UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

Science in Captivity: The Visual Culture and Bioethics of Biomedicine behind Bars

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in

Communication (Science Studies)

by

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2017

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University of California, San Diego

2017

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am deeply thankful to my co-chairs professor Patrick Anderson and professor Lisa Cartwright for their unwavering support and incisive critique of the research and writing that produced this dissertation. I am also grateful to committee members Jared Sexton, Kelly Gates, Martha Lampland, and Dennis Childs for their important contributions to my thinking.

I would also like to thank Nat Norton and Martina Darragh at the Bioethics Research Library, Georgetown University, and Brenda Galloway-Wright at the Urban Archives, Temple University, for their immense help in finding and accessing the historical materials used in this dissertation. Thank you as well as to the artists Thomas Roma, Patricia Gómez, María Jesús González, and Matthew Christopher for allowing me to use their images.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge the American Association of University Women, the UCSD Department of Communication, the UCSD Science Studies Program, the UC Institute for Research in the Arts, and the UCSD General Campus Research Grant for the support provided in the writing of this dissertation.

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PUBLICATIONS

2016. "Nothing/More: Black Studies and Feminist Technoscience." Special feature in *Catalyst: Feminism, Theory, Technoscience*, 2(2). Co-edited with Kimberly Juanita Brown and Jared Sexton.

2014. "African Kaposi's Sarcoma in the Light of Global AIDS: Antiblackness and Viral Visibility." *Journal of Bioethical Inquiry*, 11(4), 467-478. Co-authored with Pawan Singh and Lisa Cartwright.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Science in Captivity: The Visual Culture and Bioethics of Biomedicine behind Bars

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This dissertation analyzes the intersections of US incarceration and medical science during the post-war period, examining how interlocking carceral and medical regimes of controlling the body together form a race-making technology and racialized geography reconfiguring the nation's history of captivity from slavery to mass imprisonment, and how they may signal the possibility of a bioethics in line with prison abolition. The dissertation focuses on the notorious dermatological experiments

conducted between 1952 and 1974 at Holmesburg Prison in Philadelphia. Led by University of Pennsylvania doctor and professor Albert Kligman, experiments at Holmesburg were carried out in the service of U.S. war efforts, pharmaceutical ventures, and the field of dermatological practice more broadly, composing one of the largest prison experimental programs of its time. Revisiting Kligman's medical experiments at Holmesburg Prison, this dissertation takes up "skin" in three principal ways: (1) *skin as an instrument* or apparatus interfacing with test agents and mediating their effects, forming a screen through which the visualization of pain becomes inextricable from the construction of racial difference; (2) *skin as the discourse* or textual membrane of bioethics, forming a protective envelope of words and statements shaping its imagined subject of vulnerability and abuse; and finally, (3) *skin as the space* or surface of architecture, where intersecting geographies of the prison and the laboratory reveal how complex relations of power/knowledge are encoded in the built environment. The project brings to bear theories and methods from visual culture studies, science and technology studies (STS), and African American studies in its engagements with the visual and literary culture of racialized captivity, with the deep intertwining of bioethical discourse and mass media, and with the range of difficult materials found between university archives and the hard site of the prison.

Chapter 1 Introduction

"All I saw before me acres of skin…It was like a farmer seeing a fertile field for the first time."[1] This is how Albert Kligman, professor of dermatology at University of Pennsylvania, spoke of his first visit to Holmesburg Prison, Philadelphia, in 1952, a visit that would kick off a two-decade research program at the facility. His reminiscence encapsulates the intersections between incarceration and medical science in human subjects research during the postwar United States. It is crucial to keep in mind that Kligman's talk of skin in this description was specifically based on his encounters with black skin. During Kligman's tenure at the prison, black men composed anywhere from 85% to 90% of Holmesburg's captive population, approximately 75% of which were detentioners or awaiting trial.[2] Skin is generally thought of as a protective envelope that, while insulating the inside of the body from the outside world, helps cohere a sense of self by mediating the body's interactions with its environment. Yet, in Kligman's work, prisoners' skin did not signal corporeal boundaries or individual personalities but instead formed the material basis of their de-individuation into expansive, usable terrain. The fungibility of the black body—one blending into another in a scene of unbounded availability and potential—cannot be disentangled from the race-making procedures of captivity.

Appropriating Kligman's words for his book title, Allen Horblum's (1998) exposé, *Acres of Skin*, has been instrumental in shedding light on the researcher's

[1] Comments made to *Philadelphia Bulletin* (1966, February 27).

[2] Statistics acquired from *Philadelphia Inquirer* articles (1969, June 3; 1969, October 21; 1971, September 7).

experimental program at Holmesburg Prison, which is now considered exemplary of human rights abuses occurring under the auspices of science and medicine. Written in the style of a journalistic treatise, Hornblum's text provides a riveting narrative of Kligman's work and of Kligman the person. Trained in the study of fungi and human fungus infections at the University of Pennsylvania and where he would remain as professor in the campus's school of medicine, Kligman was known to students and colleagues as an exciting teacher and a brilliant and entrepreneurial, if a bit eclectic and brash, researcher. A popular and much-admired scholar on his campus and in his field, Kligman was hailed as a leading figure in the modernization of dermatology and in transforming the science of skin into a cosmetic industry. Kligman was first invited to Holmesburg Prison to help stem and cure rising incidents of athlete's foot among prisoners but, finding opportunities for research in the prison's supply of readily available and controllable test subjects, would go on to establish a clinic and even his own privately-run pharmaceutical company, Ivy Research, operating solely out one of the prison's cellblocks: H block. In Kligman's prison-laboratory, prisoners were recruited as both test subjects and as technicians, with prison administrators having very little oversight on operations. But by the 1960s, Holmesburg was one of the largest and most well-funded human research programs of its time, holding contracts with 33 drug firms and with the U.S. Army, and helping to train the next generation of dermatologists like William L. Epstein and Howard I. Maibach, who as researchers at the University of California, San Francisco, would later establish a similar program at the California Medical Facility at Vacaville.

Kligman had experience performing medical tests on institutionalized populations prior to founding his program at Holmesburg Prison. Earlier, he had studied ringworm by

deliberately infecting the scalp and nails of developmentally disabled children with the fungus, a study that received praise for its "ideal" use of test populations, that is, those in "penitentiaries" (Dr. Frederick Deforest Wideman, as cited in Hornblum, 1998, p. 34). However, Holmesburg Prison would become Kligman's longest-lasting and most sophisticated research site, with up to three quarters of its captive population participating in medical tests ranging from the effects of topically applied formulas, like shampoos, ointments, powders, toothpastes, and lotions, to Army studies on jungle rot and chemical warfare agents. The rather broad reach of Kligman's experimental program suggested a disregard of boundaries of expertise. Hornblum challenges the integrity of Kligman's methodologies, writing that Kligman "churned out so many articles on so many topics that the less credible studies were lost in mountainous verbiage of all the others," quite a number of which "resembled quick commercial advertisements" (p. 74).

But rather than denouncing Kligman's research program as both unethical and non-circumspect (these are assumptions behind the current project), this dissertation asks how skin operates as an object of scientific investigation, as an experimental apparatus, and as a figure of racial preoccupations, which, though not explicitly taken up in Kligman's work, constitute the driving force behind it. If the fungibility of the captive body was tied to longstanding devaluations of black skin, black skin in turn catalyzed knowledge production in the broadest sense, knowledge about the body and mind unencumbered by disciplinary boundaries. And prisoner test subjects had strong incentives to participate in Kligman's medical experiments: income from the research program far exceeded that from other prison industries, with a prisoner earning anywhere from $300 to $400 a month as test subject versus the 15 cents per day given to those

performing other prison work. Opportunities to participate in the latter, moreover, were considerably lacking compared to the constant demand for bodies in Kligman's program, which thus became for many prisoners a valuable source for raising bond and commissary money. Commonly from impoverished backgrounds with little access to quality and continuing education, the prisoners did not understand the aims and methods of research nor the legal language of release forms they were required to sign in order to participate in experiments. But for prisoners, funds coming from Kligman's program, cash flow made even more paramount in a carceral setting where being under resourced was the rule, took precedence over issues of health and safety. As one former prisoner test subject had put it, "I didn't care at the time if the [experiment] could have killed me. I needed the money."[3] Significantly, anywhere from 75% to 80% of Holmesburg's prisoners during Kligman's time at the prison were detentioners awaiting trial for up to 10 years, the acquisition of bail funds thus constituting another incentive for prisoners to join trials.[4]

The shock and disquiet that often accompanies the topic of prison research when it is brought up today is somewhat anachronistic given that prison research was common practice in mid century U.S. biomedicine. Spearheaded by universities, public health agencies, and pharmaceutical manufacturers across the U.S., prison experimental programs constituted a familiar means of cost-effectively testing the safety and efficacy of new drugs and common household products (Mitford 1974; Petryna, 2009). Before the implementation of state and national policies banning prison research programs in the

[3] Quoted in Johnson (1975, July 31).

[4] For this reason, I do not use the label "convict" in this dissertation. Statistics garnered from Philadelphia Inquirer clippings (1971, January), (1971, March 12), (1971, February), (1971, September 7).

1970s, approximately 80% to 85% of phase 1 clinical trials were being performed in prisons, with the average pharmaceutical corporation conducting at least one of its clinical trials using the penal system (Reiter, 2009). Marshaled for military efforts hampered by endemic diseases at the war front, academic institutions like the University of Chicago established decades-long malaria studies in prisons (Comfort, 2009), while governmental bodies like the Department of Defense commissioned projects examining the biological effects of radiation on prisoners (Welsome, 1999). Behavioral research like addiction studies were also founded in prisons, of which one of the most notable programs was the Public Health Service Addiction Research Center at Lexington, South Carolina, which remained in operation for 40 years. And as regulatory bodies on human experimentation established in the 1970s would demonstrate, research conducted in prisons occurred in a larger context of prevailing biomedical abuses against marginalized social groups in the years following the Second World War, groups such as children, the poor, and institutionalized patients with mental illness.

However, medical research on prison populations, what Melinda Cooper and Catherine Waldby (2014) call the "prison-academic-industrial complex," must also be situated in longer histories of experimentation in contexts of racial captivity. Harriett Washington's (2008) extensive history on the medical abuses of black bodies begins with medical experimentations on slaves, with slave shacks often assuming the form of laboratory sites. Treatments discovered through these experiments went on to benefit white patients, establishing a tradition of asymmetrical care and access to care between whites and blacks. Positioned as "medical non-entities," slave bodies formed the means for verifying racial inferiority and for pioneering the same novel treatments from which

they were barred. Black fear of medicine and the ongoing "medical apartheid" Washington identifies—a concept that spatially metaphorizes the significant health disparities and asymmetrical access to care between blacks and whites (and it is important to note that these disparities and asymmetries are, too, geographically mapped)—follow from these initial medical uses of black bodies as expedient objects of research, a position later acquired by prisoners, who, like slaves before them, were incapable of participating in the network of rights and privileges bestowed upon recognized subjects of medical care.

Significantly, these histories point to the evolving landscape of the laboratory and how its transformations are intimately tied to state violence. Science and technology (STS) scholars have long interrogated the scientific and medical laboratory as a site for the neutral production of knowledge. Karin Knorr-Cetina (1981) and Bruno Latour and Steve Woolgar (1979), for example, approach the laboratory as an anthropological object, an unfamiliar "culture" or "tribe" whose practices are nonetheless as embedded in and traversed by the social as those of any other culture. Michael Lynch (1985) shows the socially and technologically mediated making of scientific artifacts, demonstrating how the everyday work and talk of the laboratory *achieve* rather than discover the natural scientific order it studies. Annemarie Mol (2002) illustrates how an object of medical inquiry is differentially *enacted* across settings, situating the ontology of knowledge-objects in the multiple ways they are practiced and emplaced. Rather than generating value-free facts, the lab space, as that which is continuous with the social, stages the interrelations between the individual and the structural, relations distributed and

performed through the tasks and assumptions of practitioners, and hence inscribed into the technologies and knowledges so produced.[5]

The boundary-making aspects of laboratory life are also grounded in science's long history of circulation between empires and colonies (Harding, 2006, 2011). This transport of knowledge was underwritten by uneven structures of power ideologically mapped as oppositions between the "center" and the "periphery," with the periphery itself exhibiting an organized separation between colonizers and colonized, or a controlled production of what kinds of contact (skin-skin encounters) were allowable. Helen Tilley (2011), for instance, shows how the 19th century "scramble for Africa" positioned the continent as a "living laboratory" for scientific and medical research, social scientific fieldwork, and the development of imperial policy in social engineering and colonial state building. Nancy Leys Stepan's (2001) work on 19th and 20th century European representations of the so-called New World charts a visual and geographic grammar of "tropicality" that circumscribed disease, climate, and people within a mythic landscape of exotic, unspoilt, untamed nature. These works among others point to a "scientific network" (Latour, 1987) of mobile knowledge objects and inscriptions that disperse the borders of the laboratory proper but in ways that reproduce and rely on the spatial control

[5] The advent of experimental life, Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer (1985) show, began with Robert Boyle's experiments with air pumps and vacuums, establishing the instrumentalist ethos of modern science, prior to which science was enshrined in the speculative realm of philosophy. And as Peter Dear (2005) notes, pre-modern science lacked categories like "theory" and "practice," and was instead dubbed "natural philosophy," while Sidney Ross (1964) has shown how the term "scientist" itself emerged from a burgeoning disciplinary divide between science and philosophy in the 19th century, a crisis that necessitated a novel naming of the former's practitioners.

of non-European bodies.[6] The mobility of scientific knowledge that, to our postmodern sensibilities, undermined divisions made between the center and periphery and between the laboratory and the social world was inseparable from the enforced immobility of Europe's Others, of whom entrenched tropes of hypercorporeality, of brute body in contradistinction to transcendent mind/spirit, come to limn the diffuse borders, or the skin as it were, of the laboratory.

Experimentation on slaves and the formative role of captivity and colonialism in modern medicine, as well as historical and ongoing uses of race categories in medical, scientific, and technological developments, have been well documented (Bankole, 1998; Braun, 2014; Fullwiley, 2007; Hammonds, 1997; Nelson, 2008; Roberts, 2011; Sheridan, 1985; Wailoo, 1997). Exploring the ways science and medicine naturalize and reproduce racial categories, this literature illustrates how science, medicine, and technology actively participate in shaping dominant views of our social and natural worlds and are not therefore neutral or passive vehicles for social attitudes. However, these histories also suggest science's obsession with race as an object, a compulsion making science return to race again and again despite having debunked it again and again, the repetitive reconfiguration of colonial and antebellum obsessions with biological essences and inferiorities demonstrating an aggression internal to experimental life. Already a fundamentally racial project, science's persistent focus on biologizing difference betrays an attempt to objectify and master its cause.

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[6] See also Kavita Philip's *Civilizing Nature: Race, Resources, and Modernity in Colonial South India* (2004), and Warwick Anderson's *The Cultivation of Whiteness: Science, Health, and Racial Destiny in Australia* (2003).

Inquiring after what it is about captivity that enabled the experimental life of post-war biomedicine in the U.S. thus constitutes a question of ontology. The process of tracing this ontology entils mapping a kind of neurosis at the heart of scientific rationality.[7] A key characteristic of this neurosis is repetition compulsion toward race-as-object itself. Enacted in a space such as the prison-clinic, this compulsion is itself yoked to an enduring history of racial captivity that includes slavery. Prisons scholars have been instrumental in uncovering the historical, material-discursive, and logical continuities between slavery and the penal system. They have also identified the latter's over-representation of black prisoners as a practice that follows from a longer history of race-making in which slavery, convict leasing, chain gangs, Jim Crow, the urban ghetto, and super-maximum security facilities each subsequently reproduced and solidified cultural associations of blackness with criminality and deviance (Childs, 2015; Davis, 1998, 2003; Dayan, 2001; James, 1996; McKittrick, 2011; Rodríguez, 2006; Wacquant, 2001, 2002). Joy James (2005) has called our expanding prison nation a neoslavery, which, to borrow from Dylan Rodríguez (2007), "constantly prototypes technologies premised on a re-spatialization of bodies and coercive re-embodiment of spaces" (p. 48). Collectively,

[7] Don Ihde's (1983) thesis on the historical versus ontological priority of technology is a useful framework. By "historical priority," Ihde refers to chronological time, wherein the existence of something conditions objects and events that follow it. The current section has briefly charted this path by situating the laboratory in histories of colonialism and the outsourced clinic in U.S. penal formations, all to demonstrate the lab's inherently social and political nature that other scholars have already elucidated. "Ontological priority," on the other hand, concerns questions of *essence* and mediation, of what comes to structure and sediment one's encounter with and experiencing of the material (and I would add semiotic) world. Ontology, in other words, refers to an orientation, which conditions how the body and the world reveal themselves to one another. Sara Ahmed (2006) shows that this revealing or orientation is always a contact between surfaces, between, for example, the surface of the philosopher's table and that of the philosopher's body. This contact conditions the arrival of philosophy and, more importantly, is itself conditioned by its *background*, by what is behind the table or by what the philosopher literally turns his back to when building theory. To countenance the lab space inside prisons (or the lab bench as a particular kind of table for theory-building and testing), one must, as Ahmed prescribes, adopt an orientation toward its often invisible conditions of emergence.

these works point to the law's perpetuation of mass black captivity (and the incarceration of Indigenous, poor, undocumented, and brown peoples) following the formal abolition of slavery. Moreover, these scholars have shown how incarceration functions outside of the language of the law and becomes distributed across all levels of civil society, forming that which is heterogeneous but necessary to social order. The modern penal system forms a necropolitical order institutionalizing forms of subjugating life to the "power of death" not unlike the states of exception that Achille Mbembe (2003) labels "death worlds," the first instance of which was found in racial slavery and the plantation system (p. 39).[8] In keeping with this literature, the current dissertation throughout interchanges the labels "prisoner" and "captive" to figure incarceration as the present history of slavery.

The convergences between experimental life and what Orlando Patterson (1982) calls "social death" then manifests the violence internal to scientific rationality and the rationality of what, at least on the surface, appears to be senseless cruelty.[9] The tortures of slavery, Hortense Spillers (1987/2003a) writes, took on a laboratory prose of

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[8] Mbembe's "death worlds" are "forms of social existence in which vast populations are subjected to conditions of life conferring upon them the status of *living dead*" (p. 40, emphasis in original). The concept builds on Foucault's "biopower" and "biopolitics"—control of life at the level of the body and of populations, respectively—and on Giorgio Agamben's "bare life" or *homo sacer*—a subject whose murder would be considered neither criminal nor profane.

[9] Patterson elaborates on two constitutive elements of slavery, or social death. One, general dishonorment, refers to the slave's absolute vulnerability to violence. Subject to the master's brute force, the slave is perceived to be a degraded figure with no capacity for honor – that is, the capacity to be moral and to belong to society and therefore to make claims of it.[9] Violence helped establish and maintain this relationship of domination, becoming an aspect of everyday life rather than an exclusively punitive course of action. In all instances of violence, the slave was barred from self-defense, for s/he was considered incapable of being dishonored – only subjects capable of honor (masters and freemen) could respond to symbolic and physical insults. The second constitutive element, natal alienation, describes the master's accumulation of slaves through sexual reproduction. Also barred from claiming kinship ties, no slave could build familial bonds that were socially and politically recognized. They were considered social nonpersons with a past but no heritage, "genealogical isolates" existing solely as extensions of their masters' power.

anatomical specifications —"eyes beaten out, arms, backs, skulls branded, a left jaw, a right ankle, punctured" (p. 207)—producing a "hieroglyphics of the flesh" transferred from one generation to the other through a symbolic substitution of physical rupture with skin color. The status of subjects and objects were borne out of these initial moments of tearing into and opening up black flesh, a doubled making and unmaking of personhood that Christina Sharpe (2010) names a "monstrous" intimacy operating at the site of the flesh, its terror post-slavery shrouded in the banality of repeated acts of violence protracting slavery's valuation of human life. A logical extension of these repeated acts of violence, prison experimental programs during the postwar period most clearly situate captivity among properly scientific endeavors. And, as Spillers notes, skin or, rather, the act of ripping it open that founds blackness was procedural and purposeful, dispossession a form of scientific management. In Kligman's experiments, as this dissertation will show, black skin structured scientific objectivity.

Skin theory

Skin composes the body's largest organ but performs its vast array of functions within a remarkably narrow space: depending on location along the body, only about 2 to 5.5 millimeters separate our insides from the external world. But "separation" may not be the correct term, because skin, while encasing the entire body, is our access to our surroundings and our surroundings' access to us. Housing nerve endings and different types of receptors for sensing pain, pressure, temperature, and texture, skin allows us to gather information about and react to our environments and other bodies, helping us to navigate and even take pleasure from them. It regulates body temperature through a

complex network of sweat glands and blood vessels, hosts a richly diverse microbiome that helps prevent pathogenic bacteria from colonizing or proliferating on the body's surfaces, and constantly reproduces a water-proof outer layer, the epidermis, that acts as a mechanical and chemical barrier against abrasion and foreign entities and that prevents water loss from the body. This same layer protects the body from the sun's harmful ultraviolet rays, which damage DNA and break down the essential nutrient, folate, but also kick-starts the production of vitamin D in response to UV exposure, a process necessary for calcium absorption and bone strength. The second layer, the dermis, contains the cells responsible for sweating, sensing, and hair growth, while the third, the subcutaneous layer, is composed of fat and collagen cells that help insulate the body and absorb or dampen shock from impacts.

But, as Nina Jablonski, foremost expert on the natural history of skin, argues, the organ has also "taken on the new roles of social canvas and embodied metaphor in our recent evolutionary past" (2013, p. 2). These assumed the form of decoration—tattooing, piercing, painting, clothing, and other voluntary activities that helped an individual or a social group advertise identity[10]—but they also took shape in more sinister, insidious ways. Many of the earliest available writings on skin color were those from European traders, explorers, and travelers during the Age of Exploration, dating roughly from the 15th to the 19th centuries, writings that gave rise to a global racial order in which skin

[10] See also Terrence S. Turner's "The Social Skin" (2012), a reprinted ethnographic account of how individuals are brought into culture through dress and decoration: "The surface of the body…becomes the symbolic stage upon which the drama of socialization is enacted…" (p. 486). Adorning the body constitutes a kind of drama, because it reveals the tension between communicating the self and conforming the self to cultural expectations. Hence, dress and decoration as expressions of individual tastes and attitudes also materialize the subject's integration into society.

color became a measure of morality, intelligence, and belonging to the human family, the epitome of which was the moneyed, white, European male: "The association of color with character and the ranking of people according to color stands out as humanity's most momentous logical fallacy" (2012, p. 4).[11] And this fallacy rooted in slavery and colonialism is grounded in space even smaller than that occupied by the whole skin: about .05 to 1.5 millimeters, the thickness of the epidermis, whose components include the cells and cell products responsible for skin color—a very thin canvas, indeed, for an abstraction as large and enduring as race, a living canvas for an idea and tool as deadly as race. So one may say skin has color, but as the violent history of race suggests, and to paraphrase Steven Connor (2004), color itself is skin.

This dissertation takes skin as its principle object and concept, and follows from literature rethinking skin and all its valences—surface, interface, barrier, inscription—to bring new insights to matters of interiority and intersubjectivity. Sarah Ahmed and Jackie Stacey's anthology *Thinking Through the Skin* (2001) assembles a collection of works that emphasize inter-embodiment, or the historical specificities of skin that shape our nearness/similarities to and distances/differences from others. Building on the vast feminist scholarship on sex and gender and on nature and culture, *Thinking Through the Skin* avoids fetishizing the body and the skin as stable or coherent entities by examining the ideological and cultural practices that mark them out. Ahmed and Stacey invite

[11] This asymmetry in the archives, Jablonski argues, reflects the objective power differences between those written about and those doing the writing during the expansion of European empires. An exception to these records is early Arabic literature on African slaves, for which the term, *abd*, came to encompass any individuals with dark skin. The trans-Saharan slave trade that supplied African slaves to the Muslim state was centuries in place and "laid the foundation for the later European colonial slave trade" (p. 118). See Orlando Patterson's *Slavery and Social Death* (1982) for a longer account of the Islamic commerce in slaves.

readers to consider their approach a form of "dermographia," which they define not only as the process of marking or writing *on* the skin but also as the constitution of skin as an *effect* of such markings. Hence, for the scholars brought together in this work, skin is neither mirror nor cloaking device, but a figure and object for reimagining relationships between depth and surface, inside and outside. Margrit Shildrick's contribution to the text, for instance, takes up monstrous corporealities or non-normative morphologies to show how the bounded, individualized body is secured or achieved and, to position monstrosity, particularly that of conjoined twins, "not as a failure of form but as an-other way of being" (p. 161). Examining how the body is inscribed in autobiographical texts, Jay Prosser's reading of such "skinscapes" points to the role of cultural memory—always an intertwining of fantasy and repression—in the construction of social stigmas, that is, the difference between "good" and "bad" skin.[12] And shifting from text to talk, Shirley Tate shows how discourse both "imprisons" and provides alternative meanings of blackness, the latter always negotiated through and pushing against the terms of "dominant identity discourses of Black skin as stereotype" (p. 209).

Undoubtedly one of most influential works addressing problems of appearance, recognition, and visibility under contexts of domination, Frantz Fanon's writings on the psychopathology of colonization provide a critical lens for reading these insights on skin and others taken up in subsequent chapters of the dissertation. Fanon's *Black Skin, White*

[12] See Prosser's larger work on the topic, *Second Skins: The Body Narratives of Transsexuality* (1998), which takes to task feminist theory and queer theory, particularly that by Judith Butler, for their imaginative uses of transsexuality at the expense of the transsexed subject. Prosser centers autobiography—a move that also departs from the medical literature composing dominant accountings of transsexuality—as a means of not only highlighting active endeavors at self-making but also foregrounding materiality, experience, and embodiment in narratives about sex, gender, and transgression.

Masks (1952/2008) grounds this project, connecting and sometimes complicating analyses of skin that chapters of the latter engage with. While Fanon's widely recounted concept of "epidermalization" is as central to this work as it is for others seeking to explain fraught relationships between seeing, touching, and embodying otherness through the skin,[13] I want to defer for the moment an expected discussion on the role of skin in structuring racial imaginaries and vice versa (I return to this in the next chapter), to instead focus on Fanon's treatment of depth and phobia—or the depths of phobia—as another crucial entry point into one of his leading terminologies. All throughout *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon illustrates the "double process" of antiblackness, an economic and symbolic field arising from histories of slavery and imperialism. Internalized oppression, to which Fanon gives the name "epidermalization," is inseparable from the material conditions under which black subjects are "made to feel inferior" (p. 127) and are made to *wear* this inferiority. Thus, Fanon insists that the psychopathology at the center of his inquiry must always be approached as a *psycho-existential* complex, to which he ascribes descriptions of unfathomable depths.

This complex, Fanon writes, manifests as a "climbing up" to white civilization or white society, an imaginary identification with whiteness as truth and good, and a rejection of blackness overdetermined as wicked and savage.[14] The collective

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[13] For example, see Sarah Ahmed's *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (2004) and Michelle Ann Stephens's *Skin Acts: Race, Psychoanalysis, and the Black Male Performer* (2014).

[14] Fanon's use of "imaginary" directly borrows from Jacque Lacan's writings on the mirror stage, in which the infant mistakes as their own the "whole" subject they see in their reflection. But the infant is physiologically or developmentally "fragmented"—s/he lacks coordination—and so their identification with the child in the mirror provides them with an image of mastery of their body, an identification that thus results in a "split" subject: a subject divided between a fragmented body and a whole image. During the mirror stage, the subject is formed through this fundamental *misrecognition*.

unconscious shared by both whites and blacks is founded on such binaries,[15] the black subject coming to "confront" them as myth at the "slightest contact" with the white world—this is when s/he begins "a real apprenticeship" into the two "completely different worlds" that blacks and whites inhabit even as they share the same symbolic universe (pp. 128-129). Contact and confrontation—they become one and the same when the black subject is faced with what s/he has learned from the white world to deny: "I distrust what is black in me, in other words, the totality of my being" (p. 168). Reproducing the colonial encounter, that "contact" abnormalizes the black subject and "a certain sensitization takes place" (p. 132) wherein "at the first white gaze" the *weight* of melanin can be felt and a dissonance created between a black body and the white soul it has taken into itself (p. 128). Betrayal, then, is the nature of this weight, a "cultural imposition" or "burden of original sin" in which blackness forms a phobogenic, anxiety-provoking object: "evil, sin, wretchedness, death, war, and famine" (pp. 167-168).

But if the inferiority complex is a "climbing up" to white society—a "question of going up or down" (p. 166)—what is it exactly that the black subject is climbing *out of*? To Fanon, a "cavern where savages dance":

> Deep down in the European unconscious has been hollowed out an excessively black pit where the most immoral instincts and unmentionable desires slumber. And since every man [sic] aspires to whiteness and light, the European has attempted to repudiate this primitive personality, which does its best to defend itself. When European civilization came into contact with the black world, with these savages, everyone was in agreement that these black people were the essence of evil. (p. 167)

[15] Fanon is complicating Carl Jung's concept of collective unconscious: "Jung locates the collective unconscious in the inherited cerebral matter. But there is no need to resort to the genes; the collective unconscious is quite simply the repository of prejudices, myths, and collective attitudes of a particular group" (p. 165).

In short, the dark cave in the European unconscious was displaced onto the black world, the latter coming to symbolize for Europeans all the aggressive, destructive impulses they have tried to repress or purge. Projected onto the Other, finding expression through the Other, these baser drives and desires as objective observations of the Other became a conduit for Europeans to maintain their "equilibrium," their sense of purity. Fanon, again: "[T]he scapegoat for white society, which is based on the myths of progress, civilization, liberalism, education, enlightenment, and refinement, will be precisely the force that opposes the expansion and triumph of these myths. This oppositional brute force is provided by the black man [sic]" (pp. 170-171). During Fanon's writings, this European unconscious has become the collective unconscious for whites and blacks, both in their moral consciousness aiming to eliminate "the dark," though, for black subjects, this means a "constant struggling" against their own image (p. 170). Moreover, as the cave metaphor suggests, the oppositional force that black subjects are made to embody extends from metaphysical evaluations of good and evil, to accounts of evolutionary regression. On black masculinity, Fanon writes, "To have a phobia about black men is to be afraid of the biological, for the black man is nothing but biological" (p. 143); and the biological is always already tied to the sexual or the genital: "The civilized white man retains an irrational nostalgia for the extraordinary times of sexual licentiousness, orgies, unpunished rapes, and unrepressed incest. In a sense, these fantasies correspond to Freud's life instinct. Projecting his desires onto the black man, the white man behaves as if the black man actually had them" (pp. 142-143). A purely phallic body, a terrifyingly absolute corporeality riven with aggressive instincts—and, paradoxically, at the innermost core of the white man's unconscious structure insofar as it constitutes the

psychic cavernous pit from which both black and white men must ascend—the black man as phobogenic object is then targeted, castrated and lynched, in his "tangible personality," because it is precisely his "actual being that is dangerous" (p. 142).[16] Thus, when Fanon says that the black man is a "victim of white civilization," he means it quite literally, in "every sense of the word" (p. 169), each murderous attack staging the white world's obsession with and repudiation of the biological-genital it finds in the Other inside itself.

That this biological element has nothing to do with biology is beside the point. Reasoning with phobia, peppering it with facts as a means of dispelling it, will be of no use; for, phobia is first and foremost neurotic and governed by affect. The phobogenic object need not exist in the world, and one can attempt over and over again to demonstrate its non-existence, its basis in delusion, but this will not quell the *feeling* that somewhere this object is a possibility (p. 133). It is futile to rationalize with irrationality: "We accumulate facts; we comment on them; but with every line we write, with every proposal we set forth, we get the feeling of something unfinished" (p. 149). The facts of antiblackness, the material conditions and real forces at work in making and maintaining the phobogenic object, are aplenty. And yet gathering them together and cataloguing all of the white world's myths and mistakes, do not, practically speaking, convince anybody

[16] Though a direct critique of Lacan's mirror stage is dealt with more fully in a long footnote (that spans three pages), Fanon's concept of phobogenesis is central to his interventions in Lacan's writings on the imaginary register. Strictly speaking, Lacan's analysand is white and therefore experiences the mirror stage quite differently from Lacan's black subject. A critique present in the main text: "Since the racial drama is played out in the open, the black man has no time to 'unconsciousnessize' it…. The black man's superiority or inferiority complex and his feelings of equality are conscious. He is constantly making them interact. He lives his drama. There is in him none of the affective amnesia characteristic of the typical neurotic" (p. 129). For longer treatises on Fanon's engagement with Lacan's work, see Frank Wilderson's *Red, White, and Black: Cinema and the Structure of US Antagonisms* (2010), and Shawn Michelle Smith's *Photography on the Color Line: W.E.B. Du Bois, Race, and Visual Culture* (2004).

of their truth (p. 147).[17] And it doesn't end there; for, appeals to human decency and generosity are even less effective than truth. As Fanon writes, "…we sit at our desk and think, 'All these idiocies should not be allowed to exist.' But everyone is in agreement about that" (p. 177). They are in agreement but what does that agreement do for phobia? Is it in keeping with reality?: "And then they came to hellenize him, to Orpheusize him…this black man who is seeking the universal. Seeking the universal! But in June 1950 the hotels in Paris refused to take in black travelers. Why? Quite simply because their American guests (who are rich and negrophobic, *as everyone knows*) threatened to move out" (p. 163, emphasis added). Transforming the "cavern of savages" into a pillar of enlightenment, insisting on black civilization and black achievement as a means for proving black humanity risks forgetting that humanity itself is an ethically bankrupt concept, one that establishes again and again its coherence through material relations of force. Including black subjects within humanity's purview ignores the reality of antiblackness, as the quote above illustrates in the internationalization of US segregation. And this is where Fanon finds little difference between his racist and liberal interlocutors, between those whites who hate black people and those who love them. The former asserts the wickedness of his color, while the latter, its irrelevance; both, however, offer Fanon but one destiny and that is white (p. xiv).

To escape this "neurotic situation" wherein he is asked to either despise or forget his blackness, Fanon gives the following solution: "skim over this absurd drama that others have staged around me; rule out these two elements that are equally unacceptable;

[17] Fanon's account of black masculinity makes this futility evident: "God only knows how they must make love! It must be terrifying" (p. 136); "Who knows what 'they' do to [white women]? Yes, *who* knows? Certainly not black men" (p. 149, emphasis in original). Something defined by *not* knowing would be impervious to knowledge.

and through the particular, reach out for the universal" (p. 174). This is not to dismiss facts but to reorganize them, to find their meaning not in their content or in their numbers, but in their modes of appearance. It is to "skim over" or gather around the various ways those compiled realities have been legitimized and delegitimized. For, they all belie a structure or arrangement of power enacted through phobia. What Fanon is looking for is the workings of power that drive the psychopathology of antiblackness and colonization or, more aptly put, how this psychopathology forms a *mechanism* of power operating at the individual level—the universal in the particular.[18] Significantly, for Fanon, this means "plunging" down into the black pit, "jumping into the 'black hole'" of that pathology (p. 175), relying on neither history nor ontology (two forms of reason) for its remedy: change. Whether its number of cases is one or many, the analysis can only reach its possible limit when the neurosis is tied back to an objective reality demanding the black subject's (self)destruction, liberation from which thus means destroying whiteness in the individual and in the streets. Fanon refers to Aimé Césaire's poems: "Césaire *went down*. He agreed to see what was happening at the very bottom…. Then

[18] I read Fanon's phrase, "through the particular, reach out to the universal," multiply. On one hand, Fanon is referring to practical or methodological approaches to studying psychopathology. He posits two ways: either accumulate facts (a descriptive method for which he uses metaphors of dissection) or endeavor to change those facts by "bring[ing] out their meaning" (p. 146). The latter is the goal of psychoanalysis, which Fanon takes up alongside philosophy. He cites Karl Jaspers: "Close contemplation of an individual case often teaches us of the phenomenon common to countless others…. It is not so much the number of cases seen that matters in phenomenology but the extent of the inner exploration of the individual case…" (Jaspers, as cited in Fanon, ibid.) One can see this as a critique of empirical methods, particularly statistical approaches.

On the other hand, which is not unrelated to the first point and is something Fanon repeats throughout *Black Skin*, the particular is situated in a material world and thus this world must be accounted for in psychoanalysis. This may seem an obvious argument in contemporary readings, but Fanon was in his time writing against psychoanalysts and phenomenologists whose unmarked (universal) subject was white. Thus, for Fanon, the latter's theorizations were not in keeping with reality; they were not empirical. So one can see in Fanon's work a sort of balancing act, wherein he holds onto a concept of an empirical reality without investing it with essence. The significant methodological and conceptual implications of his work in emerging scholarship of the posthuman, especially those in STS, should go without saying.

once he has discovered the white man in himself, he kills him:... 'Through an unexpected and beneficent inner revolution I now honor my repulsive ugliness'" (pp. 172-175, emphasis in original).

If thinking with and through the skin necessarily catalyzes a reworking of depth and surface, then Fanon's writings on phobia in relation to the "epidermalization of inferiority" certainly illustrate the complicated relationship between exteriority and interiority, between the contours of the body and the deep recesses of the mind. But there is something more at work here because, while Fanon begins with skin as concept and tangible object, he also locates it somewhere else from the body: he finds it in the whole organization of a white society and in the collective unconscious embedded in all of its inhabitants. So where is the skin? And where can one locate depth? We certainly can't accuse Fanon of disembodying skin, because he goes further than either phenomenology or biology to source it. Earlier, I mentioned that color is skin, but Fanon suggests something different: color is *more* skin than skin.[19] Defining the permeable borders between body and society, and body and psyche, color provides structure to racial fantasies of the biological and genital, and gives phobia its coordinates and objects. Color is melanin (skin), but it is also that black void founding imaginary identifications with self and other (more-than-skin). To look upon black skin is to gaze into that void—there

[19] Slavoj Žižek (1989/2008) reads Lacan's "object petit a" as that *surplus* thing: "what is in an object that is more than the object…produced by the signifying operation" (p. 107). Which is to say that meaning is found not in the object it describes, but in a meaningless something, "a signifier without a signified" (p. 108). Similarly, Bruce Fink (1995) argues that *object a* is a lost object constituted as the residue of symbolization, a lack constituted only after the fact of signification—something that cannot be captured by words because (1) it emerges at the same moment those words appear, and (2) the meaning of those words depend on its resistance to meaning. Thus, as Fink writes, the symbolic chain circles around *object a* but never touches it, while the latter returns sporadically but inevitably as a disruption of meaning.

is only depth—to which impulsively the eye seeks to find meaning, *filling it up* with reasons either confirming or negating its horror.[20] But such facts and fictions are swallowed up and lost, because, as Fanon warns, there is no hidden meaning, no ontology, behind that void, which is entirely and only the very material conditions and practices of colonial power—there is only what's on the surface. Thus, Fanon's "skin" is always a movement between inside and outside, and on the move, it remains just out of our grasp. This dissertation is an attempt to mark this movement, to map where skin has been in the images and texts of carceral science. Pace Fanon, it tries to descend and venture into the "very bottom" of our racial epidermal schema and to "touch with our finger all the wounds that score…black livery" (p. 164). But also like Fanon, I don't want to romanticize "touch" as an epistemology, and the analyses made in the following chapters do not come close to what might be an "intimate" knowledge of its subject. Rooted in the depths of phobia, Fanon's "skin" implicates a rethinking of touch as a plunging down into that subjective "cavern where savages dance" and the objective cultural impositions that sustain it—it requires that one stay with phobia and its violations. After all, to touch a wound is to first make it make it sting in pain, to watch and see it expressed as inexpressibility, a body recoiling away.[21]

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[20] More recently, this void is refigured in Evelynn Hammonds's (2004) account of "Black (w)holes," a method for naming both the silences and the limits of visibility, particularly those relegating black women's sexualities to the margins of womanhood and subjecthood. The metaphor of black hole is apt and especially useful here, signaling both the cataclysmic dangers of the unknown and its inception of a new dimension, a new universe of knowledge, a "different geometry" only grasped through "sensitive detectors" or "reading strategies that allow us to make visible the distorting and productive effects these sexualities produce in relation to more visible sexualities" (p. 310).

[21] Elaine Scarry (1985) describes the inexpressibility of pain—something that resists and destroys language—as a "subterranean fact" or "invisible geography" (p. 3). Whereas pain experienced in the self reveals its certainty, pain experienced by the Other can be put into doubt. Pain is therefore unshareable, and

A note on method

Situated in STS and visual studies, this dissertation is a historical and archival study of literature and artifacts surrounding midcentury American human prison experimentation. It historically examines the culture and politics of biomedical research practice to interrogate the hegemony of medical science's objectivity. One way other scholars have demonstrated this hegemony is to situate scientific ideas and practices within their contexts, foregrounding the political, economic, social, and cultural formations influencing how science is done and new technologies made. [22] A second approach, which is also frequently deployed in conjunction with the first, is to explore how the social and the ideological are *built into* the cognitive or internal factors of science. [23] For the purposes of this dissertation, I follow the latter approach analyzing the

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even in language it reverts to the pre-language of groans and cries. However, verbalizing or articulating pain, objectifying it in language, forms a means of making that pain legible to others, and is a prelude to institutional redress, its inherent inexpressibility worked around when it is brought into the shared domain of language. Pain is inherently individualizing, but giving it voice can lift it from the body and make it knowable to others not in pain, especially those who have the power to provide recompense. This, however, risks losing sight of that body in favor of its political representation.

[22] Early writings on the social, economic, political, and cultural contexts of scientific developments include the work of Edward Merton (1938, 1942) and Boris Hessen (1976). Merton illustrates the ways in which Puritanism and its ethic permeated and directed transformations in 17th century European science. This integration of science and religion was manifest in their common privileging of empiricism and utilitarianism (ascetism). Though science later became a self-validating enterprise believed to be separate from church and society, the scientific ethos of universalism, organized skepticism, disinterestedness, and common ownership of knowledge, reflect modern institutional and moral imperatives against totalitarianism. Like Merton, Hessen contextualizes transformations in science, highlighting the economic demands driving these changes from feudalism to merchant capitalism, and from merchant capitalism to industrial capitalism. The emergence of merchant capitalism called for advancements in water transportation, mining capacities, and artillery production, spurring questions about mechanics in science. Force was not theorized until the rise of industrial capitalism, wherein new technologies such as the steam engine led to questions on thermodynamics and different forms of motion.

[23] The strong program in the sociology of scientific knowledge is a watershed moment in the radical interpretation of scientific paradigms (Pinch, 1997). Its most notable proponent, David Bloor (1976), argues that no forms of knowledge lie outside empirical investigation, including scientific rationality. Assuming the autonomy of science naturalizes and therefore mystifies scientific rationality as self-moving or teleological. In contrast, Bloor proposes a symmetrical analysis of the social and cognitive dimensions

original, unpublished notebooks and manuscripts of Kligman's research program at Holmesburg Prison.

As is the case with many archival projects, those materials of the most central interest remain elusive. From repositories like the National Institute of Health and the National Archives, to Kligman's institutional affiliations such as the University of Pennsylvania and College of Physicians (this organization awarded Kligman a lifetime achievement award in 2003), Kligman's original files and those of his associates seem as if not to exist. [24] Hornblum's exposé, thus far the most detailed work on Kligman's experiments, claims that the researcher began destroying his notebooks following a short-lived investigation by the Food and Drug Administration in the 1960s. And a seasoned historian had also counseled that those materials are what "they" call "buried"—either Kligman's manuscripts are truly lost or powerful forces do not want them to be found. It hardly matters which case applies. This dissertation seeks to find out to what extent controlling dispossessed and dishonored peoples is built into the logic of biomedical research. The fact that its most crucial documents have been purged made it imperative to turn to other sources. For this dissertation, those sources included Kligman's published articles, bioethics policy discourses, prison narratives and letters, news media accounts of medical science and regulation, and, finally, the hard site of the prison-clinic and the

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science. See also Trevor Pinch and Wiebe Bijker's (1984) term, *sociotechnical*, or the interconnectedness of social interests in the development and stabilization of artifacts.

[24] The university's access policy does include a closure on all documents that may expose the institution to legal liability. A refusal to reveal Kligman's documents, if they still exist, would be unsurprising in light of the university's 1986 settlement with two former prison subjects and a lawsuit by hundreds of others in 2000; the suit, which also named Kligman and the Dow corporation, was overturned. Though the statute of limitations has passed, access to Kligman's manuscripts remains doubtful.

various ways it has been represented in popular media and in the art world. In fact, it is telling that news media archives to some extent fill the breach left by laboratory records. It is fortuitous that news stories publicized some of the very information this study sought, scientific rationality thus arrived at only through translational work from "lay" accounts of expertise.

A return to these materials is not, however, fully or only compensatory; there is a danger in investing Kligman's notebooks with immense explanatory power they may not ultimately have for the set of questions this project follows. Absence can spur imaginings of possibility ("if only…") and glossing over of present objects ("at least…"), reinstating the authority of Kligman's work in making history. Writing on the problem of absent historical records, Saidiya Hartman's decade-long engagement with slavery archives demonstrates a practice, sometimes illegible in the most compelling ways, of working with the "slipperiness and elusiveness" of stories and people disappeared from cultural memory.[25] Whereas Hartman searches for "commoners," for the life stories of individual captives, this dissertation aims directly for the very stuff of the powerful (it "studies up,"

[25] Hartman's *Lose Your Mother: A Journey Along the Atlantic Slave Route* (2007) demonstrates the unmaking of method issuing from the loss or absence of that method's objects. In search for slave narratives about or from those captives who were captured in the trans-Atlantic slave trade, Hartman travels to Ghana in an attempt, in her words, of "finding the remnants of those who had vanished" and in doing so "skirt [her] sense of being a stranger in the world" (p. 17). Still, her project was doomed to fail from the beginning—and Hartman had suspected this. From dungeons to clusters of baobab trees and crumbling barricades that betoken raided villages, Hartman ultimately does not recover the lost narratives she was looking for. Her entire text is about this failure, and in terms of method, it is difficult to place: is it ethnography? Auto-ethnography? Memoir? Missing objects in the archive prompt her to shift her analysis to sites of the Atlantic slave route, and so her project resembles fieldwork, though work without a proper field.

Elsewhere, Hartman (2006) calls her approach a "critical fabulation," which explicitly storifies the archive. Her writing "can be described as straining against the limits of the archive to write a cultural history of the captive, and, at the same time, enacting the impossibility of representing the lives of the captives precisely through the process of narration" (p. 11). My project does not follow this approach, thought it is grounded in Hartman's path-breaking inquiries into *what* makes an archive and *what* makes an analysis of its omissions.

as they say)—but in both cases, power determines what is available for scrutiny. Thus, Hartman (1997) cautions on the provisional nature of archives, their emplotment of dominant narratives, and the necessity of excavating the margins of history. [26] And she goes further: she interrogates the contents and intentions of her archival objects but, in the same movement, also brings to the forefront the politics of domination that always accompany such appropriative readings. Reading against the grain is not separate from but is instead as much *enabled* by the grain as is reading with it, affirming both the necessity and the limitations of reparative interpretation, which she calls "redress." So although many of the objects studied in this dissertation were garnered through archival research, and although they are probed for the ways power moves and operates through them, the current project remains as much as about the failures of archival research as it is an engagement with historical images and texts about postwar prisons, science, and regulation.

Deploying a visual culture studies approach in my analysis of these materials, the dissertation is grounded in poststructuralist frameworks on subjectivity and

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[26] See also Michel-Rolph Trouillot's *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History (*1995), which explicitly connects archiving and archival research with present states in knowledge-making. In short, his work illustrates how the present helps establish the past as it is known. Trouillot argues that silences in the archive are inevitable, because chronicling everything is both impossible and undesirable. He compares archiving to sports casting:

> The sportscaster's account is a play-by-play description but only of the occurrences that matter to the game. Even if it is guided mainly by the seriality of occurrences, it tends out leave out from the series witnesses, participants, and events considered generally as marginal. Silences are necessary to the account, for if the sportscaster told us every "thing" that happened at each and every moment, we would not understand anything…Further, the selection of what matters, the dual creation of mentions and silences, is premised on the understanding of the rules of the game by broadcaster and audience alike. (p. 50-51)

The inevitability of silences is, however, not neutral. Rules and conventions governing what is worth keeping are innately political, involving the production and enactment of power and the marginalization of certain voices. Constructing the individual and collective subject of memory is hence simultaneously the making of "unthinkable" histories, which "help us understand why not all silences are equal and why they cannot be addressed—or redressed—in the same manner" (p. 27).

intersubjectivity. This is apt, not only because of the visual aspects of many of the objects used in this project, but because visual culture studies has provided a wealth of scholarship on the nature of lack, absence, or invisibility within looking relations, or, put differently, how the interplay between the gaze, the visual apparatus, and the image creates meaning or resists it.[27] On that score, feminist scholarship has been foundational to bridging STS objects with visual cultural approaches, highlighting the role of pleasure, trauma, spectacle, and loss in the production of knowledge. These are dimensions of science generally under-examined in STS engagements with visual media, the latter's emphasis on objectivity and knowledge-making practices often eclipsing poststructuralist explorations of interiority and the unconscious (Cartwright, 2014; Carusi, Hoel, Webmoor, & Woolgar, 2014; Serlin, 2010).[28] The objects of this dissertation are diverse,

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[27] Lacan's (1966/2006; 1973/1998) writings arguably form one of the pillars of this field (he is widely deployed in film studies, for example), his de-stigmatization of alienation and fantasy an important intervention in Freudian accounts of the unconscious and in theorizations about subject formation more generally. For Lacan, the subject can only ever emerge through alienation, be it alienation in the image during the mirror stage, or alienation in language in which she must choose her own erasure in order to participate in a symbolic world. This "split" or "barred" subject and the un-nameable cause of her desires—or that which is left out of signification or representation—is a significant facet of the subject of visual culture studies. Lacan's theory of "the gaze," for example, emphasizes the intersubjective nature of looking relations, influencing accounts of objects and psyches produced through spectatorship. Laura Mulvey (1975) demonstrates how the gaze is a dual process of fetishistic objectification and narcissistic identification, and bell hooks (1992) addresses issues of race and sexuality in this looking relationship. For a summary on psychoanalytic influences in visual culture, see Gillian Rose's *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials* (2001).

Roland Barthes 's *Camera Lucida* (1981) is another foundational text in visual culture studies, particularly in the study of photographic images. In this text, Barthes theorizes the ontology of photography beyond its practices and apparatuses. In other words, he is interested in neither aesthetic criticism nor a sociology or history of photography—he calls these approaches "stadium." Rather, Barthes reaches for that which rises out of the image to "pierce" the viewer, an affective response that is *accidental* to analysis. He calls this "punctum," a "cut" or "little hole" produced by the image in the viewer. To describe the punctum is to describe what is in the viewer that lends the latter to the punctum's effect.

The influence of Lacan and Barthes within the field of visual culture can be seen in anthologies like *Visual Culture: The Reader* (Evans & Hall, 1999) and *The Visual Culture Reader* (Mirzoeff, 1998).

[28] For feminist STS scholarship on medico-scientific images and visual technologies, see Beatriz da Costa and Kavita Philip (2008), Rosalind Petchesky (1987), Nancy Stepan (2001), Jennifer Terry and Melodi Calvert (1997), and Paula Treichler, Lisa Cartwright, and Constance Penley (1998).

but what runs through them is way of seeing or reading the subject that points to the aggression internal to scientific practice. Lisa Cartwright (1995) illustrates the ways in which the scientific gaze is dispersed through technologies of seeing and how these technologies then become privileged sites of constructing knowledge about the body. Blurring the epistemic boundaries between scientific texts and popular images of science and medicine, Cartwright demonstrates how science and film share similar conventions of representing the body, and how pleasure and enjoyment are similarly structured in both "expert" and "lay" practices of looking. The current dissertation demonstrates how this cutting across categories of documentary practice reveals the interconnections between the carceral and the experimental.

Extending these kinds of scholarship, the current dissertation also borrows epistemological insights from works attending to race and (in)visibility in an increasingly technomediated landscape, one that, through other forms, reproduces the caesuras of the archive. Michelle Wallace (1990/2004), for instance, notes the ways blackness is constructed through a dual process of invisibilization and negative representation. In popular media, black people are either caricatured or they are absent, and this shapes "how one is seen (as black) and, therefore, what one sees (in a white world)" (p. 366). Yet, Wallace also problematizes visibility as a corrective to this process, cautioning that "too much visibility of the wrong kind, and at the wrong time" can be deadly to the black individual and to "blacks as a class" (1996/2004, p. 425). Thus, this dissertation makes explicit problems of visibility and appearance in the archive—what is and is not there in the archive—and in the materials that the archive makes available—what is and is not there in the object—exploring through the concept of "skin" how these problems are

fundamentally about race-making. Imaging the body through pictures, graphics, and texts is freighted with histories of erasure both figurative and literal, (re)producing an image of difference or what Kara Keeling (2007) calls an "image of common sense," in which habituated perceptual schemas and evolving technological processes both consolidate and offer up alternatives to dominant organizations of life. Taking up the intersections of imprisonment and medical science as one of those modes of organization, which is itself positioned by Fanon's phobogenic object, this dissertation explores the ways race structures how and what we can "see" in the most general sense.

The following chapter, "The Skin Apparatus," positions skin as an instrument or fleshy device interfacing with a variety of test agents and mediating their harmful effects, forming a screen through which the visualization and recognition of pain became inextricable from the construction of racial difference. Here, I point to the enmeshment of biomedical practice with carceral strategies of containment, surveillance, and control, and wherein subjection and pained expressions of captive agency were inextricable from scientific method. Examining Kligman's published articles and interviews with media outlets, this chapter shows how prisoner skin became an apparatus for measuring pain, standardizing and troubleshooting research protocols, and for resuscitating longstanding cultural fantasies about "curing" blackness. In the context of incarceration, the protective and subjectifying functions of skin were hence displaced, forming instead the material conduit for de-differentiating or making fungible the bodies of Holmesburg's captive population. The chapter locates this displaced skin and subjectification in the photographic image, addressing the photograph or the camera lens as a technology

continuous with a skin apparatus that therefore appears more lively and agential than its subject.

In the chapter "Skin and Structure," I use popular and artistic representations of Holmesburg Prison to explore the intersecting spaces of captivity and medical science—the prison-clinic. These renderings of the prison ruins frequently reference and sometimes spectacularize Kligman's experiments, tellingly noting the skin-like quality of the decaying prison walls. Tracing the skin of Holmesburg's architecture in its dual status as prison and laboratory site, this chapter illustrates how the latter evokes older forms of warehousing and scientifically managing dispossessed groups, pointing to symbolic and physical continuities between the slave estate, the penal facility, and the clinical space. However, in light of Homesburg's new uses in memory-work—ruin photographs, ghost stories, artworks—the chapter also contends with the epistemological stakes of reading, seeing, or reconstructing spatial histories from disappearing sites mediated and aestheticized through photography and pop culture. The ruins of Holmesburg Prison and their various remediations afford a rethinking of the "archive," here a vanishing space whose visual history extends precisely to self-conscious efforts to record its dissolution, the space of Kligman's work thus readable only through this detritus and decay.

The chapter, "Bioethics and the Skin of Discourse," reads skin as the discourse or textual membrane of an emerging bioethics seeking to protect its imagined subject of abuse, a pained subject who is made to conceal the antagonism between knowledge and freedom. Rather than imagining the possibility of ethical practice within unethical spaces of confinement, this chapter illustrates the ways the imprisoned body was mobilized in biomedicine's network of regulation and credibility that is called "bioethics." Tasked to

evaluate and set in place new regulatory codes regarding experiments on human test subjects, the National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavioral Research yoked prison experimentation with prison reform, in effect ending a majority of the nation's prison research programs, because prisons were unwilling or unable to institute the changes that the Commission deemed necessary for ethical research practice in carceral settings. The chapter interrogates the Commission's claims and recommendations, locating in prisoners' statements and letters for and against prison research a political demand that intervenes precisely at the intersecting carceral and experimental logics and practices missed by the Commission's proposals.

Finally, the concluding chapter of the dissertation gestures to an insurgent bioethics informed by prison abolition rhetoric. Whereas the Commission's recommendations attempts to insulate their subject from harm—a skin of words whose permeability depends on a reformist agenda—prison abolition and its emphasis on the brute forces of state violence excavates the aggression internal to scientific practice. This chapter argues that prison narratives and abolitionist rhetoric form the founding gestures of an insurgent bioethical framework for interrogating and understanding the historical relationship between captivity and medical abuse.

Chapter 2 The Skin Apparatus

Figure 1: Front page news photograph of medical examination in H block. Photograph by Michael Maicher, 1966. Reproduced with permission from the Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, PA.

In February 1966, photojournalist Michael Maicher entered Holmesburg Prison for a publicity event centering the facility's experimental research program. The photograph he would take for a front-page feature in the *Philadelphia Bulletin*, the state's largest circulation newspaper at the time, would become one of most disseminated images of Kligman's work then and now. In the image, an unnamed shirt-less prisoner sits, slightly hunched, on a wooden bench or table with his naked back toward the viewer. He faces the experimental program's medical administrator, Solomon McBride, who, in contrast to the prisoner's state of undress, is fully clothed in slacks, a tie, and a white,

long-sleeve, knee-length lab coat. Through his dark-rimmed glasses, McBride gazes down at a clipboard he carries while he stands speaking to the prisoner, quite possibly discussing the six white gauze patches lining the latter's back, three on each side, the photograph's linear perspective drawing the eye from this medical examination occurring in foreground to the prison officials and large metal gate occupying the center of the frame (Figure 1).

In the contemporary moment, this image is often invoked to shed light on the injustice and misconduct of Kligman's work and of postwar prison experimental programs more generally.[1] Appropriated for and popularized by the cover of Hornblum's widely read publication on the medical experiments at Holmesburg Prison, the image's original role in visualizing a narrative about the good will and humanitarianism of those behind bars, has been supplanted by stories meant to either shock or disquiet the reader on the history and dangers of reinstating experimentation on incarcerated individuals: here is visual proof of abuse. Contradictory interpretations clearly mark the career of this photograph, pointing to changing cultural attitudes about medical experimentation on captive populations. I first encountered it through the cover of Hornblum's text, and despite the latter's unambiguous subheading regarding "abuse and exploitation in the name of medical science," from my perspective as a researcher recently removed from the laboratory routines of the life sciences, I took it as a snapshot of daily research practice. Lacking any scientifically relevant data, the image was quite evidently taken by a "lay" person for a "lay" audience, a small scene of everyday science at Holmesburg

[1] For more recent news articles featuring this image, see Urbina (2006), Stobbe (2011), and Daub and Clune (2011).

Prison. But even this reading was to be further complicated when the original photograph was found in the archives, and I realized that a medical administrator, McBride, was conducting the examination of the unnamed prisoner—since when did an *administrator*, and not a technician, do such regular tasks? More than likely staged for the publicity event, the scene's ability to provoke the viewer's sense of morality, either endorsement or indignation, arises from this performance or *appearance* of science in action.

To read this image, as well as other images of Kligman's work, against the grain would mean avoiding the trap of moralizing conclusions they are made to invite, and instead interrogating their intentions, identifying their interpretive contexts, and tracing the slippages of meaning within their articulations, the gaps present in their symbolic chains of association. In its original context, the image was meant to visualize the agency of prisoners, to complement a narrative about what prisoners *can do* for medicine—they "volunteer to save lives." The news story for which the image was commissioned did not elaborate on the study that the prisoner was undergoing, but enumerated other tests in which approximately 900 of Holmesburg's 1,200 captives were taking part:

> A 23-year old prisoner sits in his prison cell, which is fitted into a laboratory, and studies blood samples under a microscope…In another cell, bulging with test instruments, books and papers, a second youth is also engaged in laboratory work…The man in isolation helping to find a cure for jungle rot has voluntarily put himself "in the hole"…[he] may remain there for a week or ten days under close supervision, fighting boredom and monotony as the medication permeates his skin…. In another cell, men soak their hands half an hour each in a solution intended to test the basic ingredients of toothpaste and washing powders…. Other prisoners sit under "black light," subjecting themselves to photo-sensitivity in tests to determine the effects of sunlight…. You walk through other cell blocks…and you reach another room where prisoners are lined up to give samples of their blood.[2]

[2] Article written by Adolph Katz (1966, February 27).

Interpellating the reader as a visitor to H block, the main prison hall dedicated to Kligman's research program, the article is not unlike Kligman's scientific papers, which, too, often adopt a language of collaboration between experimenter and research subject. Acknowledgements state: "We are indebted to the inmates of Holmesburg prison for serving as volunteers and to the administration (Edward Hendrick, Superintendent) for use of the facilities."[3] And like the photograph used for this article, several of the images in Kligman's publications may in the present moment stir feelings of unease and alarm in the viewer, affective responses one can also tie to the pleasures of looking, such as voyeurism and morbid fascination, that render them not altogether different from the positive, affirmative reactions the original image sought from viewers. Lastly, though Kligman's publications are made by and targeted toward experts in the field, this kind of writing and imaging has its own version of obscuring everyday lab work. Karin Knorr-Cetina (1981) writes that the scientific paper "hides more than it tells on its tame and civilised surface," disclosing none of the messy, behind-the-scene happenings of laboratory practice, even as it purports to report research conducted in that lab (p. 94). Operative in the manufacture of scientific knowledge, published papers elide locally situated selections and decisions made in routine lab work, reconstructing and converting instances of negotiation and compromise into a polished illustration of non-local universality. Hence, one must approach scientific papers with an eye toward rhetorical qualities, something they share with other forms of communication, an intertextuality Knorr-Cetina terms the *transscientific* field.

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[3] See acknowledgement sections in, for example, Kligman and Christophers (1963), Erikson, Coots, Mattson, and Kligman (1964), and Kligman (1966).

Engaging with Kligman's publications featuring research conducted at Holmesburg Prison, the current chapter is concerned with how power moves and operates through scientific texts and images, examining how it is that they perform the ideological and cultural work of a prison paradigm and charting the affective and rhetorical force of this work. On one hand, the images in Kligman's scientific papers visualize technology, that is, the ways skin becomes not only an object of inquiry but also a key apparatus for mediating and seeing the effects of chemical agents. And on the other, the photographs are themselves instruments in the documentation of research, and, as Steven Connor (2001) argues, are skin-like in their having literally been touched by light and traces of the world impressed upon their film-surface.[4] In Kligman's work, the boundary between skin and image, skin and visual apparatus, is difficult to place.

Frantz Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952/2008) frequently deployed scientific and medical metaphors to blur distinctions between the image, the (white) gaze, and (black) skin, offering much in the way of rethinking captive skin as instrument for experimental *and* carceral practices. In his chapter on his everyday encounters with antiblackness or what may be considered a phenomenology of blackness—the title of this part of the book has been translated as "The Lived Experience of the Black Man" or "The

[4] For more on the relationship between skin and photography, see *Feeling Photography*, edited by Elspeth Brown and Thy Phu (2014). Returning to works by Roland Barthes, Eve Sedgwick, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, and Didier Anzieu, the essays collected in this anthology take up feeling or affect as a theoretical and epistemological framework for studying photography. In contrast to "thinking," which focuses on materiality and material effects of photography, "feeling" privileges a critique of power by centering the politics of viewing images—it speaks to "a desire to provoke more politically useful feelings" in relation to images (p. 4). Elizabeth Abel's contribution to the book, for instance, identifies the haptic qualities of Civil Rights photography, which does not "capture" the attention of the viewer using eye-grabbing aesthetics (e.g. advertisements), but rather reaches out to the viewer and in the same manner that the Civil Rights movement attempts to create spaces "bringing skins of diverse hues into transgressive contact" (p. 96). Affect produced through the interplay between the photograph and the viewer is hence not individual or personal but *extended* like skin, forming an interface between bodies and between bodies and images.

Fact of Blackness"—Fanon opens with an example of the capacity of the white gaze to bind its object, a body, to an image, a "suffering reification" (p. 89). "Look! A Negro!" (ibid). A call to action—Look!—is instantly followed by a discovery—A Negro! The transition from spectatorship to knowledge is seamless, and this exhortation to apprehend blackness in this way is repeated several more times thereafter. Fanon compares this immediacy between seeing and knowing to histological practices, in which tissue specimens are viewed under a microscope to see shapes and changes indiscernible to the naked eye. He writes, "the Other fixes me with his gaze, his gestures and attitudes, the same way you would *fix a preparation with a dye*" (ibid., emphasis added), the latter referring to staining techniques that create greater color contrasts between tissue or cell structures. Correlated to methods of microscopy, the white gaze is penetrative and surgical—it can access and divide the body down to the latter's cellular anatomy—but its object, too, is made to show something about itself, to highlight and present its contours and forms to help arrive at a particular diagnosis: blackness. This is what Fanon means by being "an object among other objects," an object "taken out of the world" (ibid.), that which "has no ontological resistance in the eyes of the white man" (p. 90): an object that is made not only to be seen or looked at but also to structure, to authorize, its suffocatingly reifying to-be-looked-at-ness.

The front-page feature on Kligman's experimental program had called Holmesburg "a golden opportunity to conduct widespread medical tests under *perfect* control conditions" (emphasis added). No doubt, by "control" the story intentionally refers to the term's usage in laboratories, wherein any and all variables that may influence test results must be eliminated or minimized, and, in fact, the scientist's

idealized aim for complete control of variables is precisely that which lends the lab its artificiality. Yet, this conflation of research and carceral spaces evinces a symbolic and physical continuity between the slave estate, the penal facility, and the laboratory site discussed earlier (see Intro). The logical extension of older forms of captivity, penal control conditions are "perfect" insofar as the prison space, like that of the plantation and the slave ship, divides in a Manichean fashion, puts under surveillance, and makes absolutely accessible for intervention the movements of its captive population—these are the spatial arrangements that make for ideal laboratory conditions. In Kligman's experimental program, prisoners were both objects and practitioners of research. And their skin was both the subject of and the vehicle for scientific inquiry. Through Kligman's protocols, this chapter will illustrate how scientific method thus reproduced the intimate relationship between subjection and agency Saidiya Hartman observed in slavery archives. However, as the chapter will also show, this reproduction is neither accidental to nor incompatible with scientific representations but rather gives the latter its form as knowledge artifacts.

The skin/screen

Kligman was a prolific writer, authoring and co-authoring numerous articles during his time at Holmesburg and many of which are foundational to the field of dermatology. Most of the accessible articles were published in periodicals on dermatology, notably the prominent journals, *Archives of Dermatology* and the *Journal of Investigative Dermatology*. Some of these works sought to describe or ascertain the workings of skin, "basic" research whose specific treatment applications are secondary to

contributing to fundamental understandings or theories and methods of the field. The latter are foundational to "applied" research, which seek solutions to specific problems in the world. One example of basic research in Kligman's work was a study on the permeability of the stratum corneum, or the outermost layer of skin containing only dead cells, seeking to determine how quickly certain concentrations of fluorescent dyes could penetrate the skin under varying times of exposure (Baker & Kligman, 1967). Removing in a stepwise fashion each layer of the corneum using Scotch tape, the researchers found that how quickly and how deeply this skin layer glowed under black light positively correlated with how much dye was applied to the skin and how much time the dye was given to seep into it. Another study on the stratum corneum described a method for visualizing it under a microscope after isolating it from the skin through the measured creation and excision of blisters (Christophers & Kligman, 1963). A different study sought to map the mechanism of photoallergic contact dermatitis, or skin irritation resulting from light-induced chemical reactions (Willis & Kligman, 1968a). Hypothesizing that a substance in contact with skin caused photoallergic dermatitis, this experiment determined that light only increased the potency of a photosensitive drug that can by itself stimulate an allergic reaction—these kinds of substances are "allergens," which are divided into direct contact allergens, or "haptens," and photoallergic substances, or "photosensitizers." An adjacent study showed that some photosensitizers could remain in the skin for several months and even years after application, catalyzing allergic reactions to the skin, now a "persistent light reactor," under even minimal exposure to light (Willis & Kligman, 1968b).

These examples show that experimentation is invasive. In this case, the controlled influence of observable phenomena to test a theory or confirm a "fact," means administering pain or some level of discomfort to make skin materialize its functions to the scientific eye. The *procedural* distribution of pain among test subjects, or even test sites on a single subject, are evident in graphic representations of experimental results—measurement of time and concentration in the permeability test, measurement of light and level of allergic reaction in the photoallergen study—conventions of visualization common to fields making use of quantitative methods. Karen Barad (2007) argues that measurements enact boundaries, or "agential cuts," that set apart measured objects from measuring agents, and unambiguously determine the properties or elements of what is being measured. Significantly, these properties depend on or carry out a correlation between the object and agent of measurement, establishing a system of equivalence between figures such that a graphic quantity can be made commensurable with a real change on or interference with the skin. Infographics of pain, operationalized as either result or tool (e.g. stripping by Scotch tape), are also frequently used in combination with visual or pictorial images, which display instances, singular results, exemplifying the collective information of tables and graphs. When they are both present in an article, these two forms of visualization inform one another, but they also communicate data very differently, and this difference between photographs and graphs of skin experiments is especially clear in the relationship between corporeal and photographic skin.

Take, for instance, Kligman's detailed study on the biology of the sebaceous gland, which is located on the face and secretes an oily, lubricating substance called sebum, primarily on the forehead (Kligman & Shelley, 1958). In a series of experiments,

investigation overturned prior work deducing that the gland starts and stops its discharge of sebum in response to the amount of sebum already accumulated on the forehead—a feedback loop. In contrast, Kligman's study suggested that the sebaceous gland functions continuously irrespective of environmental change. Recruiting prisoners who were considered "hyperexcretors" of sebum, or "sebaceous athletes," one experiment called for the complete occlusion of a region of the forehead by covering it up with a glass cup, thus preventing mechanical contact. In one month, "buildup of sebum and keratin, a skin protein, produced a "queer verrucous [wart-like] appearance," indicating that sebum accumulation does not cease sebum production (p. 104, Figure 2). To show that secreted sebum originated from follicles of the sebaceous kind, another approach adopted hemostat compression to forcibly extrude sebum from these glands.

Figure 2: Sebum and keratin accumulation on forehead of test subject. Image from Kligman and Shelley (1957). Reproduced with permission from Elsevier.

As the paper indicated, squeezing folds of skin with a hemostat, a scissor-like instrument normally used to block hemorrhaging by clamping down open blood vessels, is a painful but effective procedure for "expressing" sebum, which, through stereoscopic microscopy,

can be seen as liquid droplets on the skin surface, though other substances like "worm-like masses" of bacteria commonly living on human skin can also be extruded (Figure 3).

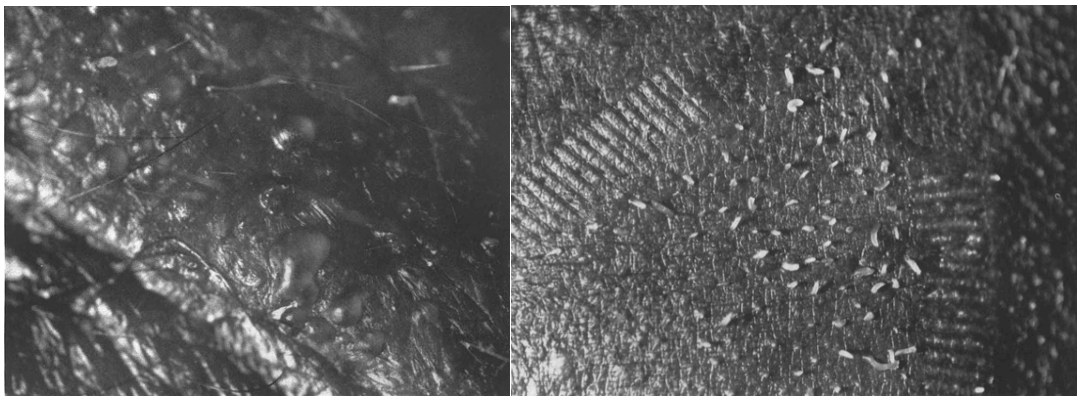

Figure 3: Magnified view of sebum droplets (left) and bacteria mass (right). Images from Kligman and Shelley (1957). Reproduced with permission from Elsevier.

From these images, one can also detect the ridges left behind by pressure caused by the hemostat, parallel lines bordering the extruded sebum and bacteria.

These images constitute artifacts of what Charles Goodwin (1994) calls "professional vision," which in this case includes the domain of scrutiny, discursive practices, and specific activities of dermatology. In Kligman's research program, the relevant object of study, be it the allergen, the stratum corneum, or the sebaceous gland, emerged from the interplay between skin, experimental protocols, and the representational activities of researchers. Distributed across bodies, instruments, and objects, this form of seeing is extended *like skin*, Kligman's extreme close-up photographs blurring the boundaries between imaged skin and the skin of the image, constituting a form of haptic imagery, which, as Laura U. Marks (2000) shows, points to the embodiedness of experiencing the visual. "Haptic visuality" or "touch epistemology" invites the eye not to penetrate into the image, searching for depth, but rather to graze or

move over the latter's surfaces, to sacrifice form and the *mastery of form* in favor of texture and contact: the glistening droplets of sebum, the coarseness of hair fibers, the rough lumpiness of keratin buildup. Thus positioned as an organ of touch, imbued with tactility, the eye pulls the viewer into the image, bringing her closer to or almost in the same plane as the photographic object, a mingling that allows the gaze to caress its object. For Marks, this seeing and knowing through touch develops through mimesis, wherein both the image and the eye act like skin, spectatorship hence a meeting of sensoria between viewer and photograph, producing neither an abstraction of ideas nor a relationship of identification between subject and object, but a continuum between sensorial experience and representation, between body and sign.

However, whereas Marks focuses on the memory-making capacities of haptic visuality and the ways it challenges disembodied, cognitive relationships with the visual by inverting control of the thing seen, Kligman's photographs do not exceed cognition but rather reinforce it, their claim to expertise and timeless evidence, objectivity and the universal, a denial of their role in memory.[5] Establishing a relationship between the viewer and the screen itself, haptic visuality emphasizes the always embodied, multisensorial nature of making and viewing images, and the always tactile, sensual

[5] Marks situates her analysis of haptic visuality in what she's calls "intercultural cinema," film often underfunded and produced by diasporic groups living in metropolitan cities. More experimental than conventional cinema, these films represent struggles with living in between cultural regimes of knowledge, and are therefore more self-conscious about politics of representation. Representing an encounter with empty spaces in history, they reconstruct memory by moving between recovery and fabulation.

Marks's work builds on Vivian Sobchack's *Address of the Eye* (1992), which looks at signification and significance through embodied vision. Intervening in film theory's preoccupation with Marxist and psychoanalytic frameworks, Sobchack takes up phenomenology to theorize film as not simply a screen but an expression of experience by experience. That is, the film views and reaches out toward the viewer, whose act of viewing, too, forms an expression insofar it grasps the existence of the film. Both film and viewer engage in an intersubjective process of *perception as expression* and *expression as perception*. Thus, in Sobchack's work, film also the assumes the figure of viewing subject, one who is as communicatively competent or incompetent as the spectator and the filmmaker.

quality of remembering. These elements are present in Kligman's pictures but the latter think through the skin in an altogether different manner, enacting the "shattering" of the individual that Marks also identifies in the more sinister undertones of touch epistemology. Kligman's images may bring the viewer nearer to the object—the close-up photography and use of microscopy gives the sense of proximity—but they remain artifacts of instrumental vision made to exhibit something scientifically useful, a penetrative and abstracting gaze that thus oddly creates a sense of deep space through intimacy, or a distinct separation between subject and object through touching-seeing. Complicating the notion that physical contact is always mutual or interactive—to touch is at once to be touched—images of skin experimented upon in contrast exhibit touch invaded and colonized by ocular centrism, touch made to enact the probing nature of the gaze. Kligman's first impressions of Holmesburg made prescient, the tightly-framed skin—skin made bumpy, furrowed, and wet—is transformed into a "sensuous geography" (p. 246), a "visual plenitude" (p. 177), or membraneous landscape over which the eye travels and touches the injurious changes it brought about.

Nevertheless, just as Marks finds in haptic visuality a means of seeing "culture inside the body," it affords a way of perceiving culture inside the scientific image as well as in the machine-body that furnishes latter's object—in short, a way of fleshing out the politics of representation from within a visual apparatus contiguous with the skin apparatus. Skin is not simply an object of the scientific gaze but an instrument that enables that gaze by offering up what it is looking for. Human and non-human test subjects are always *models* of the object under study, instantiating a thing that is found across entities or phenomena. Just as animal experimentation is not specifically about the

animals used, experiments on prisoners were about not the prisoners themselves but, for example, this thing called a sebaceous gland—an abstraction produced in the same movement of objectifying a scientific question. Also displaying a novel form of collecting sebum, Kligman's article at one point pulls the camera back from the skin to a wider shot of Kligman's contraption for harvesting sebum, an image that allows others to view and reproduce the method by which sebum could be extracted from the skin.

Figure 4: Sebum collection from forehead. Image from Kligman and Shelley (1957). Reproduced with permission from Elsevier.

In the image, a glass cup is affixed atop the forehead using adhesive tape while the prisoner test subject is completely immobilized (Figure 4). The article states that the prisoner has been sitting supine and motionless for 2-4 hours, after which ether gas was introduced into and removed from the cup using a syringe. If this image is particularly gripping, it is because, in the present moment and context of looking, a critical eye can readily see conventions of representation divulging the dominated status of the object of

viewing. The prisoner is a much older man, and with his eyes closed and face turned up to the camera, his placid expression belies the sense of alarm, unease, and/or morbid pleasure that the apparatus on his forehead, manipulated by a disembodied white hand, may generate for viewers.

Yet, made to model *the* sebaceous gland—to yield knowledge about life that is not his own—the prisoner's body was abstracted, disembodied and mechanized, composing an integral part of an investigative apparatus rather than a subject unto which things are done. This is a pained expression of captive *agency* inextricable from scientific method, with skin not simply a passive site of observation or manipulation but an active agent, invested with power, in the production of organic knowledge.[6] This might be called a politics of matter or, rather, a politics coming from things, in which the de-centering of modernity's subject, an autonomous and self-knowing human being, inaugurates an understanding of matter's immanent vitality.[7] Blurring distinctions between body and apparatus, the cyborg skin of prisoners demonstrated simultaneously the uncanny thing-ness of flesh and the lively intentionality of matter, whether the latter

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[6] See Foucault's *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings* (1980) and *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1* (1976/1990) on the difference between negative (repressive) and positive (productive) power. The latter invests in the body and thereby produces its own subject (desire and knowledge).

[7] See recent scholarship in posthumanism, such as new materialism, object-oriented ontology, and speculative realism, dealing precisely with epistemological subversions of the category of "human." Posthumanists displace Cartesian dualisms to address science, medicine, and technology have always blurred distinctions made between humans and non-humans, these muddied or transgressed boundaries therefore becoming impossible to map with certainty. Posthumanists also depart from anti-humanist or social constructionist approaches delimiting both nature and the subject to the structural constraints of culture. Recovering older materialist traditions—Bergson, Darwin, Marx, and Merleau-Ponty are notable figures—posthumanists offer new approaches attentive to corporealities, biological substances, lived experiences, and the physical stuff of matter. See Jane Bennett (2010), Katherine Hayles (1999), Rosi Braidotti (2013), Rick Dolphijn and Iris van der Tuin (2012), Levi Bryant, Nick Srnicek, and Graham Harman (2011), Diana Coole and Samantha Frost (2010), Stacy Alaimo and Hekman (2008), and Elizabeth Grosz (2004). See Diana Leong (2016) for an excellent critique of the new materialist strain of posthumanism.

is the camera, the photograph, or an assembly of glass cups, tape, and syringes.[8] Coextensive apparatuses, skin and instrument enacted a form of agency wherein the captive's subjective capacity for self-making was shunted to his objective utility for experimentation. This is not to discount instances of experimental sabotage that Allen Hornblum (1998) gleaned from his interviews with former prisoners. From noncompliance to unexpected withdrawals from research projects, the actions of prisoners sometimes skewed results or derailed experiments entirely. These local forms of resisting and negotiating experimental protocols challenge easy interpretations of prisoners passively accepting direction from research staff. Yet, given prisoners' absolute subjection to figures of authority within a carceral space, any willful action on their part must always be read through politics of control and surveillance giving form and intention to expressions of captive agency.

Building on Michel Foucault's notion of "capillary power," which displaces power from centralized protocols to its operations in and through bodies, Dylan Rodríguez (2007) locates the capillary power of carceral violence in the imprisoned subject's viscerality, his or her blood, skin, nervous system, and organs functioning as mediating materials of the prison regime. This capillary nature of power, which in the

[8] I borrow "cyborg skin" from Claudia Castañeda (2001), who takes up robotic skin or robotic tactility to theorize embodied relations between material and sensory apparatuses. For Castañeda, these relations are "skinning touch," wherein skin, either corporeal or robotic, constitutes an effect of contact. The term "cyborg" itself has been popularized in feminist science and technology studies by Donna Haraway (1991), for whom the cyborg constitutes an oppositional metaphor against modern binaries of human/non-human and mind/body. The cyborg muddies this division between ideas and things, representing "transgressed boundaries, potent fusions, and dangerous possibilities" (p. 154). In terms of physical bodies, it de-centers the human and reveals the "disturbingly lively" (p. 152) character of matter, obscuring the ontological borders between subject/object enshrined in modern thought. Later, Haraway (2006) reformulates the cyborg as a symbiotic, multi-species becoming-with, whose emphasis on "symbiogenetic" relationships between humans and their companion animals points to kin-like structures of responsibility to and for others.

context of captivity is structured by psychological and bodily violence as standard operating procedure, connects the imprisoned body directly not only to prison regimes of control and surveillance but to the entirety of US democracy as a "circulatory system" through which domination and the *legitimacy of domination* moves and settles. Local settings of imprisonment—a "condensed technology of power" (2006, p. 162)—are paradigmatic to the workings and the idea of the nation, this continuum between spaces of freedom and unfreedom also reproducing, Rodríguez reminds us, the temporal or "historical kinship" between modern carceral practices and chattel slavery. Prototyping the Middle Passage, the auction block, and the plantation, imprisonment refines, harnesses, and unleashes older templates of race-making that inscribed the status of blacks as nonhuman entities (p. 200).

Images in Kligman's scientific papers literalize this capillary power, pointing to the enmeshment of biomedical practice with carceral strategies of containment, surveillance, and control rooted in racial slavery. Forming the material inscriptions of capillary power, experiments and their resulting injuries and scars fashioned the captive body as a site and tool for knowledge production, corporealizing not only the doing of science *in* prison but also what Foucault (1977/1995) discerned as the science of imprisonment itself, to wit, the classification, differentiation, supervision, and codification of criminal pathology, which, as Allan Sekula (1986) also illustrates, was thoroughly enabled by new forms of seeing the captive body during the 19th century.[9] The

[9] The emergence of the prison in 18th century France and England, Foucault argues, was driven by a reformist preoccupation with transforming the prisoner's "soul." Confinement and isolation were propounded as means for the prisoner to reflect on his crime and for prison authorities to regulate and organize his activities. These practices marked the prison as an apparatus of knowledge that viewed the imprisoned body not only as a site for the individualized application of penalty but also as a source for

panoptic gaze was instrumentalized via photography—indeed, the latter catalyzed developments in the former—this visual culture of criminal science, always already influenced by dominant racial and class attitudes, further instituting both the body and society as objects of bureaucratic control. Deploying photography to standardize the image of criminality (a "criminal type") and to differentiate it from the body of the law-abiding citizen, early proponents of criminology shared with their contemporary eugenicists a commitment to demographic regulation. At Holmesburg, this history of seeing the criminal as a means of managing the social body dovetailed into laboratory techniques of seeing as a means of understanding the biological body, both kinds of sciences, medical and criminal, possessing and producing meaning that forms the being of captivity, the burden of representation John Tagg (1993) locates in visual apparatuses or entities deemed *purely* instrumental.[10]

At the intersections of biomedical tactics and penal regimes of detention and discipline, the captive body as scientific instrument and subject of capillary power was

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ascertaining criminal tendencies. The prisoner is a docile body precisely because his body is made to speak as well as to carry the signs of criminal pathology.

See also Shawn Michelle Smith's (2004) analysis of W.E.B. Du Bois's collection of photographs and portraits of black Americans exhibited at the 1900 Paris Exposition. Borrowing conventions of scientific photography, this collection sought to counter stereotyped images of black Americans used in classifying races according to biology, like Josephy T Zealy's daguerrotypes of slaves created for Harvard scientist, Louis Agassiz.

[10] See Khalil Gibran Muhammad's (2010) study on the ways census data and the science of statistics were used to forge a link between blackness and criminality post-slavery. Focusing on the urban, industrial North during the Progressive Era, Muhammad illustrates how white immigrants like the Irish and Italian came to shed stereotypes of criminality whereas blackness as a racial category cohered around new discourses of dysfunctionality in which pathology became a social scientific rather than a strictly medico-scientific object.

See also Simone Browne's *Dark Matters* (2015), which historicizes contemporary surveillance technologies in slavery's management of the allowable identities and movements of captive populations. For example, Browne situates the branding of slaves as one of the earliest forms of biometric technologies: "At the scale of the skin, the captive body was made the site of social and economic maneuver through the use of the iron type" (p. 93). Through branding, the slave became an object of bureaucratic control, physically marked to establish their status as commodity-good, to differentiate their quality as commodity-good, to distinguish ownership and enable recapture, and, as punishment, to publicize assumed traits of insubordination.

hence the vehicle through which the carceral and the experimental were enacted. And if instrumentation, as Don Ihde (1983) argues, extends, embodies, and therefore ontologically precedes our experiencing and understanding of the world, then the captive body as research object and device became the means for defining, bringing forth, and mastering the nature of the penal system and the lifeworld of postwar human testing, in which race played a defining role. It is important to note that Kligman himself held little interest in racial essences. His experiments did not seek the anatomical and physiological bases of race, and so, at least on the face of it, they cannot be accused of biological determinism. Yet, just as race cannot be said to be an incidental byproduct of imprisonment, the racism of Kligman's experimental program did not simply issue from its carceral settings, as if the doing of science could be divorced from the place where it is done. On the contrary, there was something about captivity that made it conducive to experimental life, as borne out by widespread use of prisoner test subjects in post-WWII US as well as the crucial role of slavery and colonialism in developing understandings of the body and its environments. And this something, which situates the captive body as the generative ground, the object and vehicle, for knowledge production, was operative in the visualization of research phenomena at the site of the skin.

This was particularly striking in experiments demonstrating a categorical separation between images of pain and images of racial difference. In addition to testing the irritancy and allergenicity of lotions, shampoos, soaps, cosmetics, and antiperspirants supplied by pharmaceutical and hygiene manufacturers like Johnson & Johnson and Procter & Gamble, Kligman's program conducted experiments on improving the method by which they sought to determine the irritancy and allergic potential of test compounds.

These experiments pointed to shifting objects of study, from questions about safe levels of topically administered chemicals, to the epistemological significance of skin as an instrument. The method, patch testing, involved soaking pads of cotton cloth with test compounds, applying them onto the backs or forearms of research subjects, and, after a given amount of time, visually interpreting their injurious effects on skin, which can include swelling, reddening, itching, and blisters at the site of exposure. Quantifying these effects involves assigning levels of injury to each reaction, whose microscopic forms can be observed through punch biopsies. Developed at the turn of the 20th century and still commonly used to diagnose allergic contact dermatitis (ACD), patch testing was for Kligman overdue for enhancements in a context wherein weak contact allergens and irritants were becoming prevalent in common household products. Dubbed the "maximization procedure," Kligman's upgraded patch test showed enhanced sensitivity through its ability to identify the skin's allergic reactions to weak contact sensitizers (Kligman, 1966). Experimenting with hundreds of compounds over a period of 15 years, the maximization test resulted from operationalizing the allergic process itself, reproducing the latter not simply as the result of a study but as the mechanism through which experimentation can occur (Kligman & Epstein, 1975). An allergic reaction happens during not the first exposure to a substance but to the second, in which immune cells in the skin and lymph nodes learn to mount a response to the foreign substance after they have become "sensitized" to or develop a "memory" of the substance during its initial presentation.[11] In Kligman's new bioassay, the initial exposure is deployed as an

[11] See Nelson and Mowad (2010) for brief literature review of ACD and patch testing.

induction period, wherein research subjects are presented with the test compounds and any reactions therein used to establish a baseline for comparison with those following the challenge period, in which the subjects are re-introduced to the compounds. Increased sensitivity is achieved using sodium lauryl sulfate (SLS), a common sensitizer that helps break the surface of the skin.

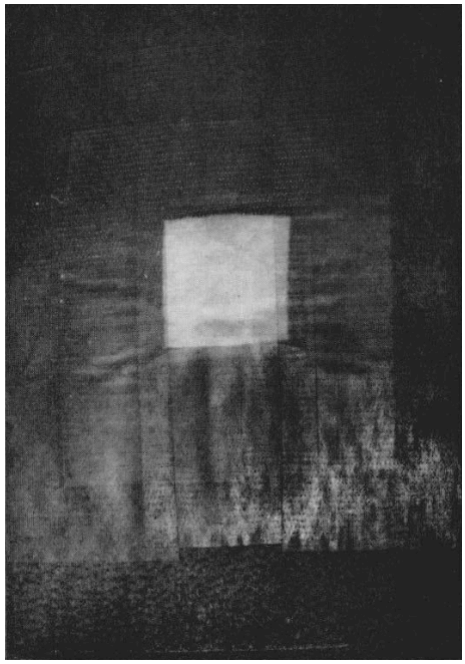

Figure 5: Maximization test on the lower back. Image from Kligman and Wooding (1967). Reproduced with permission from Elsevier.

The maximization apparatus consisted of patches of absorbent, non-woven fabric pressed over the skin and covered over with overlapping, impermeable plastic tape (Figure 5), and was again later improved upon by adding an aluminum cup over the application site (Frosch & Kligman, 1979).[12] This apparatus was developed for quantifying both allergenicity and irritancy, which constitute difference phenomena.

[12] For another method introduced by Kligman to quantify irritancy, see Frosch and Kligman, 1976. Kligman also studied the capacity for the tapes used in the maximization apparatus to increase bacterial growth on the skin (Marples & Kligman, 1969).

Whereas allergenicity refers to a compound's capacity for catalyzing an immune response in genetically pre-disposed individuals, irritancy describes a compound that causes injurious reactions across all individuals by direct action on the skin. In either case, however, for Kligman, black skin constituted a problematic screen for viewing skin trauma, even through the experimental program consisted largely of captive adult black men (Kligman & Epstein, 1975). In quantitative estimations of irritation, researchers warned, "in the Negro, the observer must learn to *correct for* the obscuring effect of pigmentation," requiring a practiced eye for accurately detecting and numerically translating the "purplish hues" signaling aggravated skin (Kligman & Wooding, 1967, p. 80, emphasis added). In short, black skin was perceived to undermine a project meant to standardize levels of recognizable harm. Though not constituting the aim of the study, the presumed resiliency of black skin—that it is "more tolerant of chemical irritants than white"—was a side issue "confirmed" by the project (ibid). Hence, in addition to promoting the new bioassay for testing the safety of common irritants in hygiene products, researchers also posited that the maximization procedure composed an effective model for assessing reactive differences between races, sexes, and ages—all of these subject groups placed on the same scale as, they are taken to be real, objective, and unproblematic research topics like testable regions of the body and varying hypersensitivity reactions (p. 93).

Still, even with confidence regarding the ability of "experienced" researchers to reliably read and interpret skin injuries on black skin, white skin remained the preferred tool for identifying weak sensitizers: "For one thing, erythema [reddening of the skin] is more *easily* perceived" (Kligman & Epstein, 1975, p. 232, emphasis added). And this

"easy" perception of white pain came with different interpretive problems. Whereas the difficulty of registering trauma on black skin meant that they could be "missed" or overlooked, the gross intelligibility of injury on white skin meant higher incidences of false positives, or "non-specific reactions" resulting from a *greater variability* in "the range of responses to irritants" (ibid). In other words, while black pain was too hard to see, with melanin confounding the acknowledgement of pain as such, white pain was so plainly obvious as to require a parsing out of the different kinds of injury that it could manifest. Whereas black pain was transient, perhaps even misleading the expert eye, white pain seemed to overwhelm it with too much information. Though admitting the matter "not settled" because they did not test it directly, researchers conjectured that perhaps white skin was thinner than black skin and that this difference in thickness decreased permeability in the latter: "The fact is that many Caucasoids will develop painful, intolerably severe dermatitis from a relatively low concentration of an anionic surfactant…while the deeply pigmented Negroid may show more than a little redness…. We often find lower reactivity even when the barrier is artificially breached…." (ibid.). That is to say, even when black skin is mechanically ruptured, when it is further damaged in order to test the potency of irritants and allergens on "scarified" skin, it exhibited a condition hardier than that in similarly challenged white skin. In fact, white pain itself influenced the making of experimental protocols. Whereas the seeing of black injury meant training the eye, making it adept at recognizing skin reactions, the seeing of white pain spurred changes in experimental design that sought to diminish it:

> The original procedure called for patches of 5% aqueous SLS to be applied for 24h before each of the five 48h exposures to the test agent or until the skin became intensely inflamed. Whites simply cannot tolerate

> this. Our current recommendation is to apply 5% SLS just once before the first exposure or at most twice if the reaction to the first patch is very mild…. With some potentially irritating materials, the reactions during induction may become excessive (pain, tenderness, swelling, crusting). A 24h test period is then allowed before the next exposure to allow inflammation to subside. (p. 234)

For whites exhibiting "excessive" reactions, a day-pause in experimentation was "allowed" to enable healing, but all test subjects were challenged with solutions less astringent in order to accommodate the inordinateness of white pain. The difficulty of seeing injury on black skin called for correcting the gaze, but the relative ease of seeing injury on white skin called for correcting the experimental procedure itself, for modifying the controlled administration of pain. Again, the researchers emphasized the need for a "quick, simple test" for identifying sensitive skin, but the conclusions of such a test, as the researcher's usage of colonial-era categories of racial differences would suggest, can affirm assumptions of biological determinants of race insofar as the latter are from the beginning built into the methods of research and into the image's interpretive possibilities, an aestheticizing of the skin of the photograph that "denies [its] subject the right to be irritated" (Abel, 2014, p. 114).

Hence an object of ambivalence, black skin was at once a variable to be overcome and a vital medium for making patch tests more efficacious, becoming what David Marriott (2007) calls a "displaced-condensed" figure caught somewhere between symbolization and its failure. The appearance of skin as black signaled the disappearance of pain as a black experience, a scopic regime recalling antebellum medical literature on the hardiness and fitness of slaves. Paradoxically, as Kligman's text tells us, the image of a maximization test on the lower back of a black prisoner, an image visualizing the

procedural application of skin-harming agents, is simultaneously troubled by the ephemeral nature of black injury. What is difficult to see, what is not in the image, are adverse effects on black skin even as what is seen, what the image makes apparent, is harm instrumentalized at the level of that skin. The pedagogical value of the image is its display of a new apparatus, a new method for administering, modulating, reading, and evaluating the effects of allergens and irritants, and yet black skin robs it of its indexical power toward pain—black pain as in excess of indexicality, that "visible invisibility" or "neither-either" Marriott also ascribes to the technological essence of visual media. W.J.T. Mitchell (2005) locates what images cannot show in what it is they want from their viewers or, more specifically, he argues that what pictures want, what they desire, is different from, and maybe even opposed to, what they mean. Thus bound up with what images lack, with what is missing or absent in the image, desire enacts its own kind of world-making that does not simply mirror objective reality. And this desire, which itself thus names the black pain in excess of representation, a figure that is at once nowhere and everywhere in the scientific image, constrains available interpretive frameworks and scopic practices tracing after it. For Mitchell, a rhetoric or hermeneutics of the image must give way to what he terms a "poetics" of the image reaching for the "lives and loves" of pictures.[13]

It may seem nonsensical to inquire after what it is that Kligman's images want given that they are or at least claim to be images of objectivity, carrying the weight of

[13] Mitchell speculates on several things pictures may want. They may want to exchange places with the viewer, to assume the power of the gaze. As objects of stillness and silence, pictures may want to be heard. They may want to be seen, not seen, or they may feel indifferent on the matter. They may want nothing at all, or they may simply want the viewer to ask what it is they want. In all these instances, what pictures want and the power behind this wanting are tied up with what pictures do not have, what they *lack*.

evidence and vetted by other experts in the field. Lorraine Daston and Peter Gallison (1992) illustrate how the emergence of photography in the late 19th century heralded a new form of objectivity in the sciences, wherein the unwavering self-discipline expected of scientists came to be imputed into the visual apparatus itself, the latter in fact surpassing the scientist's aim to suppress subjectivity and human bias by seemingly eliminating the human agent altogether. Deemed the ideal, aperspectival, perfectly detached observer of nature, this mechanical objectivity, however, only shifted the location of subjectivity from solely the body of the scientist to the interplay between the expert eye trained to read the image and the image containing within itself the information the eye seeks, an image created by and for that eye.[14] My point is not to question the objectivity of Kligman's images and texts—to simply say that they are fixated on racial essences—but to take their knowledge claims and therefore their assumption of objectivity seriously.[15] The objectivity of experimental practice as it was done in Holmesburg Prison was structured through the absence of black pain, the latter giving form to Kligman's images as scientific artifacts. The burden of seeing injury on black skin or, rather, the elusiveness of that harm, enabled the intelligibility of developing

[14] Jonathan Crary (1988) also writes on how the presumed direct relationship between vision and the truth of the external world was also built into technologies of seeing, an epistemological order the camera obscura came to epitomize during the 17th and 18th century. Promising access to an objective knowledge of the world, the camera obscura's geometrical optics was taken as an infallible, detached vantage point of observation that could displace the unreliable seeing subject. The paradigm of the camera obscura, Crary argues, was later replaced in the 19th century by a greater focus on the body, wherein research on afterimages and binocular vision revealed the how vision relies on and is inseparable from anatomical structures of seeing.

[15] In this way, I depart from Stephen Jay Gould's (1981) approach, in which he analyzes and directly interrogates the numerical measurements of early craniometrical studies of the biology of race, studies that also shaped the emergence of criminal pathology. More focused on the social construction of science, or the ways changing cultural contexts influence science's claims to truth, Gould illustrates how reifying intelligence enabled researchers to rank it and control it.

and visualizing the maximization test, a technique for making skin trauma visible. Enacted through an exchange between expert viewer and image of objectivity, the scientific gaze forms the circuit through which desire and its relationship to black pain are continuously displaced.

Mitchell's emphasis on the hidden desires of the image affirms the liveliness of pictures as things.[16] Signs are alive, he argues, a vitality connecting the fetish of the image to its resistance to meaning, and being that which is outside of the intentions of human producers as well as what is left behind in the incomplete link between image and referent. However, in Kligman's experiments, the liveliness of images point to another source: the ambivalent vitality of their primary object, black skin. Assumptions about the latter's troubled expression of pain point to contradictory representations of hypervitality—a superiority in vigor that makes the body seemingly impervious to harm—and of reification—an object-status, a status of having never been alive, such that pain is incomprehensible or impossible as an experience (can things be said to suffer?). Pace Mitchell, the picture of the maximization test does not simply mirror its object, even in an inverted fashion wherein the vitality of the image reverses the passivity of the imaged body. Rather, the picture draws its vitality from its object, assuming and conveying that aliveness insofar as it, the screen, becomes contiguous with the skin apparatus, locating or positing the personhood of the thing hence vacillating between an

[16] I am not differentiating between "objects" and "things" as can be seen in Brown (2001), in which objects are defined as forms of mediation – one looks through them like windows or marshal them as codes for interpretation. Things, on the other hand, do not function as windows. Thingness becomes very apparent when an object breaks down or loses its utility. However, things are not simply broken objects. Rather, it is a latency, an excess of the object that lies beyond the grid of intelligibility but appear as objects.

object-body and a vital sign.[17] What the picture wants is tied to its parasitic relationship with the object, a relationship founding the desirous skin, an intersubjective encounter between image and viewer, of looking relations.

While black skin presented a challenge for seeing irritation and allergic reactions, it constituted the obverse for seeing difference. In experiments investigating possible drug treatments for hyperpigmentation, black skin was considered ideal for modeling "excessive melanization" in whites (Kligman & Willis, 1975, p. 40), betraying longstanding cultural associations of blackness with abnormality. Dermatologists and physicians usually viewed such changes in skin color a cosmetic problem, but for researchers, the former threatened the "psychosocial and psychosexual" identities of patients and hence merited serious study; in their words, "Pigmentary nonconformists are never praised and are generally viewed as odd and unattractive" (ibid). Curiously reversing assumptions of earlier studies in patch testing, researchers conceded the relevance of hyperpigmentation among black test subjects, noting, "the most trivial chemical and physical traumata, *frequently unnoticed or unrecollectable*, tend to produce persistent hyperpigmentation. Extensive patch testing of black volunteers…*awakened our sensibilities* to the problem of hyperpigmentation in blacks" (ibid., p. 43, emphasis added). The difficulty of appraising pain in effect encouraged the ease with difference could be seen, helping to produce an object of study in experiments looking at the same

[17] "Vital signs" comes from a chapter title in Mitchell's text, but see also Carl Shepherdson's *Vital Signs: Nature, Culture, and Psychoanalysis* (2000), which theorizes transsexuality to intervene in contemporary debates about the sex/gender binary and, more generally, the nature/culture dichotomy. Shepherdson takes up psychoanalysis for his project, an approach that, Shepherdson argues, countenances the real, corporeal body in relation to language. Studying the production of the subject through trauma, the residue of history, psychoanalysis can reconfigure the sex/gender and nature/culture binaries as effects of both symbolization and the failure of symbolization. In this way, psychoanalysis also intervenes in methodological debates between history/contingency and ontology.

phenomena initially deemed an "obscuring" variable. Whereas white skin constituted the preferred medium for seeing harm, black skin formed the perfect vehicle for seeing color:

> Initially, white patients with various hyperpigmentation problems were used. This proved tedious and unfeasible….*The patient supply was too limited and too few preparations could be evaluated at a time*…..Finally, we hit upon the idea of using the normal black skin of healthy, young, adult, black, male prisoner volunteers. This proved eminently advantageous: depigmentation was easy to appraise, and the effects were repeatable. (ibid., p. 44, emphasis added)

In a carceral setting composed mainly of black prisoners, nearly 90%, the latter provided a large enough source for generating replicative, statistically significant data, while their skin enabled relatively "easy" appraisals of pigmentation and its cure, depigmentation.

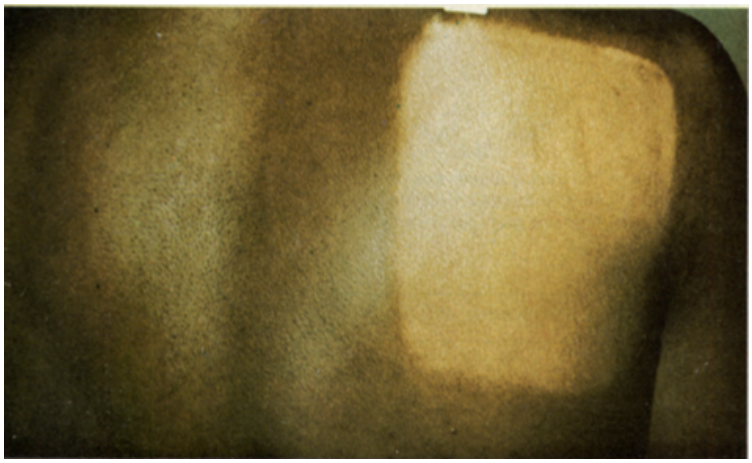

Figure 6: Skin on upper back treated with Retin-A after six weeks. Image from Kligman and Willis (1975). Reproduced with permission from the American Medical Association.

The drug developed from this study, Retin-A or tretinoin, now widely used in over-the-counter acne medication, was Kligman's most popular and profitable finding. Experiments with Retin-A, or tretinoin, involved applying the substance to squares of skin on the backs of 100 black prisoners. Exposed to Retin-A twice daily for two months, these squares of skin became temporarily depigmented, defined by the article as skin

color “less than that of fair skinned whites, approaching an ivory hue” (ibid., p. 43; Figure 6). And, for Kligman’s team, the darker the skin, the more appreciable the result: “Deeply pigmented blacks were the most susceptible…. *Obviously*, a 50% reduction in pigmentation will be more apparent in dark than in light skin” (ibid., p. 45, emphasis added). With these findings, researchers then tested their successful compound on white men and women with hyperpigmentation problems, and on black prisoner test subjects used in earlier studies on allergens and irritants. They also tested it on two black patients with vitiligo, or the loss of pigmentation in areas of the skin; but, as the researchers noted, these patients “inexplicably defected from treatment” and could not be tracked for follow-up (p. 46).

Without irony, the researchers concluded that their findings not be deployed in the “nightmarish outcome” of using their formula for lightening normal black skin beyond the walls of the research facility: “We fervently pray that improving social relationships will restrain any dignified black person from that demoralizing practice” (ibid., p. 48), that is, a practice considered unseemly only when taken out of the experimental setting and not conducted on the black skin of captives. To researchers, depigmentation treatment was “ethically acceptable” only for pigmentation problems, and even though normal black skin had been used to model the latter, the researchers perceived themselves and their work as apart from the “social relationships” shaping the cultural devaluation of black bodies. Researchers wanted to make clear: Their work should not be misappropriated for “demoralizing” and “undignified” uses that would shore up racial divisions. But between scientific objectivity and social bias, and between pathology and moralized self-acceptance, which is really a barely disguised fear of racial passing, skin

corporealized the tension internal to a figure and an idea that, Fanon shows, is "dense and undeniable" (p. 96) and yet somehow "not existing" (p. 118), a being "in triple" through an awareness, whether bodily or metaphysical, of this "vicious circle" (p. 119) between imago and nothingness or, in Kligman's work, between a real model for abnormality and a social construct that can, objectively speaking, be dismissed. And the medium upon and through which the drama of this vicious circle happens is skin—"I am a slave…to my appearance" (p. 95)—a "racial epidermal schema" that collapses the body with "a thousand details, anecdotes, and stories" the white gaze has woven for the black self (p. 91). It is for this reason that Fanon finds little difference between those scientists "rinsing out their test tubes and adjusting their scales" in search for a "denegrification" serum (ibid)., and those who have proven and agreed that, indeed, "the Negro is a human being—i.e., his heart's on the left side" (p. 99).

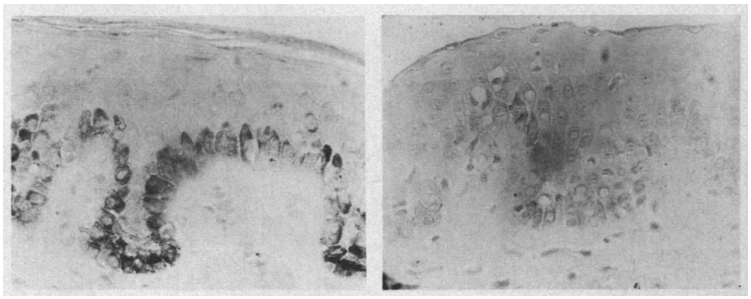

Figure 7: Slides of skin before (left) and after (right) treatment with Retin-A. Image from Kligman and Willis (1975). Reproduced with permission from the American Medical Association.

In addition to its uses for reading injury (irritation and allergic reaction) and difference (black and white), skin constituted raw material for harvesting. Skin biopsies for histological analysis were performed to view the microscopic effects of topically applied substances on the skin. Slides taken from skin tissue treated with Retin-A after eight weeks, for instance, showed a decrease in the number and quality of pigment

granules (Figure 7). These granules are produced by melanocytes and then migrate upward to nearby keratinocytes, the cells predominating in the outermost layer of skin, where they help protect DNA from sun damage by forming caps around the nuclei. Slides of Retin-A-treated skin, however, showed absent caps and a broad dispersal of the few granules left in the skin. Moreover, the skin showed irritation throughout treatment, determined both through histological methods and through simple observation, with peeling, redness, tenderness, thickening, and burning peaking at the third week of Retin-A application. While this inflammatory response lessened with time, the normal turnover rate of the outer layers of skin remained accelerated for the entire duration of the experiment (Kligman & Willis, 1975, p. 47). Hence, researchers concluded, "depigmented skin cannot be said to be completely normal" (ibid.), because repeated application of Retin-A resulted in repeated irritation of the skin, the microscopic image of white skin or, rather, black skin under harm thus literalizing what Fanon called the "epidermalization of inferiority"—so, not an image of the self but the self as nothing other than an image, this making of blackness inaugurated by a prior trauma to black flesh.[18]

In his critique of both essentialist and anti-essentialist accounts of difference, Fanon uses histological practices to metaphorize the cycle in which blackness comes to embody ontology and nothingness: "The white gaze, the only valid one, is already dissecting me. I am *fixed*. Once their microtomes are sharpened, the Whites objectively cut sections of my reality. I have been betrayed. I sense, I see in this white gaze that it's

[18] Researchers also cited earlier studies attempting to whiten black skin wherein the source of bleaching was attributed to massive cell death of melanocytes.

the arrival not of a new man, but of a new type of man, a new species. A Negro, in fact!" (p. 95, emphasis his). Histology preserves dead tissue for microscopic viewing by first immersing it in buffered solutions that, while encouraging cell death, also helps prevent further degradation of cell or tissue structures—this process is called fixation. The sample is then frozen or embedded in paraffin wax, after which it can be cut into thin sections by knives called microtomes, and mounted onto glass slides for viewing under a microscope. Describing himself as a piece of dying tissue, whose rot is prevented through special solutions that preserve its structure (he is "fixed"), Fanon illustrates how black flesh is conscientiously and systematically broken down and propped up again under the penetrative gaze of science. This gaze, a white gaze, is a searching and magnified view of the body, but it is also re-organizing and generative, slicing black reality into sections that can be individually inspected and reassembled into any kind of image, a "new species" whose "arrival" is possible only through violation. However, this metaphor of histology to describe knowledge production under the scopic regimes of whiteness is telling not of the "social relationships" at work in scientific practice, but of the scientific rationality of racism itself. Attempting to depoliticize their work at Holmesburg, researchers may be seen as rehearsing a kind of false consciousness by investing in their studies an interpretive or interpellative power separate from and above that of lay social attitudes.[19] But this move suggests something else, too: that the overdetermination of blackness was

[19] The traditional Marxist definition of "false consciousness" describes subjects who take up the ideas and values of the ruling class and therefore become complicit in the exploitation and alienation of themselves and others. This implies a different kind of consciousness that is truer or more authentic to the subjects' lived conditions (a class consciousness) and which can motor a revolution overthrowing the dominant sectors of society (see Gramsci, 1971; Horkheimer & Adorno, 2002; Marx, 1888/2005, 1978). My own understanding of the subject resonates more with poststructuralist accounts of ideology and power like, for example, Louis Althusser's (1971) concept of interpellation, which defines ideology as the means by which individuals come to recognize themselves and others as subjects.

already there, in the workings of the laboratory, before the social, perhaps even contravening the social through an experimental life that finds its most perfect form in conditions of captivity and social death.

Science and assault

The beginning of the end of Kligman's research program at Holmesburg Prison started with a 2-year investigation into incidences of sexual assault in the Philadelphia prison system authorized by the county's Court of Common Pleas and headed by chief assistant district attorney, Alan J. Davis. Over the course of 26 months, Davis and his team interviewed more than 3,000 of the 60,000 prisoners and almost all custodial employees across three facilities, the Detention Center, the House of Correction, and Holmesburg Prison. The report (1968) found that sexual assault was "epidemic" in the prison system, counting 94 assaults from their sample size and another 156 documented from institutional records, but extrapolating the actual number to 2,000 for the entire captive population of Philadelphia. This much larger number, moreover, was considered a conservative estimate given that, as investigators found, prisoners were generally hesitant to disclose information for fear of retaliation from perpetrators and complicit prison guards, and of shaming from family and community members. The report attributed this epidemic to prison officials neglectful of their duties, officials who also attempted to hide their failed supervision by pressuring rape survivors to retract complaints or to simply keep silent. But, significantly, the report also called on psychiatrists, psychologists, and other social scientists to examine dangerous notions of masculinity pervading the prison system and the "outside community" around it:

"expressions of anger and aggression" in which sex is viewed as an act of subjugation, conquest, and degradation (e.g. emasculation of other men) for the assertion of one's own "sexual and physical potency (pp. 15-16).

On Holmesburg, the report argued that Kligman's experimental program "contributed to homosexuality in prison" (p. 14), betraying the investigators' problematic conflation of deviance with same-sex attraction, even though they also stressed that dominance, not attraction or desire, motivated rape. For investigators, the term "homosexual" applied to any kind of sex between men, consensual or otherwise, and at Holmesburg, the economic power gained by some prisoners involved in Kligman's experiments underwrote what one news story sensationally called a "sex corruption."[20] Earning far more than prisoner test subjects—about $100 a month, "the equivalent of a millionaire's income" compared to the 15 to 25 cents per day offered by other prison industries (ibid.)—prisoner research assistants played a critical role in the bureaucratic management of experiments in a program that, the report claimed, became a "separate government inside the prison system," paying as much as 20% of prisoner wages to the prison facility itself and enjoying relative autonomy from prisoner guards ordered by "higher-ups" not to interfere in their operations (pp. 13-14). One assistant, the report showed, was responsible for disbursing $10,000 to $20,000 of wages, and used his relative position of power to bribe prisoners who wanted access to experiments. Though Kligman himself proclaimed it "vile" to associate systemic sexual assault with his program, at this point a combination of support and endeavors from "U. of P." and his

[20] See *Philadelphia Inquirer* article by William B. Collins (1968, September 12).

own company, Ivy Research, the investigation nonetheless instigated consideration of phasing out entirely his involvement with the prison.

Yet, inverting the inquiring, analytical eye onto the prison system itself, investigators found themselves thwarted by silences, refusals, and general non-cooperation. As with the other two prison facilities, for example, Holmesburg presented for investigators the trouble of determining sexual consent. Because many prisoners and prison guards declined to talk about or admit to the occurrence of rape, and because economic privileges also proved a powerful impetus for "submission," delineating cases of coercion versus consent was difficult. In a "fear-charged atmosphere," the report concluded, the recognition of consent or submission was obscured by the ever-present urgency for survival strategies. However, even with the information they were able to gather, investigators struggled with the very language they used to analyze and describe their research. Numbers and the dispassionate jargon of research could not quite communicate the enormity and horror of their findings—how does one grasp 2,000 instances of sexual assault, a number so large and anonymizing? Thus providing verbatim deeply painful accounts given by rape survivors, the investigators wrote, "In an early draft of our report, an attempt was made to couch this illustrative material in sociological, medical, and legal terminology less offensive than the raw, ugly language used by the witness and victims. This approach was abandoned. The incidents are raw and ugly. Any attempts to prettify them would be hypocrisy" (p. 9). For investigators, the captive condition and the words used by prisoners to describe it confounded apprehension and analysis, making it impossible, hypocritical even, to see it and think it through familiar epistemological tools.

In a space where contact went without saying, where privacy either was absent or took on the injurious form of solitary confinement, and where the captive was at all times vulnerable to brute force, metaphysical notions of the protective qualities of skin and the intimacy of touch not only lose all coherence but also appear indulgent and fetishistic. The meaning of captivity, of subjugation, is thus: the absolute accessibility of the body in all its imagistic and physical possibilities, a body *without skin*, as it were, one under siege in its own surroundings.[21] Kligman's experiments demonstrated this in its most literal sense, seamlessly integrating into the spatial and bureaucratic arrangements of prison power. And so, as the Davis report implied, eliminating Kligman's program would simply overlook a wider network of abuses, a network whose necessary study for the purpose of its dismantling, too, disturbed attempts to account for its nature and to map its reach. Popular descriptions of prisoner test subjects often called them "human guinea pigs," but another interview in the Davis report suggested that prisoners do not even occupy the status of animals, and that knowing the captive condition is troubled precisely by the capacity of the prison space to violently eliminate the individuality the analytical eyes seeks:

> Prisoners confined in Philadelphia's three prisons commute from their institutions to courts by way of a prison van. The van is a truck externally resembling the sort of refrigerated delivery truck that delivers meat to food stores. The body of the truck has no windows. At the very top of the truck there is a tiny row of slots purportedly for ventilating purposes.
>
> Winter—…There, some 40 prisoners…(packed like sardines in a steel-barred can), are loaded into the van. It has only seating capacity for 15. The rest must make themselves "comfortable" as best they can. There are

[21] See "ontological resistance" from Franz Fanon(1952/2008): "The black man has no ontological resistance in the eyes of the white man…Their metaphysics…were abolished because they were in contradiction with a new civilization that *imposed* its own" (p. 90, emphasis mine).

no handholds. There is no heat. It is freezing with an intensity so great that some prisoners relinquish their seats: The pain of frozen iron pressed against their backsides is unendurable…. The trip from north Philadelphia is an hour of grinding stops and bumping halts…. There is no light in the vehicle and the darkness is punctured by the grunts and groans.

Summer—The prison van is a sweltering cauldron of red-cast iron. The packed bodies of men stink…the waiting becomes interminable and finally unbearable. The prisoners scream and bang on the sides of the van but there is no relief. The time never gets shorter, sometimes it gets longer….

I know, as a matter of fact, that the Interstate Commerce Commission requires that certain minimum space be provided for each individual hog shipped in commerce. Couldn't untried prisoners get the same that a pig gets?

I have written these few words not out of bitterness, but out of the experience of 50 trips.

I was there, Charlie. (p. 12).

Chapter 3 Skin and the Carceral Space

Holmesburg prison is haunted. I did not know this when I first arrived at the decommissioned prison to study first-hand its deteriorating architecture, until one of the photographers on site joked, "Seen any ghosts yet?" During my second visit, I learned that a photographer had, after his shoot at the prison, discovered in several of his developed pictures a faint, phantom-life figure of a man looking directly at his camera. The story, however banal as ghost stories go, was a frightening start to a largely solitary exploration of Holmesburg's crumbling cells and corridors. Later, a quick Internet search revealed that the spirits of Holmesburg were indeed restless, their "poltergeist activity" assuming "pretty much every story you can imagine, with tales of brightly colored orbs and strange sounds to more bold claims [about] apparitions of prisoners appearing to charge at people" (hauntedhovel.com). "Neighbors have," another blogger notes, "reported hearing loud screams…gunfire and riots" from behind the wall enclosure, and that most who come to the prison "get the feeling of a heavy energy throughout" (ghosteyes.com). Not surprisingly, these stories also reference Albert Kligman's medical experiments as a key source of ghostly ire, the prison's history of research studies ranging from skin experiments to psychemical testings retold through spooks and thrills.

Holmesburg prison is a dump. Empty soda cans, plastic water bottles, Styrofoam containers, paper cups, cigarette packs, film canisters, and more litter the prison grounds. Whether photographers or prison staff are responsible is uncertain (maybe both are), but this garbage left behind further attests to Holmesburg's status as an abject or forgotten place. City officials had promised residents that Holmesburg would be demolished when

it closed in 1996,[1] but it still stands with walls decaying and slabs of building progressively crushed underfoot, this waning structural integrity and heightened risk of dangerous chemical exposure restricting access only to visitors who sign liability waivers. The whole edifice is in a greater state of dilapidation than Eastern State Penitentiary, which predates Holmesburg by nearly a century and after which it was modeled; but considered the world's first modern prison, Eastern State, unlike Holmesburg, is subject to ongoing restoration and conservation projects proper to national historic landmarks.

So here is my archive: a haunted prison in ruins and in refuse. I went there expecting to see and record a history of experimental abuse embedded in its weakening architecture, to witness how metal, stone, and concrete objectify the intersections of captivity and medical science, or to observe how the built environment can manifest these entwined histories and logics. It was uncertain whether a hidden story was waiting to be unveiled from within Holmesburg's material form, or if this story was readily apparent, splayed out on the surface of a building whose inside and outside are in some areas no longer distinguishable. In either case, I thought (or wanted?) Holmesburg to "speak," show, or otherwise materialize something about itself that it no longer is: a prison space and a laboratory site. This approach is further complicated by Holmesburg's new uses in memory work. It was the filming location of four Hollywood motion pictures,[2] and is the

[1] A local newspaper describes the conflict between the city of Philadelphia and Holmesburg residents, who wish not only to see Holmesburg prison demolished but also that the city not build another prison in their area, which is home to six others (Waring, 2015).

[2] The films are *Condition Red* (1995), *Up Close and Personal* (1996), *Animal Factory* (2000), and *Law Abiding Citizen* (2009). *Condition Red* is a love story between a guard and a prisoner. In *Up Close and Personal*, an ambitious reporter attains fame after covering a prison uprising for her local news program. A

subject of many a photographer's online portfolio; it has inspired ghost stories and was even featured in a 2014 Destination America miniseries on paranormal activity; and in 2011, it was the site of a major art conservation project that sought to preserve the building's vanishing graffiti. As the current chapter will discuss, many of these present representations and discourses about Holmesburg repeatedly cite Kligman's skin experiments, constituting a significant source through which the latter becomes more popularly known. Notably, the art conservation project compared the skin of Kligman's experimental subjects to the run-down walls of the prison or, as the project description stated, to the "skin of the architecture."

The current chapter takes up this spatial notion of skin to address the logical and topographical continuities between sites of captivity and sites of medical research, both of which can be understood as interlocking disciplinary and knowledge-producing (eco)systems. In some sense this more expansive notion of skin decenters the individual by spatializing the body, corporealizing the material landscape, and imagining an interiority inherent to space that is not reducible to the human subject. While this dovetails into current debates on the immanent vitality and agency of matter, the skin's movement from the captive body to the structures that caged it brings a more somber tenor to the laudatory renderings of material life that often overlook subjects who have historically and ontologically occupied the position of things (dealt with more fully in Chapter 2). Material life conceptualized in this turn to objects and matter may run counter to and even reify the subject who embodies the zone or gap between "human" and

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paternal relationship emerges and grows between two prisoners in *Animal Factory*. Finally, in *Law Abiding Citizen*, an ex-CIA operative plots and succeeds in murdering people from inside his isolation unit.

"being," failing to recognize the figure already at the kernel of its most critical interventions in humanism. As this chapter will demonstrate, tracing the skin of Holmesburg's architecture does not promise to locate this subject-object, and by extension troubles any straightforward connection made between medical and prison geographies. Holmesburg is now neither of these, its history as prison space and laboratory site readable only through its material disappearance, resident hauntings, and progressive accumulation of trash. At Holmesburg I went to see science, and came away with ghosts, garbage, and ruin.

Ruin photography

The modern surface, Anne Cheng (2011) writes, implicates a relationship between architecture and skin, a relationship that not only projects the notion of skin onto a building's surface, but also invokes oppositions made between interiority and exteriority that are always deeply racial. Modernity's dream of a pure surface, a white surface, is inextricable from troubled visualizations of black skin, signaling a point where "aesthetic history meets the history of human bodies made inhuman" (p. 12). These interlocking histories are, however, not simply marked by repression or exploitation of blackness in the multiple surfaces modernity assumes (architecture, clothing, the image); for, they also mark the ways blackness comes to disturb the very terms of representation itself. The current chapter is concerned with these converging histories, though aesthetics composes less of an object than it is an archive, a collection of the varied ways Holmesburg has been documented and through which certain human subjects become known or remain unknown. The most accessible archive of Holmesburg's prison space is that made

available on independent websites by professional and amateur photographers interested in making ruinscapes, or imagery of abandoned structures in significant disrepair. Though not open to the public, Holmesburg hosts limited photo-tours in the summer months, allowing photographers to record the prison's state of decline.[3] Such images are often panoramas and wide shots of hallways, cells, and staircases all in a slow process of collapse, revealing rusty beds and gates, layers of peeling paint, exposed piping, clutters of large and small wall fragments, vines and tree roots twisting around and in between partitions and rooftops—each an arresting spectacle of the death of a building or of solid surfaces undone. Capturing the interior landscape of structures in all their glorious decrepitude, ruinscapes have been pejoratively dubbed "ruin porn," an eponym first launched at pictures of Detroit's abandoned buildings, which number in the tens of thousands, pictures taken and popularized by reporters, artists, and photo-tourists in the last decade. The city's economic blight and growing, disproportionately black, poor are elided or even fetishized in the "postapocalyptic feel" of these images, which exploit the motor city's downfall for the manufacture of awe and nostalgia at modernity's decay.[4]

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[3] Examples of Holmesburg ruinscapes can be found on the photo-sharing and hosting service Flickr. Here, see portfolios by King Crush, Chandra Lampreich, Vince Herbe, Kurt Tavares, and Peter Woodall.

[4] See news stories on Detroit's ruin porn by Mark Binelli (2012) and Mike Rubin (2011) for *The New York Times*, and Noreen Malone (2011) for the *New Republic*.

In their introduction to the collected essays in *Ruins of Modernity* (2010), Julia Hell and Andreas Schönle (2010) argue that ruins constitute a visual archive of buildings and their histories as well as a "*transhistorical* iconography of decay and catastrophe" (p. 1, emphasis mine). For one, ruin gazing is inseparable from imperial explorations and archiving of ancient sites. However, it also generates an abrupt awakening of destruction and wreckage, like that following Hurricane Katrina and 9/11, as well as a moral or historical lesson about otherwise senseless destruction—both an effect of rhetoric. Ruins themselves materialize a "reflexivity of a culture that interrogates its own becoming" (p. 7), a "master trope of modern reflexivity [that] encapsulates vacuity and loss as underlying constituents of the modern identity" (pp. 6-7). The "semantic instability" of ruins hence derives from compensatory symbolic activity meant to fill up this lack of meaning. Ultimately, the meaning of ruins is multiple and does not solely come from a real or imagined past but depends in large part upon who looks at them.

There is surely something pornographic about visualizing disintegrating surfaces—surfaces invaded and degraded by the elements—and made even more so by what is left *unseen*, that is, the very human struggle and suffering that are definitive of marginality, that status of being socially left behind. In this sense, ruinscapes like those of Holmesburg replicate the structural erasures that come with abandoned places, which are made to stand in for and blot out the people connected with them. But as undoubtedly with porn, the pleasure and titillation that produce and are produced by ruinscapes cannot be easily dismissed as problems of fancy, bad taste, or false consciousness. Rather, the pornographic and its attendant affects, too, constitute avenues for reaching the changing ideological histories of structures. Ruinscapes are inescapably problematic in their intention toward, to paraphrase one blogger, "abandonment" and not "the abandoned."[5] However, they are also inescapably part of the representational economy of deserted places like Holmesburg, this intertextuality complicating what might be viewed as strictly positive or negative interpretations. Ruinscapes can hence neither be celebrated nor ignored, the breakdown of boundaries made most palpable by decomposing surfaces perhaps also signaling the indissoluble link between the problematic and the counter-alternative, upending the presumed radical difference or diametric opposition between them. As memory-sites, ruins convey events or "the event" through multiple temporal layers and evolving uses in memory-work, their fullness in the present tied to the

[5] See Peggy Nelson (2010) at *HiLoBrow*.

As Kimberly Juanita Brown (2014) shows, however, putting humans within the frame of disaster does not necessarily negate the violence of representation and the racialized "participatory gaze" (p. 183). Kevin Carter's iconic photographs of a starving, dying girl in war-torn south Sudan may invite an empathetic spectatorship, but they do so by obliterating their subject and offering up her imminent death for mass reproduction and consumption. They hence follow from a visual tradition of banalizing black suffering, black bodies made "indiscriminate sites of repetitive trauma" (p. 195). Brown writes: "The gaze is an empire, rendered with abandon onto particular bodies, presumably for all time" (p. 186).

"empt[iness] of something palpable in its absence" (Taylor, 2014, p. 242). Not unlike official archives, then, ruinscapes of Holmesburg enact their own politics of domination at the level of descriptive and of redressive documentation and commentary.

Figure 8: Aerial photograph of Holmesburg Prison by Aero Service Corporation, 1915. Reproduced with permission by The Library Company of Philadelphia.

Designed by Wilson Brothers & Company, the 17-acre compound of Holmesburg prison was built in 1896 and originally consisted of six 16-foot, barrel-vaulted hallways with 450 cells, each measuring only eight-by-eighteen feet. This design recreated the radial plan of Eastern State Penitentiary located less than fifteen miles away and which opened in 1829. Wilson Brothers & Co. held a progressivist belief in the capacity of institutions to improve upon an individual's personal character,[6] a conviction shared with Eastern State's architect, John Haviland, and his sponsors, the Pennsylvania Prison Society. Founded by Quakers and local leaders in 1776, the Society had advocated for

[6] See Kostis Kourelis's (2011) discussion on "Doing Time/Depth of Surface," to be examined in more detail later in the chapter.

solitary confinement and enforced labor in place of congregate prisons thought to be fostering idleness and corruption through contact between prisoners. Known as the Pennsylvania System, this new strategy of imprisonment—promulgated as "reform" in its insistence on cultivating penitence—and its implementation at Eastern State modernized prison philosophy and architecture by centering the individual subject of crime and punishment.[7] Eastern State's enclosed hub-and-spoke design was later replicated in 300 prisons worldwide including Holmesburg prison, which also borrowed Eastern State's Gothic revival style of imposing crenelated guard towers and a single large central gateway that limited possibilities of escape (Figure 8).

Images of Holmesburg's ruins may re-present a failure of modernity, something that Matthew Christopher suggests from his own experience of photographing Holmesburg, describing his ruinscapes as indicators "of impending social collapse" (2014, p. 7) and seeing in Holmesburg's history of medical and carceral abuse "an important reminder of who we are, what we are capable of, and how frighteningly close we are to the worst parts of our own past" (p. 123). Pictures like "a way to make amends" and "a means to an end"—image titles evoking both the "worst parts of our own past"

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[7] For more on Eastern State's history, see Norman Johnston's *Forms of Constraint: A History of Prison Architecture* (2000) and *Eastern State Penitentiary: A Crucible of Good Intentions* (1994) co-written with Kenneth Finkel and Jeffrey Cohen. The museum's website also provides digitized archival materials and sources about the prison.

As the museum's audio guide narrated during my visit there, Eastern State's first prisoner was a black man, Charles Williams, and its incarcerated population would remain disproportionately black for the duration of its use, a fact perhaps overshadowed by the prison's history of more notable white captives like Al "Scarface" Capone and "Slick Willie" Sutton. Also known as Cherry Hill, the prison museum now educates its visitors about the building's history and on more current trends in and problems of incarceration more broadly, centering the unequal treatment of racial minorities in the criminal justice system. Exhibits and even on-site art installations point to this "crisis" of race and incarceration, producing and presenting critique from within the literal structure of their object. The museum makes its audio guide, "The Voices of Eastern State," available online, and can be found at https://www.easternstate.org/visit/regular-season/audio-tour.

and our responsibility for them—attempt to visualize through Holmesburg's crumbling form the "particularly barbarous" and "terrible place" that the prison is for Christopher, who, though calling Kligman's medical experiments a "dark passage" in the prison's history, also sees it as yet "another" in the latter's numerous instances of beatings, riots, and brutal retaliations against prisoner strikes. Displaying one of Holmesburg's dilapidated cellblocks, "a means to an end" utilizes a deep perspective to emphasize a sense of endlessness to both the structural wreckage and the massive scale of Holmesburg Prison, with countless corroding iron cell gates, some open and some shut, following one after the other far into the visual field (Figure 9). In contrast, "a way to make amends" focuses on the gated entrance of a single cell in this carceral universe, the number "1066" flaking off right above it, a nondescript number that marks the cell's unremarkable place among many, many others (Figure 10). Flanked by two cells whose dark depths accentuate the meager light shining through its peephole, cell number 1066. In both images, the hallway is neither dark or bright, sunlight coming from overhead skylights producing discontinuous shadows along scattered mounds of rubble and debris, and revealing from floor to ceiling moldering concrete, broken water pipes, and bits and flaps of paint shedding from whatever wall is left underneath. For Christopher, such images point to the collapse of human values alongside the collapse of institutions, but they may also hint at the successes of those values and institutions by showing an outdated prototype, a defunct relic discarded or thrown away in the carceral evolution towards what is now called the prison-industrial-complex, whose captive population and capital circulation are unmatched by penal systems anywhere else in the world.

Figure 9: "a means to an end" by Matthew Christopher, 2010-2014. Reproduced with permission from the artist.

Figure 10: "a way to make amends" by Matthew Christopher, 2010-2014. Reproduced with permission from the artist.

As Jani Scandura (2007) shows, modernity and capital are together built upon their own refuse and dumps, the increasing accumulation of which therefore indicates the growth and dominance of the former. This is what makes detritus an unstable category, containing within itself a symbolic order, the *refusal* of that order, and the motivation behind this refusal. Archiving transforms refuse into artifacts, hence continually

reconstructing what "we allow ourselves to remember—and [what] we force ourselves to forget we ever knew" (p. 8). So while working with remnants purposely thrown away—studying them, collecting them, imaging them—may transit between fetishization and recuperation, they are always already displaced in both the past and present. This constitutes the interpretive challenge behind making and reading ruinscapes, the smooth veneer of the photographic image belying the material and symbolic disarray of buildings turned into junk, reaching for unity where none may be found.[8] Does the photographic screen simply record and reflect the unboundedness of ruin, or does it take the place of architectural skin steadily lost? Yet, Christopher also hesitates to give meaning and intention to his photographs, to invest in them a historical and social lesson about the prison, lamenting that "rather than the photography of ruins existing for its own sake, it must justify itself by what it does or tries to do" (p. 6). In essence, Christopher calls for collapsing the image with its object, for making the picture as useless and meaningless as the rubble and scraps it captures. This might be read as a denunciation of capitalist principles of purposiveness and productivity if not for the reciprocity between the expansion of capital and the build-up of trash. By refusing its presumed purpose to provide some understanding, the photograph itself becomes just more garbage or just more junk propagated in the visual (mass) reproduction of ruin.

The problem of meaning behind ruin photography is also apparent in John Szarkowski's critique of *In Prison Air* (2005), a photo-series of Holmesburg created by

[8] On the relationship between archives and garbage, see Michael Shanks, David Platt, and William L. Rathje (2004) and Andreas Huyssen (2010).

Thomas Roma.[9] Recognized as a "photographer of high talent and conspicuous achievement," Roma nonetheless befuddles Szarkowski as to why he would produce such a photo collection (para. 5). Szarkowski continues:

> This is the same photographer who gave us the great, free-spirited dogs of Brooklyn, and the great open pastures of Siciliy; and it is not unreasonable to ask why a photographer dedicated (or half-dedicated) to the cause of freedom should make this extended, serious, hermetic effort to produce a book of photographs concerning the very essence of subjugation….why Roma chose to do this book…does not answer the question why the rest of us…should look at Roma's pictures with some attention. (para. 7-9).

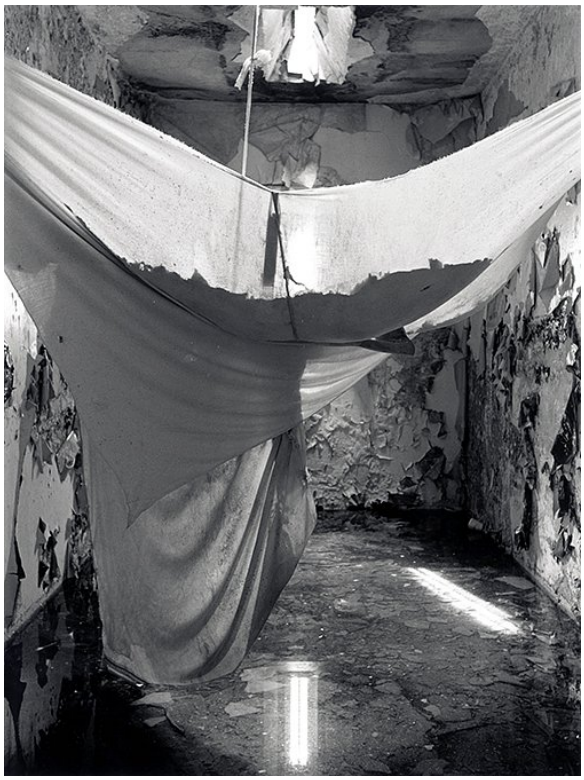

Figure 11: Untitled by Thomas Roma, 2013. Reproduced with permission from the artist.

[9] Roma's first visit to the prison was through invitation by Steve Buscemi, a friend who asked if he could perform as an extra on *Animal Factory*. Though Roma did not appear in the final cut of the film, his experience walking the halls of Holmesburg and speaking with facility officials during downtime in filming, led him to come back and create the photo series (personal communication, March 27, 2017).

Whereas free-spirited dogs and open pastures are assumed to be valuable images, those of degenerating prison cells can only prompt confusion. The somber image of an empty cell, its peeling walls tightly framed around awning cloth torn and dangling from a short ceiling just above a stagnant pool of water (Figure 11), is a stunning display of wreckage but, for Szarkoswki, stunning to what end? Szarkowski speculates on the meanings behind Roma's photographs, wondering if "we should look at them as a kind of warning [against] our rapidly growing prison sector" (para. 9-10), but ultimately concluding that with such images "we would not (naturally) really understand what they meant" (para. 19). Here, the bracketed supposition of "natural" impediments to understanding images is telling, and not because it infers the (im)possibility of full knowledge. Rather, it suggests that even if ruin photography were to imbue its object with meaning and value, it, too, is seemingly acted upon by the photographic object, its close proximity to, indeed, its *emplacement in* ruin and garbage conditioning its own imagistic and interpretive possibilities. The aesthetics of ruin, Robert Ginsberg (2004) argues, is fundamentally tied to a loss positioned somewhere between the structure and the photographic image. On one hand, the ruin composes a geographic and temporal *site/sight* of incongruity between presence and absence: "The ruin is the revenge of the formerly unseen upon the whole made invisible…. The hidden becomes evident, while what ordinarily is present is made absent" (pp. 34-51). Photography, on the other hand, intends toward identifying wholes and unities, though it ultimately fails to capture the aesthetics of ruins in total; for, it can only further *ruin* the ruin by necessarily isolating or framing only parts of the structure. In its compulsion toward the whole, the "ruining eye" of the camera nonetheless continues to "cut away" at or to create holes in the building. The screen of the photograph becomes

the skin of the structure unbounded, which is to say that neither possesses a surface upon which meaning can be readily ascertained. To look at ruins is to look upon a certain lack, but where that lack is located—in the ruin, in the photographic apparatus, in the image—is not easily circumscribed.

And this lack is perhaps what is making itself known through Szarkowksi's perturbation, or through the image's resistance to understanding, an understanding that Szarkowski attempts to situate through a nod or connection to Roma's larger body of work. He wonders about Roma's pictorial shift from the "cause of freedom" to the "very essence of subjugation," but what this shift may index is the intimate relationship between subjection and freedom—that what it means to be free is inseparable from what it means to be captive—a complex relationship made present, though perhaps not readily seeable, in the crumbling built environments of state violence. This lack may also be recast as "thing power," which Jane Bennett (2009) describes as the force or agency distributed across assemblages or ecologies of objects—in this case, the image, the lens, the photographic subject, the photographer. In excess of consciousness or intentionally, thing power reveals the impersonality of life and death—the vitality of inert matter, the passiveness of live bodies—which, though not acknowledged by Bennett's treatise on technology and detritus, finds its apex in the captive condition, whose blurring together of life and death, human and object, constitutes precisely the "nonidentity" that resists both representation and politics, and in so doing, introduces the possibility of inventiveness we would not (naturally) understand as yet.

Szarkowski, moreover, is not addressing all forms of ruin and ruination. The problem of meaning he encounters does not follow from pictures of celebrated structures

like the Colosseum but is instead specifically tied to images of an abandoned prison. So for Szarkowski, "we," too, need a reason to look at images of Holmesburg, "those of us who are in the ninety percent who have not gone to prison, and who expect to stay in the majority" (para. 9). This demand for a reason to look—a basis for the free to gaze upon conditions of unfreedom—can be read through at least three registers, none of which are mutually exclusive. First, Szarkowski may be reiterating a forgetting of subjugated others, a subjugation that he can name but with which he and the "rest of us" cannot empathize, or in which the reason to look is as much a reason *to care* to look. Unlike Christopher's condemning attitude toward Holmesburg's experimental program, for example, Szarkowski appears almost indifferent on the matter, stating, "the Holmesburg experiments often did the prisoners no apparent harm" (para. 16). Second, this demand for a reason to look at all may be disarticulating the act of seeing from that of knowing, betraying a critique against the elevated status of vision as the route to truth or as the paradigm of Western culture (Jenks, 1995) by noting the capacity of photography to produce what he could consider "perverse" work. Lastly, implicit in Szarkowski's demand is a recognition of the banality of the images themselves, a call for something or anything notable or special that would give purpose to their making and viewing.

Compositionally, several of Roma's photographs of Holmesburg do exhibit a kind of constancy, focusing on individual cells that are nonetheless all structurally identical. Similar pictures of cell rooms, cell walls, and cell corners follow one after the other, many repeating nearly the same perspective and all in sepia (Figure 12). Each cell is of course differentiated by its singular manifestation of ruination and by its unique collection of posters and graffiti put up by those it formerly caged. Yet, in Roma's

photographs, ruin and traces of prison "life" operate more like actors (actants?) on a stage that structurally never changes, the narrow selection of framings and hence their continual use throughout the photo-series enacting the same setting over and over again.

Figure 12: Three untitled photographs of individual cells by Thomas Roma, 2013. (Left) Empty cell with dark stain on floor. (Center) Two iron bed frames leaning on back wall of cell. (Right) Single iron bed frame in center of cell. Reproduced with permission from the artist.

This repetition mirrors, if not directly results from, the highly regimented organization of prison spaces, in which a single cell is uniformly replicated multiple times inside a cellblock and, for Holmesburg, the block also iterated nine more times around a panoptic center. Holmesburg, too, is one copy among hundreds of Eastern State. Topographic redundancy resulted in a largely undifferentiated space that, alongside identification numbers and matching uniforms, undoubtedly contributed to the de-individuation of captive subjects into "inmates," bodies as interchangeable as the human pens that separated and interned them. In Roma's work on Holmesburg, the form of the photograph takes on the form of the prison architecture, suggesting that the problem of meaning behind his images may not ultimately derive from the ruined status of Holmesburg, but

from a structural fungibility that troubles the meaning and visuality of space, place, and location.[10]

For Kligman's experimental program, Holmesburg prison was not unlike a vivarium, a place for keeping and managing live specimens in rows and rows of identical cages for the purposes of scientific observation and research. Simulating the "natural" environment of specimens, or at least providing them with the necessary conditions for survival (as is often the case in laboratory work), vivariums do not nevertheless simply maintain the life they hold. Rather, they *create* from this life a being solely for experimentation, a subject whose conditions of possibility turn on its conditions of confinement (which is to say its conditions of impossibility). Specimens are kept precisely as usable and homogeneous examples (models) of life *not* their own, and would cease to exist as such outside of their forced dwellings, their epistemological significance to science legible only through their very specific emplacement in its world.[11] This is "experimental life" in its most literal (read: ontological) sense, life that is not so much enclosed inside a research facility as it is an effect or extension of its enclosure. Roma

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[10] Christopher Tilley (1994a) provides a brief review of scientific and humanistic approaches to space and place. Quantitative analysis conceptualizes space as a container that can be geographically measured. This container is universal and stands apart from human actions. Others, in contrast, define space as a medium socially produced through human action. Phenomenology, for example, center the body as the mediating point between the human and the world, demonstrating in short that no space could exist without a body to perceive it.

Space provides context for place, which gives a situatedness to the former. By naming space, one gives it a place. Architectural space, Tilley writes, "involves a deliberate attempt to create and bound space, create an inside, an outside, a way around, a channel for movement. Architecture is the deliberate creation of space made tangible, visible and sensible" (p. 17). Space and place will be discussed more fully later in the chapter.

[11] See etymology of "specimen": model, example, sign; a thing typical of its kind; a means by which to know; a combination of *specere* (to look at) and *–men* (a result or means). Animals in vivariums are bred and grown, and sometimes designed via genetic manipulation, for the purposes of research.

began his photo-series by imagining something akin to this kind of life within Holmesburg's walls, remarking on the *inhuman* scale of holding up to seven prisoners at a time in a single cell designed for one (personal communication, March 27, 2017). Significantly, he noted the unbridgeable gap between his experience of Holmesburg Prison and that from the prisoners, the silence and solitude of the ruin conjuring the "din" of a facility once "overfull" with bodies, a place now far removed in time, sensed only through fabulation, and imagined *against* Roma's embodied experience: "being able to hear myself breathe, even hear my own heartbeat" (ibid.). Roma's engagement with the hardscape of the prison transforms the latter into what Lisa Cartwright (2014) calls a "topography of feeling," in which photography is "uniquely suited to capturing with detail and precision this physical inscription of the subtle differences in the contouring of feeling materialized in place" (p. 300).

Those like Christopher who specialize in ruin photography captured more of Holmesburg's spaces beyond its individual cells, including courtyards, guard towers, corridors, work spaces, and stairwells. True to their preferred genre, these photographers also situate Holmesburg as one subject among others in their portfolios. Christopher's own body of work exhibits abandoned schools, hospitals, churches, hotels, and various industrial buildings; and without context or identifiers, some of these images could be mistaken for having the same object, for having been shot at the same location. Among these other sites of ruin, Holmesburg seems rather unremarkable, constituting just another setting upon which decay and abandonment alight and linger. Ruin *happens* in and to these places, and as the subject of photography, it destroys the historical and formal specificity of buildings through its focused display of rubble and wreckage.

By positioning Holmesburg amid other blighted buildings, Christopher's ruinscapes gesture to the banality of prison spaces in the American landscape. Ruth Gilmore (2007) charts the growth of prison systems soon after the end of America's "golden age" in the late twentieth century, illustrating how prisons were rapidly taken up as geographic solutions to social problems and political crises brought about by wars and by national and global liberation movements in the 1960s. The prison-building boom moved bodies from urban to rural areas, a movement stratified by race and class, or by difference "emblazoned on surfaces of skin, documents, and maps—color, credo, citizenship, communities, convictions" (p. 15). Still greatly impacted by the Great Depression even after the New Deal, the nation's rural sectors became the dumping grounds of disposable commodity-bodies—mainly black, Latino, and poor—and bring new meaning to the "depressive modernity" or "modernity at a standstill" that, Scandura shows, "moves neither forward nor backward but shimmers in place" (p. 11) in the form of refuse left in the wake of a rapidly expanding throw-away economy. So just as modernity is coeval with its refuse, the golden gulag is intertwined with what Gilmore calls "group-differentiated vulnerability to premature death" (p. 28).

By presenting ruins of Holmesburg alongside that of other mundane buildings, ruinscapes like Christopher's bring into relief captive sites made invisible to the public, visualizing them as the familiar structures of everyday life that they, as Gilmore shows, have become. Across the photographs, ruin vividly connects and binds together disparate locations and structures, its chaotic distensions and dislocations scattering the boundary of each image like that of its own architecture. Ruin *ruins* the photograph; and if obsolete and degenerating buildings and things are made equal in their status as refuse, then ruin

photography becomes an apt genre for banalizing rather than spectacularizing the prison space. Michel Foucault (1973/1994; 1977/1995; 1976/1990) had long ago discerned the network of power running through various institutions like the clinic, the prison, the church; but as ruinscapes perhaps demonstrate best, it is through abandonment and ruination, and through the absence and loss they imply, that the presence of power and its interconnected, ordinary workings—that the very logic of captivity pervading modernity and its discontents—become most perceptible. Christopher notes that generally the buildings he photographs are never replaced, but he forgets that Holmesburg was decommissioned for the construction of Curran-Fromhold, a maximum-security facility that opened in 1995 and which is currently Philadelphia's largest prison. Like a commodity in late capitalism, the prison is replaceable, disposable even, its ruin thus paradoxically more alive than dead in its capacity for endless renewal and accumulation.

The skin of the architecture

What to make of ruin and ruinscapes as archives of Holmesburg's history of medical experimentation on prisoners? How to read this history in and through photographs whose flat, even surfaces quite literally gloss over the roughened contours of what once had been a carceral and experimental space? Even when accompanied by textual accounts of what used to happen here, in this spot, the images themselves do not record the time of Kligman's experiments but a stratified temporality objectified in rust, debris, and layers and layers of flaking paint. Holmesburg's ruination invites an analysis of time, which Christopher takes up in what he calls a visual "eulogy" of ruins as the corpses or dead "bodies of hopes and ambitions, and in their link to our shared heritage

and common past, [as] a part of our 'extended family'" (p. 5). So in Christopher's account, ruin photography is not at all about garbage, but is instead representative of both current and imminent societal collapse ("an age of consequences") as well as a personal "death that awaits us all…the frailty of the human condition" (pp. 6-7). Like a eulogy, ruin photography is testimony of a time gone by that serves as lesson or inspiration for those still living, a usable past for an imagined future foreshadowed by a dead or dying body that is at once social and individual, public and private.[12]

Ruin as an allegory of death is refuse made meaningful for cultural memory, garbage repurposed for new symbolic ends and bringing ruin photography closest to the "agent of Death" Roland Barthes (1981) had first associated with picture-taking.[13] However, it also conforms to a Western architectural theory that has frequently likened buildings to human bodies. Juhani Pallasmaa (2005), for example, notes that the "most archaic origin of architectural space is in the cavity of the mouth" (p. 57).[14] Significantly,

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[12] Evident in Ginsberg's writing on ruins is a metonymic relation between loss, freedom, and death. In ruins, matter is freed/lost from structural form; form is freed/lost from function; and function is freed/lost from the objective for which the building was originally constructed. What is left is a "skeleton" or "dismembered corpse," a symbol of a "death and dissolution [that] occur to all things throughout endless time" (p. 214). He continues, "Death, our death, is ruin's greatest symbolism" (p. 359). Attempts to recuperate a ruin do not restore it to (a different) life, but instead constitute an insistence on one's historicity. Nostalgia, Ginsberg argues, is therefore less about us remembering the past than it is the past remembering us.

[13] Barthes terms the photograph a "flat Death," referring at once to the flatness of the image (hence, also his use of "camera lucida"), the flatness (which is to say "ubiquity") of death, and the photograph's capacity to kill and "embalm" its object. Aiming at "lifelike" qualities rather than the life of its object, every photograph occasions "the return of the dead" (p. 16).

[14] This observation is part of a larger argument against the ocularcentrism of architectural theory, which has ostensibly foregone an examination of how bodily senses are all implicated in the making, imagining, and experiencing of built environments.

See also Joseph Rykwert's (1996) foundational text on representations of the human body in Classical columns, and Kent Bloomer and Charles Willard Moore (1977) on the body and body-centered artistry of architecture. On space and place more generally, see Steve Pile (1996) on the relationship between the body in the city and the city (or geography and cartography) in the mind, and Heidi Nast and

for Pallasmaa, sites of gustatory, sonic, and visual sensation extend from what he considers the dominant sense organ: the skin, or "the eyes of the skin." Paramount to the ways one can create and encounter a space, the senses—and touch most especially—help project a body and a self into a building's architecture, which thus "functions as another person, with whom one unconsciously converses" (p. 64). The skin trope in architectural theory is also evident in the late 19th century work of Adolf Loos or, as Cheng (2011) writes, the father of modern architecture. Locating skin and fabric as the origins of architectural development, Loos inaugurated a Modernist preoccupation with "clean," unadorned surfaces that culminated with Le Corbusier's trademark white-walled buildings.[15] Loosian theory demonstrated how the skin is intimately attached to and therefore in direct communion with that which it protects or covers, a theory evincing a "desire to *house* the body [which] grows most vitally out of the desire to *be* the body" (p. 54).

This conceptual nexus of skin, fabric, body, and architecture, as well as a more reflexive, critical commentary on incarceration, is present in the multimedia work, "Doing Time/Depth of Surface," by Spanish artists Patricia Gómez and María Jesús

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Pile's (1998) edited volume on the social and spatial relationships between bodies and places. See also Gillian Rose (1993) on the gendering of places and spaces in the geographic imaginary.

[15] Loos's championing of unadorned surfaces came from a colonialist stance against the ornamentation of what were considered "primitive" cultures. To Loos and his contemporaries, plain surfaces signaled the progress and civilization of the West, producing a "a nexus of metonymic meanings—purity, cleanliness, simplicity, anonymity, masculinity, civilization, technology, intellectual abstractism—that are set off against notions of excessive adornment, inarticulate sensuality, femininity, backwardness" (Cheng, p. 25).

Mabel Wilson (1998) fleshes out this same nexus in Le Corbusier's *Radiant City*, whose experimentations with Taylorized urbanism and imaginings of a "gleaming white metropolis" (p. 102) relied on a controlled blackness positioned as a threatening force against social order as well as an alluring, primal spirit that can infuse a "European soul dampened by the chaotic industrialization of the twentieth century" (p. 108). In his designs for a Radiant City, Le Corbusier thus includes blackness insofar as it performs and labors for the city.

González. Commissioned in 2011 by the Philadelphia-based printmaking collective Philagrafika and exhibited in the same year at The Galleries at Moore College of Art & Design, the artwork sought to conserve and produce large scale prints of Holmesburg's fading graffiti through a restoration technique called "strappo."

Figure 13: "Second Skin. Cell 560," By Patricia Gómez and María Jesús González, 2011. (Left) Photograph of canvas stripped from cell entrance. (Right) Photograph of nearly completed canvas. Reproduced with permission from the artists.

Gómez and González's modified strappo procedure involved applying water-based glues to the prison walls and then stripping and transferring the surface paint onto black cloth canvases, resulting in monoprints that, to paraphrase curator José Roca, transformed the skin of the architecture into crumpled shrouds (Figure 13).[16] Though death is implied in the work's aims at preservation, it is life or traces of prisoner activity—the "depth" to the

[16] See curatorial statement at: http://www.philagrafika.org/pdf/Doing_Time_Depth_Of_Surface_Curatorial%20Statement.pdf. Elsewhere, Roca more explicitly connects the monoprints with death: They "from a distance resembles topography, or a shroud over a dead body" (in Brady, 2012, para. 12).

surface of walls—that make up the main interest of Gómez and González, who, prior to working with Holmesburg, deployed similar strappo techniques in prisons at Valencia and Palma de Mallorca, Spain.[17]

Print, specifically "large-format print realized without a press, ink or paper," is especially conducive to salvaging captive stories (Gómez & González, p. 15). The artists explain: "For us, the connection between human skin and architecture is as critical as it is obvious… the walls inside a prison where an inmate expresses himself are like a *second skin* that envelops and protects him, separating him from the exterior but also imprisoning him. When nothing remains of a place and its walls are the sole element left to tell a story, our job is to reclaim and reveal those histories" (ibid., emphasis mine). However, unlike taking a photograph of ruin, Gómez and González's printmaking technique allowed for no second chances or tries. The first attempt was the only attempt the artists had at peeling away a wall, and so they risked accelerating as much as deferring the process of loss, both physical and metaphysical. For the artists, Holmesburg's walls composed a sort of lithographic object engraved with "the passage of time," its "historical, social and sentimental information" all indexical marks "on the verge of being lost" (ibid.), but which strappo can physically rescue from their wall supports and safeguard using black tarp. Gómez and González do consider their "mural membranes" a physical chronicle of captive spaces and subjects, signaling the making of alternative archives as well as the limits of reaching, representing, and preserving repressed histories

[17] Gómez and González list several art projects involving prisons that they have been influenced by and which use prisons as sites and objects of critical commentary. Eastern State, too, as previously mentioned, exhibits and curates artworks addressing prison reform and abolition. See list at http://www.philagrafika.org/pdf/Doing-Time-Captured-Bibliography.pdf

(here, for instance, the dangerous presence of lead threatens and hinders bodily proximity to objects of knowledge and representation).[18]

A more direct, tangible engagement with Holmesburg may attribute to the resulting monoprints a greater sense of historical authenticity by retaining original components of the ruined prison.[19] Strappo, on the other hand, presented its own methodological limitations to a perfect relocation of paint and graffiti. Mainly, the flaking and crusted surfaces of prison walls had to be coated with surfactants and glues and therefore flattened out before they could be removed, this defining process of strappo chemically changing the paint while also undoing some of the "magical effects of time" that the artists aimed to capture. Surfaces not entirely flat or unsuccessfully peeled off appeared as black holes, forming on the cloth canvas the same empty spaces or literal "gaps of information" generated by doorways and windows. Like ruinscapes, the now 2D rendering of Holmesburg's cells convey only a sense of texture and 3D space, sacrificing spatial depth for one metaphorical: "people on the walls of places" (ibid.).

Yet creation and loss are interdependent operations of archival and documentary practice, producing a tension between, to borrow from Michel-Rolph Trouillot(1995),

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[18] I borrow "mural membranes" from Jennie Hirsh's (2011) critique of the installation, to be discussed more fully later in the chapter.

[19] Influential texts on authenticity in the arts include Walter Benjamin's (1936/2006) essay, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," which addresses the capacity of mass reproduction to depreciate or jeopardize the "uniqueness," "presence," "historical testimony," or "aura" of art work. Art in capitalism is designed for reproducibility, and this loss of authenticity as a criterion for making art displaces the latter from the realm of ritual to that of politics. Benjamin, for instance, warns of the excesses of mechanical reproduction, ascribing the "horrible features of imperialistic warfare" to a "discrepancy between the tremendous *means* of production and their inadequate utilization in the *process* of production" (p. 131, emphasis mine).

Though print constitutes a medium of and for reproduction [see works by Elizabeth Eisenstein (1983) and Michael Warner (1990)], the archival impetus behind Gómez and González monoprints arguably conserves the aura of the original wall. Departing from the electronic and digital reproduction of ruin photography, the monoprints hence form a very different kind of ruinscape than those discussed earlier in this chapter.

"what happened and that which is said to have happened" (p. 3). Combining artistic production with historical preservation, Gómez and González's monoprints stage the meaning-making processes inherent to archival work, demonstrating how preservation itself produces both something lost and something new from its object. From the walls of Holmesburg to the specular spaces of the gallery, or more generally, from the initial site of an object to an institutionalized repository of ephemera, the archival impulse falls short of its ideal recorder. Turning things into records, into *source* materials, marshals new uses and interpretations, a network of matter, performances, and significations not the same as but also not quite fully removed from the objects' original contexts (and what counts as "original" is also reconstruction). Visualizing this moment between fact-assembly and fact-creation, when the object is both target *and* (faulty) medium of recovery, Gómez and González's monoprints paradoxically constitute both originals *and* copies, new objects that preserve and reproduce a space only insofar as they transform it.

In addition to large-scale, 16-foot monoprints of prison cells, Gómez and González also produced smaller-scale prints of individual graffiti and posters, ruinscapes that included images of their work-in-progress, and a 6:20-minute video composed of three monitors that borrowed feed from various surveillance cameras inside the prison and which sometimes featured one or both artists toiling in hazmat suits, masks, and latex gloves (Figure 14). Through these various mediating surfaces—film, photograph, print—the artists undertake a critique of the ways prison architectures constrain and determine the movements of its captive population, or of how such mastery over space translates into absolute mastery over people—in short, Gómez and González attempt to map the panoptic space and to see the panoptic gaze. The video's silent reconnaissance, for

instance, hearkens to the state's omnipresent gaze inside prison walls, which, alongside surveillance technologies and deputized human agents, allows for maximal spatial control. To remark on prison *time*, however, the artists transition from visual-haptic mediums to one sonic: a 4-hour audio recording that repeats again and again a single, recurrent entry in the prison's logbooks. The entry, which also serves as title of the art piece, reads, "All appears normal." Recited by a former guard at Holmesburg and replayed in 45-minute loops, this phrase uttered over and over conjures the rigid schedules and monotonous routines of prison existence, as well as the ordinariness ("normal") and redundancy (fungibility) of that existence in both its human and architectural forms. So while decay captured by monoprints and ruinscapes suggests a linear passage of time, the repetitive, circular temporality of captivity is evoked through a continual, uniform sound, arrhythmic in its rhythmic constancy, forming a kind of phonic skin smooth, unbroken, and in marked contrast to the cracked and crumbling layers of visual works.

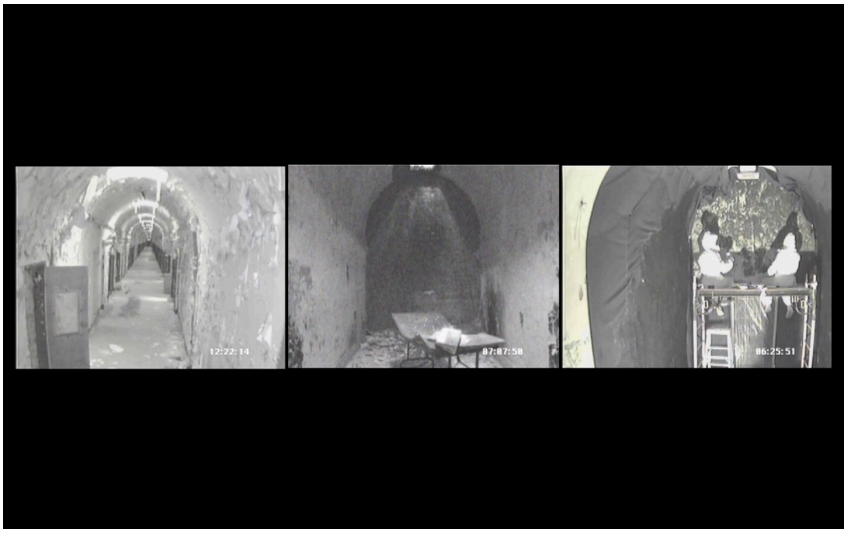

Figure 14: Still from video installation of "Depth of Surface." By Patricia Gómez and María Jesús González, 2011. Reproduced with permission from the artists.

But as the centerpieces of their exhibition, Gómez and González's monoprints received the most critical attention. Jennie Hirsh (2011) highlights the multiple histories present in the layers of salvaged paint, and the dual levels of recuperation at work in this layering: First, the mark-making practices of prisoners can be read as an active resistance against their abject status and a re-articulation of their subjectivity; and second, the monoprints, too, constitute a recuperative process that seeks to bring back and have us bear witness to remnants of lives brought out of time and space. To Patricia Robertson (2011), the "individual and unique" prints *collaborate* with the past to preserve such "vital experiences," forming "pictorial *analogs* for the singular lives…that unfolded in [Holmesburg's] uniform spaces" (p. 18, emphasis mine). Indeed, the prints are seen not only as evidence of what prisoners did to the walls but also as counterparts to the prisoners themselves, especially those who had been subject to Kligman's medical experiments. Kostis Kourelis (2011) writes, "We seek earlier occupants, such as the infamous inmates who received dermatological tests…Although we have no physical evidence of this event, [Gómez and González's] project allows us to imagine the invisible shadows of such powerful interactions between architecture and its users" (p. 2). Writing for *Art Papers*, Edward Epstein (2012) views the monoprints a "commemoration of this act of medical hubris," a "limp enclosure" akin to "animal hide" that provides a "fitting tribute to what Kligman himself describes as the 'acres of skin' to which he applied his untested chemistry" (p. 52). And as Gómez and González also say of the prison, "What has happened to Holmesburg's walls echoes what happened to the skin of the inmates who participated in medical experiments that had grave health consequences" (p. 15).

Such observations use the body of the prisoner to anthropomorphize the prison,

humanizing the structure through analogies made between corporeal and architectural injury. But they also point to the object status of the prisoners, who are (re)presented not only through the latter's inscriptions—graffiti, posters, markings—but also through the very stone and concrete that barricaded them from the rest of the world. By inviting viewers to see in Holmesburg's deteriorating walls the violated bodies of Kligman's research program, Gómez and González's monoprints reconstruct Holmesburg as site/sight of subjugation and subject-formation, as the means for reading both the making and unmaking of captive being. By "giving voice" to those once held captive at Holmesburg,[20] the monoprints remediate the bond between agency and domination, and between redress and appropriation, the prison walls becoming by proxy the active (empowered?) agents of (re)telling captive experiences in a museum setting Michele Wallace (2002) has called the "prison house of culture."[21] Mapping the skin of the prisoners onto the skin of the architecture, Gómez and González's monoprints betray the capacity (or maybe even the authority) of prison walls to represent those they locked up,

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[20] The words of Gómez and González in full: "We have the greatest respect for the people who lived there. We had to weigh our emotions, pulling personal and private emotional things. We had to ask ourselves, is this the right thing to do? We did it with respect, but we had to ask ourselves, is it right? We decided we were giving voice to prisoners who wanted to be heard" (in Rosenberg, 2012, para. 12).

[21] The emergence of European Modernism, Wallace argues, involved stealing and forcing African art-objects into an ethnographic museum imbued with the ideological and philosophical logic of orientialism, primitivism, imperialism, and colonialism. And often the transit of these objects followed directly from the dispossession of peoples and destruction of entire villages. Yet these objects also came to influence Western aesthetics (see works by Picasso and Matisse), demonstrating the "endless recombination of the various elements of [European and African models of ideal form], to which we owe many of the treasures of European Modernism found in the museums of the world today" (p. 379). On the status of African art as either "authentic" or "constructed" category, Wallace similarly notes, "I believe that such concepts as art and Africa are…more 'cooked' than raw, and as such many different hands have contributed to the present recipe…in which blacks haven't necessarily had more of a notion of what to really make of the presence of African art in European and American museums than most whites" (p. 377).

See also collected essays in Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn (1998) discussing power relations underpinning the collection and exhibition of artifacts coming from colonized peoples.

the latter becoming known and remembered through prison walls that talk, prison walls given voice by those they kept captive.[22] The physical structures of captive *subjection* are at once a sign of captive *subjectivity*, a being emerging only through dissolution.

We can think of this transfer of agency and subjectivity from captive bodies to the structures that caged them as an enactment of what Dennis Childs (2015) terms "living death," or the power and purpose of prison spaces to "immobilize, torture, and kill" (p. 35). The prison acquires a "life of its own" by siphoning the social and biological life of the captive (ibid)., producing "conditions bordering on death" (p. 22) that continue older logics and architectures of black incarceration: slave ships, plantations, chain-gang cages.[23] Similarly, for Katherine McKittrick (2011), the prison space constitutes the logical extension of slave geographies, an "economized and enforced placelessness [that] chained [slaves] to the land" (p. 949) and whose spatial violence provided a blueprint for the prison's regimes of "displacement, surveillance, and enforced slow death" (p. 956). The *where* of blacknesss, McKittrick (2006) writes, is rendered *ungeographic* through these processes of displacement—displacement from kin, displacement from self—that territorialized the black body as a site of ownership (from private to public), giving black selfhood *no-place* in traditional geographies and cartographies while also holding the potential for counter-geographies. Archiving and memorializing captive subjectivity

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[22] Said Roca of the monoprints, "There is truth to the common adage 'if walls could talk,' in the sense of being the silent witnesses of what happens over time, which is physically and metaphorically imprinted in them" (in Rosenberg, 2012, para. 16).

[23] Child's use of "living death" borrows from Orlando Patterson's (1982) analysis of "social death" and from Colin Dayan's (2001) use of "civil death," which describes the (neo)slave's exclusion from the law's language of citizenship through the latter's adoption and perpetuation of the language of slavery in matters of crime and punishment. However, living death also reaches beyond these sociopolitical (Patterson) and legal (Dayan) meanings of captivity to illuminate or excavate forms of life eked out in conditions of death.

in/through Holmesburg's prison walls, Gómez and González's monoprints re-spatialize this displacement—this having or being no-place, materializing the dual status of incarceration as simultaneously, Childs shows, spaces of "black vernacular cultural production" (p. 22) and "the sepulcher-like temporal boxes of the master archive" (p. 6).

The tenuous distance between a prison-clinic that *confines* the body and a prison-clinic that *is* the body sheds light not only on the ambiguous relationship between inside and outside introduced by either corporeal or architectural skin, which are both permeable and thoroughly bound up with what they keep within. It also centers a relation of domination at the *possible* intersections of the prison and the lab, or at the point where boundaries between these different spaces become fluid. Like that between space and subject, prison and prisoner, this fluidity of borders arises precisely from the captive body's inability to draw lines around itself—the carceral and the experimental intersect through a body that is unconditionally available to both. Deprived of its edges ("a subject under erasure" one might say[24]), the captive body forms a particularly capacious carrier and conveyer of meaning and practice. So as with slave geographies before it, the prison-lab's *siphoning off of life* marks an anti-dialectic, or what Frank Wilderson (2010) terms a *parasitic*, relationship,[25] in which the captive body is deployed to sustain prison control and controlled experimentation, as well as to animate more contemporary cultural texts

[24] This is one of Jacques Derrida's (1974/2016) oft-quoted statements.

[25] Wilderson's use of the phrase "parasitic relationship" displaces Hegel's theory of the death struggle between master and slave. Wilderson counters relational ontologies (also underlining more contemporary theories about material life) with the non-relational or non-ontological status of the slave, that is, the latter's position as an enabling vehicle for relations between masters or between freemen. He writes, "This violence which turns a body into flesh, ripped apart literally and imaginatively, destroys the possibility of ontology because it positions the black in an infinite and indeterminately horrifying and open vulnerability, an object made available (which is to say fungible) for any subject" (p. 38).

recording and re-membering prisoners who were and were not experimented upon.

Prison scholars prompt us to rethink of architectural skin in this way in order to mark the exceptional place of the prison among other built environments. Angela Davis's reading of Foucault, for instance, points to Foucault's revision of his own work on prisons upon his visit to Attica Prison, New York, in 1972. There, Foucault saw that U.S. prisons did not so much aim to produce virtuous men but to eliminate raced persons en masse: "Attica is...a form of prodigious stomach, a kidney that consumes, destroys, breaks up, and then rejects, and that consumes to eliminate what it has already eliminated" (as cited in Davis, 1998, p. 98).[26] The prison's enteric structure and positioning in the social body alludes to its ontological and sociotechnical role as, to borrow from Dylan Rodríguez (2006), neither a *destination* nor *origin* of raced bodies but a *passage* or passageway through which racialization takes place, a "point of *massive human departure*—from civil society, the free world, and the mesh of affective social bonds and relations that produce varieties of 'human' family and community" (p. 227, emphasis his). No doubt this ungeographic status of prisons troubles traditional definitions of space, place, and location. Yi-Fu Tuan (2001), for example, writes that space is abstract, connoting expansiveness, unfamiliar, perhaps dangerous terrain, a venturing into the unknown, and mostly importantly the freedom to move. Place, on the other hand, is a "pause" in this movement, a home, a location one knows, a concretization

[26] In this phrase, Foucault refers to high rates of recidivism. Davis's work points to the limitations of applying Foucault's theory of discipline and punishment to U.S. carceral formations. As Davis also shows, Foucault himself was compelled to rethink his theories, which presume a white, European, male subject of the penal system. Also interrogating Foucault's assumptions, Joy James (1996) writes how blacks in the U.S. were always already presumed to be incapable of docility, becoming an object of extra-legal mob violence occurring *after* Foucault's assertion on the disappearance of public displays of brutalization.

of prior experiences. But neither space nor place, prisons perpetuate and propagate the "entrails of power" Saidiya Hartman (2007) observed in the built environment of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, a "usurping and consuming [of] life" (pp. 114) that converted humans into waste and that waste into capital. At the "interface between life and death," captive bodies, or human beings turned into refuse, become material "proof that the powerful had eaten" (pp. 114-115), that modernity and capital accumulation thrived on the accretion, pace Foucault, of eliminated human beings.[27]

The external, surface-quality of skin elicited through descriptions made by photographers, artists, and critics, a quality that arguably enables a conceptual alignment between Holmesburg and its prisoners, thus belies an internal, visceral contact-zone that may be more proximal to a haptics of living death, which refers not to an external skin and its associated functions of touching and feeling, but rather to an altogether different integumentary structure: the gut, the bowels, and its digestive operations.[28] This haptics anchors together and allows the metonymic slide between a decaying prison, photographs of ruin, monoprints of disappearing walls, and through which the captive, experimental

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[27] Hartman's allegory of cannibalism specifically refers to the underground dungeons of Cape Coast Castle in Ghana. A British fort built by the Royal Africa Company in the late 17th century, Cape Coast Castle warehoused captives before they departed on slave ships bound for Europe and the Americas. No slave accounts of the dungeons exist today, only the "compressed remains of captives – feces, blood, and exfoliated skin...layers of organic material pressed hard against a stone floor" (p. 115). Materializing the anthropophagic relation between merchant capitalism and dispossession, the dungeons, as well as the pillaging, devastation, and dispossession of entire villages, led to the language of predation and cannibalism that slaves used to describe traders. Stories abounded of "blood orgies and men cooked in boiling cauldrons...tales about the *bounsam*, the devil, who resided near the sea and feasted on human flesh" (p. 113). For the enslaved, the violent and bloody lengths of their capture signaled such a sinister ending, some rebelling against a ship's crew or committing suicide in fear of being eaten alive. These fears were not altogether unfounded, for, as Hartman asks, "Who could deny that white men gained their strength from black flesh?" (p. 69).

[28] See Jennifer Barker's *The Tactile Eye: Touch and the Cinematic Experience* (2009) on mapping touch from the surface to the viscera of the human body and the film body. For Barker, Being emerges through the ways viewing cinema traverses both kinds of bodies in this way.

subject is always just out of reach, forming a fleeting, residual figure continually displaced by the movement between such signifiers of refuse, waste, and death.[29] Remainder to a process of incorporation and expulsion at the level of imprisonment (banishment through confinement) and of representation (a visible absence), the captive subject becomes *par excellence* the object and product of what David Marriott calls "devouring scopophilia" or the devouring eye of the camera (2000), the cultural history of which is shot through with depressive and melancholic fantasies of absorbing the black body into a fecal object, or a "psychodynamics of intrusion" in which the fear of being in communion with or possessing a black body betrays a fantasy of "being smeared over with shit" (2007, pp. 212-215). The visuality of Holmesburg's ruinscapes and monoprints thus implicates more than touching and looking at surfaces, the actualization in space of ingestion and excretion in their social and psychic registers troubling attempts at knowing, seeing, feeling captive being. Conditioning and therefore exceeding the same discourses announcing its presence, the captive subject infers a figure not of subjectivity per se but of its trace and possibility, a subject who both shapes and escapes the imprisoned, experimental body projected onto Holmesburg's walls, and thus who both ruptures and makes possible the constituted interiority of the prison-clinic architecture. In other words, there are (at least) two subjects of death at work here, which also means there are (at least) two kinds of architectural bodies or *skins,* one establishing the form or structure of the other, or one vitalized by feeding off the other.

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[29] Bruce Fink (1995) suggests that the Lacanian subject is neither the ego nor its Other. Rather, the Lacanian subject constitutes a breach between signifiers, occurring as a disruption in speech or as an evanescent object quickly replaced or eclipsed by signifiers as meaning moves through or is created out of a movement through a symbolic chain.

Elizabeth Wilson (2004) shows the gut to be an inter-subjective site where the outside world and the psychological sphere meet in developing and stabilizing the self, writing that "relations to others are psychologically generative only to the extent that they are internalized (ingested, absorbed, excreted)" (p. 44). Depression, for instance, could be re-defined not simply as an ideational breakdown in relations to others, but as a physical interruption to the process of remaining connected to others in the form of eating. Rather than a common symptom of depression, the struggle to eat or to stop eating is a pivotal mode of enacting distress and mediating one's loss of connectedness to the world. Radically separating zones of freedom and unfreedom, prisons spatialize this loss of connectedness to the world, breaking down social relations through a compulsive eating of the Other and thus reproducing the depressive modernity characterizing the prison's political economy.[30] Bennett shows that (hyper)consumption not only vitalizes the eater but mutually shapes the substance of both eater and eaten, an entwined becoming determining who eats what. As a kind of "edible matter," imprisoned bodies make up the raw materials for building the sinews of the prison system, an environment which, to paraphrase Fanon (1952/2008), tears the body apart, its blood and humors the fertilizer to captivity's cultural milieu (p. 190). Hence, to look upon Holmesburg today in all of its spectacular decrepitude is to see what it has always been, a place of wreckage and waste, a ruin that indexes an ever-expanding, gluttonous prison nation.

This is not to rehearse binaries between inside and outside, depth and surface. The gut and skin are after all both absorptive membranes, the latter turned inside out and

[30] I borrow the phrase "eating the Other" from bell hooks (1992), who uses the language of eating to describe capitalism's commodifaction of Otherness.

former outside in. However, this is also not to collapse material and semiotic distinctions between the two. Rather, the prison space as gut, or captivity as a form of digestion, defines a structural relationship between inside and outside that positions it—the break-down of being—at the limit of formalized interiority and exteriority: an excluded interior, an interiorized exclusion, or an internal Other (Shepherdson, 2008).[31] Insofar as modern architecture takes up the human body as model and subject of the built environment, it installs the prison as the underbelly of that environment, as the internal Other at the limit of architectural space. What ruinscapes and monoprints of Holmesburg show and don't show, *what they can't help but show*, is a captive, experimental space and subject at once nowhere and everywhere, inside and outside, conditioning forms of life from which they are expelled, the Angel of History for whom the past, present, and future can only assume the form of timeless rubble, eternal catastrophe.[32].

Skin as ghostly matter

"Nobody has come in here to investigate. We're the first ones! Slam one of these doors! Now's your time! Now's your time! If this is a portal to hell, slam a door! I'm

[31] It had been suggested that in his later work, Jacques Lacan synthesized his prior writings into theories about the topological structure of the subject, or topology as *the* structure of psyche and body. The subject is said to be "extimate," folding its inside and outside at the same place, everywhere in its structure. On Lacan's topology, see works by Ellie Ragland (2015), Paul Kingsbury (2007), and Virginia Blum and Anna Secor (2011). Physiologically, the body constitutes a torus, a donut-shaped structure where the gut is contiguous with the skin (the gut is also the first organ to develop in the growing embryo).

[32] I borrow "Angel of History" from Walter Benjamin's (1940/1968) description of Klee's Angelus Novus: "His face is turned towards the past. Where *we* see the appearance of a chain of events, *he* sees one single catastrophe, which unceasingly piles rubble on top of rubble and hurls it before his feet. He would like to pause for a moment so fair…to awaken the dead and to piece together what has been smashed. But a storm is blowing from Paradise, it has caught itself up in his wings and is so strong that the Angel can no longer close them. The storm drives him irresistibly into the future, to which his back is turned, while the rubble-heap before him grows sky-high. That which we call progress, is *this* storm" (p. 5-6, emphasis his). In language reminiscent of Fanon, Benjamin call's for an explosion of this cycle of ruin we call history or in which the victor arising from the ruins determines history.

trying to honor you the best I can even though, when you were alive, you did terrible things." It's near midnight and Chad Lindberg, a cast member of the television series *Ghost Stalkers* (2014), huddles on the floor of Holmesburg's central rotunda while pleading with spirits to offer signs of their presence. He is alone in the prison, which is pitch black at night (Figure 15), illuminating the round room with a single hand-held flashlight he intermittently aims at the entrance to one of Holmesburg's ten corridors: H Block, once the center of Kligman's medical experiments. Lindberg continues, "But it can be made better! You can cross over!" He pauses, waits. Then suddenly, a loud "bang!" Lindberg shouts in fear and surprise. He lurches himself off of the floor, still screaming as he trembles back-and-forth in panic. Later, once calmer, he approaches one of two static cameras taping the scene in night-vision and says to the viewer, "I've officially…"—he shudders—"I've officially lost my fucking cool." In voice-over, Lindberg explains that the sound was without a doubt from a cell door slamming shut off-screen.

Figure 15: Screen shot of night-vision view from static camera in prison rotunda. From episode 4 of *Ghost Stalkers*. Reproduced through terms of fair use.

Imbued with narratives of death and decay, the dark ruins of Holmesburg Prison are, perhaps unsurprisingly, generative ground for paranormal investigators like Lindberg and his co-host, John Tenney, who visit the prison in the fourth episode of the Destination America mini-series, *Ghost Stalkers.* Airing for one season in 2014, the series follows Lindberg and Tenney as they, in their words, "spend 48 hours isolated in [each of] some of the rawest, grittiest haunted locations in the world," locations which often have been either abandoned or converted into historic sites. Having themselves experienced close encounters with death—Tenney, the show reveals, was pronounced dead in 1988—the hosts make it their "mission" to discover what they believe to be "portals where the dead can cross over into our world." Holmesburg's hub-and-spoke design holds particular interest for Lindberg and Tenney, who deduce from the prison's "unique" construction a man-made portal generator: "Its multiple hallways converging beneath a parabolic dome could've created a situation where a century of negative human energy was [shunted to] and trapped beneath the central rotunda…tear[ing] open a gateway to another realm." To monitor electromagnetic energy ostensibly given off by emerging portals or portal activity, Lindberg and Tenney set up a "wormhole detector" underneath the rotunda, which former guards and prisoners had nicknamed the "terror dome."

The detector forms a central figure in all episodes of *Ghost Stalkers*, a device helping to scientize and bring a measure of expertise to the show's paranormal investigations. Operated by cast member and inventor, David Rountree, the wormhole detector betokens the cast members' adoption of "scientific methods and cutting-edge technology" for investigations that would otherwise be considered superstitious,

fantastical, or outside the concerns and practices of science proper.

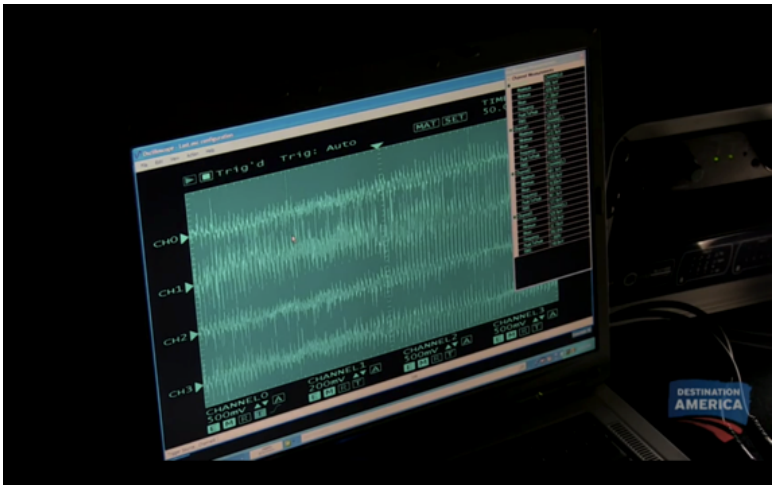

Figure 16: Screen shot of wormhole detector. From episode 4 of *Ghost Stalkers.* Reproduced through terms of fair use.

Registering fluctuations in gamma radiation and electromagnetic frequencies (EMF) from four sensors variously positioned inside a haunted space, the wormhole detector can purportedly pinpoint the location of portals and the spectral beings passing through them into our world. Much like a readout from a seismograph (which monitors earthquakes), paranormal activity appear as large spikes occurring in small intervals on a diagrammatic monitor, which renders in graphic form beings or substances that are usually unobservable through visual and sonic mediums (Figure 16). Thus, more than any other instrument deployed by cast members—hand-held cameras, static cameras, sound recorders—the wormhole detector is touted as providing the most definitive proof of supernatural activity, and is frequently made to corroborate evidence captured by other devices. In the episode at Holmesburg, for example, the incident that caused Lindberg to "lose his cool"—the supposed slamming of a cell door—coincided with many large spikes on the detector's screen, confirming massive changes in gamma radiation and

EMFs possibly caused by a nearby portal or ghost. Though the episode makes use of computer-generated images to speculate on or to help the viewer imagine what portals may look like, the arrival and appearance of one itself is made legible not through pictorial illustration but primarily through numeric data and charts.

At first blush, Lindberg and Tenney appear less interested in Holmesburg as they are in the possibility of portals, devoting much of the episode discussing and searching for this space beyond space. Taken as indicative of portal activity, ghosts become signposts for one's proximity to an otherworldly time and place, hence forming the subject of much research for Lindberg and Tenney. Interviewing former prison guards at Holmesburg, the cast members relate, as one critic put it, the prison's "lurid history of abuse, murder and mayhem" (Chamberlain, 2014): a riot in 1970 that began in the prison's mess hall and that left nearly one hundred prisoners injured; in 1973, the murder of the warden and deputy warden, who, inside their offices, were stabbed by two prisoners during a surprise attack; and in 1938, a grisly event infamously known as the "Bake Oven Deaths," in which four prisoners "roasted" to death after a 58-hour lock-up inside a cell reaching temperatures of 190 degrees. Described as "hell on earth" and "the worst that humanity could offer," Holmesburg and its prisoners, respectively, can be said to bear "the burden of the national id," a burden Sharon Holland (2000) observes in cultural imaginations surrounding death and black subjects. In *Ghost Stalkers*, Holmesburg provides the backdrop to this psychic drama of unbridled aggression, destructive drives, and suspended morality, a stage for spectacularizing and depoliticizing the violence and trauma of prison existence into vengeful spooks and hair-raising haunts

serving as beacons to a paranormal reality.[33]

Documenting journeys to haunted sites, *Ghost Stalkers* participates in a wider phenomenon of commercialized voyages called "dark tourism," "the exploration of death, disaster, and suffering through travel" (Miles, 2015, p. 8). Tiya Miles studies dark tourism in the booming industry of ghost tours in the South, tours mining antebellum history to narrativize the life and death of slaves whose ghosts are said to haunt plantation mansions like the Sorrel-Weed House in Savannah, Georgia. Fair game to dark tourism's commodification of history and bad feeling—the pleasure in experiencing negative emotions like fear and anxiety—the dead in plantation ghost tours signal the continued profitability of the slave and the myriad commercial and affective uses of black subjects even after death.[34] Insofar as the prisoner occupies the position of the slave and the prison resumes the geographies, logics, and practices of the plantation, *Ghost Stalkers* is arguably complicit in dark tourism's selling and marketing of black trauma, transforming histories of captivity into the "frivolous" fun of ghost stories and the so-called "lighter side" of death.

Yet, Miles hesitates to dismiss ghost stories in total, arguing that, however much they limit or discipline the troubled histories they present, these stories nonetheless afford ways of accessing the past. They make up "fringe" histories, "popular forms of historical narrative" (p. 15) that, through their re-tellings, demonstrate the *unsuccessful repression* of painful cultural memories about captivity. Much like more accepted forms of history-

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[33] Eastern State Penitentiary, too, is converted into a haunted attraction during Halloween so as to raise funds for the museum's maintenance and collaborative projects with archivists, historians and artists.

[34] Miles argues that not all deaths or sites become subjects of ghost stories. Citing the attacks on the Twin Towers, Miles shows how some deaths are considered "off-limits" while others are "fair game."

making, ghost stories can't help but reenact the power and politics they conceal, betraying how the process of concealment itself inevitably reveals or does *something.* This occasions a different practice of reading and writing—perhaps what Miles calls "ghostwriting" or what Holland means by "raising the dead"—to chart the something that concealment makes happen.[35] For Holland, raising the dead implicates acknowledging and critically examining the margin, or those at society's margins, places that hold both promise and danger by prompting critique trangressing the boundaries between belief and knowledge, life and death. And for Miles, ghostwriting means calling forth the power of *real* ghosts, which are not simply the friendly or hostile spirits of mainstream stories but the "deadly serious messengers" of the past (p. 132).[36]

Pace Miles and Holland, one must thus hesitate to simply write off *Ghost Stalkers* as shallow entertainment or bad ideology. If Holmesburg's ghost are real—if they are deadly serious messengers—then the means through which cast members attempt to register their presence could be read as equally serious scientific investigations of a real

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[35] See also Jenny Sharpe's (2002) writings on the troubled agency and un-narrated everyday lives of slave women.

[36] Miles borrows ghostwriting from Gayatri Spivak (1995), who reads Marx and Derrida (and Derrida's misreading of Marx) to analyze the disappearance of women from theory and the ways subaltern women in particular enter economies of reproduction—their "peculiar predications of ghostliness" (p. 66). On haunting, see also Avery Gordon (2008), who, like Miles, sees in ghost stories a return of repressed past and present social violations. Though a present act, haunting represents the lingering trouble of painful histories, compelling a "something-to-be-done" in the face of continued social violence.

To study hauntings or, borrowing from Toni Morrison, what Gordon identifies as "things behind things" composing "rememories," Gordon, calls for interdisciplinary or conceptual and methodological bridgework between the humanities and social sciences. Studying hauntings, as well as establishing haunting itself as a critical practice/praxis, means writing ghost stories, which for a sociologist like Gordon means using the tools and objects of the humanities to do sociological work. Specifically, Gordon takes up literature as sociological accounts of the dead, a way for the researcher to mark the ghost's "visible invisibility: *I see you are not there*" (p. 16, emphasis in original). This dovetails into Holland's own call for cross-disciplinary critique, which she calls a "contamination" that allows for a "(re)mastery of the master's tools" (p. 161) as well as the acknowledgement of where those tools and their uses come from. For Holland, interdisciplinarity itself poses high stakes for feminist critique, whose continued significance to the living conditions of women of color pivot on the impossible possibility of speaking the center and marginal discourses in the same space (p. 152).

object. Claims of pseudoscience would lead critique off-track, not only instituting a binary between true and false knowledge that Holland and Miles both caution against, but also disregarding elements of myth, belief, and superstition that at least one celebrated philosopher of science had observed in the making of accepted, paradigmatic, or "normal" scientific thinking (Kuhn, 1962/1970). Who can argue that the black box of science and technology does not in its own language—its own "enchanting discourse" (Wynter, 1987)—mystify the workings of nature? Taking Holmesburg's ghosts seriously, then, means regarding *Ghost Stalkers* as a popular historical narrative and televisual documentary of the science of paranormal activity.

In the show's episode of Holmesburg, however, ghosts actively resist visualization by interfering with media technology. While the wormhole detector in the terror dome continually records the presence of portals (or one might say the presence of an absent space), the ghosts seem to render several static cameras inoperable. This surprises Tenney and Lindberg during each of their solo overnight stays at the prison. While walking through H Block, for example, Lindberg becomes very alarmed when the static camera placed inside the hallway suddenly shuts off. He exclaims, "*Oh* shit! *Oh* shit. My camera battery *just fucking died*. Just fucking died!" Training his hand-held camera to the now obsolete one sitting atop a tripod, Lindberg exclaims, "Look at that! I had a full fucking battery when I came in," telling the ghost responsible, "Okay, well now you should be charged up for sure!" In voice-over, Lindberg explains to the viewer that ghosts can absorb energy from electrical devices in order to "manifest," that is, to "move objects, make noises, or simply make their presence known." Soon after, Lindberg must also change out the batteries of his hand-held camera, the fully-charged ones it began

with already drained of power in just 15 minutes of use and indicating to Lindberg that "whatever" was in the prison with him seemed to have "an insatiable appetite for energy." But, paradoxically, for ghosts, this process of "manifesting," or becoming in the world of the living, entails disrupting modes of observing, identifying, or making legible that very becoming. Material forms of documentation (cameras) succumb to ghostly "appetites" for their literal powers of observation (energy), this capacity to record and provide visual proof becoming the very (food)stuff of hauntings. As the work of hungry ghosts, *dead* camera batteries point to appearance without visuality and being without intelligibility, revealing an ontology that *kills* epistemology or what Michael Taussig (1993) terms "*pure appearance*, appearance as the impossible" (p. 135, emphasis mine).[37]

Tenney's investigation yields the same experience, in which another static camera, this one placed just outside of H Block, also loses power as Tenney walks down the hall. At this moment, the wormhole detector indicates significant buildup of EMF near the cellblock's entrance, leading cast members to conclude that the portal or wormhole is enlarging from its location in the terror dome to encompass the latter's surrounding cellblocks. Still, aside from mysterious sounds and abrupt electrical failures, Holmesburg's ghosts show a strong preference for one mode of communication in particular: touch. Throughout the episode, both Lindberg and Tenney can be seen jumping or recoiling, startled by invisible caresses, taps, and pinches. In one scene,

[37] Here, Taussig discusses the relationship between the "soul of the commodity" and the spirits of Cuna theology, the latter also explicated through the "immateriality of appearance" achieved through the burning of sacred objects. This immateriality, objectified in ash and debris, is the "uttermost matter of matter" (p. 135), the ghostly matter of spirits. However, a more thorough engagement with Taussig's theory of mimesis and alterity, and the colonial histories and relations inherent in identity, is outside the scope of this chapter.

Lindberg feels a slight touch on his forearm as he crouches on the floor of the prison cafeteria. Looking down at his arm, he yells out loud in the empty room, "Who's touching me?," followed by "Ow! Ow!" as he suddenly grabs hold of his shin. Looking around him, he demands, "In what part of the prison is the portal?" Once more Lindberg looks at his arm, sighing in discomfort, "*Ah*…it's like they're tugging on my…on my arm hairs. Just *tugging*." Linberg becomes increasingly agitated as he continues his solo investigation, his trembling and shortness of breath very pronounced by the end of it. In Tenney's turn, the ghosts continue communicating through touch, and, again, in the cafeteria, "something or someone" makes contact. Tenney hears and "feels" people all around him followed by a sudden "really intense" touch on the back of his head: "Oh!...I got touched! I got touched. Something just came up behind me."

Thus also constituting a means by which Holmesburg's ghosts make their (pure) appearance known, the bodies of Lindberg and Tenney are themselves transfigured into apparatuses of detection. Skin seems the privileged form of mediation, epidermal contact the primary mode of expression at the ghost's level of pure appearance or *pure surface*. Neither Lindberg nor Tenney ever see the ghosts they encounter, but they *know* the ghosts are there because they can *feel* them—knowledge is quite literally superficial. Like other instruments of detection, however, the bodies of Lindberg and Tenney also risk being depleted of energy, as Tenney in a prescient statement says of the prison, "This place is sucking every ounce of energy out of everything, including me." During his exploration of H Block, he nearly collapses from "something—anxiety, fear, a tightness and pressure growing in [his] chest," and frantically runs through the hallway to the terror dome, all the while calling to Lindberg to "get" him out of the prison. When Lindberg

finally finds him, he is lying prone on the stairs of the terror dome, and would later explain to Lindberg and the viewer that he "had to get out because [he was] cashing out." As with cameras, the bodies of cast members are, too, sources of "energy"— the vital force of a thing or a body—for hungry ghosts in manifestation. Though proffering a more visceral encounter with ghosts—visceral in both the corporeal and affective sense (anxiety, fear, a tightness and pressure in the chest)—this loss of energy which allows the body to feel the ghost or which brings the ghost in closer proximity nevertheless repels the body and contravenes modes of knowing beyond this repulsion. It may be after all that the ghost is categorically frightening because of this resistance to knowledge, this condition of not knowing and not seeing that culturally can only be felt and understood as horrifying.

In this sense, ghost stories are not unlike the stated and unstated endeavors of ruinscapes and monoprints, with all three taking up the wasted space of Holmesburg Prison to produce mythic representations of societal collapse, repressed histories, or alternative realities surreptitious to the existing world. Ghost stories may more deliberately adopt the language of haunting, but they only make more explicit the specter already present in ruinscapes and monoprints—a foreboding future, a traumatic past, a captive subject ever-present.[38] Holmesburg's surfaces—the material and the spectral, the architectural, the photographic, and the ghostly—collectively form what Miles called

[38] Derrida's (1994) own conceptualization of "haunting" in his critique of Marx defines the ghost "a hallucination or simulacrum that is virtually more actual than…living presence" (p. 32) and a *being-there* (versus a not-there) from which "one cannot distinguish between the future-to-come and the coming-back of a specter" (p. 35). This latter definition is useful for understanding the "ever-present-ness" of the captive that I am describing here, a condition in which history and futurity converge through the figure of the slave. In Derrida's own work, the specter (which is also a play on Marx's "specter of communism") is deployed to analyze discourses situating communism as first a "future" threat and then as a "past" one.

fringe histories betraying the unsuccessful repression of cultural memories, however the latter may be veiled or constrained through spectacles of ruin and haunting. This veiling or concealment, as stated earlier, does something other than obscure histories of captivity, for the latter find ways of haunting, returning, or irrupting as symptoms of their discursive and visual representations. In fact, as Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok (1994) argue, the repressed can only come back as symptom, as that which names the prohibition rather than the object of repression itself, hence the trouble of, in this case, naming a captive subject whose presence is discernible only through absence. Combining the language of eating with that of haunting to describe the repressed, Abraham and Torok show how loss becomes *unspeakable* through a process of psychic ingestion and fecalization—the repressed qua waste as excess to the symbolic field—or through a process of intrapyschic burial—the repressed as crypt or secret that entombs a traumatic loss by denying the subject ever having had that loss.[39] In the latter, loss is figured as a phantom residing in the subject, though paradoxically not belonging to the subject at all, for it constitutes an intersubjective, *intergenerational* in-corporation of loss. The phantom of Holmesburg can thus be understood as a collectively or socially shared and inherited loss, a phantom whose return both informs and exceeds ruinscapes, monoprints, and ghost stories of the prison. Staging this return, *Ghost Stalkers* dramatizes through

[39] The languages of eating and ghosting are rife in the work of Abraham and Torok, suggesting a relationship between them. Abraham and Torok call the repression of loss a "topography" of incorporation in which mourning is refused (melancholia). This refusal preserves through the figure of the tomb a traumatic loss by prohibiting the symbolization of that loss. The lost love object is said to be ingested, an imaginary object inserted into the speaking mouth to displace the words that would otherwise name the loss. In opposition to this process of incorporation is introjection or mourning, which displaces the loss by symbolizing it. To possess the capacity to use symbols, as Abraham and Torok describe it, is to belong to a "community of empty mouths" (p. 128).

entertainment a fear that is not only experienced as visual pleasure—the viewer's pleasure in feeling fear, the pleasure in watching the fear of cast members as they encounter the ghosts of Holmesburg. It also stages a fear that belongs to the Other rather than to the self, the source of which is a phantom in advance of the subject or a crypt preceding the tomb-like edifice of Holmesburg Prison itself.

Unlike the aforementioned ruinscapes and monoprints, however, *Ghost Stalkers* never explicitly addresses Kligman's experimental program at the prison, saying only of H Block, Kligman's former research hub, that it has had "its share of tragedy." The episode's focus on H Block centers on the mysterious death of a prisoner occurring well after the experimental program closed in 1974, a prisoner who, it is said, had one day suddenly collapsed dead after walking out of the cell block. Investigating H block for seemingly only this reason, the cast members depart from the online ghost stories of Holmesburg cataloguing Kligman's experiments as one among many notorious events in the prison's history, these stories making plain the experiments' embeddedness in the prison's culture of living death. The episode is thus haunted by this absence, featuring one of the most infamous sections of the prison—the cast members physically and discursively return to it again and again—without ever mentioning the cause of its infamy. Yet, this is not to say that naming that absence would necessarily make the episode's treatment of Holmesburg's history more accurate or less problematic, if online ghost stories are any indication. Irreducible to Kligman's research program, the phantom rather announces itself in ways that disturb the enabling topography of experimentation.[40]

[40] The relationship between imprisonment and incarceration is also evoked in Tenney's (2014) "Notes and Thoughts" of *Ghost Stalkers*'s episode on Holmesburg, a blog that follows Tenney's continuing work on paranormal activity. Among his notes on the making of the episode, Tenney writes, "Securing the location

In one telling scene, Lindberg relates his family's history of law enforcement—his father and great grandfather had been policemen—and wonders "how the spirits of the prisoners [would] react to [him]." He asks, "Are they going to respond to me in a negative way or are they going to…respect me," suggesting a paternal succession of constabulary power. Later inside the terror dome, while testing the wormhole detector, Lindberg reenacts this authority by yelling out loud to the spirits, "Time to lock down! Get back in your cells! I said get back in your cells!" Channeling his ancestral police power to provoke Holmesburg's ghosts, Lindberg's reenactment could be considered comically brash if not for the more serious assumption underlying his performance: In its afterlife, Holmesburg still imprisons, its walls barring escape even for those no longer living. Of the prison Tenney, too, professes, "I think that even people who were here incarcerated and got out, it feels like even if they died somewhere else, the negative part of them gets sucked back through that portal here"—as if to say that neither death nor release from prison guarantees salvation from captivity, as if hauntings merely extend in another dimension the carceral work of Holmesburg Prison in its heyday. The episode's dialogue on wormholes does oscillate between locating one within the prison and situating the entire prison itself as a passageway between life and death. Says Lindberg, "I think *this* [Holmesburg] is a portal to hell. I think this *is* hell. I think we are in it *right now*," and to which Tenney responds, "I can tell you from someone who might have been there, it's the closest thing on earth to it." This closing statement of the episode referring to Tenney's near-death encounter reiterates an earlier remark at the beginning of the

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wasn't as hard to do as other locations since it's a prison." Which is to say, the prison space also enabled the cast members' own "experiments," in this case with the wormhole detector.

show: "You know, that place I went to when I died was what I think hell was probably like, and prison—being locked into a place for the rest of your life—that's a hell on earth."[41] Comparing both imprisonment and its afterlife to his momentary but very real experience of death and dying, Tenney reveals the true form of the prison—a "purgatory"—while implying an abolitionist critique, however veiled, in his insistence that as long as the prison exists (Homesburg specifically, but perhaps incarceration more generally), then hell is going to staying "here" on earth. Over and over again, the show's cast members remind the viewer that Holmesburg is a *man-made* portal to hell, a description ascribing responsibility for this place of "torment and suffering" to society at large. Urging that he "wants out" of the prison before finally leaving it behind at the episode's conclusion, Tenney exercises his capacity to enter and depart such a space, his capacity to move through it and, like with his first death, to escape it. But this wanting-out can also be read differently, re-situated in the return of the phantom. What the spirits of Holmesburg want, what they desire (in *Ghost Stalkers*, a desire taken up and made legible through the fears of a free white man), this demand for "out" that is as present in their afterlife as it was in when they were alive, is told and re-told through ghost stories

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[41] Michael Hardt (1997) had called prison time an "exile from the time of the living…an existence separate from being," a "wasted, impoverished existence" that reduces captives into "mere shadows" pushed out from their very bodies (p. 66). Even in life, the captive is already a specter, a subject embodying the interface between life and death that Hartman observes in histories of captivity. However, this empty time of the prison—a programmed, repetitive time, a time when everything is foreseeable—is also world-historical, a time of slavery that makes the prisoner coeval with the slave and makes the possibility of being in time available to the free (Hartman, 2002). Thus, Hardt's call for an abolition of prison time that is at once an abolition of time writ large has already been sounded—a name, a demand whose articulation, to borrow from Derrida, is the future-to-come and the coming-back of slavery's ghosts.

See also Diana Medlicott (1999), who shows that high rates of depression and suicide in prison follows from the prisoner's loss of spatial and temporal autonomy. Time in particular becomes a source of suffering for prisoners, whose social life are effectively suspended even as their biological aging progresses (a slow death).

that are themselves haunted by what stories they cannot tell.[42]

The gut of architecture

Ghosts, garbage, and ruin—these are the means by which one can, if not understand, then at least a get feel for Holmesburg Prison as an archival sight/site of Kligman's experimental program.[43] The space of Kligman's work is readable only through the fictions and detritus that litter its material-discursive landscape and that would otherwise be considered merely rubbish. Yet, elevating rubbish to the level of source material, of "archive," does not necessarily recuperate lost stories. At Holmesburg Prison, loss structures what can be said or seen to have happened there—a screen, a *skin*, enabling what might be the prison's visual history of science in captivity. Patrick Anderson (2010) studies subjectivation in the context of self-starvation, this being-toward-death intertwining the destruction and production of the subject through a willful staging of his/her disappearance. Can this be mapped onto the built environment of the penal system, which, as stated earlier, feeds on and eliminates black(ened) bodies? Without such bodies, Holmesburg may be said to be starving, literally losing itself,

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[42] Wilderson (2009) writes that it is as impossible to verify the substance of ghosts as it is to speak one's grammar, and yet both grammar (articulation) and ghosts (memory) structure or haunt the ways we perform and reflect on subjectivity.

[43] Bruce Fink (2010) argues that the work of psychoanalysis is in fact to undermine understanding, the latter an Enlightenment project of rationality that only helps strengthen the ego by shoring up its imaginary mastery over the unconscious. Understanding, or one's pragmatic and habituated reaching for meaning, often gets in the way of change (here, Fink means change in the analysand's symbolic life) by rerouting the language of the Other through one's own: "Understanding is in most cases the endeavor to reduce something to what we already know (or think we know)" (p. 266). Against understanding, Fink argues instead that analysis must help put into words, to bring into speech, that which is unspeakable, a practice that involves paying attention to the slips and gaps in understanding or in language and which does not subtend speech (saying) to meaning (understanding). For Fink, "*Understanding*—if it ever comes at all—*can wait*" (p. 262, emphasis his).

though through this loss generating a rich representational economy of ghost stories, monoprints, Hollywood films, and photography's genre of abandoned buildings. Holmesburg is simultaneously remade and unmade through its material disappearance, a staging of being-towards-death that is distributed among and performed through the activities of artists, ghost stalkers, prison staff, and researchers like myself.[44]

Self-starvation had been the most prevalent form of resistance by prisoners at Holmesburg Prison, the hunger strikes often initiated in response to deteriorating food quality and increasingly cramped and violent prison conditions stemming from over-crowding.[45] At the height of Kligman's research, the prison held over 1,000 men behind bars, nearly double its capacity.[46] Though the strikes themselves did not appear successful, their repetition throughout Holmesburg's history demonstrates how the prison space remained a constant source of both repression and political action. Anderson writes of prison hunger strikes:

> The body of the hunger striker…asserts itself as a body, as a visceral representative for state-produced delinquency, by performing its own gradual decline, through self-consumption, to death. And so that body becomes not only the object of state punishment and torture, but simultaneously an agent imminently responsible for performing violence upon itself…a seizure of state power, especially the state's power to enact violence upon its subjects. (p. 123)

In 1969, the Episcopal chaplain of Philadelphia prisons decried that the city's prison

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[44] We might consider these objects and movements as material practices and cultures of death. Studying the ways objects become extensions or symbols of a deceased subject, Elizabeth Hallam and Jenny Hockey (2001) write, "The point at which the body of the deceased ends and the material object…begins is often a porous boundary and this linkage with the body often reinforces the object's mnemonic capacity (p. 14).

[45] *The Philadelphia Inquirer* reports on hunger strikes occurring in 1938, 1954, 1964, and 1969a.

[46] Reporting on prison conditions, *The Philadelphia Inquirer* lists Holmesburg's prison population at 1,325 in 1969b and 1,176 in 1971.

system only "cannibalizes inmates."[47] But by appropriating that power and turning consumption onto themselves, Holmesburg's hunger strikers actively re-territorialized onto their bodies the prison's enactment of living death, embracing their potential death as a political statement against what had already been their hell on earth. From this self-imposed deprivation, the prisoners generated what might be called a theory of meat, a dialectics of death wherein, Abdul R. JanMohammed (2005) argues, the captive appropriates and therefore wrenches the monopolization of death and of the ever-present *threat* of death away from the master or, in this case, the state (pp. 10-15). Similarly, hunger strikes could be said to have been responding at a fundamental level to the "cow question" Frank Wilderson (2003) posits in relation to captivity and the condition of black life generally. Comparing the latter to a meatpacking plant, Wilderson puts captives on the same plane as objects of slaughter and, more importantly, as the *meat* that helps sustain and reproduce bodies doing the slaughtering (the term "factory," as Hartman writes, originated in the slave trading forts at the Gold Coast). What the cow wants—and as Wilderson argues, *asking* what the cow wants gets to the heart of ontology—implicates more than self-preservation against consumption. Rather, it inverts that consumption, either devouring oneself or eating the eater—both exploding the essential meaning of cow.

Frantz Fanon's (1952/2008) critique of Hegelian dialectics rests on the impossibility for black analysands to participate in the relationality or reciprocity founding Being in its totality, from consciousness to human reality, "the curtain of the

[47] Comments by Rev. Frederick Forrest Powers Jr. to *The Philadelphia Inquirer* on Oct 21, 1969.

sky" (p. 196) and everything beneath it. Parasitism and cannibalism—these are descriptions of slavery and colonialism that linger in the political and cultural imagination around imprisonment, and which introduce an understanding of living bodies as waste, as ghostly figures, as things, or as, in other words, that in opposition to the mutual recognition establishing the self in-itself-for-itself. In Fanon's work, negating these relationships (if they can be called relationships at all) takes on that inverted consumption, "the curtain, torn from end to end, gashed by the teeth biting its belly of prohibitions" (ibid.). And in this consumption, the self constitutes a battleground, the subject willing to risk life and "feel the shudder of death" to "go beyond life" or "pursue something other than life," an ideal, the "possibility of impossibility," the "birth of a *human* world" wherein reciprocal recognition, black being, is "universally valid objective truth" (p. 193). In a space built to entomb and waste them away, prisoners have very few alternatives for directly challenging authority: violent confrontation or self-starvation. At Holmesburg Prison, both repeatedly occurred, and though unsuccessful, brought back to the body the powers of the carceral space.

Chapter 4 Bioethics and the Skin of Discourse

The postwar decades saw broad-scale scrutiny of human rights issues in medical experiments. Targets ranged from the Tuskeegee syphilis study and Army and CIA tests on mind control drugs, to research conducted on children, prisoners, soldiers, disabled persons, and the indigent. The ensuing demand for monitoring and regulating protocols resulted in congressional passage, in 1974, of the National Research Act. This legislation implemented the first federal taskforce on bioethics: the National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavioral Research. Holmesburg's research program was shuttered that same year. Opposition to Kligman's experiments was explicit: "There is no phasing out, no completing any cycles," announced the prison board chairman, "We're rid of it."[1] The experimental program at Holmesburg Prison thus was ended even before the Commission began its work.

This moment—the Commission's founding, the end of Kligman's tenure at Holmesburg—offers a crucial historical vantage point from which to see Kligman's work as it came to be situated within this wider controversy. The Commission's charter stipulated two objectives: (1) to evaluate current practices and regulatory policies regarding human experimentation, and (2) to generate for the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (DHEW)[2] new guidelines for conducting such experiments in the future. Prisons, as the site of roughly 85% of phase 1 clinical trials conducted during the

[1] Comments made to *The Philadelphia Bulletin*, January 29, 1974. Acquired through the Urban Archives at Temple University.

[2] DHEW was divided into the Department of Education and the Department of Health and Human Services in 1979.

period, constituted a critical locus for these assignments.[3] And so, a year after it was formed, the Commission would visit Jackson State (now Michigan State), then the nation's largest prison and home to one of the era's more extensive programs prison-based medical experimentation programs. At the time of the Commission's visit, Jackson State held 5,200 prisoners, 800 of which were serving as test subjects. Over the previous decade, it had been the location of numerous drug trials run by the pharmaceutical manufacturers, Parke-Davis (now Pfizer) and Upjohn (whose brands were later split among Pfizer, Monsanto, and Johnson & Johnson). The experiments at Jackson did not necessarily entail work with the skin. However, I use this visit and its outcomes as an armature on which to introduce the idea of bioethics' operation as occurring on and through a discursive "skin."

During its site visit to Jackson, the Commission toured the grounds and facilities, discussed experimental and security protocols with researchers and prison staff, and interviewed prisoners—both those who agreed participate in experiments, and those who did not, and therefore were not subject to research. The prisoner was thus a medium of evidence, serving as empirical evidence about the human experience of text subjects. It is here that the concept of "discursive skin" comes into play. The assumption of the Commission was that prisoner testimony about their experience as a test subject offered a kind of screen onto the truth of the experience for the human subject involved. But to

[3] An estimate provided by the pharmaceutical industry and garnered from newspaper accounts of the Commission's meetings, which were always open to the public. For example, see the *New York Times* (1976, March 14; 1976, June 11) and the *Washington Post* (1976, January 14; 1977, July 14; 1977, August 27). Citing the American Civil Liberties Union, the *Washington Post* (1975, February 20) noted that about 10% of the nation's 200,000 prisoners were involved in prison experiments, but the Pharmaceutical Manufacturer's Association placed that number at 2,400 in 1975 (1977, August 27). News clippings acquired through Bioethics Research Library at Georgetown University.

what extent was that membrane or screen onto the experience reliable and accurate in its conveying of truth? The point is not that the prisoners might lie, but that their testimony might be shaped by contextual circumstances. This chapter turns to another membrane or screen, the form of the prisoner testimony and the form of regulation through which that testimony is translated, to expand upon this point.

The brother of one of those prisoners interviewed at Jackson would later smuggle a letter out to the Commission, a letter entreating the Commission to protect him from retaliation, one of which took the form of his transfer from Jackson to Marquette Prison 500 miles away. He wrote,

> At that time you'se called me out for a interview. At that time I would not say much and one of your people ask me how come. I told this man that most of the people that you'se had called out were stool pigens and nobody would say anything has long has they were there and if you'se wanted to know how we felt we would have to talk to you'se with out no cops or prison officeal or stool pigens. At that time the man asked if I could get some of my frends to talk to you'se if he maid shure that no prison officeals were there. I said yes… We told you'se a lot that went on with Park-Davis and Up-John—also about the drugs that they try to give us here. Will I know now that I should not have talked to you'se people. We all told you'se what would happen to us if the prison officeals fond out.

It is unknown how officials or their informants (the "stool pigeons") found out about the meeting, but the prisoner, John,[4] related that in the year since the Commission's visit to Jackson, officials had taken away his job making license plates; they put him in "the hole" (solitary confinement) on trumped-up accusations of theft and assault; and finally they moved him to Marquette Prison, where he remained in solitary confinement in

[4] First name only. The prisoner's last name and number is withheld to protect his identity. Correspondence between John and the Commission acquired through the Bioethics Research Library at Georgetown University.

addition to now being much, much further away from his family in Detroit. Prior to the present correspondence, John speculated that as many as ten other letters from him had been intercepted and destroyed by staff, first at Jackson and then at Marquette. John demanded the Commission make good on their promise of protection—a demand that, he explains, he had also penned in the prior ten undelivered letters: "Thay say that when I learn to keep my mouth shut thay will let me out… You'se people said that you'se would make sure nothing like this would happen. I have not said maney of the things that have been dun to me has I know you'se would not belive it. I hope you'se will do what you'se said you'se would. If you'se don't then there is nothing I can do." This letter was also delivered along with another one written by John's brother and yet another by his mother, each imploring the Commission to intervene on John's behalf. John's brother also wrote of the harassment he experienced from prison officials during his visits to Jackson, while the mother wrote of her inability to travel and see her imprisoned son following her open-heart surgery. Both letters detailed the "lies and fake stories" they were told by prison officials about John's treatment—that his privileges would be restored and that he would not be transferred—and emphasized the stakes of the Commission's decision to act, writing that similar injustices against other prisoners and their families would be halted or prevented should the Commission help John.

But these entreaties were handled with skepticism. In a letter sent to John's family a month later, the Commission wrote that "whatever [had] happened to [John] did not happen as a result of his talking with [the Commission] during [their] visit or as a result of his participation in research." Explaining that an investigation of prison records had been made, the Commission stated that it saw "no reason or justification for

intervention," attributing the source of all "disciplinary actions" taken against John to his own "difficulties with" or violations of prison regulations.

I mention John's letter to highlight a tension or contradiction at the heart of the Commission's stated primary aims regarding prison experimental programs, mainly, to help create, if possible, carceral conditions conducive to ethical research. If we take John's letter at its word, then ironically the very program designed to help safeguard him had in fact heightened his precarity. Though avowing a critical stance toward prison experimentation programs and a dedication to human rights and safety, the Commission's authorial reach nonetheless fell short of the carceral administrative systems in which those programs took place and which the Commission relied on for acquiring some of their evidentiary material. Their final report (1976) did not ban prison research in total, advocating instead that certain measures be put in place to ensure the safety and fairness of experiments. In fact, as the report also states, a critical factor influencing this decision came from interviews with experimental subjects from four prisons, including that at Jackson, interviews in which prisoners spoke either positively or indifferently about their participation in biomedical and behavioral experiments. From their interviews at Jackson, the Commission wrote, "Overall impressions from this experience were that prisoner-participants valued the research opportunity. In general, they felt that they were free to volunteer for or withdraw from the program at will and were given adequate information about research protocols. Nonparticipants expressed various reasons why research was not for them, but did not object to its being available for others" (p. 35).

My point is neither to juxtapose and determine the validity of conflicting prisoner accounts of experimental programs, nor to provide in hindsight possible ways in which

the Commission might have done their investigations differently. Rather, the current chapter examines how the Commission's guidelines came to shape the very subject of their concerns: the experimental "volunteer" behind bars. Instead of meditating on the possibility of ethics within the ethically dubious spaces of the penal system, the chapter shows how the imprisoned body is reconfigured and mobilized in biomedicine's network of regulation and credibility that is called "bioethics." John and prisoners like him were silenced in the making of bioethical guidelines, their demands falling outside the Commission's "reason and justification for intervention." But John's letter not only expressed a demand for redress; it also suggested the Commission's collusion with prison authority. So to put it more pointedly, the silencing itself must be figured as the language of ethics insofar as it structures preventative and reparative discourses about the imprisoned subject of experimental abuse.

To that end, the current chapter reads the Commission's prison research guidelines as a kind of discursive skin or textual membrane projected onto an imagined subject of experimental injury. Mediating the test subject's encounter with medical researchers, the Commission's decisions and deliberations can be viewed as a protective envelope of words and statements, a lexical barrier that is permeable or impenetrable depending on the research protocol. However, as stated earlier, this boundary forms or makes visible the very subject it is made to safeguard, fashioning rather than simply describing the prisoners enfolded within its adjudications. Frantz Fanon's (1952/2008) treatise on the language of the colonizer—the language of law, the language of culture—is especially useful for addressing the structural difference between, on the one hand, *possessing* language and thus "assuming a culture and bearing the weight of a

civilization" (p. 2), and, on the other hand, being *possessed by* language and therefore denied by it through an "absolute, definitive mutation" of one's being (p. 3). So, the current chapter does not disavow the interpellative power of bioethics but, following Fanon, it maps out the arrangement of that power in the making of bioethics's subject.

The chapter's focus on the integumentary or skin-like structure of an incipient bioethics discourse follows from "skin ego" introduced by the French mid-century psychoanalyst Didier Anzieu in his book *The Skin Ego* (2016), which builds on Freud's writings on a "containment principle" that acts as an intermediate structure and as the basic topography of the psychic apparatus. Particularly enlightening is Anzieu's discussion on the "skin of words," which "re-establish[es] symbolically a containing psychical skin that is able to make more bearable the pain caused by a wound to the real skin" (p. 205). For Anzieu, not only is the skin of words located in the mind as a kind of barrier against psychic intrusion, but it also becomes embedded in and supported by the body's physical perimeters as a very real structure of defense. Because the body and the skin of words are mutually constitutive, the latter can ameliorate or protect from physical pain. Reading experimental injury and its possibility as a *wound to the real skin* of test subjects, one can reposition bioethics as this skin of words reconstituting a formal barrier that protects subjects not by eliminating all injury per se, but by defining its quality and degree, that is, by making *more bearable the pain*.[5] Their Belmont Report recognized that research

[5] Anzieu develops this concept most sharply in his discussion on the treatment of third-degree burns: "The treatment is painful…. Once every two days—every day at certain crucial periods and in the most skilled burns units—the sufferer is plunged naked into a heavily chlorinated bath, where the wound is disinfected. This bath produces a state of shock, especially if it is carried out under a partial anaesthetic, as may be necessary. The attendants tear off the damaged shreds of skin in order to allow it to regenerate completely…" (p. 202). Because the skin ego depends on the containment and protective functions of the

inevitably accompanies risks of harm to test subjects, and thus concluded that both the probability and magnitude of risk be assessed alongside anticipated benefits (p. 8). If the risks of harm are unavoidable, then bioethics can and should minimize them and evaluate them according to the merits of research. Significantly, the skin of words, or what Anzieu also calls a "body of text," can *substitute for a missing body* (by acting as an intermediate structure of a body) as well as mark out the difference between self and other by functioning as a discursive skeleton (a basic topography) *giving order* to judgments, interpretations, and significations. Hence, in its dual production of the psyche and the body, the skin of words can be understood as both discourse and grammar. The skin of words is a container or covering, but also a structural frame that may give shape to a (missing or silenced) human subject. If we understand bioethics as a "skin of words," we may thus understand bioethics to be both a discourse and a grammar that contains but also constitutes its human subject.

This grammar can be further understood as the "deep structure" or underlying contexts of a spoken word. Writing on bioethics, Karla Holloway (2011) gives the example of "clinical research" vis-à-vis "medical experimentation," each phrase having very different connotations though denotatively they mean the exact same thing: testing possible disease treatments on human subjects. Unlike clinical research, medical

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biological skin, losing the latter through burns and through repeated treatments can lead to a weakened ego. During these treatments, patients willingly strike up conversations with their caregivers—what we might consider a means of distracting oneself from the pain. But for Anzieu, this conversation or "living dialogue" helps reconstitute the skin ego by having the latter find alternative support: "Then, with the development of verbal reasoning, that skin of words affords him [sic] symbolic equivalents of the gentleness, suppleness and appropriateness of contact he has to give up when touching becomes impossible, prohibited or painful" (p. 204).

experimentation evokes medicine's history of abusing exploitable populations, thus "return[ing] us to the matter of identities that are *institutionally expedient* rather than medically relevant" (p. 106, emphasis added). Extending this approach to "vulnerability," Holloway shows, reveals its embeddedness in social inequities rather than in medical markers; vulnerability is not located in the body but enacted through social relationships. Departing from bioethics' focus on legal and medical language, Holloway sees in fictional narratives a means for exposing and engaging with the deep structures of bioethical terms, a way of restoring the sociopolitical complexities and contradictions lost in the solution- and accuracy-oriented paradigm of bioethics. The former are deemed in excess of the idiosyncratic language of the law. Though this chapter mainly deploys non-fictional prisoner accounts for its critique of bioethics—whether they be letters, interviews, official statements—it borrows Holloway's analysis of fiction to flesh out bioethics' internal antagonisms between freedom and knowledge. And like Holloway, this chapter does not position narrative as handmaiden to bioethics. It does not seek to improve bioethics, much less the latter's approach to prison research. Rather, its critique is at once more humble and more extravagant than that—humble, because it emphasizes that "we," to paraphrase Holloway, *at the very least* know the excess that bioethics peels away (p. 12); and extravagant*,* because by encountering and staying with this excess, it reaches for something more from bioethics than it can offer.

Holloway, moreover, argues the inherently visual nature of bioethical claims, which seek precisely to make visibly legible certain subjects, while others already embodying the normative can disappear into the realm of the "private:" "Spectacularity, a hyperpublic notice, exists in direct relationship to ethnicity and gender…. In this national

script, the bodies of women and blacks are always and already public" (p. 15). Here, the screen of the skin returns in the form of bioethical discourse, exemplifying W.J.T. Mitchell's (1994) account of representation as always heterogeneously visual *and* textual. Thus, in this chapter, the skin of words—its morphology, its syntax—is also fundamentally visual in nature, a kind of "imagetext" that, as Mitchell shows, manifests connections between power, knowledge, and ethics. Thus, the "imagetext" or, in my case, the skin of words, implicates more than a de-disciplinary move to blur theoretical and methodological boundaries between the fields of visual arts and literature.[6] At stake is a renewed understanding of representation as *a form and an act of taking responsibility* (p. 421), whether it is by means of producing responsible imagetexts or by interpreting imagetexts responsibly. The chapter's mapping of the skin-screen of bioethics constitutes an attempt to understand the latter's form and act of taking responsibility, to give it "a body and visible shape" (p. 418) that pictures its theory of autonomy, beneficence, and justice as they relate to those behind bars. Methodologically, this is not to displace "the image" with "the text" or to make analogies between them by focusing on their similarities like, for example, reading words and statements as visual artifacts simply

[6] Mitchell sometimes rewrites the term "imagetext" as "image/text" to avoid collapsing the material differences between the visual and textual. Both are new terms for what Mitchell acknowledges to be an old practice, namely, the comparative method or interartistic comparisons adopted in visual arts and literature. However, Mitchell points to two major drawbacks of this method: first, by making analogies between the visual and textual, comparative analysis produces unifying concepts that discount image-text relations outside of that of similarity; second, and by extension, the method's reliance on analogy and universals is more revealing about the institutionalized norms of the disciplines than it is about their objects of comparative study. Yet, as Mitchell also submits, the tendency to compare images and texts suggests a latent recognition of something in images and texts that allows their comparison: the visual internal to the text and the textual internal to the image.

Mitchell introduced this problem in *Iconology* (1986), which analyzes similarities and differences claimed between, for example, poetry and painting. This "war of signs" is not simply about the signs themselves but the ontological and epistemological significance imputed in their relations or non-relations: the "debate of poetry and painting is never just a contest between two kinds of signs, but a struggle between body and soul, world and mind, nature and culture" (p. 49).

through their graphic form (inscription). Rather, by figuring text as "skin," this chapter also traces the antagonism between bioethics and prisoners to the relations of incommensurability, or non-relations, that Mitchell also posits between images and texts—is the imaged/imagined "imprisoned volunteer" fully contained by the Commission's report? Centering a different form of incommensurability, Frank Wilderson's (2010) reading of Fanon theorizes a political ontology of antagonism between Blackness and the Human, and reveals how this antagonism irrupts through the film strategies of liberal cinema. The chapter harks to this method by locating the breech between bioethics and prison in the tension between image and text. So although, as Mitchell argues, visuality is as immanent to text as texuality is to the image, the form in which these immanent registers emerge are heterogeneous to the disciplinary formations within which they are properly understood.

The making of regulations

Though first articulated in the 1960s, "bioethics" as a regulatory apparatus of biomedicine or medical science evolved from older principles of conduct in Western medicine. Bioethicist and former Commission member Albert R. Jonsen (1998) details this development, beginning with the Hippocratic Oath, a classical medical text conventionally known for its "Do No Harm" mandate, and which was modernized in a code of ethics established by the American Medical Association in 1847, in a broad attempt to professionalize the field.[7] Revised four more times thereafter, the last in 1966,

[7] For a longer treatise on medical ethics, see Jonsen's *A Short History of Medical Ethics* (2000), a comprehensive exploration of ethics in Western medicine from the classical ages to modern American science. It also briefly describes ethics of Indian and Chinese medicine. See Introduction of dissertation for longer discussion on human experiments in the US.

the code "urge[d] physicians to respect the rights of their patients, to keep up their skills, to accept the discipline of the profession, to consult when necessary, to keep confidences, and to be good [law-abiding] citizens," and forbid them to practice or accept remuneration in situations where conflicts of interest may arise (p. 8). Generally defined, ethics is, Jonsen writes, made up of the customs and obligations of a society as well as the scholarly analysis and critique of those customs and obligations; yet, the ethics of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century medicine more accurately defined a system of "professional cohesion and respectability" (pp. 6-8).

Dissatisfaction with the code ensued as medical science became increasingly commercialized, technologized, and bureaucratized following WWII. During the pharmaceutical boom of the mid-century, the Food and Drug Administration instituted more stringent drug monitoring protocols, which required more clinical trials and more test subjects in those trials in new drug development.[8] The resulting unprecedented rise in human experiments in both public and private enterprises, as well as the unveiling of past and present abuses in pharmaceutical-, university-, and government-sponsored medical research programs, became a major subject of debate in medical conferences and in the now renowned ethics societies that grew out of those controversies, such as the Hastings Center, the Kennedy Institute of Ethics, and the Society for Health and Human Values. Involving philosophers and theologians in addition to medical practitioners and

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[8] These new FDA requirements were in direct response to the thalidomide tragedy occurring between 1957 and 1961. Thalidomide was marketed worldwide to pregnant women as an effective treatment for morning sickness. Thalidomide, however, caused thousands of infants to be born with physical disabilities, prompting the FDA to institute stricter guidelines for medical research—guidelines that would lead to the current US model of drug monitoring i.e. pre-clinical trials in animals followed by three phases of testing the safety and then the efficacy of the drug in humans.

researchers in their dialogues, these societies reflected a growing public concern with the promises and dangers of biomedical advances, including those in genetics, brain science, organ transplantation, assisted death, and fetal research. It is in this context that the Commission was formed and entrusted with the foundational legal framework for protecting vulnerable subject groups like prisoners.

From its inception to its disbandment four years later, the 11-member Commission addressed a broad array of topics—perhaps overbroad given its timeframe[9]—including, but not limited to, the theoretical and practical differences between "research" and "treatment;" the therapeutic uses of psychosurgery for the treatment of behavioral or emotional disturbances, lobotomy being the most common procedure; the performance of institutional review boards and their possible expansion to non-DHEW research; and the role of the public in assessing ethical and legal implications of advancements made in science and medicine. Such topics were taken up by a multidisciplinary team of experts, comprised mainly of doctors and lawyers as well as academic scholars in the fields of psychology, behavioral biology, and bioethics. All worked for universities, hospitals, or government agencies, with the exception of Dorothy I. Height, who was President of the National Council of Negro Women and an activist in women's rights and civil rights. The Commission is best known for the Belmont Report (1979), a summary of all the Commission's periodic statements made to DHEW and which identified the basic principles underlying ethical research and how best to implement them in practice. These principles are respect for persons, beneficence, and

[9] A major concern brought up during the Commission's meetings was precisely the feasibility of proposed timelines for each issue they were tasked to take on.

justice, each operationalized as informed consent, risk-benefit assessment, and the fair selection of research subjects, respectively. The Commission's treatment of these principles and practices are most explicit in their deliberations on test subjects deemed vulnerable to research abuse, statements that compose half of the Commission's official reports.

Vulnerable subjects included children, prisoners, institutionalized mentally disabled people, and the patients, often poor, of public health clinics and programs. Though focusing on the Commission's evaluations and recommendations concerning prison test subjects, this chapter does not seek to conflate all bioethical issues with those specific to prisoners (and thereby undermine the specificities of the latter as well). Rather, it apprehends bioethics as a specific locus of critique from which the relationship between biomedicine and incarceration can be further examined. Interestingly, the Committee deployed nearly the same investigative plan for all vulnerable subject groups, a plan that was originally developed for prisoners and whose expansion to other subject groups is quite telling of the fungibility of the captive body and its structuring role in various ontologies, as well as the diminishing spaces of freedom—or the generalizability of unfreedom—that characterize the US penal landscape (James, 2007).[10]

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[10] From the Commission's meeting minutes on July 26, 1975, acquired through the Bioethics Research Library at Georgetown University. The Commission addressed prison experimental programs following their deliberations on living fetuses, a subject group that the Commission was specifically ordered to address first (Jonsen, 1998). Examining the cultural and political implications of this prioritization of the fetus—the fetus as the inaugural subject of bioethics—and its relationship to other vulnerable subjects is beyond the scope of this chapter. For critiques on fetal personhood, see Rosalind P. Petchesky's "The power of visual culture in the politics of reproduction" (1987), Monica Casper's *The Making of the Unborn Patient* (1998), and Val Hartouni's *Cultural Conceptions* (1997); for critiques on the (white) "child" and futurity, see Lee Edelman's *No Future* (2004) and, for a critique of Edelman, José Esteban Muñoz's *Cruising Utopia* (2009). Others have also written on the intersections of captivity and disability, which is assumed in this chapter, though the latter does not suss it out explicitly. See, for example, Jonathan Metzl's *The Protest Psychosis* (2009), a work detailing how expressions of black masculinity during the Civil

The centrality of the prison space in the Commission's investigations was made manifest in their decision to visit such sites like Jackson State Prison, Washington State Penitentiary, the California Medical Facility at Vacaville, and the Michigan Intensive Program at Marquette.[11] And as stated in both the Belmont Report and the Commission's longer report on prison research, at issue primarily was the prison's role in either maintaining or eliminating completely a captive's capacity for informed consent, which was considered by international governing bodies an indispensible feature of any ethical research. For example, "voluntary consent" appeared as the first principle of the Nuremberg Code (1949), a foundational set of precepts for medical research practice and that issued from the post-war trials prosecuting Nazi war criminals involved in human experiments inside concentration camps. The Nuremberg Code later provided the blueprint for the Declaration of Helsinki (1964), which is touted as the preeminent guiding statement for medical research worldwide.[12]

Informed consent involved providing the potential subject with a clear, unambiguous understanding of research protocol, risks, and goals so that s/he can make an educated choice about joining an experiment. And most importantly, this choice must

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Rights Era (e.g. protest) became increasingly associated with schizophrenia, a clinical diagnosis and popular belief that catalyzed the growth of prisons during a period of deinstitutionalization. See also Liat Ben-Moshe, Chris Chapman, and Allison Carey's edited volume *Disability Incarcerated* (2014), the essays of which broaden the meaning of "incarceration" to encompass spatial control over disabled bodies, and which address the disabling conditions of imprisonment and the prison's expanding role in mental health services.

[11] These facilities held only male prisoners. Of the facilities, those at Jackson and Vacaville hosted robust medical research programs. The remaining two were primarily concerned with therapeutic behavioral studies.

[12] See Carlson, Boyd, and Webb (2004) for a longer discussion on the evolution of the Declaration of Helsinki.

be completely autonomous or free from coercion, such as use of force or threats of injury. The federal Bureau of Prisons did not consider this to be the case for prison test subjects and, in March 1976, prior to the Commissions' own recommendations on the matter, decided to ban all biomedical and behavioral research conducted at federal prisons and to discontinue funding for any state facility in which experiments and federal prisoners coexisted. During their meeting at the National Institute of Health in the same month, the Commission expressed their dismay at what seemed to be the Bureau's overly hasty decision. Citing prisoners' own assertions on the voluntary nature of their choices to become test subjects, the Commission argued that regulations on prison research must accommodate both the safety of prison test subjects as well as the their right to take part in research.[13]

The Bureau's decision was influenced by the oppositional stance against experimental programs taken up by the American Correctional Association,[14] but it also followed in the wake of growing public outcry about medical abuses inside prisons. The latter issue was popularized in particular by Jessica Mitford's 1973 exposé, *Kind and Unusual Punishment*, which described the systemic use of prison test subjects by pharmaceutical companies. Deemed "cheaper than chimpanzees," prisoners constituted a cost-effective means of meeting new FDA guidelines that mandated more extensive clinical trials for new products brought to market. In 1974, citing the inherently coercive

[13] The Commission's statement was publicized in March 14 article in the *Washington Post*. Acquired through the Bioethics Research Library at Georgetown University.

[14] See the *Washington Post* (1977, July 14). Acquired through the Bioethics Research Library at Georgetown University.

conditions of incarceration, the American Civil Liberties Union filed suit against the city of Baltimore on behalf of nine prison test subjects at the Maryland House of Corrections, representing the first serious legal challenge to prison experimental programs. In the following year, Congressional hearings led by Senator Ted Kennedy on such programs also resulted in the introduction of a new bill HR3603 that would eliminate all medical research conducted in federal prisons, proposed legislation opposed by the pharmaceutical industry and by DHEW. In a statement to the *New York Times* (1975), acting DHEW Deputy Assistant Secretary Dr. James Dickson III maintained "that given appropriate safeguards, recruitment and participation of prisoner subjects can be controlled to meet ethical standards," and that HR3603 "would prohibit certain important research activities." But by the time the Commission published their final report, only seven states held prisons with ongoing experimental programs and eight had formally banned the practice.[15]

Notable research programs that closed during the Commission's investigations included the Public Health Service Addiction Research Center at Lexington, South Carolina, and the Malaria Research Project at Statesville Penitentiary in Illinois. For 40 years, the former studied drug addiction to opiates and alcohol as well as the abuse potential of new pharmacological agents, while the latter experimented on antimalarial treatments and possible vaccines and cures for nearly 30 years. Letters to the Commission by the programs' chairmen emphasized the drastic curtailment of developing new medical interventions should their programs end, and also maintained their programs'

[15] From the *Washington Post* (1976, June 14; 1976, March 2; 1978, March 12). Newspapers acquired through the Bioethics Research Library at Georgetown University.

strict adherence to regulations. For the chairman of the Lexington center, the prisoner's participation was also therapeutic and rehabilitative because it enabled them to contribute to society, suggesting in essence the ways medical science was or could be integrated with the objectives and practices of imprisonment. Similar letters were written on behalf of such programs by the American Society for Clinical Pharmacology and Therapeutics, and the director of the National Institute on Drug Abuse Addiction Center, who wrote that the prisoner's "psychopathic" nature or "extremely egocentric" tendencies made possible their informed consent in coercive contexts. The meaning of consent must be readjusted or modified to conform to the prisoner's supposedly unique profile, which suggested an innate willingness that stemmed from their criminal predilections: consent and psychopathology were one and the same.

Opposing perspectives from special interests groups were presented to the Commission for their deliberations and during their public meetings. The Prisoners' Rights Council at Philadelphia, for instance, argued that disproportionate uses of prison test subjects stemmed specifically from the "highly controlled nature of the prison structure," which enrolled experimental programs as yet another form of managing the prison population. Moreover, the Council showed that incentives for participation were made in the context of duress, particularly in terms of financial need. Prisoners joined experimental programs primarily because they required money for purchasing basic necessities at the commissary, providing for family members, raising bail, or paying for medical care at what are often already inadequate health facilities inside the prisons.[16]

[16] In a letter to the city's governor, the Commission had also expressed their alarm toward Jackson Prison's "sheer inadequacy" and "deplorable condition" of medical services provided to prisoners.

The ACLU's National Prison Project provided corresponding arguments, adding that indeterminate sentences as well as the "barren nature of prison life" held sway in prisoners' decisions to join experiments:

> Over 80% of the felons who were released from prison in 1970 were released conditionally on parole or through some other form of discretionary, conditional release. Thus, in almost every prison in the United States, the prisoner believes that the date of his [sic] release from prison, the single most important thing in his life, is subject to the whim and caprice of the prison administration and the parole board. Pleasing the prison administration and the parole board becomes one of the most important elements of prison life.

The prospect of freedom, even conditional freedom, greatly predisposed those behind bars to regard participation as a viable means to that end. In addition to administrative power, other factors the Prison Project also cited as sources of coercion were the lack of rehabilitatative or jobs programs, as well as the overcrowded, unsanitary, and violent conditions of prison existence from which prisoners found minor reprieve by joining experiments.

This was no different at Holmesburg Prison. In 1973, just shortly before Kligman's experimental program was discontinued, the Commonwealth Court ruled it in violation of the US Constitution's prohibition of cruel and unusual punishment. Wrote one local newspaper, "Holmesburg is so overcrowded, understaffed, infested with rats and roaches, dirty and inadequate in medical care, food and rehabilitation programs that the constitutional rights of inmates are constantly violated."[17] And less than five years later, the city of Philadelphia was held in contempt by the Common Pleas Court for failing to rectify the prison conditions that they and the Commonwealth Court had

[17] Article in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 5, 1973. Acquired through Urban Archives at Temple University.

admonished years earlier.[18] For many prisoners at Holmesburg, a majority of which were detentioners awaiting trial, Kligman's experimental program provided the means for alleviating their deprivations. In its last year alone, Kligman's program paid out over $100,000 to prisoner test subjects, an incredible sum for any prison industry at the time. The program also bolstered the prison's nearly non-existent medical infrastructure by bringing in staff and equipment. Said program administrator Sol McBride, "The prison didn't even have an EKG (electrocardiogram) machine. We did that work for them. Holmesburg Prison doesn't even have an x-ray machine. We bought a brand new one even though we had no need for one. I only bought it because the prison needed it…. I also bought an $8,000 electroencephalogram because the prison didn't have one."[19] An important source of income and medical attention, Kligman's program was formally supported by 750 prisoners, who petitioned for continuing its operations inside the prison when the Prison Board of Trustees met to close it down. But if the city was lacking in political will when it came to prison reform, it was certainly energized to "beef up" security forces in its prisons and jails in the aftermath of Attica's 1971 uprising in New York. In that time, Operation Breakout brought to Holmesburg Prison 100 members of the police, city prison officials, and the fire department, all equipped with special

[18] Article in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 1, 1977. Acquired through Urban Archives at Temple University.

[19] Article in *The Philadelphia Bulletin*, January 29, 1974. Acquired through the Urban Archives at Temple University.

communications vans and divided into stakeout and detective teams to monitor the prisoners.[20]

Significantly, the Prison Project did not place blame for medical abuse and the impossibility of informed consent onto researchers and their sponsors, instead locating it in the functions of the State, which, they contended, ultimately conditioned all "choices" available to the prisoner:

> …most experiments using prisoners are conducted in medium or maximum security institutions, the very institutions where the control is closest and most coercive, the conditions most oppressive and the opportunities for prisoners are the fewest….The coercion and oppression is not the product of good or bad architecture or a particular administrator. It is *the inevitable product* of a process that cages people in a closed and limited space, depriving them of their freedom, their families, any control over even the most minute details of their life and their humanity in institutions where the paramount concerns are control and security….*Additional regulations, procedures and safeguards will not be able to alter [these] factors and conditions*…which make consent impossible and the potential for abuse intolerable. (emphasis added)

Highlighting the oppressive role of the state, the Prison Project's call for banning prison research seemed to suggest an abolitionist viewpoint, which was also presented by a few speakers at the first National Minority Conference jointly organized by the Commission and the National Urban Coalition and held in January 1975. Urging for a moratorium on all non-therapeutic experiments conducted in prisons, speakers like Dr. L. Alex Swan of Fisk University refused to propose ways of ascertaining or acquiring prisoners' informed consent, arguing instead that the entire prison system be abolished. However, the Commission's final report reflected the more policy- or regulation-centered perspectives

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[20] From article in *Daily News*, September 7, 1971. Acquired through the Urban Archives at Temple University.

promulgated by most participants of the conference and of the Commission's public meetings, advocating a tiered system of balancing the prisoner's safety with their right to participation.

The Commission (1976) recommended that all prison experiments be approved and their investigators and facilities be monitored by independent review boards and relevant federal agencies to ensure that the risks accepted by prisoners are commensurate with those accepted by non-incarcerated test subjects. Thus, the Commission also encouraged that research programs also recruit from non-incarcerated subjects to ameliorate the burdens of phase 1 trials disproportionately placed on prisoners. Additionally, all experiments must either center the prison itself as an institution—specifically, the causes and effects of incarceration—or intentionally seek to improve the health or well-being of prisoners. Reconfiguring the prisoner as *the object* rather than *the tool* of experimentation, these latter recommendations sought to install in scientific practice the principle of "respect for persons" underlying informed consent: experiments carried out in prisons must be about prisoners. Requiring that research questions concentrate on problems faced by captive populations or on those pervasive to incarceration more generally, these recommendations allowed for exceptions only under strict guidelines concerning prison space and security. These included the removal of possible parole as a recruitment incentive, the program's availability to public scrutiny and the prisoner's unimpeded communication with persons on the outside, the establishment of grievance procedures, and, most importantly, verifiably adequate living environments inside prisons. This last requirement was further broken down into a list of *minimum* stipulations that the prison, among other things, not exceed its designated

capacity of prisoners, provide ample recreational and work activities, house sufficiently staffed and equipped medical and mental health services, and distribute personal care items to prisoners on a regular basis—all of this to drastically reduce, if not eliminate, coercive conditions of participation. So even if they could demonstrate the scientific "need" of their research and show a "compelling" reason for testing captive populations, experimental protocols *not* designed to specifically help or understand the prison subject, were enjoined to locate carceral settings in which the "standard of living" could guarantee a "high degree of voluntariness" on the part of the prisoner and of "openness" on the part of involved institutions. Lastly, the Commission recommended that any experimental program still in place during the Commission's deliberations and which did not meet their specifications were to be shut down one year following the latter's publication.

These recommendations were not codified in full by DHEW, which considered too vaguely defined the Commission's language on "compelling" reasons for using prisoners in addition to its description of the scientific "need" of research. For DHEW, such unclear definitions about what counted as "compelling" or "need" did not allow for making explicit regulations,[21] exemplifying the tension between technical and moral statements that Holloway identified in the deep structures of bioethical discourse. Nevertheless, the Commission's remaining recommendations served to effectively terminate many therapeutic and non-therapeutic research conducted in prisons, a move already spreading at the state level. In a statement to *The Washington Post* (1976),

[21] From DHEW spokesman, printed in *The Washington Post*, 1977. Acquired through the Bioethics Research Library at Georgetown University.

Commission chairman Kenneth J. Ryan said, "I'm not aware of any prison that could now meet our standards…[which] will in effect end state programs too. Almost all (of them) depend on federal funds." Prioritizing conditions of informed consent, the Commission's recommendations explicitly targeted the very spaces and practices of incarceration, in essence yoking ethical research with prison reform. Despite acknowledging their limited expertise and authority in matters of prison reform, the Commission nonetheless formulated the latter as a prerequisite to approved research, their repudiation of the "unjust and inhumane" climate of imprisonment thus barring most experimental programs in which consent and transparency remained, due to the nature of incarceration itself, in question.

That the Commission's report would shut down nearly all of the nation's prison experimental programs was indicative of the extent to which the prison population became administratively available to scientists and doctors—something the Commission was particularly responsive to in light of the nation's exceptional role in prison research. To their knowledge, the US at the time was the only country that legalized clinical trials on captive individuals, a practice considered scandalous in a global scientific community for which Nazi experiments and the Nuremberg Code constituted recent memory.[22]

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[22] These concerns were raised during the Commission's meetings, public hearings, staff papers, and final report. For example, in their July 26, 1975 meeting minutes, Commission chairman Dr. Kenneth Ryan asks, "I just wonder if whether we are going into a lot of detail about what is a good example or a bad example [of prison research], or what have you, when fundamentally there is the overriding issue that perhaps no prison research of any kind is warranted." Similarly, assistant staff director Barbara Mishkin recalled the sentiments of colleagues outside of the US: "And their perception of [research in prisons] was one of total disbelief that we would have a Commission have [sic] to study whether or not this should in fact be continued. It was a very dramatic thing, brought home to me, that their perception of what we are doing over here in this particular instance is overwhelmingly wrong." Acquired through the Bioethics Research Library at Georgetown University.

Pharmaceuticals were unsurprisingly alarmed by the Commission's final report, as PMA spokesman, Dr. John Adams, related to the paper *Newsday*. Describing the Commission's report a "utopian" effort at regulation, Adams bemoaned the obligation to now seek other sources of research subjects. Using these subjects, Adams explained, were not "as satisfactory as using prisoners," because prisoners "can't be wandering off to a local beer hall and lousing up your tests." The PMA had expressed the same opinion during the Commission's proceedings earlier in year, arguing that "few other populations are practical or available candidates for these sorts of controlled studies,"[23] restating an argument from their Statement of Principles:

> In recent years, as the scientific standards for judging the safety and efficacy of candidate compounds have evolved, it has become increasingly desirable that early clinical trials be conducted in adequate number of individuals, who are under close supervision for sufficient periods, so that their responses to drugs can be closely monitored…. This has contributed to an increasing interest in the prisoner volunteer as being especially suited for first phase clinical trials and for bioavailability studies of marketed drugs.[24]

For scientists, in other words, sheer spatial control afforded by the prison system squared with the control conditions sought in experimental research, making prisoners the most convenient test subjects for human experiments, though, for the Commission, this did not constitute a compelling reason for their recruitment. Leading up to their final report, the Commission had also received similar sentiments from non-commercial laboratories like

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[23] Proceedings from the Commission on January 9, 1975. Acquired through the Bioethics Research Library at Georgetown University.

[24] This Statement also emphasized the social benefits of using prisoners—"clinical research in correctional institutions…is important to medical progress"—and ascribed the responsibility for informed consent to contracted clinicians.

the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration,[25] which warned of "severe restrictions" requiring "drastic reform of prisons" that, while perhaps relevant to phase 1 clinical trials, were not applicable to behavioral research.[26]

If informed consent as the Commission formulated it jeopardized the very existence of research programs in prisons, then the bioethical principle of justice rescued it from a complete dismantling. While informed consent pertained to the individual's autonomy and capacity for free choice, justice concerned the fair societal distribution of experimental risks and benefits. Disproportionately represented in human experiments, prisoner test subjects assumed too many risks and not enough of the benefits of research, the Commission thus determining this over-reliance on captive populations in medical science a violation of the justice doctrine. However, as the Commission also concluded, abolishing prison experimental programs outright would invert this injustice by excluding prisoners from the merits of research, especially if the research may treat an illness the prisoner has. The Commission maintained that they were "not primarily intending to protect prisoners from the risks of research," but to "ensure the equitable distribution of burdens of research no matter how large or how small those burdens may be" (p. 7). In the case of prisoners, freedom from exploitation was in conflict with freedom from discrimination, which "*deprives* one class of persons [prisoners] of benefits of participation in research" (p. 6, emphasis added). Statements from interviewed prisoners

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[25] This administration has been renamed the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, and constitutes a branch of the Department of Health and Human Services.

[26] Letter from ADAMHA administrator James D. Isbister to Commission chairman, acquired through the Bioethics Research Library at Georgetown University.

seemingly reflected this stance, statements insisting on their right to improve their captive conditions through research participation. At Jackson State, prisoners "gave many reasons for volunteering for research, including better living conditions, need for good medical evaluation, a desire to perform a worthwhile service to others, but it was clear that their overriding motivation was the money they received for participating" (Commission, 1976, p. 35). For these reasons, the interviewed prisoners rejected a ban on experimental research.

What to make of this presumed contradiction between justice and respect for persons, or between the fair selection of test subjects and informed consent? To the Commission, carceral settings made such contradictions possible. If prisons were inherently and legally coercive environments, as several spokespersons in their meetings have maintained, then informed consent was impossible. The Commission would have had to prohibit all medical and behavioral research programs in correctional facilities in order to uphold the doctrine of respect for persons. But, according to the Commission, barring all experiments from using prisoners would in turn violate the principle of justice, which dictated that no social group be categorically ruled out as possible test subjects. So although prisoners had been inordinately deployed in experiments, the *ethical* solution to this unfair selection of test subjects was to redistribute that selection to the rest of the population. Equal participation entailed spreading research risks and benefits around. In their final report, the Commission hence subsumed informed consent under justice, defining the former as prison reform so that the latter thusly construed would not oppose

respect for persons. Between exploitation and deprivation, the Commission had reached a synthesis.[27]

An unspoken assumption behind the Commission's recommendations was the necessity or legitimacy of the prison landscape into which medical science had entered. The prison space, however oppressive, was taken for granted as an essential social formation, an institution whose aims and practices may be interrogated and improved through research regulation, but whose objective place in the social fabric could not be doubted. The Commission had initially even pondered if "coercion" constituted the proper term for specifying the ethical dilemma facing informed consent in penal facilities. Instead, they put forth "constraint" as a "more applicable" designation, noting, "Coercion implies being pushed into something; constraint refers to the *range of available options*" (emphasis added). [28] Preoccupied with locating instances of individual choice in the context of captivity, this language of options in a way prefigured the Commission's final report incorporating the "opportunities" that medical science ostensibly brought into the penal facility, language that foreclosed any possibility of repudiating or even contemplating prisons as inexorably *unethical* institutions, as already the limit case of options: the point of absolutely no recourse. Having formed in the wake of great social uprisings in the 1960s and 1970s, the Commission's inclusion of

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[27] By "synthesis," I refer to Hegel's dialectical method, which has been interpreted by others as a triadic relationship between a thesis, an antithesis, and a synthesis that reconciles the first two (Kroner, 1948/1975). I frame the Commission's final recommendations as a synthesis between informed consent and justice. Later, the chapter's deployment of Fanon's work and Afro-pessimist thinking, while intended mainly to critique the "ruse of analogy" (Wilderson, 2010, p. 35) underpinning the Commission's recommendations, is meant to signal a methadological departure away from dialectical thinking.

[28] From summary of meeting transcript about Jackson State Prison. Acquired through the Bioethics Research Library at Georgetown University. Meeting held on November 15, 1975.

countercultural perspectives in the National Minority Conference demonstrated the indelible effects those uprisings had left in the political imagination. However, incorporating their critiques only to mobilize them in bettering and therefore fortifying a system of social death, the Commission's policy recommendations instantiated what had come to be a larger progressive, neoliberal evolution that would contain and neutralize the political reach of radical thought.[29]

The belief or, rather, the premise that prisons were "natural" components of social life, is not limited to the Commission's recommendations. Angela Davis (2003) illustrates the cultural prevalence of this attitude, fleshing out its roots in slavery and convict leasing as well as refuting the prison's stated objectives of curbing and preventing crime. In turn, Davis clears space for "creatively exploring new terrains of justice" (p. 21). What results from her historiography of captivity and abolition is a far-reaching freedom strategy that targets the most basic social infrastructures like education,

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[29] For an exceptional treatise on neoliberalism, see Aihwa Ong's *Neoliberalism as Exception* (2006), which borrows from Foucaultian notions of governmentality and technologies of the body to foreground the productive (as opposed to repressive) elements of neoliberalism. Ong delineates between *neoliberalism as exception* and *exception to neoliberalism*: In the former, "market-driven calculations are [brought into] the management of populations and the administration of special spaces" (pp. 3-4); in the latter, exceptions can either preserve welfare programs and safety nets against market calculations, or they can exclude certain populations, such as migrants, from "the living standards created by market-driven policies" (p. 4). Both cases demonstrate how political exceptions permit "sovereign practices and subjectifying techniques that deviate from the established norm" (p. 12).

See also Nikhil Pal Singh's *Black is a Country* (2004), which charts the ways dominant public spheres can appropriate and hence effectively counteract the demands of counterpublics. For instance, Singh notes how national discourses on anti-Black racism have distilled the Civil Rights Movement and the figure of Martin Luther King Jr. into myths of American exceptionalism and racial equality. MLK is commemorated and celebrated insofar as his anti-war and increasingly Black Nationalist views were pushed out of public dialogues on race. Within the neoliberal frameworks of dominant publics, racial equality devolves into a matter of legalese and access to market freedoms, ignoring how Blacks remain outside the privileged domain of citizenship. In fact, the myth of universal rights banks on its exclusion of Black Americans: From slavery to contemporary times, Blacks constitute enabling vehicles of citizenship, initially defined over and against the concept of "citizen," and then mined for compositional moves of legitimating and congratulating "time-honored national norms and ideals" (p. 4). To Singh, Blacks are a "subject population," absent the rights and protections of citizens.

labor, public health, safety and security, and the justice system. But because the Commission was never invested with policing powers over penal authority, intervening only where the latter intersects with biomedicine, it may seem superfluous to evaluate or criticize it for something it could not do in practice; and their published report did after all put an end to almost all experimental research operating inside prisons. However, pontificating on what the Commission did and did not do, or what it should and should not have done, is not the goal here. Rather, in its professedly remedial function with respect to biomedical and behavioral research, the Commission's report helps to illustrate how the language of reform and regulation becomes a conduit for exercising prison power, and how the intersecting practices of captivity and medical science come to underpin this ethics, a *bio*ethics, for which the body, for which *life itself* constitutes the field of reference, the point of consolidation.

Thus, the institutionalization of bioethics from in its inception was inseparable from the "zone of nonbeing" Fanon first articulated in his ontology of Blackness. That zone is "an extraordinarily sterile and arid region, an incline *stripped bare of every essential from which a genuine new departure can emerge*" (p. xii, emphasis added). The antimony of language, culture, and history, this zone of nonbeing—of not existing—is such that the Black subject must wear the skin, the "lamentable livery," that the white world has fabricated for him/her (p. p. xvi, p. 17), a metaphysics that makes Blackness visible and knowable in enumerable ways, a filling up of absence that yet ensnares or imprisons the subject in it, an image, a "*visible appearance* for which [s/he] is not responsible" (p. 18, emphasis in original). Confronted with the captive subject, a figure of social death, the emerging bioethics of the 20th century can be seen as issuing from this

metaphysics, which secures a language for reclaiming or picturing "life" and "ethics" where they are voided, the imprisoned subject made to suture together the possibility of knowledge (policy) with the possibility of freedom (consent, fairness). The chapter now turns to this work of suturing through which the force of absence—the zone of nonbeing—irrupts as subjection through ethical consideration.

The location of ethics

On the violations of racial slavery, Saidiya Hartman (1997) writes, "It was often the case that benevolent correctives and declarations of slave humanity intensified the brutal exercise of power upon the captive body rather than ameliorating the chattel condition" (p. 5). For example, slave agency was discernible only as crime or as willful submission, slave humanity emerging solely at that point where it was at once denied and where the slave became a willing participant in her own dissolution. Apropos the prison, the quintessential configuration of neoslavery, Hartman's observation is instructive. Hartman not only argues the impossibility of consent in captivity, but also elucidates the ways consent became an instrument of domination, a sign of the slave's volitional complacency to acts of brutalization. In the Commission's report, captive agency was similarly evoked in two ways: first, the captive as speaking and knowing subject, and second, as stakeholder in a community of research participants. Able to speak and know their *capacity to volunteer* and their *privilege to participate* in research, prisoners were interpellated as precisely those who can give consent and be regarded as proper test subjects. In short, the prisoner made autonomy and justice possible—s/he made ethics conceivable—in a space where coercion and social alienation were the rule of law.

Prisoner interviews functioned as testimonies of captive agency, and these interviews were not limited to the Commission's investigations. Following the Commission's visit to Jackson, for example, several local and national newspapers like *The Detroit News* and *The Washington Post* reached out to prisoners involved in the facility's clinical research program. Both outlets described the prisoners' opposition to banning the activities of Parke-Davis and Upjohn at the facility, noting that "many of the men were indignant when asked about proposals to halt prison research" (the *Post*, 1975). One prisoner commented to the *Post*, "It's unfair. I have a right to do what I want with myself," while another told *Detroit News*, "I wouldn't be over here [in the experiment] if I thought (that I had been coerced)" (1975). Like the Commission's Report, both newspapers also cited the prisoners' reasons for their involvement in research, including greater prison income, the relative safety of the prison clinic with respect to the other areas of the prison, and, to a lesser extent, the possibility of contributing to society. Some skeptics like the former head of D.C. corrections dismissed the latter as a con act by some prisoners, a "shucking and jiving" to convince the Commission to allow prison research to continue (the *Post*). A mocking, stridently scornful demeanor toward prisoners' statements, this description of purposely-deceptive displays of goodwill served to warn the Commission of their own susceptibility to prisoners' capacity to trick and derail their important project, in which, perplexingly, the prisoner was thus either an agent or saboteur of ethics-in-the-making while still representing a vulnerable group of research subjects. However, this language of "shucking and jiving"—a language of performance recalling 19th-century blackface minstrelsy and, before that, the stereotype of the happy slave—also reveals the quality of spectacle internal to the Commission's activities, rituals

of institutionalized power in which the appearance and near unanimity of consent among prison test subjects was given audience and legitimacy. The Commission's visit to Jackson and their subsequent deliberations were for all intents and purposes a form of witnessing or objectively observing prison research. However, within a wider theatre of medical research scandals, the conceptual and practical differences between witnessing and spectatorship become intricately knotty.[30]

By the time the Commission was formed, both imprisonment and research experimentation in carceral settings were long-established, and so the latter's transition from being routine research practice to becoming spectacle of medical abuse cannot be overstated in the Commission's workings. In one sense, the Commission can be seen as a response to spectacle—they were to define and quell the crisis—but it can also be

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[30] Steven Epstein's *Inclusion* (2007) notes the role of mass media in publicizing medical abuse. For example, although the Tuskegee Syphilis study was widely known among experts and local media outlets for 40 years, it was not until the 1970s when the *Associated Press* framed the study as a violation of legitimate practice that medical experimentation was brought to public and expert scrutiny. This news story in fact helped propel "a new phase in public debate" and a new regulatory climate regarding experiments on people. For seminal work on media frames and public opinion, see Walter Lippmann (1960), Michael Schudson (2003), and Todd Gitlin (2003).

Epstein mentions the Tuskegee study in his writings on medical research to historicize what he calls the inclusion-and-difference paradigm, a set of modern ideologies, practices, and institutions that claim the oppressive standardization of the white male subject in research and the urgency of including other social groups that have been purportedly understudied or largely excluded from medical tests: women and non-whites. Pointing to health disparities and to problems of extrapolating data from homogenous test subject pools, proponents of this "biomulticulturalism" use the social group as biomedicine's unit of analysis, which displaces (and sits in between) the individual person and the abstract, universal subject of medicine. Contrary to this position, Epstein shows that the history of Western medical science has in fact shown a preoccupation with difference—sex, gender, race, ethnicity—especially in dominant medical theories about group superiority and inferiority, theories that sought biological explanations for social inequalities. In the 18th- and 19th-century US for example, the standard test subject was comprised of black people, who, because of slavery and the failures of Reconstruction, were particularly vulnerable to medical science. Although blacks were considered biologically inferior to whites and although this view undermined attempts to then generalize data gathered from research on black test subjects, the sheer "availability" of blacks trumped most other practical considerations. The "standard human" in medical science is, hence, subject to historical and technological changes, such as the introduction of statistics and quantitative analyses in medicine during the 20th century that produced the white male as a normative medical category. Through this history of medical science, Epstein is quick to remind to us that science is not a passive vehicle for social attitudes; rather, it actively shapes broad ideas about identity.

understood as taking part in spectacle insofar as it publically stages the prisoner as precisely a subject of medical abuse and regulation. Interviews, site visits, and final recommendations formed a collective scenario for envisioning or writing into being this captive subject able to speak and actualize his agency, minimizing the violence of imprisonment and obfuscating the procedural nature of its terror. When the imprisoned test subject is rendered a "participant" or "volunteer," the issue of experimental abuse is transformed into an "opportunity" of captive self-making or what Hartman calls the "burdened individuality of freedom" at once "liberated and encumbered, sovereign and dominated" (p. 117). Research in penal facilities became an occasion for prisoners to improve their captive existence or, in essence, to *act against* prison regimes of social death by constituting a means through which prisoners can exert their will. This not only dissimulates the ways experimental protocols were bolstered by and readily integrated into prison infrastructures, but also flattens out, if not reverses, the asymmetries of power between captives and prison authorities, and between researchers and test subjects.

On the face of it, the Commission's policy verbiage appears seemingly devoid of spectacle. Bioethical principles of autonomy and justice are plainly demarcated according to concrete determinants of informed consent and risk-benefit distribution—the kind of abstract language that represses visuality. However, returning to Mitchell's writings on representation, particularly on the ways text can be contaminated by the visible (p. 97), stresses how language composes not only a system or economy of meaning, but a *medium* and a *site* of locating difference and similarity as well as the difference that difference and similarity make (p. 91). The imbrications between text and image are therefore always about power and ethics, and it is the patching together of an ambivalent

subject of medical abuse, a figure both exploited and agential, subordinated and self-determining, that marks bioethics' entry into the field of vision. The Commission's recommendations on prison research is that object discourse or ekphrasis Mitchell argues makes vivid the moment "when the nonhuman acquires a voice" (p. 197), when the captive is made to speak through and make him/herself visible *for* the language of bioethics.[31] Moreover, the link between image and text in the Commission's report, how the latter gives itself and its subject a body and visible shape, recalls that between volume and surface in Anzieu's formulation of the ego and the skin of words. The language of bioethics is a visual envelope in its function to reconstitute protective barriers of legislation around a subject of injury, composing a mediating surface that materializes and enacts the relationship between content (prisoner) and container (law). But for Anzieu, the skin of words not only limns the subject it surrounds and insulates from harm but also invests the gaze with tactile powers, making the eye contiguous with the skin and transforming seeing into a grasping, stroking, or molding. As a site/sight of differentiating or making legible specific kinds of vulnerability, bioethics can be thought as this palpable discourse touching the subject with the fullness of its words, a subject at the contact zone between image and text, spectacle and the mundane.

However, Anzieu's preponderance on the liberatory function of the skin of words—that it creates and defends a psychic structure, that touching reinstates a lost intimacy or mitigates an imagined aggression between self and other—better explains the impetus behind the Commission's report than it does the impulse or the force behind its

[31] Ekphrasis refers to writing about visual works, and significantly Mitchell's discussion on ekphrasis occurs during his analysis of slave narratives.

disavowals. Take the kinds of prisoner accounts that were not mentioned in the Commission's report. In a letter requesting an audience with the Commission, a Jackson prisoner active in reform work accused researchers and prison authorities of secret experiments performed on unwilling prisoners. Remarkably, this prisoner, Forest, left his fingerprints across the bottom edge of his letter, each digit evenly spaced and carefully numbered and classified left or right. These impressions, Forest claimed, was to ensure that the Commission could correctly identify him should prison officials obstruct their prospective meeting by presenting the Commission with a different prisoner or, to use John's term, with a "stool pigeon." To Forest, he had good reason to be wary: "I request that some member of your group personally contact me and obtain finger prints to be certain of my identity. That might sound a bit weird but prison officials have already done illegal things to prevent me from getting the torture stopped. Thus I give credence to the stories that some actions were hushed up by showing investigators some person other that [sic] the one they sought." Claiming that he was forcefully injected with drugs for behavior modification, Forest wrote of his unsuccessful attempts to be examined by doctors unaffiliated with the prison and, exhibiting a proficiency in prison law, of his pending petitions with district courts in Detroit. He ended his letter by appealing to the invisible, asking the Commission to "visualize" the hidden practices of prison authorities, to see that, though he had been labeled "crazy," rampant torture and the equally pervasive subversion of its exposure remain actual "possibilities." In fact, how his mental state was presented itself demonstrated the prison's campaign of disinformation: "I hope you can visuilize [sic] the possibilities of convinceing [sic] *superficial* investigators that something really is out of [a prisoner's] mind, when actually the condition they observe is

actually drug induced, or the inspection is of a person other than the one they seek" (emphasis mine). Forest cautioned the Commission to refrain from "superficial" appraisals of the prison, to look deeper than what was presented to them by prison officials or, in short, to be wary of what was readily visible; for, what and who the Commission "observed" could "actually" be *other* than what or who they were "seeking," adopting the very optics of the prison paradigm. Here, the fingerprints were meant to authenticate who Forest was, a way for the Commission to come closer to or literally get a hold of an individual made unreachable or un-seeable, hidden away behind other bodies and stigmatized identities i.e."crazy." But if Forest's fingerprints can be read as a request to touch and not a request to *be* touched, as an attempt to press and push against the Commission in order to examine the ethics of their own investigations (as did John's letter at the beginning of this chapter), then the Commission's final report revealed a repudiation of that encounter: the latter did not at all discuss the extent to which prison authorities had influenced its findings or the likelihood that their investigations were deliberately compromised by those they viewed as partners in scrutiny. It is uncertain whether the Commission ever responded to Forest's letter, but their uncritical stance toward prison authorities, their ready acceptance of the latter's procedures during their investigations, demonstrated the irrelevance of their recommendations to prison violence.

The Commission's preponderance on the spectacle of medical abuse, on the unearthing of examples of unethical research conduct, overlooked what the letters of John and Forest affirmed: the banality of abuse, abuse itself as the law and not the effect of imprisonment. The procedural violence of incarceration unaccountable to anyone including itself is what escaped the Commission's investigations, what was not grasped

by their skin of words, the paradigmatic lost in place of the spectacular instance, which Steve Martinot and Jared Sexton (2003) describe as "camouflage:" "Spectacle is a form of camouflage. It does not conceal anything; it simply renders it unrecognizable. One looks at it and does not see it (p. 174). One can look at the mutually beneficial relationship forged between subjugation and science, unfreedom and knowledge, and somehow still see the ethics of their ensuing protocols for domination. The Commission conducted site visits, interviewed prisoners, researchers, and prison officials, and took statements from various scholars, lawyers, and interest groups to mine the reasons behind experimental abuse and to craft programmatic measures for preventing them, ultimately strengthening the prison paradigm that made certain bodies readily available to knowledge producers. But as Martinot and Sexton write, such attempts to rationalize acts of state violence—here, coercion and injustice in biomedical experiments performed in prisons—assume hidden meanings and motivations that are not there: "The truth is that the truth is on the surface, flat and repetitive, just as the law is made by the uniform" (p179). There is something about prisons that made them ideal sites of experimentation and there is something about experimentation that made it thrive in conditions of captivity, and that something is nothing more than an assembly of banal practices: the routines of prison existence, the reproducibility of experimental results. Yet, contra the intimacy of Anzieu's skin of words, just when that something is made representable as specific mistakes correctable through discursive resources like bioethics, "it runs through our fingers, escaping our grasp" (p. 170).

This search for reasons, Martinot and Sexton also show, creates an inversion of power wherein the dominated becomes culpable in their own domination. Consider the

unproblematic alliance generated between prisoners and the Commission, which was from the first instance positioned as advocates of the former. At Jackson Prison, the Commission noted:

> In fact, [prisoners'] strongest objection was that the pay for participation in research was held down to levels comparable to prison industries. Other complaints focused on limitations to participation rather than on research excesses: if a prisoner stayed on an inpatient study for more than a week, he would lose his prison job seniority; prison officials were said to exclude certain prisoners arbitrarily; some prisoners did not seem to get called to participate in research as often as others…. (p. 36).

Concerning their involvement in research, prisoners demanded greater compensation, expanded job security in other prison work, and more chances to enter into experiments. (In fact, the Commission knowingly visited research programs with what they considered best practices, qualifying that their observations were hence not representative of prison experiments nation-wide and admitting that more comprehensive data gathering was in large part fettered by the inaccessibility or lack of prison records concerning experimental research). Although these criticisms made by prisoners could be applied to other prison industries, they were nonetheless seen as championing research against the administrative failures of the prison: "The major complaints of the participants were directed toward the prison system, not the research program…[urging] correction of what they saw as inequities…but ask[ing] that biomedical research programs in prisons be allowed to continue" (p. 36). Disconnecting research from imprisonment, this interpretation of prisoner demands indicated ways research regulation could then impact the operations of the penal system. The Commission incorporated prisoner accounts to put forward a reformist critique of incarceration, a set of guidelines that would improve penal

conditions for the purposes of sound and ethical experimentation, now an entitlement contingent on adherence to the Commission's recommendations.

One may read false consciousness or a subterranean performance of resistance in prisoner accounts, but ultimately only the prisoners know the true motivations underlying their statements. Without access to these motivations, however, what is left to our scrutiny is, to borrow from James C. Scott, "the text of power presented to them in the public transcript" (1990, p. 67) that made up the Commission's investigations. Examining the ways power circulates through this text is to move past the content of its demands to the form in which they are communicated. Fanon reminds us that the morphology of language—not appeals to "feelings of dignity, love and charity" (p. 14) or even to a universal biological human (these approaches are, in his words, a "vileness;" p. 6)—is that through which meaning or, better still, the "misfiring" of meaning can be situated. For the racially dominated, assimilation into the language of the powerful brings them, "*genetically* speaking," closer to the status of human being, "an absolute, definite mutation" at the level of phenotype (p. 3, emphasis added) that makes them intelligible in the white imagination and accessible to the white gaze. In this sense, the language of bioethics marshaled prisoner testimonies to fill up its subject with symbolic weight, producing that definitive mutation of phenotype Fanon significantly did not relate to "touching" or feeling, or even only to seeing/looking, but to the functions of the gut: the subject becomes knowable, that is, digestible, the moment s/he is made to speak.[32]

[32] In a footnote to the line, "Genetically speaking, his phenotype undergoes an absolute, definitive mutation," Fanon writes: "By this we mean that the black man who returns home [from the métropole] gives the impression of having completed a cycle, of having added something that was missing. He returns home *literally full of himself*" (p. 3, emphasis added). Fanon refers to the ways adopting the colonizer's language can manifest as self-aggrandizement, which masks an internalized inferiority complex imposed by

So if prisoners at Jackson were incorporated into the language of bioethics, their words and statements building and articulating a discourse on justice and autonomy that makes them visible as vulnerable subjects of experimentation, where then does this exercise of agency in language also enact the prisoner's embodiment of powerlessness? In the "misfiring" located within the Commission's interpretation of prisoner interviews: *The major complaints of the participants were directed toward the prison system, not the research program*—while this pinpoints the true source of prisoners' grievances, a move that can spur either reformist or abolitionist responses, it also signaled the boundaries of the Commission's interdictions. With prisons and research programs given as separate, conflictual entities, the self-speaking prisoner, taken up as direct access to a subjective experience of experimentation, came to name those areas of improving cooperation between prison and research administrations, without which the Commission would then find no reason or justification for intervention; strictly speaking, research programs and the application of ethical guidelines would simply withdraw from prisons, the prisoner will merely cease to become a test subject, and the relationship between bioethics and prisons would take on the negative form of a prohibition. Without reform there could be no experimentation; and without the adjoining status of "test subject," the prisoner would remain a lacuna in bioethical inquiry, thus constituting both the beginning of bioethical consideration and the acceptable limit of the latter's sphere of influence. So while the discursive skin of bioethics comprised a screen for apprehending the prison test subject, the latter also became that around which the former cohered and its shape and contours

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a culture of domination. I am reading this analysis a bit liberally, de-emphasizing the subjective effects of this complex and focusing more on the relationship between power and language in Fanon's writings about alienation.

delimited, this dual embodiment or, pace Hartman, "hyperembodiment" of the language of the powerful—its scope and its horizons, its meaning and structure of meaning (grammar, syntax)—expressing in a different register the captive's status as imaginative resource and position of unthought.

This is not to say that the Commission should have ignored the prisoners' statements, nor is to discount the possibility of captive self-determination per se by emphasizing the context of domination in which it may occur. Rather, it is to excavate from this moment of articulated captive agency, a critical encounter with that "zero degree of social conceptualization" (Spillers, 2003, p. 206) internal to the making of autonomy and justice, or consent and fairness, within the prison-clinic. "I have a right to do what I want with myself;" "I wouldn't be here if I was coerced;" or in a letter to the Commission from another Jackson prisoner, "…by going to Park Davis, I can not only help people on the outside but myself as well;"[33]—these statements seemingly confirm the prisoners' capacity for agency and, significantly, their belonging to what Wilderson (2010) calls a "community of interpretation" (p. 48) in which all subjects share the same grammar, the same semiotic tools and arrangements, for expressing themselves. However, as Wilderson also shows, this grammar or presumed belonging generates a "ruse of analogy" that scaffolds universal claims of shared humanity as a mode of articulating and redressing discrimination and oppression. An article by philosopher Samuel Gorovitz in the *Journal of Pharmaceutical Sciences* is suggestive of this move, stating that the Commission assess the dependency of captive populations against "the

[33] Letter received by the Commission following the latter's visit to Jackson, and acquired through the Bioethics Research Library at Georgetown University.

broader backdrop of universal human dependency," because at bottom "all persons are dependent and constrained in various ways" (1976, p. 4). For Gorovitz, coercion is a general and inevitable human condition, differentiated across individual experiences but common to all nonetheless. As such, coercion is contingent and disposed to abstraction, a mode for creating parallels between separate subject positions, but bypassing altogether brute force as a *paradigmatic* condition or political ontology that Wilderson argues defines captivity: a position *without analog*, a position whose affinities with the free are founded on, are possible only through, captives made to name the ethics of their subjugation.

That is to say, prisoner accounts, prompted by bioethical inquiry, were given or spoken in a place or location that the Commission could not theorize, this position of unthought (Hartman), ontological incapacity (Wilderson), or zone of nonbeing (Fanon), breaking into bioethical discourse as paradoxically a moment of *not* speaking: captive testimony as an act of silencing that gives form to speech and to the representational. Read differently, that prisoners delivered their critique of prison regimes in a language amenable to bioethics was in turn an unspoken provocation, a demand that bioethics inhabit or be inhabited by incapacity. In other words, that the prisoners wished experimental programs to continue meant that bioethics was also called upon to remain inside the prison—something foreclosed by the Commission's prescribed reforms, which, unmet, disassociated the captive condition from that of the test subject, the very figure that marked the Commission's entrance into the prison and that materialized the relationship between knowledge and power intertwining the workings of biomedicine and incarceration. The question of whether prison experiments should or should not continue

under whatever circumstances missed its mark entirely. While certainly the Commission's acknowledged matter of concern, this question deferred the making or the possibility of making a language of bioethics issuing from the unspoken structure or grammar of captive testimony, a critique of biomedicine that is already a critique of imprisonment: the science *of* captivity and a subject always already available for the discovery, demonstration, and assessment of power/knowledge. Insofar as these remain in excess of and therefore structural to bioethical concerns, the latter becomes inessential to matters of life, death, and violence within the prison paradigm underlying the "free world."

But if these accounts signaled a radically transformative, which is to say, destructive change in the language of bioethics—exposing a rupture in the skin of words—then this possibility was screened out through analogy, which relocated coercion and captivity among other contingent experiences of the free, and which relied on the discursive and prescriptive power of bioethics to name prisoners' rights and to defend them. This enabled a way of thinking or imagining the unthinkable or unimaginable terror of imprisonment by framing it against or comparing it to something that can be experienced by those outside of prison. Even prior to the Commission's report, for example, in the 1975 Congressional hearing on prison experiments, DHEW spokesmen saw little difference between a housewife (coded white) who volunteered for medical research and a prisoner who did the same. James M. Dickson, director of the FDA's Bureau of Drugs saw both instances as forms of coercion separated only by the *degree* to which that coercion took place. He continued, "Even if you have cancer, there is a sharp inducement to say 'yes' for testing a drug that may turn out to do you more harm than

good. All human research is more or less coercive. The general problem can't be solved just by getting rid of prison research. What we want is for Congress to wait until the whole 'pie' has been looked at—and not just take a piece out of that pie.[34] When likened to other subject pools, prisoners came to only exemplify different iterations of coercion, and the prison space simply demonstrated an extreme, if not the most extreme, form of constraint. Placed within a spectrum or, here, a "pie" of research volunteers, the prisoner became legible, visible, or consumable as a subject of regulation, this expanding discursive field about the imprisoned test subject nevertheless displacing a critique of regulation as itself the workings of a prison paradigm: words and statements circling around and around but never touching their subject.

Wilderson's (2010) reading of Fanon's materialist account of interiority is immensely useful for illustrating such tensions internal to the language of bioethics. Deploying Fanon's principled call to violence against Lacan's emphasis on speech as a roadmap to whatever freedom is possible through one's alienation in language, Wilderson provides an unflinching critique of the limitations of signifying practices to liberate anybody.[35] The heterogeneous relationship between words and images—their similarities and antagonisms—is a deeply ethical question, but is made so because of their efficacy or

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[34] Comments published in *US Medicine*, October 15, 1975. Acquired through the Bioethics Research Library at Georgetown University.

[35] For Lacan, freedom follows from full speech, or the transition from the subject's narcissistic investments in language as a means for self-possession to an understanding of her positioning in or relation to language *as outside of* herself. But in Fanon's writings, black freedom springs not from the individual analysand's transition to full speech, but through a countervailing violence in and against civil society, the white or human economic and interlocutory life that operates through the ways in which blackness is put to use in flesh and language. In other words, to free the black analysand from psychopathology is to destroy the world that makes him/her sick: "I would tell him [sic]: 'It's the environment; it's society that is responsible for your mystification.' Once that has been said, the rest will follow of its own accord, and we know what that means. The end of the world, by Jove" (Fanon, 1952/2008, p. 191).

the material conditions in which they do their work of representation. A world with captive bodies cannot be ethical—"where there are [Neo]Slaves it is unethical to be free" (p. 49)—and bioethics is not ethical if it cannot consign itself to ending that world.[36] The Commission's report did not interrogate the relationship between biomedicine and captivity but merely reorganized it by, first, formulating the ethical dilemma of prisoners as analogous to that of the free, and second, effectively absenting themselves from responsibility through curtailing biomedical practice. How then to make bioethics relevant to…to ethical issues, to save it from itself? What modalities are available for such a rethinking? Wilderson calls for a culture of politics that examines how symbolic interventions articulate and disavow the ethical dilemmas of captives; Hartman puts forward redress as an incomplete mode of locating a "politics without a proper locus" (1997, p. 51); and Fanon (1963/2004) lifts the stigma off of violence and positions it as an ethical response to dominating forces. All of this is to say that bioethics would not survive its restructuring.

To end this chapter with an illustration of what the destruction of bioethics might look like, it again returns to prisoner accounts, this time those published by The Hastings Center: Institute of Society, Ethics and the Life Sciences.[37] In an attempt to provide both sides of the debate on prison research, the report included a piece from Frank Hatfield, a

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[36] In his critique of the supposedly inherent inferiority complex of the colonized, Fanon cites Aimé Césaire:
"'What can you do?'
'Start!'
'Start what?'
'The only thing in the world worth starting: the end of the world, for heaven's sake'" (p. 76).

[37] Volume 7, Number 1, published February 1977. Acquired through the Bioethics Research Library at Georgetown University.

former prisoner at Vacaville and later a UC Davis student of social psychology who supported continuing research programs in carceral settings, and an excerpt from Allen Lawson's testimony to the Commission in which he voiced his opposition to prison research. Lawson was formerly incarcerated in Philadelphia prisons and later became director of the Philadelphia chapter of the Prisoners' Rights Council. Hatfield's article detailed his experience with the California Medical Facility at Vacaville, also a site of skin patch-testing experiments, while Lawson described the conflicting perspectives prisoners had regarding their participation or non-participation in medical experiments. The substantive arguments made from each viewpoint mirrored those described in this chapter: either medical experiments constituted an important resource for prisoners, or they took advantage of the intrinsically coercive environment of imprisonment. But what Hatfield and Lawson did share was a gesture to or an imagining of a something else outside of the Commission's questioning and that neither could articulate. Hatfield ended with, "Well-meaning people, who have never been to prison, seem to feel that they know what is best for convicts. I disagree. Men in prison have few material resources and denied many aspects of human dignity. Those few opportunities they do have should not be taken away, against their wishes, *unless society is prepared to offer a meaningful alternative*" (p. 12, emphasis added). Hatfield did not elaborate on what that alternative may be, but simply left its possibility out there and charged its realization to society as a whole, implicating the latter's responsibility to those behind bars. Lawson, on the other hand, had to contend with the Commission's provocations. When pressed why he would risk other prison industry hazards, like deafness in a noisy stamping factory, over participating in biomedical research, Lawson could not say.

> [COMMISSION MEMBER] ROBERT COOKE: But is that [stamping factory] policed any better? We saw some pretty noisy operations going on that nobody was questioning.
>
> LAWSON: Probably not in the prison. That is why I see such great potential for abuse of a person in prison.
>
> COOKE: I don't mean to argue with you, but you are saying it would be okay to offer that job to the prisoners even though it is noisy as hell in that stamping plant, but it is not okay to offer something which is under much more scrutiny, quite honestly…. I think it is kind of mystical.
>
> LAWSON: I don't particularly see it as mystical. I think I would take a job where there is a lot of noise rather than subject myself to the pharmaceutical company. *I may not be able to tell you why*. (p. 14emphasis added)

In short, Lawson was not be able to rationalize why prisoners make the decisions they do among the limited and precarious "choices" available to them, notwithstanding Cooke's comment that biomedical research was "quite honestly" more regulated (this is startling considering that the Commission was formed precisely under the assumption that research was not under enough scrutiny). Lawson in no uncertain terms stated that neither the stamping factory nor the pharmaceutical company were "policed any better," and that it was precisely the secretive nature of incarceration that facilitated a "great potential for abuse" in both industries. But because he was unwilling or unable to clearly differentiate the stamping factory as the better choice, Lawson's testimony could only be considered "mystical." Like Hatfield, who did not outline his alternative fix to the ethical problems of biomedical research, Lawson was "not able to tell you why," in prison, one form of abuse was more preferable than another; in fact, Lawson emphasized that, at least in Philadelphia prisons, the Committee would not find a unanimous answer from prisoners. Both Hatfield and Lawson, through their inability or refusal to speak in or through the

solution-oriented language of the Committee, revealed the limitations of that language, the breakdown of its representational powers. To even begin to put words to the void they left behind would mean giving up on bioethics as we see it and as it sees itself.

Conclusion

Set in early 20th century United States, Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* (1952/1995) narrates an ironic coming-of-age story of a young black man who inevitably faces forms of inequality underwritten by antiblack racism. This story is ironic, because its narrative arc does not lead to self-realization and moral growth. Rather, following violent encounters with white society, the unnamed protagonist comes to embrace his degraded status. He says:

> I am an invisible man. No, I am not a spook like those who haunted Edgar Allan Poe; nor am I one of your Hollywood-movie ectoplasms. I am a man of substance, of flesh and bone, fiber and liquids—and I might even be said to possess a mind. I am invisible, understand, simply because people refuse to see me…. When they approach me they see only my surroundings, themselves, or figments of their imagination…everything and anything except me. (p. 3)

Ellison illustrates that blackness is invisibility and that this invisibility is not inherent. It is instead projected, or structured through dominant looking relations, but more importantly, it is generative, the black body of the protagonist made to refract everything and anything except his corporeality and psychic life, the latter admitted to be always already in question. Indeed, this ontological openness makes the story more horrifying than ironic and is later stated in techonological terms when an older mentor reminds the protagonist: "*we the machines inside the machine*" (p. 217, emphasis in original).

The dissertation has located this machine-body in the incarcerated subject of postwar biomedical research, examining how race and (in)visibility are mutually configured through the skin. In Ellison's story, the invisible man is himself experimented upon during a hospital stay, a direct reference to the pervasive use of black bodies in

medical and biomedical research at the time of Ellison's writing, with the use of prisoner test subjects in particular constituting a normal science that contributed to the making of modern experimental medicine (*Invisible Man*, too, was first published the same year that Kligman began his program at Holmesburg Prison).[1] As shown in the previous chapter, this means that increased regulation of prison research completely missed its mark. The Justice Department banned experimentation in federal prisons in 1976 and Congress severely restricted the practice in 1978 under Title 45 of the Code of Federal Regulations. However, the number of those behind bars in the U.S. has since ballooned from 200,000 to 2.3 million, the language of redress and protection in bioethics stopping short of interrogating the prison system itself as an ongoing oppressive technology of race-making. Moreover, as a consequence of these regulatory limitations on prison research, U.S. offshoring of clinical studies has steadily increased, mainly from high- to low-income countries and many of which with colonial histories, reaching unprecedented levels in the last two decades and leading the post-industrial nations in the number of outsourced trials (Cooper 2008; Cooper & Waldby, 2014; Petryna, 2007, 2009). As recently as 2016, 54% to 60% of U.S. clinical trials were being conducted beyond U.S. borders.[2] This is not to say that experiments on humans outside of the U.S. did not occur

[1] Thomas Kuhn (1962/1970) defined "normal science" as "research firmly based upon one or more past scientific achievements…that some particular scientific community acknowledges for a time as supplying the foundation for its further practice" (p. 10). These foundational achievements collectively make up the paradigm of a community of scientists, assumptions that go unquestioned until a new paradigm arrives to take its place. Kuhn clearly departs from linear, progressive historical accounts of science which construe the development of the entire field as a cumulative process of fact-gathering. In contrast to these views, Kuhn argues that science undergoes successive radical changes in its frameworks—what he calls "paradigm shifts."

[2] Clinicaltrials.gov provides information and statistics regarding publicly and privately funded clinical studies.

prior to and during the post-war period, but rather to highlight the centrality of U.S. imprisonment in the escalating global search for test subjects from the late 20th to 21st centuries. The implications of this intensified internationalization of human experimentation for studying the confluence of medical science and captivity are at least twofold. First, the spatial histories of colonialism and imperialism are arguably at work in the changing geographies of clinical research, overdetermining "formerly" colonized and poorer (areas of) nations as available pools of test subjects for globalized medical science in late capitalism (accounts of neocolonialism obligate the use of scare quotes).[3] Second, it points to the other(ing/ed) space of U.S. prisons as apart from and yet internal to the national landscape, a kind of interiorized exterior sphere of precarious citizenship that preconditioned the migration of human experimentation from the American prison-academic-industrial complex to the outsourced clinic.[4]

Thus, the subject of postwar bioethics, the experimental subject behind bars, was not fully delimited by the language of regulation—not fully enclosed by the discursive skin of bioethics—forming an immanent disruptive articulation of what Angela Davis called the "new terrain of justice," a different set of coordinates in which captivity itself as a race-making technology and geography of social death constitutes the real target of ethical concern. This is made evident when bioethics runs up against contemporaneous abolitionist rhetoric permeating captive stories—what Joy James (2005) calls "(neo)slave

[3] There's an element of exoticism present in patient recruitment, wherein so-called "treatment-naïve" populations are more desirable than "treatment saturated" ones in the U.S., because the latter's pharmaceuticalized bodies generate drug-drug interactions that might nullify or influence drug test results (Petryna, 2007). Inevitably, this sort of biological purity untainted by pharmaceutical drug-use is more often a result of the inaccessibility of treatments.

[4] See for example Kalindi Vora (2015), Chikako Takeshita (2012), Mel Chen (2012), and Kaushik Sunder Rajan (2006) on colonial legacies in scientific development.

narratives"— whose vision of justice underscores violence, from the corporeal to the social, as the site of political action. And this rhetoric cannot be read as an attempt at wound-healing or skin-forming, but as an inhabitation of injury informing a radically destructive ethics, an insurgent knowledge (Rodríguez, 2006a) that aims precisely not at fixing broken systems or protecting "vulnerable" subjects but at the total undoing of the carceral state.

Cross-cutting both sites, the outsourced clinic and the prison facility preceding it, is a spatial aggression that weds military might with scientific practice, the former in the shape of colonial conquest and the latter in what prison scholars and activists have called "warfare in the American homeland" (James, 2007).[5] As also evidenced in acknowledgement sections of his published articles, much of Kligman's work at Holmesburg Prison was conducted with support from the US Army, including studies on foot fungus and skin inflammation, the latter helping to develop the maximization patch test and the former seeking new treatments for athlete's foot, a condition common to soldiers deployed in hot and humid zones.[6] Studies on skin inflammation also sought the mechanism behind skin hardening, a protective response that "had both offensive and

[5] In his socio-historical study of modern hygiene in late 19th to early 20th century France, Bruno Latour (1988) deploys metaphors of war and peace to translate Louis Pasteur's scientific successes into relations of weak and strong forces. For Latour, discussing science through the language of war enables one to see the enterprise as precisely a network of *relations of force*. Like war, science celebrates great men and jettisons many other actors—human and nonhuman—that help realize victory—here, a victory over microbes. But like war, science is also strategic, involving uncertainty, drift, confusion, and compromise. Achieving defeat over the enemy—be it nations or bacteria—is never buttressed solely by rational planning but also implicates violence, politics, and polemics. Using the language of war to follow simultaneously the context and the technical content of science, Latour maps out a network of associations between multiple actors and forces that move the science of hygiene.

[6] For Kligman's work on foot fungus, see Maibach and Kligman (1962), Rebora, Marples, and Kligman (1973a), Rebora, Marples, and Kligman (1973b), and Leyden and Kligman (1978). See also Kligman's 1974 comprehensive report to the US Army Medical Research and Development Command, "Sustained Protection Against Superficial Bacterial and Fungal Infection by Topical Treatment."

defensive military implications."[7] From these studies, Kligman concluded that achieving skin hardening entailed an "intense inflammatory phase" that included the formation of blisters. Having their arms immersed in test compounds, some prisoners "contracted undesirable allergies" and even "exhibited psychotic reactions" that led to hospitalization. But Kligman successfully "hardened" skin for a year with sodium lauryl sulfate (SLS), a detergent and emulsifying agent today common in cosmetics and hygiene products, and with chlorinated phenol, an ingredient in pesticides and herbicides. Other experiments that were supervised by Ivy Research, Kligman's private company, tested "choking agents, nerve agents, vomiting agents, incapacitating agents and toxins" on at least 94 prisoners.

The experiments garnering the most public attention, however, were those on mind-altering drugs for expanding the Army's arsenal of chemical warfare agents. With 320 prisoners taking part, studies on these psychotropic formulas called for creating a new infrastructure within the prison space, with two aluminum trailers complete with padded cells installed between cellblocks to function as Army research facilities from 1964 to 1968.[8] Focusing on the incapacitating effects of psychochemicals, Kligman's research team were tasked with ascertaining MED-50, or the minimum dosage of each compound for disabling 50% of a population receiving it. Common manifestations of incapacitation included drowsiness, unsteadiness and clumsiness, delirium, impaired

[7] See article by Aaron Epstein (1979, November 25) written for *The Inquirer*, which acquired relevant Army documents via the Freedom of Information Act. These documents, the article states, included reports from Edgewood Arsenal, Maryland, whose scientists were seeking collaborative endeavors with nonmilitary, ideally university-affiliated research programs close to their base. Names of prisoners involved and of compounds used were redacted, the latter simply referred to as numbered agents such as "AGENT 1-H" or "AGENT CAR 302,196." Finally, the documents did "not reveal what the Army did with the Holmesburg test results."

[8] See Hornblum (1998) and Epstein (1979, November 25).

concentration, and visual illusions and hallucinations—for some test subjects, the prison walls appeared alive and seemed to be moving and "breathing." Though university psychologists and Army specialists accompanied Kligman's research team, Kligman himself played a central role in the administration and evaluation of tests, his expertise in dermatology and not psychology or psychiatry notwithstanding, with the Army having chosen Kligman's program not simply for its work on skin but for its established infrastructure within the prison facility as well as its illustrious affiliation with the University of Pennsylvania. In any case, at least for a time, the Army tests shifted Kligman's attention from the surfaces of the body to the internal workings of the mind or, perhaps more accurately, the mind reified as a site of combat and brought out of the body as an observable behavioral change. If the prison functioned as an apparatus of domination working on and through the captive body, the Army tests further demonstrated the extent to which the state itself can methodically infiltrate the captive self as an object of control and terrain of knowledge production, especially in the development of new technologies for the subjection of others at home and abroad. To Edward Anthony, a prisoner participant in both the skin and Army tests, "Guys on those tests were coming out of the army trailers like zombies. I wasn't much better. I was a mess. Everybody knew I had snapped. They all started calling me 'Outer Limits….' In that first experiment, the patch test that affected my skin and hurt so bad, I was afraid I was gonna die. [sic] But this one did such strange stuff to my head, I really *wanted* to die" (as cited in Hornblum, 2007, p. 71-73, emphasis in original). Contrary to Kligman's report to the Army, many prisoners like Anthony continued to experience psychological problems years after the experiments, some actively punished with solitary confinement

for their behaviors while still at Holmesburg. Evoking the prison's capacity to consume and the diminish the life of its captives, Anthony remarks of Kligman's team, "I was rolling the dice on those doctors being human beings, but they weren't. They were vampires. They just hurt me" (p. 75). Tellingly, for Anthony, his willingness to participate in Kligman's experiments was not so much about consent as it was a form of gambling with one's life and health, "rolling the dice" on one's body in acquiring the necessities—the "luxuries"—of prison existence.

However, the violence of instrumentalizing the captive body was not separate from the excess, gratuitous, violence of imprisonment itself, but rather constituted another form or medium through which the latter simultaneously operated and obscured its workings as merely contingent, spectacular.[9] For all its focus on the procedural affairs of experimental programs, the National Commission on bioethics mistook prison research as science gone awry, as an issue of medical abuse, when it instead functioned through a prison paradigm they took for granted but which therefore provided a conduit for critiquing imprisonment itself, something the Commission could not fully repress in their recognition that reform was tied to ethical research, though even this betrayed the limitations of imposing structural changes on incarceration. Ethics, to paraphrase Jared Sexton and Elizabeth Lee (2006), confined its critical interventions to the savageries committed *within* the walls of the prison while overlooking the savagery *of* those walls,

[9] Racism is self-organizing and self-justifying, its repetitive, material forms of appearance, Jared Sexton (2008) notes, called forth not by reason but by something else that escapes meaning and definition, a system of affect, emotion, or conviction that nevertheless structures and governs racist discourses and practices by making the latter appear intentional or coherent, in other words, *by presenting itself as something it is not*. Borrowing from Derrida's reading of Bataille, Sexton calls this system a "trace of the general economy," the production of unutilizable excesses refracted through the production of meaning and value in a "restricted economy." I argue that the violence of imprisonment is a general economy.

barricades that figure the prison at the node of militarized networks. Warfare in the American homeland—typifying institutions of state violence and the science of anti-blackness, the prison is the proper locus of ethical interrogation. Dylan Rodríguez calls the prison a technology of violence (2006a) or a micro-warfare apparatus (2006b) whose everyday violations on its captive population, a violence growing ever more mundane with the proliferation of carceral spaces, has become the veritable way of life at the American front. Joy James (2007) calls this homeland a "penal democracy" or an "archipelago" not only of prisons but also of increasingly militarized police machinery, insisting that the language of war, the "lingua franca" of domination, thus remain central to resistance narratives, discourses explicitly acknowledging that, without doubt, "this is war" (p. 9).

During and in the aftermath of prison experimental programs, several major abolitionist figures had taken up this language, what Rodríguez (2006a) also terms a "theoretical vernacular of death" springing from the "antisociality" of the carceral site, "where the state's biopolitical power is *unmediated*—qualitatively violating and violent" (p. 224, emphasis added). And from this site, the vernacular of death generates a "theoretical corpus" of radical resistance against that direct, unmediated brutality. The autobiography of former political prisoner, Assata Shakur (1987), for instance, melds life story with political vision, punctuating accounts of lived experience with calls to "fight on" (p. 53). During her incarceration at Middlesex County, New Jersey, Shakur taped a statement about the charges of murder and robbery leveled against her, criticizing as well the media's role in constructing and disseminating propaganda maligning her character

and her involvement with the Black Liberation Army. In her statement, titled "To My People" and radio broadcasted on the Fourth of July, 1973, Shakur asserted,

> I am a Black revolutionary, and, as such i am a victim of all the wrath, hatred, and slander that amerika is capable of. Like all other Black revolutionaries, amerika is trying to lynch me…. Every revolution in history has been accomplished by actions, although words are necessary. We must create shields that protect us and spears that penetrate our enemies. Black people must learn how to struggle by struggling…. We are created by our conditions. Shaped by our oppression. We are manufactured in droves in the ghetto streets, places like attica, san quentin, bedford hills, leavenworth, and sing sing. They are turning out thousands of us…. It is our duty to fight for our freedom. It our duty to win. We must love each other and support each other. We have nothing to lose but our chains. (pp. 52-53)

Recognizing ghettos and prisons as the ground of both oppression and radicalization, of struggle and struggling, Shakur bridges her own personal encounters of state violence with those "droves" and "thousands" marked out for disappearance, annihilation, and social neglect, connecting her life story to the nation's systemic brutalization of black communities. The autobiography begins with Shakur's own assault at the New Jersey Turnpike, shot twice under police gunfire, then punched and kicked while half unconscious on the pavement, and beaten again while shackled to a hospital bed for treatment of her injuries—this besiegement marking the very beginning of her life story, violence introducing *who* she is for the reader. The narrative itself is non-linear, interspersing chapters on growing up in the segregated South and then in New York, with those on her radicalization, her membership in the Black Panther Party and the Black Liberation Army, her incarceration and court hearings that she called "legal lynchings," the birth of her daughter while in captivity, and her present fugitive status in Cuba, where

she remains, in her words, "a 20th century escaped slave."[10] With its irregular, discontinuous timeline, Shakur's autobiography points to the circularity of antiblack violence in which self and self-narration issue from subjection, a recurring subjugation whose end can only be met through armed insurrection. Significantly, for Shakur, insurgency constitutes both a moral imperative and a form of collective self-care, the binding of self with subjugation under contexts of domination making it so that loving and supporting each other include a *duty* to fight for freedom and to win, or, that fighting and winning become necessary expressions of that love and support.

Militancy is also present in the prison letters written between 1964 and 1970 by Black Panther and Black Guerilla Family founder George Jackson (1970/1994), who for 10 years was held captive at Soledad Prison on patchy charges of robbery. In 1970, Jackson was transferred to San Quentin on false accusations of murdering a prison deputy but, two days before his trial in which he was put on death row *prior* to deliberations, he was assassinated by a tower guard during an escape attempt. Politicized in prison through readings by Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Engels, and Mao as well as revolutionaries like Huey Newton, Bobby Seale, and Che Guevara, Jackson would produce a collection of letters heavy with "rational rage" (p. xiv) and that has since become a touchstone among radical antiestablishment literature and political philosophy, enacting what Jackson himself had promised to do even after death: "if worst comes to worst that's all right, I'll just continue the fight in hell" (p. 127). Like Shakur, Jackson saw the continuation of racial slavery in the carceral and policing formations of his time, the "captive society" that is the American democracy preparing black men from birth of the "inevitability of prison" (p.

[10] Phrase from www.assatashakur.org

4), for which Jackson has many appellations: a "life-death cycle" (p. 70), a "concentration camp" (p. 115), "life on the installment plan" (p. 26), "the closest to being dead that one is likely to experience in this life" (p. 14). Jackson, moreover, stresses that prison existence is a real battlefield, a perpetual state of hostilities or "usual turmoil" (p. 104) wherein one must "expect anything, including trouble, *especially* trouble" (p. 112, emphasis added), and against which the only proper or just response is a countervailing force of arms, a form of domestic guerilla warfare targeting, too, the entire nation-state enabling racial and economic oppression: "The jungle is still the jungle be it composed of trees or skyscrapers, and the law of the jungle is bite or be bitten" (p. 107). Despite his deteriorating health under the tortures of imprisonment, Jackson maintained his desire "to be in the vanguard" (ibid.) and, like many black radical thinkers of his time, related black freedom struggles at home with the anticolonial, global uprisings against empire abroad (Kelley, 2002). Jackson was very critical of the science of US warfare, an excellence in technology for the "breakdown of civilization…. This is the only thing they understand, the only thing they respect—they only thing they can do with any dexterity" (p. 67). But equally important for Jackson, furthermore, was radicalization itself as a form of fighting back, his entreaties and sometimes disdaining stance toward his family's "illusions"—their "brainwashing" and complicity in "herd" mentality—constructing the mind as another battleground between Western ideals and their opposition.

Abolitionist perspectives like those of Shakur and Jackson offer a different way of approaching the post-WWII nexus of war, biomedicine, and incarceration as well as where bioethics intervenes and fails to intervene through its principles of autonomy, justice, and beneficence. In the last chapter, I argued that bioethics constituted a

discursive skin, a protective envelope of legal text, projected onto an imagined subject of biomedical abuse—imagined because, to put it simply, the Commission ultimately did not listen to either critique coming from the prisoners: (1) that not only should research programs remain in prison but they be improved to better help prisoners navigate the oppressive conditions of incarceration; and (2) that research programs should be eliminated from prisons because they take advantage of the secretive and controlling nature of incarceration, which thus makes up the true target of interrogation. In both arguments, biomedical practice and regulation offer an avenue for critiquing research and imprisonment, experimental life and social death, together as entwined paradigms—this was a failed opportunity. In practice, the Commission eliminated prison research programs while still making room for them in the language of the law via reform, in essence disentangling the science of biomedicine from the science of imprisonment as a form of domestic warfare—that triangle of death linking together "industry, science, and strategy" Michel Serres (1974/2013) had called the thanatocracy of the postwar era. In contradistinction to the discursive skin of bioethics, abolition's focus on the wounded subject of state violence contributes not a language of protection and recompense but metaphors of war, sometimes resulting in very real armed confrontations with police and prison guards, wherein self-defense entails both a *return to* the wound and a *returning of* it, that is, a retaliation for harm with harm.

Robin D.G. Kelley (2002) argues that this "warrior tradition" is but one of multiple voices and approaches in the long history of the black radical imagination, and one that did not always lead to armed resistance in practice though, during the postwar period, leading thinkers in militant freedom movements such as the Revolutionary Action

Movement (RAM) saw blacks as colonial subjects struggling for control within the borders of empire. Yet, what is compelling about this language of war is precisely its analytical potential to unravel the optics of bioethics, a refusal to be symbolically incorporated into the language of the state when the state itself is the enemy.[11] This resistance to representation, a supplanting of the screen-skin for the wound as visual rupture, is part of that "poetic knowledge" (versus legal vocabulary) that Kelley observes in the black radical imagination, which "compel[s] us to relive horrors and, more importantly, enable[s] us to imagine a new society" (p. 9)—or, *seeing and thinking the new through the horror*. Can bioethics be coopted and radicalized in this way? Can it be reimagined through the words of notable armed self-defense advocate, Robert Williams: "America is a house on fire—FREEDOM NOW!—or let it burn, let it burn. Praise the Lord and pass the ammunition!" (as cited in Kelley, p. 78)? At least, bioethics rethought through these terms could excavate the heart of the "body-machine-image complex" that, Mark Seltzer (1997) shows, collapses technologies of atrocity with representations of pain in the making of 20th century wound culture. I agree with Serres that interrogating science constitutes philosophy's critical entry into that triangle of death, but he is more forgiving of the enterprise prior to WWII. The latter, Serres argues, inaugurated a science pervaded by the death instinct, a science that kills its own history by submitting everything to reason, including reason itself: "The end of history, the Triumph of

[11] I am reminded of Ruha Benjamin's (2016) politics of refusal, wherein a test subject's choice not to participate in an experiment constitutes the starting material for recreating bioethics.

Reason" (p. 23), science enrolled as the infrastructure of war.[12] However, colonialism, slavery, and their present iterations upturn this relationship, suggesting in fact the inverse: war as the infrastructure of science, something that abolitionist rhetoric has been aware of, even if unconsciously.

In a resurgence of popular and political attention to Kligman's experimental program following the publication of Allen Hornblum's *Acres of Skin* (1998), about 300 prisoners from the experiments filed suit in 2000 against Kligman, the city of Philadelphia, the University of Pennsylvania, and the pharmaceutical conglomerates Johnson & Johnson and Dow Chemical Company, though the case was dismissed because the statute of limitations had expired.[13] And in 2003, the College of Physicians honored Kligman with a lifetime achievement award for his contributions to dermatology, a move that, to Edward Anthony and to other former prisoner test subjects who protested the ceremony, "demonstrated the hypocrisy of the entire medical profession" (as cited in Hornblum, 2007, p. 193). Marching along the entrance of the College of Physicians, the protesters unveiled their own prize for Kligman, a "Doctor Mengele Award" linking the dermatologist to the infamous SS physician who conducted human experiments at the WWII Nazi concentration camp, Auschwitz.[14] Dubbed the "Angel of Death," Josef Mengele had escaped to Argentina following the victory of the Allied Powers, and therefore evaded the Nuremberg trials charging and subsequently

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[12] For more on authoritarian and democratic technics, or how politics are designed or embedded into technologies, see Langdon Winner (1986), Lewis Mumford (1964, 1970), Peter Kropotkin (1974/1998), and Murray Bookchin (1982).

[13] See Dale (2000, October 19) and Kligman's obituary in the *Los Angeles Times* by Maugh (2010, February 24).

[14] See Rossi and Rossi (2003, October 30) for more on the protest.

convicting 23 German doctors of war crimes. Directed entirely by the U.S., the trial's verdict resulted in the making of the Nuremberg Code, which perhaps unsurprisingly excluded human experimentation in U.S. penitentiaries. Though referenced by the defendants as precedents to their own research activities in concentration camps, U.S. experimental programs in carceral settings were, to the Nuremberg court, separate from notions of abuse, the court thus attributing wartime atrocities solely to Nazi experiments on "undesirables" —Jews, gypsies, gays, and the disabled—and differentiating them from medical tests in U.S. prisons, the latter deemed non-coercive and meeting the highest standards of human research (Harkness, 1996; Lerner, 2007). Put another way, U.S. experiments on incarcerated individuals helped establish the Nuremberg Code by forming the basis against which Nazi war crimes could be distinguished and redressed and which other forms of (bio)medical abuse could then be prevented. However, by comparing Kligman to Mengele, the protesters at Kligman's achievement ceremony unequivocally reaffirmed this connection between war and science. Though this might be read as an attempt to be enfolded as a subject of Nuremberg's code of ethics, the direct reference to Mengele himself rather than to any of the 23 Nazi doctors sentenced to death and hung, reveals a different order of meaning: like Mengele, Kligman and supporting institutions "got away" with their atrocities. The protesters performed their position at the limits of this founding document on bioethics, an inviolable script that would later serve as the framework for developing and elaborating more principles of research conduct in keeping with human rights.

Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth* (1963/2004), a widely-read text among many black power and black liberation leaders of the '60s and '70s, de-stigmatized violence as

a proper response to violence, universal claims to "truth" and "the good" resituated in colonialist regimes of regulating and dominating the colonized population. But embodying the truth of this regime in so far as they form the object of its brutality and surveillance, the colonized become through this truth authorized to determine the good, which is "quite simply what hurts *them* [the colonizers] most" (p. 14, emphasis in original). The skin of *Black Skin, White Masks*—a figure overdetermined from the outside, an ego split between self and image, or *imago*—appears in *Wretched* not only as an object to be protected ["the determination to defend one's skin" (p. 89)], but also as the source and container of aggression, of an "*atmospheric* violence…rippling under the skin" (p. 31, emphasis added), antagonism borne out of colonial invasion and occupation of body and space. And for Fanon, the spatial organization of colonialism, a compartmentalization of resource, capital, and recognition—"rights," dignity, however one may describe the latter—at the level of both the colony and the world, created the opposing species of humanity, oppressor and oppressed, that is the target of decolonization. To eliminate the colonial condition is to explode the material-semiotic distinctions between these species, to *destroy* the species themselves, and thus to *create* a "new history," a "new nation," or "new [hu]man" from the ruins of empire.

What does this mean for biomedicine and bioethics, whose histories and futures are implicated in that non-dialectical zoning off of humanity that Fanon described and for which no amicable synthesis is possible:[15] prisons and colonies? This requires a

[15] See Abdul R. JanMohammed's (2005) use of the phrase "anti-Hegelian" to describe African American literature and culture. He specifically charts the ideological and political functions of death in the works of Richard Wright, centering the mob violence of lynching to highlight the same sociopolitical apparatus and existential threat of black death governing both the antebellum and post-bellum South. African American culture and what JanMohammed is calling "the death-bound-subject"—a "subject who is formed, from

rethinking of bioethics, a reconfiguration of its notions of responsibility, of responsibility itself writ large. For, as Ellison's invisible man asks us, "But to whom can I be responsible, and why should I be, when you refuse to see me?... Responsibility rests upon recognition, and recognition is a form of agreement" (p. 14). The invisible man calls himself the most irresponsible being that ever lived, and yet maintains that "even the invisible victim is responsible for the fate of all" (ibid.). Ethics, in other words, must center those made irresponsible or invisible, here a radicalized bioethics foregrounding the imprisoned body and its structure of demands: the eradication of a prison nation. This might mean the destruction of ethics as we know it, and consequently for us to struggle or reach for something that cannot be determined beforehand precisely because our current epistemic landscape cannot give us a place from which we can stand for something. In this light, should we want to be responsible? Who gets to practice responsibility, or response-ability?[16] What if ethics comes from a place of irresponsibility, for as the invisible man invites us to imagine, "It is this which frightens me: Who knows but that, on the lower frequencies, *I* speak for you?" (p. 568, emphasis added).

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infancy on, by the imminent and ubiquitous threat of death" (p. 2)—are anti-Hegelian because they radically depart from Hegel's account of the master-slave struggle. Whereas the latter dramatizes the master's thwarted achievement of self-consciousness through his negation of the other's freedom to recognize it, as well this other's achievement of self-conscious through the products he creates for the master, the death-bound-subject in contrast finds agency and an exit to freedom through the deliberate actualization of his (or the master's) death. In place of Hegel's master-slave dialectic, JanMohammed posits a "dialectics of death," in which actual death (antithesis) preconditions and negates the subject-position of social death or slavery (thesis), bringing about a rebirth into a different subject-position (symbolic death, synthesis).

[16] I am referring to Donna Haraway's (2008) usage of response-ability, particularly in the context of laboratory experimentation on animals. Response-ability refers to one's capacity to respond and be responsive to ethical issues and how this capacity is distributed across animals, people, and scientific instruments.

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