Chapter 7

Small islands at the centre of the Sovereign projects: carceral historical geographies of Asinara and Capraia

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Abstract

This article examines the geohistory and political role of the islands of Capraia and Asinara. By exploring their functions in deportation, punishment, and exclusion, the study demonstrates how these islands were reterritorialized to serve state agendas. Through the lens of carceral geography, the islands are analysed as laboratories of experimentation and exception. Finally, these territories are situated within various carceral archipelagos, reflecting how systems of imprisonment evolved over different historical periods, intertwined with colonialism, war, nation-state building, and political agendas.

Keywords: Carceral Geography, Islands, Re-territorialisation, Laboratory.

Riassunto

Questo articolo analizza la geostoria e il ruolo delle isole di Capraia e dell'Asinara. Esplorando le loro funzioni di deportazione, punizione ed esclusione, lo studio dimostra come queste isole siano state riterritorializzate a servizio dei progetti dello Stato. Attraverso la lente della geografia carceraria, le isole vengono analizzate come laboratori di sperimentazione ed eccezione. Infine, questi territori sono situati all'interno degli svariati arcipelaghi carcerari, che riflettono come i sistemi di detenzione si siano evoluti in diversi periodi storici, intrecciandosi con il colonialismo, la guerra, la costruzione dello Stato nazione e le agende politiche.

Parole chiave: Geografia carceraria, Isole, Riterritorializzazione, Laboratorio.

1. Introduction

Capraia and Asinara, two Italian islands located to the south-west and north-east of Corsica respectively, share a common past due to their physical characteristics, geographical location and role as small and remote islands on the border of the nation-state. Both islands belonged to the Kingdom of Genoa and were penal colonies from the end of the 19th century. Since the end of the same century, they have been territorialised by policies aimed at revitalising isolated and economically depressed areas through the development of infrastructure, particularly prisons. The island communities, based on fishing and farming, had to live with imprisonment or be evicted from the island to make way for this 'spatial fix'. This process, often referred to as the «prison fix» (Gilmore, 2007: 87), was part of a broader strategy of Italian nation-building. These islands became laboratories of im/mobility, where practices of confinement, surveillance and control were enacted.

Capraia and Asinara are an example of how a peripheral island could be invested by strategies from the heart of the state, thus becoming central. They have been places of forced deportation, various forms of imprisonment and quarantine[1]. Since the late 20th century, they have been re-signified, becoming national parks and tourist destinations (Agnoletto, Di Quarto and Nocente, 2024). Both islands embody the 'paradise/gulag' *cliché* (dell'Agnese, 2004; Baldacchino, 2005), they have been transformed from spaces of confinement to tourist paradises.

By reconstructing their geohistory from the unification of Italy to the end of the 20th century through literary texts by historical reconstructions, memories, landscape reports, and prison reports by both researchers and state functionaries, we can illuminate the complex interplay between sovereign power and spatial practices within the framework of political geography (Mountz, 2014). This study explores the ways in which carceral practices have shaped the historical trajectories and spatial configurations of the islands. Indeed, these islands are spectacular platforms where sovereignty can be reworked or asserted through its staging (Cuttitta, 2014).

[1] This is a preventive measure already used in post-unification liberal Italy against the inhabitants of the new colonies, Somalis, Libyans and Eritreans, in order to suppress the phenomenon of brigandage, and its use was extended during Fascism (Del Boca, 2001).

The approach used to reconstruct these trajectories is similar to the genealogy developed by Morin and Moran in the specific context of carceral geography (2015). In the first part, I will describe the geohistorical characteristics of Capraia and Asinara. In the second part, I will reconceptualise them within the political geography of the concept of island and archipelago, tracing the continuities and discontinuities of these living laboratories of sovereign politics (Mountz, 2014).

2. Capraia

The history of the island of Capraia is marked by a carceral continuum dating back to the end of the 19th century, a period marked by the political upheavals of the Italian unification process. The unification of Italy, which culminated in the 1860s, was met with resistance, especially from the southern regions, where the phenomenon of *brigantaggio* (banditry) flourished. From 1863, for almost a decade, the Italian state systematically repressed groups opposed to Italian unification, for example through the so-called 'Pica' law, which in many cases provided for shootings and forced labour. It used the island as a site for the internment of political prisoners – mostly southerners labelled as brigands – and other opponents of the unification process (Giovannone and Compagnino, 2018).

From this century onwards, Capraia was subject to a series of top-down economic policies that determined its development for a century: the establishment of the tobacco factory and the free port for a few decades, and thus the establishment as a site for the deportation of opponents of Italian unification, who were detained in the building complex of the Convent of Sant'Antonio (Santeusanio, 2012). In less than a decade, this carceral space became a penal colony. Throughout history, buildings designed for isolation have been recursively transformed into prisons or other carceral spaces. A common fate throughout Europe in the mid-nineteenth century: in England, for example, there are fortresses (Leeds Prison) and Gothic monasteries (Strangeways) (Moran, Jewkes and Turner, 2016). Even the penal colony, which spread over various parts of the island, occupying about a third of the territory, from a small building in the harbour to the hills above, maintained its central branch in the same

convent in the town (Gambardella, 2008).

These islands became penal colonies[2]. These places of detention were the political solution to the increasingly critical conditions of inmates due to problems of overcrowding and inadequate building structures (Gambardella, 2008).

As the geographer Ruth Wilson Gilmore points out, the use and development of the penal system is intricately linked to the process of nation-building (2002). The islands of the Tuscan archipelago became sites of experimentation with im/mobility. As Gambardella reports (2008), the islands were perfect sites for the establishment of penal colonies. This began with the pilot project on the island of Pianosa in 1869, followed by Gorgona and finally Capraia in 1873. The prisoners spent most of their time in the open air, replacing the local activities of the islanders, such as viticulture, fishing and animal breeding (De Siervo, 2008; Ciccotti, 1970). Even the island's infrastructure – the construction of roads, terraces and buildings – was shaped by prison labour, with inmates working alongside a small number of civilian workers.

Moreover, unlike the more isolated and tightly controlled penal environment of mainland prisons, Capraia's prisoners were allowed to work outdoors on the penal colony's land, and some trusted prisoners worked in the port or town, interacting regularly with the islanders. Some prisoners, known as '*sconsegnati*' – identified by an 'S' on their uniforms – enjoyed even more freedom, working without direct supervision. It was an exceptional status that was only possible in this particular form of imprisonment. They lived in farmhouses on the outskirts of the island, away from the main prison complex – few of these penal colonies and no other penal institution.

These conditions of imprisonment outside the prison walls, but within the island's care, were a common feature of the various penal colonies. For these reasons, the penal colonies, like Capraia, became one of the places where a prisoner could be transferred from other prisons as a reward for good behaviour. Nevertheless, I recall the *cliché* of the gulag/paradise in

[2] Throughout the text, the term "penal colony" is used to denote the "casa di lavoro all'aperto", a form of penal execution that, in contrast to imprisonment in traditional prisons, was intended to serve both re-educational and socialising objectives, at least in the context of the reformers' project in the first half of the 19th century.

order to avoid reconsider the condition of those who lived in the penal colony. One of the prison administrators of the second half of the 20th century argued that the positive aspects of the outdoor workhouse were often outweighed by the difficulty of maintaining contact with one's family, by the mental habitus of imposed agricultural work and by the various psychological problems associated with the insular condition (Ciccotti, 1970).

In addition, the national director of Italian prisons, Beltrani Scalia, pointed out in an 1891 report that in the penal colonies, malaria and disastrous hygienic conditions claimed a very high percentage of victims, with high mortality peaks of 8 to 10 per cent and infirmity of 30 to 40 per cent (Neppi Modona, 2004).

A unique feature of the island's history is the coexistence of prison and town. The relatively small civilian population of the island, which numbered between 300 and 400 over the years, was heavily dependent on the prison system for its livelihood, which symbolically represented a monolithic state occupation of a large part of the island. On the one hand, this dependence benefited the islanders because the system of 'forced labour' guaranteed low prices for labour, from services to goods. On the other hand, these conditions effectively displaced most of the island's local production. There was a fundamental incompatibility between the interests of the prison and those of the islanders, since the former brought relative economic benefits but established this regime of dependency (Brizi, 2005). The conflict between the prison and the municipality was evident in the resettlement of the prison guards' families. There were serious housing problems: there were few places available – cramped, old and unhygienic – and the rent was extremely high (*ibid.*).

To conclude, the island of Capraia has undergone a series of reterritorialisations since the 19th century, demonstrating its centrality within the state-centred policy, for its formation and as a field of implementation, such as: the imposition of the tobacco factory and the free port; the transformation into a deportation island for brigands; the institutionalisation of imprisonment through the penal colony for almost a century. In 1986, the prison on Capraia was closed and the identity of the island slowly shifted towards a new economic identity, guided by new national political agendas. In the mid-1990s, the island became part of the

National Park of the Tuscan Archipelago (PNAT), which protected its natural environment and increased its attractiveness as a site for ecotourism (Morelli, 2002).

3. Asinara

The island of Asinara, located in the north-west of Sardinia, is a striking example of a project of reterritorialisation in which the island's function has been radically altered according to the sovereign projects of the time. Since 1885, the island has been transformed from an island of farmers and fishers to an island completely occupied by various ministries and state institutions such as the military, health, interior and justice. Finally, the disappearance of these institutions led to the same transformation of the island into a national park and tourist destination as described in the case of Capraia. Asinara's history illustrates the entangled relationship between carceral geographies, territorial control and state sovereignty, and unlike Capraia, it became a symbol within Italian prison imaginaries.

At the end of the 19th century, Asinara was chosen for a series of state initiatives that increased its isolation from the Sardinian mainland and its population. In 1885 the island was chosen by the Italian government as a strategic location for a lazaret (quarantine station) and a penal colony. The justification for this decision, given by the Italian Prime Minister Depretis in a speech to the Chamber of Deputies, emphasised Asinara's isolation, its abundance of fresh water and its sparse population[3]. The state saw it as an ideal *tabula rasa* for its new projects (Baldacchino, 2006). According to the parliamentary debate, the families would have emigrated, handing over their property to the government, and the citizens of the province would have overcome their understandable concerns, persuaded by the force of reason (Mosilio, 2015).

Instead of coexisting with the islanders, as in the case of Capraia, territorialisation meant the total dispossession of the local population. The few hundred inhabitants of the island were forcibly relocated to the nearby

[3] Atti parlamentari. Camera dei Deputati. Legislatura XV, prima sessione. Discussione. Tornata del 24 giugno 1885. <https://biblioteca.camera.it/9?testo_biblioteca=22>.

town of Stintino.

Asinara's role as a penal colony was only suspended during the First World War, when the island was completely transformed into an open-air lazaret and detention camp for Austro-Hungarian prisoners of war. During the Belgrade Campaign in October 1915, the Austro-Hungarian and German armies managed to win the campaign by pushing the Serbian army back towards Durres and Vlora. As well as the Serbs and Allied troops, the retreat involved Austro-Hungarian prisoners of war and other foreign personnel who had long since left to help with the typhus epidemic in the area. Approximately 24,000 prisoners arrived in Vlora, which was under Italian control at the time, for reasons of state, i.e. Italy's desire to gain political recognition in the handling of prisoners in relation to diplomatic and military negotiations (Gorgolini, 2011: X).

The island of Asinara as a health station would have prevented the spread of the epidemic. The prisoners would then have been sent to other Italian military camps. Instead of sending the prisoners in stages to promote prophylaxis, quarantine and disinfection, more than 21,000 prisoners arrived within two weeks (Porcu Gaias, 2022). About 1,500 people died during the journey and six thousand prisoners died within days of cholera, typhus, tuberculosis and nephritis. During the last year of the war, the island of Sardinia thus became the country's largest prison camp.

During the Second Italo-Ethiopian War, Asinara became a site for the internment of Ethiopian dignitaries, further cementing the island's role as a site of geopolitical significance as part of a carceral archipelago during the Italian colonial period (Ferraro, 2016). Italian rule had the long-term aim of directing their national emigration to a new colony and administered under an apartheid regime based on strict racial segregation. These practices of detention, quarantine and deportation are emblematic of how islands like Asinara have historically functioned as 'places of exception', where the reach of the state extends beyond the mainland and where laws and norms can be suspended in the name of security and control. With the rationale of the lazaret, Asinara functioned as a first port of call, where prisoners were sent and then sorted into different security categories and sent on to other locations throughout Italy.

The island was used as an offshore zone, as a political tool to make the prisoners invisible to the Abyssinians themselves, to the Italians and to

international public opinion (Pes, 2009). In fact, their presence in colonial prisons would have attracted the attention of public opinion, as the conditions inside were known to be degrading (Ferraro, 2016). In the case of dignitaries, their imprisonment would have undermined the image of the '*italiani brava gente*' (Italians, good people) in the colonial period and before the Second World War (Del Boca, 2005). Finally, through the targeted spatialisation of the ruling class, repression in the occupied territory and fascist censorship, Italy managed to divert attention from the tragic conditions in occupied Ethiopia, particularly the use of banned chemical weapons (Del Boca, 2001).

The Asinara penal colony has always been open, except during the First World War. The detention and the activities around the buildings scattered over the territory with distinct categories of prisoners are comparable to those of the island of Capraia, but in a larger area. The island differs from the latter because it was the site of the first *carceri speciali* and the 41 bis (De Vito, 2009). These were two forms of maximum-security detention with limited supervision. A regime that in both periods produced abuse, violence and, in general, a harshness unique in the history of Italian prisons (De Feo, 2016)[4]. The Fornelli section, in the south of the island, was at separate times the place of suffering *par* excellence. Since the First World War, it had been left in a state of neglect, where the prisoners were cared for only by Austro-Hungarian officers who, according to one of the few prisoner testimonies, had neither food nor medicine for their troops due to supply difficulties (Gorgolini, 2011: 102).

The tragedies of Fornelli continued with the 'hard' prison, which gave the whole island of Asinara the nickname of 'Italian cayenne' or 'lager', as witnessed by a famous inscription inside the Fornelli section during a revolt in 1979, or Pasquale De Feo's book (2016), which recounts the early 1990s. During this period, the island became a symbol of the state's repression of its internal 'enemies', mainly those who had taken up the 'armed struggle' since the early 1970s. A large number of militants from the extra-parliamentary left and the social opposition in general had been imprisoned

[4] In this article I use the term 'maximum security' to refer to both the 'special prisons' and '41 bis' regimes, although they are two different regimes. The intention is not to conflate these forms of detention with the contemporary Italian high security system. Instead, I focus on the severity and the exceptional nature of the regimes in the context of the role they have played in history.

here since the late 1960s. A thousand political prisoners, who became 3500 in just a few years, after this regime was born (De Vito, 2009). During these years, Italian prisons, as well as outside them, were characterised by a prominent level of conflict, which in the Fornelli section culminated in two major riots that led to the destruction and closure of the building between 1978 and 1979.

In 1992 the section was reopened for the new 'enemies' of the state, in particular the Neapolitan Camorra and the Sicilian Mafia. A special section was also built in another building in Cala D'Oliva for the exclusive segregation of Totò Rina, considered the head of Cosa Nostra. The 41 bis sections were maintained until the prison was closed in 1997. These two historical periods embody this great symbolic importance and underline the island's role as a place of first experimentation with regimes, in this case punitive ones, that would later spread to the rest of Italy. Both periods testify to an exceptional violence in which the functioning of the island apparatus emerges as an off-shore site where the law was superseded for certain reasons of state.

The history of Asinara Island highlights the complex and often contested nature of territorialisation and reterritorialisation processes. From its early expropriation and use as a quarantine and penal space to its later transformation into a national park and tourist site, Asinara has continually shifted its role within state sovereignty projects. This transformation underscores the ways in which small and peripheral islands are fundamentally transformed in response to changing political and economic conditions, and reveals the entangled relationship between state power and the territorial control of those subjected to its authority.

4. Reconceptualising small islands at the heart of sovereign projects: The islands of Asinara and Capraia

This article presents a geohistory of the islands of Capraia and Asinara with the aim of demonstrating how islands can be reconceptualised as political concepts (Mountz, 2014). After presenting the two different case studies, in this section I try to draw lines of continuity between them by considering how the specific area of analysis, that of their common history

related to imprisonment, allows a broader understanding of the role of islands.

Sixteen agricultural penal colonies were established in Italy between 1860 and 1960, half of them in Sardinia, and only a few on small islands. These penal colonies were part of geopolitical projects that combined penal and agrarian reform, as well as external and internal colonialism (Puddu, 2023). Capraia and Asinara were re-signified as sovereign spaces shaped by state projects that envisaged them as places of reterritorialisation according to the political needs of the state. In the context of reterritorialisation, these two islands were places marked by a carceral continuum, developing different institutions that shared the same logics of isolation, immobility and control.

Considering the period under study, from the unification of Italy at the end of the 19th century until the end of the 20th century, these islands assumed distinct roles in deporting and rendering undesirables invisible, such as the deportation of Ethiopian dignitaries to Asinara and brigands to Capraia. This isolation, facilitated by their spatial remoteness, was central to the exercise of power and control, positioning the islands as instruments of exclusion and punishment. As their reterritorialisation suggests, these islands represent not only physical isolation, but also the reorganisation of political space in ways that allow sovereign power to assert itself over marginalised groups. The islands' repurposing as penal colonies is directly tied to state sovereignty. The state exercised control through both physical separation from the population and by organizing the entire islands as total institutions. This included the prisoner's entire life, marked by outdoor confinement and a strong work orientation.

The decision to impose a prison on Capraia and Asinara was also linked to economic demands. As in other cases, 'depressed' and isolated areas were found in the prison or in the creation of 'prison towns', an attempt at their economic growth (Morin, 2013; Moran, 2014). The prison, in the words of Wilson Gilmore (2007), is a partial geographical solution that responds to an economic-political crisis of the state. In the post-unification context of Italy, these two colonies were part of a process of new prison construction to address the overcrowding and poor conditions of the older structure. In the same years, the prisons of *Le Nuove* in Turin, *San Vittore* in Milan and *Buoncammino* in Cagliari were built.

Even the last territorialisation of Capraia and Asinara, when they became partially or totally part of National Parks, shows how these islands have maintained their vocation as territories at the centre of the state's political agenda. It is interesting to note that both islands have experienced a direct link with the process of touristification of post-prison areas. Although the land was affected by prison activities, the relative absence of construction and the fact that they are 'green' give these islands new ecotourism perspectives, thus completing a new reterritorialisation (Agnoletto, Di Quarto and Nocente, 2024). When arriving from the sea, the islands appear bare of trees, with some signs of the penal colony's activities, such as terraces, which gradually fade into the landscape. It is a landscape that is anything but pristine. Various plants and animals have been introduced, significantly changing the island's ecosystem (dell'Agnese, 2024).

Returning to their carceral histories, the two islands emphasise that the 'lure' and 'fascination' (Baum, 1996; King, 1993), widespread concepts in island studies, were equally valued by those who built and governed the prisons. Their histories reaffirm the idea of islands as laboratories, or islands as spaces of exception (Mountz, 2014).

In some cases, the islands witnessed unique events or practices, being places where unusual things happened (Taussig, 2004). I recall the prison and the town of Capraia coexisting in the same few square metres, as well as the history of the 'Damned of Asinara' and the harsh regimes of the late seventies and eighties. These are all cases in which a space of exception or a unique situation has been created that has not been reproduced in other places.

Instead, as Mountz describes, other practices were transferred to the mainland (2014). This can be seen both in the penal colonies and in the spread of maximum-security regimes, whose conditions of deprivation were always relegated to these precursor projects because of the harshness and violence of the regimes. If not for the cases of exceptionalism, Capraia and Asinara illustrate the pattern described by Gill *et al.* (2018), namely the island as a testing and implementation site for policies that would be widely extended. This role of space of exception and of testing and implementation confirms what Depraetere (2008: 1) maintains: «Islands are the rule, not the exception». The penal policies considered in these two case studies

were ahead of their time: the pilot project of penal colonies and maximum security, the use as the first safe port for the deportation of Ethiopians, brigands and Austro-Hungarian soldiers.

Observing these two parallel cases, we can see them as laboratories of immobility, where many forms of enforced immobility (Baldacchino, 2021) or disciplined mobility (Moran, Piacentini and Pallot, 2012) are studied. In detention spaces, whether institutional or exceptional, or in actual buildings or camps, we find sites characterised by these carceral continuum (Moran, Turner and Schliehe, 2018).

Finally, we need to consider the role of these islands as laboratories and change our scale of analysis by placing the islands within a system. The concept of the carceral archipelago is particularly relevant here. Carceral archipelago is a powerful spatial metaphor for political geographers, developed by Foucault (1977). It captures the way in which a form of carceral system is «physically dispersed and at the same time covers the whole of a society» (Foucault in Gordon, 1980: 68). The islands observed are part of carceral archipelagos that are both physical, such as the Tuscan archipelago to which Capraia belongs, and those that are designed through the exercise of power, as Foucault's definition suggests. The point here is to use this physical and political concept by playing a little back and forth. The islands are part of a wider system of punishment, an 'archipelago' where sovereign authority is spread across a fragmented landscape. This is not just the isolation of an island, but a series of sites dispersed across national space that collectively represent the state's capacity for punishment, control and reterritorialisation. Foucault's concept of the prison as an institution of power is directly transposed to the islands, where sovereignty becomes literal – spatially and politically.

We have observed Capraia as part of the carceral archipelago of Tuscany, first a system of deportation and then a system of penal colonies with the neighbouring islands. This archipelago can also be seen on a national scale: in both cases we can see the island as part of a project of differentiated detentions, where penal colonies were part of the reward prison where detentions were softer.

Asinara can be observed on a regional and national scale when we consider the history of its penal colony, but it was also part of the carceral archipelago of the maximum-security prisons. These prisons held hundreds

of inmates, 'buried alive' just meters from open-air prisons, in regimes where seeing the sky was impossible, and psychological and physical abuse were rampant.

There is no doubt that Asinara stood out for this type of violence, even when considered as part of the First World War prison camp archipelago. Known as the 'Damned of Asinara'. Finally, we can consider the island as part of the colonial carceral archipelago. Besides Asinara or the Tremiti Islands, there was also the island of Nocra in Eritrea in the same system administered by the Kingdom of Italy.

The metaphor of an 'archipelago' gives these isolated islands a geopolitical unity, reinforcing their role within the centralised sovereign control of the state and their relationship with their remote territories. The isolation and separation of the islands is thus part of a deliberate, politically motivated strategy – centre-periphery relations come into play here, reflecting the state's efforts to position these islands on the periphery of the national consciousness while asserting central control through their use as penal sites. Of course, Asinara was a more central island than Capraia, its history is an intertwined product of war, colonisation and even its prison history has shown it to be a symbol of the war against the 'enemy of the state', becoming the Italian Cayenne. Nevertheless, Capraia is also crossed by all the logics of the exercise of power in terms of imprisonment, and presents some uniqueness, such as the coexistence of prison and town.

We can observe these islands through the genealogies of their characteristics by considering the islands and their post-prison and post-carceral landscapes (Moran and Turner, 2023) as spatio-temporal crossroads. If we distinguish analytically between state and government, as Gilmore suggests, we observe «a territorially bounded set of relatively specialised institutions that develop and change over time in the gaps and fissures of social conflict, compromise and cooperation» (2022: 193). Again, the examples of the coexistence of the Navy, the Ministry of the Interior and then the Ministry of Justice and Health on the island of Asinara recur in these case studies. Or the various institutions that have occupied the island of Capraia over time, between the deportations, the prison and then the National Park. Even today, the use of islands in the Mediterranean testifies to a prison continuity that is renewed over the years.

The political concept of the archipelago helps us to consider the use

of islands as carceral spaces on a global scale, where the practice of im/mobility, imprisonment, control and categorisation has been part of a larger trend of sovereign projects for the emergence of states, for conflict between them and for internal administration. The contemporary context of the detention of migrants such as Lampedusa (cfr. Di Matteo), or islands that bear witness to 'experimental' forms of softer detention, such as the island of Gorgona, the last prison island still open in Italy, underlines the continued relevance of islands as political instruments. The continued use of islands for such purposes suggests that their role as sites of political control is not a relic of the past but remains a fundamental aspect of new sovereign projects.

5. Conclusion

The critical analysis of the islands of Capraia and Asinara as laboratories of reterritorialisation reveals their historical and geographical centrality in the sovereign state's wider project of control, punishment and exclusion. Comparing them reveals the distinct functions they have assumed within a continuum and archipelago of detention, health and war policies up to the present day.

Now these islands are closed and their carceral identity is disappearing, except for the few signs scattered across the land. The cost of maintaining the buildings, the needs of the prisoners and the prison staff, and even more so the cost of supervision, meant that the appeal of the project was waning. Although small and geographically peripheral, they played a pivotal role in nation-building and give us a representation of the 'prison-centred map' of the deployment of carceral geographies, capturing the twinned mutations of politics and punishment across different temporalities (Gilmore, 2022).

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