

BECCA IMRICH

Pricing and Specification:
Corcraft and 91020000*



Cameron Rowland's 2016 exhibition *91020000* at Artists Space in New York con- tains twelve objects in total: a metal desk, cast aluminum rings for manhole openings,

and a set of wooden courtroom benches (purchased from Corcraft); two fire suits (purchased from California Prison Industry Authority or CALPIA); three pairs of lashing bars (purchased from Lloyd's Register); two framed badges from the National Ex-Slave Mutual Relief Bounty & Pension Association (purchased from Civil War memorabilia dealers); framed documents from Aetna that function as a receipt of shares Rowland purchased of the corporation; and one hundred bootlegged copies of the 2015 National Correctional Industries Association annual report. These objects are accompanied by Rowland's own text that contextualizes the items in the exhibition. The layout of the exhibition is sparse, and the ample space between objects emphasizes both the literal architecture and the underlying institutional structure of Artists Space's gallery (*fig. 1*). However, the seemingly straightforward quality of the items in the show is deceptive. The exhibition presents an assemblage of objects that begin to unravel the complex interactions between people, corporations, and property that comprise systems of prison labor in the United States, also known as correctional industries. By putting objects from various contexts in dialogue and derailing their intended uses, Rowland's research-based practice reveals that the prison industrial complex in the United States has roots that stretch as far back in time as chattel slavery's abolition. Rowland offers a methodology of seeing complicated and abstract systems—in this case prison labor and its reverberations—through objects that I am still thinking about today, three years later and three thousand miles away in California.

I read Rowland's presentation of *91020000* in Artists Space as a form of commodity demystification that conceptually lays out the timeline linking slavery and correctional industries, using recontextualized

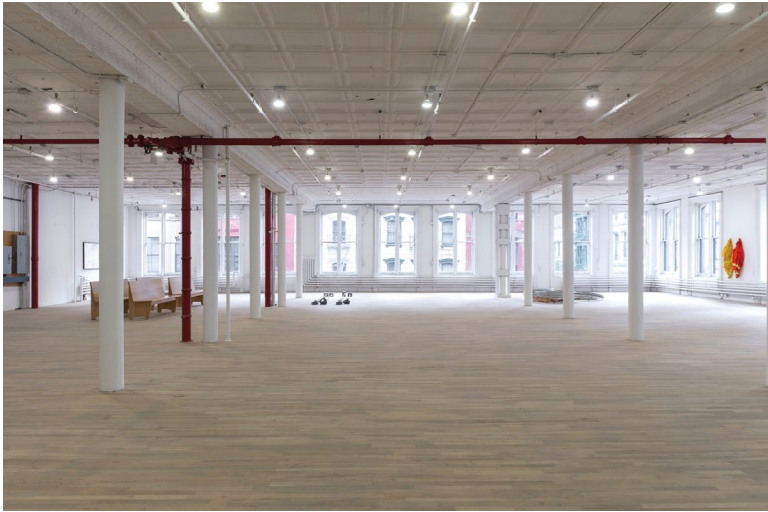


Figure 1. Cameron Rowland, installation view of *91020000* at Artists Space, New York, 2016. Courtesy of Artists Space.

objects as anchors. This analysis follows Rowland's lead, looking closely at *Attica Series Desk* (2016) as well as Corcraft's corresponding advertising to consider how seemingly innocuous material goods carry latent histories and have the capacity to simultaneously reveal and occlude underlying power structures. Through the juxtaposition of text, objects, and complex rental agreements, Rowland's practice acknowledges the pitfalls of institutional critique (cooption and recuperation) by implicating himself, the institutions that exhibit his work, and viewers as they navigate their ties to the prison industrial complex.

Almost all fifty states have "correctional industries." These programs are essentially prison factories, where inmates work for \$0 to \$5.15 per hour.¹ Hundreds of American companies such as JanSport, Victoria's Secret, and Starbucks use contract prison labor to dramatically cut costs, but most state correctional systems also have their own brand name goods that are sold to public institutions such as government offices, courtrooms, and schools.² The printed materials and websites of each state's correctional industries program often justify this system

1 Please see Prison Policy Initiative's regularly-updated appendix of prison wages for different states in the US: "Prison Wages: Appendix," Prison Policy Initiative, last modified April 10, 2017, https://www.prisonpolicy.org/reports/wage_policies.html.

2 Caroline Winter, "What Do Prisoners Make for Victoria's Secret?" *Mother Jones*, July/August 2008, <https://www.motherjones.com/politics/2008/07/what-do-prisoners-make-victorias-secret/>

under the euphemistic pretense of providing prisoners job opportunities and saving taxpayers' money by having prisoners' unpaid labor "subsidize the cost of their own incarceration."³ States each have their own system and brand names, but in all cases, inmates are significantly underpaid.

The correctional industries model becomes even more disturbing when one considers the history of enslavement and the unjust racial politics of incarceration in the United States. Black Americans are incarcerated at more than five times the rate of white Americans, even though they make up less than 14% of the population in the United States.⁴ Research has shown that US incarceration rates by race are disproportionate to the number of crimes being committed, and many historians have pointed out connections between the United States' carceral system and slavery.⁵ In *The New Jim Crow*, lawyer and legal scholar Michelle Alexander argues that rights supposedly gained by African Americans during the Civil Rights Movement were quickly taken away via the expansion of the carceral system, which currently denies basic civil rights such as voting to a large percentage of African Americans in the US. Furthermore, Alexander notes that the label of "criminality" often provides legal and social permission to continue the same violation of civil rights, under a different name.⁶ Therefore, as Alexander states, "the arguments and rationalizations that have been trotted out in support of racial exclusion and discrimination in its various forms have changed and evolved, but the outcome has remained largely the same."⁷ While the US carceral system imprisons people of all races, Alexander argues that the system still functions as an "inter-racial racial caste system" where the incorporation of some white people into the carceral system is crucial to maintaining the illusion that the justice system is "colorblind" and unprejudiced.⁸ Alexander's research provides a substrate for this analysis into Corcraft and Cameron Rowland's work. If the carceral system itself already functions as

3 Similar language can be found throughout the Corcraft catalogs and website.

4 "Criminal Justice Fact Sheet," NAACP, accessed November 25, 2019, <https://www.naacp.org/criminal-justice-fact-sheet/>

5 Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* (New York: New Press, 2012), 2.

6 *Ibid.*, 1.

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Ibid.*, 204–205.

a structure of control biased against Black people in the United States, how do correctional industries further enforce this system by exploiting the uncompensated labor of predominantly Black prisoners? And what are we to make of the bureaucratic occlusion and societal denial of this situation?

As a sculptor, Rowland solidifies this point by attending to the unspoken histories and significance of physical objects, including items in the exhibition produced by Corcraft (the brand name for New York State's correctional industries program) and CALPIA (California's correctional industries' moniker). I argue that Rowland's intervention is a form of what Black visual studies scholar Christina Sharpe calls "Black annotation" in her book *In the Wake*: a form of visual and textual annotation or redaction that urges a rereading of history and seeing beyond the frame, creating new possibilities to counter the pernicious blind spots within discourse around race.⁹ Reading Rowland's work through Sharpe, we see that he is performing exactly this form of annotation on this compiled inventory of products directly and indirectly related to correctional industries.

In *91020000* as installed at Artists Space, a large L-shaped desk is placed near the entryway, slightly offset from the wall—it could almost be mistaken for a gallery sitter's desk (*fig. 2*). The desk has a laminate particle board surface with a pseudo-walnut wood finish and a powder-coated black metal undercarriage, complete with filing cabinets and a slim locked drawer. No chair accompanies the desk, thwarting the object's intended use and inviting a reconsideration of the item within the context of the gallery. The desk Rowland presents has no major signs of wear—it is showcased as a new product. This is *Attica Series Desk*, exhibited matter-of-factly as if it were on a furniture showroom floor. But as art critic and historian Alex Kitnick astutely notes in his review of Rowland's exhibition for *Artforum*, it is not the fact that the desk is out of place; it is precisely that it *could belong* in Artists Space that is unsettling.¹⁰ The Attica desk fits right into the scene, just as it does in hundreds of government offices where the desk is currently supporting administrative work throughout New York.

9 Christina Elizabeth Sharpe, *In the Wake: On Blackness and Being* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), chap. 4, iBooks.

10 Alex Kitnick, "Openings: Cameron Rowland," *Artforum International* 54, no. 7 (March 2016), <https://www.artforum.com/print/201603/openings-cameron-rowland-58116>.



Figure 2. Cameron Rowland, *Attica Series Desk*, 2016. Steel, powder coating, and laminated particleboard, distributed by Corcraft. Courtesy of Artists Space

The Attica desk is *not* just like any other desk, as it was produced for Corcraft. Despite its generic-sounding name, Corcraft is not just any corporation: the “brand” is a portmanteau of *correctional* and *craft*, and their products are constructed entirely by current inmates laboring in facilities within New York prisons.¹¹ Although the fourteen Corcraft factories spread across various prisons in New York state made \$48 million in profits in 2017, the average wage of a worker at Corcraft is 65 cents an hour.¹²

¹¹ The word *correctional*, when used to describe prisons as in *correctional facility*, is already a euphemism. This renders Corcraft’s name one step further removed or obfuscated from its association as a prison factory.

¹² JB Nicholas, “How NY Prison ‘Slave Labor’ Powers a \$50 Million Manufacturing Enterprise,” *Gothamist*, November 2, 2017. <https://gothamist.com/news/how-ny-prison-slave-labor-powers-a-50-million-manufacturing-enterprise>. \$48 million in profits refers to their product sales and doesn’t even include the “savings” of unpaid labor. The article cites that the statistic is from the New York 2015-2016 Department of Corrections and Community Supervision report.

Rowland's title for the desk repeats the Corcraft product name verbatim, but an accompanying exhibition text by the artist, available as a printout at the exhibition, also includes the following description:

The Attica Series Desk is manufactured by prisoners in Attica Correctional Facility. Prisoners seized control of the D-Yard in Attica from September 9th to 13th 1971. Following the inmates' immediate demands for amnesty, the first in their list of practical proposals was to extend the enforcement "the New York State minimum wage law to prison industries." Inmates working in New York State prisons are currently paid \$0.16 to \$1.25 an hour. Inmates in Attica produce furniture for government offices throughout the state. This component of government administration depends on inmate labor.¹³

Rowland presents this mundane item in plain terms, but his text, while extremely restrained, complicates an initial perception of banality by mapping out how the Attica desk functions as a concrete symbol of inmate labor that produces the scaffolding for governmental administration through the fabrication of furniture. The artist's description also emphasizes Attica's historical significance as a site of the fight for remunerations for inmate labor. The desk is not only named after a town or a correctional facility, but the location of the most important prisoner uprising in recent United States history. Through its naming of the desk, Corcraft acknowledges the facility where the product was made, but also attempts to alter associations with the name "Attica," turning attention away from the uprising and towards commonplace office furniture.

The loaded history of the Attica uprising functions as a cornerstone for Rowland's demystification of the Attica desk. As Rowland references in his caption, the uprising began when inmates took over the prison yard in 1971, requesting basic human rights such as access to additional food, space, and pay for their labor in prison correctional industries.¹⁴ Several guards were taken hostage, in order to gain

13 Cameron Rowland, *91020000*, (New York: Artists Space, 2016), 6, accessed March 11, 2020, <https://texts.artistspace.org/uwcc1tpk>.

14 Jennifer Schuessler, "Prying Loose the Long-Kept Secrets of Attica," *New York Times*, August 23, 2016, accessed November 25, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/24/books/prying-loose-the-long-kept-secrets-of-attica.html>

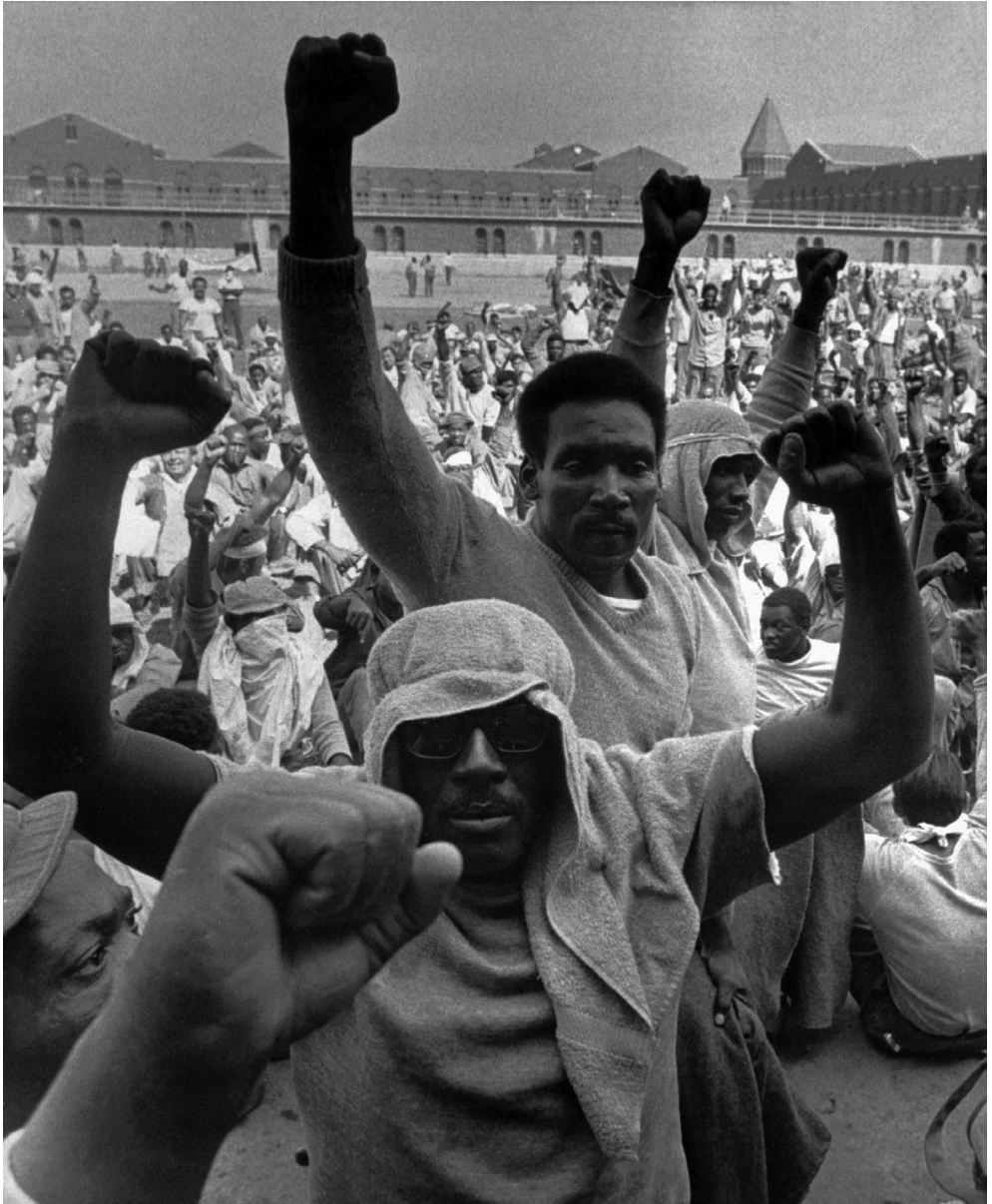


Figure 3. Inmates in Attica prison yard nonviolently protesting conditions at Attica Correctional Facility in New York, 1971. Courtesy of Associated Press.

leverage for the activists' demands, who sought to bring the governor of New York at the time, Nelson A. Rockefeller, to Attica in order to resolve the human rights abuses at the prison. This initial uprising was largely non-violent, and inmates took over leadership roles to keep the peace and push forward negotiations (*fig. 3*). Discussions lasted for several days, but Rockefeller refused to come to Attica, instead remotely ordering a retaking of the prison by force. Police officers, including former Attica prison guards, threw tear gas canisters into Attica's yard and then shot indiscriminately into the smoke, resulting in the deaths of 43 people, including both prisoners and guards.¹⁵

The significance of Attica not only stems from the scale of the massacre, but the attempt by Rockefeller and the Nixon administration to control the narrative surrounding it in its aftermath. Even though the vast majority of the deaths related to the uprising were the result of the forceful retaking of the prison and not the initial protest, the police response was initially presented as an unavoidable precaution against violence by inmates. Guard deaths were wrongfully attributed to prisoners.¹⁶ Tapes of conversations between Nixon and Rockefeller discussing Attica recently became publicly available, and serve as proof that a violent takeover was not required to deescalate the situation, but rather a deliberate political decision.¹⁷

NIXON: "...The courage you showed and the judgement in not granting amnesty—it was right, and I don't care what the hell the papers or anybody else says. I don't care what they say, I think that you had to do it that way because if you would have granted amnesty in this case, it would have meant that you would have had prisons in an uproar all over this country."¹⁸

Rockefeller and Nixon believed that a capitulation to the requests by prisoners for basic rights would establish a precedent for other prisoners to demand humane treatment. In *Frames of War*, Judith Butler

15 Heather Ann Thompson, *Blood in the Water: The Attica Prison Uprising of 1971 and Its Legacy*. (New York: Vintage Books, 2017), Kindle.

16 James Forman Jr., "Attica, Attica: The Story of the Legendary Prison Uprising," *New York Times*, August 30, 2016, accessed November 25, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/04/books/review/blood-in-the-water-attica-heather-ann-thompson.html>

17 Schuessler, "Prying Loose the Long-Kept Secrets of Attica," *New York Times*.

18 Author's transcription of Nixon's phone call to Rockefeller after Attica. "Attica Uprising: The Rockefeller-Nixon Tapes," recorded in 1971, Internet Archive, last modified November 9, 2011.

theorizes about what makes a life grievable, noting how “specific lives cannot be injured or lost if they are not first apprehended as living.”¹⁹ The tapes reveal Rockefeller’s disturbing calculation that a certain number of lives were dispensable in order to protect the status quo of labor and power relations in the carceral system that continues today.

Although many misstated facts have been cleared up by witnesses and historians such as Heather Ann Thompson, misinformation about Attica still lingers. Sensationalist accounts of the takeover, often misattributing the cause of deaths to the inmates rather than the weaponized officers, remain ingrained in cultural memory and rarely foreground the inmates’ humble demands or the inhumane conditions that spurred their requests in the first place. As noted by Thompson, who wrote a book about the Attica uprising called *Blood in the Water*, many conditions that were protested at Attica, such as lack of space and food, are actually *worse* now than they were in 1971.²⁰ This reframing is articulated succinctly by Thompson in an interview with the *New York Times*:

When you tell the nation that hippies are violent, the antiwar protesters are violent, prisoners are violent, civil rights is really about thuggery instead of genuine rights, then, all of a sudden, you look at Kent State, you look at the Chicago convention of ’68, you look at Attica and you completely miss the fact that all the violence was state violence.²¹

Thompson states how the narrative following many protests in US history has been crafted to deemphasize state violence and shift blame towards those demanding civil rights. Nixon and Rockefeller’s framing of the Attica massacre as a justified response to an uncontrollable outbreak of prison violence, rather than a disproportionately violent response by the state, contributed to a “tough-on-crime” mentality that has been used to support discriminatory crime bills ever since.²²

19 Judith P. Butler, *Frames of War: When Is Life Grievable?* (London: Verso, 2016), 1.

20 Heather Ann Thompson, “Attica: It’s Worse than We Thought,” *New York Times*, November 19, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/19/opinion/attica-prison-torture.html>.

21 Ana Marie Cox, “Heather Ann Thompson Thinks That the Justice System is Unfair,” *New York Times*, May 10, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/10/magazine/heather-ann-thompson-thinks-the-justice-system-is-unfair.html>.

22 Thompson, *Blood in the Water*, Kindle.

On a much subtler level, the naming of the Attica desk is also an attempt to control and reframe the narrative surrounding Attica. The Nixon administration's bait-and-switch in response to the Attica uprising is perpetuated in the Corcraft catalog and their insistence on emphasizing "quality," "affordability," and "inmate job creation" through their copy and imagery. The Attica desk is a staple of Corcraft's inventory and has its own full-color, three-page catalog, featuring various configurations, filing cabinet options, and finishing possibilities, separate from the pricing and specifications guide.

The material qualities of the Attica desk reflect this bait-and-switch: a 20-gauge steel structure with a walnut-print façade, disguising a shoddy particle-board work surface (*fig. 4*). Following Rowland's lead to look underneath what may seem uninteresting on the surface, I read the Corcraft catalogs' outdated and lackluster graphic design not just as dull, but as a type of ideological hideout that carries significant weight. The beige, marble-esque textured background of the Attica pages in the Corcraft catalog are reminiscent of a cheap mimicry of prestige found on corporate awards and diplomas. Each image of Attica desks depicted in the Corcraft catalog show all their empty drawers pulled open simultaneously, like the filing-cabinet version of a player piano. The function of these standard filing drawers is so painfully obvious that the images read as over-the-top showmanship for something incredibly banal, even going so far as to suggest: "there's nothing to see here." There are no documents in the drawers in the catalog depictions of the Attica desk, nor in Rowland's *Attica Series Desk* at Artists Space—at least that we know of. All the drawers are shut in the desk presented at the exhibition.

Rowland actively addresses the opacity of information surrounding correctional industries within the presentation of his work. The Attica desks are produced in the metal furniture manufacturing shops at Attica correctional facility in New York, but little information is made available on the Department of Correctional Services website about those fabricating the desks aside from the job titles of the inmates working in the shop such as: Arc Welder, CNC Programmer, and Electrostatic Paint Sprayer.²³ Rowland's caption reveals none of this

23 "Metal Furniture Manufacturing," Department of Corrections and Community Supervision, accessed March 11, 2020, <https://doccs.ny.gov/metal-furniture-manufacturing>.

Corcraft
PRODUCTS

ATTICA SERIES

CONTEMPORARY DESKS
CONTEMPORARY CREDENZAS
METAL



CONTEMPORARY/METAL/ Case Goods



NYS
DEPARTMENT
OF
CORRECTIONAL
SERVICES

Figure 4. Page from Corcraft catalog advertising the Attica Series desks. Courtesy of Corcraft.

information, likely because he sees Corcraft's listing of job titles as a tiny concession of specificity to counteract a much larger system of dehumanization and alienation. His accompanying text demonstrates how the Attica desk signifies much more than just a desk, becoming a talisman for the weight of unspoken histories, but also fades back into mundanity just as easily.

In *91020000*, Rowland starts his own archive of missing data on the prison industrial complex and its ideological and material connections to slavery.²⁴ Through his recontextualization of this Corcraft product, Rowland re-presents material reality to us in a manner that transmits its actual signification. The objects in the exhibition build off one another; the gravity of each item is reinscribed by its dialogue with the other objects in the room and with Rowland's written and collected documents, such as the hundred bootleg copies of the 2015 National Correctional Industries Association (NCIA) annual report. The reports contain statistics about prison-industry programs throughout New York state—information which is only made accessible to NCIA members and is not typically available to the general public. Where the Corcraft catalog attempts to nuance the narrative surrounding Attica by connecting the name with a piece of mundane office furniture and touting a program which "gives inmates work experience," Rowland reminds us of the historical significance of Attica and suggests that this desk contains a latent history. Revisiting the documentation of the exhibition, I noticed that there are fingerprints clouding the shiny black metal base on the back side of the desk (*fig. 5*). Noting the pristine, minimal display of the rest of the works in the show and Rowland's attention to detail, I posit that these marks were left on the desk intentionally. It is unclear whether the prints are from incarcerated workers at Attica who assembled the desk for cents on the dollar, art handlers, or planted by Rowland himself, but the smudges create a subtle index of human presence and a reminder of those that are marginalized through the carceral system.

24 The use of metaphor of "missing data" in this analysis of Rowland's work was spurred by viewing Mimi Onuoh's work *The Library of Missed Datasets* (2018), steel filing cabinet, 16 x 19.5 x 22.5 inches, which was shown in the exhibition *A Recounting: Data, Disinformation, and the Black Experience* (2018) at Guerrero Gallery, San Francisco.



Figure 5. View of Cameron Rowland, *Attica Series Desk*, 2016 from behind showing fingerprints on the undercarriage of the desk. Courtesy of Artists Space.

Most people sitting down to work at an Attica desk have no idea of its origin nor significance. Similarly, if a viewer walked around the gallery without picking up Rowland's accompanying text for *91020000* and reading his captions for the work, they would likely have an entirely different experience of the exhibition. Rowland's pamphlet reads like a history textbook and is packed with academic citations that gesture toward the narrative embedded in these objects. The document begins with a verbatim transcription of the 13th Amendment:

13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution

Passed by Congress January 31, 1865. Ratified December 6, 1865.

Section 1.

Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

The 13th Amendment explicitly states that slavery and involuntary servitude can continue “as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted,” that is, in prison. Even in the declaration abolishing slavery, exceptions have been carved out to facilitate its continuation.²⁵

Rowland calls attention to the traces of power structures hiding in plain sight, deploying products from correctional industries against themselves to critique the prison-industrial complex and its ties to chattel slavery. He further implicates the institutions showing his work as well as himself by purchasing the products via the institution’s non-profit status. In New York, Corcraft is a “legally mandated” preferred supplier to the state, which means that institutions (such as courtrooms, government offices, and the SUNY school system) are required to source furniture and supplies from the company, as long as their prices are cost-competitive. Rowland’s strategy of recontextualizing commercial objects as art has precedent in the readymade, and his work thrusts forward a lineage of institutional critique, initiated by Hans Haake, Marcel Broodthaers, and their contemporaries, and continued by a later generation of artists like Andrea Fraser and Fred Wilson.

As with all forms of criticism, instances of institutional critique have been subject to forms of cooptation and recuperation. As Andrea

²⁵ Rowland, 91020000, 1.

Fraser writes in her 2005 essay, "From the Critique of Institutions to the Institution of Critique":

Just as art cannot exist outside the field of art, we cannot exist outside the field of art, at least not as artists, critics, curators, etc. ... So if there is no outside for us, it is not because the institution is perfectly closed, or exists as an apparatus in a 'totally administered society,' or has grown all-encompassing in size and scope. It is because the institution is inside us, and we can't get outside of ourselves.²⁶

What does institutional critique mean in an environment where art institutions are actively requesting these interventions from artists, while doing little to divest themselves from capital entangled with structural injustices? These interventions often function to smooth over larger injustices with small conceits. These issues are certainly worthy of continued consideration and a healthy dose of skepticism. However, there is an important distinction to be made between recognizing the limitations of critique within the context of art institutions and giving up on critical analysis of institutions and structural inequality altogether. While flagging Rowland's conceptual lineage is necessary, reducing his work solely to the genre of institutional critique risks flattening its depth.

Embedded in Rowland's work is critique, certainly, but also reflexivity. Furthermore, this critical engagement does not end with the deinstallation of the exhibition: potential buyers of Rowland's work are only allowed to "rent" the Corcraft items on five-year terms, rather than purchase them outright, forcing collectors to continually engage with the unjust structures of indebtedness and ownership.²⁷ Curator Eric Golo Stone wrote an entire essay in *October* journal detailing the legal implications of the structure of Rowland's rental contracts, which is recommended as further reading on the subject.²⁸

The title of the exhibition itself, *91020000*, comes from the contract number that Corcraft gives to Artist Space for their purchase orders.

26 Andrea Fraser, "From the Critique of Institutions to the Institution of Critique," *Artforum International* 44, no. 1 (September 2005), 278-286.

27 Eric Golo Stone, "Legal Implications: Cameron Rowland's Legal Contract," *October* 164 (Spring 2018), 89-112.

28 *Ibid.*

Everyone, from the viewer to the hosting institution to the artist, is implicated, highlighting how all of us are entangled with these problematic and oppressive systems. Two works in *91020000* have been exhibited at California College of the Arts (CCA) Wattis Institute for Contemporary Arts: *1st Defense NFPA 1977, 2011* (2016), firefighting jackets, and *Disgorgement* (2016), which consists of framed shares of Aetna Inc. accruing interest for a reparations trust.²⁹ Aetna is a prime example of the type of corporation that Rowland critiques because of its history of profiting off of the “insurance” of Black people as property during slavery. Yet, CCA, a supporter and exhibitor of Rowland’s work, currently *requires* all enrolled students to purchase health insurance from Aetna. The complex relationships between allegedly “progressive” institutions and immoral systems of exploitation reflect the grim reality of contemporary capitalism overall.³⁰ However, Rowland’s rendering of the material evidence of racial capitalism in the prison industry is particularly ominous. Sharpe argues that slavery enabled “the making of bodies into flesh and then into fungible commodities,” and its afterlives reverberate ideologically as well as materially.³¹ The exhibition exposes chattel slavery as a horrifying foundation for continued injustices, at times embedded in the most commonplace objects—in this case, in the form of a cold, institutional desk.

In *Discipline and Punish*, Michel Foucault theorizes that systems of power and control occur not only within the context of prisons, but develop within and structure other institutions such as schools, hospitals, and the army.³² In this vein, it is impossible to dismantle the prison-industrial complex without dismantling modes of thought that pervade society and institutions as a whole.³³ In Rowland’s presentation of *Attica Series Desk*, one begins to see how seemingly disparate institutions—the government offices that utilize the furniture, art

29 The *1st Defense* jackets were purchased by Rowland using CCA’s non-profit status in 2015 as part of their year-long programming about the work of Andrea Fraser. *Disgorgement* was shown at the Wattis as part of its 2017 exhibition, *Mechanisms*.

30 Recent notable examples of this entanglement include Warren Kandors, former board member of the Whitney Museum of American Art and owner of Safariland, a manufacturer of military-grade law enforcement supplies; the Sackler family, owners of Purdue Pharma; and major donors to art museums all over the world, including the Guggenheim.

31 Sharpe, *In the Wake*, chap. 1, iBooks.

32 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), 231-256.

33 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 231-256.

galleries which display Rowland's work, and correctional industries themselves—are in fact interrelated.

The significance of looking at Rowland's work as it relates to systemic injustice is that the objects function as anchors, allowing one to grapple with the web of forces that contribute to the persistence of correctional industries, rather than solely focusing on the culpability of individuals.³⁴ This is precisely how institutional racism functions. Rowland offers a methodology to reconsider the assumed neutrality of the objects and institutions we interact with on a daily basis, awakening their dormant histories and ties to the prison industrial complex.

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³⁴ Jane Bennet, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), chap. 2, iBooks.