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Caught Up: Girls, Surveillance, and Wraparound
Incarceration Caught Up: Girls, Surveillance, and
Wraparound Incarceration, by Flores Jerry.
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gendered characteristics of society today and makes a significant contribution to the debates over gender (in)equality and single motherhood.

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In our era of hyper-incarceration, policing and punishment pervade multiple social institutions, including, perhaps most regrettably, the schools. An extensive twenty-year literature on the school-to-prison pipeline documents the downward drift of harsh penal policy into educational institutions via zero-tolerance policies and a police presence. The racial disproportionality is well documented, too, with students of color, especially African Americans, the targets of suspensions, expulsions, and arrests, particularly in under-resourced schools (Heitzeg 2016). Most of this research has focused on the school-to-prison pipeline as it operates in the context of educational settings and on the risks created for young males. In *Caught Up: Girls, Surveillance, and Wrap-around Incarceration*, Jerry Flores offers insight into the growing blur between home, school, and detention by exploring what he terms “wraparound incarceration” and the impact it has on the lives of Latinas.

Caught Up is an ethnographic study of young Latinas who are indeed “caught up” in a suffocating web of surveillance at El Valle Juvenile Detention Facility and Legacy Community Day School, both located outside of Los Angeles, California. Flores captures a rich portrait of these girls’ lives by relying on multiple methods: twenty-four months of participant observations at the two institutions, focus groups with the residents in both detention and the community day school, in-depth interviews with thirty girls (ages 12 to 19), and additional interviews with both school and correctional personnel.

These data are further supplemented by historical and secondary data, and the methodological process and challenges are laid out in detail in two comprehensive appendices. The emergent themes, while site specific, are generalizable more broadly, and *Caught Up* offers a significant contribution to the literature on the links between educational institutions and incarceration. It expands on the concept of the “youth control complex” introduced by Victor Rios in *Punished: Policing the Lives of Black and Latino Boys* (2011). The book also builds on the recent exploration of how the school-to-prison pipeline is both raced and gendered and compliments the recent work of Monique W. Morris in *Pushout: The Criminalization of Black Girls in School* (2016). Here, Flores provides an in-depth look at the underexplored experiences of young Latinas as they navigate social control and surveillance in multiple settings.

Caught Up details the intersections of criminal justice control over these girls at home, in detention, and in school settings. For most girls in the study, involvement with criminal justice was precipitated by factors at home—physical and sexual abuse, substance use, gang affiliations, incarcerated parents, and unstable living arrangements. To escape these situations, girls often turned to intimate partners at young ages or ran away, which further compounded their troubles. Their first encounters with criminal justice were frequently tied to these efforts to resist victimization, resulting in arrests for a range of juvenile status offenses—truancy, incurability, running away. Rather than being acknowledged as victims who might benefit from the wraparound services so widely available post-adjudication, these girls are instead criminalized and sent on a pathway to detention, electronic monitoring, probation, group homes, alternative schools, and ceaseless surveillance. It is the beginning of a cycle that, as Flores documents in later chapters, becomes exceedingly difficult to break.

Once formally criminalized, the girls are shuttled back and forth between El Valle Juvenile Detention Facility and Legacy Community Day School. At the heart of *Caught Up* is an exploration of the extent to which these

two institutions are indistinguishable. Legacy Community Day School serves at-risk youth who have been pushed out of the public school system due to academic challenges and encounters with juvenile justice. A substantial proportion of their student body has spent time at El Valle; in fact, any student who has been detained for more than fifteen days is required to attend Legacy. The two institutions share a principal and a synchronized curriculum so that students in detention or in class at Legacy are doing the same lesson plans.

The two institutions also share a correctional climate with a police presence, constant supervision, probation officers, and both regular and random drug testing of all students. Were the connections between education and incarceration not literally clear enough, Legacy has created an intensive Recuperation Program, which is funded by the local probation department. This program is designed for students on formal probation who have drug dependence and other behavioral issues and epitomizes the notion of wraparound services. Here, the multi-agency integration of services includes detention, group home placement, electronic monitoring, and the Legacy Community Day School. School is probation and probation is school, and any minor infractions at school are doubly punished as probation violations.

Flores extensively documents the challenges these girls face trying to negotiate their way through the wraparound services—aka surveillance—that now ensnare them. At every turn, their behavior is further criminalized by the seamless web of official contacts that follows them from community to school and back to detention. Their official records are a source of stigma at both Legacy and other schools they may temporarily attend, as teachers and school officials securitize their every move. The bus ride is fraught with both temptation and labeling threats, as are their homes or any group home placements they may enter.

All these interactions are complicated by the unattended trauma these girls have undergone early on, by the gendered expectations of so-called feminine behavior (both generally and as Latinas), and by their institutionalization via long-term detention into

behaviors such as fighting that serve as survival inside but as crimes in other settings. Unsurprisingly then, very few of the girls in Flores's study eventually free themselves from criminal justice supervision. Those who did successfully avail themselves of these "hooks for change" successfully completed probation, obtained stable housing, and underwent a shift in identity that often centered on family and motherhood.

Caught Up: Girls, Surveillance, and Wrap-around Incarceration is an important scholarly intervention that calls into question the efficacy of both extensive criminalization and the policies, such as wraparound services, that are intended to address youthful deviance. Rather than mitigating criminalization, contact with criminal justice escalates the same; and the wraparound services sold as support become, instead, an impermeable web of surveillance and incarceration. The reader—and, one would hope, policy-makers too—is left wondering why such services and support were not offered to these girls when they first presented as victims, or why the vast resources invested in the perpetuation of their policing and punishment are not redirected toward social institutions outside the long and decimating reach of criminal justice.

References

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