

BOOK REVIEW

CAUGHT UP: GIRLS, SURVEILLANCE, AND WRAPAROUND INCARCERATION, by Jerry Flores, Oakland, CA, University of California Press, 2016, \$22.95-\$26.95 (paperback)

Recent research on the impact of the School to Prison Pipeline (STPP) has revealed the ways in which girls' experiences differ from boys' (Morris, 2015). The intersection of race, class, gender, culture, and sexual abuse and violence serve to shape girls' lived experiences, which are exacerbated when they come into contact with the criminal justice system. Jerry Flores expands on existing research and provides a critical analysis of the impact of the criminal justice system and related wraparound services on this population, asking whether these institutions are creating conditions that hinder a girl's ability to successfully depart that system.

Flores builds upon current STPP research by focusing on a group of Latinas who are connected to two programs based in California: El Valle Detention Center and Legacy Community School. Flores' research methodology includes two years of ethnographic research at El Valle and Legacy with a mix of semi-structured interviews, focus groups, and participant observations of Latinas between twelve and nineteen years of age. This research highlights some of the most problematic issues facing this population, including wraparound incarceration.

Chapter 1 focuses on the conditions within the home and community as experienced by the girls, including sexual and physical abuse, drug use, and other toxic stressors that result in interactions with law enforcement.

Chapter 2 discusses the effect of juvenile confinement in further shaping the development of this population. This analysis is critical as most of the research focuses on the pathways that lead to juvenile incarceration without assessing how young people's lives are affected long-term through ongoing interaction with the criminal justice system during their formative years, which is often in itself traumatic.

Chapter 3 uncovers the lived experiences of Latinas who are subject to chronic carceral states while existing in El Valle, Legacy, and home. Probation officers are able to "pop" up at a student's home to confirm they are not breaking the conditions of probation. They are also given unfettered access to their lives while in Legacy, which benefits financially from the criminal justice system. "Here, girls are searched, made to walk through metal detectors, placed on formal or informal probation, and subjected to perpetual contact from criminal justice agents." (p. 26).

Chapter 4 discusses how contact with the criminal justice system continues, even as many of the Latinas interviewed seek to transition into more traditional school and home environments. Flores highlights the implications of school officials labeling students as nonconforming or problematic, which in turn creates the conditions by which they are targeted for disciplinary action. As result, in many cases, these girls struggle to adapt and succeed within conventional schools and return to El Valle or Legacy. Flores concludes his book with an analysis of the implications of wraparound incarceration for future research.

This research moves the discourse from assessing the conditions that result in juvenile incarceration to the implications of wraparound services. These services are meant to provide educational and emotional support for girls while incarcerated, and expected to provide some structure for the girls to move from incarceration back into society.

However, they do not meet their stated purpose. Flores terms these services “wraparound incarceration” because the interplay between various education and criminal justice agencies functions in ways that cause more harm than good and fail to prepare the Latinas for more traditional home and school environments. They also fail to provide therapy or skill sets needed to address their traumatic experiences or to cope when returning to their home environments, or the types of supports necessary for them to thrive in environments that are unhealthy due to abuse and violence. The result is an ongoing cycle of incarceration supported by the wraparound services – ergo the book’s label.

Early in his book, Flores notes the skin tones of specific Latinas that he is interviewing. This could be an important piece of information, but he does not provide enough unpacking into what it means for the research. I was left wondering what the implications of colorism and racism within La Valle or Legacy might be and how this might present in the context of the relationships with correction officers and teachers. How might this feed into aspects of implicit bias or cultural identity among the girls themselves? It would have been beneficial to provide an analysis of the role of colorism in their findings.

Flores’ research contributes to the discourse on gender, ethnicity and trauma in the criminal justice system, and raises serious questions about relationships between the criminal justice system and school system and their impact on the children they are expected to serve and rehabilitate.

Reference

Morris, M. W. (2015). *The pushout: The criminalization of Black girls in school*. The New Press.

Akilah Rosado Ph.D. Candidate Urban and Public Policy
Milano The New School, New York, NY, USA
VP for Governance, Social Justice & Equity at
Bank Street College of Education, New York, NY, USA
 akilah.rosado@gmail.com

© 2020 Taylor & Francis

<https://doi.org/10.1080/15299732.2020.1787087>

