
Countering Psychiatric
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To the spillover and
to the streets

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INTRODUCTION

The Spillover and Psychiatric Ways of Screening

It was Ella, Ella,
queen Ella had come
and words spilled out
. . . whose voice lingers on
that stage gone mad with
perdido perdido
i lost my heart in toledooooooooo
—SONIA SANCHEZ, "A Poem for Ella Fitzgerald"

In 2022, California offered two illuminating examples of what this book names psychiatric ways of screening. The California legislature signed into law the Community Assistance, Recovery, and Empowerment (CARE) Act, which allows for the forced incarceration and medication of so-called mentally ill people who match a list of criteria, one of which is certain diagnoses outlined in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM), psychiatry's bible of diagnostic screening that is now in its fifth revised version. Al-

though the *DSM* is an old psychiatric instrument, it is an endlessly updatable instrument, readied for revision every decade, and, in the case of the CARE Act, it is an instrument of incarceration. Also in 2022, researchers in the University of California Los Angeles (UCLA) Department of Psychiatry framed their study that gave undergraduate enrollees iPhones and AppleWatches to record biodata, including about their sleep, as "moderniz[ing] mental health" and "bring[ing] mental health into the 21st century."[1] Cops in the streets, tech bros in the sheets—psychiatric ways of screening come in many disguises and serve multiple masters. In each new revision, in each new technological form, they serve to occlude the crisis of care produced from racial capitalism and its henchmen, the medical-industrial complex and the technology industries' extraction of value from human sociality.

This book will argue that such psychiatric ways of screening are psychiatry's response to widespread social and cultural challenges to its authority. Psychiatry responded to 2020's worldwide protests against racial injustice and policing with claims that technological innovation could right its historical enmeshment with these systems: psychiatric ways of screening would substitute for the discipline's ongoing failures to fulfill its mission to understand and treat "mental illness." This book's archive demonstrates that this has historically been the response of psychiatry, as well as its related disciplines, professions, and institutions, what is called here the psy-ences. Moments of challenges to psychiatry's authority and disciplinary power over the populations it racially pathologizes have been met with lofty claims that technology can heal the psy-ences' decay and with accompanying efforts to technologize the disciplines and their clinical practice. Existing alongside these efforts, the people that they have racially pathologized have engaged in what I call counter-psychiatric practices of media and technology activism. The archive of minor media and activism that this book explores illuminates a counter psychiatry that diverges from a popular culture–dominant imaginary that narrates psychiatry's challengers as "anti" and as white-led. This archive demonstrates a crip genealogy of a counter psychiatry articulated within the sphere of cultural production.

The crip genealogy this book illuminates did not structure itself as oppositional to psychiatry, as did the antipsychiatry movement and the countercultural movements that favored "alternative therapies." The crip genealogy unearthed here often did not even explicitly engage with any instances of psychiatric, psychologistic, or professional therapeutic clinical practice, or even with their discourses. This crip genealogy played out within the sphere of media and technology, as those subject to the state's and psychiatry's pathologiz-

ing visions and debilitating practices sought to envision care, and deliver it, otherwise. The moments of cultural production this book ushers to the fore used the tools at hand to explore and construct visions of care for people in distress that did not depend on or traffic with psy discourses and their institutional manifestations. They cannot, therefore, be called "antipsychiatry"—their practice eschewed capture within the terms the psy-ences laid out for those experiencing mental distress. This book calls them, instead, crip screens, whose logic was to counter psychiatry and its ways of screening.

Psychiatric ways of screening include the media screens on which representational narratives appear: from the mental hygiene films shown in midcentury high schools to the smartphone on which you watch cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT) videos. They also include the informatic schemas, data regimes, and computational logics that distinguish among and classify symptoms, diagnoses, populations, and risk. These include, for example, the big data episteme that allows a third-party company to use the fact that you accessed a CBT video to change your credit score based on your presumed "mental health." To summarize, in this book, *psychiatric ways of screening* are the entangled media, technologies, and psy-ences that prop up continued discursive and financial investment in those disciplines and that secure their power to enforce biopolitics, via their authority to construct categories and hierarchies of difference. They exist in relation to the phantasms conjured by psychiatry, those presumed risks and dysfunctions of unruly people, which psychiatry exists to contain.

Although this book's chapters home in on the 1960s and 1970s, I introduce its central concepts, themes, and practices by reading through an example from the 1930s. While an outlier to the main historical era of the chapters' archive, this example demonstrates the longer arc of the history of psychiatric ways of screening. To be sure, that arc extends much farther back in historical time, and so I could have reached for others; but due to its main character's relevance to later chapters and its technological innovation's centrality to psy-entific research today, it is not as random as it might appear. It describes the origin of network science, a branch of theory that underpins and fuels social-networking sites, national security regimes that use metadata about digital communications to target humans for murder by drone or for incarceration, and various avenues of research in psychiatry and neuroscience. Many publications about network science note that Jacob Moreno innovated the network graph in the early twentieth century and move on to their next point. These accounts elide the setting for Moreno's research: a segregated girls' prison, the New York State Hudson Training School for Girls. Restoring to this origin

story its full context reveals that psychiatric ways of screening cohere through informatic and visual logics that enact racialized and antiqueer violence, defining as ungovernable that which their epistemes seek to govern.[2]

As feminist historians have shown, under wayward girls' laws, these Progressive Era prisons incarcerated both Black and queered working-class girls and enforced reformers' ideologies about the impropriety of working-class family life, enacting an antiqueer, anti-Black platform.[3] Moreno, already attracting notoriety for his therapeutic technique known as "psychodramatic theater" and with one other prison research study (at Sing Sing Prison) under his belt, was invited by Hudson's superintendent, Fannie French Morse, to conduct research at Hudson, with the ostensible aim of improving Hudson's program of rehabilitation. This is how Morse described the prison's rehabilitative aims: "The spill-over, or seeking for the exploitation of adventure and thrill, has brought the average delinquent girl to the institution. Her rehabilitation must come, not through the elimination of these forces, but a substitute. It must come from the ramming out of the old with a new and bigger and more thrilling, a more vivid and more unique interest than the old. . . . To this adventurous girl who, seeking for adventure many times has brought her a delinquent to the institution, there is nothing like the stunt or project."[4] As we shall see, this rehabilitation was as segregated as all other parts of the prison: white "average delinquent girls" were given a "more vivid and unique interest" in the form of working on the farm, or singing in a choir; Black girls imprisoned in Hudson had their "spill-over" "rammed out" through steam-laundry work, where the girls often sustained third-degree burns, or through solitary confinement in the basements of their segregated cottages, where they were often subjected to beatings by prison staff. It is no wonder that when Moreno arrived at Hudson, there was an "outbreak of runaways," as he put it, or, as we might put it, a refusal of forced rehabilitation with fugitivity.

Moreno's book *Who Shall Survive? A New Approach to the Problem of Human Interrelations* (1934) reported on his two years of research at the prison. *Who Shall Survive?* sets out its central goal as producing a science of the sociology of group relations, in order that "a true therapeutic procedure" could take "the whole of mankind" as its object and thus build "harmonious communities."[5] It had two goals, then: design a science of group relations, including of those who constituted Morse's spillover, and craft a therapeutic program that would improve each group's relations. Moreno's vision of groups and their capacities for harmonious social relations was eugenic, even as he appeared to eschew the more typical direct interventions into breeding; he described as primitive groups that did not allow for spontaneous creativity, and

as modern (industrial capitalist) those that did. His eugenics took as its target developing the best groups, which he defined as those in which individuals were freed to express their spontaneous creativity and thus best contribute to productive labor.[6]

Moreno created "sociometric tests" to measure "attractions and repulsions" among the girls. While one chief aim of the tests was to stop fugitivity, his descriptions of these attractions and repulsions centered on ensuring heteronormative development in the white girls, which was, in his thinking, threatened by the potentially queer, if interracial, possibilities of these friendship currents. In other words, Moreno posed Black girls as queering heteronormative development. A central moment when Moreno establishes that his system is a true science arrives in a section of the book filled with visualizations, with the climactic one included as figure I.1, titled "Psychological Geography of a Community." Throughout this book I attempt to provide rich description in addition to alt-text, but this particular image stymies rich description. It looks like one of my doodles—like a child's scribble, or initial work in an art class about creating shadows. Perhaps it charts the movement of ships in the transatlantic slave trade. It contains fourteen circles connected by many lines. When there are more lines, the particular route between circles appears darker, stronger. Perhaps it is a diagram for threads: a cat's cradle, or a basket. But Moreno describes it as a psychological geography, a visibilizing map of invisible terrain, so for now we will go with that.[7] With this image, Moreno cements his claim: His science allows him to map, to visualize through abstractions, the emotional currents circulating through the different cottages in which the girls lived.

Moreno claimed that the science he had innovated allowed him to deduce which girls and which cottage groups spurred the most emotional attractors. When new prisoners arrived at Hudson, Moreno would administer his sociometric test, apply his particular abstracted logic of currents, and assign them to a cottage—recall that these were segregated—best suited for maintaining order within these emotional currents. This, he claimed, stopped the outbreak of runaways—his applied science achieved carceral success. That his science innovated a psychiatric way of screening—a technology that separated and made distinctions in order to mark out who was rehabilitatable—crystallizes in a section about the steam laundry. Claiming there had been "racial riots" in the steam laundry, he pinpointed Stella, a Black girl, as the key troublemaker there—apparently Stella's spillover was not yet "rammed out" of her. Moreno recommended that Stella be moved to a different work group, and, after she was relocated, Moreno claimed the "racial riots" that had

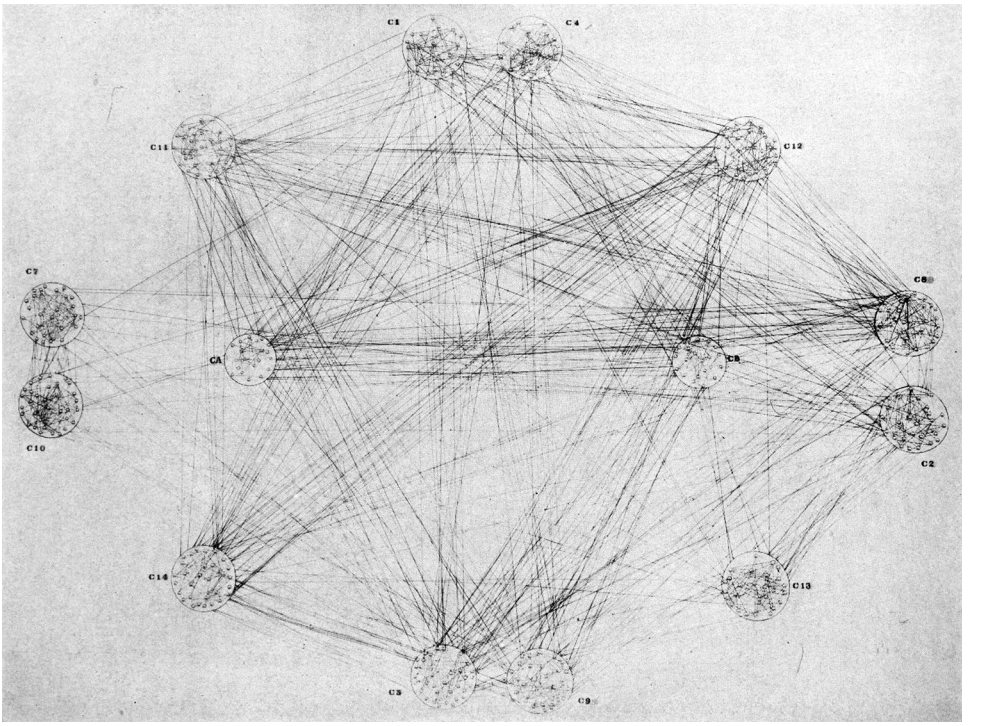

FIGURE I.1. "Psychological Geography of a Community" by Jacob Moreno, from *Who Shall Survive?* (1934).

occurred settled down. He evidenced this claim through two visualizations, seen in figure I.2. The image on the left visualizes attractions and repulsions within the steam laundry during Stella's spillover. The image on the right visualizes these after Stella was removed. (Actually, the evocative terms Moreno uses are "before re-construction" and "after re-construction.") The differences in the visualizations are fairly unremarkable, except for the fact that the right image ("post re-construction") features more "red" lines, which signify attractions. Obviously, this is all silly—any industrial boss would cast off the factory floor an organizer or someone challenging oppressive labor conditions. If Stella appeared to be organizing workers against each other or against the forewoman, or if Stella raised her voice against their dangerous working conditions, no factory owner or forewoman needed science to inform their next action. Moreno's achievement with these visualizations was to morph common knowledge into a system of informatics that could be used, revised, and

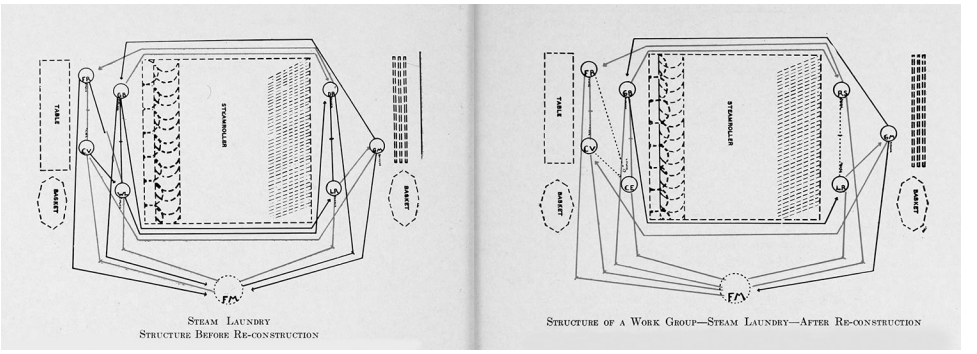

FIGURE 1.2. Visualizations of the "psychogeography" of the steam laundry: on the left, with Stella; on the right, without Stella. From Jacob Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?* (1934).

operationalized to govern unruliness and enhance anti-Black and ableist discourses of economic productivity.

Instituted in a segregated prison and in a research study where Black girls' presumed queerness threatened the presumed heterosexuality of white girls, these graphs abstracted the queered color line into a racialized data regime.[8] The innovation of the network graph arose specifically to contain fugitive currents—girls who fled a prison; Black-led resistance to dangerous work conditions—and to ensure white heteronormativity.

Moreno also produced a silent film of his applied program of therapy, which he presented at various prestigious universities to promote his work. The film showed Moreno conducting therapy with only the white girls at the prison: it representationally produced the proper subject for rehabilitation as the white girl. These two psychiatric ways of screening, the network graph and the promotional film, erased Black girls from the scene of rehabilitation—the media and technologies ungendered Black girls, removing them from the scene of rehabilitation.[9] The network graph performed the work of eugenic biopolitics, reproducing a hierarchy of racialized and queered pathologies, deployed to shore up categories of racialized difference. It abstracted into a visualization of nodes and edges in use, today, for classifying into gendered and racialized types, entrenching inequalities, and reproducing racialized violence. It made the law informatic; it made informatics the American grammar book.

Even though banished from the phantasm of spontaneous creativity in Moreno's imaginings, those girls continued to pursue their own "stunts and projects," flexing their creativity to escape the prison's confines, even

as Moreno pronounced his prison therapeutic program successful.[10] Among them was Ella Fitzgerald, sentenced for the crime of being "ungovernable" and incarcerated while Moreno was at Hudson. Fitzgerald escaped the prison and returned to Harlem. Such were "the stunts" and "the projects" that adventurous, thrill-seeking girls pursued: lives of freedom, liberated from the racialized violence of Progressive-era interventions; such was their spillover. I steal the term *spillover* from Morse, not so much as an act of recovery but for how aptly it indicates the threat that girls, especially Black girls, were constructed to pose to structures of difference and the ontological (and material) walls erected to shore up their boundaries.

Throughout this book I mobilize *spillover* to evoke the excess that always already escapes psy-entific logic, and/yet that the psy-ences require to legitimate their projects. In the instance of Hudson, the spillover tethers itself to Black girls and their supposed threat to normative white (hetero)reproductivity. Although many of the psychiatric ways of screening elaborated in this book do indeed circle around Black girls, within the cultural works I analyze, as the social movements of the 1960s grew more complicated and interdependent, sometimes the spillover adumbrates a broader scope of populations designated as needing governing. Often psychiatry viewed those critical of psychiatry as the spillover—constituting a threat to the disciplinary enterprise itself. As Morse used the term specifically in relation to young women, I admit that for my project Morse's term is imperfect. Yet Morse's own imprecision defining it—her repetitions, her euphemisms, her evasions—also signals how vast she conceived of the slippery force she sought to contain, that indefinability of young girls riffing on, jangling among, and refusing regulatory regimes that sought to capture them.

In the long 1960s, psychiatric ways of screening developed out of the need to construct a spillover to justify psychiatry's ongoing expansions. These psychiatric ways of screening have been informed by psychiatry's specific disciplinary quandary: its continued tenuous grasp on authority and knowledge. Owen Whooley argues that the discipline's ignorance about what constitutes "mental illness"—an ignorance that throws its status as science into doubt—produces cycles of crisis and reinvention. This book argues that media and technological invention are core to the reinvention phase. To underline this, I will illustrate another psychiatric way of screening that arose during the heightened period of social crises on which this book centers, the 1960s and 1970s. It is psychologist Paul Ekman's Facial Action Coding System (FACS), a typology of facial expressions claimed to be universal and machine-readable. Its origin story, as told by Ekman, critics of FACS, and historians of science

and technology, is that it emerged from its era's anthropological structuralism combined with a US Department of Defense (DOD) goal to fund lie-detection technologies.[11] These stories elide what some might consider to be the main reason for the DOD's interest—the explosion of third world liberation struggles worldwide and the US state's ongoing surveillance of those designated dangerous to law and order. These origin stories also overlook that Ekman's initial research occurred at a mental institution—the perfect carceral laboratory by which to make the social technological.

Ekman's earliest research centered on creating a technology that would enable researchers to search for and retrieve information across vast archives of film and videotape. The system he developed, Visual Information Display and Retrieval (VID-R), linked videotape recorders and monitors to a teletype machine and a computer. An operator would watch the visual recordings and code the expressions made by the people recorded. These people were psychiatric patients held in wards at Langley Porter Neuropsychiatric Institute, in San Francisco, California. Ekman's earliest publications about VID-R do not name exactly which videotapes he used—in other words, it's unclear whether he took existing videotapes from other research going on in Langley Porter, including the experiment I discuss in chapter 1, or he recorded new videotapes of patients. In his autobiography, he indicates that he filmed interviews of depressed patients at Langley upon their admission and release, suggesting those might be the recordings.[12] Whether he used videotape he had recorded or reused other recordings is, perhaps, inconsequential to the bigger takeaway: At Langley, videotaping patients was standard practice, and it was in a mental ward that Ekman joined computational technologies to visualizing technologies, toward the ultimate goal of developing a technology that could distinguish among affective comportments and detect pathologies: a psychiatric way of screening.[13] In his autobiography, Ekman relates that psychiatric residents at Langley asked Ekman, then focused on a typology of facial expressions from photographs and film from Margaret Mead's New Guinea site, if he could identify whether a patient, admitted for a suicide attempt and requesting a weekend pass, was lying about improved mental status. It was this question, with its core interest in distinguishing among deceit and psychiatric status, that inspired his idea of a high-speed video system with computational logic. Funded through the DOD, Ekman and an engineer spent eighteen months at Langley Porter to produce VID-R.[14]

Should we care about Ekman's earliest media-technological innovations at a psychiatric ward, which historians have largely ignored? I argue that we should. While Ekman's prior research lab was the colony, here, Ekman moved

his lab to the psychiatric ward. Those deemed outside the human (in the colony, non-Westerners; in the psychiatric ward, spillovers of the irrational and the illogical) served as proving grounds for a psychiatric way of screening that could *make distinctions*—in the case of lie-detecting technologies, between truth and lies, friends and enemies of the state; in the case of psychiatric technologies, between "mental illness" and "mental health," the abnormal and the normal—and become computable. For the next two decades of Ekman's career, working with the IT professions and the CIA, Ekman made his pathologizing system fully computational.

That his psychiatric way of screening imposes its system of governance as a racial pathologizing project is evident in the most banal of today's technologies, from its use by first-world airport security screeners to screen out supposed terrorist threats to third-party employment firms that promise to use it to screen for "employable" applicants. In 2019, HireVue, a "hire tech" company, announced a new feature of its software, which enables job applicants to use a computer or other device with video-recording features to record their answers to job application interview questions. This new feature was an "emotional assessment algorithm," which HireVue claimed could "read" people's facial expressions to decode their emotional states, which would presumably "predict" which applicants would succeed at the applied-for position. On social media, critics immediately pointed out the normative biases underpinning such assessments, in particular how they might interpret neurodivergent people as deceptive, pathological, or otherwise unworthy of being hired. They additionally decried that, because facial recognition technologies have been trained on racist datasets and cannot accurately map data points on the faces of people with darker skin, HireVue's algorithm would be biased toward light-skinned people as manifesting "readable"—in this case, employable—faces. Threatened with legal challenges, HireVue retracted the software.

Like the racializing technology of the network graph, such "emotional algorithm" software reinstates a socius where whiteness is capacitated.[15] Like the network graph now applied for police surveillance, this software arose from within a setting of carceral pathologization. This is what Cristina Mejia Visperas calls "science in captivity": research and technological innovation that seeks out so-called contained settings—the prison and the ward—under a justification that a controlled environment decreases the variables affecting the experiment and allows the scientist a clearer view of the workings of nature.[16] Yet the prison and the ward are social arrangements. Psychiatric ways of screening transmute social arrangements into technologies of control. They recuperate legitimacy for disciplines beset by constant epistemo-

logical and cultural crises. They claim for these disciplines the scienticity of technology while reproducing older and producing new operations of anti-Blackness and ableism.[17]

Crip Genealogies and Counter-Psychiatric Histories

There is an abundance of work on cultures of psychiatry and antipsychiatry from those trained in history, sociology, science and technology studies, and cultural studies. Increasingly too there are histories about the creation of automated and digital diagnoses.[18] Unlike those, this book approaches its topic through a feminist-of-color disability analytic that informs the crip genealogy it establishes. Drawing from woman-of-color feminists such as Audre Lorde, Gloria Anzaldúa, Sami Schalk, and Jina Kim, it develops a feminist-of-color disability analytic that "[attends] to the linkages between the ideologies of ability and the logics of gender and sexual regulation that undergird racialized resource deprivation . . . that is, how ableist violence operates alongside and through heteropatriarchy, capitalism, and white supremacy."[19] Along with policing and schools, Schalk and Kim name prisons as key "instruments of mass disablement [disproportionately targeting] black and brown populations."[20] *Crip Screens* centers the state apparatus and discourse of psychiatry within this analysis, arguing that its technologies have functioned as immaterial instrumentalizations of mass disablement. Morse's spillover placed in particular young Black girls at the center of structures of disablement; Moreno's network graph constituted an abstracted instrument of disablement predicated on the queered color line and the (white) heteroreproductivity necessary for social reproduction and surplus labor.

For a feminist-of-color disability analytic, activism against such instruments of mass disablement remains a key site of theorizing their dismantling. This book follows the spillover's "stunts," its avenues of flight, that were encoded in works of cultural production. These cultural works often explicitly countered psychiatric ways of screening and their racial pathologizing discourses; sometimes, echoing La Marr Jurelle Bruce's *How to Go Mad Without Losing Your Mind*, they strategically inhabited discourses of racial pathologization.[21] I explore moments when the human subjects of these data regimes both openly challenged and implicitly resisted them. This opens up a deeper genealogy of resistance to psychiatry's technology modernizing projects. This analytic reveals determined efforts by those regulated within classifying systems of gender, sexuality, ability, sanism, and race to challenge psychiatry's carcerality and violence, including the media technologies through which

it has constantly reasserted its authority. It opens up a crip genealogy for counter-psychiatric histories.

A crip genealogical method means archival practice that reads against the grain, follows trails where they flash out from beneath the surface, and muddies some disciplinary tendencies. I opened this introduction with Moreno's inauguration contribution to the development of the informatic subject and will conclude it with Ella Fitzgerald's encoding of crip worldmaking in her early career for two reasons: first, to offer one model of how this book reads cultural production; second, due to the intransigent fact that, of all US states, the state of New York archived its prisons' records extensively, affording historical excavations for feminist, queer, and Black studies. New York City plays an outsized role in this book, a function of its history as an urban location in which so many US state policies were tested and realized, in which media and computational industries flourished, and in which activist cultures and subcultures thrived—including within archival institutions responsible for preserving cultural works. It is my hope that some of the archival discoveries this book makes will inspire others to continue seeking out crip genealogies beyond the confines of the archive of cultural texts assembled here, which do not extend beyond the late 1970s.

While this book may make modest contributions to the fields on which it draws—histories of psychiatry, media studies, film studies, and critical studies of data culture—those are incidental to its central contribution to crip genealogies and cultural studies. Still, it is worth noting the recent scholarship in the history of the psy-ences that revisit their ongoing crises, including Lucas Richert's *Break on Through*, Owen Whooley's *On the Heels of Ignorance*, and Michael Staub's *Madness Is Civilization*, on which this book draws. To differing degrees, these works hover around the disciplines' and professions' internal debates; I hope that this book enriches these discussions through its attention to the external pressures that shaped them. Film studies is also rich in scholarship about therapy, psychiatry, and psychology; I hope that this book opens up more discussions about insurgent, crip, and independent Black film practices.[22] Finally, this book converses with critical feminist, queer, and Black data studies work that has opened up counterhistories of computation, information, and technologies.

Crip Worldmaking Beyond Violent Racialized Data Regimes

Today, disability communities engage in organizing and mutual aid efforts to imagine and establish worlds that value and support, and help crip flourishing, thereby "worldmaking" beyond our current regime of necropolitical ableism, racism, sexism, and colonialism.[23] As a model of the readings to come, I want to return, here, to Ella Fitzgerald. While Fitzgerald's life and music have been well documented in jazz histories, the earliest part of her career, just after she spilled out of the prison, is occluded within these histories. Here, I reconstruct this clouded history as one of crip worldmaking.

Fitzgerald's first point of postincarceration worldmaking began through a partnership with the crippled band leader and drummer Chick Webb. A self-taught drummer, Webb had tuberculosis of the spine, resulting in what an article in the music magazine *Down Beat* described as his "deformed, dwarfish, and delicate" appearance.[24] In *Drummin' Men*, a multivolume history of jazz drummers, Webb's entry—the book's first entry, due to his significance within jazz drumming—is studded with descriptions of his hunchback, whether they were taken from oral histories or quoted from music reviews published at the time.[25] Webb was a legend in jazz circles, innovating entirely new methods of drum play, and his allegiance to his struggling bandmates caused him to turn down higher-paying gigs with Duke Ellington, among others. When it became clear that a female vocalist would strengthen the band's appeal, contacts urged him to meet Fitzgerald, who, at the time, was living on the streets and busking on 125th Street. Descriptions of their initial meetings highlight Fitzgerald's unkempt, nonheteronormative appearance. She is called ugly, too big to fit the mold of seductive female vocalists, unwashed, and uncombed. No matter those descriptions, however, as all Webb needed was to hear her singing voice and she was hired. He got her housed. Quickly, the Chick Webb band, with Fitzgerald fronting, had commercial success. Fitzgerald was eighteen years old. Within four years, Webb's tuberculosis would overcome him, forcing him into multiple hospital stays and, eventually, death.

The partnership between these two Black musicians, one "unfit" and one "ungovernable," was a form of crip worldmaking. Fitzgerald had managed to escape twice from prisons (before Hudson, she had escaped another girls' prison). She was found and recognized by a drummer who surely knew that his physical status placed him always in danger of being forced into medically racist institutional settings, if not dependency on a state that would

debilitate him through its racist modes of care. Together, for the four years preceding his death, they supported each other, living under the threat of incarceration.

Viewing their partnership as a survival of crip worldmaking, I now illustrate my method of theorizing through cultural works by turning to recover their musical productions that jazz historians have dismissed. Although Fitzgerald was an immensely popular performer and singer, jazz historians have not praised her and Webb's early output. Critical music studies historian Christi J. Wells explains that this occurred even in their own lifetime. Webb had come, for some music critics, to embody Black anticommercialism; when he added Fitzgerald to the band, and together they had commercially successful and supposedly "unserious" hits, critics viewed her as detracting from his anticommercial and artistic possibilities.[26] Wells also argues that even if succeeding generations of jazz historians laud Fitzgerald's vocal style, sophisticated syncopation, and general contributions to jazz, they have reproduced this disdain for her in representing her as a feminized distraction from the important masculine business of "real" art. Wells contextualizes this dismissal within the homosociality of jazz and the denigrated femininity of Fitzgerald's presence and contribution to the band (where a "voice" was seen as feminine and thus lesser than instruments, which were seen as masculine). Yet at least one of her early works, "A-Tisket A-Tasket," slyly, subtly, and spillingly signified on how incarceration had cripped her—how being a young Black girl in America immediately subjected her to racialized and gendered systems of violence. Although this book is not addressed to jazz historians, here I recover that most dismissed of her songs as a work with a serious subtext, one that commented on systems of oppression.

Fitzgerald composed "A-Tisket A-Tasket" for Webb during one of his many illnesses.[27] It is a song from one crip to another. A reinterpretation of a traditional child's play song, "A-Tisket A-Tasket" takes what is typically classified as "children's stuff"—not adult, not-yet-citizen, small, relegated to music's remainder bin—and flips it for serious themes. In crip theoretical terms, it re-values a devalued form and does so with a richly coded irony. The lyrics signify on the numbers game and the criminalization of Blackness occurring through police protection of non-Black runners, thus indicating Fitzgerald's own pathologized childhood, when she was arrested for numbers running and sent to her first prison. They also signify on "mama's baby, papa's maybe," the racialized American grammar by which biological familial ties were interrupted and not-yet-reproductive girls were ungendered, left to project their spontaneous routes out of their prisons.

A-Tisket A-Tasket
A brown and yellow basket
I sent a letter to my mommie
On the way I dropped it
I dropped it, I dropped it
Yes, on the way I dropped it
A little girlie picked it up
And put it in her pocket
She was truckin' on down the Avenue
Without a single thing to do
She was peck, peck, peckin' all around
When she spied it on the ground
She took it, she took it
My little yellow basket
And if she doesn't bring it back
I think that I will die . . .

While the song begins with "A brown and yellow basket," the remainder of the song's lyrics mention only yellow: Its brown descriptor drops out. I read the initial description of "brown and yellow" as referring to colorism, something Sonia Sanchez would draw out in "A Poem for Ella Fitzgerald," where Sanchez names "high-steppin' yellers" to allude to the colorism that characterized high and low culture at the time.[28] Once imprisoned in Moreno's contained laboratory for therapeutic research, colorism intensified. According to Moreno, at Hudson "darker girls" were favored over lighter-skinned girls, and when a light-skinned girl, Jane, insulted Stella's mother, a group of darker girls supported Stella during their subsequent disagreement. If we want to interpret the song as signifying on Fitzgerald's time at Hudson, perhaps its cheerful and playful mode gestures to her fugitive freedom, that she had broken free of a prison situation that pitted racialized girls against each other.

In the song, the basket is also connected to sending a letter to a mother. Here, historical contextualization reveals more of the song's signifying. Hyman Kassell was a widely known successful operator of numbers running in Harlem; he owned speakeasies during Prohibition, and, at the time of the song's composition, he operated stationery stores that were fronts for his numbers-running business. Kassell had paid for police protection, and his stationery stores would post a piece of white paper with a yellow bird on it to indicate to the beat police that they should look elsewhere to make busts.[29] Thus the letter of Fitzgerald's song alludes to paper from a stationery store, or

a numbers policy purchased at one of Kassell's stationery stores for a mother, or another protector, perhaps Webb. The "little girlie" of Fitzgerald's song is "peck-peck-peckin'," like a bird. The yellow bird sign in Kassell's stores signaled that white numbers runners, unlike Black numbers runners, received police protection—the very protection that Fitzgerald didn't receive when she was arrested and imprisoned.

Sending to one's mother a letter that is subsequently stolen reverberates with slavery and then Jim Crow legacies of broken maternal/child relationships. Additionally, one primary activity engaged by girls at Hudson was writing letters to their mothers, something Fitzgerald, whose mother had already died, would not have done. Another popular activity, but only enjoyed by the white girls at Hudson, was singing in the prison choir; even though staff at Hudson were aware of Fitzgerald's phenomenal singing voice, they forbade her from participating. Adding these two together, perhaps the song comments on the fact that, within the prison, white expression and biological lineages were encouraged while Black expression was forbidden.[30] Any and all of these, and probably more, are at play in this seemingly simple song.

By paying attention to this overlooked song, I emphasize that crip worldmaking materializes within aesthetics, cultural production, and nonnormative modes of living, working, and making. The state cripped Fitzgerald through its racial, pathologizing criminalization of impoverished young Black girls; the state hovered near Webb, always prepared to declare him its ward. Through song, performance, and band collectivity, Fitzgerald and Webb forged tactics that protected them from carceral settings. By recovering this denigrated song, I have sought to model the work the individual chapters of this book do—focusing on small-scale, minor, seemingly unimportant cultural productions to theorize alongside them the alternate models and aesthetics of care that they propose.

Chapter Summaries

Chapter 1 opens the book with a survey of psychiatry's postwar enthusiastic use of computers alongside its ongoing deployment of audiovisual media. I consider these in relation to the time's rights movements. Through televisual productions and nontheatrical films, the psy professions sought to recuperate psychiatric institutions' tarnished public image. Contemporaneous to this public relations campaign, the computer industries used industrial cinema to market their new products to medicine and psychiatry. The cinematic production of computers for psychiatry, emerging experiments with portable

video in psychiatry, the computerization of psy-research videos, and the cinematic visions of shifts in institutionalization stabilized the discipline through psychiatric ways of screening. Increased federal funding for psychiatric technologies and media itself emerged from conjoined national logics aimed at controlling unruly populations.

The succeeding chapters explore alternate ways of screening produced by Black, feminist, and crip subjects. Chapter 2 examines computers and cinema at Lincoln Hospital Mental Health Services within the struggles for community control of Lincoln Hospital that extended from 1969 to 1971 and beyond. To the existing and ever-growing literature on these events, my analysis reveals that feminist-of-color critique articulated a politics of information activism to the radical politics developed and enacted by the multiple groups (the Young Lords, Lincoln Collective, and the Health Revolutionary Unity Movement) involved in these struggles. In chapter 3, I recover two Black-authored cultural works (a film and a television documentary) about mental distress made in the early 1970s. Situating these within the context of state-produced educational cinema and broadcast television documentaries about "the problems of the ghetto," chapter 3 foregrounds their challenges to the psychiatric gaze that pathologized communities of color. The media-technological production of racialized pathology occurred not only in state-sanctioned filmmaking but also through computer innovations produced out of the Cold War's cultures of simulation, the subject of chapter 4. I examine the development of the standardized patient in medicine and psychiatry, contemporaneous efforts to create computer simulations of psychiatric patients, and psychiatric "experiments" with live simulations. These offer new insights into psychiatry's use of technologies and media to exculpate it from accusations of racism. The chapter centers Black cultural productions that engaged with and critiqued simulation as a racializing and pathologizing way of screening.

The coda considers contemporary psychiatric digital media technologies. These cannot be understood as separate from our era's ongoing and increased antiracist and anti-ableist movements. A shiny new version of an old thing, the massive investment they spark reminds us of the value, today, generated out of governing the spillover.

Careful Language

As historians of psychiatry and Black disability studies scholars remind us in different ways, applying contemporary terminology to past historical moments is tricky business. This book is careful in its terminological choices for

those entities variously named "mental health" and "mental illness." When I discuss people or states of being prior to or outside their capture by psy-entific discourse, I use terms such as "experiencing mental distress" and "experiencing addiction." Additionally, this book uses "the psy-ences" to refer to both disciplines of psychiatry and psychology. These are academic disciplines steeped in scientistic discourse, whose claim to those Western Enlightenment values of truth and objectivity this book takes as their hallucination. Perhaps they might be better called "psycho-ences."

Notes

INTRODUCTION

Epigraph: Sanchez, "A Poem for Ella Fitzgerald" (1998).

1 Cohen, "Digital Devices."

2 In *Discriminating Data*, Wendy Chun discusses developments that built on Moreno's research, including Paul Lazarsfeld's 1950s study on friendship patterns, as well as other early eugenicists' developments of mathematical and computational logics that permeate technology today.

3 See, e.g., Hicks, *Talk with You Like a Woman.*

4 Morse, "The Farm as a Factor in Training Delinquent Girls."

5 Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?*, 3.

6 For an in-depth analysis of Moreno's eugenic philosophies and their relation to the creation of informatic value, see Franklin, *The Digitally Disposed*.

7 Stella is an instance of blackness both hypervisible and invisible, as per Browne, *The Surveillance of Blackness.*

8 Somerville, *Queering the Color Line*.

9 Spillers, "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe."

10 Moreno's revised 1953 edition, retitled *Who Shall Survive? Foundations of Sociometry, Group Psychotherapy and Sociodrama*, began with a one-hundred-page synopsis of his career leading up to the Hudson Prison research and extending past it, including detailing what Moreno saw as its ever-expanding influence on intellectual movements, clinical practices, and government policymaking. The applause would reach its fever pitch in the title of his autobiography, *Autobiography of a Genius*.

11 See, among others, Leys, *The Ascent of Affect*; Crawford, *The Atlas of AI*; Ekman, *Nonverbal Messages*.

12 In other work, Ekman made distinctions about his work as a "filmmaker" (i.e., his recorded interviews of depressed patients), a "film analyzer" (developing automated methods for VID-R), and as a "secondary investigator" (of films by Bateson, Mead, and other anthropologists). Unfortunately, this still does not clarify which recordings he used in developing his VID-R. Ekman, "Comment."

13 Although he would quickly turn to his more famous photograph analysis, there is a connection between this VID-R work within that turn: Both were funded under Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency grants; and, in a 1967 response to an article by social scientist Richard Sorenson about how to produce research films, Ekman promoted his videotape-computer system as parallel to, yet more efficient for retrieval purposes than Sorenson's suggestion of splicing titles into research

films. Also, in 1967, buoyed by the desire to "prove the cultural relativists wrong" (by which he meant Margaret Mead, who had attacked Ekman's work), Ekman traveled to Sorenson's research site in New Guinea, there taking photos and recording film to begin validating his universal human facial expressions project.

14 Ekman, *Nonverbal Messages*, 94. See also Ekman and Friesen, "A Tool for the Analysis of Motion Picture Film or Video Tape," 240; and Ekman, Friesen, and Taussig, "VID-R and SCAN."

15 Chun, "Queerying Homophily"; McPherson, "US Operating Systems"; Black, *IBM and the Holocaust*.

16 On science in captivity, see Visperas, *Skin Theory*; and Benjamin, *Captivating Technology*.

17 Beller, *The World Computer*.

18 See, e.g., Lea, *Digitizing Diagnosis*; Greene, *The Doctor Who Wasn't There*; and Zeavin, *The Distance Cure*.

19 Schalk and Kim, "Integrating Race," 35.

20 Schalk and Kim, "Integrating Race," 43.

21 On madness and its strategic inhabitations, see Bruce, *How to Go Mad Without Losing Your Mind*.

22 See, e.g., Gabbard and Gabbard, *Psychiatry*; Walker, *Couching Resistance*; DeAngelis, *Rx Hollywood*.

23 Muñoz, *Disidentifications.*

24 Obituary in *Down Beat*, cited in Nicholson, *Ella Fitzgerald*, 246n2.

25 Korall, *Drummin' Men*.

26 Wells, "Go Harlem"; Wells, "'A Dreadful Bit of Silliness.'"

27 Rosetta Reitz Papers, "Ella Fitzgerald," box 12, c. 1; Brooks, *Liner Notes for the Revolution*. Reitz composed some of her notes about Fitzgerald on a medication pad for high blood pressure—a mediated reminder of crip worldmaking through cultural preservation.

28 Sanchez, "A Poem for Ella Fitzgerald."

29 White et al., *Playing the Numbers*, 105; see also Harris, *Sex Workers, Psychics, and Number Runners*.

30 Nina Bernstein, "Ward of the State: The Gap in Ella Fitzgerald's Life," *New York Times*, June 23, 1996.

1. PSYCHIATRIC WAYS OF SCREENING IN THE LONG 1960S

1 Glueck, "Automation and Social Change."

2 Strobel et al., "Designing Psychiatric Computer Information Systems."

3 As Jackie Orr has argued through the example of Glueck's peers, Nathan Klein and Manfred Clynes, an informatics of biopsychiatry was envisioned as necessary for "governing mentalities" and instituting centralized command-and-control systems over potentially unruly populations. See Orr, "Biopsychiatry."

4 On the mid-1960s Senate hearings about the MMPI and constitutional rights, see Buchanan, "On Not 'Giving Psychology Away.'"