been touted, particularly in conversations around decarceration, as a miracle cure to America's incarceration problem (West 2015). It is cheap, precise, and, most of all, ever-vigilant

(Kleiman 2012). Its method is simple; inmates can be released into (held in) their communities and cities with a GPS tracker attached to their ankle. Connected to the tracker is a second device, which monitors whether the ankle strap has been tampered with, thus ensuring that any absconders set off an alert. The GPS tracks the motions of the inmate, to a precision between 30 seconds and one minute. It can track whether the inmate stays within or strays outside of demarcated zones or hold inmates accountable to being certain places at certain times. Given its low cost, and without falling into a dystopic rabbit hole, it is clear that GPS technology could be extensively adopted for criminal justice systems in the future (see, for example, Follis 2015; Padgett et al. 2006; Wood 2010).

Although GPS is used in a minority of community corrections and surveillance regimes, it provides rich grounds for study. It is an extreme version of an expanding corrections sector. Gies (2015:20) reports that GPS is best employed "as a monitoring tool integrated into an overall supervision regime." These regimes often "demand adherence to onerous parole guidelines, such as frequent, random drug testing, and...[provide] immediate punishment if the parolees fail" (Wood 2010:4). Digital surveillance, then, is consciously part of a broader movement in the carceral state – towards regimes of community corrections. This movement has been mirrored in the United Kingdom, as noted by Follis (2015:955), who hypothesizes that it "represents a dramatic widening, deepening, and lengthening of the carceral chain." Thus, GPS is an extreme version of a movement towards surveillance in community. It is intertwined with a larger carceral program, providing reflections on the logics of the broader carceral state. GPS's logic of control is defined by a deeper, wider, and longer influence of the carceral system on inmates' lives.

Though understudied, extra-prison supervision is the most common method of penal control today; more people fall within this continuum of surveillance at any given moment than are incarcerated in prisons. In one author's words, "an underappreciated fact of our penitentiary system is that of all Americans 'serving time' at any given moment, only a third are actually behind bars. The rest—some 5 million of them—are circulating among the free" (Wood 2010). This disparity is, like the rest of mass incarceration, racialized, such that "In the deindustrialized cities of the northeastern USA, around two-thirds of all African-American men in their 20s are in prison, on probation or on parole" (Peck 2003:226). The penal system outside of designated penal space (prison) is, in fact, a central component of mass incarceration. It has not, however, been widely studied from the perspective of movement.

² I use the phrase "ideal type" in the Weberian sense – that is, not meaning optimal ("ideal") but as in "model" or "typological."

IV. GPS Surveillance: Mobilities and Spatial Power

The key concepts derived from the three major mobilities of the criminal justice system beg the question of how GPS is a modality of power inscribed onto bodies through (im)mobilities. Carceral geography encourages us to consider GPS surveillance as a three-dimensional, dialectical, and negotiated power. In doing so, Foucault's brief notes on spatialized power emerge as a useful heuristic to interrogate how GPS acts as a mechanism of carceral power. In *Discipline and Punish* (1995) and as summarized in Philo's work (2014), Foucault writes that power is expressed through space in three ways: through the distribution of bodies; spatial partitioning; and the regulation of mobilities within space. Each of these modalities of power express diffuse authority, intensified through the power optics of surveillance. The following sections attempt to examine GPS surveillance using the approach of carceral geography and the framework of Foucauldian spatial power.

Distribution of Bodies in Space

"In the first instance, discipline proceeds from the distribution of individuals in space" (Foucault 1995:141). Though GPS, at first glance, appears to undermine the fixing of bodies into space, it has remarkable distributive powers. GPS surveillance systems distribute people within an extended carceral state, bringing the prison outside of its own walls along with the prisoner. Analyzing this distribution shows the way in which GPS reconstitutes Loïc Wacquant's notion of the ghetto.

Peck and Theodore's *Carceral Chicago* begins with the powerful image of Illinois' prisoner home transport system. In Illinois, the Department of Corrections provides up to \$50 of 'gate money' and a free bus ride home to all released prisoners.

This policy works with the grain of a powerful set of social processes that draw former prisoners directly back into the communities from whence they came. In this context, 'going home' very often means returning to impoverished, central-city neighborhoods, many of which are practically devoid of living-wage jobs (Peck and Theodore 2008:251).

Wacquant defines these neighborhoods, which disproportionately send residents to prison along with receiving an overwhelming number of ex-inmates back (Harding, Morenoff, and Herbert 2013), as hyper-ghettos. Hyper-ghettos are largely poor communities of color,

with limited economic diversity, high levels of state-control, and porous protections from external, racial, and classed forces. These neighborhoods, in Wacquant's theory, have come to mirror prisons. He (2001:108) points to prison-like public schools, which appear to function "simply to 'neutralize' youth considered unworthy and unruly by holding them under lock for the day so that, at minimum, they do not engage in street crime." He finds a similar image in 'prisonized' public housing. At the same time, Wacquant argues that prisons have increasingly mirrored these neighborhoods. Both prisons and ghettos are produced by, and themselves (re)produce, systematic racial inequality and hegemonic constructions of Blackness. These dual spatial entities – ghettos and prisons – form an "extended carceral mesh," (Wacquant 2001:117) which men of color, in particular, navigate. In application to GPS surveillance, inmates who are released home into hyper-ghettos or who are incarcerated within these communities are distributed into non-coincidental spaces. By returning offenders to the carceral space of the ghetto and tracking their movement within these neighborhoods, GPS surveillance tightly ties them into the carceral mesh. If a program mandates, for example, that an offender stay within the zone of their block, they not only have been delivered to this secondary carceral institution (the hyper-ghetto) but they also have been planted into it. In this way, the notion of community corrections glosses over exactly which communities hold such programs. Hyper-ghettos, where most offenders come from and even more move to after prison (Harding et al. 2013), are commonly where those surveyed are distributed. GPS surveillance concretizes and regulates the incarceration of poor, Black men into this carceral mesh by mandating that inmates remain within bounded areas (a home, block, or neighborhood) and by drawing state surveillance (in a carceral context) into neighborhoods that are primed to experience penal power. As such, tracking and obligating movement within a given neighborhood inherently enacts this power; in distributing, it fixes people into specific areas which are systematically underserved.

Partitioning of Space

Further, Foucault writes that the partitioning of space is a function of disciplinary power. In his words, "Particular places were defined to correspond not only to the need to supervise, to break dangerous communications, but also to create a useful space" (Foucault 1995:144). In this way, disciplinary regimes channel and produce power through the dividing of space and the individuating of placement within it along axes of (capitalist) economic productivity. Space is defined to

enclose bodies and harness labor power efficiently. This categorization increases surveillance, fixes bodies (within partitioned space), and creates distinctions through individuation. In a system of GPS surveillance, space is partitioned specifically into sanctioned (inclusion) and prohibited (exclusion) areas. When a parolee or offender is put on GPS surveillance, parole officers/practitioners are encouraged to define certain areas where they should or cannot be (Gies et al. 2012). This process comprises, on a block or building level, a partitioning of spaces. In one inmate's case, his parole advisor's map ensured "not only that he avoids 'exclusion zones'—schoolyards or bars or former associates' homes, depending on the circumstances—but also that he makes his way to designated 'inclusion zones' at appointed times" (Wood 2010). This process individuates inmates within space, in that each person on GPS surveillance is their own point on their advisor's master map with theoretically unique individual inclusion/exclusion zones. Even more, the distribution of space is often functional, assigning inmates to be at school or at work between given hours, then at correctional programming after, and at home before dark. This routine of partitioned space, between functional areas of work (production), training (often for work), and sleep is designed to fix bodies not only to "useful" places but also within a system of production. Staples concurs in a critique of the rhetoric of community corrections; he writes, "it was argued that these individuals are 'better off' in the community since they would be 'free' to participate as 'productive' members of society" (Staples 1994:651). In this way, as Foucault suggests, the partitioning of space supports the distribution of bodies across it by labelling (and, therefore, creating) useful areas. These areas coerce economic productivity, rationalized by a model of capitalist production.

Applying the approaches of carceral geography to see the partitioning of GPS surveillance as embodied and three-dimensional underscores how it can cage offenders, limit access to resources, and sever place attachments. Though partitioning does not, in this case, necessitate literal fixity – inmates are not locked into individual cells – it functions to limit and strain individual mobility. In Brown's (2014) study of juveniles in a community corrections program, they found that exclusion zones and rigorous schedules changed their interpretation of space. Instead of being their subjects' home, the city became seen as a partitioned, carceral landscape. "For the youths, the city itself represented a parcel of places to which one could and could not go, dotted throughout by social-control agencies with whom one was mandated to meet" (Brown 2014:383). In Seattle, Washington, where exclusion orders are routinely used in response to high rates of houselessness/homelessness, the experience of

partitioning also made resources inaccessible for already vulnerable populations.

The areas from which people are banned often comprise significant parts of the city, and may include the entire downtown core in which social and legal services are concentrated. According to the most recent data available in Seattle, for example, roughly half of the city's terrain, including all of the downtown, is now defined as a 'drug area' from which someone may be banned (Beckett and Herbert 2010:9).

This partitioning of banned and free places, in turn, limits mobility through the city and makes access to central resources impossible without violating the program. In both these cases, of an internalization of the partitioning scheme and of tangible impacts of exclusion zones on access to resources, the influence of spatial partitioning is three-dimensional and embodied. Much like the "churn" from prison to ghetto, spaces are meaningful and concrete, more than polygons of inclusion on a parole advisor's map. In Herbert and Beckett's (2011:242) words, written about their work with those holding exclusion orders in Seattle, "These are not simply bounded areas on a map from which individuals can be relocated through the territorial capacity possessed by the police. They are, for many, places of deep historical connection and ongoing, vital social interaction." For their interviewees, the partitioning of space directly undermined their individual place attachments, negating their histories with Seattle and their community social networks. This spatial experience, in many ways like a master status of (im)mobility, comes to define how offenders view their cities (as partitioned), how they feel within them (the breaking of close place attachments), and how they self-actualize as agents (the disturbance of access to resources). In all three ramifications, partitioning serves as a deep expression of penal power over the individual's movements within, conceptualizations of, and feelings towards space.

Regulation of Mobilities

The disciplined mobility of GPS surveillance holds close focus on the body of the offender as a substitute for their soul and regulated movements as indicative of psychological rehabilitation. In this way, mobility is itself a punishment, which creates the inmate's rehabilitation as expressed on the body. Within the confines of the prison, mobility is highly disciplined, linking space and time to a close routine (regime) of control; "Time in prison is perfectly repetitive and cadenced...control

over the inmate's body was a central point" (Mincke and Lemonne 2014). This mobility breeds individual observance to the minute motions of the body; inmates learn to stand and walk correctly or leave an activity at the right moment (Foucault 1995). This is mirrored in GPS surveillance's ability to demarcate space into a timetable of routines as well as the instituting of an acute awareness of surveillance. In an *Atlantic Magazine* article on the potential of GPS tracking, *Prison Without Walls*, one parole officer "showed me one offender after another: names and maps, lives scheduled down to the minute" (Wood 2010). These offenders must pay close attention to their own movements, making sure not to loiter in front of a liquor store for more than sixty seconds in one example, or to walk on the wrong side of the block in another. This attention is necessitated by a program that routinizes movement. As well, it is necessitated by GPS' precision of measurement, such that if an offender crosses into an exclusion zone or absconds even momentarily, they will immediately set off an alarm.

In this way, the relentless presence of surveillance, the power optics of the penal state, focuses exclusively on the body of the offender. Within the context and discourse of community corrections, this focus takes the place of the offender's 'soul.' While such programs argue that they are rehabilitative, they measure rehabilitation by adherence to the requirements that the GPS monitors. In this way, the self of the offender is constructed by their movements. Within such a program, mobility is both the rehabilitative cure and the punishment. Brown's (2014:383) work on community supervision sentences for young people highlights the way in which the offenders were constructed as immobile bodies, needing to be mobilized by the carceral regime. Moving within a strict and stringent schedule became, in the youths' perceptions, their punishment. Their schedules epitomize coerced mobility as punishment in and of itself:

As an example, a young man with typical probation conditions was ordered to attend individual counseling and family counseling in one neighborhood, job training in another, and school in yet a third neighborhood. Traveling to probation appointments meant yet another neighborhood... Like community programs, probation conditions often forced youths to travel across multiple areas of the city, subjecting them to increased insecurity, greater demands on their time, and a litany of conditions to satisfy.

The man in question spent a large portion of his time in motion, moving between spatially-fixed locations of 'punishment' or rehabilitation. Oftentimes, the travel

between mandatory programs took up to two hours. The young people spent this time worrying about their safety as they moved through unsafe areas (e.g. gang territories) or unfamiliar neighborhoods (Brown 2014:383). This endless uprooted movement created flows of 'immobile' delinquent bodies. Successfully running around from place to place, necessitated through GPS surveillance, produced the program's successes (Brown 2014:383); their punishment was built in mobilities. The juvenile delinquents critiqued the program's strict, tightly-packed schedules as unreasonable and coerced. To understand the difficulty of intense coerced mobility in a supposedly "free" landscape requires paying heed to the meaning of chosen immobility. As Herbert and Becker (2011:242) powerfully write, "Even if Jerome [a houseless man] and others may appear to be sufficiently untethered as to be readily moved, to consider banishment from their perspective is to recognize that strong connections to place are a constituent part of the human condition." Bodies that are construed as simultaneously ungrounded (uncontrollable) and immobile (within ghettos and the economic system) may appear easy to move within regimes of coerced mobility. Yet, those bodies are people with personal attachments to space and unique desires for (im)mobility on their own terms. The intimate nature of these attachments and movement/lack thereof mediates the impacts of GPS surveillance's coerced mobilities; for many, being fixed within disciplined, specific regimes of movement reproduces extreme penal power, expressed on the bodies of offenders. It also speaks to the dialectics of mobilities, wherein bodies can be constructed as simultaneously too easily mobilized and too immobile.

Foucault's theory, thus, provides a heuristic for GPS surveillance in its application to the distribution of disciplined bodies into partitioned space. It shows the ramifications of GPS surveillance as reconstituting and reifying the hyper-ghetto. It calls attention to the defining of partitioned space, labels that are internalized and represent a system of productivities. Surveillance regulates mobilities on a bodily, intimate level, where mobility itself becomes a punishment. In all three processes, carceral geography shows how GPS-surveilled mobility is embodied and textured—wholly three-dimensional.

GPS Surveillance as Diffuse Spatial Power

The carceral mobilities constructed through GPS surveillance express a diffuse, ever-present power. For someone with a GPS tag, movement "is always disciplined; even in circumstances where mobility can be described as the exercise of autonomy, the choice to move occurs 'within a realm of possibilities defined by discursive practices'" (Moran et al. 2011:457). In this

way, discipline is ever-imposed onto bodies, onto spaces, and onto mobilities. This discipline's burden is partially its consistency; in the words of Herbert and Beckett (2011:242), those incarcerated in such regimes "are subject to perpetual monitoring and occasional trips to jail. In this register, law's violence...is perhaps not especially overbearing, but its persistent presence leads the banished to suffer needlessly, and to feel stigmatized perpetually." In the *Atlantic* article, Wood (2010) adds, "The effect was to make life on the outside a little more like life on the inside, with strict, regular monitoring of everyone in the system." Small infractions, wrongly (im) mobile bodies, were caught and punished – a swift, ever-present 'justice.' Conjoined with Foucault's heuristic, this analysis elucidates how GPS surveillance creates a carceral web that entraps specific (spatial) communities. An ever-present carceral regime, expressed through the capillaries of GPS, can more effectively catch illegality – parole violations, minor crimes, and so on – and funnel offenders (back) to prison. In this way, GPS surveillance participates in prison's churn, diffusing the power of the state through society and churning disobedient bodies back to prison. The power (of the state) it maps onto individualized bodies/mobilities is constant and painful.

V. Discussion: Resisting GPS Surveillance and Considering Policy

GPS surveillance, when viewed through the joint lens of previous work in carceral geography and Foucault, is a system of diffuse power that distributes bodies into categorized space, regulating their mobilities. It is an extension of other carceral mobilities, in that it viscerally inscribes the power of the carceral regime onto offenders, it operates three-dimensionally (in lived experience), and it contains internal contradictions (it is about mobilizing *and* capturing bodies).

In Foucault's paradigm, power is often unidirectional, but reality (and GPS surveillance) is much messier. Within the confines of its regime, people still find ways to resist and to subvert. This resistance, in previous work, took the form of absconding by cutting the GPS device off. Dispiritedly, non-compliance often prompts further sanctions, including the extension of the supervision period or incarceration (Brown, 2014). The fact that resistance to GPS surveillance triggers other elements of the criminal justice system highlights how they are embedded in a larger, predominantly cohesive carceral regime that requires deep structural change. Rather than individual resistance to GPS programs, community-fostered resistance can shift the dynamics of power in surveillance programs. Since community-located corrections place people into 'the outside,' they can be rendered more

visible to proximate eyes. Indeed, despite their flaws, community-located corrections bring the carceral regime into reaching distance of local networks and organizing efforts. Communities under intense criminalization have been working to dismantle the carceral state for a long time (see: CR10 Publications Collective. 2008; Davis 2003; Freedman 1981; Gilmore 2007; Stanley, Spade, and (In)Justice 2012). Their efforts, thus, can resist GPS surveillance by combatting it as derivative of a criminal justice system that is bloated with injustice. Community corrections offer a false promise of humane alternatives to incarceration. But, because they are located within communities, they also offer the possibility of subversion through the creation of alternative, justice-centered programs, campaigns to make the pains of surveillance more visible, or their implication in wider struggles for criminal justice reform and prison abolition.

Community corrections, and GPS surveillance as a key mechanism within its program, works in parallel to the regime from which it derives—racist mass-criminalization. The tracking of bodies and coercion of mobilities in supposedly "free" society still targets poor Black and Brown communities embedded within a pernicious carceral net. In conclusion, however, it is critical to place this analysis of GPS surveillance into a larger, more urgent context. While the ramifications of community corrections highlight that it is much more an extension and evolution of the carceral regime than a radical reinterpretation, this does not preclude the policy benefits of a potential shift. Though incarceration in community holds deep problematics – the implications of partitioned spaces, the disciplining of mobilities, and the reconstituting of the ghetto – it also means potentially sparing hundreds of thousands of people from a churn as extreme as the move to and from prison. It means allowing families to stay together, allowing juveniles to remain in full-time education, and allowing for the potential construction of stronger, more powerful communities. This is not to sing the praise of community corrections, but to recognize that, even as flawed policy, it comes in answer to an urgent crisis. Instead of dismissing community corrections outright, GPS surveillance shows the form of alternatives-to-incarceration that we ought to avoid and hints to those we might rally behind: true community-led corrections should challenge surveillance as part of a broader goal to dismantle racism, mass incarceration, and the prison system.

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AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Iolanthe Brooks '19 is a Geography and Sociology major with interests in critical criminology, mobilities, urban studies, and critical theory. She is interested in what a critical engagement with the carceral state can teach us about political economy broadly, how the messiness of embodied experience dialogues with critical theory, and how systemic injustice is lived and resisted through (non)movement. Iolanthe is currently developing an honors thesis on experiences of prison transport and looks forward to pursuing further research in a graduate program. Iolanthe can be found visiting Clark's bee hives, walking around Worcester, in the pottery studio, and wherever free food is advertised.

