RECIDIVISM AMONG BLACK MEN LIVING IN RACIALIZED AND CARCERAL NEIGHBORHOODS AND THE ROLE OF GENTRIFICATION

by

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ABSTRACT

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Mass incarceration has consequences for not only individuals but also families and neighborhoods. Infused with critical race theory, this interdisciplinary study applied an exploratory, sequential mixed-methods design to examine the neighborhood characteristics associated with higher risks of recidivism in the era of mass incarceration. In the first phase of the study, walking interviews were conducted with 19 Black men within three years of their last release from a carceral institution. One of the place-based themes that emerged from these interviews was gentrification, which was identified and associated with the built environment of the local neighborhood (e.g., city-owned property, exclusionary housing market), the political economy within the larger city and region (e.g., redevelopment of downtown, fresh water sources), and the role of mass incarceration in contributing to demographic shifts amenable to gentrification processes. Despite multigenerational connections to the neighborhood, participants faced enormous barriers accessing permanent housing and land, even in the early stages gentrification such as the abandonment stage and as a coping strategy, some engaged in criminalized behavior. Carceral displacement facilitates the removal of formerly incarcerated persons from gentrifying neighborhoods. Multiple processes were implicated in this process, including the use of community gardens and crime prevention through environmental design to facilitate both gentrification and carceral neighborhoods. In the quantitative phase of the study, I

tested whether neighborhoods experiencing different gentrification stages were associated with increased risk for recidivism. Neighborhoods experiencing abandonment, low-income concentration, and low-income displacement did not have a higher risk of recidivism compared to neighborhoods that were not experiencing any demographic shifts. Neighborhoods experiencing overall growth, that is, where the population was increasing overall, with both upper-income and low-income populations increasing, had higher odds of recidivating. Using another measurement of gentrification, no significant association between gentrification and recidivism was found. More confirmatory research is needed to establish a link between gentrification and recidivism – that is, carceral gentrification, the use of carceral systems to complete the gentrification process. Anti-displacement plans should address the needs of formerly incarcerated individuals in neighborhoods with documented concentrated incarceration. Extensive discussion of the walking interview method is provided, including the value of a researcher self-care plan.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Mass Incarceration and Recidivism

The term mass incarceration denotes the unprecedented number of people incarcerated for the first time in the history of the United States (Clear, 2008). Since its introduction, the term has provided a contextual framework for community leaders and researchers seeking to understand its adverse effects on individuals, families, and whole communities (Hagan & Foster, 2012; Massoglia et al., 2013; Smith & Hattery, 2010). While the term has facilitated national and local conversations to reform and/or abolish the public policies that have resulted in 25% of the world's prison population living in the United States alone, the term somewhat conceals the fact that millions of individuals under criminal justice control do not live in prisons, millions more are at risk for returning to prison (Pew Center on the States, 2009; Pew Center on the States, 2011), and physical neighborhoods are under carceral surveillance and control (Schenwar & Law, 2020). High rates of recidivism ensure the continuation of mass incarceration and its deleterious effects. According to the Antenangeli and Durose (2021) of the Bureau of Justice Statistics, 66% of individuals released from prison in 2008 were arrested within three years and 82% were arrested within 10 years.

While advocates, social workers, and community organizers work to reimagine and/or dismantle the criminal justice system, I reluctantly agree with Katzen (2011) that while "the ideal solution would be to stop incarcerating so many people, especially so many African American men. However, because that solution is probably many years away, society should act now to mitigate the harms that mass incarceration inflicts" (Katzen, 2011, p. 251). What can be done to reduce the high rates of recidivism in the interim? The goal of this study was to help answer that question. It began in 2014, encompassing critical criminology, critical race theory, and critical

geography theoretical paradigms. Using these paradigms, the structural causes and specifically neighborhood determinants of recidivism were sought. At its conclusion in 2022, during the era of *defund the police,* I interpreted my findings through prison abolitionist lens (see Rodriguez, 2019).

Recidivism as a research agenda is marred with problems. Like most crime studies, the vast majority of recidivism research does not question the legitimacy of the criminal justice system (or the prison industrial complex as it is referred to by critical race and prison abolition theorists; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001), it's function in American capitalism, or the use of recidivism as the paramount measure of the criminal justice system's effectiveness or the effectiveness of the programs and services provided to formerly incarcerated individuals (FIPs). With these erasures,[1] recidivism in research is treated as an individual-level phenomenon, the result of cognitive traits, anti-social behavior, and socioeconomic background. The public policies stemming from (or enlisting) these empirical studies are then used to fund, develop, deliver, and expand programs that promise to lower recidivism rates. Entire technical assistance programs have been established to realign the justice system and re-entry services to lowering recidivism seen solely an individual-level phenomenon rather than a structural phenomenon or system of oppression (as theorized in critical race theory). That recidivism rates remain high, and that serious interrogation of its premise does not occur, promotes a form of research that pathologizes the individual (and by extension the group they belong to), extends credibility to the criminal justice system as a fair system that is data-driven, and facilitates neoliberal political-

[1] Neglecting macro causes has been true since the inception of criminal justice studies, which originated as a result of white supremacist and racial capitalist aims, a process that met resistance from Ida B. Wells, W.E.B. Dubois, and others (Muhammad, 2010) calling for racism and racist structures (within Black neighborhoods) to be named and treated as causal factors and predictor variables (Unnever et al., 2009).

economic policies to maintain the system and its preferred approaches to *criminalized* behavior and *criminalized* places.

Over the past two decades, a number of studies, mostly quantitative, have taken steps to explore recidivism through a structural lens, specifically through neighborhood characteristics, which until the early 2000s had been undertheorized and understudied (Case, 2006; Kubrin & Stewart, 2006). These studies incorporated racism (e.g., racial segregation, redlining) and poverty (e.g., neighborhood disadvantage) into their methodologies and applied theoretical frameworks to interpret race and class in their findings. They also encouraged future research to account for how residents perceive and interpret their environment, neighborhood life, and its processes in connection to recidivism (Kubrin & Weiter, 2003; Oberwittler, 2004). Similarly, Sharkey & Faber (2014) studying neighborhood racial disparities also noted "the need for progress in theorizing, measuring, describing, and analyzing the operation of systems that generate inequality in an individual's residential environments and the ways that these contexts affect the individuals within them" (p. 573).

Summary of Approach and Findings

My study answers these calls, but by engaging critical race theory, critical criminology, critical geography, and prison abolitionist theory, I am also approaching the study with the view that recidivism is *by design*. The role of my research in this context is to identify and understand the apparatus producing consistently high recidivism rates and to explicate racial projects within the criminal justice system as part of a larger system of oppression. It also answers Lipsitz's (2007) call to "disassemble the fatal links that connect race, place, and power" (p. 14). Through the use of walking interviews with 19 Black men after release and an analysis of Wisconsin Department of Corrections (WIDOC) recidivism data from 2014, this dissertation explores one

of these "fatal links." This approach is one way to repair the harm done by past and contemporary research, another broader aim that my study hopes to support. Consider, for example

> "They [the numbers] have always been interpreted, and made meaningful, in a broader political, economic, and social context in which race mattered. The falsity of past claims of race-neutral crime statistics and color-blind justice should caution us against the ubiquitous referencing of statistics about black criminality today, especially given the relative silence about white criminality. The invisible layers of racial ideology packed into the statistics, sociological theories, and the everyday stories we continue to tell about crime in modern urban American are a legacy of the past. The choice about which narratives we attach to the data in the future, however, is ours to make. Progressives rewrote white and immigrant criminality just as early civil rights activists rewrote, for a time, black criminality. The measure of crime, in both cases, was not racial inferiority but rather compassion towards the least among them. Sympathy and faith in humanity were chosen over scorn and contempt. (Muhammad, 2010, p. 277)"

In my study, I interviewed Black men living in the City of Milwaukee about their re-entry experiences and the causes of concentrated neighborhood incarceration and recidivism. I used a mobile interview method called *walking interviews* (Bates & Rhys-Taylor, 2018; Carpiano, 2009; Kusenbach, 2003; Trell & Van Hoven, 2010; Raulet-Croset & Borzeix, 2014; Ross et al., 2009) to gather place-based stories. The approach is known to create an embodied research experience (Ross et al., 2009) concentrated on the line that connects a person to their social and physical environments (Kusenbach, 2003).

A subset of men identified residential displacement and gentrification as one important place-based process adversely impacting neighborhood life and their chances of remaining free. This study examines their causal narrative and establishes an empirically based argument connecting recidivism in one north side Milwaukee neighborhood and emerging gentrification trends throughout the city. I found that mass incarceration and high recidivism rates are a form of violence against the central city and its residents, and an essential mechanism through which

gentrification can take place; and where gentrification may promote recidivism. Bridging critical geography with critical criminology in my study amplifies the fact that a study of neighborhood effects on recidivism is more pointedly a study of a complex system of oppression to control Black bodies *and* their neighborhoods. This system is connected to the prison industrial complex (Smith & Hattery, 2010), white settler colonialism (Pasternack & Dafnos, 2018), and racial capitalism and neoliberalism that desires both Black labor and Black land (Baker, 2019; Melamed, 2015). Critical geography provides important instruction on the control, containment, and mobility of Black spaces and emplaced Black bodies as articulated in Achille Mbembe's (2019) necropolitics. I also dedicate time to reflect on the research methodology itself and propose guidelines for future researchers to design their walking interview study.

Finally, in the context of climate change and climate migration, which Olufemi Taiwo and coauthor (2020) describes as the white supremacy of tomorrow, the use of recidivism to expedite displacement and gentrification becomes even more salient. To complement the qualitative data, I examine a 2014 data set from the Wisconsin Department of Corrections of men released in 2014 to further explore the intersections between recidivism and gentrification. One stage within the gentrification process, overall growth, had significant findings. The odds of recidivating were 3.44 higher in areas with overall growth compared to areas with no demographic shifts. Figure 1 illustrates the use of several theories and frameworks to study neighborhood effects and recidivism.

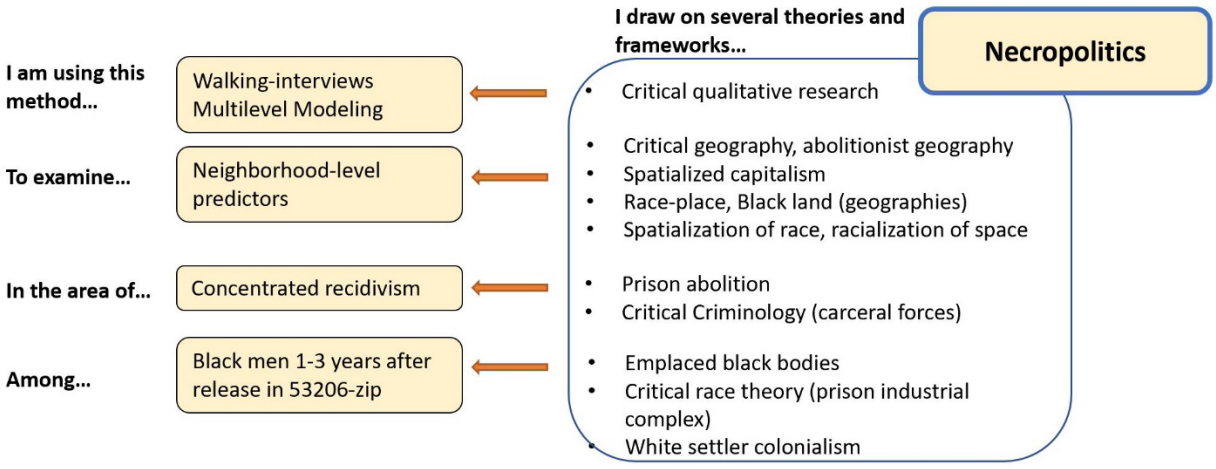


Figure 1: Primary Theories and Frameworks

Study Importance

This study offers several contributions to the field. This study is unique in its multidisciplinary approach that engages critical geography, critical race theory (infused with prison abolition and necropolitics) and centers Black space. The past wave of neighborhood effects research on recidivism called for research to explain the processes that link neighborhood characteristics to individual behavior. This study answers that call by gaining the perspective of men who have been recently released on their views of concentrated incarceration and recidivism, and their views of why they engaged in criminalized behavior. I used an innovative mobile interview format called walking interviews to gather their perspectives and develop a local causal narrative. Of their place-based answers, gentrification emerged. This was an area that I originally thought was "off topic." Using local documents (e.g., government planning reports, newspaper articles) along with walking interview data, I examined the connection between local gentrification and carceral systems within the city. Then, using data from the WIDOC dataset on 2014 releasees, I examined gentrification as a predictor for recidivism within Milwaukee County. This is the first known study to test gentrification as a predictor of recidivism. Following the study by Warren (2017), I also provide insight into the walking

interview methodology of Black bodies walking through space and the types of meta communicative competencies needed for doctoral researchers.

Chapter Two: Statement of the Problem

Mass Incarceration

The U.S. is in an era of mass incarceration (Clear, 2008; Hagan & Foster, 2012). With the highest incarceration rate in the world, 1 in 31 Americans is confined or under some form of criminal justice control (Pew Center on the States, 2009; Pew Center on the States, 2011). Mass incarceration is a major social problem impacting Black and low-income communities across the United States. For example, nationwide, 1 in 11 African Americans is under correctional control (Pew Center on the States, 2009). In Georgia, 1 in 13 adults is under correctional control (Pew Center on the States, 2009), on the eastside of Detroit, Michigan, the rate is 1 in 16 (Pew Center on the States, 2009). In Wisconsin, 1 in 36 Black adults is incarcerated; Black residents make up 42% of the state's prison population (The Sentencing Project, 2021).

Individuals within the criminal justice system spend considerable parts of their lives there during what should be their reproductive and highest wage-earning years. Raphael's (2011) study found that 25% of FIPs spent an entire decade cycling in and out of prison. In the site of one study, on any given day of 2007, 8% of Black males overall and 30% of Black male high school dropouts were confined. Twenty percent of Black men between the ages of 25 and 44 have been incarcerated. Without intervention, the next generation's risk of incarceration is quite high. A young man born in 2001, for example, has a 32% chance of being incarcerated.
After two decades of historically high incarceration rates, contemporary research has documented the enduring negative effects of mass incarceration on the social, political, economic, and health conditions of individuals, families, and entire neighborhoods (Massoglia et al., 2013; Smith & Hattery, 2010). These problems are manifested intergenerationally. Hagan and Foster (2012) examined intergenerational transmission of educational outcomes by

examining high incarceration schools as a source for transmission. They found that in high incarceration schools, one-fifth of the fathers had been in jail and that only 10% of students with incarcerated fathers completed college. Intergenerational effects have been documented in future employment and other life achievements (Comfort et al., 2011).

Negative consequences have also been documented at the community level. Mass incarceration has had only a nominal effect on the national crime rate (Raphael, 2011); lower crime rates have been attributed largely to an improved economy, an aging drug epidemic, and changes in law enforcement (Pew Center on the States, 2009). In fact, Schupp and Rivera (2010) found that counties with high imprisonment levels in 1990 had higher violent crime rates 10 years later, after controlling for the 1990 crime rate.

High Rates of Recidivism

Recidivism partly explains the country's high incarceration rates and their destabilizing effects. For example, in a study of recidivism in 30 states, 67.8% of formerly incarcerated persons recidivated within three years, and 76.6% recidivated within five years (Pew Center on the States, 2009; Pew Center on the States, 2011). In another study, post release FIPs spent a total of 5% of their nights in jail serving short sanctions during the first 24-month period (Harding et al., 2013).

Incarceration and recidivism are also spatially clustered— recidivism rates are higher in some neighborhoods than in others (Harris et al., 2011). In Illinois, 51% of released FIPs live in one city (Chicago), and of these, 34% returned to just six of its 77 communities. One community in Chicago received over 1,681 FIPs (La Vigne et al., 2003). Also in Chicago, the average neighborhood received 47 FIPs, but the range was from one to over 200; recidivating FIPs averaged 13 but also ranged from 0–106 (Wallace & Papachristos, 2012). In Maryland, 36%

returned to six of 55 communities (Visher et al., 2004). Like concentrated incarceration, concentrated recidivism destabilizes neighborhoods. Hipp and Yates (2009) found that the number of returning parolees was associated with increases in the monthly crime rate and specifically, increases in aggravated assaults, robberies, and burglaries.

Place Predicts Recidivism

Recent studies have examined neighborhood characteristics to explain and predict recidivism (Jacobs & Skeem, 2021). The Kubrin and Stewart (2006) study in Oregon was one of the earliest to prioritize neighborhoods as a predictor of recidivism. Their findings were compelling, despite limitations affecting generalizability (i.e., the sample came from a single county). They reported that neighborhood affluence decreased the odds of recidivating and neighborhood disadvantage increased the odds of recidivating. Several authors have since replicated and extended these findings, with many breaking into new territory and conducting first-ever studies. To name a few, Hipp et al. (2010) studied the influence of adjacent neighborhood characteristics on the focal neighborhood's recidivism rate; Wang et al. (2010) tested racial inequality and police presence; Reisig et al. (2007) considered macro-employment rates; and Tillyer and Vose (2011) used an empirically-based risk assessment tool to control for individual-level factors. Nearly every author recommended that future research replicate their study in different geographic areas to resolve study limitations.

Chapter Three: Critical Race Theory

Overview

In this chapter, I present a synthesis of race, place, and crime from across several disciplines (e.g., critical geography, critical criminology, abolition) and situate this study at their theoretical or conceptual intersection, which for me is grounded in and shaped by critical race theory (CRT). The first part of this chapter explores these issues using this critical theory, which has been foundational to the study of the racialization of crime and place across disciplines. The theory interrogates and contests dominant usages of race, place, and crime as variables and phenomena of interest in empirical research. It offers an action- and justice-oriented research agenda. The theory and its application across various disciplines meaningfully elevates Blackness in the study of place and crime, offering not just guidance on a research design and agenda but also on how Blackness should be integrated into data interpretation and analysis. CRT has been applied to the study of crime and of place; I integrate these bodies of work, as they offer natural synergy. In Chapter 10, I introduce necropolitics as one way to apply the theory's broad tenets to race and place, as well as the severity of the toxic stress that carceral institutions produce in Black neighborhoods and its direct effects on the Black body—both my participants' bodies and my own as a researcher.

In the second part of this chapter, I review what we know about the connection between race, place, and recidivism. Some of the studies included were informed by critical theory, others by social disorganization theory, or they were atheoretical. As a result, I interpret what this body of works means through the lens of critical race theory and the major finding in this study—study participants recognized recidivism (and related carceral systems) as a neighborhood mechanism linked to the process of gentrification. (In Chapter 4, I present a brief summary of

what we know about gentrification in the context of crime to anchor the study of gentrification in my findings.) Prior recidivism studies call for more theoretical frameworks linking place to crime and for qualitative research examining the mechanisms responsible for this relationship. My study answers this call and, following a critical theory, aims to meaningfully integrate Blackness in contextualizing and interpreting of my data.

CRT and Similar Theories

Critical race theory (CRT) provides the theoretical framework for this study. At its core, CRT believes inequality is unfair and unjust (Katzen, 2011); this positional stance distinguishes it from traditional crime theories. CRT began in the 1970s and developed out of critical legal studies. It has since been used within sister disciplines from education and geography to public health and social work (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Ford & Airhihenbuwa, 2010). While the term "race" appears in the name of the theory, it integrates a strong class and gender lens and is mostly concerned with the political–economic institutions that employ, produce, or benefit from the racialization of people and places. The theory provides a framework for understanding how racism operates in society to create racial hierarchies, oppression, and inequality (Ross, 2010). These processes depend on making race ordinary, common, and incentivized (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). CRT argues that at different points in time, different groups are racialized by the dominant group, usually to fulfill a specific economic purpose. The framework helps researchers, activists, and others identify and name "racial projects"—projects that use race as a system of oppression. Identifying racial projects and their function helps reveal how systems of oppression are refined and renamed over time (Brewer & Heitzeg, 2008).

The framework offers clear instructions on effective policies to combat racism that can be applied to the research process as well. For example, CRT rejects color-blind policies because

they ignore past and current racial tensions and even the existence of racism (Ross, 2010) and serve to re-create and re-enforce racial hierarchy (see Brewer & Heitzeg, 2008; Golub et al., 2013). Instead, race-conscious and intersectional policies are supported. CRT also supports transformative policy (or, in the case of criminal justice, abolitionist policy) and firmly rejects incremental changes, noting that such policies will be ineffective or "swallowed up" by the larger pervasive system[2] (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). It labels most social progress as "slow," the intended pace that wards off frustration but still ultimately maintains social order (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). The theory has been widely applied to housing (racial residential segregation), poverty (racial economic inequality), and a host of other issues. It is the current focus of the conservative right to remove CRT (and other curricula on racism) from public schools and prevent growing public support for any ideology that mirrors CRT tenets.

CRT has been used to understand the criminal justice system, mass incarceration, recidivism and the connection between race and place (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Ross, 2010). CRT problematizes the concept of crime and argues that, like race, crime is also a social construct (Matthews, 2010) and should be viewed rather as an index of oppression and the lack of a robust social welfare system (Clegg & Usamani, 2019). At different points in history, certain behaviors are criminalized, usually according to capitalist ideology and needs (Matthews, 2010; McLaughlin, 2010). According to Brewer and Heitzeg (2008), "the criminal justice system provides a convenient vehicle for physically maintaining the old legally enforced color lines as African Americans are disproportionately policed, prosecuted, convicted, disenfranchised, and imprisoned" (p. 633). Racial profiling and arrests perpetuate images of the criminal, and crimes are distorted in public discourse to shape specific narratives and images that emphasize deficits

[2] This mirrors epidemiologist Diez Roux's (2011) notion of policy resistant forces, a causal force blocked by policy but that still occurs by some other means.

at the individual level over macro causal factors (McLaughlin, 2010). Under CRT, incremental reforms to the criminal justice system will fail to create equality. Vitale (2017) observed that incremental reforms have only improved the state's ability to control and implement militarized-style policing. Renowned abolitionist Angela Davis (2016) has made similar arguments regarding prison reforms.

CRT also informs how researchers can think about place. Politics, gender, race, and class are emplaced (Gieryn, 2000), abolition is context specific (Schenwar & Law 2020) and place is correlated with social class and race (Diez Roux & Mair, 2010). Political power is organized spatially (Gieryn, 2000), and race and class segregation reinforce unequal spatial distribution of assets and resources (Diez Roux & Mair, 2010). The built environment of a place sustains this hierarchy because it segregates people as they go about their daily routines (Gieryn, 2000). Campbell et al. (2009) noted in their field observations that the most disadvantaged neighborhoods had the most divisive physical features, such as rivers, industrial and commercial areas, railroad tracks, busy commercial streets, and non-residential areas. Butz and Zuberi (2012) documented that the most disadvantaged neighborhoods are bounded or bisected by major traffic arterial roads. Henson (2013) reported that parking lots formed a blockade containing poor residents away from the downtown area. Kissane (2010) also noted that a major street separated Latino and White neighborhoods in Philadelphia, and a railroad track marked the boundary of a Black neighborhood. The negative associations between Black people and Black spaces means that outsiders are less willing to protect Black spaces from disparities and pollution overexposure (Bonam, Bergsieker & Eberhardt, 2016). Erickson (2012), Golub et al. (2013), and Mele (2013) provide illustrative case study examples of CRT that explain the creation of racialized geographies—concepts that draw heavily on historical analysis and that are difficult to measure

quantitatively (Cummins et al., 2007). These authors noted that any modern day policy intervention must assumed to be applied to an inherited and already racialized geography and landscape (Golub et al., 2013). Each study documented the use of symbolic images, distorted maps, racialized ideology, and other divisive tactics, including the private regulation of public places.

Intersections of Race, Place, and Crime

CRT provides a robust argument for how race, place, and crime intersect. Criminalization is part of a strategy to legally gain public control over marginalized populations and public spaces (King, 2013; McLaughlin, 2010), a notion I return to in Chapter 4 in the context of gentrification. The racialization of crime facilitates social control over specific racial populations: "whole communities are labeled suspect, surveilled, and profiled" (King, 2013, p. 536; also see Chambliss, 1995). Wars on drugs, gangs, and guns support the use of paramilitary intervention (King, 2013). Stop-and-frisk policies are used to disrupt social networks, reduce collective efficacy, restrict mobility, and erode vibrant street life and communal spaces (Kwate & Threadcraft, 2017). This creates a neighborhood panopticon (Taylor, 2020) and open-air prisons where carceral surveillance systems extend into neighborhood institutions (Shenwar & Law, 2020). The end result is a "bleak landscape of the fortified ghetto [that] formalizes Black space as a place where aggressive policing is not only appropriate but necessary; and siege-ready environments suggest that community residents are dangerous, feared, and devalued" (Kwate & Threadcraft, 2017, p. 541). A neighborhood being identified as high crime then becomes the justification for disinvestment and further reallocation of government and private resources away from neighborhoods of color (Brewer & Heitzeg, 2008). This process capitalizes on other forms

of oppression, particularly racial residential segregation, which concentrates police action to specific neighborhoods (Clear et al., 2001).

It coincides with wage stagnation, job insecurity, unaffordable housing, and the collapse of the welfare state (Taylor, 2020). According to abolitionist geographer, Ruth Wilson Gilmore (2007),[3] mass incarceration provides a geographic solution to surplus people (left out of a changing economic system), surplus of devalued/idle land (in rural areas), and surplus capital (from divestment in social welfare programs and government responsibility to address inequality). Mass incarceration has strained state budgets, as prison is the most expensive treatment option; nine out of ten corrections dollars are spent on prisons (Pew Center on the States, 2009; 2011). In the end, "Incarceration operates as a means of purging, removing, caging, containing, erasing, disappearing, and eliminating targeted populations from land, life, and society in the United States" (Hernandez, 2017, p. 1) and is part of urbicidal practices that also include deteriorated infrastructure and surveillance (McKittrick, 2011) (again, an issue I return to in Chapter 4).

CRT analysis relies heavily on making the connection between racialized crime and its function within the country's larger political–economic structures. According to Case (2006), "it is necessary for the success of modern capitalism to maintain stronger social control over the underclass through the criminalization of their activities. We must perpetuate a crime myth tied to the reportedly deficient values of the underclass, and especially the minority underclass, in order to maintain the status quo" (p. 215). Referred to as the prison industrial complex, the American prison system "has little to do with rehabilitation or deterrence and much to do with the detention, removal, and exploitation of labor" (Smith & Hattery, 2010, p. 388) and the need

[3] For Gilmore, race is the manifestation of class.

for docile and cheap labor (Brewer & Heitzeg, 2008; Jay & Conklin, 2017). Even broken windows and stop-and-frisk policing serve political–economic functions (Jay & Conklin, 2017). Such practices manage the contradictions of capitalism, crush dissent from groups who might challenge the status quo, and establish neoliberal and carceral logic as natural best practices and conventional wisdom (Jay & Conklin, 2017).

Racial capitalism helps label people as criminal and designate them as disposable and immoral within the political economic system (Chambliss, 1995; Melamed, 2015). Carceral institutions served the same function during settler colonialism. Hernandez's (2017) analysis of human caging[4] in Los Angeles found that the first structures built were jails and part of colonialism, removing "racialized outsiders from their claimed territory" (p. 8), which also included poor people, indigenous populations, and queer people. I return to settler colonialism to understand gentrification logic. The racial project that follows from this analysis stipulates that the carceral system functions to (1) facilitate the population's submission to the conditions of exploitation (Taylor, 2020) and (2) secure the resources on the land occupied (owned or claimed by) people of color through racial capitalism (Melamed, 2015).

Recidivism and Place Research through the Lens of CRT

High rates of recidivism are expected[5] in CRT's assessment of the criminal justice system; the system is not intended to stop, prevent, reduce, or mitigate the effects of criminalized behavior. It is designed to ensure a steady flow of new people enter into it and that once inside, it is difficult to leave. In this way, criminal justice policies and programs are oriented to provide "an endless supply of 'clients'" (Brewer & Heitzeg, 2008, p. 637). It is now recognized that a

[4] The author uses the term caging over the term incarceration.

[5] Drawing on the concept of neoliberalism, the only legitimate role of the state is a carceral, punitive one, not social welfare provisions (Kaplan-Lyman, 2012).

rise in incarceration is the product of changes in sentencing laws and correctional policies (such as mandatory sentencing), not increases in the crime rate (Raphael, 2011). In the past few decades, the rate of incarceration rose to 7 million (Pew Center on the States, 2009), and 83% of the increase was due to criminal policy and practice changes while only 17% was due to changes in crime rates (Raphael, 2011). Today, individuals are incarcerated for offenses that would not have led to incarceration in the past (Raphael, 2011). In a statewide example in Kentucky, several offenses were reclassified as higher-level felonies with enhancements. County jails now house the prison overflow, and county governments rely on this source of revenue (Pew Center on the States, 2009). Truth-in-sentencing and other similar laws mean that more people than in the past serve the majority of their sentence (most people will serve 85% of their sentence and 20% of the population will serve 100% of their sentence; BJS, 1999). One study predicted it would take 88 years to lower the incarceration rate to what it was in 1980 by continuing reformist approaches; that is how effective the system is at keeping people inside it (The Sentencing Project, 2013).

The conditions for engaging in criminalized behavior after release are more pronounced for formerly incarcerated persons (FIPs). FIPs face enormous reentry challenges and collateral consequences (often referred to as invisible punishments), which are lifelong and can be passed on to future generations. Documented examples include loss of housing, poor health, lower wages, loss of employment, and loss of political rights (for reviews, see Katzen, 2011; Smith & Hattery, 2010), and it destabilizes protective factors in poor communities (Clear et al., 2003). Being an FIP becomes one's master class (Kirk, 2009), and through the lens of CRT, the role this group plays in the American political–economic system becomes clear.

As described in the above section on critical race theory (CRT), crime was socially and empirically constructed to equate Blackness with criminality and intentionally studied through individualism (i.e., one's personal moral failings), erasing structural causes. Criminological research and interventions have continued to prioritize individual-level causal factors, resulting in undertheorized and understudied macro theories (Case, 2006; Kubrin & Stewart, 2006). This is especially the case for recidivism (Abrams & Snyder, 2010; Kubrin & Stewart, 2006; Sampson, 2013).

As Unnever et al. (2009) pointed out, research is limited to the hypotheses generated from the dominant paradigm, which does not include a role for discrimination as a criminogenic factor. Research on neighborhood effects and recidivism is similarly constrained. While past place and neighborhood studies recognize structural, contextual, or ecological causal factors, these factors are treated separately and distinct from notions of a criminal justice system that is an apparatus of White supremacy, White settler colonialism, and racial capitalism. Most prior studies also did not employ an abolitionist stance and nor did they examine neighborhood-concentrated recidivism as an apparatus of the prison industrial complex. Take, for example, the same influential study by Kubrin and Stewart (2006), which was published five years after the term "mass incarceration" was coined by Garland in 2001 and almost a decade after the term prison industrial complex was coined in 1998 by Schossler. The authors note that:

> Notably absent from recidivism studies are measures reflecting the neighborhood contexts in which former prisoners live. These studies fail to document the types of communities ex-offenders are released into and treat neighborhood context as constant, and therefore irrelevant, for understanding recidivism. Yet neighborhoods vary drastically along a number of dimensions. Some have low poverty and unemployment levels, ample and quality housing supply, relatively little residential turnover, little crime, and offer an abundance of resources, services, and amenities. Others are crime ridden with poverty, joblessness, and residential instability, and offer residents few, if any, resources, services, and amenities. The lack of attention to neighborhood context is due, in part, to the belief that the risk for reoffending is individually determined. Although

> individual-level factors do play an important role in predicting who will reoffend and who will not, one's immediate environment is also likely to influence recidivism. (p. 166)

The authors spent little time situating neighborhood predictors of crime within the structural causes that create neighborhoods with abundance and those without, nor did they discuss race, although they found that Black males are likelier to recidivate. In a subsequent publication, Kubrin, Squires, and Stewart (2007) address race and recidivism and acknowledge the oppression of young African American men has been legitimized and institutionalized in the criminal justice system. This is the only direct mention of racism in relation to the criminal justice system. Other aspects of racism, such as residential and racial stratification, employment and residential discrimination, dehumanization processes, and de-industrialization, are mentioned in broad, abstract terms. The authors also test social disorganization theory, ironically without acknowledging the variables embedded within the theory that have been used to lend credibility to broken-window policing and other policies responsible for the rise of mass incarceration in Black neighborhoods. They conclude that the race effects observed in prior studies might instead be place effects and recommend:

> Reinvestment and redevelopment of currently disadvantaged communities to which exoffenders disproportionately return, we argue, would constitute a fruitful approach, one that could ultimately help to sever the linkages among race, residence, and recidivism. (p. 28)

> Policymakers must begin to consider how and to what extent individual behavior is shaped by the surrounding environments. At present, neighborhood factors are absent from recidivism studies but findings from the social disorganization literature can inform policy on prisoner reentry specifically as it relates to identifying the barriers to successful reintegration. (p. 29)

These recommendations are productive and would have helped these communities despite being the authors' agnostic approach with regard to how criminal justice systems function, by design, to incarcerate Black men and help create the very neighborhood conditions

that lead to mass incarceration. As I discussed above, mass incarceration concentrated at the neighborhood level increases crime in these neighborhoods (Rose & Clear, 1998; Clear et al., 2003; Renauer et al., 2006; Clear, 2008). The challenge now is that redevelopment after a period of concentrated mass incarceration is taking the form of gentrification across the country (I discuss gentrification trends and crime in Chapter 4).

CRT and 19th Century Scholarship

CRT's credibility stems from the fact that its core claims were established as early as the late 1800s and early 1900s. Black activists and scholars refuted equating Blackness with criminality and biological determinism; instead, they pursued research that established empirical relationships between racial violence and neighborhood conditions and quality of life[6] (Muhammad, 2010). W. E. B. Du Bois called on abolitionists to respond to capitalism as it began to establish new forms of racialized domination (Melamed, 2006). In 1893, Ida B. Wells, noting that the country's convict leasing program provided cheap labor and large revenues for the state, wrote that there were two reasons nine-tenths of convicts were Black. Her second reason points to the origins of mass incarceration and how race mattered in the context of the country's emerging criminal justice system even then. She argued:

> The second reason our race furnishes so large a share of the convicts is that the judges, juries and other officials of the courts are white men who share these prejudices. They also make the laws. It is wholly in their power to extend clemency to white criminals and mete severe punishment to black criminals for the same or lesser crimes. The Negro criminals are mostly ignorant, poor and friendless. Possessing neither money to employ lawyers nor influential friends, they are sentenced in large numbers to long terms of imprisonment for petty crimes. (Wells, originally published 1893)

[6] CRT also views other governmental structures (e.g., health and social welfare) as appropriate strategies to alleviate the behaviors labeled as criminal (McLaughlin, 2010).

There were many opportunities for the field to consider racism and white supremacy in the study of crime. For example, Unnever et al. (2009) reanalyzed the work by Travis Hirschi in 1969 using additional measures of discrimination from the same dataset and found perceived discrimination predicted delinquency and had greater explanatory power than the theory Hirschi tested. The authors argued that if Hirschi had found these results, the field of criminology might have taken up discrimination as a criminogenic factor unique to Black youth. Unnever et al. (2009) stated that there were three reasons criminology ignored discrimination.[7] First, individual criminological theories never use racial experiences as a cause and instead seek only to control for race. As a result, the "experiences unique to African Americans thus received little theoretical attention" (p. 397). Second, discrimination is never measured, and third, few Black scholars shape criminological theories.[8]

CRT would also argue that the type of knowledge sought by academia will serve the purpose of the dominant group (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Within neighborhood recidivism research, several of the most prominent scholars recognize the gap left by not addressing racism as a criminogenic factor. Peterson & Krivo (2010) agree that criminological theories alone will not explain crime because they do not consider racialized causes of crime. They stated, "Research to date has not conceptualized or analyzed social, racial and ethnic stratification as integral to the generation of neighborhood criminal inequality. Instead, societal processes that lead to differences in structural conditions have been treated as outside of criminological concerns" (p. 6-7). In their analysis they noted, "there is no easy corrective for criminal inequality because making conditions equal is systemically elusive" (p. 5) and further, the

[7] Many fields, including sociology, were created to gather empirical evidence to support racial stratification (Henne & Shah, 2015).
[8] Few crime theories are from the perspective of Black researchers or operate with a deeper understanding of the term Black (Penn, 2003).

"significant consequences…would be difficult to change without altering the wider racial order that privileges Whites at the expense of other groups and typically leaves African Americans on the bottom social rungs" (p. 7).

Wacquant (2001) arrives at similar conclusions using a race-class-morality analysis. Noting how no country, including African countries, have incarcerated as many Black men as America, that Black neighborhoods have the same purpose as prisons; they both are a device for caste control and an apparatus for locating the Black subproletariat (the poorest group of the working class) and confining them to the same physical, social, and symbolic place. The economic redundancy is large numbers of individuals living with the same skills living amongst each other. Few Black institutions exist. Prisonization of public housing and shelters manifests as security, perimeter fences, curfews, monitoring, and other controls. Economic restructuring of the Black belt happened at the same time the carceral population became increasingly Black.

Finally, French philosopher Michel Foucault, writing during the 1970s, and heavily influenced by the Black Panther party in the United States, presented analysis of the approach to crime during the 18th and 19th centuries (Foucault, 2015). His straightforward question pre-dates the era of mass incarceration, "how is it that a society arrives at a degree of crime, of decomposition, such that it produces so many people who are its enemies?" (p. 35). He concludes that the penal system was made "by some for others" (p. 24) and that it is "directed at the worker's body, desire, and need (p. 170)." In doing so it functions to establish and control the morality of the working class, who will be in constant contact with and have direct access to the bourgeois property (e.g., the worker will clean the buildings, transport goods and other things the worker does not own and will never own).

It took CRT to codify systems of oppression as a causal factor in the study of criminalized behavior, and while the authors of most neighborhood studies did not explicitly use CRT, several did recognize the role of racism and oppression in causing the correlations found in their studies. For example:

> Structural racism refers to an array of historical and contemporary conditions that have helped create inner-city communities characterized by racial segregation, poverty, residential instability, and low levels of social control, conditions that contribute to high rates of offending in these communities. (Martin et al., 2010, p. 662)

> The structural economic and discriminatory forces that have produced these highly segregated patterns of residential settlement may thus be seen as a primary mechanism in a chain of causation that produces social norms and practices in which juvenile offense specialization is allowed to develop and flourish (Harris et al., 2011, p. 47).

> …there is little evidence here that the commonly observed association between the presence of African Americans and crime is due to African Americans *causing* more crime. (Hipp, 2010, p. 223, italics in the original).

CRT Criticisms

CRT's methodological criticisms have created barriers to its use in research, policy, and intervention, which pre-date the current political backlash against the theory. It has been viewed as "paranoid," seeing racism and white supremacy in every structure (Ross, 2010). This argument has helped delegitimize the findings of CRT research, since the premise of the research project is contested outright. CRT engages in counter-storytelling approaches (gathering the perspectives and experiences of the subjugated Other), which critics argue lacks analytical rigor (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). When quantitative research methods are employed, these studies face challenges measuring covert racism (Ross, 2010). CRT criminologists rarely have access to criminal justice institutions, which impairs the breadth of CRT primary research and methodology (McLaughlin, 2010). In fact, critical criminology, which overlaps with CRT criminology, lost popularity in academia, among policymakers, and with the public at the

beginning of the 'get tough' crime era (Matthews, 2010). Consequently, the development of research in this area is stifled and relegated to specific areas within academia. Only now, in the era of mass incarceration and defund the police, are policies being informed by the tenets (or logic) of CRT. This era encourages critical criminologists to pursue alternative critical paradigms to explain the criminalization of behaviors, people, and places and build out alternative theories connected to maintaining systems of exploitation, state power, and capitalism (Kitossa, 2012). One theoretical gap related to this study is CRT does not offer a clear vision of Black spaces and Black geography and it only offers a glimpse of how the concept of Blackness in neighborhood could be applied. To address this, I engage Black feminist geographer Katherine McKittrick and other scholars on Black geographies in Chapter 10.

CRT Research Agenda

In light of the above, what research agenda is proposed by CRT and what constitutes evidence? CRT is explicit in its value-laden orientation. CRT research aims to reveal racism in laws and criminal justice practice (Brewer & Heitzeg, 2008). This means that "criminologists have a moral obligation to campaign against mass incarceration, normalization of the 'war against crime' and securitization practices" (McLaughlin, 2010, p. 168). This means that abolition is "abolishing the *policeability* of the inequality that prevails in capitalist societies" (Taylor, 2020, n.p., emphasis in original). More boldly, it means a "frontal attack on all the mechanisms that prevent people of color from equal opportunities to accumulate assets that appreciate in value and that can be passed down across generations, and second, the embrace of a spatial imaginary based on privileging use value over exchange value, sociality over selfishness, and inclusion over exclusion" (Lipsitz, 2007, p. 14). These aims are best articulated in Adams and Rameau's (2016) statement in the Wisconsin Law Review, that the goal is to shift underlying

power dynamics and win Black community control over police. They argue, citing the Black Panthers and the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, that police serve as an occupying force inside domestic colonies (i.e., Black neighborhoods), and the only reform is to reassert Black power over safety institutions.

What would count as empirical evidence, given the values-explicit and action-oriented goals of any research project using CRT? CRT research methods are interdisciplinary[9] and should support organized political struggle (Brewer & Heitzeg, 2008). Research aims would be to understand the lived and everyday realities of the Other and develop a historical and socio-political analysis of the deep causes of crime (Matthews, 2010), a concept referred to as counter-storytelling (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). The research aims seek to understand how the poor cope with being managed and controlled, specifically, how they generate meaningful lives (Fairbanks, 2003) and understand spatial political projects. CRT research does not have to be solely qualitative, but it is hyper-contextual; crime science and hotspot analysis as it is practiced today would likely be considered too decontextualized, non-reflexive and offering little explanatory value to meet the evidence requirements of CRT (Matthews, 2010).

In this study, I employ the walking interview method to learn what causes concentrated neighborhood recidivism from 19 Black men after release. A subset of these men discussed the impacts of housing in the context of gentrification stages. My analysis of gentrification as a social process connected to mass incarceration is historical and interdisciplinary. It requires an understanding of settler colonialism (the first act of acquiring land by force in the country), which provides the logic to understand today's gentrification process. My study understands the

[9] Abolition is also interdisciplinary because it requires challenging racism, capitalism, transphobia, patriarchy, ableism, and heterosexism. (Schenwar & Law, 2020).

connection between mass incarceration and gentrification as a racial project (or spatial political project) from which to generate policy and political action.

In the next section, I discuss recidivism. The ideology in this country around crime has focused on predicting and responding to recidivism through individualism and individual-level causal factors, ignoring macro factors and serious treatment of racism and systems of oppression. Nevertheless, the results from prior studies still suggest the gaps in the literature and inform my analysis of gentrification as a racial project.

A Comparison to Social Disorganization Theory

To begin, I will review social disorganization theory (SDT), since many of the neighborhood-level variables stem from this theory. SDT is one of the most prominent criminological theories originating from the Chicago School and one of the most investigated (Clear et al., 2003). SDT characterizes neighborhoods as *organized* or *disorganized*. Residents living in organized neighborhoods have solidarity, shared norms, cohesive bonds, and relationships. These characteristics are thought to increase resident interactions, reduce anonymity, and increase collective efficacy—a neighborhood's ability to develop and enforce social norms, work together to solve neighborhood problems, and access external resources. Residents in disorganized neighborhoods experience high levels of poverty or concentrated disadvantage, racial/ethnic heterogeneity, and residential instability (or residential mobility) (Clear et al., 2003). Neighborhoods with low collective efficacy have high crime and other social problems such as social and physical disorder (e.g., loitering, litter; Kubrin, 2003). Figure 2 illustrates SDT's basic components.

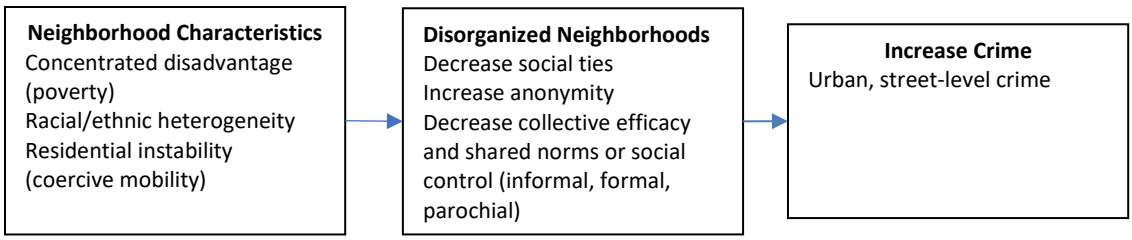


Figure 2. Components of Social Disorganization Theory

The basic components of SDT have remained the same since its development; however, several implicit assumptions undergirding the theory have been clarified, expanded, and even refuted through empirical research (Hipp, 2010). Multiple criminologists have argued that race-specific causes of crime do exist and that SDT constructs do not necessarily operate the same for all racial groups. Burchfield & Silver (2013) argue collective efficacy may be a less of an important predictor for crime rates in Latino neighborhoods. The authors demonstrated that collective efficacy had less explanatory power in Latino neighborhoods compared to non-Latino neighborhoods. In another example, Case (2006) argued that if SDT is truly racially invariant, then class should be the strongest predictor for crime, not race. Hipp's (2010) research concluded that the relationship between concentrated disadvantage and crime is bi-directional rather than unidirectional. Neighborhoods with more crime have more concentrated disadvantage ten years later and vice versa; high-disadvantage neighborhoods had more crime ten years later. The relationship is nonlinear, above a certain level disadvantage did not influence the crime rate. While SDT offers an unproductive take on race and does not problematize the social construction of crime or the criminal justice system, some of its chief constructs can translate to a study employing critical race theory. In the following sections, I discuss three types of neighborhood characteristics associated with recidivism—housing, neighborhood disadvantage, and collective efficacy. In my review, I interrogate the results of prior studies through the lens of critical race theory.

Housing. The topic of housing has been associated with recidivism and provides some foreshadowing as to why gentrification processes and mass incarceration social processes are linked. At the individual-level, the research is clear that living in unstable housing and homelessness will increase one's risk for recidivating (Jacobs, & Gottlieb, 2020; Pattillo et al. 2022). At the neighborhood-level the research has been mixed but offers some insight into the housing market in neighborhoods with high concentrations of FIPs.

Residential stability is an index of several items from the census: percent living in the area for five years, average length of stay, percent moved, percent owner-occupied, percent of renters, and percent vacant houses. Based on the SDT theory, it denotes that residents who have lived in the area for a long time are likelier to solve problems like criminalized behavior and violence together. Residential *instability* has been shown to decrease collective efficacy (Sampson et al., 1997), the key mechanism that helps residents prevent criminalized behaviors. Hipp et al. (2010) and Tillyer et al. (2011) found residential stability predicted recidivism, but Stahler et al. (2013) did not. Hipp (2010) found that neighborhoods with more crime have high future residential instability ten years later; residential instability did not lead to crime. Yet, Peterson and Krivo (2010) reported that residential instability increased violent crime.

Additional studies have tested other factors that may explain these inconsistent findings. Kirk (2009) found that FIPs who moved out of an area were less likely to recidivate after controlling for individual, contextual, and select criminal justice correlates and housing destruction as a result of the 2005 gulf coast hurricanes. FIPs who moved the farthest distance away had less risk of recidivism, and FIPs with extensive criminal histories who moved to a different neighborhood had lower recidivism rates. The findings remained consistent using multiple definitions of recidivism. There is some support for Kirk's argument. In one study, 74%

of study participants who moved reported the new neighborhood was safer and they wanted to avoid trouble (Visher et al., 2004).

While the 2005 hurricanes offered a "natural" way to study neighborhood effects, FIPs, as individuals and as subpopulations within neighborhoods, contribute to the neighborhood's turnover rate. Areas with high rates of returning FIPs have high moving rates, or what Clear et al. (2003) term "coercive mobility," the loss of individuals due to incarceration. Harding et al.'s (2013) findings support these arguments. In their study, the median parolee moved 2.6 times per year (once every 4.5 months), which is high compared to the general population. About a quarter of the moves were related to parole sanctions, and FIPS were less likely to return to the same address following confinement. Harding et al. (2013) also reported that 41% of FIPs returned to the same neighborhood (within half a mile) and over half lived within two miles of their neighborhood of origin. Over time, however, just one quarter of FIPs lived near their pre-release neighborhoods. As a result, Harding et al. (2013) framed parole sanctions as another form of coercive mobility. Massoglia et al. (2013) also found that 1 in 5 FIPs remained in the pre-release neighborhood and half of the participants in the studies by Visher et al. (2004) and Hipp et al. (2010) did so as well.

Finally, concentrated incarceration mirrors racial segregation patterns (Harris et al., 2011) but these results have also been mixed. Mears et al. (2008), while testing interactions between race × age and segregation, found lower recidivism rates among young, nonwhite males living in segregated areas. Recidivism was higher for other racial groups when segregation increased. In Burch's study (2014), neighborhoods with higher rates of racial residential segregation have higher imprisonment rates, after controlling for racial diversity, crime, poverty, unemployment,

median income, homeownership, and other factors. Kirk (2009), Mears et al. (2008), and Orrick et al. (2011) found no evidence that racial segregation directly predicts recidivism.

Neighborhood Disadvantage. In the original SDT framework, Shaw and McKay used poverty as a cause of social disorganization (Kubrin, 2003). More recently, poverty has been measured by the concentrated neighborhood disadvantage index, a concept theorized by William Julius Wilson as multiple disadvantages converging in one geographic location (Clear et al., 2003; Kubrin & Stewart, 2006; Peterson & Krivo, 2010). Neighborhood disadvantage is thought to prevent social control by decreasing access to resources, limiting social integration, increasing social isolation and anonymity, and reducing collective efficacy (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003). The relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and crime is nearly law as neighborhood disadvantage is the most stable predictor of crime; neighborhoods with high disadvantage have more crime compared to neighborhoods with low disadvantage (Boessen & Cauffman, 2013; Chauhan et al., 2010; Rodriguez, 2013; Orrick et al., 2011; Mears et al., 2008; Krivo & Peterson, 1996; Morenoff et al., 2001). Neighborhood disadvantage has been shown to decrease collective efficacy (Sampson et al., 1997).

Black FIPS are likelier to live in highly disadvantaged neighborhoods (Chauhan et al., 2010). In a Michigan study, 66% of the sample came from and returned to highly disadvantaged neighborhoods (Harding et al., 2013). The authors also found that only 36% of Black FIPs living in low-poverty neighborhoods pre-confinement returned to low-poverty neighborhoods after release—the remaining went to medium- and high-poverty neighborhoods. Wang et al. (2010) reported high recidivism rates for Black FIPs living in areas with higher racial economic inequality. Racial economic inequality was positively associated with Black disadvantage and inversely related to White disadvantage. Racial economic inequality did not explain White FIP

recidivism rates and was nonsignificant in the combined sample that included both Black and White FIPs. Given this, the authors argued that research needs to consider race-specific analyses, and policies should target resources for Black FIPs who return to areas with high racial economic inequality. They further recommended that future research identify the link between racial inequality and recidivism and evaluate interventions that lower the recidivism rate in areas with high levels of inequality.

Reisig et al. (2007) studied macroeconomic contexts in Black and White neighborhoods. They found that Black FIPs residing in counties with high Black male unemployment rates are likelier to have higher violent crime recidivism rates. White FIPs were not affected by the general unemployment rate but did have lower violent crime recidivism rates when living in areas with high White male manufacturing employment rates. Manufacturing employment rates did not affect Black FIP recidivism rates. Property and drug crime recidivism rates were not affected by the neighborhood's employment context in the White, Black, or combined FIP samples.

The economic variables tested in neighborhood research correspond to the political-economic arguments made in critical race theory and help confirm the theory. Prior neighborhood studies have established firm links between neighborhood disadvantage (poverty), racial economic inequality, and larger macroeconomic factors (e.g., manufacturing employment rates). Their analysis would be fully supported by critical race theory, which also recommends race-conscious research, policy, and interventions in the context of inequality.

Collective Efficacy. The original SDT did not operationalize "social disorganization" (Kubrin, 2003), and it was eventually measured through the informal social control of neighbors as reported in neighborhood perception studies. Sampson and colleagues (1997) combined social

control and cohesion measures to create the collective efficacy social process. The authors argued that it was not the presence of social ties but the activation of social ties that led neighbors to intervene in problem behavior and access resources (Kubrin, 2003). High levels of collective efficacy have been correlated with low levels of violent crimes (Duncan et al., 2003), homicides (Morenoff et al., 2001; Sampson & Raudenbush, 1999), robbery victimization (Burchfield & Silver, 2013), burglary, and social and physical disorder (Sampson & Raudenbush, 1999). Collective efficacy has been shown to mediate the relationship between disadvantage and crime (Sampson et al., 1997); the relationship was no longer significant once collective efficacy was accounted for (Sampson & Raudenbush, 1999). Collective efficacy has been shown to explain the relationship between physical and social disorder and crime (Sampson et al., 1997; Sampson & Raudenbush, 1999), paving the way for its use in broken-windows theory. Collective efficacy may also play a role in lowering the homicide rate in adjacent neighborhoods (Morenoff et al., 2001).

Despite it being a reliable predictor and strongly correlated with lower levels of crime, collective efficacy, through the lens of critical race theory, is a flawed construct. First, like recidivism, collective efficacy puts the onus on individual residents rather than government and other institutions to address criminalized behavior and neighborhood inequality. This may be why interventions to increase collective efficacy are underdeveloped (Goering, 2013). King (2013) argues that if neighborhood inequality causes crime, why then would research continue to focus on collective efficacy, as government and corporate actors are responsible for inequality, not individual residents. King (2013) states that "discussions of collective efficacy will continue to have little to no meaning until these realities of racialized exclusion have been politically addressed and fundamentally altered" (p. 536) through social change. Sampson and colleagues

(1997) seem to have been aware of this issue, "recognizing that collective efficacy matters do not imply that inequalities at the neighborhood level can be neglected" (p. 923). Essentially, the construct as applied, ignores that the power to make changes often exists externally from the neighborhood (Elwood, 2006).

Second, mass incarceration destabilizes neighborhoods and undermines collective efficacy (as discussed above, by increasing outmigration). Clear et al. (2003) reported that high incarceration levels were criminogenic; high incarceration levels caused crime when 1.5% of the population was affected. Roy's (2004) study of Black fathers in Chicago illustrated how mass incarceration restricted their mobility and created very small activity spaces, impacted paternal responsibilities, and resulted in disengagement from traditional institutions. In Goffman's (2009) ethnographic study, averting family, friends, and places (e.g., school, work, and hospitals) and employing unpredictable movement patterns were common and somewhat effective coping strategies to avoid reincarceration. FIPs are also feared in their communities and stigmatized, making social ties difficult to establish (Simonds et al, 2021). If mass incarceration has altered the function of neighborhood relationships, then it will impact neighborhood life and levels of collective efficacy in neighborhoods with high incarceration. As discussed earlier, FIPs also move in and out of the neighborhood regularly. Craw and ten Bensel (2020) found some support for the dismissal of this variable. They noted that collective efficacy (measured by neighborhood associations) may just be an artifact of nonrandom assignment into disadvantaged neighborhoods.

Third, it applies a middle-class lens to neighborhood appearance. Whose values are codified in instruments such as the one used in Jones et al. (2011) to assess physical disorder? Why are public telephones, dogs, and old cars signs of disorder? Whose values are represented

when the trained observer assesses a "well-tended yard"? Why is mixed land use disorder when all urban areas have mixed land use? Instead, this variable can be reimagined to reflect how government inaction creates disorder (e.g., the condition of trees is under the control of forestry departments, not residents).

Finally, through the field of community organizing, we know that creating neighborhood improvements takes time, and it is not due to a lack of trying and working together. Butz & Zuberi (2012) also noted that despite the work of local policy, regional planning, and activism, the urban poor still fared worse in a host of areas, including crime. Golub et al. (2013) found that while residents have more participation and involvement in transit planning decisions than in the past, they had little influence on the actual decisions made. Even local governments cannot achieve the hallmarks of collective efficacy. Mele (2013) found that the city government's role was limited and eventually superseded when the Chester waterfront was redeveloped.

The Search for Social Processes

The above quantitative studies have established a relationship between neighborhood characteristics (e.g., poverty or neighborhood disadvantage) and recidivism. These authors recommend that future research identify the direct processes linking neighborhood disadvantage and crime (Krivo & Peterson, 1996; Kubrin, 2003). With the exception of the problematic collective efficacy, the processes linking structural characteristics and criminal behavior remain unclear (Kubrin, 2003). Given that neighborhood effects have been substantiated overall, "we know considerably less about the mechanism underlying these effects, the social and cultural processes that connect structural characteristics of neighborhoods to individual outcomes" (Harding, 2009, p. 757). The lack of neighborhood processes has important implications for theory, empirical research, and policy development. With few processes accounted for, the

explanatory power of neighborhoods is reduced; prior research observed only modest (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003) or low effects compared to individual-level factors (Oberwittler, 2004). Neighborhood processes may be more or less relevant for different crimes (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003), another underexplored area. The lack of clear processes also hampers the development of place-based interventions (Clear, Rose, & Ryder, 2001; Hipp, 2010). It remains unclear how neighborhood characteristics affect post-release outcomes beyond recidivism (La Vigne et al., 2003) and what processes facilitate successful integration (Visher et al., 2004).

Prior studies employed social disorganization theory, which was used to support broken-windows policing, and relied on examining collective efficacy. These works shied away from understanding white supremacy within the criminal justice system and its carceral reach in Black neighborhoods and in doing so helped to uphold the prison industrial complex (see Schenwar & Law, 2020). In this study, I examined the structural causes of high recidivism rates, specifically in what ways neighborhoods are associated with high rates of concentrated recidivism. The orientation of the question using a critical race theory lens is focused on "in what ways" would-be neighborhood social processes are racial projects.

Chapter Four: Understanding Gentrification

Overview

This chapter is organized in two parts. The first part is a short literature review of gentrification research. The research dates back to the 1960s and is vast, so my review is limited to gentrification processes in neighborhoods of color—the intersection between gentrification and crime, mass incarceration and recidivism, and anti-gentrification activist knowledge. In the second part, I discuss gentrification in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Defining Gentrification

The term gentrification was first coined by sociologist Ruth Glass in 1964 to describe the displacement of low-income residents to allow for "gentry" or higher-income residents in Britain. The term quickly became popular and is used across the globe to explain similar neighborhood changes. While the exact causes and dimensions of gentrification are contested (Redfern, 2003), gentrification reflects two concurrent processes of demographic displacement and physical, economic, and social upgrading (Marcuse, 2015). Similarly, the term is used to refer to one or more divested central city neighborhoods made up of low-income residents (of color), who experience an influx of middle- to high-income residents and investment capital (Freeman, 2005). The term has class and race implications, but even this is contested, as some scholars treat gentrification exclusively as a class-based phenomenon (Hamnett, 1991; Wyly & Hammel, 1999), others as a solely race-based phenomenon, and some as a combination of both (Wacquant, 2001). Gentrification requires three pre-conditions: residential spatial social segregation, abandonment by the public and private sectors, and financing for gentrification projects. The term originally had positive connotations (Smith, 1996); among scholars, early discourse was agnostic about whether gentrification should be viewed as negative. However, today, most scholars imply if not directly state that gentrification is harmful and problematic, at

least from the perspective of those who are displaced from their neighborhood. The most vulnerable displacees discussed in the literature include residents of color, children, elderly residents, renters, and other long-time homeowners (Richardson, Mitchell, & Edlebi, 2020). Today, the areas experiencing the most intense gentrification are neighborhoods with Black and Latino residents (Richardson, Mitchell, & Edlebi, 2020).

White Settler Colonialism

Gentrification as a global strategy (Smith, 1996) mirrors occupations and other places where land is appropriated (Graham, 2002). In this context, gentrification does not just share similarities to colonialism—it is its contemporary form; it reflects white settler colonial logic and is a form of recolonization of the city (Betancur & Smith, 2016). It involves the conquest, genocide, and removal of people (Lipsitz, 2007) and the violent securement of natural resources (i.e., land) occupied by or belonging to people of color (Melamed 2015). The terms *displacement* and *gentrification* under this view describe *invasion* and *succession* processes (Wyly & Hammel, 1999), and are treated as naturally occurring (Betancur & Smith, 2016) colonization by economic institutions (Zukin, 1987). Marketing materials create images celebrating the gentrifier as a frontiersman, a pioneer, and as first-arrivals and newcomers (Paddeu, 2017). For example, in Chattanooga, Tennessee marketing materials were meant to remind future residents that the area was once desirable (Fraser, 2004).

For McKittrick (2011), "the annihilation of black geographies in the Americas is deeply connected to an economy of race, and thus capitalism, wherein the process of uneven development calcifies the seemingly natural links between blackness, underdevelopment, poverty, and place within differing global contexts" (p. 951). She refers to the annihilation as a bloodless genocide and co-conspirator of imperialism, and points to urbicidal practices, such as

razing homes and buildings, erasing sacred sites, geographic surveillance, and crumbling infrastructure. Writing on neoliberalism as creative destruction, geographer David Harvey (in Hall & Tandon, 2017) states that landownership has always meant the forceful removal of the existing population. In white settler colonialism, land is converted into exclusively individual, privately-owned property, erasing other forms of land ownership, such as collective and state-owned land. Land is consumable and a site for production; its resources are to be extracted. Generative forms of land use are suppressed and replaced with alienated labor. Today, land appropriation has other goals in addition to gentrification. Pasternak and Dafnos (2018) discuss how appropriating indigenous land helps make the supply chain efficient to move goods, services, information, resources, and energy from place to place.[10]

In line with critical race theory and critical geography, white settler colonialism draws attention to the land and the processes that make land appropriation violent. Colonialism removes racialized outsiders from the claimed land, and those outsiders become disposable and subjugated labor (Hernandez, 2017). The land occupied by Black people has been taken throughout history (Staples, 1960), such that James Baldwin defined urban renewal as "negro removal" (Atkinson, 2003; Baldwin, 1964). Similarly, Purifoy and Seamster (2021) describe the experiences of Tamina, Texas, a Black-founded free town[11] and its history of black governance and black-centered development. The authors state, "Black places across multiple scales, from the neighborhood to the city, are in persistent negotiation for their survival with the white economic and political structures in which they are embedded" (Purifoy & Seamster, 2021, p. 48). Through creative extraction, "Rules ostensibly designed to protect the health and safety of residents can also work against Black places' survival, and can be deployed by outsiders to break

[10] 53206's location near a highway could serve this function.
[11] Milwaukee is majority Black and Brown, but it was never originally Black.

up Black communities" (p. 58). Tamina faces annexation from surrounding White-led towns; its value is relationally determined by the White spaces surrounding it.

Gentrification Stages

The gentrification process is highly complex and dynamic across place, making gentrification measurement and prediction challenging (Marcuse, 1985). For example, there are multiple types of gentrification and more than one type of gentrifier (Atkinson, 2003; Marcuse, 2015). It can affect an entire city or just a few blocks (Wilson & Grammenos, 2005); it is the product of multiple causes (Zukin, 1987). Rapid gentrification, like the kind observed in Oakland, California, reflects the quick turnover between long-time residents (of color) and in-movers who are from the professional managerial class (and usually white). Measuring gentrification is straightforward in this scenario. In other places, the gentrification process takes place over decades and is multi-generational (Wilson & Grammenos, 2005). In this scenario, the process consists of several interlinked stages that make it difficult to discern whether gentrification or another neighborhood process is adversely impacting the neighborhood (Henig, 1980; Wyly & Hammel, 1998; Zuk et al., 2018). In this scenario, gentrification is difficult to verify, particularly if a researcher attempts to measure gentrification during the initial stages when gentrification is in the planning stage, has impacted only a few blocks, or occurs in waves with successive starts and stops.[12]

For these reasons, gentrification is often conflated with its final, most visible stage—the influx of (middle and upper class) white families and businesses and the displacement of low-income families of color and their businesses. Phillips, Smith, Brooking, and Duer (2021) present a summary of how gentrification stages have been conceptualized over time using the

[12] For example, in Cincinnati, gentrification successively moved through one neighborhood before halting in 2001 when riots started due to police brutality (Woodard, 2016). Smith (1996) also noted how development paused during World War II.

stages of divestment, abandonment, displacement, and gentrification, with gentrification being the most visible (and measurable) form of the entire process. Two stages are important for the current study. In the disinvestment stage, the local government and corporate sector have removed capital from the area. This marks the first step in devaluing the land, which is a precondition for gentrification. In the abandonment stage, properties in a gentrifiable area are vacant, city owned, or raised (e.g., empty plots where a house or building used to be).

Displacement is also mischaracterized in popular conversations. Like the term gentrification, displacement is most observable during the final stage, when long-time residents can no longer afford to live in the area and are forced to move. Various forms of displacement, however, have been documented through each stage of the gentrification process. Displacement can be direct, indirect, and exclusionary and is part of the practices of many different institutions and actors (Phillips et al., 2021). Direct displacement takes the form of eviction, foreclosure, eminent domain, and building condemnation. Indirect displacement takes the form of condo conversion, taxes, non-renewed rent agreements, increased rent, and lack of utilities and other public services. Exclusionary displacement takes the form of Section 8 discrimination, changes in zoning requirements, home mortgage, and equity loan discrimination (to secure an affordable mortgage or secure loans for housing repairs). As a result of these practices, long-time residents leave the area to escape the lack of government services, poverty, crime, and costs associated with living in these areas. While studying rural displacement, Phillips et al. (2021) reference over 10 different types of displacement. The authors found evidence of "disinvestment displacement occurring prior to the major onset of gentrification in these villages, through 'reinvestment displacement' and 'direct displacement' at the point of gentrification, 'chain displacement' occurring both before and after the point of property gentrification, 'exclusionary displacement,'

and material and experiential 'displacement pressures,' operating once gentrification had started to take hold in these locations" (p. 66).

Other Stages. Other similar frameworks describe gentrification stages within and across neighborhoods. For example, Hwang and Sampson (2014) developed a typology with five stages marking disinvestment and decline (physical structures in poor condition, disorder present, absence of beautification projects), early-stage gentrification (some low-middle conditions, a few beautification projects), middle-stage gentrification (middle conditions, some beautification and disorder), late-stage gentrification (middle-high conditions, many beatification projects, little disorder), and class turnover (structures in good condition, many beautification projects, and no disorder). This typology was created using street observations and quantitative analysis.

Abandonment Stage. As explained in the previous section, the gentrification process consists of multiple temporally successive stages, including disinvestment, followed by abandonment, displacement (in various forms), and then gentrification (Marcuse, 1985; Zuk et al., 2018). In the abandonment stage, the houses and buildings are structurally sound but they are not profitable, leaving owners to abandon the property (Smith, 1996). The abandonment stage, in particular, has clear connections to the neighborhood characteristics associated with crime and recidivism (to be discussed in the next section). In the abandonment stage, the state no longer provides basic services (e.g., in Detroit, water shutoffs are an example; Anguelovski, 2016; Pedroni, 2011; McClintock, 2011). In addition to state disinvestment, industry will abandon these areas, and over time, the area will experience multi-generational high dropout and unemployment rates, and violence and other ills as a result of the loss of jobs (Gilmore, 1998). Combined with neoliberal policies, the state will demolish homes and clear the land (Bittle, 2020; Grahams, 2002). Richardson et al. (2019) reported in their 20-year study period that

displacement actually preceded gentrification in the form of long-term population loss and reduced residential density. Abandonment and underinvestment allows for capital to be invested in other places (Smith, 1996).

In the abandonment stage, Black spaces will be considered uninhabitable (McKittrick, 2011) and dying. In a self-reinforcing prophecy, disinvestment is justified by the state. For example, Roberts (1991) deconstructed the use of the neighborhood lifecycle metaphor in the 1980s and argued that it was used to justify disinvestment in urban areas, the expansion and development of suburban areas, and framing gentrification as a re-birth (Roberts, 1991). It became the official theory guiding federal government housing and urban redevelopment projects (Naparstek & Dooley, 1997). Roberts (1991) argued that the metaphor became a causal theory to explain neighborhood decay as a natural, normal, and inevitable process, and that the science behind the "lifecycle" concept was applied to neighborhoods without ever actually being tested. Schmidt (2008) and Schmidt (2011) provide a case study example of Milwaukee neighborhoods and the use of lifecycle theories by local and state governments to allocate resources to "savable" neighborhoods and retain White, middle-class residents. In areas that would have been savable in other cities and allocated government redevelopment funds, Milwaukee's policies supported the "inevitable death of less healthy, African-American neighborhoods" (p. 570) and neighborhoods considered "too close" to Black neighborhoods. This devalued land will be purchased during the later stages of gentrification at low cost and through financialization policies that will support "risky" investments (Kaplan-Lyman, 2012). The final stages of the gentrification process benefit from the clearing of land, which allows capital to move freely and reconfigure the space as a white space (Pedroni, 2011).

Redevelopment after a period of abandonment helps to equate improvements with whiteness and white capital (McClintock, 2018).

Responsible Actors

Many actors are involved in the gentrification process or make up the redevelopment "regime" that controls the flow of capital during gentrification (Baker, 2019). Throughout each stage of the gentrification process, the gentrifier will vary. Gentrifiers include professional developers, occupier developers,[13] landlord developers, local development corporations, local planners, real estate agencies, nonprofits, Fortune-500 companies, local governments, philanthropic foundations, quasi-governmental agencies such as business districts and chambers of commerce, bulk buyers, bulk foreclosures, semi-anonymous LLCs, banks (loan offices), and federal, state, and local government funds that support urban revitalization projects (Akers & Seymour, 2018; Baker, 2019; Fraser, 2004; Hamnett, 1991; Pedroni, 2011; Woodard, 2016). Even long-time residents who repair their homes can contribute to gentrification. The media will support gentrification by treating gentrification as a sanitizing and benevolent process while concurrently vilifying existing residents (Wilson & Grammenos, 2005). Transportation policy can also lead to gentrification. If a city has mass transit, transit expansions such as new stops and new routes may initiate the gentrification process (Smith, 1996). Gentrification typically emanates from downtown development (Brewer, 2021) with gentrification starting in the outskirts and moving in little by little (Smith, 1996).

The number of actors responsible for gentrification is related to the causes of gentrification and its various trajectories within and across neighborhoods (Betancur & Smith, 2016). Planning and development occur outside of democratic practices in which constituents

[13] The resident (occupier) gentrifier cannot afford to live in other neighborhoods and moves to the area for its affordable housing stock (Marcuse, 2015), but global corporations are becoming the more common gentrifier (Hackworth, 2001).

might have influence. Speaking to the role of philanthropic organizations in the process, Pedroni (2011) state this creates a separate political apparatus given how close philanthropy works with the state during redevelopment.

Local governments help gentrification, and neighborhood associations partner with elite groups (Fraser, 2004) and usually subsidize gentrification either directly or through private and non-profit partnerships. Large-scale neighborhood improvement initiatives facilitate gentrification, sometimes in adjacent neighborhoods (this is referred to as *endogenous gentrification*). For example, the federal initiative, Opportunity Zones, has been linked to causing or contributing to gentrification processes; 69% of gentrified neighborhoods were within or adjacent to Opportunity Zones, and most gentrifying neighborhoods were majority Black and Latino (Richardson, Mitchell, & Edlebi, 2020). Revitalization projects often entail the government give its housing to developers, housing it secured through foreclosures and through nonpayment of property taxes (Smith, 1996). Beyond financing, governments facilitate gentrification through historic district designation, condominium development, new construction, zoning, subsidies, infrastructure investments, and tax-incremental financing (Wilson & Grammenos, 2005; Zuk et al., 2018). Banks give fewer loans to Black communities (Casey Foundation, 2019) or will provide predatory loans (Hackworth, 2014); and if the area is gentrifying, loans meant for low-income and first-time buyers such as FHA loans will not be granted (Wyly & Hammel, 1999). There is a link between foreclosures, evictions, and land contracts (Akers & Seymour, 2018).

Revitalization: An Unproven Strategy

Before the term gentrification became associated with displacement, it meant revitalization, urban development, economic development, redevelopment, and urban renewal.

These terms are used today to repair property, infrastructure, and other services (in a sense, gentrification without displacement). Revitalization is intended to address many social problems—segregation, poverty, joblessness, and crime. There is little evidence that this occurs in any sustainable fashion. Revitalization does not end racial segregation; rather, it creates more of it (Lee, 2008). Low-income residents remain low-income, and there is little if any deep social mixing across classes or the hypothesized benefits of mixing social networks across class (Lee, 2008). Revitalization efforts are not designed for existing residents, but for those who will eventually live there (Pedroni, 2011). For example, bike lanes and other green development are designed to attract middle and upper classes to the neighborhood. In addition to elevating the priorities of future residents, revitalization projects often take a colonial, paternalistic, authoritarian, hegemonic, and racist stance toward the inner city (Betancur & Smith, 2016; Levy, 2021). There is also a degree of anti-Blackness in the process; Black neighborhoods are excluded from capital investments, and most white gentrifiers will avoid Black neighborhoods (Hwang & Sampson, 2014) until they have no choice.[14]

Gentrification and Crime

Crime helped spur white flight (Betancur & Smith, 2016), and revitalization is often billed as a crime reduction strategy, since it is supposed to attract jobs and alleviate poverty, in addition to reducing physical (e.g., trash) and social (e.g., loitering) neighborhood disorder. There is mixed evidence of its efficacy with crime reduction. In general, gentrification is associated with less crime (Barton, 2016), in particular less violent crimes (Papachristos, Smith, Scherer, & Fugiero, 2011).[15] Property and other instrumental crimes increase, at least during the initial gentrification process (Covington & Taylor, 1989). Some authors have inadvertently

[14] Prior research indicates that only poor Black households move to poor Black neighborhoods (Sampson & Sharkey, 2008).
[15] The authors in this study were agnostic about whether gentrification was positive or negative for a community.

recommended policy solutions that actually facilitate displacement processes. For example, Raleigh and Galster (2015) conducted a cross-sectional study using data from Detroit, and while the research design did not allow them to establish causality, they did find that vacant houses were associated with higher crime rates. The authors recommended that local government demolish abandoned housing, right-size urban footprints, and regulate liquor-selling establishments. Interestingly, demolishing housing (clearing the land) is part of the disinvestment and abandonment stages of gentrification. Using critical race and other theories (e.g., neoliberalism), addressing the number and locations of liquor stores does not affect the material well-being of residents or the conditions that lead to instrumental crimes (e.g., committing robbery to pay for rent or food).

There is evidence that gentrification amplifies carceral practices within gentrifying neighborhoods. Laniyonu (2018) used the postindustrial policing hypothesis—that policing practices help purge classes and individuals from areas that in-movers (gentrifiers) view as sources of crime and disorder. They found that gentrification will result in more quality-of-life policing, and the areas adjacent to gentrified neighborhoods will experience increased policing. A high-profile example from the 2020 uprisings of this process was presented by Breonna Taylor's attorneys (Bailey & Duvall, 2020). Her attorneys stated, "When the layers are peeled back, the origin of Breonna's home being raided by police starts with a political need to clear out a street for a large real estate development project and finishes with a newly formed, rogue police unit violating all levels of policy, protocol and policing standards" (para 18).[16] The evidence included that, after Breonna Taylor's death, Louisville and Jefferson County Landbank Authority bought the home she was killed in for $1. The property's fair market value was

[16] The same article states that the area created the first community land trust to promote investment without displacement.

estimated at a little over $17,000. The development was partly supported by federal grants and billed as a way to address racial segregation, economic inequality, and link downtown with other areas, including areas with crime. Goetz et al. (2019) found that neighborhoods in the late stages of gentrification found a 12% increase in police calls and a 102% increase in weapons discharge calls, while actual crime was decreasing within the neighborhood.

Revitalization efforts are often paired with safety plans, and together help legitimize broken-windows logic which increases policing in gentrifying neighborhoods (Fayyad, 2017). Commenting on the Defund the Police reform, Cedric Johnson stated, "Business groups are meeting with mayors to discuss, 'How are we going to make sure that more middle-class and wealthy residents continue to move into our cities?' And, for them, policing is a fundamental dimension of that" (Jay, 2020). Jay and Conklin (2017) make a similar argument in their observations of Detroit. They stated, "Concurrently, in rapidly gentrifying greater downtown Detroit, where upwards of $10 billion has been invested in real estate since 2006, DPD has aggressively deployed zero-tolerance, quality-of-life tactics" (p. 29). The authors noted that each successive Black mayor led their own war on crime.[17] They also noted that the city's 2013 Blueprint reduced services for poor people and shifted the funds to gentrifying areas. The authors found that stop-and-frisk and officer discretion allowed the police to circumvent law, suggesting that the role of the police is to maintain order for capital accumulation. In their analysis, two billionaires invested in the area, which resulted in a 25% increase in the white population (14,000 white residents between 2010–2015). They further found that the state helped to sell off land and participated in projects that treated the poorest residents as security threats. In Rasool's

[17] Similarly, Henson (2013) noted the role of Black leadership in gentrification. In Birmingham, Alabama Black leaders helped demolish Black homes.

(2020) series of interviews with women returning after incarceration, many reported lack of affordable housing and rental opportunities for felons in gentrifying areas an issue,

In New York, similar findings were observed. New York went through rapid gentrification with the support of policing (Kaplan-Lyman, 2012). The authors reported that policing was reorganized to support the private sector, particularly through the use of CompStat and predictive data-driven policing, in addition to increased public-private partnerships, management structures that are accountable to elite institutions versus low-income residents, and the rise of quasi-government organizations (e.g., business districts). The author stated,

> Poor communities are still sites of physical disorder and violence. These impoverished communities pose several problems to the neoliberal state: they impede urban development (gentrification), they pose a security risk (whether it is imagined is beside the point), they represent a potentially destabilizing political force (from urban riots of the 1960s to L.A. riots in the 1990s), and they are a highly visible, symbolic reminder that the promise of neoliberalism has not benefitted all Americans (p. 209).

Once gentrification is underway, it redefines criminality (Kellogg, 2015) to focus on disorderly conduct and behavior that is problematic for in-movers (Bell, 2020). Ramirez (2020) examined gentrification in Oakland, California, using Marxist, queer, feminist, postcolonial, and critical race theories. She describes gentrification as violent, unnatural, and a continuation of settler colonialism and racial capitalism. Through her work, she observed that gang injunction zones were established adjacent to gentrifying neighborhoods (Ramirez, 2020). “While it is difficult to prove causality, given the fact that the Longfellow neighborhood had such low crime rates at the time the gang injunctions were introduced and such drastic displacement occurred during the same period, it is not a stretch to read the gang injunctions as having contributed to the dispossession of low-income Black residents and furthering neighborhood redevelopment” (Ramírez, 2020, p. 157). She continued, “… the Black and Latinx geographies… have been systematically policed to make room for capital to come in and redevelop the city” (Ramírez,

2020, p. 157). Ramírez's description of Black geographies mirrors colonization processes—occupations and the use of armed forces (e.g., military, law enforcement) to manage and protect property and engage in forced removal.

Gentrification and Mass Incarceration

In the previous section, I discussed how gentrification works with and can even dovetail with carceral practices, including policing strategies (e.g., stop-and-frisk and quality-of-life policing). What is the relationship between gentrification and mass incarceration? Unlike gentrification and crime, there is little information on the relationship between gentrification and mass incarceration or even gentrification in the era of mass incarceration. Kellogg (2015) offered a conceptual argument linking the two processes, stating,

> There is a dearth in research addressing the political role in gentrification, and conflicting empirical research linking gentrification to crime. The plethora of research that exists on each of these topics separately provides sufficient evidence that a problem exists but their relationship needs to be further explored. Social problems like mass incarceration will not be solved until these issues are explicitly addressed. Further studies and theoretical papers should elaborate on the discourse started here" (Kellogg, 2015, p. 199).

Kellogg recommends that additional research is needed to understand gentrification, crime, and mass imprisonment. This study hopes to explore these relationships.

In the abolitionist space, gentrification is at least implicated in mass incarceration, though not empirically tested. For example, in the Breathe Act (M4BL, 2020), activists and policymakers recommend that the U.S. federal government address gentrification as part of its criminal justice reform. The act specifically states, "The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development shall establish a program to be known as the 'Community Control and Anti-Displacement Fund' to provide grants to local governments for the purposes of combating gentrification and neighborhood destabilization" (p. 96). In Kaufman's (2021) analysis of police geographies, she notes that

> if prison purports to be a spatial solution to social problems by forcibly depositing people elsewhere (ibid), police initiate and complete that spatial work. That is, arrest is the first removal, incapacitating civilians with handcuffs and heavy squad car doors, before police deposit them at the precinct station. When attempting to see beyond such justificatory logic, it is therefore useful to see police too as practitioners of spatial 'solutions'. These carceral spatial 'solutions' go beyond removal and incapacitation. (n.p.)

Causa Justa::Just Cause (2014) note that "aggressive policing measures and policies are part of the strategy for pushing those determined to be undesirable out of urban public space, clearing the way for wealthier newcomers" (p. 34). The organization, working to prevent displacement in the Bay Area in California, situates mass incarceration as part of neoliberal urban development. In addition, the organization notes the adverse consequences of displaced families who pay higher rents after they move, have difficulty securing jobs and transportation in the new place, and experience increased stress and depression. The organization maintains that gentrification is not inevitable and can be prevented.

In one of the few studies on gentrification and a non-police entity, Globokar (2011, 2013) studied the effects of gentrification on probation and whether probation officers acted differently in the context of gentrification (e.g., strictly enforced rules for releasees living in gentrifying areas). Globokar found no evidence of gentrification having an impact on probation officers in the North Lawndale neighborhood in Chicago. This was an exploratory study with twenty-seven probation officers. The study explored a range of questions, including the impact of gentrification on a corrections officer's work, the expectations for how gentrification might affect supervision, and how departmental policies might shape gentrification. Some probation officers feared that their clients would be displaced and, as a result, would not benefit from gentrification processes (e.g., jobs, better housing). There was less evidence that the department was responding to pressures to facilitate gentrification, since there was little room to deviate

from correctional protocols. Globokar's study is important for examining the role other actors within the criminal justice system. This is particularly relevant since Wisconsin's recidivists are officially reincarcerated for technical violations, not new crimes, indicating that it reincarceration is a product of correction officer decisions, not only the police.

Gentrification and Recidivism

Many of the neighborhood indicators that make an area vulnerable for gentrification have been shown to impact individual and neighborhood recidivism rates (see Chapter 2), chief among them neighborhood disadvantage, the most stable predictor of crime – neighborhoods with high disadvantage have more crime than neighborhoods with low disadvantage (Krivo & Peterson, 1996; Morenoff et al., 2001). Disadvantage helps to distinguish Black and white neighborhoods, regardless of incarceration status; people of color who have never gone to prison live in more disadvantaged neighborhoods than white people who have gone to prison (Massogolia, Firebaugh, & Warner, 2013). Black recidivism is higher in areas with racial inequality; it is associated with Black resource deprivation (Wang, Mears, & Bales, 2010). Disinvestment is justified in neighborhoods with high rates of disadvantage and crime. Over-policing is also justified. Residents will often leave these areas, causing depopulation and high vacancy rates. Gentrification benefits from these demographic trends and existing policing strategies. Gentrification may leverage stop-and-frisk policing strategies and the displacement of residents through mass incarceration.

Milwaukee and Gentrification

The meshing of colonialism and gentrification in Milwaukee begins with the city's status as a legacy city, a designation given to American cities that were economically prosperous in the first part of the 20th century and symbolized the country's industrial strength. In the second half

of the century, legacy cities experienced an extended period of depopulation and significant economic decline during white flight, and in the case of Milwaukee, large swaths of the city were inherited by Black families moving in from the southern states. These families moved into homes built in the early 1900s, sometimes becoming only the second family to ever live in the house. Racial segregation and redlining helped designate Black enclaves and close-knit social networks. One of the oldest Black neighborhoods in the city sits adjacent to the 53206-zip code, my study site (see Figure 3). The tone of the 1938 description of the neighborhood hints at Smith's (1996) revanchist gentrification, the return of lost territory that appears to be underway today. The area was described as follows: "This is the Negro and slum area of Milwaukee. It is old and very ragged. Besides the colored people, a large number of lower-type Jews are moving into the section. This section housed Milwaukee's wealthiest families seventy years ago." (Nelson, et al., 2022).

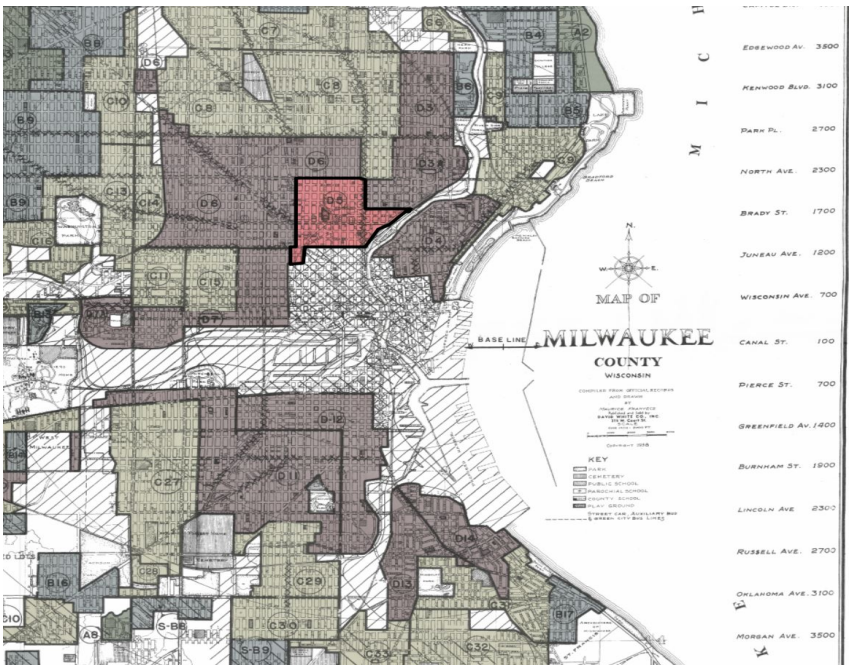


Figure 3. Redlining in Milwaukee. The area highlighted in red is one of the first Black neighborhoods in Milwaukee. The area was redlined. The 53206 ZIP code is just north of the area, in the section labeled C8. Map source: Nelson et al. (2022).

There is significant restructuring of the land in Milwaukee by the number of development projects underway, completed or planned (see Figure 4) and imagined (see Figure 5). Gentrification can be observed directly, mostly within the neighborhoods closest to downtown and near Lake Michigan. These neighborhoods include Yankee Hill, Brewers Hill, the neighborhoods along the north shore of Lake Michigan, and along the Menomonee River (Wyly & Hammel, 1998). Aside from the Walker's Point neighborhood (Levine, 2006), the gentrification process is mostly complete in these areas; only with longitudinal data would the racial and ethnic backgrounds of former residents be known. In these neighborhoods, particularly Brewers Hill, gentrification began almost three decades ago—"The first sign of gentrification was in the 90's with white men driving through the neighborhood and shouting out the window to people on their porches, asking if they wanted to sell their homes" (Pritchard, 2019, p. 60).[18] The city's housing development plan is premised on a policy stating that

> "attracting and retaining middle and upper income families and individuals to live in the city is critical to grow the city's economy. Many neighborhoods that once enjoyed a community with a mix of income levels are now dominated by lower income families. A greater upper range of incomes within the city will help stabilize and increase the value of neighborhoods and of the city as a whole, a critical aspect of the long term stainability of city" (City of Milwaukee, 2010).

[18] Interestingly, this report asks whether displacement has taken place after several authors, including Levine (2006), recognized the neighborhood was as an obvious example of gentrification.

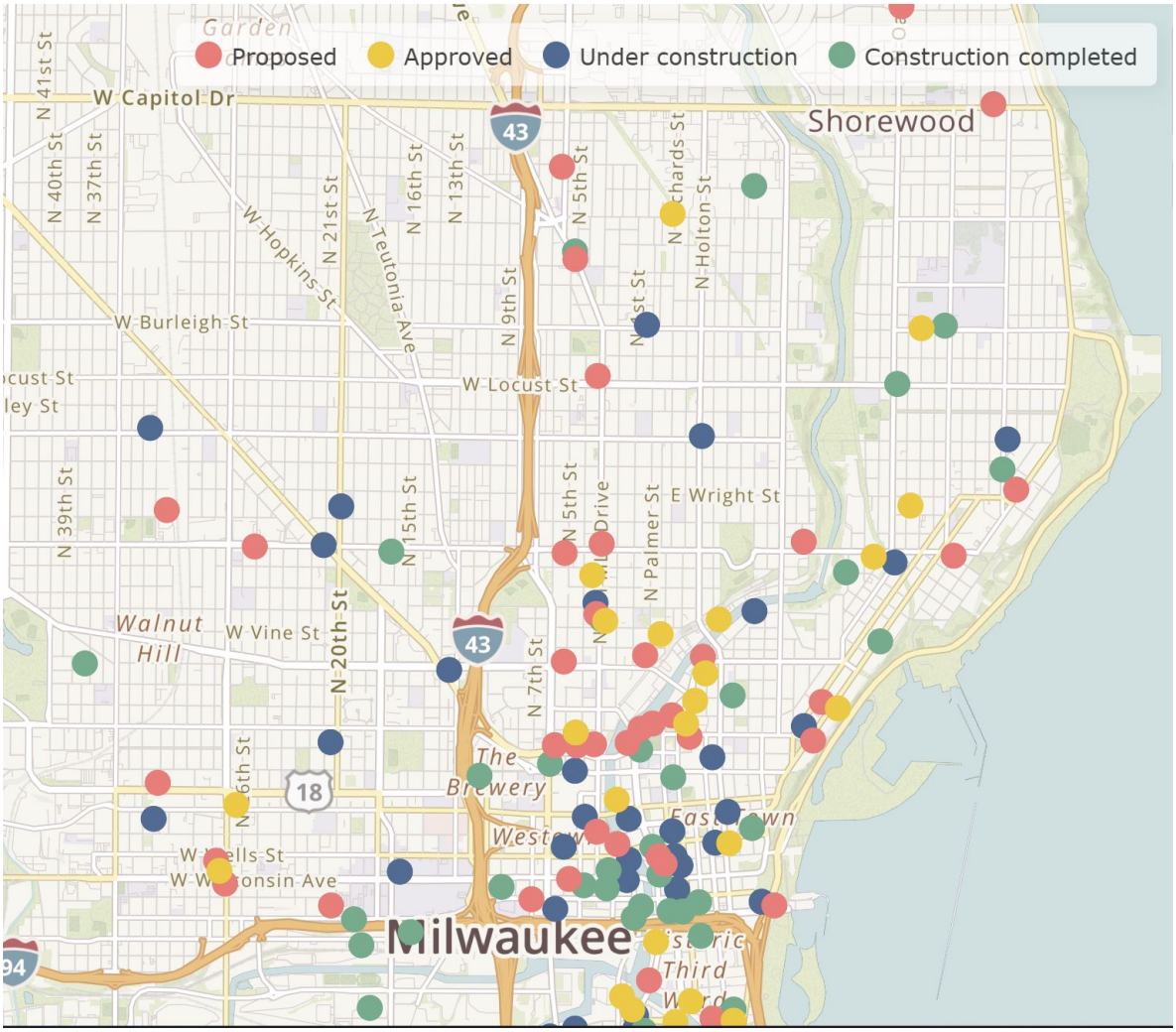


Figure 4. Development Projects. The dots represent commercial, residential, institutional, mixed, and manufacturing development projects in the city by status (proposed, approved, under construction, and construction completed). Map Source: Milwaukee Journal Sentinel Land and Space Development Database. Retrieved 3/9/22.

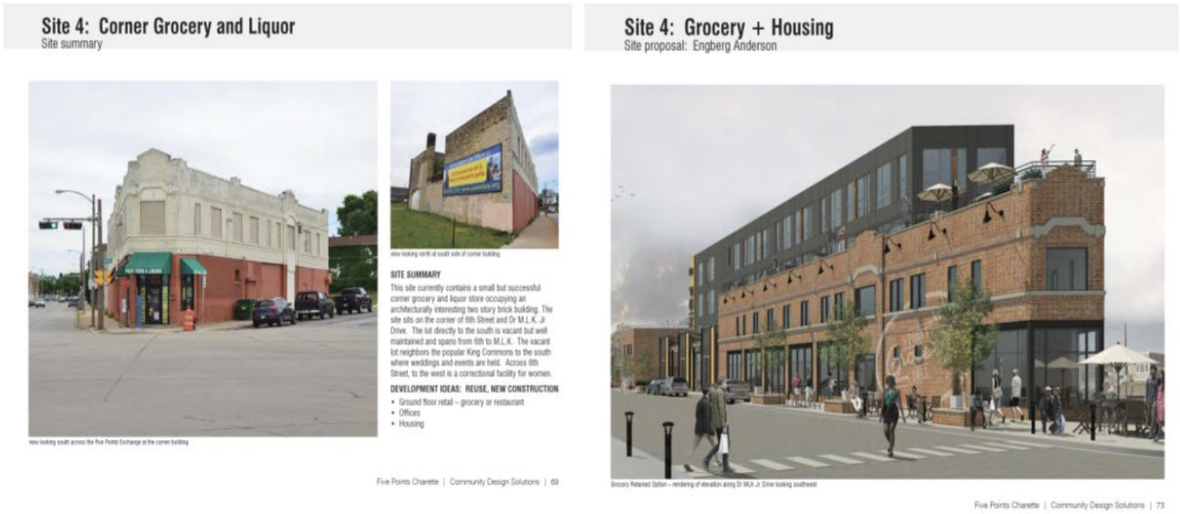


Figure 5. Redevelopment Example. The current building (left) and a rendering based on a design charrette (right) based on the area located near N. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Dr., which merges onto W. Keefe Ave. and extends to N. Atkinson Ave. and N. 6th St. Source: Community Design Solutions (2017). The location is considered a Native trading post with several streets converging in one area.

Levine (2006) advocated for revitalization in Milwaukee, even referring to the 1970s article by real estate developers trying to reclaim the positive image offered by the term gentrification—calling on Milwaukee not to think of gentrification as a "dirty word." He stated:

> Some of the apparent improvement in economic indicators in some inner city neighborhoods has clearly been a consequence of gentrification: the in-migration of relatively affluent households. Although gentrification is a complicated phenomenon, it is essential for the future of the city and its neighborhoods that Milwaukee attracts middle-class and affluent households. Gentrification improves the city's tax base, enhances local consumer markets (promoting retail business growth), and helps break down the economic segregation that increasingly separates the city from its more affluent suburbs. The key, of course, is to ensure that gentrification is not accompanied by widespread displacement in which neighborhood residents are uprooted to make way for the gentrifiers, left more or less to fend for themselves and relocate to another poor neighborhood. Gentrification has clearly transformed neighborhoods such as Brewers Hill and Walker's Point, and mechanisms should be put in place to cushion whatever displacement inevitably accompanies gentrification. But, Milwaukee has not nearly reached the stage of cities such as Chicago, Boston, or San Francisco, where the widespread "reclamation" of inner city neighborhoods has resulted in mass displacement. (Levine, 2006, p. 38).

Other Risks for Gentrification

There are other characteristics that make the city's Black neighborhoods vulnerable to gentrification. Desmond (2016) documented the extensive eviction crisis impacting Black

women and families. Evictions help shrink the city and are a form of displacement (Schindler, 2016). School choice is another neoliberal (racial) project that has been implicated in gentrification processes. For several decades, school choice and other efforts to reconfigure the largest school district in the state, Milwaukee Public Schools, are already underway. Two of the candidates running for Wisconsin governor promote policies to break up the largest school district; the other is a former education professional. Schools are the last institutions left in Black neighborhoods that anchor Black spaces. In Detroit, school closings and consolidations helped erase racial history, identity, and pride and "cleansed" the area for gentrifier place-making (Pedroni, 2011). In this study, "neoliberal urban education reform in Detroit … accomplishes this by shattering established black space, by disrupting neighborhood schools that, although underfunded and poorly functioning, have served as key sites of black place-making and identity construction in the city" (p. 213). The author further noted that "Today, however, schools remain as one of the only remaining public institutions sustaining black community life in the city. Thus, school closures are necessary to prepare the ground discursively and materially" (p. 213).

The structure of revitalization can circumvent democratic practices. The City of Milwaukee is a major landowner given its hold over vacant properties. When this occurs, the local government becomes a target for private developer gentrifiers, who operate through private-public partnerships and quasi-government agencies to institute decentralized strategies to make public land private (Schindler, 2016). One example of this occurred when the Martin Luther King Drive Business Improvement District expanded its geographic territory to include the neighborhood called Halyard Park (Shelbourne, 2020). The expansion meant commercial property owners and mixed-use unit owners would need to pay a special assessment (Laster, 2020). Denouncing the decision, a local business owner, Laster (2020) published an op ed

reporting that the neighborhood was not in favor of the expansion, asserting that "the imperialistic commissioners allow its colonizers' votes for invasion to outweigh the votes of the indigenous people of the invaded land. We, the indigenous Black residents and businesses of the 5 Points community, had our voices drowned out by the self-serving external factions who stood to gain the most from this expansion." Challenges with local government responses to gentrification have been noted in other anti-displacement studies. In the Pritchard et al. (2019) report business officials described the city's development plan as secretive, and the alderwoman saw her job as "helping white men" (p. 58).

Anti-Displacement Plans

In a move to either preempt displacement or curtail opposition to displacement, the city adopted an anti-displacement plan (City of Milwaukee, 2018). The anti-gentrification plan identifies several census tracts that have seen reductions in the Black population while the overall population increased for that census tract (near Brewers Hill and Harambee); however, the plans suggest that displacement overall is limited. The plan uses a very strict definition of displacement that involves replacement by white families—and in general, the plan is fairly vague about who is at risk for displacement. The plan does not recognize that displacement in gentrification also means depopulation and high vacancies. The plan notes that there is sufficient affordable housing but that the population (individuals and households) is becoming poorer and cannot afford even the low-income housing that is there. Other estimates suggest that affordable housing is a problem. In one study, only 9% of rentals catered to those making $25,000 in the county (Wisconsin Policy Forum, 2018). From the language used in the report, formerly vacant areas now populated by in-movers, are not considered gentrification since the land had been vacant. Newer gentrification frameworks consider vacant land a result of the disinvestment and

abandonment stages of gentrification. In a local study (Pritchard et al., 2019), business owners suggested that demolition of housing stock reduced the population in the area, hampering the viability of local businesses (fewer consumers) and were part of the Walker's Point displacement process. The same business owners also acknowledged that the new businesses entering the area were intended to attract new residents rather than service existing residents. The city's anti-displacement plan does not mention mass incarceration, or that both gentrification and mass incarceration maybe operating in the same neighborhoods, starting at the same time in the 1990s. The plan makes a series of recommendations along the lines of continuing existing efforts and is fairly broad in its recommendations for specific regulations (e.g., zoning) targeting vulnerable and gentrifying tracts. It does recommend community land trusts and offers a study from Boston as an example.

The local government has partnered with several foundations and nonprofits to form a group called MKE United. Formed in 2011, the community development alliance seeks to create cohesion around community development. MKE United consists of the Greater Milwaukee Committee, the City of Milwaukee, the Greater Milwaukee Foundation, the Greater Milwaukee Urban League, and LISC Milwaukee (https://www.mkeunited.com/project-team). The Greater Milwaukee Foundation recently purchased a multi-million property called Thrive On King Complex, near downtown and the Bronzeville corridor, the Black cultural business district that was destroyed during I-94 highway expansion. Habitat for Humanity has purchased 80 homes in the area a directive that came from the national office, not the local office (Anderson, 2021; Bonds et al, 2015). In 2018, another foundation, Bader Philanthropies moved into the zip code adjacent to 53206. At least $25 million will go toward housing and infrastructure repair using

federal funds. The MKE United downtown redevelopment plan also includes a public safety component.

Many of the same groups funded to redevelop the city are engaged in studying displacement and funding displacement prevention strategies. For example, as part of the National Neighborhoods Indicators Project[19] (Pettit et al., 2019), the Turning the Corner initiative monitored neighborhood change to prevent displacement in several cities, including Milwaukee. The project advisory committee included LISC and several foundations, including the Greater Milwaukee Foundation, Northwestern Mutual Foundation, and the Zilber Family Foundation. The conflict of interest created by the same organizations funding redevelopment efforts being tasked with a displacement study was not acknowledged. The MKE United Anti-Displacement Fund is supported by Greater Milwaukee Foundation, Greater Milwaukee Committee and Bader Philanthropies among other entities. It has offered $400,000 to support displacement, of which less than $40,000 has been dispersed (Shelbourne, 2020). Local residents have complained it is not enough to support the increases in taxes (Shelbourne, 2020). In sum, gentrification is happening within the city and in select neighborhoods adjacent to the study site, the 53206 zip code.

[19] The project overview by Pettit and co-authors (2019) references original founders, Beer Barons, in Brewers Hill and one of the three founders of Walker's Point but leaves out the contributions of Black residents who followed. I observed the same in the Amani Neighborhood Action Plan (see Benhaddou et al., 2013).

Chapter Five: Phase 1 Qualitative Methods

Overview

Across the country, high rates of incarceration and recidivism are concentrated in a small, subset of neighborhoods (Harris et al., 2011), creating lasting negative social, economic, and political consequences for the families and institutions located within these communities (Clear, 2008). The first wave of research on the effects of neighborhood on recidivism largely concluded that neighborhoods matter. These studies suggested that future research build theories and frameworks to understand the social and spatial processes responsible for this relationship. In recognition of these research gaps and the need to identify neighborhood-level recidivism mechanisms connecting person with place, the current study answers that call and is centered on the research question: What neighborhood predictors explain recidivism among Black men in Black places?

Using a qualitative-dominant, sequential exploratory mixed-methods research design, I obtained qualitative data from 19 walking interviews with Black men after their release from incarceration (within three years of release, the time when most recidivism events occur). Of the place-based themes that emerged, a subset of the men indicated that gentrification was connected to neighborhood carceral practices and was an important social process impacting re-entry and daily quality of life across a range of areas, including housing and mobility (discussed in Chapter 6). To test their hypothesis with a larger sample and at a larger geographic scale (the county), I conducted a spatial analysis of men released in 2014 from the Wisconsin Department of Corrections (WIDOC), discussed in Chapter 7. The study received IRB approval from the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

Site Selection

The current study took place in the northside neighborhoods of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. In Wisconsin, Black residents make up 51% of prison admissions yet account for just 6.2% of the state population (MCCJC, 2011). Half of the entire state's prison population (11,000 out of 22,000) are from a single county: Milwaukee (Pawasarat, 2009). "Over half of Black males in their 30s in Milwaukee County have served prison sentences, according to a University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee review of state prison records from 1990 to 2012." (HIP, 2016, p. 16). Within the county, the state's largest city has high levels of concentrated neighborhood incarceration, resulting in gender imbalances and intergenerational poverty (Pawasarat & Quinn, 2013). In one northside neighborhood, the rate of persons on probation or parole was 79.7 per 10,000, or about 8% of the population (Pawasarat, 2009; Pawasarat & Quinn, 2013). These trends persist even when the data are aggregated using other administrative geographical boundaries; for example, in two northside Aldermanic districts, 11% and 13% of the population are under community supervision.

The state three-year recidivism rate, which is defined as a new conviction and sentence leading to reincarceration, is 32.4% (Jones & Streveler, 2012). Revocations fuel Wisconsin's mass incarceration. In 2015, 3,000 people returned for crimeless revocation and spent 1.5 years in prison. According to Health Impact Partners (HIP), the WIDOC has suggested as many as 70% or the people revoked may have committed a new crime. Revocations impact employment, housing, and mental health (HIP, 2016). Racial disparities persist as 40% of the people revocated in Wisconsin are Black (HIP, 2016). A 2014 directive was given to WIDOC on incarceration stays as part of revocation practices, but the law did not have an effect even two years later (HIP, 2016).

The primary neighborhood of interest is the 53206 ZIP code, an area with high levels of reported violent crime, incarceration, and poverty compared to the other zip codes in the city. Residents spend more than half their income on rent (Levine, 2019). Intergenerational economic mobility for Black males is nonexistent (Levine, 2019). High school dropouts in Milwaukee suburbs have the same employment rate as individuals with some college in 53206. Levine's (2019) forecast for the zip code is fairly bleak, stating that: "overall, the economic and social gains have been small, the deep inequalities and neighborhood isolation linger, and until the architecture of segregation and the legacy of racial injustice in the region are seriously and comprehensively addressed, 'Milwaukee 53206' will remain a neighborhood of concentrated disadvantage and truncated economic opportunity" (p. 63). More simply stated, Miner's (2015) residents referred to the zip code as a dream deferred.

Increased police surveillance in the neighborhood has been an established and widely recognized policing strategy decried by advocates and community leaders as racial profiling and a contributor to the rates of high incarceration among Black men (Choudhury, 2018). A federal investigation confirmed disproportionate contact between police and residents of color (Choudhury, 2018). Racial bias has been documented throughout the county's criminal justice process, including charging and sentencing procedures at the county level (Toobin, 2015). The zip code is the subject of regular political and media discussions, which have been used to further justify increased policing via the logics undergirding broken windows and the culture of poverty; these logics facilitate the erasure of structural causes (Loyd & Bonds, 2018).

The city's design uses the square-block street grid; as such, the 53206 zip code is rectangular, flanked by two major arterial roads (North Avenue and Capitol Drive, on the south and north sides, respectively), a major highway (I-43) on the east side, and a high-traffic street

(27th street) on the west side. The area is part of the colloquial “northside” and is located within the inner ring outside the central city core. Its largest green space is Union Cemetery, located in the center of the zip code. See Figure 6.

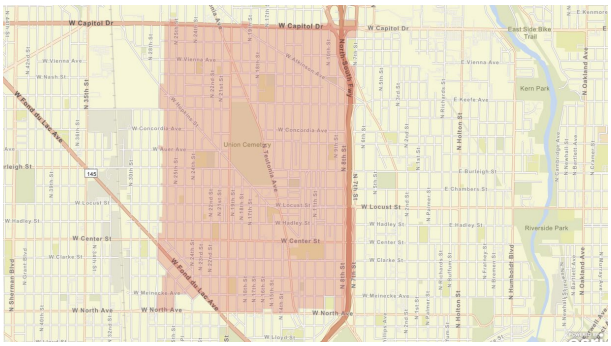


Figure 6. Map of 53206 zip code (pink) in Milwaukee.

Historically, this area was one of the first neighborhood to accept Black families who were migrating from the deep south, and today, Black residents make up 90% or more of the population using census zip code data. Thus, the zip code 53206 should be conceived of as a Black place. See Figure 7.

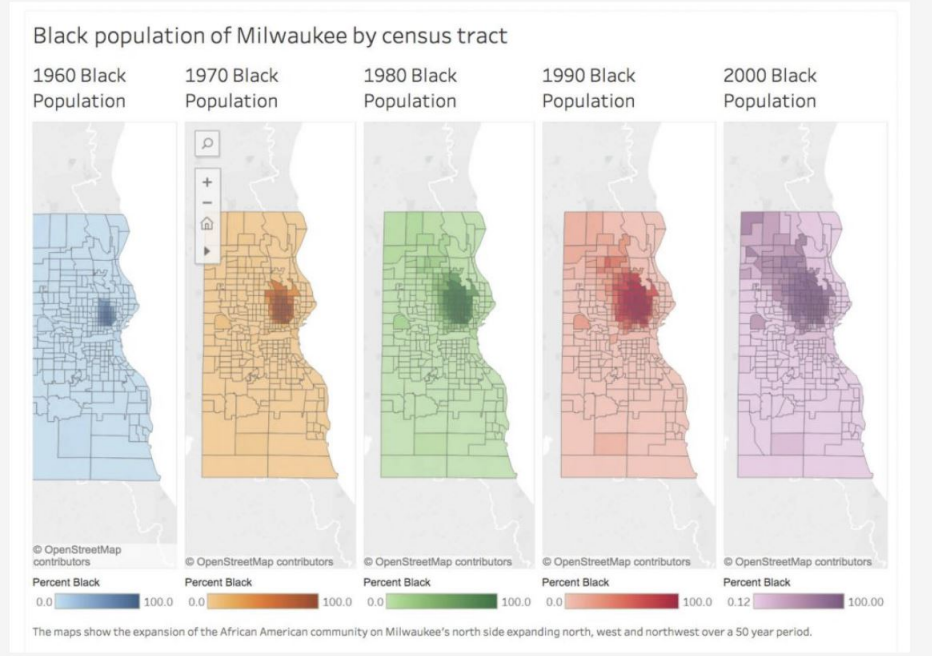


Figure 7. The growth of the Black population on Milwaukee’s northside from 1960 to 2000. Map Source: Milwaukee Neighborhood New Service.

The conflux of people–place manifestations of white supremacy and racism in the city's design are well documented and include hyper-racial residential segregation, concentrated neighborhood economic disadvantages, long-term government disinvestment in transportation, sewer, telecommunications, and internet, and recent corporate and philanthropic investments in specific neighborhood blocks help facilitate early signs of gentrification and resident displacement (a key relationship I explore in this study). Local planning documents list several street corridors within the area as potential sites for future crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) efforts (e.g., see Harambee Neighborhood Improvement District 2020 annual report).

Walking Interview Methods

Contemporary research methods examining place effects have increasingly engaged innovative mobile interview methods (e.g., ride-alongs, go-alongs, guided walks, commentated walks, walking tours, bimbling, or simply walking while talking) by combining them with—or even supplanting—the traditional, sedentary, and stationary interview format (Carpiano, 2009; Kusenbach, 2003; Trell & Van Hoven, 2010; Raulet-Croset & Borzeix, 2014; Ross et al., 2009). This approach has been used to examine a range of issues from forest resiliency (Bowditch, McMorran, Bryce, & Smith, 2017), landscapes (Bergeron, Paquette, & Paullaouec-Gonidec, 2014), aging (Gardner, 2011), older adults (Lager, Van Hoven, & Huigen, 2015), child placement (Ross et al., 2009), and the school environment (Trell & Van Hoven, 2010). The advantages of a walking interview have been well documented. Walking interviews offer the researcher in-person observations of how the participants "perform, construct, and practice the world" (Clark, 2017, p. 24). The data garners further credibility and trustworthiness because it is gathered directly from the participant's world (Carpiano, 2009). These biographic experiences

can explain the cumulative effects of place by offering "clues as to how informants integrate memories of past events, and anticipations of the future into the ongoing stream of their spatial experiences and activities" (Kusenbach, 2003, p. 472).

Although still nascent, the emerging body of research on mobile interviews, specifically walking interviews, suggests mobile interviews provide unique advantages over traditional methods; namely, they generate more place-based stories (Evan & Jones, 2011) and provide the researcher with direct exposure to the social and contextual processes linking people to place. Walking interviews tap into place stories; generalized meta-narratives, racialized spatial narratives (Leverentz, 2012), socio-spatial knowledge (Anderson, 2004), socio-political narratives (Jones et al., 2008), and spatial insider knowledge[20] (Elwood, 2006). These terms denote the process whereby study participants share with the researcher their experiences and relational ties with multiple actors (other residents, strangers) and networks, in addition to their emotions, reflections, beliefs, values, attitudes, perceptions, interpretations, meanings, associations, ideologies, tastes, decision making, skills, and practices (Anderson, 2004; Carpiano, 2009; De Leon & Cohen, 2005; Kusenbach, 2003). The totality of the data gathered are a product of the participant's spatial knowledge and activity spaces, their insights into how neighborhoods work, and views into how environments and street networks are navigated, linked (Kusenbach, 2003), traveled (Brown & Durrheim, 2009; Carpiano, 2009), interpreted, and engaged (Kusenbach, 2003). This information can be contrasted with outsider perceptions (Fielding & Fielding, 2013) and used to generate actionable information at multiple geographical scales (e.g., one neighborhood block or an entire city) to inform program and policy design (e.g., Garcia et al., 2012; Jones et al., 2008).

[20] Spatial insider knowledge is "the characteristics and meanings that individuals, social groups, and institutions ascribe to particular places" (Elwood, 2006, p. 323) and is part of the larger knowledge politics of expert versus experiential knowledge.

In this study, the walking interview was selected as my primary data collection method to examine the (macro) racialized, structural, ecological, and spatial causal factors of concentrated recidivism as a step toward mitigating the harmful effects of mass incarceration and identifying place-based interventions.

Recruitment Procedures

Eligibility. In the current study, the eligible study participants were Black men at least 18 years of age living on the northside of Milwaukee who had been released from prison, jail, or another carceral institution within the last three years. The three-year time frame was chosen to coincide with the period during which most recidivism events occur. The interview participants had to be able to walk up to an hour in their neighborhood without physical impairments that would restrict their mobility during the interview or the length of the interview. To participate in the travel diary portion of the study, the interview participants also had to be able to read and write at a fifth-grade level. Individuals with mobility restrictions related to sexual offense convictions were not eligible. Though not an explicit eligibility requirement, recruitment procedures were neighborhood-based to identify men who were not necessarily connected to a social service provider or re-entry program. Throughout the recruitment period, I was available 24 hours each day via my research phone, answering the phone at night, during the weekends, and on holidays. An electronic screening log (a Word file in OneDrive) was used to track the potential participants, their eligibility, and the date, time, and location of the consent meeting and walking interview. Data collection took place during the fall of 2016 and in the fall of 2017, of which 19 men were eligible and participated in the study.

Advertisements. To maintain the study's emphasis on place and continue learning about the neighborhood by frequently visiting it, I posted 8 x 11 flyers at 66 locations (the placement was tracked in a field diary). The locations included corner stores, liquor stores, barbershops, gas

stations, restaurants, car and tire repair shops, cellphone shops, grocery stores, and daycares. At each location, I asked for permission from an employee to post the flyer, whom I also gave a one-page sheet describing the study. Employee conversations were usually brief and supportive. Several employees warned that although the majority of people in the neighborhood were eligible for the study, the men in the area would probably not opt into the study to maintain privacy over their personal affairs. A few employees shared personal stories about how they or people they knew had been affected by incarceration. Through their stories, they shared frustration over being incarcerated for minor actions and for long periods (sometimes decades). They shared their experiences witnessing or experiencing state-sanctioned police violence (i.e., policy brutality, harassment, and murder), which led to continued fear, resentment, and distrust of the criminal justice system. Depending on the person, these conversations lasted a few minutes to almost an hour. See Figure 8 of an example of the flyers posted.

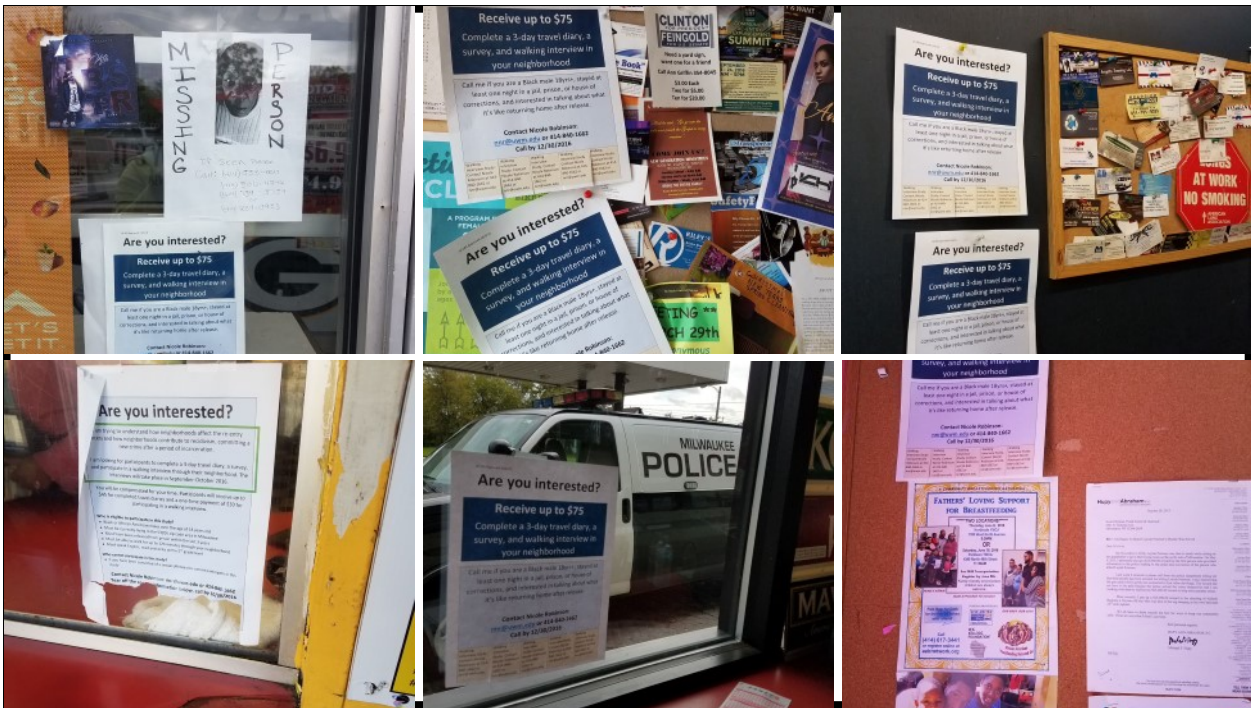


Figure 8. Outreach Flyers. To recruit participants to the study, flyers were posted at various places in the 53206 zip code.

Inside each location, I posted at least one flyer near the entranceway on existing information bulletin boards, on the walls near places where a customer line would form naturally (e.g., near the ATM machine, the register, or check-out counter), and sometimes in the men's restroom on the wall near the door or above the urinal. A few times, I placed the flyers on a table or shelf if accessing a wall space was not appropriate or allowed. Participant inquiries were generally slow. The first wave of flyers did not yield any interest. Eventually there was a period after 30 flyers had been posted where I received a steady stream of calls from potential participants. Certain aspects of my advertising and recruitment strategy likely affected the response rate. In nearly all but a few locations, I was able to control where the flyer was posted, which was usually alongside notices for other community events and programs, job opportunities, concerts, recreational events, and product advertisements (e.g., liquor, car parts, and gentleman's clubs posters). In a few instances, I placed the flyer next to missing person signs and, on one occasion, next to a civil rights poster. In general, my approach was encouraging because other community groups were using the same advertisement approach. That being said, I revised the flyer once to visually match the professionally designed posters. Although the revised recruitment flyer was easier to read from a few feet away and could be read more quickly with less information (and jargon), it still lacked the stylistic interest and the professional design quality of the other posters. Hence, it could have been easily passed over. Slower enrollment rates led to more direct recruitment methods (e.g., approaching people on the street) and expanding the eligibility criteria to include individuals who lived in the contiguous and surrounding zip codes but visited the target zip code. Even with these adjustments, I only directly recruited inside the 53206 zip code. A low response may not be all that uncommon for walking interviews. For example, to study nightlife, Wolifson (2016) passed out 200 flyers and garnered

three walking interview respondents (five additional participants participated in other mobile interview formats).

The flyer had perforated edges, which allowed potential study participants to tear off a small slip containing my contact information. I followed up with most locations to replace the flyer with a fresh set of contact slips. During this time, without my knowledge, a neighborhood organizer distributed copies of the flyer while going door to door. I received a few calls thanks to her efforts. A few employees at the locations visited said they would encourage customers to participate in the study. A handful of participants reported that it was the employee who told them about the study and recommended they call. Not all locations approved my initial request; at least two locations said they would post the flyer themselves but upon follow-up had not yet done so. At least one location removed the flyer as soon as I left. At that location, I observed the gas station attendant, who had been behind the counter, watch me through the glass door at the entrance as I entered my car. The police were present on the property when I posted the flyer. At follow-up, an older man who often sat outside the gas station offered to place the flyer on the shelf by the door. I observed him do this.

Incentives. Each participant received a $75 incentive as compensation for their time, expertise, and any unintended costs for their participation (e.g., travel, childcare, and phone expenses). This amount was divided into $30 for the interview and an additional $15 for each day the three-day travel diary was completed (up to $45 total). I paid incentives and obtained a signed receipt at the end of each interview. Though not formally tracked, the participants indicated that they planned to use the incentive to pay for bills, gas, a place to stay the night, car repairs, or fines or to turn the incentive into more money. The incentive amount was intentionally set to recognize the value that research participants brought to the study, which

could not be acquired without their participation. The study site had thousands of eligible participants, yet it took several months to recruit 19 interviews. This raises the question of whether the rate was sufficient, especially given the costs of participation.

Consent Process. The consent meeting took place at a library or mutually agreed upon site. See Figure 9. The meeting generally lasted between 30 and 60 minutes. The consent meeting was recorded and transcribed, with the recorder turned on as soon as the person entered the room and turned off only after they had departed. I secured a Certificate of Confidentiality from the National Institute of Health to prevent law enforcement from obtaining my data for legal proceedings. I explained the certificate and its function during the consent process.

Figure 9. Consent Location. The main consent location was a local library just outside the 53206 ZIP code. I also held consent meetings in other locations if the participant preferred. For example, one participant felt safer meeting at another library on another bus line.

At the consent meeting, 16 participants appeared alone, while three were accompanied by female partners or their children. Every participant responded affirmatively when I asked if it was okay to discuss the study and the consent procedures with the other person(s) present. The

presence of someone else at consent, even their children, did not seem to make the participant more hesitant or uncomfortable or alter their responses regarding partner status and criminal background. I did observe that their answers were carefully crafted to prevent self-incrimination. In general, I found that the presence of others helped make the first encounter more relaxed and conversational. In fact, the screening call and consent process helped initiate rapport and trust building. It also introduced me to the language and terms that the person used to reference specific lifestyle activities, as well as criminal and civil offenses. These exchanges provided an important initial groundwork for more personal interactions and helped identify potential topics to explore in the formal interview. At these meetings, I wore casual clothing similar to what I would wear in the interview (jeans and cotton long-sleeved shirt) and a black, one-shoulder sling bag. As a final note, for one participant, I signed an employment excuse slip indicating that he was meeting with me. See Figure 10 for photos of me in my recruitment clothes.

Figure 10. Research Self Photo. I wore the same outfit in the field (left). I appeared in my work clothes (right) one time and that participant asked me to wear different clothes to blend in more during the interview.

Study Participants

Nineteen Black men were recruited to participate in a one- to two-hour walking interview (see Appendix A for participant demographic summary). These men primarily lived in the 53206 zip code on Milwaukee's northside. They all had dreams of having steady employment, perhaps even starting a business, securing a stable place to live in, starting a family, or parenting their children. While their political views on the criminal justice system varied, they could all recount its adverse effects on their lives and those whom they knew. Most men were in their 30s, looking for work, had never been married and were unconnected with re-entry services. About a quarter did not have any children (26%) while more than half (63%) were caring for at least one child under the age of 18. Twenty-one percent did not graduate high school, the remaining respondents either graduated high school and/or had some college or a college/technical degree (e.g., one participant attended Bryant & Stratton but had to drop out due to symptoms related to post-traumatic stress disorder after a friend's homicide; he sought psychiatric care for this). The collective debt combined for all 19 participants was more than half a million ($530,649). Most men were receiving food stamps. See Appendix A for a full list of participant demographics.

More than half (63%) were looking for work at the time of the interview. The average income was around $9,694 with 32% reporting no income. For example, Twenty-six[21] shared, "I don't have no annual income – I ain't got no damn job!" Income for some participants was difficult to calculate because of the nature of their work. For example, KC worked informally due to child support garnishments. He said, "that's why I've really been working underneath the table and then doing some types of jobs because once child support gets into it, I'll probably

[21] Participants selected their own pseudonyms.

come home with a $5.00 check or something." The job histories also varied. For example, Bates shared:

NICOLE:	Right, right. And so, have you gotten fulltime work, since you've been out and moved to Milwaukee?
BATES:	Never, I never had a fulltime job.
NICOLE:	Ever in your life? Or –
BATES:	Ever in my life. I always sold drugs, or always had – I always had a plot or a plan to get more money.

The housing status at the time of the consent meeting and the interview shifted. There were at least three homeless men in the study, one of whom had two young children in his care. 34% reported that their housing status was either unstable or undesirable. KC explained his experiences with homelessness and finding a place to sleep.

KC:	Yeah, well we live around. Some of the days I stay with ma, she [his mother] live right here. I stay with ma, if not, then I go stay with my friend. Because, like I say, we like homeless. But they still let me come over and stay, but I just don't want to stay in one place too long. Well, she said I can stay the night, but I'm going to sit here until next weekend.
NICOLE:	Oh, okay.
KC:	So I just move. I just find people to move around with.
NICOLE:	Trying to not wear out your welcome or what?
KC:	Exactly right. Not to wear out my welcome.

Their criminal histories included misdemeanor and violent felony, drug, and property crimes. The length of incarceration varied from long prison sentences spanning more than half their lives to shorter incarceration periods lasting one night to a few weeks. Several men were on some form of criminal justice supervision (e.g., pre-trial house arrest, extended community supervision) at the time of the interview, partly because they had already recidivated from their

last incarceration. Some participants who had recidivated (i.e., committed a another crime) had not been caught. The type of crimes they committed were instrumental, meaning they committed criminalized acts to secure money to live. For example, both Jayson and KC committed armed robberies for the first time to be able to pay for living expenses and financially contribute to the household. From KC's point of view,

> I didn't have no job, I was putting in everything and didn't have a job, and she just moved from here. She had to pay for everything. So, I was struggling but I was still you know – I couldn't hustle. I couldn't hustle because I didn't know nobody, just me and her family. So, I couldn't get on the streets and hustle to help her out. So just that night, I walked in and seen her, I thought – honestly, I thought it was just a gift to help me get on my feet, and that's why I did it. That's the first time I ever had armed robbery.

A complete list of participant pseudonyms and participant demographic characteristics appears in Appendix A. My study sample is similar to that used in other related studies. For example, Visher et al. (2004) conducted focus groups and interviews with residents and formerly incarcerated persons (FIPs) in neighborhoods with high rates of returning FIPs. The authors found that 62% owed debts, and 20% had debts that exceeded their monthly income. Fifty-one percent relied on family for financial support, and their average assets at the time of release was $40 (range: $3–$2,340). In the pre-release survey, the participants indicated that it would be *pretty easy* or *very easy* to stay out of prison; despite their hopes and expectations, the sixth month recidivism rate for that study was 32%.

Travel Diary

To understand participant activity spaces and mobility patterns, the participants were asked to complete a three-day travel diary. The travel diary was a small, white gloss booklet. It was sized 4" x 4" to fit easily in the back pants pocket, a feature the participants' said helped them carry and access it easily. It contained activity questions, such as the date, time, mode of travel, if traveling alone or with others, purpose of the trip, the destination (cross-streets only, not

full addresses), and one quality control question to track whether the entry was completed in real time or after the fact. The diary contained a maximum of 32 entries or trips. The participants were instructed on how to complete the diary at the initial consent meeting and provided with a tip sheet. One important instruction was to include spontaneous interactions on the street, which the participants reported was difficult to remember and adhere to. The participants were also encouraged not to write down real names but to assign titles to the person (e.g., my son) and to record cross-streets rather than provide complete addresses. These instructions helped reduce the recording burden and protected the privacy of people with whom they contacted during their trips. The participants were asked if they wanted text message reminders to fill out the diary up to three times a day. A few participants declined the offer, but most opted to receive reminders, which I sent at random times to encourage them to complete the travel diary. They often responded positively and along the lines of "I'm on it."

I typically received the travel diary at the beginning of the scheduled walking interview, gave it a quick scan, and briefly inquired about the experience. The participants generally reported that the diary was easy to complete, and after the first day, it was part of their daily rhythm. The brief scan also helped me generate questions during the actual interview, such that the walking interview sometimes served as a follow-up to contextualize the data in the travel diary. Most of the participants gave me the booklet in the open, but one participant discretely disguised the handoff. He gave it to me by putting his hand closely behind his back as he walked toward a friend. I grabbed the booklet and put it in my bookbag, without opening it. He anxiously asked where it was later in the interview, and I told him it was in my bag, safe and secure.

The tip sheet included instructions to document police contacts. No participant documented police interactions. Toward the end of one interview, one participant shared that they had been pulled over by the police the day before. In the backseat of the car, tools to measure and cut drugs were on the floor, and he was driving a car that was not his. He did not record this contact because he feared what would happen if I or someone else reported this information to his probation agent because he was required to disclose all contact with the police. The police officer did not ticket him or take down his information, so writing down the event in the travel diary was not worth the risk, particularly because he did not plan on informing his agent of the incident. Another participant reported in one entry that he took a trip to buy marijuana, which, despite changes in the laws in Colorado and other states, was still illegal in Milwaukee. In other interviews, the participants had marijuana on them, but they never reported securing it in the travel diary. One participant reported concerns about having a recorded history of his whereabouts should the police find the diary but indicated that most of his activities were documented with the exception of any criminal activity and a physical altercation he had with several men the day before the interview.

Past studies suggest discrepancies in reported and unreported trips could be as high as 80% and that accuracy rates are lower for Black participants, participants without a car, and participants with low income and education levels; the frequency with which they take trips and how hard it is to travel without reliable transportation causes user completion fatigue (Houston, Luong, & Boarnet, 2014). The participants took trips related to work, family/childcare, food, recreation, and legal. Trips to address legal issues included court appointments, lawyer, or probation officer meetings, fulfillment of a legal obligation (e.g., pay fine), or condition of a court sanction (e.g., registration or participation in a behavioral modification intervention).

Nearly all of the participants reported that the diary was easy to complete and several reported that their activities that week were largely domestic and "uneventful." That said, nearly every participant forgot at least one entry.

Interview Process

To learn about neighborhood social processes contributing to concentrated neighborhood recidivism from the perspective of Black men who had been recently released, I conducted one walking interview, usually one to two hours in length, with each participant. The walking interview day, time, and meeting location were established during the consent meeting and confirmed via text message the day before the scheduled interview. In most instances, the interview took place after three days to allow the participants time to complete the travel diary. I recorded the interview GPS route in all but one interview using the Trimble TerraFlex application on my smartphone. See Figure 11 of the routes taken.

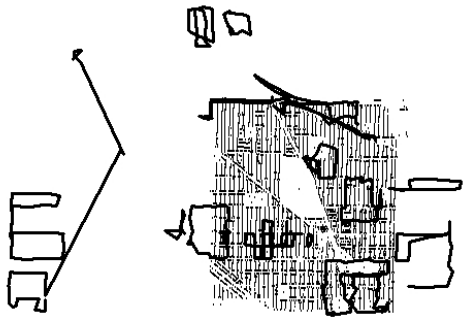


Figure 11: Walking Interview Routes. Map is slightly distorted to preserve privacy; street lines for 53206 shown.

The participant always chose the interview route, although we co-negotiated visiting specific places during the interview. I sometimes walked behind the participant when I could not predict which way we were going to turn and when the sidewalk was narrow. Several participants audibly preferred I walked on their right side, following conventional norms for women (with men walking on the side closest to the street). In one interview, we traveled to

three different sites using our separate cars to get to each site. One interview took place at the same library as the consent meeting, an event I will return to in Chapter 10. In another interview, the participant's girlfriend walked close behind us and sometimes chimed in. This was the only interview when a third party was present.

If audio recording was allowed, I put the mic on the participant first (usually a front pocket or jacket collar) and then myself. Permission to take photos with my smartphone was initially determined at the consent meeting, and reapproval took place at the start of the walking interview. If I had general permission to take photos, I asked for approval each time I wanted to take a snapshot in case there were reasons the person might permit some photos but not others. I did not include any images of the participant (not even their shadow), residential or commercial addresses, other people in the vicinity, landmarks, or other neighborhood identifiers that could be tied to the individual. It should be noted that some interviews did not yield a photo worthy moment, which means that for some interviews, I did not take photos, even if the person permitted them. The photos taken ranged from rose petals and architectural details on vacant homes to murals for homicide victims or the site of a shooting earlier that day. The photos helped capture the physical features in the neighborhood that were generally significant to the person or the interview experience generally. See Figure 12.

Figure 12. Neighborhood Photos. The neighborhood has older middle class housing stock from the pre-1940s (top left). The neighborhood also has mature trees (bottom left). Some remnants of past technology are still present (e.g., phone booth; center). Where most people mark the boundary of their yard with a chain linked fence, one owner used rose bushes (bottom right). Some housing redevelopment projects have been completed or in process (top right).

Studies have shown that providing participants with greater control over the technology used can create an empowering research process for them. For example, power can shift depending on who takes photographs and who determines content of the photo. In Coles, Millman, and Flannigan's (2013) study, participants spoke into the tape recorder to describe the area and how they felt during the walk. In some studies, the participants take photographs, while in other studies, the researcher takes photographs (Gardner, 2011; Ross et al., 2009; Trell & Van Hoven, 2010). The power shifts depending on who is in control. In racialized and carceral landscapes, the use of interview technology does not necessarily lead to empowering experiences, especially if the technology is also used by police for surveillance purposes. I maintained control over the GPS device and camera using applications on my cell phone and my recorder, which I carried in my pocket. The participant had control over his recorder. I frequently checked my recording device by just casually pulling it out of my pocket to see that it was still

recording, since it sometimes malfunctioned on very cold days. I had to be mindful when I checked the participant's recorder to make sure that no one was around. I looked around because while the participant may not have been worried about the perceptions of others, I was. I checked participants' devices less often than I checked my own, since mine, being in my pocket, was easier to check. There were some instances where the person took control of the recording as a way to ensure private details were not captured on the recorder. I discuss these instances in a in Chapter 10. The issue of snitching and participant safety will also be discussed in Chapter 10.

The initial interview questions, including those related to the travel diary, took place while we were standing still and adjusting our microphones. We then talked about the participant's connection to the block we were on. I ended most interviews by asking if the participants did not want anything quoted in the final paper. I provided the incentive in a small envelope (folded) and obtained a signed receipt acknowledging payment. Some interviews continued after this point in the form of small talk, reflections on the interview process itself, or a brief exchange of our respective plans for the rest of the day. All consent meetings and interviews took place during daylight hours, sometimes as earlier as 6:00 a.m. I generally tried to have only one consent meeting or one walking interview per day to ensure I had sufficient time to prepare written and audio field notes, but I sometimes had more than one meeting and/or interview to accommodate the person's schedule; however, this was less than ideal and emotionally draining for me (as discussed in the section on self-care during walking interview research projects in Chapter 10).

The participant's recording was professionally transcribed although I cleaned each transcript using audio from both mics to gather the most complete recording of the interview experience. I captured continuers such as "mm hm," acknowledgments such as "yeah," and

repairs such as “huh?” The transcriptionist did record laughter notes, involuntary vocalizations such as coughs, long pauses, and inaudible statements. Oliver et al. (2005) maintain that each transcriber influences the transcription recording with their own cultural-linguistic filters. I found some evidence of this because I corrected street names and slang, replacing phrases more common on television than what was actually said. I do not know the transcriber’s background, and more than likely, the transcription firm assigned my audio recordings to several staff over the length of the project. Oliver et al. (2005) also discusses whether to use verbatim or grammatically corrected transcripts in connection to issues of respect, accuracy, and reader bias. Roberts (1997) recommends directly asking the research participants how they want their speech to be represented. I did not do this, mostly because of the lag time between the interview and when a clean transcription was ready and because of the challenges presented with follow-up. Instead, I opted to keep the actual sentence construction used and add meaning in brackets or underline words to convey participant emphasis if the sentiment was not entirely clear in the transcribed interview.

Spatial Positionality

The researcher’s positionality (i.e., racial, gender, cultural, political, and economic identities, values, perspectives, beliefs, and implicit biases) influences the entire research process, including the overall research agenda, the priority research questions, the questions asked during the data gathering process, and the analytical framework used to interpret the data collected (Bourke, 2014). It is, therefore, essential in a qualitative, dominant study that engages in critical theories and critical qualitative techniques, such as this one, to reflect on my positionality. In this section, I do just that. I discuss my “spatial positionality” and how it

impacted the research process, specifically the walking interviews. By following Bourke's (2014) reflective questions, I considered the following:

- How did my identities affect each interview? What did I learn about myself throughout the process? How might this have affected the research? At what points during the walking interview were one or more identities salient and why?
- When and how was I an insider/outsider in terms of race, geography, class, intersectionality, gender, and occupation as a student researcher? How/when/why did my status shift?
- Did the participant and I have a shared understanding of my insider–outsider status?[22] That is, did we agree on when I was an insider and when I was an outsider? When could I control my status?
- How did my status affect the kinds of questions I asked and the answers I received?
- Was I co-constructing knowledge or appropriating knowledge? (Muhammad, Wallerstein, Sussman, Avila, Belone, & Duran, 2015).

This section begins with a discussion of insider–outsider status and offer field examples from this study. I then discuss Black spatial positionality. Finally, I note how positionality is not directly addressed in many walking interview publications (this is an issue to which I return during the discussion on safety in Chapter 10).

Insider or Outsider? The researcher's insider–outsider status is heavily contested, and most literature concedes that a researcher likely operates in the space between insider and outsider (Corbin & Buckle, 2009) "at the hyphens" (Cunliff & Karunanayake, 2013); no researcher occupies just one status (Mohan & Venzant, 2010). This is partly because insider and outsider status apply to both ascribed and achieved identities (e.g., in my case, ascribed being Black and female, and achieved, being a student researcher) (Muhammad et al., 2015). The boundaries between insider and outsider status are not fixed and can be lost and compromised (Merriam et al., 2001). The complexity of this issue has led to rethinking insider–outsider status in only binary terms, to thinking of it along a spectrum of "insiderness" and "outsiderness."

[22] Like Mayorga-Gallow and Hordge-Freeman's (2017), I had to guess what my participants thought about me as I was not always able to ask them about such topics. I adopted a reflexive approach to speculate on how my spatial positionality impacted the interview process.

Cunliff and Karunanayake (2013) describe insider and outsider as designating spaces, rather than boundaries. The authors emphasize researcher direct engagement with positionality throughout the research experience to make informed methodological and ethical choices. Their framework matched my experiences in this study.

At the outset of this research, I considered myself an "insider."[23] I had grown up in the same zip code and visited it often because immediate family members still lived there. The neighborhood is just blocks from where my father and his siblings were raised as children and where my grandmother still owned a house. I have participated in voter registration, Halloween events, and other volunteer work in the neighborhood. Sometimes, during the walking interviews, I was able to demonstrate my spatial insiderness and local knowledge of the area. I knew the original names of places, and I also knew some of the same people whom the participants knew. I had lived near several of the participants and sometimes shared this information as a way of *performing* my insider status. But I also knew that I was an outsider. I had not been arrested or incarcerated. I was female and of mixed race (Black and Mexican). I did not travel the area on foot or using public transportation, and I did not consistently socialize with anyone in the area beyond my family and a few community leaders living there. I did not work or attend school in the neighborhood, and I only used its amenities (e.g., parks) occasionally. While I had this in common with several of the participants, my identity as a student researcher always positioned me as an outsider in relation to them.

Study participants predominantly viewed me as an outsider of color, someone who was culturally different from them or the people they knew; however, they recognized that it was

[23] At best, the insider has common and silent understandings and immediately discerns conversational gestures, as well as culture- and context-specific phrases (Johnson 1999, as cited in Merriam et al., (2001). Insider status enables the researcher to gain trust, rapport, access, and cooperation more easily and to access deeper and more sensitive information.

likely that I still faced some forms of racism and sexism. They held certain presumptions about me as a student affiliated with the university; UWM was an extension of my identity. It was assumed that my advisor was White. I frequently mentioned that he was a Black man, and this information surprised the participants, one of whom, Bates, explained, "just 'cause you Black don't mean you always could relate with the other Black men, 'cause people households is different. He probably was raised in [a two]-family household, [his] grandmother [probably] always did the right thing by him." Even when I wore my street clothes, I had to emphasize to the participants that I was born and raised in the 53206 zip code and was not from a "good" suburban neighborhood or northern Wisconsin. During these exchanges, I was not always successful in garnering some form of insider status. My status as an insider was contested by the participants at various stages of the interview process. I was not comfortable being treated as an outsider to the neighborhood in which I grew up or being seen as part of "the establishment," and I journaled about how this might have impacted the interview process.

During a walking interview, the researcher's insiderness or outsiderness is constantly in flux. I was surprised by how frequently and instantly my status changed and how my questioning changed in response. I was treated as an outsider when I was asked to wait outside a corner store or gas station while the participant went in, when I was asked not to speak (as an interviewer), and when the participants reacted to remarks I made that sounded similar to those made by the police (e.g., I once said "I'm talking to people in the neighborhood."). When I met Shotta at the library to start the consent process. I had just come from a work meeting and had my work clothes on. My appearance amplified my outsider status. Recalling his look of disappointment when he first saw me while saying goodbye to his friend at the front of library, I wrote in my journal:

> I just remember how quiet Shotta was acting when we were in the library. He spoke quietly; his body was tight and contained. He didn't move a lot, and when the librarian asked if we wanted to get another room for confidentiality, he said yes, and I agreed too. Then, during the interview, he was so much more confident; he knew the turf. He told me, "We won't be doing questions" as we entered the corner store, whereas before, in the library, he was timid, concerned, and worried about whether I was with the police.

The impact of this on our relationship during the project was lasting but not entirely ruinous. Shotta was reticent in the library but extroverted in his neighborhood. He exemplified the classic walking interview participant described in the literature. For example, he maintained direct control over the research process and the researcher–participant relationship; he was the expert (see Moles, 2008). Shotta chose the route or location, thereby demonstrating his role as an expert (see Elwood & Martin, 2000), garnering control over the stories and narratives he told (see De Leon & Cohen, 2005; Ross et al., 2009) and ultimately control over how he was represented in the research process (see Elwood & Martin, 2000). In just one interview, I got to see him as a father, neighbor, friend, drug dealer, and associate. I was introduced to his daughter by name.

Despite my discomfort with being perceived as an outsider, sometimes, I leaned into my outsider status to ask questions about mental health and other sensitive topics. In these instances, the researcher can ask for clarification of a term or contradictory statement, request additional information, repeat what the participant said, and offer neutral acknowledgments or utterances (Angrosino, 2005). Approaching the interview in this way worked well with Will. I asked him if he had talked to anyone about his inability to concentrate and adopted an almost mothering tone, which made the conversation feel safer for both of us. Using my outsider status, as someone who was curious about his life and neighborhood, to ask about sensitive topics demonstrated my empathy, and it helped make me approachable and ensure that the interview felt safe (see Mohan & Venzant, 2010).

I did learn, however, that leaning into outsider status too much negatively impacted the interviews. In some cases, the researcher can also demonstrate an acceptable level of ignorance to "partially redistribute the power of the researcher, allowing the participant to function as knowledge-holder and producer" (Mayorga-Gallo & Hordge-Freeman, 2017, p. 385). I found that when I was in the role of a curious outsider, judging acceptable levels of ignorance was crucial because being perceived as too naïve was frustrating for the participants. For example, during a conversation with Raw, we were walking just a few blocks from my childhood home. We were about to cross onto a bridge that I had never used but had always seen from the highway.

During this part of the interview, I consciously decided to ask for more information about this place rather than presume to know it. I was aware of the major drawbacks of being an insider researcher, that is, that I might have difficulty separating my experiences from those of the participant, and I could not assume that our shared or similar heritage was equal to or similar in experience. I was aware that self-disclosures might create disempowering dynamics (Mizock, 2011; Rollock, 2013), and I had read that an insider who engages in deep listening and who does not self-disclose can gather more information than one who wants to perform what they know about the area or topic. I asked him about the bridge, and he responded with frustration, saying, "You don't know nothing about the inner city of Milwaukee!" I tried to recoup my credibility by sharing that I had lived near the area, saying, "I actually know a lot. I haven't been on this street. We're actually outside of 53206 though. That's why."

My status as an outsider impacted other parts of the interview, including the route taken. This was done mostly to preserve my safety (I discuss this more in Chapter 10).

NICOLE: No, that's fine. Do you walk in this neighborhood?

RAW:	Not this far down.
NICOLE:	So why are you taking me–you're supposed to be taking me on a tour of your neighborhood.
RAW:	This is. But shit, it's just a little more quiet over there. It's a little too rough for you.
NICOLE:	Little too rough for me?
RAW:	Yeah.
NICOLE:	What would be happening over there?
RAW:	Ain't no telling. I don't want to put you in that kind of situation. It wouldn't be good for you. We'll go down this way.

Dwyer and Buckle (2009) argue that a researcher should be "open, authentic, honest, deeply interested in the experience of one's research participants, and committed to accurately and adequately representing their experience" (p. 59). Mullings (1999) claims that researchers must be committed to the participant's experience and that the goal of the researcher is to acquire information that "faithfully represents the real world" (p. 340). When a researcher cannot achieve the same positionality as the participant, the knowledge gleaned will inevitably be partial. I noticed during my conversations with Dre that even though I performed my values and shared opinions with him, I still could not develop enough trust to encourage him to talk about his history of substance use and its connection to his reentry experiences. The fact that I could not get through the outer layers left me wanting and needing a second interview to develop enough rapport to understand his point of view. His responses during the interviews were helpful, but he was reticent and concise in his answers and I do not believe I learned enough about his world from his perspective.

In some cases, both the interviewee and I were outsiders to the neighborhood; neither of us knew or had stories about the area, and we were both unfamiliar with its built environment and social networks. I found it interesting that a participant's insider status could disappear if they walked one block over or crossed the street into an unfamiliar area. Even in these instances, the participant was always more of an insider than I was. For example, Tell explained why he did not speak to anyone in the neighborhood:

> Just a bad neighborhood—they shoot all the time, over here, and I don't want it getting mixed up and think that I'm one of these guys over here, where nobody shooting at me like the incident that just happened. 'Cause it could've been worse—what if they thought I was with them on the corner? What if they thought I was with them on the corner, and then they pulled up by my back being turned, they would've really shot me up—I wouldn't have had a chance at all. I already felt like I did what I did, and it saved my life. But if they thought I was with them, talking and stuff like that, they would've just shot me up and kept rolling.

During interviews for this study, I visited participants' current home, their childhood home, and the home of a close relative, usually a grandparent or an aunt. I would run errands with them or stop at a place that triggered a childhood memory or a dream of the future, like the quietness of a neighborhood adjacent to a stream, a place where the participant wanted to move permanently. I learned where they had sold drugs and had performed other criminalized activities. And during this, there were times that I felt unsafe, which made me feel like an outsider. Some of the participants noticed this and responded to it. For example, Eckes reassured me that he "had me" and that he would be a good chaperone. His grandparents had moved to the neighborhood from the south as part of the great migration north, and he had spent his entire life in the area. In addition to this, my identities changed throughout our time together. Earlier in our interview, he introduced me to the store clerk as a student who was doing an interview with him; the store clerk thought I was a girlfriend. Later, when a car beeped at us, he recognized the person as a former cellmate. He got the driver's number and said that he would call after he was

done with "this shit," motioning toward me. Eckes did not actually have negative feelings about the interview. He later referred to the process as a way of giving a part of himself to the world and re-shared that his reason for participating in the interview was to help make a difference in the neighborhood.

Black Political Positionality. When I began my dissertation program, I wanted to study solutions, not problems. I wanted to avoid the tendency discussed by Tuck et al. (2014) to "recirculate unexamined narratives of Black people as only damaged, focused only on what has been lost, and participants' relationship to land as broken, conflicted, tortured, disrupted, invaded" (p. 60). Instead, I employed a "desire-based analysis framework," which "focuses on complexity" and perceives the "participants' relationship to land as meaningful, complex, *and* sometimes disrupted" (p. 60). This mirrors the goals of Rollock (2013), who was influenced by critical race theory: "The research needed to be *for* us, not simply *about* us" (p. 506, italics in the original).

If researchers can reinforce internalized oppression, perpetuate inequality, and harm the community engaged in the research (Muhammad et al., 2015), I wondered how I could conduct my research to disrupt this process and instead support emancipation within neighborhoods. Abolitionist praxis seemed a fruitful approach. I wanted the study to support "the many fights for non-reformist reforms—those measures that reduce the power of an oppressive system while illuminating the system's inability to solve the crises it creates" (Berger, Kaba & Stein, 2017, n.p.). This work is a precursor to transformation and is "animated by a radical critique of state violence" (Berger et al., 2017, n.p.). It is based on an understanding that

> The history of the American carceral state is one in which reforms have often increased the state's capacity to punish: reforms of indeterminate sentencing led to mandatory minimums, the death penalty to life without parole, sexual violence against gender-nonconforming people gave rise to 'gender-responsive' prisons. […] abolitionists have

> engaged these contradictions by pursuing reforms that shrink the state's capacity for violence (Berger et al., 2017, n.p.).

I did not want to conduct my research from the perspective of a White gaze. For me, this meant a research process would support efforts to actually change the lives of the people living in the 53206 zip code.

By studying recidivism, I set out to support geospatial policy and decision-making and build geo-political power among people who had been impacted by the criminal justice system. The tensions I experienced "at the hyphens" were related to the process of conducting a critical scholarship and the emergence of my (still budding) identity as a prison abolitionist. A researcher who conducts a walking interview is likely to experience better memory recall and understanding of the interview data than one who performs a sedentary (Carpiano, 2009). My strongest memories occurred when my identity was most at tension with participant conservative views, and I noticed that this influenced the questions I asked. For example, during the second half of the interview with Jayson, we began discussing his theories about incarceration trends at the neighborhood level. In his first few responses, he repeated the adage, "you do the crime, you do the time." This sentiment was consistent with the comments he made earlier in the interview, which shaped my view of him as someone who held socially conservative views and saw the world from the perspective of individualism; for example, Jayson responded to a question about how to improve the neighborhood with this statement: "No, 'cause I don't care about it, not in the least."

In other interviews, I ignored sexist remarks, and I even engaged in a conversation as to whether a woman who was walking by could be considered attractive (while leaving her children unattended). I was able to explore, without voicing judgment, the aspirations of a second-generation pimp who had trafficked women from Wisconsin to California. I did not flinch when

one participant told me: “I wasn’t with that whole talking and shit. I’m gonna get rid of you, put you on a T-shirt, and get it over with. I ain’t having none of that remorse, crying.” In these moments of conflict, I used the strategy of critical accommodation (Mayorga-Gallo & Hordge-Freeman, 2017), which meant that I did not voice dissent or offer direct opposition to their viewpoints. However, in terms of internalized oppression, self-blame, and the use of broken windows logic, I consciously decided how much to explore and listen to and ultimately whether to challenge these views. I had to decide what to do with that information during my analysis. When Jayson made more conservative remarks, I challenged him about his ideas and asked him once again why his particular neighborhood was experiencing mass incarceration. As he responded, he gazed across the neighborhood, almost as if he were looking out at an ocean or valley, then he made a gesture with his hands as if to cup the neighborhood in them, and shared his perspective in a tired voice:

> Because this is the neighborhood where you can’t afford that lawyer that’s just gonna get you probation. It sounds funny, but that’s the truth of the matter. Unless you sell drugs in these areas and stuff like that, you can’t afford the lawyers that’s gonna get you probation. You’re gonna get you the lawyer that’s gonna get you two years in, three years in, all that, like my lawyer.

As a researcher who is dedicated to political action, the way he attributed the cause of mass incarceration to macro structures was something I could subscribe to; nevertheless, the tension between really listening to the participant and injecting my views into the interview was most apparent and clearly pronounced during these occasions. After all, the significance of the insider–outsider debate and positionality in general is concerned with interviewer effects or the introduction of bias to the research. In my case, my bias led to many questions that asked for clarification or would challenge the idea presented, and even the participant’s contradictory views.

The most oppressed and marginalized individuals can parrot hegemonic and elite perspectives and ideologies, which helps in the reproductive of power structures (Jost et al., 2004). Jayson did this. In the study by Tuck et al. (2014), the participants reported that this was the first time they had thought about their relationship to land and through the interview process became closer to language that could describe their experiences. In my interview with Jayson, despite experiencing significant tension over what he was saying, I was able to overcome conflict and return to the topic to understand his viewpoint; thereafter, through the discussion, he moved from identifying individual to structural causes of mass incarceration. My experience with Jayson served as an example of how data are co-constructed by both the researcher and the participant.

Analysis

In this exploratory, sequential mixed-methods study (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011), the first phase gathered primary data from 19 walking interviews with Black men after their release. Throughout this phase, I engaged in constant comparative assessments, reflecting on whether the interview data within and across interviews would help me answer my research question: What neighborhood characteristics contribute to recidivism, specifically in Black places and among Black men? Blending data collection with analysis is an inherent aspect of qualitative research, where data analysis and interpretation coincide with data collection procedures. Gentrification was ultimately identified. Before I had coded and identified place-based themes, housing and redevelopment were frequent conversation topics. In several of my journal entries, I commented on vacant houses but eschewed them as being outside the scope of the study. One of my notes remarked: “I didn’t get really good place stories, and I was trying to get them. We got a couple.

Okay we got these empty spaces and who's bought up this stuff. They were literally tearing down a house with really great architecture." Later on, I commented:

> It was amazing to see that beautiful house being torn down. Seriously, it did not look dilapidated. I don't know what the inside was but, it was also interesting that they didn't take any of that beautiful molding that you see on these old houses—that they didn't take any of that down or strip it or something. Instead, it's just going be demoed as if it was nothing. And this place already has like a lot of missing land—or missing homes, and these open plots. It was so quiet, and we were kind of like mourning this home that's not going be there anymore.

The participants and I discussed the hidden architecture throughout the neighborhood, including the craftmanship details on their childhood home and the homes that we passed on our walk together. When gentrification was raised, by name, as an important neighborhood process, I dismissed it. Reflecting on Dre's plans to keep his home, I noted, "I should've asked more about it, about that, so that was a good follow-up question. I think my hesitancy is to not try to engage in … I mean, gentrification is a little bit off topic."

Ultimately, as more participants enrolled in the study, gentrification processes came to be more elucidated as being intertwined with coping strategies to avoid reincarceration and police contact. To learn more about gentrification, I consulted critical geography, and anti-gentrification research in other Black cities such as Detroit, both during the coding process and in the final write-up. The resultant analytical process was highly iterative. What I initially viewed as "just a housing" issue was also part of the abandonment and displacement stages within the gentrification process and a reason study participants recidivated (e.g., engaging in criminalized behavior to pay for housing) and violated community supervision rules, which could (or did) lead to reincarceration (e.g., living at unapproved sites, violating no-contact orders in order to co-parent or reconcile the relationship, hiding homelessness to pursue parental reunification plans). Using content analysis of the interview transcripts, local redevelopment plans and displacement

studies, I explored my study participants' initial arguments connecting recidivism (and other aspects of the criminal justice system in their daily life) in one northside Milwaukee neighborhood with the gentrification trends throughout the city. The content analysis approaches were similar to those used by Wilson & Grammenos (2005) and Wyly and Hammel (1999), which included examination of photos.

The interviews were coded in MAXQDA. Among all the codes, gentrification had the greatest connection with place and was chosen for this reason. This approach is similar to that used by Wolifson (2016). Text related to housing, employment, mobility, gentrification, partnering, policing, and discrimination themes was used to create the core evidence for this study. The use of other data sources, such as city economic development plans, helped to fill out the stories told in the walking interviews.

Chapter Six: Walking Interview Results

Overview

In this chapter, I ask whether mass incarceration, concentrated at the neighborhood level, is happening within my study site, and, if gentrification is also underway within my study site, what is the relationship between these two neighborhood processes? What makes gentrification criminogenic? What role does concentrated incarceration play within gentrifying areas? The results suggest that gentrification processes capitalize on concentrated incarceration and the prisonization of neighborhoods. Formerly incarcerated persons are vulnerable to the displacement effects of gentrification – and as a result, carceral displacement[24] or carceral gentrification should be a recognized form of displacement for cities like Milwaukee and for local actors seeking to address both mass incarceration and gentrification. Throughout this chapter, I present results from the walking interview combined with the results of my content analysis of local planning documents and review of census data available from the IPUMS (Manson et al., 2021).

Connection to Land

As stated at the outset, it is important for this research to acknowledge Black geographies and Black spaces, avoiding damage-centered narratives. This step is critical in moving away from research that equates Blackness with criminality and Black people as placeless (McKittrick, 2011). The study site, 53206, is a Black place, and it is surrounded by Black neighborhoods (see Figure 7). The participants in this study had a deep connection to land, family houses, their neighborhood, and its people. As one participant put it, “There is love on this block.” Multiple generations had lived in the neighborhood. Consider Eckes: his mother bought his grandparents’

[24] Rodriguez (2019) uses the term “carceral displacement” to mean the imprisonment of millions of people as part of mass incarceration. I use the term to refer to a specific displacement process as a result of gentrification processes.

home. She was the only one out of 10 children who wanted the home when his grandparents moved to a newer build, a ranch-style house near Capitol Drive. His grandparents were part of a larger group who had moved to Milwaukee from Mississippi. He remembered the area fondly, and during our walking interview, I met uncles and cousins who either lived nearby or were visiting his family.

NICOLE: Do you have good memories of that house?

ECKES: Oh yes, I do, fond memories.

NICOLE: How old were you when you lived there?

ECKES: I was like 12 or 13 years old.

NICOLE: Okay. Now was it all Black here at that time?

ECKES: Yes, it was. It was pretty much an all-Black neighborhood that's far as I can remember.

NICOLE: Okay.

ECKES: As my mother had told me a long time ago, she said Third Street was like the biggest part of the uptown of Wisconsin then, of Milwaukee at that time. It had Gimble's, J.C. Penney's and everything coming down Third Street. Until the riot kicked in. When Dr. Martin Luther King got killed or whatever, and that was '69 ['68]. I was born in '71.

Dee W was also living in the area and coming of age during the 1980s. Although he appreciated the redevelopment in the area, he had strong opinions on the new builds, describing them as being built entirely too fast and too cheap. When asked about what makes him comfortable in the neighborhood, he shared, "What makes me so much comfortable is because it's my heritage and my roots. This is where I grew up at." Similarly, Dre's family owned three homes in the area that had been passed down to him and his siblings, making him one of the few study participants that had reliable and affordable housing. His only costs were utilities and other

maintenance, which were still manageable given that he had recently lost his job at a factory in the suburbs due to transportation issues and was in arrears in child support payments, which garnished his checks. In between jobs, he was working informally at his family's business until he could find permanent employment.

While Dre's family had been able to retain their property for two generations, Boogie's family had lost all three homes that his grandmother had purchased. During our walking interview, we visited one of his grandmother's former houses, in addition to two other houses—one where the last incident occurred before his reincarceration, and the final home representing the kind of quiet stability he wanted his growing family to have. When we arrived at his grandmother's former house, he shared, "So this is like one of the houses—my granny owned three houses in uptown when we first got here from Jamaica." When the decision was being made to sell the property, he was incarcerated and not in a position to buy it. He talked about the sale of the property, which now stood vacant, and what the house represented.

NICOLE: And so, she sold it to someone outside the family?

BOOGIE: Outside the family. Yeah, outside the family. She sold it to somebody else outside the family. And I wanted that house. You know, I wanted these things.

NICOLE: It's huge, yeah.

BOOGIE: I wanted these things. It's a corner house, it represents my grandmother, you know what I'm saying? She came to America as just a housemaid, like she served—cleaned toilets and was able to build herself up from doing that to buying three houses, you get what I'm saying?

NICOLE: Yeah, and they're incredible homes.

BOOGIE: And so, I wanted to keep that within the family.

Boogie may never get the house without government intervention to support formerly incarcerated persons to buy land and make the house livable after years of being unoccupied. At

the time of the interview, he was staying with his sister, struggling to find a rental property, and looking for work. He had assumed custody of his son, whose mother had just become homeless. Before getting arrested and reincarcerated, he had been living with his brother and a female friend and her children. He explained the incident that led to his reincarceration:

> So my son's mother came to the house and we got in an argument. So, her and her husband called the police and say, "He's a felon, he has firearms in the house." My brother had his CCWs so he had his firearm. It wasn't locked up. They came, searched the house, found it in the basement. I'm the felon. If it was locked up it wouldn't have been a problem, but since it wasn't locked up and it was just in the basement I was charged with that.

Boogie had only been out of prison for 24 days when this incident occurred, recidivating with a new offense, felon in possession of a firearm (FIPOF). As a result of the incident, the landlord evicted his brother too. Boogie recalled:

> The landlord was like, "Well, you guys can stay here 'cause you guys paid June rent, so you guys can stay here. But July you guys got to be out." I ended up getting bailed out July 2nd. I moved the rest of the stuff by myself. I'm talking about mattresses, dressers, everything. Just all night—I'm talking about I got out of jail about probably about 2:30 p.m. and I didn't get done moving all the stuff out—by myself, no help—because my brother is upset because of the situation and everybody else is upset. You know what I'm saying? Everybody is upset at me. So, I was out moving stuff until about 4:00 a.m.

The false start was devastating along with the fact that his brother, a friend, and their children also lost their housing. Boogie recalled:

> For all that just to "poof," it's a lot. It's a lot, and now more than ever I really needed that family structure so my son could see that too. I want him to see that. I want him to be a part of this. I want my kids—they've been going through a rough transition for the last *three* years. They've been going through a transition from the crib to that, to this, to moving to a house on 35th and Locust. That's a slum lord house. For them to be able to come where they can ride their bikes, they can run around, they have a backyard—those are things that as a father you want to provide. As a significant other you want to supply that and provide that so she can have a peace of mind that we can pull up into our driveway. Those are the things you want.

Formerly incarcerated people are usually viewed as "criminals who bring down" the neighborhood. I chose to describe their connection to the neighborhood using the term *land* to counter this narrative and offer a narrative that the men in this study have a sense of place, want to live in the neighborhood, and have aspirations for homeownership, among other aspects of neighborhood life. Referring to these connections as a connection to land also signals the transformative nature of owning land and that it is part of macro structure of which housing is just one part. Connecting to land has an intergenerational story, a lineage. Conceiving of this issue as land better positions policymakers to address gentrification, which is centered on the financial devaluation and physical capturing of Black land. The focus on land directly confronts the implicit bias pervasive within reentry policy and counters it with a notion that should elevate formerly incarcerated persons (FIPs) to the same status as the elderly and others at risk for being displaced during gentrification processes.

Quiet Abandonment

Abandonment is a stage within the gentrification process, but only recently has it been identified as such. Abandonment is where the land is devalued and cleared of people and property, resulting in high vacancy rates across residential and commercial properties, and public spaces such as parks. The level of abandonment in 53206 was apparent in the very first interview. During my walk with Dead Loop, we came across an ornate house that was being demolished:

DEAD LOOP: Yeah. I think the house—well originally I think they moved—they moved out of the house or lost the house and moved out and then it was vacant for a couple of years—

NICOLE: But look at the woodwork though.

DEAD LOOP: Yeah, I know and the inside was the same too, a lot of woodwork. Then I think kids broke in it or something and went in and somebody started a fire and then that was it.

Later, during my interview with Uncle Ruckus he referred to several characteristics that suggested the neighborhood was in the abandonment stage. Uncle Ruckus lived with his grandparents, who moved to Milwaukee from the south. The streets and alleyways in the area still had the original cobble stone pavement. In my conversation with Uncle Ruckus, the level of abandonment made this central city neighborhood feel rural and secluded:

NICOLE: What is this right here?

UNCLE RUCKUS: Something that's abandoned. Something that was once here, but then it got closed down. I know on the other side of here is the junkyard—that's on that side over there.

NICOLE: Yeah, when I first came here, I was, like, this looks really deserted; I've never seen—

UNCLE RUCKUS: That's just because of the area.

NICOLE: Yeah, I was a little, like, how are there people, here?

UNCLE RUCKUS: On this side of town, huh?

NICOLE: Well, yeah, well, 'cause it shifted, you know? Like, whatever this is—

UNCLE RUCKUS: Nothing; very secluded—there's nothing to really be seen over here.

As part of his explanation of mass incarceration, Eckes explained, "I mean the business side and the house and property side is just kinda poor. It's too much of this. There used to be two houses right there. It's too much of that." Boogie also commented on the abandonment process: "So these are houses that really had stained glass windows and all that but as time goes on and these houses became renter houses, a lot of people let these houses go down, you know what I'm saying? You had daycares here, you had a corner store there. As you could see, these

houses—kind of the condition of these houses." Twenty-Six counted five abandoned houses on just one side of the street to make the point that the neighborhood was "fucked." See Figure 16.

Figure 13. Examples of Necropolitics and Systemic Issues. Trash in the alleyway (top left), a business corridor several blocks long that cuts through the zip code is mostly abandoned (top center), a site where the police surveillance technology (shots-spotter) is thought to be located (top right), a few minutes after an active shooting during the interview (bottom left), all but one church visited was closed (bottom center), and many abandoned houses were stripped of valuable material such as aluminum (bottom right).

On the walk with Don Juan, he pointed out locations where he used to live, but the house was no longer there. "I used to live right here too. They tore the house down a little while ago, but it was still standing about a year ago, year-and-a-half ago, because we were staying there two years ago. A buddy of mine had the house and we just ended up getting a couple rooms from him, because there were so many rooms in the house. That empty field between the store and the white house that's where it was." He continued, noting, "There's another, some more abandonment. I'm telling you every block you're going to see this on every block, every single block." According to Marc Levine's (2019) report on 53206, over one-quarter of housing units were vacant in 2017, more than double the city vacant housing rate; only 5% had been vacant in

1970. Home ownership decreased to 33.6% over the same time period.[25] The effect has been a type of displacement that was also observed in Detroit, where the loss of population created secluded deserts similar to what I observed during these walks. Figure 14 presents owner-occupied units and vacant properties (using 1880-code classification). Vacant properties are distributed throughout the zip code except in the area where owner-occupied units are the denser (in the top right quadrant of the zip code).

Figure 14. Density map of owner-occupied units (left, pink) and vacant properties (right, dark blue). Source: Author calculations using City of Milwaukee Master Property Record (MPROP).

Eviction is a form of displacement during gentrification (Paton & Cooper, 2006) and may partly explain the population losses in the 53206 and the surrounding areas. Evictions in Milwaukee have received national attention (see Figure 15).

[25] In the Amani neighborhood, a quarter of the properties are foreclosed upon or vacant (LISC, no date).

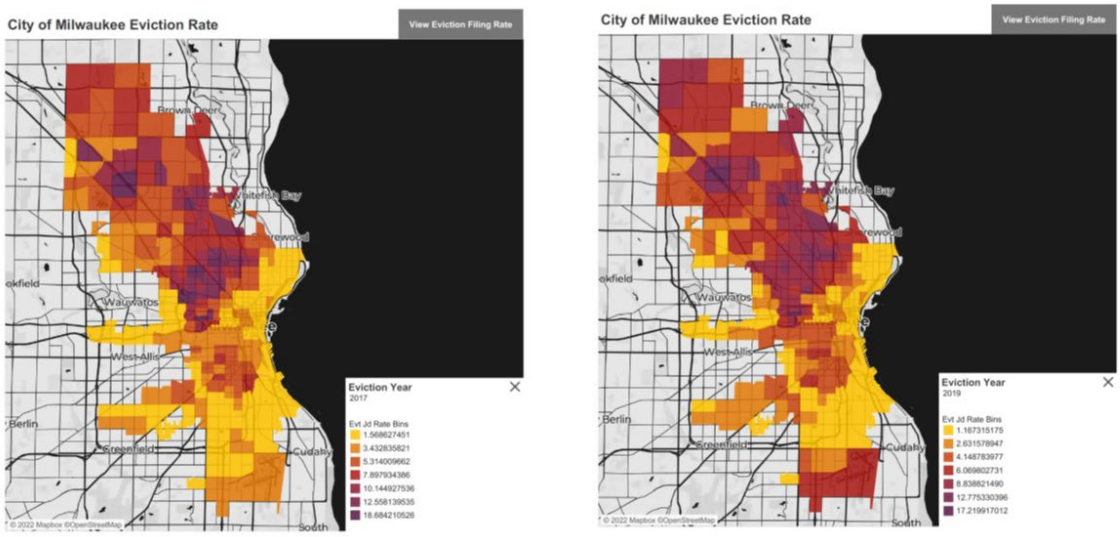


Figure 15. Map of Evictions. The 2017 and 2019 eviction rate per 100 rental households are shown. Milwaukee evictions overlap with the same area as recidivism. Map Source: https://mke-evict.com/sda/fourth-post/

Accessing housing is even more difficult if the household has both felony convictions and past housing evictions. For Don Juan housing had been an ongoing struggle, complicated by his girlfriend's eviction while he was incarcerated. He shared,

DON JUAN: Like the last six months I've been back-and-forth to my mom's, but like I would leave them at my mother's house because it was more peaceful that way. At night, I would take them there, get them fed, get them showered, get them dressed, put them down, put on a movie, make sure that their homework probably would already be done because that's the first thing we do from leaving the school to wherever we go, we go straight to homework.

NICOLE: Mm-hmm.

DON JUAN: Then I put them to sleep and I would get up and leave. It's always been because like if I want to save some money I can do—I have more maneuverability if they're stably put down for the night.

NICOLE: Yeah.

DON JUAN: I can save some money if I even want to just sleep in my car and I don't even don't bother anybody but me as long as I know they were straight.

Prior to being homeless, he was living in an apartment. He had just paid several months rent in advance when his landlord asked him to help him with a police complaint against his

upstairs neighbors who were selling drugs. No wanting to get involved, he declined and the landlord evicted everyone in the building. When I asked him if he could have sought help as a renter to recover his deposit, he said, "I didn't even want to go through all that. I was on parole at the time. My name was on a lease that it wasn't even supposed to be on." If he went to court to get his money from his landlord, he believed he would have been reincarcerated and "back in prison for breaking my rules." To sum up what he needed during this re-entry, we discussed housing again:

NICOLE: That is hard. Outside of jobs, what else? I'm mean it feels like jobs is it.

DON JUAN: What's important for me right now? Housing. Man, it's hell getting housing.

NICOLE: Even though we're walking past these incredible—that has to be a 2,000-square-foot home right there.

He went on to say, "I've tried south, north, east, and west. It's like the same companies own all the damn houses, man. It made me think the government own the companies, and they like, 'We ain't dealing with felons. We ain't dealing with evictions.'" At the time of the walking interview, Don Juan and his family were homeless. They had temporarily secured a room in his friend's apartment for $20 a night, that being the amount Don Juan felt that he could comfortably hustle each day. Technically he was engaging in criminalized behavior; the morning of the interview, he had stolen food from the grocery store for the family to eat breakfast. He was careful to steal goods under a certain monetary value since, should he get caught, he would probably only receive a ticket and could avoid reincarceration. He did not get caught that morning. He explained,

> But as far as trying not to commit crimes I try my best every day, I try. It is hard like for me a person that has only lived, breathed, and eaten that life, from like a baby to turn it all around now and trying to live for these babies is hard, it's really hard. I've been places looking for—like before I went to a place looking for a shelter. They told me I had to be a single male, not a parent. They really don't even have anything for parent-fathers period.

Of the 8,711 properties in 53206, 1,570 (18%) are owned by LLCs and 1,499 (17%) are owned by the City of Milwaukee (using MPROP data).[26] Essentially Don Juan's observation may apply to not just one company but to hundreds of LLCs that own property in the area as well as public housing, which make up 35% of all proprieties in the area.

Dee W also noticed the difference from when the neighborhood had more people: "You look out of all the homes that are for sale, listen to the neighborhood, it's nice and quiet. I can remember back in like '87, '88 you come down here at 10 o'clock in the morning, there'd be dope dealers standing on the corner. It'd be music playing loud. The neighborhood has really changed. It really has." He attributed the quietness to the incarceration or death of fellow residents. He continued, stating the neighborhood had "changed a lot. This check cashing place used to get robbed all the time but now that the children, you know the ones that was children now are grown adults and their parents are still staying in the area, and a lot of them probably are in jail or not with us anymore, made the area a lot quieter. I'm not saying that that just permanently would happen, but the area is a lot quieter now."

The level of abandonment that made the neighborhood quiet that day on my walk with Dee W can be documented using census data. In Levine's (2019) analysis of the zip code, since the 1970s, an estimated 61% of the population has left, and since 2000, 30% have moved away. An online zip code analyst estimates that between each census, the 53206 population went from 32,868 to 28,210 (https://www.unitedstateszipcodes.org/53206/). Using aldermanic district boundaries, Aldermanic District 15 has lost 5,050 people from the 2000 to the 2010 census (from

[26] It was beyond the scope to examine who owned these semi-anonymous LLCs and how the LLCs are connected. There are some connections between the LLCs just by their names. For example, one company is called Detailed Investments LLC, Detailed Investments II LLC, Detailed Investments III LLC, and Detailed Investments IV LLC. Combined these companies own 13 properties.

39,363 to 34,313). Between 2010 and 2020, more than 10% of the population was lost in Aldermanic Districts 15 and 6. This has caused female–male gender imbalances and lowered the average median age for males; it is 25 years for male residents on the near northside, whereas it is 34 years for the whole city and 37 years for the state (City of Milwaukee, 2009). Dee W's notion that it is due to jail is likely to be correct. For the census tracts that make up 53206, the average 2010 incarceration rate is 17.7% for Black males born between 1978 and 1983 (Levine, 2019). The incarceration rate is higher for specific cohorts like Dee W's. Levine (2006) observes:

> Our estimate, after grappling with serious data problems and methodological challenges, is that 24.1 percent of Black males in 53206 between the ages of 20-64 were in the carceral system in 2013 (down slightly from 28.5 percent in 2007, and about the same level as 2001). Among the most incarcerated age group, Black males between the ages of 25 and 34, we estimate that 42.3 percent of this cohort in 53206 was either incarcerated or under active community supervision in 2013 (down from 47.2 percent in 2007, but up from 24.3 percent in 2001). (p. 6).

Criminologist Todd Clear and coauthors (2003) termed this phenomenon, the removal of residents due to incarceration, as coercive mobility, a form of neighborhood residential instability. In a concerned voice, Boogie commented on the effects of this approach along its gendered dimensions: "If you take some of the men and the structure from the neighborhood and just taking that out, it leaves a lot of the neighborhood. They think they are helping the neighborhoods like 'yeah we're tough on crime,' 'we're getting these bad guys out,' but some of these bad guys are really good guys."

The severity of the abandonment and generational disinvestment on the people left behind (and on those who left) came out in Fred's frustrations that "Black neighborhoods" do not actually exist. He angrily observed:

> We don't got no Black neighborhoods. Ain't no Black neighborhoods in America. We got neighborhoods populated by Blacks, but it's not Black neighborhoods. We don't own

> the homes in the area, we don't own the businesses, the money that we put into the business is not being distributed back to the community. Not pushed back out into the community. So, when the police get called in neighborhood, we gonna be the victims. So, we got no Black neighborhoods. And I ain't gonna look at it and say we ain't got no rights. 'Cause we do if we man up and stick together. But when you study history and study all these different cultures, Blacks is the only one that don't stick together.

He did not believe that a Black neighborhood could exist as long as Black people provided cheap labor within the larger economic system, in which case any efforts to achieve progress would be derailed. He noted:

> Okay, I don't think we could, low key, because say if we do start our own Black businesses, do all this, do that. Guess what they gonna do? Combine all the Black business, like they did Black Wall Street. Get rid of all that, and we ain't got like air forces, air crafts, where we got our own helicopters and they—we go bomb and go back to war with them. We ain't got that. So, they gonna come tear our stuff down, and then they gonna start building stuff, because they want us to toil for them, to help they corporation financially. We the toilers to keep them rich. We're gonna toil for them to keep them rich. We can walk to this corner. So, while we toiling, keeping them rich, because they paying us slave wages.

Given this, his focus was then his family, which he said was his main reason for avoiding reincarceration and coping with his continued oppression. When asked what keeps him out of prison, he said,

> My girlfriend, her kids. When I say hi to them, and I walk in the house, how they act and how they like run up to me, and the love, and I be like, we gotta save the babies. I tell myself, okay, I'll be oppressed and give them the knowledge, and give them, like, teach them to be self-sufficient. Teach them trades, et cetera, so when they get older, they don't have to work for the system.

Dee W pointed to the disinvestment process that advocates use today, that the state had made investments in incarceration over repairing the streets. He also noted how child support-related incarcerations did not make sense if the goal was to encourage employment and payments. He surmised,

DEE W: What does it do for the children or the parent that's the custodial parent at that time, if I'm locked up? It's still just gonna be property and still gonna be the same thing that happens before I went to jail. So I think that it's—that the State of Wisconsin, their police department, they utilize us as money.

NICOLE: Yeah. How much money? A lot of money?

DEE W: Yeah, they get a lot of money for each head that's sitting there. You know, tax break off or whatever, that's the reason why I feel like Wisconsin, we have some of the raggediest streets and you know I think that they take more money, spending it into putting people in jail than putting it back into the community, and I'm not saying that you shouldn't lock somebody up for going to rape or kill, or do everything else but something as petty as child support, how can you get anything from anyone, if they're locked up?

The type of abandonment described above has been captured through the neighborhood disadvantage and residential mobility constructs in prior neighborhood studies and associated with both crime and recidivism. In the context of gentrification, abandonment is part of the gentrification process and part of local narratives to dismiss the argument that gentrification is taking place. For example, the president of Legacy Bank in 2006 said that the areas selected in zip code 53205 for a multimillion-dollar redevelopment referred to as the Legacy Project have "been vacant for over 30 years and now you have some people willing to develop them" and, further, that the area "is not prime real estate" (Admin, 2006). Such statements are common throughout the gentrification discourse within the city—redevelopment on vacant land is not considered gentrification by government and private sectors. In fact, it is, the high rates of vacancy in neighborhoods like 53206 obscure the various forms of displacement that has occurred decades prior to the abandonment and revitalization stages.

Even more, the neighborhoods in this study are at a full circle movement, the start of another cycle of redevelopment and displacement. As Mindy Thompson Fullilove (2016) explains, "the present state of Black America is no small measure the result of 'negro removal'"

(p. 224). Urban renewal in the 1950s and 1960s created the conditions in Black neighborhoods that led to crime, disinvestment, and abandonment (for the 53206 zip code it was the expansion of Interstate 94 through the Black cultural and business districts). The redevelopment that is happening now represents another era of removal (displacement) vis-vis revitalization. The difference between now and the 1950s, I would argue, is mass incarceration and climate change, and the city's location next to a major source of freshwater. Fullilove continues: "White people … to this day mourn their lost homes. When they exchanged wonderful urban neighborhoods for cars, malls, and lawns" (p. 225) they lost their social networks and cultural connections. I would argue that the role played by the highways that broke up social networks in the 1950s has today been replaced by coercive mobility stemming from mass incarceration and continuation of carceral neighborhoods. This is the essence of carceral displacement, the removal of people due to incarceration in neighborhoods vulnerable to gentrification.

Containment and Displacement Simultaneity in Black Neighborhoods

For this section, I anchor my findings to geographer Rashad Shabazz's (2015) "spatializing Blackness" framework, which examines carceral containment and Black masculinity in Chicago. I do so because understanding displacement (or gentrification) during the abandonment stage in an area historically, physically, and socially organized by containment presents paradoxical questions (how are people who are being contained to a section of the city also being displaced?). With both processes occurring (containment and displacement), the themes from the walking interviews clarified the synergies between the two processes, but Shabazz's work offers a more prescriptive framework that also engages in critical race theory, the theory undergirding this study.

Containment represents the prisonization of Black neighborhoods, the creation of prison-like neighborhoods and institutions. Containment is an extension of carceral power and the consolidation of White geographies and Whiteness (Shabazz, 2015). Shabazz found that mobility and possibility are intertwined and skew male performances of gender. In response to containment, he observed that "one of the ways Black men have responded to this paradox is by making Black communities the center of their spatial mobility, identity production, and resistance" (p. 82). My conversations with Fred elucidated the impact of containment on his mindset and engagement in criminalized behavior. Containment in his experience was a result of policing strategies that limited his access to Lake Michigan and its amenities (water, forests, trails) and his access to other parts of the city. He shared, "I was trapped in that area, and I was used to just chilling out. Like aight, I'm gonna get sweated if I go over there, so I'm gonna stay over here. And then my mind frame was stuck in that area." He continued:

FRED: It was all love, I was institutionalized. I never been incarcerated yet, but I was institutionalized at that time. I was stuck. I wasn't leaving the hood for nothing. Anything I needed was in the hood. We had clothes, shoes, food, love, drugs, guns, et cetera, et cetera. Women. All that was in the hood. And anytime we tried to leave out the hood, police followed us anyway. So I'm staying in the hood, that's all I knew at that time in my life. I was institutionalized. But that's with the system.

NICOLE: How do you think you got institutionalized?

FRED: 'Cause I know what you see is what you know, and they know what you see is what you know. And they entrapped us in the ghetto, in the underdeveloped areas. They weren't trying to let us out. I told you like once before, like I see police officers drive a five- or 10-block radius north to south. Another officer drive a five- to 10-block radius east to west. So anytime we try to come amongst them, where they driving, and go amongst that, like go beyond them points that they have set up, they run down on us like what you doing in this area. They either ticket us, beat us up, whatever. We was gonna have issues.

NICOLE: What areas? If you had to like put it on a map, what area would they confine you to?

FRED: I'd say I was on past the bridge and stuff.

NICOLE: Heading toward the lake?

FRED: No, going up toward this way. They weren't having it. Or if I was headed towards, even the lake way. Like the lower east side, where we call the White east side. 'Cause we say it's two different east sides. There's the ghetto, and then there's where the White people do where it's at. You know what I'm saying? And we try to go creep over there and kick it with them, we was cool, we wasn't even on a book. We'd be partying with them, they had college parties, this and that. We'd pop up, by the time we leave that party, police headed here. And they own us. Ain't gonna mess with them, they own us, like they the one that threw the party though. We just was invited.

In carceral neighborhoods, residents cannot avoid police view (Betancur & Smith, 2016), particularly when these areas demarcate boundaries between Black and White neighborhoods (Anderson, 2022; Brewer, 2021) and the new borders created during the gentrification process (Ramirez, 2020; Kaufman, 2021). Inside Fred's neighborhood, the police harassment resembles colonization, a war, and one where the threat of reincarceration created a recurring inner dialogue on whether he will survive, and if so, how. The necropolitical project is not only about Fred's life but how he will respond to police brutality.

FRED: It'll just make—I don't like being around them period. Okay, I see him—every time I see him, I go to the police station to see him. I don't feel comfortable around officers. Every time I see officers, I don't know if they gonna kill me or not, 'cause I know what's going on with them and Black men. You know what I'm saying? I don't care what nobody say. I'm gonna keep it real. When I'm in their presence, I ain't scared. I'm always ready to die. But they just—

NICOLE: Are *you* always ready to die?

FRED: At every moment. Know what I'm saying?

NICOLE: How does that make you feel?

FRED: [long pause] That's deeper, 'cause the way I portray it makes me feel ain't really how it make me feel, know what I'm saying? It's sad when it comes to the people that I know for sure that love me, that's down for me. But personally, without them in my life, I feel like I ain't got no reason to live. I'm on parole. If I have allegations, and I have to start the whole two years over, and when it's all said and done I might end up doing 15 years on parole. I'm gonna be oppressed for the next 15 years of my life. I'd rather just die, be reincarnated, come back on earth, and see what's next. 'Cause right now, I ain't feeling it. But I ain't suicidal. I ain't the type of person that gonna kill myself or nothing, but... [His voice chokes.]

NICOLE: Yeah, so it's different than suicidal but it's kind of the same in terms of life or death.

FRED: So I ain't gonna jack, sometimes I pray that—no, I ain't—

NICOLE: You can say it.

FRED: I pray that. I pray, I don't know why they ain't kill me yet. These dudes out here in the street. I be like, I'm not tripping if they do. I done did what I had to do out here when it comes to that. What I'm gonna do? I got 15 years on parole. I could do whatever, I could go on a run and start businesses, this and that, but when it's all said and done, they find out who I am and they catch me up, they gonna incarcerate me. Not even for doing a crime. I didn't even do a crime. I just ain't seen my parole agent, and now I'm getting incarcerated, losing everything that I work hard for, just 'cause I was trying to live right with the universe when I know the government is the devil. But I ain't gonna get too deep into that, 'cause I don't know your relationship with them.

In reference to the police, masculinity was part of how he rationalized his actions. He said he had to "protect myself, 'cause I'm a human, I'm a man and it's my duty on earth to protect myself and my family." He wanted to avoid reincarceration, stating, "I will never go back. I would let them kill me before I go back. I'd rather die, I'm tired of being—I'd rather just get it all over with than start over. I feel like your soul can't die … How I feel, I don't know, but

that's the degree—philosophy I draw off of." When I asked him if any of his views around death and readiness to die were "left over" institutionalization, he said no, "because you know for a fact there's a war. Who is you not to protect yourself? They got guns. The police already got guns, and they want me and my people dead, so why the hell wouldn't I have a gun? You know what I'm saying? I know for a fact y'all want us dead and you got a gun." He then shared the stories of two acquaintances who had recently been killed by the police.

Fred's analysis of the criminal justice system mirrored many of the components of critical race theory and Shabazz's (2015) analysis of the relationship between punishment and subjugation. Shabazz states that punishment epistemologies, originating from slavery, are integral to producing the necessary architecture, planning, and policing needed to create and sustain borders between Whites spaces and Black spaces, restrict mobility (movement within and across neighborhoods), conduct surveillance, and inflict punishment. When asked specifically about mass incarceration in the neighborhood, Fred shared his analysis of how relationships within the neighborhood were violent. Shabazz notes this is a product of containment: "The social space they created was constituted within the politics of racist containment, tension, and ultimately violence, these elements became a part of their social world." (p. 82). In Fred's words:

NICOLE:	What do you think about mass incarceration? 'Cause that's what I'm studying.
FRED:	Mass incarceration?
NICOLE:	Yeah, it's basically like—
FRED:	For Blacks?
NICOLE:	Yeah, the majority of people who are incarcerated are coming just from these neighborhoods. Specifically, the neighborhood you mentioned.

FRED: Right, 'cause you gotta understand though like, it ain't shocking, because we know the system. The same people that set the system up, the government, they the same people that came and kidnapped us and help us captive. Kidnapped us from our homeland and held us captive here. Fed us English, fed us the Bible, et cetera, et cetera, know what I'm saying? So we know these is the offsprings of them, and it was set up and designed like this. And when they—unlike us, when they sit there and plot, they play chess. They move steps ahead, which is years ahead of what happened after this. So they leaving stuff to their offsprings. Us, slipping, accepting their doctrines. And then they pitted us against one another. Know what I'm saying? So—how you doing brother? [to a guy passing by]—So I be walking down the street. I get into it with him, right there, quicker than if a police officer pulled me over and said something crazy to me. And a police officer, they gonna legally kidnap me and hold me captive in a facility that they built, 'cause they say, "Oh, we run the world." Instead of me doing a crime and getting punished by the people in my community. Know what I'm saying? That know me. So they set up a system, and we falling victim to it.

Raw also talked about the cultures created as a result of police surveillance and containment.

RAW: It's just—man, it's history, culture. I mean people have been seeing the same stuff for so many years that's all they see is getting money. That's all they see is getting money so if you're seeing that, you're growing up seeing that, and these people are jerking you around because you done caught a felony or whatever and now what else I'm seeing out here, so I'm going to feel like I gotta get me some money too. They've been doing it for years. People have been doing it for years and it's a cycle so you can't—if you can't stop the cycle you won't be able to stop it because these kids don't understand.

NICOLE: Why is it like *here* though?

RAW: Probably the police be over here the most.

NICOLE: You think that's true?

RAW: Yes. The police, they don't give nobody no breaks over here. They really be harassing but they getting away with it. It's harassment, harassment.

Raw continued his reflections on police harassment:

> No, no, they play it off like—sometimes they do, sometimes they don't, but sometimes they just go to searching, want to search you and run your name, harassment. I might have just seen this man, I might just like that, we might get out and stop and talk. Somebody might park down there, we might not have no cars, just be talking, nothing. But them people come by, they've got White officers ain't even from our neighborhood don't even know and they come from—they don't know. So man, harassment and you never know. I might have a blunt of weed on me, you might have some weed, we smoke, everybody smokes, but now they blow it up. We might all have records. They don't give you breaks like that.

Raw shared how it impacted the neighborhood's reputation: "But they've got everybody in the public and the community thinking, 'Oh, these guys are so this and so that.' Of course, you all keep harassing us. You can't stay—we can't kick it, we can't talk without y'all getting searched." And he continued:

> You don't got to be harassing people when you just know ain't nothing and you're just going off a hunch. Come on man. People have got kids and living to survive and just making it and here they come and just destroy—just mess all that up, don't care about nothing, none of your family and what you've got to go through. They don't care about that, nothing, they don't because this ain't their community. They come here for a paycheck and that's it. What's the quota, 6 Black guys? I ain't gotta say Black because we already know what it is.

Twenty-Six also noted how living in the area served as a justification for the police to stop a person. He shared, "Like [this] is a known drug area. Don't you know, police, they have the right to be like, I can give you a ticket for you being in a well-known drug area." He continued, "Police pull you over, they feel like you doing anything, they can give it to you for being in a well-known drug area, because they call it loitering." For Kaplan-Lyman (2012) arrest is a form of public punishment meant to control residents in the same way as lynching was in the early 1900s.

Experiences like those of Raw's and Twenty-Six's experiences are well known to policymakers in Milwaukee, including leaders within the criminal justice sector. Such

experiences were documented in a 2011 study by the local newspaper, were the cause of a 2017 lawsuit by the American Civil Liberties Union (Choudhury, 2018; https://www.aclu.org/cases/collins-et-al-v-city-milwaukee-et-al) and a partially drafted report that same year by the US Department of Justice condemning policing in Milwaukee (Luthern & Barton, 2017). In the year prior, the city had made a $5 million settlement for illegal strip searches. In 2020, CJI's (2020) analysis of police stop and frisks found that 80.9% were insufficiently justified based on officer narratives, that officers were not documenting every frisk, and that the person most likely to be stopped was Black. The study found that the department was not meeting all of the settlement agreements in *Charles Collins et al. v. City of Milwaukee et al.*, the 2017 lawsuit, concerning justification and documentation of stops and frisks.

Turning back to Shabazz' (2015) analysis of Black spaces. In his final chapter, Shabazz states that the landscape within Chicago is changing,[27] but that he is optimistic, believing in the notion of Black geographies as resistance and countercarceral spaces. He offers green spaces as a possible solution, a topic I discuss further in the section below. In terms of gentrification, he states that "gentrification, however, is not the entire story of Chicago's changing landscapes. Nor is it the most compelling" (p. 115). Other scholars are less convinced. In another study of the Chicago area, Betancur and Smith (2016), in their study of Englewood, note that "once criminalized and contained, Englewood is available for development forces to take" (p. 99). In the stage between abandonment and public and capital investments, the "final demise is to declare an area as unfit, dangerous, socially disordered and out of control, a wasteland in need of drastic intervention" (p. 98). The use of reverse causality (e.g., Black people are the cause of

[27] As an update to the Shabazz study, in Chicago as a result of school closures, crime, and policing, the Black population is decreasing, with many leaving the region and heading to the Deep South in a "reverse migration" (Saunders, 2019).

neighborhood conditions rather than government and corporate disinvestment) helps justify gentrification and redevelopment, not for the existing population (which is dangerous) but for the new residents (who are deserving). Black neighborhoods like the 53206 zip code, despite its quietness and loss of population, still has a negative reputation, but it is one of the final places to gentrify close to downtown Milwaukee.

From the viewpoints of the participants in this study, there is reason to be less optimistic than Shabazz's take on Chicago. Gentrification and mass incarceration are an incredibly powerful combination, and formerly incarcerated persons are invisible vulnerable populations who are not the focus of any targeted antidisplacement policy response. On my walk with Don Juan, we came across housing demolition, a clearing of the land, and it was the first time[28] I had heard the term gentrification by name and unprompted.

NICOLE	They're still tearing down the houses?
DON JUAN:	Man, gentrification. The city wants this property over here. The city wants this property bad over here, so they leave the empty lots, fields. It's about moving us out there, and those people that want to come from out there, into here. It's closer to the downtown district, it's closer to everything. People that live way out there have to go miles to get to something. You know what I mean? You ever watch *Boys in the Hood* before? Remember when Lawrence Fishburne was standing there explaining under the sign about gentrification, when they were saying, "We will buy your ugly house," "We will buy your property"? Look through this place and you will see 100 signs like that, "We buy ugly property." "We buy property." "We buy houses." The city is foreclosing on them, tearing them down. Like, eventually those houses are going to come down if no one purchases them fast enough; leave the lots empty; refuse to sell the lots.

[28] Goetz et al. (2019) also reported that residents rarely used the term gentrification.

Figure 16. We Buy Houses Sign. This is an example of a sign to purchase houses in 53206. This company currently ones one property in the 53206 zip code. Another entity, Residential Properties Resources, owns over 60 homes. Source: Author calculations using MPROP data.

Don Juan helped me to understand how containment and gentrification work together as racialized processes:

> I think sometimes that it has kind of had an effect in the way the neighborhood—what's left in the neighborhood. There are some people who want—as far as even Black professionals; we're not around that; they left. You're left with the remnants.[29] Even the top upper tier end. If you look at the Milwaukee's so segregated though. Ninety-five percent of the African Americans stay on the northside, so we are all on top of each other. I think that is how they just want you, in a section. That is where the racism comes in. I think they just want us confined in a section. 'Either you're confined right here in this north side, these little areas that I showed you, or we are going to send you way out there.'

Similar to Fred's statements, Don Juan talked about how police are involved in the process to contain, restrict mobility through policing, and remove people to "way out there." He said, "We see it every day, we see it every day when the police ride through here, but we ain't gonna be racist against each other and ain't too many White people live over here. You're not going to see too many White faces in this community. They're not going to come over here. Like

[29] The "remnants" that Don Juan speaks of are the subproletariat, the poorest of the poor who may not be able to afford to leave or could only leave to go to a similar neighborhood.

really, they not going really let us over there and they own that over there so got to go through them to get over there."[30]

Don Juan went on to explain his community's vulnerability to gentrification and the genocidal nature of mass incarceration in combination with gentrification:

> They have to survive day-to-day and they're struggling, and the Quest [card] is going away. They're finding more and more reasons to snatch you from these ladies. The Section 8 is refusing for the men that live in the houses at all, and most of the fathers are felons, so they won't even touch them. So now you've got another batch of kids growing up without a father, but you've got Park Lawn with hundreds of houses, West Lawn with hundreds of houses, North Lawn with hundreds of houses, Berryland with hundreds of houses, and these Black women are living there without fathers, raising their kids in communities where every kid damn near is without a father. You see what I'm saying? It's just a cycle, man, it's a destructive cycle, man. It's like genocide on a whole another level, mentally, emotionally, it will destroy your person if they let it. That's for real.

Gentrification is usually marked by the influx of middle- and upper-income residents and White professionals. As Don Juan noted, the neighborhood is still predominantly Black. When asked about this, he observed that gentrification takes place over decades and generations:

> It could take a hundred years. Who knows. It could take 100 years if we're dealing with the government here that has 1,000 years left in it maybe, you see what I'm saying? So it might take 100 years for it to go. But then I was reading a book one time that said, "Great people don't think about themselves, they think about their grandkids' grandkids," like the Hiltons and the Vanderbilts. They didn't plan to take it with them. They planned to see it grow even from the grave.

In response to how slow-moving Milwaukee's gentrification is, Don Juan noted that most people are not conscious of it and "they aren't, because as long as they're not conscious of it, they don't have to do anything about it." It was also because of how much residents like him are struggling in their day-to-day affairs. In thinking preemptively about the next generation's

[30] This is a style of communication referred as "direct quotation" – speaking for another person, usually an invented quote (Mayes, 1990). It is also an epistemic stance where my participants displayed their credibility to the listener (me). For more on this style of communication see Clift (2006) on reported speech and the reliability of the speaker's knowledge using direct quotation.

stability and standing— in the same way that White generations do, although they assure the future by way of gentrification — he confessed,

> Now, how am I going to see my grow even from the grave or put any type of attention and focus into it even from the grave if I'm focused on even just surviving day-to-day? I can't focus on anything else. At this point, it's like it's either focus on this or lose my babies and starve to death. You see what I'm saying? How can I focus on greatness? I'm focused on surviving.

KC had similar observations to Don Juan about past and present efforts by the city and developers to relocate Black living in the central city to neighborhoods further north. During our walk, KC pointed out:

> KC: So up there. And then this is like this way some down here too. There's some places up here that to me the same way. But now it's like it's getting everywhere now up here. No matter what side of town you're on, nothing, now it's just being out here that is just. It's like, how can I say, it's like we used to live down, back when we was coming up, we used to live downtown area. Where there's Black people living downtown.
>
> NICOLE: Yeah.
>
> KC: Now what they do is, now as you noticed, we wasn't move out there on Brown Deer. They want us out here in Brown Deer or nothing.
>
> NICOLE: Right, by Northridge.
>
> KC: Right, all that. So, what they did was, to what I think. I'm not going to say they did. What they did was, "Okay, since all the White people down here had to come downtown and all they work, we going to move them down here and we're going to start putting them up there." And you notice, once they start putting us out there, that went to hell. You know what I'm saying? Shootings and all that out there.

The displacement of families to the outer edges of Milwaukee has been documented. Levine (2006) noted that the northwest side was experiencing more poverty and that the result was a deconcentrating of inner-city poverty and the creation of a second inner city in the northwestern part of the city. These trends have been observed elsewhere: poverty rates increase

in other places as displacees move to the outer edges of the city (Betancur & Smith, 2016). Dee W commented on this dynamic:

> I feel like they want to build up the inner city because most of the jobs are where people have jobs that it's downtown, West Milwaukee and you know on this side of town or whatever. And they want to build this area up and push them back out that way. Like I said, they wanna push us back towards that way. They give us these little off-brand jobs, out in Menominee Falls and the rest of them, but they're moving back here where they're building high-rises and the Bucks Stadium and they're just building up the inner-city but they're pushing people back further out. And a lot of people don't understand that and I refuse to let anyone push me out of a neighborhood that I grew up in.

See Figure 17 of changes in the absolute number of Black residents leaving between 2000 and 2016.

a) Loss of Black population (light to dark blue) and increases in Black population (light to dark orange). Dark blue areas represent a loss of over 1,000 individuals. Dark orange areas represent increases of 2,064 individuals. This map includes Milwaukee, Racine, and surrounding cities. By zooming out we can see that the Black population (measured in absolute values) is shifting throughout the region, with its greatest shifts in the northwest part of the city. The walking interview participants identified the same area as the place that Black people were being located to as a result of gentrification.

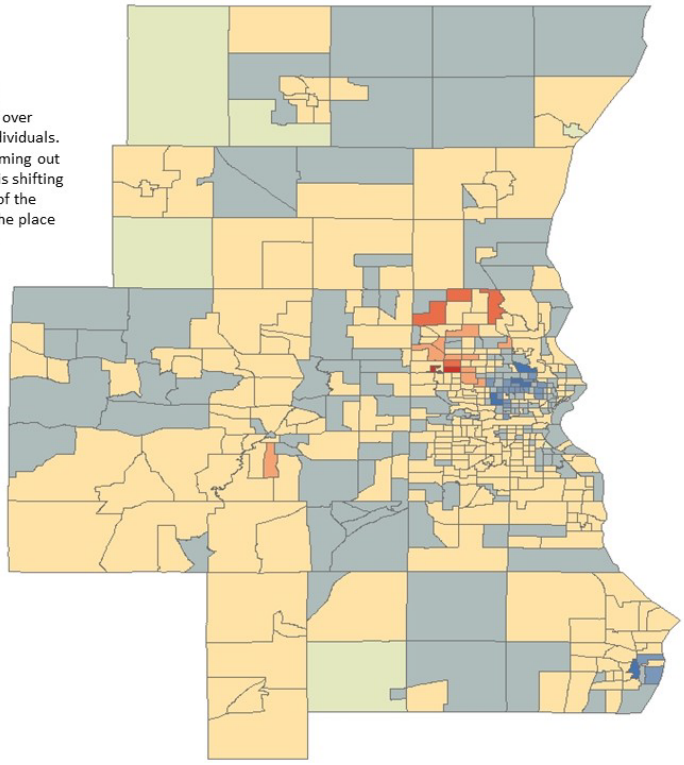


Figure 17. Changes in Black Population between 2000 and 2016. Author calculations using census data from IMO.

Similar to Shabazz's analysis, Milwaukee's experience demonstrates that gentrification moves poverty (and with it crime) to another area, resulting in a new carceral neighborhood. Dee

W further explains this process and how gentrification has been occurring in the city for some time.

> DEE W: Back then when I was going to school, no. No way, they wasn't having Black people walk through their neighborhood or any color, you know, Latinos or you could have been a mixed person. They didn't have that then. Now that's all that lives out there is permanently mixed versions and Black people and everything else. They out in that area and now you look at the neighborhood down here, they're fixing it up. As you see, it's a lot of new homes down here, and a lot of these new homes that they're building, a lot of people that used to live out in Brown Deer and everything else, they moved back down this way. That's—now, basically my reason for saying that.
>
> NICOLE: So what's the relationship between okay, we got some violence and stuff happening here, and you said before, people getting locked up to pay taxes. What's the relationship between that and them wanting to move down into this neighborhood? White people, wanting, like what's the connection between those things?
>
> DEE W: Well, my whole belief in that is they put you in a secluded area and we put ourself in a secluded area where we were just bumping heads and I don't like this friend because he stayed on Fourth and North but we live on 96th and Brown Deer. Now I remember when I had problems with you when we stayed on Fourth and North, but Fourth and North is quiet now. So now that you see this person on 96th and Brown Deer you wanna kill them. So that puts more crime out there because you remember this person from living down here, and the way they changed society is: down here, we don't have the problems. The problems are further out now, but it's generally the area that I came—would you actually like to see where I lived?

Specific revitalization projects were presented as examples of the gentrification project happening in the city and of how the removal process to other parts of the city would restart the disinvestment and abandonment process in the new location. Boogie shared:

> Yeah, you're going to be out there. Where there's a cinema out there. They kill each other. Who gives a damn? That's them. They're away from the infrastructure that we're creating and we're re-creating with our stadium and our entertainment district, and things like that. We are going to buy up those old neighborhoods like at Third and North and Fourth and Meinecke, and we're going to change those around. We're going to put the

> Millennials, the professionals, we are going to put them there. We're going to get your asses out and send you off somewhere else. That is how—you know what I'm saying—it's almost systematic racism that you are seeing. How it is affecting me is that we're stuck here. We are almost in a way stuck here. We've just got to deal with it.

The gentrification process combined with policing limits Boogie's mobility and increases his risk for reincarceration. As a coping strategy, he does not socialize much. He attributes his survival to these coping strategies, sharing, "I don't go party. I'm not at the hot spot. I'm not doing none of that because I don't want to be a part of that crowd. You know what I mean. That's how I made it to this age, to be aware of your surroundings." The participants in this study were stuck, wanting to live in the neighborhood they grew up in and unable to afford to live there or anywhere else. They were *stuck* within "prime real estate within 2.5 miles of downtown and Lake Michigan. Just west of the diverse and activist Riverwest neighborhood and just north of the gentrifying Brewers Hill area …" (Bonds, Kenny & Wolfe, 2015, p. 1073).

Green Spaces. Shabazz (2015) concludes his argument with an extended discussion on green spaces as a site for liberation. He stated that growing food on abandoned lots can revitalize, give hope, nourish, and offer sustainability. Fred also believed food was key to Black liberation:

> NICOLE: Well, break it down for Milwaukee. Like what do you see that we can do here? What do you see them doing that's just promoting the system further? What are—?
>
> FRED: Low key, like I been—I'm thinking, our only hope is this health consciousness, know what I'm saying? I've been trying to bring in health consciousness to the ghetto, like—'cause I feel like when you eat the right foods, it strengthens you psychologically. It keeps you healthy and happy. And then into that knowledge, in the psychological realm, is aligned with the universe. It gets to a point where, okay, it's a chakra that's in—
>
> NICOLE: A chakra?

FRED: Right, that's in line with the universe. 'Cause we got seven body chakras, and also five head chakras. So once you in line with the universe on the health tip, and then you receiving that knowledge, I feel like knowledge will strengthen you. Like from coward to courage. It strengthened me.

Fred continued:

> I wasn't utilizing my like connections. I was just trying to do what I wanted to do on my own. But then last time I was incarcerated, I knew like I need a foundation. I needed stability and this health field, to continue doing what I'm doing. 'Cause I'm doing it in the hood. And when I'm doing it in the hood, I get into—people show me love like, "I love what you doing for the hood," but then I also get into situations where I shouldn't be in a certain area, because of things I done did in this area. But now I'm at a point where I'm trying to be right with the Creator, so I'm like, I'm being guided through this. I'm going this area, ain't nobody stopping me.

Fred's imagination is what McKittrick (2011) would call anticolonial and a form of emplaced resistance. It could also be seen as presenting a deeper form of decolonization aimed at reconnecting and regaining control of the land (Tuck & Yang, 2014).

The challenge to this vision of green space is that sustainability and urban agriculture have been co-opted by and aid in gentrification processes. During my walking interview with Dead Loop, he reminded me that "you won't see no White folks living here. They'll ride a bike through here." This subtle observation has been documented by other scholars and antigentrification activists as "green gentrification," "eco-gentrification," and "environmental gentrification"—the use of sustainability and healthy lifestyles discourses to change the neighborhood terrain to cater to future middle- and upper-income residents and the use of government funds to remake the built environment. This form of revitalization caters to "new arrivals," not existing residents (Anguelovski, 2016).

In addition to bike lanes, community gardens are a bellwether for gentrification. To be clear, the practice of community gardens are not the same spatial imaginations that Shabazz and

Fred desire. Milwaukee has invested in community gardens as part of the goal to "create a community asset that improves the safety and security of your surroundings" (https://city.milwaukee.gov/DCD/CityRealEstate/VacantLotHandbook/NeighborhoodGardens para. 2). During the walking interviews, I walked past a few of these gardens. Community gardens have been interrogated and contested across multiple disciplines from food to urban economic development. Community gardens have value and are valued when White actors (other residents, institutions, philanthropy) deem the land to have value. Tree planting, healthy food stores, and ecological restoration are signs that the area is ready for development. Such gardens ready the neighborhood for gentrification because urban investments shift resources away from other areas and toward areas that will be gentrified. State and corporate gentrifiers use environmental and sustainability language to pursue gentrification goals (Quastel, 2009) and equate revitalization with Whiteness (McKlintock, 2018). For example, gardens move *public* goods to *consumer* goods (Quastel, 2009). Urban agriculture and green spaces will also reflect colonial patterns and reestablish paternalistic power structures (McKlintock, 2018). Local scholars Pettygrove and Ghose (2018) reported that the northside of Milwaukee is pathologized to justify neoliberal development in the form of gentrification. They found that eco-gentrification and community gardens elevated property values. The project under review was funded by local philanthropic organizations Zilber Family Foundation, Greater Milwaukee Foundation, and the Healthier Wisconsin Partnership Program.

There is a connection between gardens and crime prevention. Local researchers Beam et al. (2020) reported a relationship between lower levels of crime and community gardens. The authors concluded that "community-driven urban greening initiatives may be an important driver of crime reductions, especially for violent crime" (p. 5). They called on researchers to examine

"how place-based greening initiatives impact local social networks and interactions, and in the process helps cities develop more effective crime mitigation strategies" (p. 5). Their research, however, is part of a body of thinking that has been rejected by critical geographers and urban ecologists. The authors do not address the underlying instructional structures that restrict the availability of fresh food or the lack of government investment to remove lead and other contaminants from soil or water pipes. In fact, most northside revitalization efforts seem to be above ground except for these gardens. Lead removal from underground pipes or the installation of fiber optics for broadband internet I suspect will occur when the demographic changes begin to take place (new developments of course have new pipes, and so forth). Beam et al. (2020) did not address the role of mass incarceration in their examination of Milwaukee, but they did note that the area experienced disinvestment, neglect, White flight, institutional racism, redlining, and the loss of manufacturing jobs.

For this study, Twenty-Six provides a strong conclusion on the use of community gardens to solve neighborhood problems. He argued:

> I'm saying, they ain't come to the hood and make a fucking garden. Fuck that garden! We need help. You know how many abandoned houses around here. These young people ain't got no food and ya'll talk about a fucking garden. What's that gonna do, they wanna help the world. We need help for Milwaukee, first—you trying to help the world. There's a lot of homeless people here—look at dude; dude ain't got no place to stay right there. You see dude everywhere. He in here acting like he looking for a book. He don't give a fuck about no book—he ain't got no place to go!

Revitalization Tensions

Revitalization or the influx of capital to improve property (e.g., remodeling houses), city streets, and other infrastructure, is rife with tensions and contradictions. Revitalization is desired—land is a fixed commodity and will cycle through revitalization and redevelopment (Zukin, 1987)—but for many cities, renewal efforts do not represent repair or reparations for

multigenerational disinvestment and abandonment. At the end of my walk with Dee W, he talked about the improvements happening on one of the busier streets in the neighborhood. The joys of revitalization were short-lived as he weighed what it was likely to mean:

> The neighborhood is building up a lot. That's the reason why I never gave up on it, like these homes like I said, they're remodeling everything around here. And I feel like a lot of things that they're doing right now is they're trying to kick us out of our neighborhoods so they can reintegrate and build it back up to where they feel structure and standards to. You never hear anything about someone dying on Third and North Avenue, or Third and Center, or Third and Burleigh. You don't hear about that. You pretty much you hear about that happening out where they thought they was secluded at, like 46th and Villard, and 51st and this street and that street.

If even briefly, Dee W was excited by the improvements, so was KC. KC was inspired by the possibility that new jobs would be brought to the area.

> Right here, Century City. Now, I didn't know what they was building there. But I was just, I haven't been looking at the news. They're trying to win a bid to put a post office there, like downtown, and bring jobs in the inner city. And that's good. But they had tried to win the bid. Now, they do that, that would be a good thing because it's right here off of 35th, right off of 35th and Hopkins, 20, 35th and Hopkins right here. And it's right here in this area. And I know there would be plenty people that, from this side, that would go and put in applications and work there. Want to walk down another block and come around?

Smith (1996) referred to this as a catch-22. Without redevelopment, housing would remain dilapidated but redevelopment meant displacement.

Housing policy during gentrification does not cater to formerly incarcerated persons, despite their dreams, the need for stable housing to avoid reincarceration, and the affordability of the land. Dre mentioned, "I would never sell because especially you can get a nice house for cheap around here. Keep it because this is where it's at. You can get a nice big, big house for $5,000 and then just fix it up and you got a gem, so that's how I look at it." The median house value in 53206 is $67,900, and $219,171 for the metropolitan area. The near northside consists of mainly single and double homes, which means formerly incarcerated persons (FIPs) have to be

able own the home or rent an entire house (City of Milwaukee, 2009). Purchasing a house at $5,000 would be a bargain for many buyers, but my sample had an annual average income of just over $9,000. Beyond the purchase price, the rehabilitation of the homes would be cost-prohibitive.[31] Dead Loop explained, "They'll sell the little land to you but once you go to try to develop it is where it's going to cost some money. If you're going to do some building on it then that's a different story. But they'll get rid of the land to you quick because they don't want to have to come cut the grass and maintain it."

Fred was also hoping to buy the abandoned house on the block where he was currently living. He inquired about the condition of the foundation (the roof was "perfect") and never received a response from the City. He said he could repair the plumbing. Restrictions on where he could live were part of the reason he absconded during his last release. He recalled, "My parole agent knew me to stay over here, but I was staying with my great grandma to help her out, 'cause she was older. She needed help, so I went over there, and I was—I didn't—you know what I'm saying, I told her the situation where I wasn't seeing my parole agent, and I'd go to jail whenever I get caught. And she was—last time I was in jail, that's when she passed away. She had cancer."

Lastly, gentrification and colonialism are synergistic; both reify Black neighborhoods as colonies, the neighborhood is not self-sufficient or in control (Adams & Ramaeu, 2016; Allen 1969/2002), and the level of police surveillance and control mirrors that of occupied territories. Residents do not have ownership over redevelopment efforts. Bonds, Kenny & Wolfe (2015) reported, "The overwhelmingly White, middle-class organization saw itself as best situated to diagnose the needs of the neighborhood and to proceed with community revitalization efforts

[31] In Milwaukee, only 17.4% of Black males make at least $40,000 compared to 46.3% of white males. The Black homeownership rate is presently 27.2% with fewer Black residents owning property compared to the 1970s (Levine, 2006).

based upon this determination and their established model of service delivery, rather than collaborating or developing a way to deliver their 'product' together with the community" (p. 1076). While doing so, Habitat for Humanity in the Harambee neighborhood (which overlaps with my study site) promoted a deracialized understanding of neighborhood development, problems, and solutions to support neoliberal goals (Bonds, Kenny & Wolfe, 2015). The authors concluded that "Harambee representatives conceded their priorities to the interests, agendas, and resources mobilized by the large-scale nonprofits that held the purse strings and thus created a compulsory environment for the initiative of local organizations, leaders, and residents" (p. 1067).

Divergent Safety Spatial Imaginations

Thus far I have discussed how the men in this study do have a connection to the land, the neighborhood and that despite unstable housing, homelessness, and periods of incarceration – the men in this study, formerly incarcerated persons, are not placeless. Their connection to the area goes back decades and for some, generations. I have also discussed how the area has been abandoned; there are many vacant properties, depopulation is occurring, and this created a "quietness" in the area. The local government, along with police, the district attorney's office, and local business associations in Milwaukee, have often justified disinvestment and overpolicing due to the neighborhood's crime rates, particularly its violent crimes, and justified select reinvestment as a way to increase safety and decrease crime. These are important strategies that move the gentrification process from disinvestment to abandonment.

Abandonment is an early stage in the yet another cycle of "renewal-negro removal." Both containment and gentrification processes are happening and are racialized. For the men in this study, the risk of reincarceration is a daily preoccupation both while in motion and while

standing still (both acts could result in stop-and-frisk). The men in this study desire development without displacement but such tensions are unresolved given other processes at play (e.g., housing discrimination against people with criminal histories and evictions). Further, gentrification processes operate through colonialism with non-local entities controlling the process. In this section, I discuss how redevelopment is tied to broken-windows policing and how a different view of safety was imagined by the participants that would serve as a corrective to the policies that produce mass incarceration (e.g., broken windows).

Policymakers sell redevelopment as a way to reduce crime and violence directly and indirectly. The findings are mixed on whether this actually occurs as discussed in Chapter 4, and based on the men in this study, redevelopment is more poised to relocate crime and violence to the outer edges of Milwaukee. In terms of resolving social problems, state-led gentrification often undermines resident efforts and alternative strategies to address social issues (Uitermark et al., 2007). Using an abolitionist paradigm to address the issue of safety, Fred concurred, and recommended that the Black residents begin policing themselves. Without this, he said there "ain't no way out" of mass incarceration. He suggested:

> We just gotta strengthen up—'cause listen, I'm not funna lie, it's war. It's been war in America for over 500 years. And then we was at war with them before we came to America. So if we war with them, and now Blacks talking about reparations and stuff, what you talking about reparations for, is drama. You don't go to war with nobody, and they winning a war. You say, "You owe us, 'cause y'all winning, y'all get down too much." That ain't how it go. What you mean? We gotta man up and start getting down back. We gotta start building our own—the like police officers and the neighborhood to protect us, 'cause if I call the police right now and say some people coming over to do some bull, when the police come, I'm gonna be the victim in my area.

His comments are similar to the Black Panthers' approach and to the approach supported by M Adams at Freedom Inc. in Madison, Wisconsin. Adams stated, "Take the money and the resources completely away from the police and instead invest those in Black life-affirming

institutions, infrastructure, programs, grassroots-led initiatives." (Long, 2020, n.p.) Similar notions were sprinkled throughout other walking interviews. For example, Eckes talked about the corruption in the country's political and economic systems to explain mass incarceration:

> 'Cause it's not no balance of power? The power and wealth in this country is—the scales is tipped. And I guess the way the laws is written in this country, they make 'em—they make it—I guess the stimulus is a plus. Like if you rich and a business owner, they make it easier for that—for those type of people that's in those brackets. 'Cause those are the same people that take their money and start buying politicians and doing other things. So, they got money to do it.

Fred's and Eckes's comments also reflect a more critical approach to the conceptual (and often celebrated) variable, collective efficacy. In this spatial imagination, policing would be similar to transformative justice models and be of and for the community. It would democratize policing, reducing the state's role. It would also enhance collective efficacy because formerly incarcerated persons would be able to move through the neighborhood without being under surveillance; they would also be less focused on survival (from police brutality) and would have mobility patterns that facilitated social relationships.

This type of critical analysis that encompasses the effects of mass incarceration is largely absent from existing neighborhood safety plans. Broken windows theory undergirds both policing strategies and redevelopment projects happening in and around the 53206 neighborhood. In broken windows theory, crime prevention criminalizes people for littering and loitering, and it criminalizes places that are unkempt (e.g., in physical disorder). Through the use of neighborhood surveillance devices such as ShotSpotter, neighborhoods become sites of surveillance and control. Focused on the built environment, crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED)[32] is a concept that holds that if a place is made less amenable to

[32] Pronounced *sep-ted*.

criminalized activity, crime will decrease. This has been the focus of local interventions. For example, the Amani United Neighborhood Association, Dominican Center for Women, LISC, Safe & Sound, and the District Attorney approach crime through CPTED (LISC, nd), as does the North 27th Street Corridor Strategy (City of Milwaukee, 2018). This approach has been profiled in other cities experiencing gentrification. For example, in Cincinnati, gentrifiers claimed to be "driving out criminals with cameras, better lighting, liquor store closings and the development of vacant lots" (Woodard, 2016).

Neighborhood development practices go hand in hand with prisonization of the neighborhood. In another example, a CPTED effort began in the Harambe neighborhood with the Ring Doorbell.[33] The partnership was between the Keefe Ave Safety Task Force, a resident group, the Milwaukee Police Department (MPD), Safe & Sound, and the Harambee Neighborhood Investment Development (NID) #7. The cloud storage fees will be paid for as long as the resident or business owner allows the footage to be used by the police, should they ask for it (Reinwald, 2019). Other redevelopment projects in the area include safety interventions (Jannene, 2021).

The use of broken windows logic is pervasive throughout the city's policies and across multiple government and private actors. For example, the 2016 Public Safety and Action Plan (City of Milwaukee, 2016) submitted to the Common Council stated:

> Prostitution, public drinking, loitering, aggressive panhandling, drug dealing and nuisance properties, while considered minor offenses in comparison to violent crimes, contribute to a perception of neighborhood neglect and disorder, in the same way that graffiti causes a house to look neglected and ripe for exploitation. These social disorder crimes, if left unchecked, signal that a neighborhood is vulnerable, and lead to serious crime, violence, and urban decay. These kinds of crimes tear at the very fabric of a neighborhood. (p. 12)

[33] The doorbell has a built-in camera.

The plan is filled with hyperbole to garner support for more funding for police officers. For example, MPD "is facing a wave of retirements in the next two years, which, if not addressed, will further put Milwaukee residents in danger" (p. 6). The authors recommend public-private partnerships to promote economic development and safety in targeted districts and the creation of a boarding school with a rite of passage for youth living in undefined chaotic homes. They note that a majority of the city's residents, including a majority of our city's minority residents, want "an engaged, proactive police presence in their neighborhoods." Multiple surveys and advocacy suggest otherwise (https://www.aclu.org/cases/collins-et-al-v-city-milwaukee-et-al). The authors noted that a small number of individuals cause the majority of crimes, yet they failed to provide evidence of how their resources could overcome these individuals. Very little empirical data are cited, and of the citations provided, only a *New York Times* article was referenced to support the claim that mass incarceration did not have adverse consequences. The authors recommended a merger between MPS security and the MPD, neglecting the school-to-prison pipeline discourse. They also supported increased taxes and taxing incremental financing (TIF) for district properties that have been revitalized to pay for more officers. They stated: "While TIF may improve the overall built environment of a neighborhood, it currently allows for no additional funds for the increased need for public safety in the newly bolstered community. This practice causes increased stress on the City's budget due to a greater need for policing in these newly renovated neighborhoods without an equal increase in property tax revenue" (p. 29). The plan is similar to the Detroit Future City Plan (Schindler, 2016). This is another example of how crime prevention in gentrifiable and gentrifying areas is linked to changes in local tax ordinances that facilitate displacement of local residents unable to pay for tax increases. TIFs facilitate gentrification (Erickson, 2011).

Limitations

There are several limitations affecting this phase of the study. The sample size is small, particularly compared to the number of eligible participants. That said, the sample size is similar to other walking interview studies (see Table 1).

Study	Sample size	Population
Lager, D., Van Hoven, B., & Huigen, P. P. (2015)	7	Older adults
Fielding, J., & Fielding, N. (2013)	6	Residents
Bergeron, J., Paquette, S., & Paullaouec-Gonidec, P. (2014)	10	Residents
Harris, J. (2016)	10	Students of color
Zandieh, R., Martinez, J., Flacke, J., Jones, P., & van Maarseveen, M. (2016)	10	Older adults
Tong, Sims-Gould, & McKay (2016)	13	Older adults
Warren (2017)	11	Muslim women
Wolifson (2016)	8	Nightlife
Chang (2017)	20	Substance users
Emmel & Clark (2009)	24	Networks
Cannuscio et al. (2009)	14	Philadelphia Residents

Table 1. Example of Walking Interview Study Populations and Sample Sizes

Additional follow up interviews would have allowed me to gather additional information. In my study, I established rapport during the consent process. I used that time to begin understanding the person's neighborhood life, reentry, and specific vernacular. Because I experienced challenges navigating conversational interruptions, a sedentary follow-up interview would have been helpful to achieve greater theoretical saturation. Adding at least one follow-up interview would have granted me time to listen to the consent meeting more than once, review the travel diary more closely, and listen to and read the interview transcription to build on the data already collected. With additional time, I could have reflected on the data quality and formulated additional questions. Most importantly, a follow-up sedentary interview would have allowed me to go back and ask a participant to elaborate on the stories that were started but never

returned to or finished during the walking interview. It would have also reduced the pressure and overall feeling that I had only one chance to get it right, which left me exhausted (an issue I take up in Chapter 10 on student research coping and self-care as a component of the research protocol).

While I highly recommend a follow-up interview as an essential design element, there are challenges to even this approach. Several participants in my study were difficult to contact (e.g., their phone was disconnected, or the participant moved, sometimes more than once during the 3-day period), and some experienced major life events during the short period between the consent meeting and the scheduled interview. Extending the research timeframe a few days might have caused some of the participants to be lost to follow-up.

The next limitation has to do with the challenge of gathering enough comprehensive and complete stories to make meet qualitative data standards. The intensity of the walking interviews reduced my ability to judge the information at the time, such that after each interview and between interviews, I repeatedly asked myself, "Was it worth it? Was this better than sedentary-interview formats in terms of what I was learning and what would be documented in the transcript?" This is not an uncommon concern. Bates and Rhys-Taylor (2018), in their chapter "Walking Through Social Research," discussed that the go-along method does not cure all the problems it was designed to solve. The conversation is "not spatialized enough," "sensuous enough," and still represents "cognitivism" and "representationalism." They noted that, across data collection and analysis, "too much of go-along research methodology is encoded into nothing but words" (p. 187). I still found the stories profound. Here is Twenty-six again, "I can sell heroin. I used to sell all that shit, but my thing is I've just got too much to lose right now, you know what I'm saying? I've been on paper, got off paper in August. I've been on paper 11 years,

and Wisconsin gave me 21 years. I just ain't got time for this bullshit, 'cause Wisconsin will lock a nigger up for anything. Wisconsin will lock up a motherfucker."

The issue of how you "get" the interview to be sensuous and report on the data this way remains. My journaling and memos helped me capture sights, sounds, and experiences that otherwise would not have been captured by the audio recording; field notes are an essential practice for mobile interview formats (see, e.g., Kusenbach, 2003). I also believe that a follow-up interview would have helped transform the "words" into spatialized knowledge, facilitated a deeper level of geotheorizing, and nurtured the transition period needed to move from biographical accounts to enhanced spatialized narratives. In line with this, Harris (2016) stated that a follow-up "must" be carried out to support ongoing reflection. Harris's study examined students-of-color's oppression and racialized interactions on campus. With 10 participants, Harris consecutively included a sedentary interview, a walking interview, and a follow-up sedentary interview. Future studies should consider this approach, and increase the stipend and provide a research phone for the participant to use.

De Leon and Cohen (2005) and Garcia et al. (2012) recommended future studies assess the effects of different protocols on the research process (e.g., the use or nonuse of GPS) and on the quality of the data and findings. My study provides some additional insights into this aspect of walking interviews. I used a Trimble TerraFlex application on my smartphone to record the interview route using GPS. This enables coordinates to be captured using a line feature or a point feature. An automatic line would have been ideal. However, the software relies on cell phone towers to approximate the user's location, and my pilot tests produced inaccurate routes when the line feature was used. For example, it recorded my location at places I had never visited. Since the line data was inaccurate, I decided to manually record each start and stop point and

each turn to create a map based on point data. My use of point data (rather than line data) meant that I could not develop spatial transcripts (e.g., Jones & Evans, 2012; Mennis et al., 2013) linking a time-stamped audio recording to spatial data, since time stamps were only available for individual points, not the entire line. Without line data, I was not able to examine participants' comments in the location where they made them, which Evans and Jones (2011) and Jones et al. (2008) had done.

My participants' activity spaces were small; sometimes we just wandered or walked around the same blocks repeatedly, so the GPS data was not worth the effort. The added labor of manually recording each turn while simultaneously conducting the interview, crossing streets safely, monitoring each recorder to see if it was working properly. I found that the GPS device disrupted my ability to fully take in my surroundings and maintain eye contact (though eye contact was rare, since both the participants and I were generally looking forward). Using the GPS device became easier with each interview, but it still required constant attention, especially since it was not always possible to predict turns and because gathering point data was still necessary, even if we continued straight for several blocks. The study took place during the fall in a state that experiences all four seasons. When it was cold out, I had to "punch in" twice to get the coordinate, often slowing down my pace so that the turn could be captured.

Without the spatial transcript, I would caution first-time interviewers on using a GPS device and to assess the resultant value of the map produced (also see Hein, et al., 2008). During the study, I periodically consulted the map that was emerging to determine which streets I had visited and which streets I might flyer in the future to recruit participants from the areas I had not visited during walking interviews. I was also able to monitor interview routes that fell outside my preferred neighborhood. The maps enabled me to target certain blocks worth exploring to

understand recidivism. Nevertheless, throughout the study, I often wondered whether the maps were worth the effort and whether they compromised the interview experience too much. I recommend that researchers conducting such studies in the future weigh the pros and cons of using a GPS device that requires point-level data.

I also strongly recommend using two recorders to ensure that at least one remains on and recording, despite the added stress that this may cause. I transcribed the recording from the participant's recorder since I turned that one on first. However, I turned my recorder off last, after the interview was over and I was in my car. This meant that my recorder had the last 5–10 minutes of the interview, since I took the recorder back from each participant and put it away before paying the incentive and obtaining a signed receipt acknowledging the payment. I cleaned each interview transcript using the audio from both recordings. I noticed major differences in the transcribed interview content that should have been the same. For example, the phrase "well its" on one recording transcript sounded correct based on the audio, but on the other recording, the word was actually "felons" [Dee W]. In another instance, the transcriptionist typed "Yeah, you know it's the south, so I was like okay" and the audio sounded like this was the sentence but with the other recorder, the actual sentence was "That's what I'm saying how did you get to this point?" In several instances, the participant's recorder did not pick up my question or my part of the conversation, whereas my recorder did. For example, the participant's audio did not pick my request for permission to take a photograph [Dee W].

Chapter Seven: Phase 2 Quantitative Methods

Research Questions

This is an exploratory, sequential mixed-method study design seeking to identify neighborhood characteristics that predict recidivism. In the qualitative phase, interview participants identified gentrification as a neighborhood process that was affecting their lives. That phase of the study examined neighborhood life at the block and zip code levels. It answered calls within quantitative recidivism research to "begin with several case studies of recent releases, to get a thorough understanding of the sorts of difficulties and adjustments people experience at release (Wehrman, 2010, p. 543). In the quantitative phase of the study, I explore gentrification as neighborhood predictors of recidivism. In this phase of the study, and using a larger geopolitical scale, Milwaukee County, I aim to answer the question is gentrification a predictor of recidivism? The study design is shown in Figure 18.

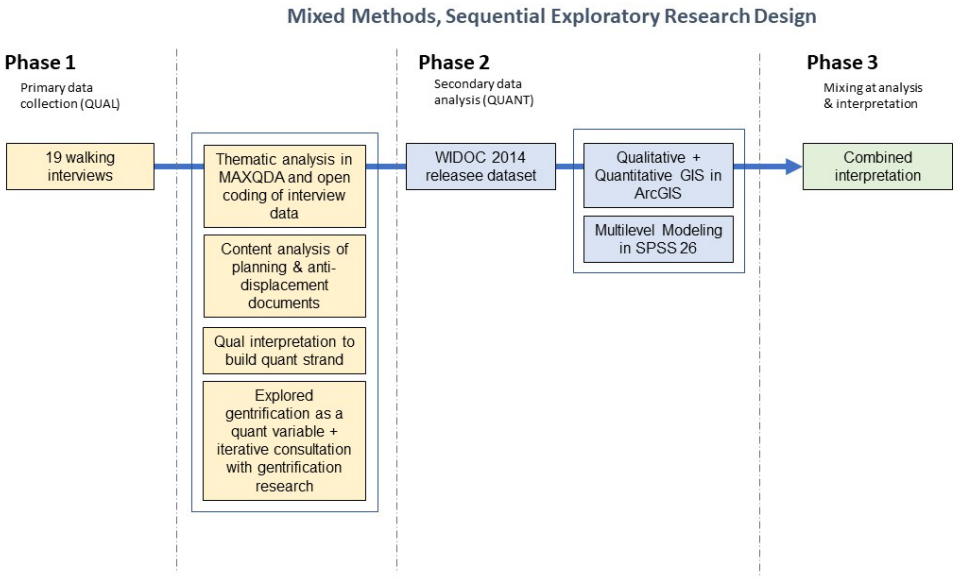


Figure18. Mixed Methods Design.

Data Sources & Measures

Recidivism. Recidivism data were secured from the Wisconsin Department of Corrections (WIDOC). The sample consists of the 2014 releasee cohort (all males released from WIDOC in the year 2014) to Region III, which includes Milwaukee County, the area of focus for the present study. This study uses the Wisconsin State definition of recidivism, which is defined as committing a new offense following release from prison that results in readmission or probation (Tatar & Jones, 2016). New offenses are limited to in-state (Wisconsin) offenses and excludes offenses committed in other states. The day of the recidivism event is the date used to record the person as having recidivated (as opposed to using reincarceration date, the date the person physically enters the prison). Recidivism serves as the dependent variable in this study (Yes = 1). The follow-up period is six years (concluding in 2019), which overlaps with the qualitative phase of the follow-up study but is longer by about two years.

The individual-level demographic variables included race (Black = 1), age at release (measured in years), education (High school or more = 1), and criminal history variables (continuous): number of felony convictions, number of all convictions, and number of incarcerations (Wisconsin only). The dataset also contained the most violent offense, using Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) and Association of State Correctional Administrators (ASCA) categories. Additional variables related to mental health, housing, and employment were requested but were unavailable from the WIDOC record management system. Very limited details were provided on several needs categories (e.g., employment, education) but the extent of the unknown data varied from 2% to 69% of the sample and thus were not used. Similarly, marital status was also not used.

Inclusion Criteria. Administrative data available through WIDOC were used in this study. The dataset comprised the 2014 releasee cohort (males only), contained 4,258 records, with each of the 1,946 releasees having one or more records depending on the number of statutes for which they received a conviction. There were two criteria set for inclusion in the study. First, the releasees had to have known addresses. Of the 1,946 releasees, 1,784 had addresses; these could be geocoded with 90% accuracy. The second inclusion criterion was Milwaukee County residence. The dataset contained individuals who were under Region III supervision but who were not living in Milwaukee County (they lived in Ozaukee, Racine, Washington, Waukesha, and other counties across the state). In total, 263 releasees were removed from the study resulting in a final sample of 1,683 male releasees (see Figure 19).

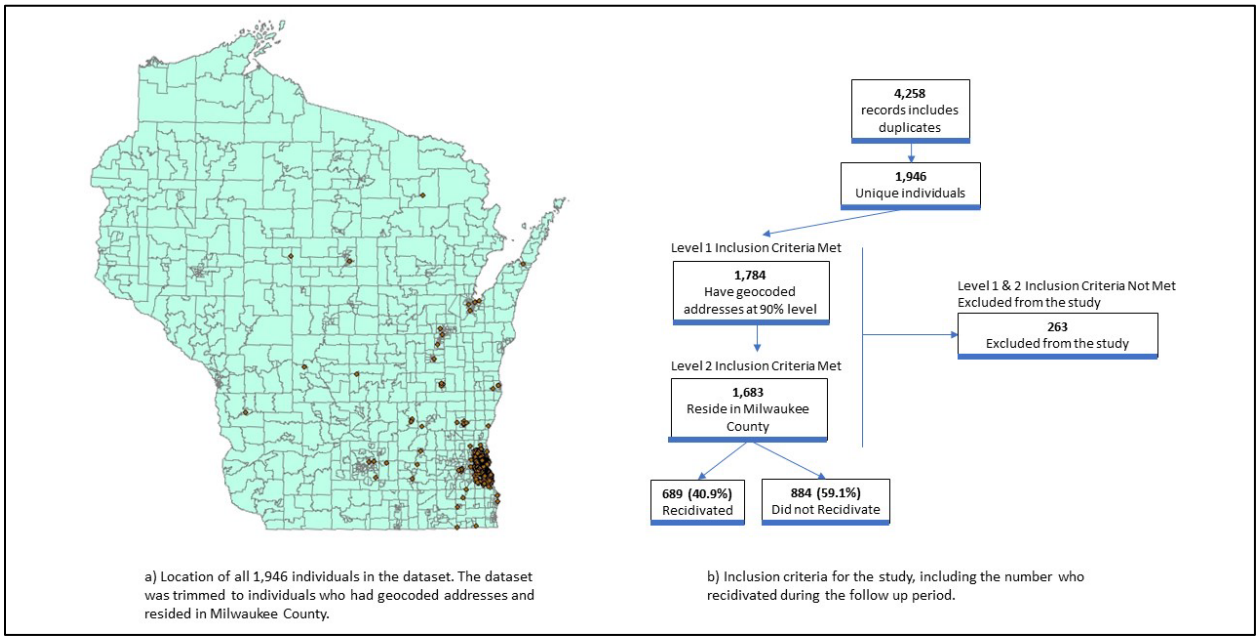


Figure 19. Inclusion and Exclusion Flowchart.

Measuring Gentrification. Gentrification datasets for Milwaukee County and the City of Milwaukee were secured from two sources. The first dataset came from the University of Minnesota, Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity (IMO; 2019), which uses data from the 2000 US Census and the 2016 American Community Survey and represents a subset of a national dataset examining gentrification throughout the country. In the Institute's analysis, 1.5% of the population (and, specifically, 3.8% of Black residents) in the Milwaukee region (defined as Milwaukee and Racine counties, along with Waukesha) reside in economically expanding neighborhoods (neighborhoods are defined as US Census tracts). Just over 38% of the population (and, specifically, 57.4% of Black residents and 62% of families in poverty) reside in neighborhoods experiencing economic decline. The results are similar for the City of Milwaukee. This dataset was chosen because of its operationalization of gentrification (defined below), which shared similarities with the themes that emerged in the first phase of the study, including the characterization of abandoned neighborhoods and neighborhoods at the early or pre-stages of the gentrification process. The time period also coincides with the data-collection time period in the first phase of the current study.

Gentrification is operationalized by IMO (2019) on the basis of class only (low- to high-income) and not race or other characteristics (e.g., changes in percentage of professional or managerial class, median housing costs, or new construction). Using 2000 and 2016 Census data, each Census tract in Milwaukee County is assigned a two-tier classification system. Tracts are first classified as strongly in economic expansion or strongly in economic decline. A tract is strongly economically expanding if the share of the low-income individuals in the tract declined by more than five percentage points between 2000 and 2016 and if the absolute number of non-low-income individuals increased by more than 10 percent between the same years; essentially,

low-income people are leaving the tract and mid- to high-income residents are moving to the tract. A tract is classified as strongly economically declining if the low-income population share increased by more than five percentage points between 2000 and 2016 and if the absolute number of non-low-income individuals decreased by more than 10 percent between the same years; essentially, mid-to high-income individuals are moving out of the tract and low-income individuals are moving into the tract, resulting in a greater share of low-income residents in the tract.

The second-tier classification uses a cutoff point driven by the data, using equal intervals, and creates two additional classifications for each category. There are a total of four neighborhood gentrification categories: 1) economically expanding with low-income displacement (i.e., gentrification), 2) economically expanding with overall growth (i.e., gentrification without displacement), 3) economically declining areas with abandonment (i.e., depopulation across all income levels), and 4) economically declining areas with poverty concentration (i.e., low-income population increasing in absolute numbers and percentage share). Based on their data, 16 neighborhoods in the Milwaukee region are experiencing abandonment, 178 are experiencing low-income concentrations, seven are experiencing displacement (or what is commonly referred to as gentrification), and five neighborhoods are experiencing overall growth.

These neighborhood types were coded as a series of dichotomous variables (abandonment = 1, low-income concentration = 1, displacement = 1, overall growth = 1). A fifth type, stable, was created (stable = 1), for cases where the neighborhood is in neither decline nor expansion; essentially, no class-related population changes occurred between 2000 and 2016. This group served as the referent group in the models. This dataset also contained the share of

the low-income population and the loss/gains of the Black population, which were mapped in ArcGIS and presented as a choropleth map in Chapter 6.

Using an expanded definition of gentrification that accounts for changes in home values and racial demographic shifts, the second gentrification dataset is from the National Community Reinvestment Coalition (NCRC; https://ncrc.org/qualified-opportunity-zones-2018-gentrified-neighborhoods-2000-2017/), which examined gentrification between 2000 and 2017 using census data; again, Census tracts served as a proxy for neighborhoods. This dataset is part of larger study to test whether Opportunity Zones created by the Tax Cut and Jobs Act of 2017 spur economic investment or displacement (Richardson et al., 2020).[34] A Census tract was classified as "eligible" for gentrification if, at the beginning of the decade, the home values in the neighborhood were low and the residents were low-income. A neighborhood was designated as showing signs of gentrification if the home value was greater than the 60th percentile of the median home value, if the number of college-educated had increased (also in the 60th percentile), and if there was an absolute increase in the median household income. Cultural displacement was measured by a >5% loss of the predominant racial and ethnic group compared to the start of the decade. Only central city Census tracts were considered and only one tract in Milwaukee had cultural displacement (i.e., Black residents displaced by White residents). Using the data from NCRC, most of the City of Milwaukee is eligible for gentrification (and these areas overlap with or are adjacent to neighborhoods designated as Opportunity Zones). NCRC data were coded as a dichotomous variable in which neighborhoods that were eligible for gentrification at the start of the decade were coded as eligible = 1, eligible and gentrified = 1, and not eligible and did not gentrify = 1 (the third variable was omitted due to collinearity).

[34] The analysis from this study indicates that while gentrification is rare nationally, it is occurring in Black and Brown cities, particularly those closest to downtown (Richardson et al., 2019). Seven cities account for half of the gentrification nationally.

In this classification model, a non-eligible neighborhood cannot experience gentrification. One value of this approach is that it allows other neighborhood demographics to explain population shifts, restricting gentrification to a clear baseline definition. That said, gentrification processes may have started in between each decennial census and the gentrification process may be complete by the end of the decade and thus not coded in the NCRC system.

Geocoding & Maps

For each releasee, the first release address was geocoded at a 90% accuracy rate to produce a shapefile of all releasees. Ideally, the most current address for each reconviction and reincarceration would have been used, but the data did not permit this. The number of releasees per tract was determined (continuous variable). This variable provides a sense of how many individuals were released into a specific neighborhood in one year, 2014, though it does not provide a sense of how many individuals were already under correctional supervision in that neighborhood (or tract). Using ArcGIS, I joined the releasee shapefile to a shapefile comprising the full WIDOC dataset and an expanded version of the IMO gentrification dataset, using the spatial join feature, and a digitized map of the NCRC data.[35] All spatial and statistical analysis was conducted in ArcGIS 10.9, ArcGIS Online, IBM SPSS 28, and STATA 17. Most of the data preparation took place in IBM SPSS 28, including the creation of new variables, descriptive statistics, and bivariate analysis (e.g., correlations).

Spatial and Statistical Analysis

Geographic Information Systems. The analysis phase was iterative and employed qualitative and quantitative GIS techniques throughout the process. The initial steps required the

[35] The Applied Population Lab at the University-Wisconsin Madison digitized NCRC data.

creation of density maps that identified statistically significant clusters of the location of releasees.[36] I assessed whether the clusters were statistically significant using Getis Ord G_i*.[37] This tool yields a hotspot (and coldspot) map (O'Sullivan & Unwin, 2010). To be considered a hotspot, an area must have a high value and be surrounded by other areas with a high value. To be a coldspot, an area must have a low value and be surrounded by other areas with a low value. When the difference between the observed and expected local sum (e.g., the sum of an area and its surrounding area) is large, the resultant z-score is statistically significant (Murray, 2010). The maps that were generated provided a visual representation of those Census tracts with the highest number of releasees and recidivists, providing evidence that releasees within a neighborhood and across a section of the city might be similar to one another and therefore not independent observations. I also created dot density and kernel clustering maps with different base layers to explore the data at the county level and within the 53206 zip code. The capacities to move across geographic boundaries, zoom in and out, and move from concrete to abstract make the quantitative and qualitative approaches within GIS unique (Knigge & Cope, 2006).

Multi-level Binary Logistic Modeling. For this study, two levels were used. The first level (fixed effects) was a regression equation consisting of individual and neighborhood predictors. The second level allowed the intercept to vary randomly, using the first-level intercept as a dependent variable. Essentially, it compared the difference between the first-level intercept and the intercepts created at the second level for each group, which in this analysis comprised 257 tracts in Milwaukee County. Fixed slopes were used since the larger study question seeks to understand the impact of neighborhood effects over individual-level characteristics. Several models were created. The first model was the intercept only or the

[36] Wang et al. (2010) and La Vigne & Cowan (2003) also used spatial visualization techniques.
[37] Pronounced G-i-star.

unconditional model to assess recidivism risk across neighborhoods. The second model used the IMO gentrification classification as the predictor variables. The third model used the NCRC gentrification classification as the predictor variables.

Race-Conscious Analytic Strategy. To offer continuity between the different phases of this study, the statistical procedures described above and throughout the subsequent sections are interpreted through a race-conscious lens, given the specific emphasis on Black releasees. A small number of predictor variables were included in this study. When racial groups are frequently reduced to a few traits, stereotypes and racial hierarchies are reified (Love, 2014). In this study, I strive toward an analytical strategy that builds in a praxis for antiracism research, using critical race methodologies as recommended by Airhihenbuwa (2010). That is, neighborhood characteristics and risk factors for recidivism are understood to be racialized, and racial differences are a product of different racialized experiences. This is particularly important given the history of criminological research that has helped to establish racial hierarchies and sustain racial injustice by producing evidence of biological and cultural determinism (e.g., Black people are inherently more criminal) to explain differences across race and justify the use of race, class, and gender-specific carceral strategies. The use of qualitative GIS can facilitate the process used here by pointing to complex relationships at multiple scales, supporting social change, facilitating political discussions, and examining complex phenomena at multiple scales (Baur et al., 2014; Kwan, 2002). It can also be used to create counternarratives, address injustice, and build power by providing a platform for multiple forms of knowledge (Elwood, 2006).

While my intent is to not continue to over simplified uses of the terms race and crime (or criminalized behavior), I do not meet all the requirements set forth by Henne and Shah (2015). The authors examined White logic in criminological research and found that the White gaze is

retained in criminology through several mechanisms: a) race is not discussed (they found that 47% of criminological papers did not discuss it); b) "White" is the reference category, such that "Non-White" is conceptually articulated as a deviation from the norm; c) race is equated with behavior when it is an independent variable, moderator, or control variable; and d) race, as an explanatory variable and as a control, does not explain the racialization process. I address race and, through the qualitative portion of the study, explain the racialization process. I also make Black the referent category but still use race as an explanatory variable rather than a more structural variable that captures the racialization of recidivism risk. Through my discussion of necropolitics in Chapter 10, one could argue that the Black body is a proxy for racialized structures. In the next chapter I describe my results.

Chapter Eight: Descriptive and Multilevel Modeling Results

Sample Demographics

The sample consisted of all males released in 2014 to WIDOC Region 3, which includes Milwaukee County. Of these men, 75.2% were Black; the remaining men were White (14.7%), Latino (9.2%), and of other racial identity or ethnicity (1%). These percentages do not reflect the demographics within the county, which is White (64.2%), Black (27.2%), and Latino (15.6%) (https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/milwaukeecountywisconsin). The highest educational grade completed at admission was as follows: less than high school degree (36.4%), high school graduate or equivalent (44.9%), and completion or partial fulfillment of college or technical degree (13.8%). Less than two percent of the releasees (1.3%) had not completed their primary education; of these, nine (0.5%) reported that the highest grade completed was between the third and fifth grades (9, 0.5%). The majority of releasees were not married at admission (86%). The mean age at release was 33.38 (SD = 10.39). The youngest releasee was 18 years old and the eldest releasee was 68 years old (see Appendix B, Table 1).

Prior Incarcerations, Cases, and Convictions. The WIDOC contained criminal history data. The mean number of prior WIDOC incarcerations was 2.43 (SD = 1.87); 41.1% had one prior incarceration in WIDOC and one individual had 18 prior incarcerations. Since 41.1% had one prior incarceration, this releasee cohort comprised individuals who had already recidivated. Their admission type reflects this; 50.68% (853) were not admitted due to a new sentence (rather, a violation of probation, parole, extended supervision, or mandatory release) while 49.02% (825) were admitted due to a new sentence. Five (.297%) were admitted for unspecified reasons, usually from another facility out of the state. The mean number of prior felony cases was 2.14 (SD = 1.48). The mean number of prior felony convictions was 4.20 (5.09). The mean

number of prior convictions was 5.25 (6.25). The majority of releasees had between one and five statute offenses (1,626, 96.6%) when they were convicted. The mean was 2.17 (SD = 1.90). One releasee had 46 statute violations, while 41.7% had one statute violation; see Appendix B, Table 2).

Offense Type. To offer a sense of the criminal histories of the study sample, I report on their most serious convictions using ASCA categories for the most current admission. The most serious offenses using ASCA categories were as follows: part 1 violent crime (30.1%), other violent crime (13.0%), property (23.5%), drug offense (19.3%), and other public disorder (14.1%). I also report on the UCR, which provides some additional detail on the most serious offense at admission. The top three offenses were robbery (22.7%), drug abuse violation (19.7%), and burglary (12.5%) (see Appendix B, Table 3).

Release Type. The majority of releasees in the 2014 cohort were released on extended supervision (80.5%). The remaining were released on mandatory release to supervision (12.5%), direct discharge from sentence (5.3%), parole (1.5%), and release by court (0.2%) (see Appendix B, Table 4).

Recommended Supervision Level. While I do not know the official supervision levels at the time of release or during the recidivism event, the data for recommended supervision levels upon release were high = 32.4%, medium = 44.3%, and low = 21.1%. For about 2.2% of the releasees, their recommended supervision was unknown (see Appendix B, Table 5).

Recidivism

This study uses the WIDOC definition of recidivism (Tatar & Jones, 2016). For the 2014 cohort, 59.1% of the releasees did not recidivate and 40.9% recidivated in the six-year period between 2014 and 2019. Within three years of release, 31.8% had recidivated, meaning that most

releasees had recidivated within the standard three-year follow-up time period. Appendix B, Table 6 provides a breakdown of the number of releasees who had recidivated (by year) up to Year 6. Of the releasees who recidivated, 30.77% were reconvicted for public order offenses, 25.83% for property, 15.67% drug offenses, 13.79% for part 1 violent crimes, and 13.93% for other crimes (see Appendix B, Table 7). Using the UCR categories, the top three reconviction statutes were for drug abuse violation (15.53%), larceny/theft (12.05%), and other offenses (11.76%). See Appendix B, Table 8. While, the most conservative definition is used to measure recidivism, this definition may not capture the effects of mass incarceration in the state. Mass supervision drives mass incarceration in Wisconsin (Williams et al., 2019). In 2017, 43% of people incarcerated were revoked without a conviction of a new crime. According to HIP (2016), the WIDOC estimates that upwards of 70% of individuals revocated had engaged in criminalized behavior leading to the revocation, but these individuals were not formally charged or convicted.

Recidivism and Gentrification Classification

The two most common neighborhood types across the sample using the IMO gentrification classification were stable (43.8%) and low-income concentration (42.5%). In this sample, just 1.3% returned to areas experiencing overall growth and 2.3% returned to areas with low income displacement (which is commonly referred to as gentrification). Just 22 individuals resided in neighborhoods experiencing overall growth, of which 68.2% recidivated. Of the individuals residing within abandonment neighborhoods at first release, 48.5% recidivated. Using the NCRC gentrification classification most individuals in this sample reside in neighborhoods that were eligible to become gentrified but did not gentrify (67.8%). Of those that returned to gentrified neighborhoods, 47.6% recidivated. See Table 2.

Neighborhood Level Variables	Did not Recidivate (n = 994)	Recidivated (n = 689)	Percent of Recidivists in Each Neighborhood Type
IMO Gentrification Classification			
Abandonment (171, 10.2%)	88 (8.9%)	83 (12.0%)	48.5%
Low Income Displacement (38, 2.3%)	21 (2.1%)	17 (2.5%)	44.7%
Low Income Concentration (715, 42.5%)	428 (43.1%)	287 (41.7%)	40.1%
Overall Growth (22, 1.3%)	7 (.7%)	15 (2.2%)	68.2%
Stable (737, 43.8%)	450 (45.3%)	287 (41.7%)	38.9%
NCRC Gentrification Classification			
Eligible but did not gentrify (1,141, 67.8%)	676 (68.0%)	465 (67.5%)	40.8%
Gentrified, if eligible (82, 4.9%)	43 (4.3%)	39 (5.7%)	47.6%
Not eligible for gentrification, did not gentrify (460, 27.3%)	275 (27.7%)	185 (26.9%)	40.2%

Table 2. Rates of Recidivism by Gentrification Neighborhood Type

Spatial Clustering

Consistent with prior research (La Vigne, et al., 2003; Sampson & Loeffler, 2010), there is statistically significant clustering in the areas where both releasees and recidivists reside. The pin map (a) shows several clusters on the north and southside of Milwaukee (see [a] in Figure 20). The Getis Ord Gi* provides a better estimate of clustering than a visual only inspection. The results from the Getis Ord Gi* identified statistically significant clustering of releasees and recidivists, as well as statistically significant coldspots in the outlying areas of the county (see [b] and [c] in Figure 20). The central city northside reflects one large continuous region, and there is a second smaller region at the most northern tip of the City of Milwaukee. Most of this region met the 99% threshold for hotspots,[38] suggesting a large difference between the expected versus the observed number of releasees and recidivists. The 53206 zip code is demarcated in yellow in

[38] It should be noted that the same type of data is used to justify increased policing in the neighborhood. Jefferson (2018) notes that predictive policing legitimizes racialized uses of crime data and that this trend is in part due to the fact that few critical geographers work within these institutions.

each map. The zip code is nested within this threshold, the largest hotspot. Of the releasees, about 10% (184) were released to this zip code in 2014. The southside cluster is not statistically significant for releasees (using their first address at release), but two tracts become significant at the 90% confidence interval for recidivists-only cluster map (see [c] in Figure 20).

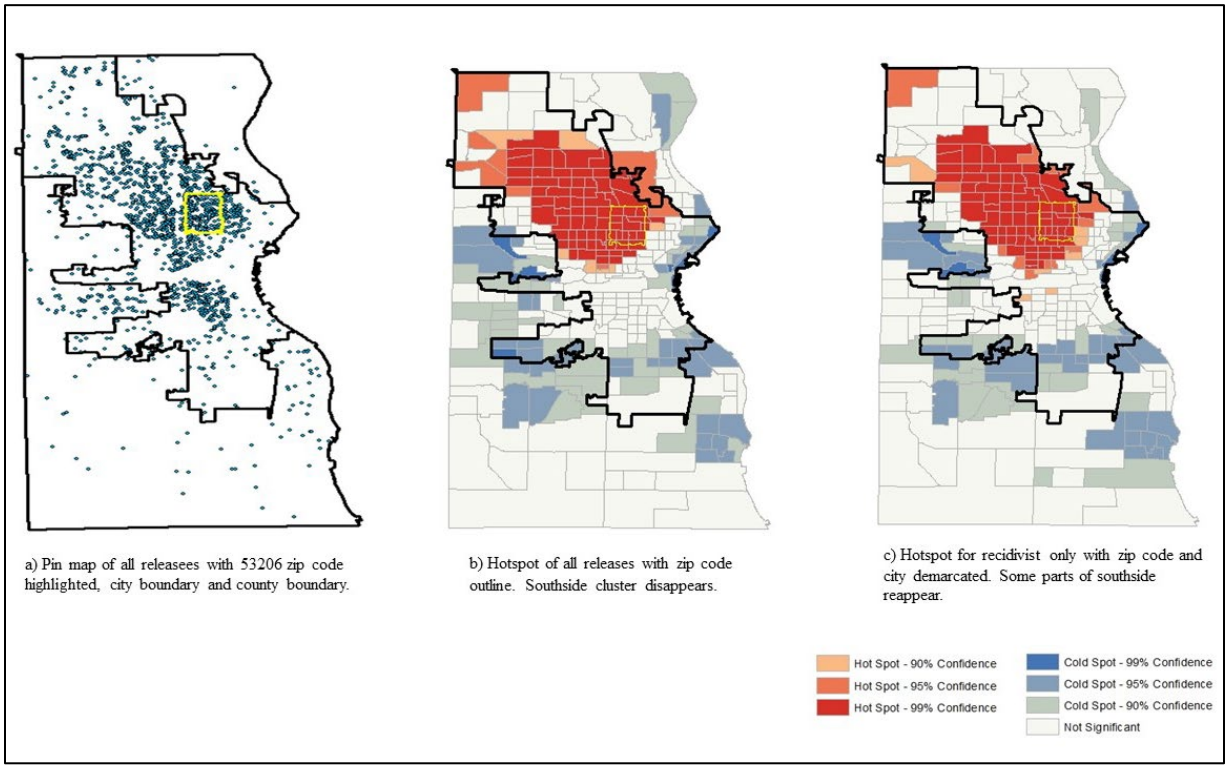


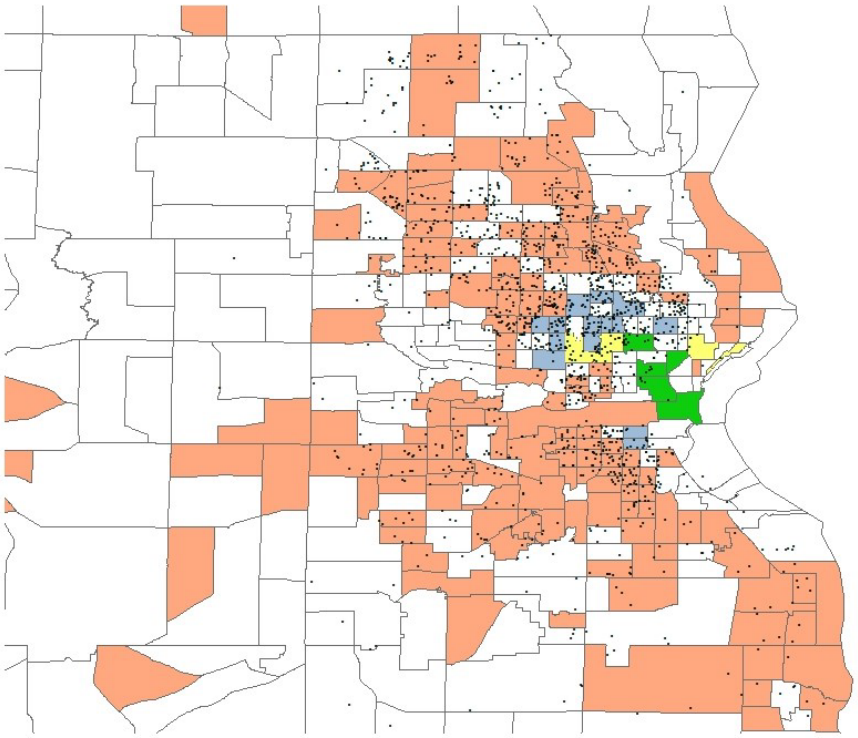
Figure 20. Hotspot Maps

Next, I overlayed the releasee data with the gentrification datasets. Much of the county is classified as stable (areas shown in clear) with diverse neighborhood types overlapping with the hotspot maps discussed in the above section. See Figure 21. One important issue that stands out with the IMO classification is that the affluent northshore neighborhood was classified as low-income concentration. Upon further inspection, these neighborhoods did meet the criteria set by IMO. The census data indicate that these neighborhoods experienced out migration of mid- to high-income individuals and the share of the population living in poverty increased by 10%. This

inspection also revealed that the classification coded areas with 4% low-income in time 1 and 14% in time 2, for example. This is hardly an area that would be described as low-income concentration. To address this, for all areas that were coded as low-income concentration by IMO but had less than 40% poverty share,[39] were recoded as "stable" or no demographic shifts, which changed the neighborhood classification for 128 releasees. A simple majority would characterize an area as low income. The share of low-income population for each neighborhood ranged from 53% to 86% in abandonment neighborhoods ranges, 40% to 86% in low-income concentration neighborhoods, 23% to 76% in the displacement neighborhoods, and 19% to 95% in stable neighborhoods. Stable neighborhood does not signify a neighborhood is affluent or low-income, rather that the neighborhood was not experiencing population gains or losses overall and changes in the non-low-income population when comparing the beginning of the decade to the end of the decade.

The utility in the IMO classification approach is achieved by allowing neighborhoods growing in disadvantage to be a distinct neighborhood, which can serve as a proxy for the disinvestment stage in gentrification. This classification, of course, does not allow a direct measurement of the traditional neighborhood disadvantage index, since many disadvantaged neighborhoods are also classified as stable (in these neighborhoods there are no population shifts in relation to mid- and high-income residents). See Figure 21.

[39] Goetz et al. (2019) also used the 40% cut off to determine concentrated poverty. The authors also had concerns about the IMO operationalization of gentrification.



a) IMO four neighborhood categories are stable (no color), abandonment (blue), low-income displacement (yellow), overall growth (green) and low-income concentration (peach). The challenge with the final category is that the wealthy northshore is labeled as a concentration of low-income housing stock. The 53206 includes all five neighborhood types.

Figure 21. IMO Gentrification Classification Overlayed with WIDOC Releasees

Finally, the 53206 zip code (outlined in black) includes several tracts that were classified as stable (clear), one as low-income concentration (yellow), six as abandonment (shown in blue; tracts where depopulation is occurring), and two as overall growth (green). See Figure 22. Abandonment as a stage of gentrification and a description used by walking interview participants creates conceptual continuity between the two data sources (IMO and NCRC) and provides some validation for each.

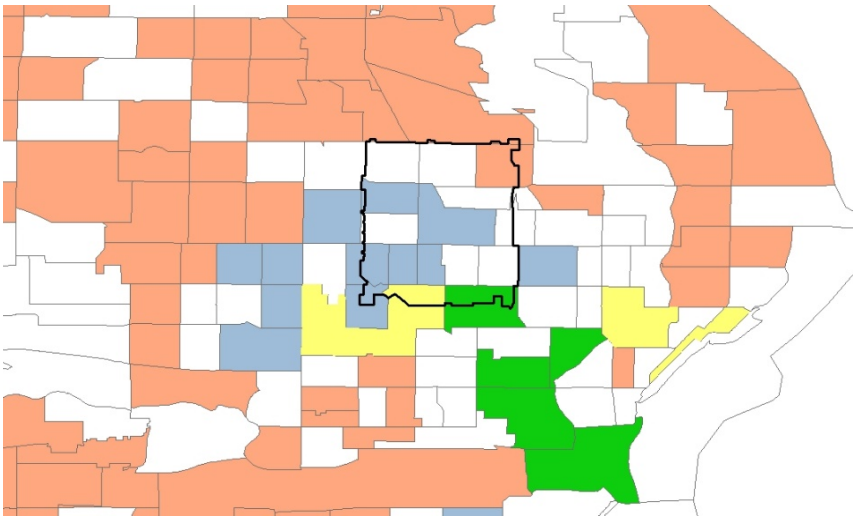


Figure 22. IMO Gentrification Classification with 53206 Zip Code.

Using the NCRC's gentrification classification as a base map, most of the City of Milwaukee is eligible for gentrification, and there are several tracts close to downtown that have already gentrified (see Figure 23 [a]). It should be noted that since gentrification is a long temporal process that takes decades, areas that have gentrified prior to the NCRC study would not be counted in this cross-sectional map. I visually inspected whether the DOC releasee data overlapped with gentrified areas or were near gentrified areas, specifically the 53206 zip code (see Figure 23 [b]). The zip code includes three tracts that have gentrified and it sits adjacent to a stitched string of gentrified tracts outlying the downtown area. Both IMO and NCRC use different definitions for gentrification but both capture demographic shifts in the areas closest to downtown. In the next section, I test whether gentrification is a neighborhood predictor above and beyond individual characteristics.

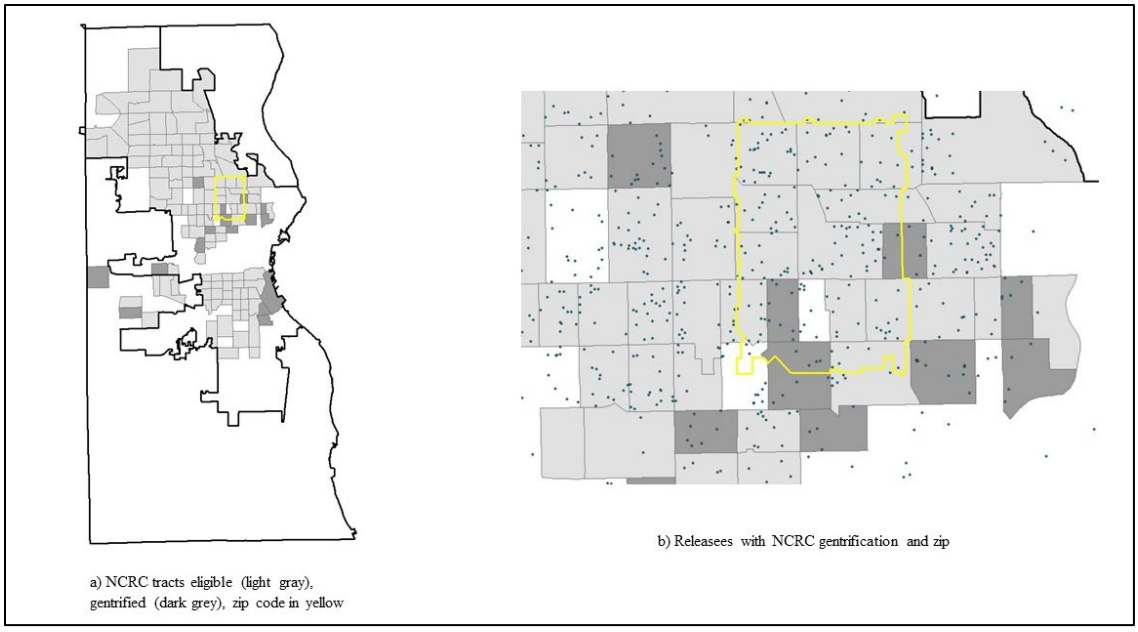


Figure 23. NCRC Gentrification Classification Overlayed with WIDOC Releasees (left) and 53206 boundary (right).

Multi-level Modeling

Correlations. The bivariate analysis shows mixed support that recidivism and gentrification are associated using the IMO and NCRC classifications. Using the IMO gentrification classification, two of the five neighborhood types were significantly associated with recidivism: abandonment (e.g., depopulation) and overall growth (increase in the non-low-income population and others across the income spectrum). Abandonment neighborhoods were significantly associated with recidivism, at $r = 0.052$, $p = 0.033$. Overall growth neighborhoods were significantly associated with recidivism at $r = 0.063$, $p = 0.008$. Displacement, stable, and low-income concentration neighborhoods were not significantly correlated with recidivism. Using the NCRC gentrification classification, eligible ($r = -0.005$, $p = 0.82$), gentrified ($r = 0.030$, $p = 0.211$), and not eligible and not gentrified ($r = -0.009$, $p = .712$) were nonsignificantly associated with recidivism. Of the individual-level variables, race, release age, number of prior incarcerations, and convictions (all types) were significantly associated with recidivism. Given

the correlation between the number of prior convictions and incarcerations (r = 0.709, p = 0.000), only prior convictions were used in the multivariate analysis. While the criminal history variables were highly correlated with age, age at release was retained in the model. One additional neighborhood characteristic was included: the number of releasees who were also returning to the same neighborhood in 2014. No significant association was found between the number of releasees in the tract and recidivism. See Appendix C.

Intercept-Only Model. The intercept-only model (Model 1) does not include any predictors and provides an assessment of whether the risk of recidivism varies significantly across neighborhood groups (census tracts) or between group differences. The fixed-effects portion includes the mean of neighborhoods, while the level-two equation includes the grand mean of neighborhood means and the difference between each neighborhood's intercept and the grand mean. The results are shown in Table 3. The LR test versus the logistic model are nonsignificant ($x^2 = 0.08$, p = 0.390), which means the multilevel model is not an improvement over single-level binary logistic regression.

	Model 1 (Unconditional)				Model 2 (IMO Classification)				Model 3 (NCRC Classification)			
	B	Sig.	SE	Odds Ratio	B	Sig.	SE	Odds Ratio	B	Sig.	SE	Odds Ratio
Constant	.690	.000	.036		.985	***	.235	2.67	1.05	***	.240	2.88
Release Age					-.050	***	.006	.95	-.050	***	.006	.95
Race					.063		.124	1.06	.133		.128	1.14
Number of Prior Convictions (all)					.076	***	.012	1.07	.077	***	.012	1.08
Number of Releasees Per Tract					-.092	**	.039	.911	-.093	**	.126	.911
IMO Classification												
Abandonment					.327	*	.182	1.38				
Low-Income Concentration					.027		.112	1.02				
Overall Growth					1.23	**	.491	3.44				
Displacement					.089		.348	1.09				
NCRC Classification												
Gentrified									.146		.260	1.15
Eligible									-.093		.126	.911

ICC	.009				.009				.009			
*= Sig. at p<.10, **= Sig. at p<.05, ***Sig. at p<.000.												

Table 3. Multilevel Regression Models Predicting Recidivism with Gentrification

In addition, the intraclass correlation (ICC) measures the degree of dependence among each observation (1,683 releases) or the proportion of recidivism variability that occurs between rather than within neighborhoods. This is important, given that the 2014 releasees are clustered in one large region in the central-north side of the city of Milwaukee. The ICC value (0.009) measures effect size (Lorah, 2018), and in this model, less than 1% of the differences in recidivism risk are dependent on neighborhoods.

Models with Predictors. Model 2 applied the IMO gentrification classification to test whether gentrification was a neighborhood predictor of recidivism. See Table 2. The Wald chi-square test was statistically significant, indicating that at least one of the intercepts was non zero. In this model, two of the individual-level characteristics were statistically significant: the number of prior convictions and release age; race was nonsignificant. These results suggest that for every additional prior conviction, individuals have 1.079 higher odds of recidivating. Older releasees have 5% lower odds ([.95-1]*100) of recidivism than younger releasees, using age at release. Two neighborhood predictors were significant at the alpha 0.05 level: the number of releasees returning in 2014 to each tract and neighborhoods experiencing overall growth. The odds of recidivism are 9% lower for releasees returning to neighborhoods with more releasees ([.91-1]*100). This finding provides some evidence that concentrations of releasees is not entirely criminogenic. Corrections regulates and prohibits interactions with “known felons” and engaging in relationships deemed antisocial; see statute 18 U.S.C. § 3563(b)(6). This finding may provide some evidence that neighborhoods gain when people return to them, mitigating (to a small extent) the effects of coercive mobility.

The neighborhoods experiencing overall growth were statistically significant ($p = 0.012$), with the odds of recidivism being 3.44 times higher for releasees returning to neighborhoods with overall growth compared to stable neighborhoods where no population demographics were underway. This is consistent with some of the literature on gentrification, which suggests that policing strategies are part of removal strategies (Ramirez, 2020). For neighborhoods experiencing abandonment (e.g., depopulation), the risk of recidivism was statistically significant but only at the alpha 0.07 level. The alpha set for this study is 0.05; however, as an exploratory study, it is still worth discussing. At an alpha level of 0.07, the odds of recidivism were 1.38 times higher for individuals returning to neighborhoods experiencing abandonment than for individuals returning to stable neighborhoods with no demographic shifts. The odds of recidivism in neighborhoods with low-income concentrations compared to stable neighborhoods were not statistically significant. This finding assumes that a considerable number of stable neighborhoods are also low-income neighborhoods; they are only stable in that the degree of disadvantage does not change.

Model 3 applies the NCRC gentrification classifications. The multivariate results mirror the bivariate results. The odds of recidivism were not statistically different in neighborhoods that were eligible for gentrification or in neighborhoods that were gentrifying. Neighborhoods not eligible for gentrification and that did not gentrify were omitted from the model due to collinearity; this variable added redundant information to the model. Individuals with more prior convictions were more likely to recidivate. Older releasees had lower odds of recidivating than younger releases. Individuals returning to neighborhoods with other releasees in the same cohort had 9% lower odds of recidivating ([.91-1]*100). See Table 2.

Limitations

The overarching study examined gentrification as a neighborhood process that might impact recidivism. Notably, a reliable measurement of gentrification is still needed. While the IMO's gentrification classification provides a conceptually valuable measurement of the stages within the gentrification process, its approach classifies affluent areas and areas with a low starting poverty rate as a low-income concentration if the gentrification criteria are met. By contrast, the NCRC's classification, which considers race and class, only measures gentrification as a static event; it either happened or it did not, and what happened during the process is excluded from the measurement. An improved measure would have improved sensitivity across stages of the process, not just its most visible form (IMO's approach provides evidence that other stages, beyond displacement-replacement are possible) and accurately classify each neighborhood stage. The gentrification measurement used in this study also did not include capital investments in infrastructure, access to community assets, such as downtown, the lakefront, and the highway, or other details that demonstrate redevelopment. The addition of these variables would make for a more robust gentrification measure for Milwaukee County, but they do not necessarily measure the abandonment stage or the displacement that occurs prior to the influx of state and private capital.

Additionally, there is a conceptual overlap with other neighborhood predictors of recidivism already found in the literature. As mentioned in Chapter 4, gentrification processes and neighborhood disadvantage are related; neighborhood disadvantage is the product of disinvestment, which is the first stage of gentrification and a necessary step to make land and housing profitable in the final stages of gentrification. Neighborhoods with high disadvantage have higher instances of crime, across all types (e.g., violent, property). In addition to evictions

and other forms of displacement, mass incarceration has produced a form of displacement that may contribute to the abandonment stage. Both neighborhood processes are concerned with concentrated poverty, vacancies, renters, and homeownership rates. Gentrification attends to the *changes* over time among these variables, and with some forms of measurement, housing values, mortgage lending rates, and other variables measuring capital investments are considered. Additional work is needed to distinguish the two processes, as the direction of the census variables within traditional recidivism research may differ from that of gentrification, meaning recidivism research may characterize the influx of upper income individuals as a form of building neighborhood advantage and social cohesion, which could lower crime. Gentrification would view the same phenomenon as displacement or even residential instability (another traditional crime measure). Since vacancies overlaps with the abandonment stage in gentrification, the measurement of this would take the same meaning for both variables (disadvantage and gentrification). Table 3 summarizes the traditional social disorganization variables and their relationship to gentrification and Table 4 shows how traditional variables have different meanings in the study of gentrification.

	Traditional Social Disorganization Variables	**Relationship to Gentrification**
Neighborhood Disadvantage	Percent unemployed: high Single-headed household: high Percent in poverty: high Percent receiving public assistance: high	Disinvestment stage
Residential Mobility	Percent vacant: high Percent renters: high Population turnover: high	Abandonment stage
Residential Stability	Percent owner occupied: high	Pre-disinvestment stage Onset or completion of the displacement stage
Neighborhood Advantage	Percentage of college graduates increases Percentage of homeowners increases	Displacement stage

	Percentage of managerial workers increases Percentage of home values increases Non-census variables: mortgage lending increases, coffee shops, and other cultural venues increase	

Table 4. Relationship between Social Disorganization Variables and Gentrification

Neighborhood Type	Theorized Risk of Recidivism	Change in Black pop	Change in owner	Change in low-income share	Change in mid- to high-income
Displacement	Lower (moves to another area)	Decrease	Increase	Decrease	Increase
Abandonment	Higher	Decrease	Decrease	Increase	Decrease
Overall growth	Lower	Increase	Increase	No change	increase
Low-income concentration	Higher	Increase	Decrease	Increase	Decrease
Stable	No change	No change	No change	No change	No change

Table 5. IMO Gentrification Classifications and Theorized Recidivism Risk

There was little neighborhood variation in this study within the dependent variable (recidivism) or the independent variable of interest (gentrification). The neighborhoods included in recidivism studies tend to lack the between-neighborhood variability found in crime studies (e.g., see Mennis et al., 2011). This likely contributed to the mixed findings and low ICC score. There was insufficient variability in Wehrman's study (2010), which did not find a link between recidivism and neighborhood disadvantage. Krivo and Peterson (1996) posited that the spatial clustering of Black neighborhoods might be an issue, whereas White neighborhoods may have more dispersion. Stahler et al. (2013) suggested that certain neighborhoods are part of a larger geographic concentration of disadvantage (in their study, only adjacent neighborhood characteristics predicted recidivism). Certainly, that was the case here with one large region receiving the majority of 2014 releases. Kubrin, Squires, & Stewart (2007) study in Oregon was unable to assess whether neighborhood disadvantage and affluence predicted recidivism among Black FIPs because the Black FIP sample was too small. Visher et al.'s (2004) study in

Baltimore had the opposite constraint. Their sample was 90% Black. My sample is 75% Black and race was nonsignificant in the bivariate and multivariate analyses.

The use of census tracts is not without its problems. Census tracts are not a good proxy for the concept of neighborhoods because actual processes are not measured through census data (Coulton, 2005; Galster, 2010). Nor do they serve as an accurate or equivalent representation of the environment that FIPs are exposed to after release. FIPs could spend most of their days outside their designated census tracts and be exposed to and affected by other environments as a result. These particular modifiable area unit problems (MAUPs) are not unique to this study (Boruff et al., 2012; Foster & Hipp, 2011; Hipp, 2008; Parenteau & Sawada, 2011). Similar observations were made by Oberwittler (2004), Hurvitz and Moudon (2012), and Cummins et al. (2007), who also noted the methodological constraints of measuring exposure across multiple contexts. From the travel diaries kept by the participants in Phase 1 of this study, their activity spaces were not extensive and were mostly confined to the area surrounding their residences. For many, their social interactions rarely extended beyond their block or a few blocks. This could mean that census blocks, rather than census tracts, are more appropriate and also that the main source of exposure is the immediate neighborhood (even if there is more than one). Evidence of smaller geographic scale having more relevance has been noted in crime literature (Bernasco, 2010).

Recidivism was measured using one of the more conservative estimates (reincarceration) rather than arrest or charges filed. Different definitions might have produced different results. Recidivism does not include out-of-state recidivism. In one study, 10.9% of FIPs were arrested in another state (Durose et al., 2014). For a study focused on identifying and exploring neighborhood predictors (not individual-level predictors), this may not be as relevant, given that,

at a minimum, those who recidivate in Milwaukee County are probably living in Milwaukee County. Some recidivism studies distinguish between offense types (usually drug, violent, property, and sex offenses). Disaggregated measures are likely to be most helpful in the development of crime-"prevention" strategies, which can vary by offense. This is less of an issue in my study, although some crime and gentrification studies suggest that property crimes increase when gentrification is underway.

Finally, and most importantly, the use of recidivism as a dependent variable—the focus on recidivism in this study—may have the unintended effect of validating recidivism as an important outcome that measures the effectiveness of the criminal justice system. The criminal justice system should be expected to ensure that people have access to housing, employment, health care, and education during and after incarceration. These are rarely, if ever, used to assess the criminal justice system, and even Maltz (1984) made this argument. By applying an abolitionist and critical race theory lens to this study, high recidivism rates are expected. Therefore, the research aim is to understand the different racial projects that are sustaining these rates. This study explored the relationship between mass incarceration and gentrification, with both major neighborhood processes affecting primarily Black neighborhoods.

Chapter Nine: Discussion and Conclusion

Mass incarceration has consequences for not only individuals, but also families and neighborhoods. It adversely impacts the mental and physical health, education, and wealth attainment of formerly incarcerated persons (FIPs), with these effects extending to entire families and occurring intergenerationally (Hagan & Foster, 2012; Massoglia et al., 2013; Smith & Hattery, 2010). Mass incarceration is partly fueled by the high rates of individuals who return to prison after a period of incarceration and release (Williams, et al., 2019). Such high rates of recidivism evoke the "revolving door" metaphor as individuals go in and out of prison, experiencing glimpses of American freedoms and its punishments with each pass. Recidivism is aided by carceral logics and systems that extend from the prison into the neighborhood, creating criminogenic environments that make mass incarceration a robust phenomenon and prisonization a part of neighborhood life (Schenwar & Law, 2020).

Infused with critical race theory, critical criminology, and critical geography (e.g., Black spatial imaginations), this study applied a qualitative, dominant exploratory, sequential mixed-methods design to examine the neighborhood characteristics associated with higher risks of recidivism. In the first phase of the study, walking interviews were conducted with 19 Black men within three years of their last release from a carceral institution. These interviews were primarily held in or near the widely known 53206 zip code in Milwaukee, which has gained national attention for the concentrated neighborhood incarcerations among Black men. One of the place-based themes that emerged from these interviews was gentrification, which was associated with the built environment of the local neighborhood, the political economy within the larger city and region, and how FIPs contributed to demographic shifts within the neighborhood.

During the interviews, the research aim expanded to understand how gentrification[40] increased the risk of recidivism or made a neighborhood criminogenic.

What emerged was a form of carceral displacement, the removal of men connected to the gentrification process, which had made an already hostile housing market completely exclusionary when it came to FIPs and resulted in coping strategies that included criminalized behavior (e.g., absconding, theft). In this study, FIPs also represented a group vulnerable to gentrification, namely, those Don Juan referred to as the "remnants" of the people still left in the neighborhood following White flight, the flight of the Black middle class to the outer rings of the suburbs, and the departure of others who left willingly. FIPs are unable to secure land because most of the available land is owned by the city and requires significant funds and resources to repair the homes that have been unoccupied and neglected for years. The private rental industry consists of mostly single and duplexes, which are cost prohibitive, and the FIP criminal history excludes them from these housing options. FIPs like Don Juan are vulnerable to evictions, which could lead to reincarceration or and other forms of sanction.

In spite of this, the men in this study offered a counternarrative in that they have a relationship with the land and the neighborhood; they are not placeless even if they are homeless or unstably housed. Black men like Eckes are the third generation in their family to live in the same neighborhood after their grandparents' arrival from the south. Boogie witnessed all of his grandmother's properties being sold off while incarcerated. At the time of the interview, Boogie was struggling to find housing for him and his son, a struggle that led to his eventual eviction and reincarceration within just 24 days of release. In contrast, Dre's family was able to retain

[40] Gentrification is happening in the city, which has approved an anti-displacement plan to address the issue. My study therefore did not examine whether gentrification was happening; rather, based on the assumption that it was, I sought to identify how it was impacting recidivism.

their homes and local business. Dre had a secure place to stay and even with the police at his jobsite and a possible outstanding warrant, he managed to avoid arrest and reincarceration on the day of our first meeting by getting into his car and driving to the home that has been in his family for two generations.

My orientation to "home" after incarceration differs from the traditional approach of finding housing for FIPs (e.g., home in the form of temporary shelter and affordable rental units). In the context of gentrification, the conversation should be more aptly engaged from the perspective of land, assets, the accumulation of wealth, and the redistribution of financial capital into carceral neighborhoods – neighborhoods that have already experienced the damaging effects of past urban renewal projects and helped contain Black neighborhoods. Don Juan used a similar approach as he referred to gentrification as a multi-generational process to build wealth, something he regretted not being able to participate in because he was focused on trying to survive each day and secure $20 to pay for a room for him and his children. This is the catch-22 and the best way to avoid it is to preserve Black land and Black places as part of redevelopment goals, which includes centering the experiences of FIPs.

The different actors involved in the gentrification process, which range from developers and financial institutions to real estate brokers, introduce a host of entities that are traditionally not part of criminal justice reform. However, they should now be asked to participate in the decarceration (and anti-gentrification) process by creating opportunities for significant numbers of FIPs to secure permanent land on a massive scale. These entities should also be asked to disinvest from safety plans derived from broken windows logic. Without this, it would be near impossible for people like Dead Loop to leave Section 8 housing (assuming he were approved for it). The average income in this study sample was just over $9,000, and their collective debt

was over a half million. Raw spoke of a loitering ticket he had received for $697, which he was still paying off.

My orientation toward home also interrupts the logic that FIPs are not deserving of homes or should not be prioritized to gain access to permanent housing and land compared to other groups (e.g., elderly, young families). An integral nexus between carceral and gentrifying processes is that both processes employ dehumanizing techniques that erase the FIP's claim to the land. A person's criminal history voids their "right" to the neighborhood since they are required to follow stipulations regarding how they move through the space and where they can reside. FIPs can be removed from the neighborhood if they fail to adhere to these rules and just by nature of their FIP status. Even more, Black men and residents (with and without a FIP status) living in carceral neighborhoods can be removed from the neighborhood by criminal justice entities for simply standing idle or walking in a known high-crime area. This is carceral displacement.

High levels of coercive mobility (i.e., the removal of people due to incarceration) have a destabilizing effect on neighborhoods and help create the conditions for abandonment, which is one of the stages of the gentrification process. About 25% of properties are vacant in 53206, and depopulation has been occurring since the 1970s. DeeW estimated that part of the reason the neighborhood was quiet (with less crime) compared to the 1980s was because people had been incarcerated (or killed)[41] and that as people are displaced, crime would rise in the new locations. In an area experiencing abandonment, gardens have been praised for their potential to build

[41] It was beyond the scope of this work to calculate the Community Loss Index (Abramovitz & Albrecht, 2013). However, it would be of value to assess the losses experienced by individuals due to incarceration, foster care replacement, long-term hospitalization, foreclosure, and death.

community cohesion and collective efficacy; yet, gardens simultaneously represent changes in the built environment as part of the gentrification process.

In the quantitative phase of the study, I tested whether neighborhoods experiencing abandonment had higher risks of recidivism. Of the residents who returned to these neighborhoods, 48.5% recidivated. The risks were higher compared to the neighborhoods without population changes, but with a p-value of .07, it failed to meet the significance level set for this study. To be sure, the men in this study wanted "good neighborhoods" and believed redevelopment would improve the quality of the properties and possibly lead to life-sustaining employment. However, they were also skeptical about who would ultimately experience these benefits. Elsewhere in the city, with support from the federal government, $14.2 million of the $188 million needed to construct The Couture, a lakefront property just beyond the downtown area, has pledged to serve local residents and contract with disadvantaged business enterprises (TMJ4, 2022). Moreover, 25% of the property will be designated as public space (i.e., 97% of the ground level) and create "thousands of jobs." (http://www.thecouturemilwaukee.com/). It will contain penthouses and single-bedroom apartments, high-end retail and commercial establishments, and transit stations. The project was sued by Preserve Our Parks for the privatization of county parks. This type of development may not be in 53206, but it offers a sense of the logic that attracting wealthy residents will create neighborhood environments that will trickle down to everyone, including FIPs. Jayson, who committed armed robbery at a retail establishment, cannot secure a job even at Walmart. Would he be able to secure a job at a high-end retail shop? At the time of the interview, he was unemployed and planned to use the interview stipend to reconnect his cell phone.

Carceral displacement becomes carceral gentrification when carceral strategies are leveraged to complete the gentrification process (i.e., this means that displacement *and* replacement processes are in full swing). In my study, using the IMO gentrification classifications, low-income displacement (in other words, the final stage of gentrification) did not have a higher risk of recidivism compared to those that did not experience these demographic shifts. The one neighborhood type that was statistically significant, with higher odds of recidivating compared to stable neighborhoods, was neighborhoods experiencing overall growth, meaning that the population was increasing overall, with both mid- to high-income and low-income populations increasing. The overall growth neighborhoods were near downtown (e.g., Deer District, Pabst Brewery Complex, Beerline, Schlitz Park, and Haymarket) and included both predominantly White and predominantly Black neighborhoods. The recidivating events in these instances were primarily violent crimes, such as assaults and weapons offenses.

Gentrification research offers some explanation for this. Gentrification efforts rely on the police to protect redevelopment projects. In cities, such as Oakland in California, the late stages of gentrification have resulted in increased crime and calls for police (Ramirez, 2020). This could be happening in overall growth neighborhoods. More confirmatory analysis is needed to understand why low income displacement neighborhoods did not yield significant findings but overall growth neighborhoods did. These findings are consistent with the notion of the prison industrial complex – in that the system ensures robust carceral geographies within Black geographies that maintain mass incarceration and it may be that these systems are most robust in overall growth neighborhoods compared to later gentrification stages.

Opportunities exist to redesign safety, even during a renewal cycle. In Fred's vision of food justice and policing, he shares the Black spatial imaginary, one in which the state funds

public needs and engages in the work necessary to sustain life (Lipsitz, 2007; Mbembe, 2019). He imagines redevelopment in line with the abolitionist ecology, which creates structures based on Black freedom, not Black inferiority (Heynen, 2016). This is a policy goal that both criminal justice and redevelopment sectors could align behind.

On a final note, one of the benefits of GIS is that it allows analysis across scales, in this case, the ability to zoom out to examine the 53206 zip code from a distance. Figure 24 provides an aerial image of the zip code. Smith (1996) states that the fundamental question to understanding gentrification requires an explanation of why there is a current interest in an area that previously did not meet the demands of the wealthy. In the case of the 53206 zip code, the land that makes up the zip code is in close proximity to the downtown and the lake. Its shear location makes it vulnerable to gentrification and displacement processes, of which carceral displacement is one. Another form of gentrification that is occurring across the globe is climate gentrification (Hamilton, 2019) in which people are being displaced from climate-stricken areas (Bittle, 2020). Using settler logic, climate colonialism acquires resources so that high-income populations can survive climate change (Taiwo & Cibralic, 2020). As I reviewed the development plans for the city, I noted that MKE United intends to remake "the core of Downtown Milwaukee as 'America's Fresh Coast' for residents as well as regional and global visitors" (p. 11). The authors recognized that fresh water is an abundant untapped commodity. During this period, the City of Milwaukee began selling water from Lake Michigan through the largest intergovernmental agreement in the history of the region and the state (Jannene, 2020). Cavalier Johnson, then the President of the Common Council and now the first Black mayor, identified water, transit, and housing as part of a great alliance for the communities around Milwaukee. The renewal plans of the 1960s created the disadvantages that we see today, and

which are robustly associated with crime. Climate change and mass incarceration are new social forces in the current wave of renewal that did not exist during the previous redevelopment cycles. From the perspective of addressing gentrification, climate change as a form of displacement matters, and from the viewpoint of addressing mass incarceration in the context of gentrification, climate change matters. The vulnerability of FIPs living in close proximity to fresh water like the men in my study is even more significant given climate gentrification as a specific form of gentrification.

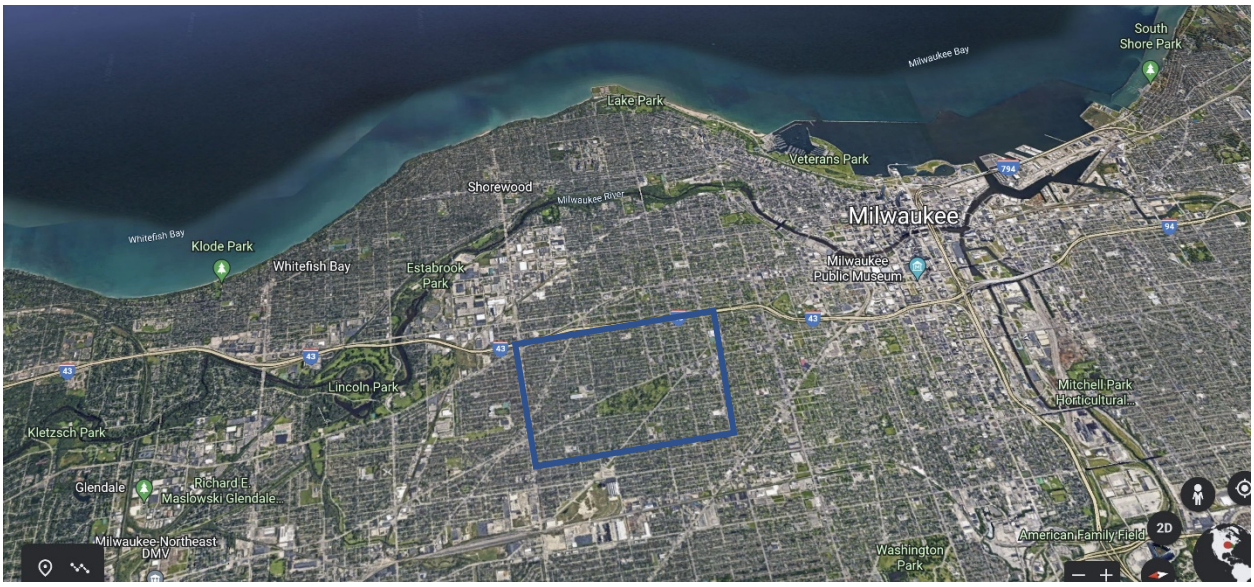


Figure 24. Aerial View of the 53206 Zip Code (Blue Outline).

Future Research

Several areas merit further exploration. Future studies should replicate this study and examine the role of gentrification in contributing to mass incarceration, specifically, high rates of recidivism. Future studies should offer a conceptual understanding of how gentrification measures overlap with existing neighborhood processes (e.g., neighborhood disadvantage and collective efficacy) and propose revised measurements for each variable if used in a single study. Longitudinal studies that examine the risk of recidivism over time and across gentrification

stages in the same neighborhood would provide a greater understanding of how risks may change for the same FIP as the neighborhood around them increasingly gentrifies. Since gentrification impacts very few neighborhoods, geographically weighted regression might offer a better method to detect a statistically significant relationship between recidivism and gentrification.

In addition, future studies should include a spatial lag variable to assess whether demographic changes in adjacent areas may be impacting the recidivism rates within the focal neighborhood. Most studies that have included the characteristics of adjacent neighborhoods have found significant results, suggesting that the area surrounding the neighborhood also matters (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003). For example, Hipp (2010) reported that the number of vacancies and retail establishments in the surrounding neighborhoods in their study affected the crime rates in the focal neighborhood. They also found that the presence of social service providers in the surrounding areas reduced recidivism. Swaroop and Morenoff (2006) noted that the adjacent neighborhood's characteristics influenced instrumental and expressive participation in the focal neighborhood, while Peterson and Krivo (2010) found that the characteristics of the adjacent neighborhood influenced the focal neighborhood crime rate. They reported that the Black neighborhoods in their study were surrounded by areas with higher crime rates and more disadvantage, while the White neighborhoods were surrounded by those with lower crime rates and advantage. Their findings suggest that adjacent neighborhoods with higher disadvantage and residential instability lead to an increase in the violent crime rate in the focal neighborhood. Little is known about the mechanisms linking distant neighborhoods together (Diez Roux, 2001) or how crime is diffused from one location to the next (Peterson & Krivo, 2010) but distal neighborhoods are increasingly seen has having relevance (also see Caughy et al., 2007).

Policy Implications

Supervision rules pertaining to housing should cease given housing market conditions. Phase 1 study results suggest such regulations contributed to criminalized behavior as a way to cope with housing market conditions. These behaviors included absconding and committing theft to pay for living expenses. It also meant that the FIP had to conceal changes in their residence, homelessness, and social contacts from their corrections supervisor. Permanent housing (i.e., land and home ownership) should be a priority for criminal justice interventions and investments by government and philanthropic entities. This would mark an important and necessary shift in correctional policy and is one that is needed given that gentrification amplifies the effects of a housing market that is hostile to low-income individuals with criminal histories and evictions.

Like seniors and long-time residents, in the era of mass incarceration, carceral displacement must be addressed. To do this, FIPs must be recognized as a vulnerable subpopulation that may be displaced due to redevelopment efforts and safeguards should be designed to provide FIPs access to new housing. Neighborhood associations should have FIP representation. For this to occur, such associations, including those that are also developers, may have to reassess their relationships with criminal justice entities so that FIP involvement is not curtailed or hampered. In Milwaukee, revitalization efforts are intertwined with public safety, specifically, policing. Local neighborhood institutions are engaged in anti-crime efforts undergirded by broken windows policing and stop-and-frisk policies. By way of example from the neighborhood of Amani, which overlaps with 53206, the Dominican Center for Women (DCW), reported that they planned to partner with the Milwaukee Police Department (MPD) in their 2013 plan (Benhaddou et al., 2013). They recommended that the DCW continue to work with the MPD so that the MPD could keep them abreast of crime trends and keep “the concerns

of the DCW focus area at the forefront of [the] MPD's and local aldermen's attention" (p. 73). They also noted that they will acquire land and rehab homes and that "the Dominican Center for Women may act in the role of developer, change agent, or partner in the process" (p. 113). The populations selected for community engagement included senior residents, youth aged 16–18 years, parents, community business owners, religious organizations, and other nonprofits. The FIPs in a city experiencing concentrated neighborhood incarceration were not listed.

The final policy implication pertains to the city of Milwaukee's anti-displacement plan. This plan should be updated to reflect the effects of mass incarceration, which has been concentrated in specific neighborhoods that are now vulnerable to gentrification or are in the process of being gentrified. Redevelopment efforts should aim to directly benefit FIPs, which would require financial institutions to create opportunities specific to FIPs and to help ensure that Black spaces are preserved and envisioned as Black places. Black geographies do exist. The city's displacement plan could also put in place land banks to avoid saturating the market with low-valued land, provisions to restrict evictions and ensure landlords are responsible to FIPs (Hackworth, 2014), a moratorium on as-is home purchases (Akers & Seymour, 2018), reparations and right to return policies to return displaced persons and populations disproportionately affected, no-net loss policies that require replacing affordable houses in the same neighborhood, moratoriums on demolitions and conversions that decrease the number of affordable housing units, creation of affordable housing preservation policies, creation of cooperative-land owning opportunities (Justa Causa::Just Cause, n.d.) and other safeguards to prevent the displacement of FIPs. Unfortunately, even these efforts are not guaranteed to reduce gentrification or mitigate carceral displacement. In Washington, DC, for example, tenant associations did not work, and half of the affordable housing disappeared within two years

(Gallaher, 2017). Low-income housing requirements are part of contractional obligations (along with tax abatement) that expire (Smith, 1996). Without policies that focus on FIPs directly, a FIPs' chances of resisting displacement once the final stages of gentrification begin may be further reduced.

Chapter Ten: A Final Note on Walking Interviews

Overview

The final chapter aims to contribute to the knowledge available on walking interview methodologies, particularly as they relate to my study population, Black men returning home after a period of incarceration, and my study site, a carceral and necropolitical neighborhood. Very few studies have interrogated mobile interviews in the context of racialized and carceral landscapes, and my study offers additional evidence for methodological design considerations in future studies. The main research question being answered in this chapter is *how do racialized, carceral, and necropolitical neighborhoods shape the walking interview process?* This chapter is organized into two parts. The first part provides a synthesis of the literature on walking interviews and situates my study within these prior works, particularly Warren's (2017) study that contests the efficacy of the walking interview, which rests on the idea of a universal body walking through space. The literature review also contains a synthesis of Black spaces and crime, introducing Achille Mbembe's (2003) concept of necropolitics and, by extension, necropolitical projects and necropower, to understand the efficacy of walking interviews. The chapter concludes with a summary of my findings, a discussion on the implications of conducting research using walking interviews, and future research needs.

Literature Review

Walking Interviews. In qualitative research, the interview location has long been known to influence the entire researcher–participant engagement as well as the content shared (Elwood & Martin, 2000). Specifically, the interview location dictates the identity, role, status, position, and perspective the participant adopts when answering the researcher's questions (Brown & Durrheim, 2009; Kusenbach, 2003). To study place, a mobile methodology known as the

walking interview has become increasingly popular. Walking interviews allow the researcher to learn about the history of a place (again, at many geographic scales, such as a street or neighborhood) and gather information not found in other data sources such as newspapers. The researcher witnesses firsthand third spaces and transitory spaces[42] where social ties are produced and maintained, discerns meaning from places that are otherwise excluded or never traveled to (Elwood & Martin, 2009), and locates specific sites from which to gather corroborating and supplemental data and their relationship with the larger geographic area (Garcia et al., 2012).

Efficacy. Past studies offer perspectives on the efficacy of walking interviews. For example, De Leon and Cohen (2005), among others (Kusenbach, 2003; Trell & Van Hoven, 2010), suggested that information that would otherwise be dormant, excluded, hidden, or buried can be elevated during the walking interview. Similarly, Harris (2016) stated that study participants shared memories that were "rarely explored in the sit-down interviews" (p. 371). Brown and Durrhiem (2009) observed that compared with mobile interviews, the traditional interview format yielded questions that were "uncreative and abstract and they elicited stilted and largely formulaic answers" (p. 15) when interview participants discussed race. Garcia et al. (2012) and Trell and Van Hoven (2010) also noticed that their participants had different answers depending on the interview format (mobile versus sedentary) and that these answers were sometimes contradictory depending .

What might cause different responses, and even contradictory answers? Place influences identity and becomes an extension of it; each is a co-ingredient of the other, and the accumulation of place-specific memories and daily repeated events becomes a part of a person's

[42] Third places are integral to daily life and include entities such as organizations (first place is home, second place is work, at least pre-COVID). Activities in third places are neutral and create belonging; conversation is the main activity. Transitory places are semi-public and straddle private–public places such as backyards and porches and are typically places you pass through to get to a place (Gardner, 2011). They are major sources for making connections to people.

biography (Ross et al., 2009). Essentially, place stabilizes memories and one's sense of self (Gieryn, 2000). Because the interview location informs which identity is drawn on, the efficacy of the walking interview is that it permits the researcher to tap into the identity that is formed, stabilized, and sensitive to place. Even firsthand experiences of mundane activities can reveal rich meaning about place-based social processes and the relationship between identity and place (De Leon & Cohen, 2005; Ross et al., 2009). These identities are thought to be more accessible during mobile interviews.

Just as verbal (e.g., "uh-huh") and material probes (e.g., props) help elicit information during a traditional interview, the physical environment serves as a material probe, evoking memories about events (De Leon & Cohen, 2005; Jones et al., 2008), interests, and friends (Trell & Van Hoven, 2010) while aiding participant recall (Garcia et al., 2012). In one of the few systematic comparisons of the content generated across both interview formats, Evan and Jones (2011) reported that walking interviews generated an average of 23 place stories per interview compared with 13 place stories elicited from sedentary interviews.[43] Place stories were often spontaneous, with 70% of them prompted by the built environment. One explanation for this, is that sedentary interviews are more conducive to biographical stories (place serves as a backdrop), whereas walking interviews are more conducive to place-dominant stories (Carpiano, 2009).

Heteronormative Critique. The existing research on walking interviews is overwhelmingly positive; most criticisms and limitations are similar to those found in studies that use traditional sedentary interview formats (e.g., interview fatigue). An underexplored area in walking interview research is the full interrogation of the racialization and gendering of place,

[43] The authors did not test for statistical significance.

or the act of walking (by the participant and the researcher), and the implications for research design and data quality.

In a study with Muslim women in Birmingham, United Kingdom, Warren (2017) observed that prior conceptualizations of walking interviews were value laden and based on normative, implicit assumptions of a universal body moving through space that ignored the "ethnic, gendered, and moral dimensions" (p. 87) of the act of walking. Warren suggested that walking interview research designs should reflect the heterogeneity found in spatial practices, which are under constant negotiation and can impact the drop-off rate, route taken, participant comfort levels, and other research parameters. Warren (2017) reported multiple issues with the interview format that call into question some of its assumed advantages. Walking interviews are thought to redistribute power between the researcher and the participant, yet, in her study with Muslim women, she found that the method was not necessarily empowering because it violated religious, social, gender, and political mobility norms, including norms meant to minimize physical and social risks during everyday tasks. Warren stated the following:

> By revising the walking interview with attention to social difference, the normative masculine, secular, and Euro-centric body through which geographical accounts of walking has typically been imagined and performed is highlighted in its partiality. Pluralising the walking interview in relation to a case study group of Muslim women migrants gives new emphasis to the demands of the method, particularly when undertaken within socially mixed and disordered dynamics of urban public space. (p. 802)

There is some evidence that prior researchers were aware of (at least) racial differences but did not truly engage in understanding their own spatial positionality or that of their participants, despite several studies involving race and gender—see walking interview studies on various racialized and gendered topics such as community policing and social disorder (Kusenbach, 2003), crime (Fielding & Fielding, 2013), discrimination and segregation (Brown &

Durrheim, 2009), substance use treatment, housing (Chang, 2017a), social capital (Carpiano, 2009), campus climate (Harris, 2016), and sexual health (Garcia et al., 2012). At the forefront of Harris's (2016) study is oppression and racialization in social interactions among college students of color. The study explored how racial groups navigate the physical campus, avoiding some places and finding support in others. While the author noted that the interviewer's position on campus might have impacted data collection, the interviewer's race, gender, or other identities—and the racialized and gendered act of walking—were neglected.

In another example, Wolifson (2016) reported that "the go-along with Jon was the friendliest and most welcoming experience for me as a researcher, despite perhaps being most demographically different to myself" (p. 192). Little else of the author's positionality is explored in the published article. Carpiano (2009) described his position as an outsider as follows:

> As an 'outsider' who did not live in the area, I found that my many hours of field observations conducted via walking through Harmony Heights were insufficient for a) recognizing and mapping current or former drug houses for my own familiarity of the local area and b) assessing how residents viewed drug houses near to their own homes (p. 266).

Describing a Milwaukee neighborhood, Carpiano stated, "I found this feature particularly advantageous in many respects, particularly as a white male academic conducting research in two predominantly African American communities" (p. 267). Later, he observed that his presence as a white man could be construed as snitching and concluded that "the area had a very African American cultural 'feel' akin to other ethnic enclaves like the Chinatowns and Little Italy's I had visited in many North American cities" (p. 266). Finally, in a study by Brown and Durrheim (2009), one study participant was able to respond to the interviewer's comments and experiences of a building they were passing during the interview; they each had vastly different associations for the building in this study on race. The participant was able to challenge the

interviewer's comments directly, and, by doing so, engaged in a spontaneous member check of the interviewer's analytical thoughts as they were being formed and conveyed during the walking interview.

In the next section, I bridge the walking interview literature with the literature on Black bodies and Black spaces, introducing the concept of necropolitics as a thematic container for the discussion. The bridge provides a strong analytical framework to discuss how gendered and racialized bodies have a tremendous impact on walking interview data collection and interpretation and, in particular, my study. The chapter ends with a discussion on research design and field procedures for emplaced Black bodies in carceral neighborhoods.

Black Spaces and Crime: Foundational Instruction for Walking Interviews

Warren's (2017) experiences walking with Muslim women in places where they would not ordinarily go or be seen contested the foundational assumptions underpinning this interview format. Similar cultural, gender, and racialized norms were anticipated with my research population: Black men who have been incarcerated, recently released, and working to re-establish their lives while residing in carceral neighborhoods. Although it is beyond the scope of the current study to review the vast body of work on Black spaces, across abolitionist theory, critical geography, critical qualitative research, critical race theory, and critical criminology, people and place are racialized, and Black spaces are simultaneously sites of joyful imagination and state violence. In line with these disciplines and theoretical frameworks, I first consider claims that Black bodies are geographic and that Black people have spatial imaginaries and Black spatial knowledge. By doing so, I am actively working to negate the anti-Blackness embedded within some neighborhood and recidivism research. Then, I explore Black spaces as necropolitical and carceral. Bridging these bodies of work provides the framework to interrogate

the efficacy of the walking interviews conducted in my study. In Chapter 3, various theoretical frameworks on race, place, and crime are applied. This section continues that discussion.

Black Bodies as Geographic. Black geographies exist: Black people have a relationship with the land because both oppression and regeneration are experienced in place and in displacement (a topic I take up in Chapter 4 on the relationship between mass incarceration and gentrification), yet academic research typically treats Black people as being "ungeographic." First coined by McKittrick (2006), "ungeographic" denotes the following:

> Space and place give black lives meaning in a world that has, for the most part, incorrectly deemed black populations and their attendant geographies as "ungeographic" and/or philosophically undeveloped ... the language and concreteness of geography—with its overlapping physical, metaphorical, theoretical, and experiential contours—must be conceptualized as always bringing into view material referents, external, three-dimensional spaces, and actions taking place in space, as they overlap with subjectivities, imaginations, and stories. (McKittrick, p. xiii, as cited in Tuck, 2014)

Lipsitz (2007) expanded on Black imaginations, using the term "Black spatial imaginary." He described this as consisting of a responsible state that provides, rather than avoids, environmental protection, efficient transportation, affordable housing, public education, universal healthcare, and other public goods. In the Black Land Project, an initiative to gather stories on the relationship between Black people, land, and place, Tuck (2014) asserted that seeing Black people as geographic is to explore how

> [t]he relationship between data and stories must grow from the longings and desires of those who need the definitions to help communicate to each other the ways they walk together, struggle together, and experience life and death together…in so valuing the sacredness of Black relationships to land and to the experiences that happen on that land, we have a right to refuse the exploration and the excavation of the academy, whose only demonstrated desire (so far) has been to explain away how Black people are/aren't a people torn asunder from past racialized experiences. (p. 70)

In the study, Tuck found that "embedded in participants' narratives are quiet, poetic, and desire-based articulations of sovereignty and becoming of the land, rather than springing from it

or being foreign to it" (p. 68). In a critical reflection on the project, Tuck stated, "Black lives were not ungeographic prior to our study, nor were they made geographic through their telling, through our analysis, or through the composition of this article … the ways they regard their own lives are … always already geotheoretical" (p. 68). Examining these longings and desire-based narratives closely aligns with the goals of the walking interview, yet these are distinct and specific in how they celebrate Blackness in the context of place. In the next section, despite its focus on the death world (necropolitics), the reviewed body of work reject the damage-based narratives that treat Black people as ungeographic.

Black Spaces and Necropolitics. The challenges uncovered and explicitly discussed in Warren's (2017) walking interview study with Muslim women regarding community norms around the use of space, walking, and gender are at the forefront of Black place studies, critical, abolitionist, and critical race geography, critical criminology, and neocolonialist paradigms and analytical frameworks. Devalued people are relegated to specific places (Gilmore, 2007; McClintok, 2018) and experience daily terror (Kwate & Threadcraft, 2017). In the United States, Black spaces (plantations, neighborhoods, and prisons) have experienced "willful violence against/toward a black sense of place" (McKittrick, 2011, p. 948). Such places, particularly where punishment is concerned, serve white elite capital accumulation; white elites adjust the punishment as needed (Matthews, 2010; McLaughlin, 2010) and employ methods such as stop and frisk to make whiteness visible; high crime also supports neighborhood divestment and investment strategies (Calathes, 2017; Lipsitz, 2007).

The above concepts, while useful, do not provide sufficient instruction on how a walking interview should be conducted. For this, I turn to "necropolitics," which dovetails with the

themes listed above. Necropolitics (and by extension necropolitical projects[44] and necropolitical power) is a concept created by philosopher Achille Mbembe (2003), who extended Foucault's notion of biopower,[45] the social and political powers that dictate who lives and who dies. Mbembe expanded the argument to recognize the varying ways bodies are destroyed and exist within "death worlds," where "vast populations are subjected to living conditions that confer upon them the status of the *living dead*" (p. 92, italics in original). For Mbembe, various forms of racism, from institutional racism to nanoracism,[46] act as drivers of necropolitics in that death and destruction are organized along racial lines. Racism in this context is the "dark desire to stigmatize and, in particular, to inflect violence, to injure and humiliate, to sully those not considered to be one of us" (p. 58). Nanoracism attacks dignity and creates "intolerable conditions, to surround them daily, to inflict upon them, repeatedly, an incalculable number of racist jabs and injuries, to strip them of all their acquired rights" (p. 58). In necropolitics, place is implicated, where the neighborhood (i.e., ghettos, colonies) and the prison represent the spatialization of terror or the "topographies of cruelty" (p. 97). Mbembe stated the following:

> Historically, one of the strategies of dominant states has always consisted in spatializing and discharging that terror by confining its most extreme manifestations in some racially stigmatized third place—the plantation under slavery, the colony, the camp, the compound under apartheid, the ghetto or, as in the present-day United States, the prison. (p. 34).

Mbembe's use of place is congruent with other lines of thought (e.g., on prison abolition, racial residential segregation) in that places are created to neutralize and exile disposable people. Inside such places, the state has a monopoly on violence, and judicial order is suspended such that state violence operates in service of "civilization" (p. 77). These arguments mirror those

[44] This is similar to the idea of "racial projects" in critical race theory.

[45] Kwate and Threadcraft (2017) stated that other forms of biopower in Black spaces include the high rates of Black infant mortality.

[46] Nanoracism shares similarities with the term "microagressions" as used in the United States.

made by Black activists against police and other state vehicles; regarding the assertations Mbembe made regrading colonies, Black Panthers and other civil rights leaders have viewed Black neighborhoods as occupied (Allen, 1967/1992).

According to Mbembe's necropolitics, specific neighborhoods such as townships, like those in South Africa where groups are cordoned, are spatial institutions designed for the purpose of control:

> Seizing, delimiting, and asserting control over a geographical area—of writing a new set of social and spatial relations on the ground. The writing of new spatial relations (territorialization) ultimately amounted to the production of boundaries and hierarchies, zones and enclaves; the subversion of existing property arrangements; the differential classification of people; resource extraction; and finally, the manufacturing of a large reservoir of cultural imaginaries. These imaginaries gave meaning to the establishing of different rights for different categories of people, rights with different goals but existing within the same space—in short, the exercise of sovereignty. Space was thus the raw material of sovereignty and of the violence it bears within it. Sovereignty meant occupation, and occupation meant relegating the colonized to their zone between subjecthood and objecthood. (p. 79)

Applying necropolitics to stop and frisk policies, Kwate and Threadcraft (2017) defined the practice of stop-and-frisk as necropolitical projects, one of many employed in Black spaces. The authors argued that stop-and-frisk policies transform urban spaces from resources to sources of constant, racialized danger, stress, harassment, and trauma that, over time, become imprinted on Black bodies: "The bleak landscape of the fortified ghetto formalizes Black space as a place where aggressive policing is not only appropriate but necessary; and siege-ready environments suggest that community residents are dangerous, feared, and devalued" (p. 541). In the process, the relationship between Black residents and the state is redefined, spatial practices are altered to cope with repeated threats from the state, and emplaced economic and civic resources become depleted. To understand the value of such practices for the state (targeting the Black body through spatialized means), the authors engaged Eduoard Mendieta's observation that

"capitalism disciplines both individual and collective bodies in order to maximize their subjugation and exploitation with the least cost of expenditure power" (pp. 39–40). Stop and frisk, they argue, is a necropolitical project that "functions to make the body more docile only in preparation for warehousing within the expanding carceral state" (p. 538). Kwate and Threadcraft continued:

> First, as we have articulated, space is central to necropower. Within the death world, Stop and Frisk uses urban space to enfeeble Blacks by restricting physical access to the outside world, making domestic space more dangerous, and creating an aesthetic of occupation in the built environment. Second, Stop and Frisk induces perceptual dysfunctions in multiple ways, all of which functions to move the black body towards death: 1) how the state sees the Other (Black bodies); 2) how Black people perceive the possibilities for engagement with the state; and 3) how Black people perceive themselves. By producing the perceptual meaning of blackness, it does considerable work in creating narratives that make blackness a metonym for crime and disorder. (p. 541)

The analysis of Kwate and Threadcraft is supported by the literature on crime and recidivism. Taylor (2020) referred to constant surveillance as *neighborhood panopticon.* Maya Schenwar and Victoria Law (2020) referred to neighborhoods as carceral in that they perform the same functions as a prison, with similar types of surveillance and punishment procedures. According to the authors, an assortment of methods are used in the process from electronic monitoring, house-arrest, foster and child care workers that expand the carceral systems surveillance and punishment systems, mandated treatment (i.e., coercive recovery) through deferred prosecution and specialized courts (drug and prostitution), mass-produced treatment programs that do not center healing, targeted interventions that widen the net of who is captured by the system (e.g., prostitution interventions invade privacy in daily life, expanding types of mandated reporters of child abuse), criminalizing poverty without directly addressing housing and other socioeconomic conditions, using community policing to expand surveillance, expanding the use of big data which can create spurious social networks and erode privacy,

establishing policing within schools and similar courts system using colonized forms of restorative justice.

With two decades of research on historically high incarceration rates and overwhelming documentation of the negative effects of mass incarceration on the social, political, and economic health of individuals, families, and entire neighborhoods (Massoglia et al., 2013; Smith & Hattery, 2010), I chose the walking interview method because it held the most promise to better understand recidivism through Black spatial imaginaries and the various necropolitical projects that control Black spaces. Yet, the literature on walking interviews has not engaged in a serious discussion of racialized experiences and carceral places, and this constitutes a major blind spot in the resultant research designs. Chang (2017a) reported multiple levels of policing and surveillance that define neighborhood experiences but did not discuss this in the context of the route taken, nor did Chang address racism (Chang, 2017b). Zandieh et al. (2016) adopted a race-neutral approach in their study, despite noting that the final participant sample mirrored the study area. The authors ultimately offered race-neutral policy recommendations to address inequalities in pedestrian infrastructure. Understanding Black places becomes paramount in designing a walking interview study. This chapter aims to support this understanding by using data drawn from this dissertation study, which sought to understand concentrated neighborhood recidivism in order to develop a place-based response (e.g., geopolitical policies, geopolitical power building, the more radicalized forms of collective efficacy) to mass incarceration. Necropolitics were ever-present during the interviews, impacting my relationship with the participants and the rhythm and flow of the conversation and contributing, sometimes abruptly, to the vacillation between identities and their corresponding acceptable behavior and associated norms as we moved through the neighborhood.

Results

Five core themes emerged from my experiences conducting walking interviews in carceral neighborhoods with Black men after incarceration. The five themes were (1) carceral environments shape the act of walking (2) the abundance of necropolitical projects (3) handling interruptions, (4) fears and safety, and (5) researcher self-care. The themes are anchored to and seen through Necropolitics, critical qualitative research designs and other critical epistemologies to problematize and deconstruct the foundational underpinnings of walking interviews and to provide researchers with practical guidance on how to use this method in the field, ensuring the process garners trustworthy and credible data. This section describes the challenges, attempted resolutions, surprises, and strengths of the method as I sought to answer the study's larger research questions on place effects and recidivism.

The Racialized and Gendered Aspects of Walking in Carceral Neighborhoods.

I found additional evidence to support Warren's findings that complicate the idea of universal bodies walking through space. In carceral neighborhoods, lingering too long on one corner or walking outside of one's neighborhood might be unacceptable and potentially dangerous. Raw sums up the constant stressor having his mobility dictated by local police.

RAW: We can go stand on 9th Street for 20, 30 minutes. Shit, they're going to come back around probably 2 times to make sure, look, see me, see you, she must want some dope, wait a minute. They're going to come back around. 'She want some weed? What she doing talking to him?' We stay out there another and they come back we're getting searched. But if we stay out there probably an hour or 2 and they come back around there both of us will get searched. That's all…

NICOLE: That way on 9th Street, okay.

RAW: That's harassment.

NICOLE: Yeah. We're just out –

RAW: That's why I'm trying to tell you. That's harassment. I know that much –

NICOLE: Is that stressful to you ?

RAW: Yes, very. That's what I go through but see I've been learned that years ago now where I understand it better. Now I don't loiter, I don't give no – I do holler because I know – I've been here all my life, I know so many, so we might talk and chat, but I'm done. We might talk 5, 10 minutes. I know my limit, get out the way, because they've done made me pay $650 loitering tickets when I didn't have it. They made me pay it, made me pay it, and I know it'll be on bullshit loitering tickets and they'll do it.

NICOLE: Yeah, because you can get a warrant if you don't pay or show up or something.

RAW: Man, I'd have been in jail doing prison time. Every time I get money they take it out to pay that ticket and the ticket was a few years ago. Oh, they did that so they got their money. But I just know how they…can't even help nobody out. You can be out here just helping people and they're still going to harass you. They harass the garden.

Raw's street vigilance extended to carrying an identification card and his phone in case he was stopped by the police. He shared,

> Oh yeah, I mean you've got to or you're going to jail. You can't even be out here without no ID. They're going to make sure you go downtown. You don't get ID around here they're going to sweat you so much, they're going to pull you over so much, you're gonna have ID." He likened this experience to slavery "I keep my phone on me. I don't let them get up on me. If I feel threatened I'm on the phone. I don't play like that with them people because I know they – shit, they don't care about taking you out of here. They don't go no problem with taking no Black man. That's how I feel like. These White dudes come out here they don't know nothing about this neighborhood, it's just like these are White catchers coming and they ain't got no problem taking us down there. That's their station so how they care about locking your Black ass up some? They don't care. How are we supposed to feel? Now that puts you where you've got to bow down and do something about it or where now every time I see you I've got to bow down and be scared or you're going to stand up and get beat. They put you a position like that."

When asked whether he bowed down, he exclaimed "Hell no! I don't bow down, never. I just don't do nothing. I learned my lesson. I don't do nothing."

Other studies have observed similar conditions. In Chicago, in a study to understand the daily activities and routines of Black fathers, Roy (2004) found similar methods of coping with state surveillance. He observed that "men with records or pending cases carefully chose when and where to move in order to avoid contact with law enforcement" (p. 535) and avoided places where they had committed crimes. In a six-year ethnography of a Philadelphia neighborhood, Goffman (2009) offered vivid examples of how mass incarceration affects the daily life of all residents, including men *on the run*, who she defined as "anyone whose claim to life outside of confinement is not secure or legitimate and who may be taken into custody if they encounter authorities. People 'on the run' make a concerted effort to thwart their discovery and apprehension" (p. 344). For her study participants, the criminal justice system is a daily preoccupation, and life is organized around a constant state of fear; relationships, attachments, institutions, and places (e.g., hospitals, work, home) become connected to possible reincarceration. Goffman described how the men in the study navigated life in the space between "identification, discovery, and apprehension" (p. 355). Their wanted status was exploited as a form of social control by family, friends, and associates; such that some would alter their sleeping arrangements to keep their night routines unpredictable.

The Abundance of Necropolitical Projects

The 53206 zip code and the city in general have been impacted by mass incarceration for well over a decade. Its proliferation was described by the participants in this study as *The Matrix*, a reference to the movie, meaning inescapable. A popular refrain about Milwaukee's readiness to incarcerate was, "I came here on vacation and left on probation." The system, set up "for money," was a source of daily emotional stress. Tell shared how the stigma of being from 53206, the study site, shaped his court case. He recalled, "The district attorney, when I went to court, he

told the judge and jury that, that I'm the reason 53206 is like it is." Tell is a veteran. This was his first case ever, and a national organization viewed the case as self-defense and was financing his attorney fees. Yet, the location of the incident (at his home in 53206) was considered not only criminogenic but was also being used as evidence of his criminality and guilt.

Freedom from reincarceration was chronically precarious. For example, when I met with Dre, the police had entered the property of his family's business. At the time, Dre may have had an arrest warrant. He did not know and wanted to take steps to resolve it, knowing that even doing that could lead to reincarceration. When he reflected on the incident, he shared:

> *NICOLE:* How does that feel, knowing that if the cops stop you, you might be taken in again just because you're not …
>
> *DRE:* Scary. I mean, man, I'm like, you know, it's scary. I know this week I'm gonna go down there and take some money and say I'm only working part-time. I'm laid off from my other job and ask them if they could give me another chance to get back right.

Maintaining freedom was a shared responsibility among friends and associates. For example, Bates shared that when it came to the police arresting *one* member of the group versus *all* members of the group, they had agreed amongst themselves that when or if "the police roll up, and they gonna take they charge, whatever happens, they're gonna make sure, like, 'I'm accountable for my actions,' and that's what we all agreed upon. Like, 'Whatever happens, bro, you a grown man, so you either man up for whatever you do. And you know you're out here doing wrong, so if the police catch you doing wrong, don't put it on me.' And that's what we do."

Beyond the police and one's associates, a person's correctional officer (usually referred to as "the PO") was also feared, and also challenged. Raw shared the context for his most recent re-incarceration. His probation officer believed Raw was earning his money illegally to pay for

his fiancé's engagement ring and their eventual life together. Raw felt the micromanaging control (e.g., ankle bracelet, deep questioning by his PO) challenged his dignity, and it escalated to the point that he eventually absconded to another state. His summary of the experience was as follows

RAW: He was the type of dude that I was getting – I had another child, I was getting married. I ain't gonna lie. I was just fixing to get married and he was all just hating, just hating, like, "You're going ring shopping? Who's buying it?" just that type of dude. What's the – how-much-is-that type? He was one of those, and he was like – oh, oh, I'm talking about pure asshole and I ain't never had no PO like that ever so I knew I wasn't wrong. I'm like, "Hold on man, I'm at the end of this shit. I'm trying to get off parole." He was – I had to tell him, I said, "Man, you're taking this at the end when they locked me in MSDF." I had to tell him, I said, "Man, you're taking this farther than the PO," you know what I'm saying and whatever. I said, "Man, now you're talking me as a man now and I can't have no PO where I have to come see you, and I feel like you're talking to me less as a man. That's a case." I'm talking about straight up told him. I said, "Man, you are making a motherfucker, and you're playing in all my wife's business." He was all in her face.

NICOLE: Right. Right. Wow.

RAW: Now that's just being on parole and shit, going through POs. I'm not with none of that. I'm glad I'm off. I'm glad I'm off.

NICOLE: And so did he ever extend your supervision or sanction you?

RAW: No, I got revocated. He revocated me, though.

NICOLE: He pulled you back inside?

RAW: Yeah, I couldn't mess with that. We couldn't come to no kind of understanding whatsoever. He tried to put me on a bracelet that just dogged me down. I did it for what, 60 days, and then he turned around and said it could be until I get off and didn't want to let me off and just – I'm like, "Hold on, I did what I was supposed to do, didn't break…" When he did that I couldn't take it, cut the bracelet off, hit it, went to Oklahoma.

NICOLE: Oh man, so were you – was it absconded ...

RAW: You knew what it was. You said it the whole time. Yeah, yeah, I went – he was keeping it locked. He was taking me back and forth to MSDF, so I'm not fixing to go. Man, I'm tired of that.

Within these experiences, aspects of other criminological theories were observed. For example, when Shotta and I came across a white man during our walk, he described the tenets of strain theory that crimes are committed as a result of societal forces like racism. Shotta observed that the behaviors associated with Black people were more likely to be criminalized. He noted that it was illegal to fight dogs, but legal to shoot deer in Wisconsin. He had been arrested for fighting dogs and had to give away most of the assets he accumulated (e.g., a car, a fur coat) to his partner and friends to secure funds for his commissary account in prison. He discussed his frustrations with how many men lose their assets through civil forfeitures (when police seize assets and do not return them, even if the person is not charged).

Aspects of rational choice theory were also discussed. Twenty-six explained that, in the absence of family-sustaining jobs, committing crimes was the only way to support your family. In an exasperated voice, he said, "Only problem really is the police. The police. Come on, man. Motherfuckers gotta do what they gotta do. You all ain't got no jobs out here. Y'all got jobs. Say y'all say you got some jobs, most are young felons. Most people gotta do – people got families, man! What the fuck do you expect people to do? The police always fuck with motherfuckers for no reason at all." The stigma of being a formerly incarcerated person (FIP) limited the prospects of finding a job (Pager, 2003), which also encouraged engagement in criminalized behavior.

Another participant explained,

> "When you get out, you got a strike on your back; everybody look at you different. I feel like when you get out, actually, everybody should have a different, say, 'Okay, he did time, let's see if he changed. Let's don't look at him just like he's a criminal or whatever.' Then when he come out, well, he's a felon, we can't have him work here. No, give him a chance because one thing I tell you, what people might not know, the people

that has been locked up, they going for a job more than the people walking these streets here, the people that's locked up. I feel like if you give us people a chance, chances, if he gets out of jail, then give us a job and everything, we wouldn't - I won't say all of us, but most of us wouldn't come back then resort back to robbery, stealing, and a killing. That's what I feel. But they put our back against the wall. Well, I just came out of prison, you all ain't giving me a job, what else can I do to survive?"

Avoiding incarceration was also a motivation not to commit crimes. Twenty-six shared that this was the primary motivation for changing his lifestyle after spending half of it incarcerated. He summarized his past actions as follows:

TWENTY-SIX: That's what I did. I just robbed drug dealers.

NICOLE: Oh, that's not more dangerous, though?

TWENTY-SIX: I don't give a fuck – I didn't care about that, you know what I'm saying? I got a gun, you got a gun – what's the problem? You shoot, I shoot – so what's the difference?

NICOLE: Okay, a little Wild West there. *[Laughter]*

TWENTY-SIX: Oh, that's my life – I don't give a fuck about that shit. I used to like that type of shit, though.

NICOLE: Yeah? When did you stop liking it?

TWENTY-SIX: I still like it. I just don't get into it. I just, I live my life for my kids now, so I don't entertain that shit no more. I ain't got time to be ducking and carrying a gun wherever I go. I'm a felon – I get caught again, they're gonna try to lock me up forever. Fuck that.

The dignity of finding work, a place to live, raising a family or just walking through the neighborhood was constantly challenged by the state. It impacted their movement through the

neighborhood and provided a constant stressor on what should be mundane activities (e.g., running errands).

Embracing and Thriving in Interruptions

The subject of this section, interruptions, might initially evoke a clinical and sterile slant or even a negative connotation. Interruptions, as I experienced them in the 19 walking interviews, were beautifully chaotic, culturally familiar, and familial, with the conversation dancing from one topic to the next mid-sentence and moving back again (and again) with exchanges, meanings, emotions, and insights shared (in an instant) through words, looks, gestures, and silences. Each interruption's manifestation varied; interruptions were experienced as teasing, probing, reflecting, laughing, and active protecting—the guarding of (sacred) beliefs, practices, behaviors, and opinions. Brief pauses illuminated a wariness of me, the interview, and/or their beliefs. During each pause, I had to navigate a never-ending list of microdecisions, understandings, meanings, and ruminations of the next not-quite-formulated question to be asked. A *pause and pivot* to another topic can be described as an interruption *within* an interruption or as back-to-back interruptions. Overall, interruptions added nuance and dynamism to the interview process, and I embraced them. They also required advanced interviewing skills to navigate the complexity they introduced into the interview process. This experience has been documented in the literature on walking interviews. For example, Ross et al. (2009) noted that the conversation would naturally jump from topic to topic and from meaningful stories to mundane utterances (Ross et al., 2009). The spontaneous nature of the interview means that the researcher must quickly craft follow-up questions and engage in constant reflection on the data being collected *as* it is being collected. Structured questions would have been impractical and negate the value of this approach (Brown & Durrheim, 2009).

The built and social environments are active third participants in a walking interview. They are a form of material probe, as their visual and aural features serve as interview prompts, triggering the participants' (and the researcher's) emplaced memories and experiences (Anderson, 2004; Garcia et al., 2012) connected to the built environment (Coles et al., 2013). The spontaneity they introduce is expected and is the main reason a researcher employs walking interviews—they trigger place stories (Carpiano, 2009). For Moles (2008), interruptions exist in the thirdspace and expand our geographical imaginations. For example, "the park becomes a thirdspace of meaning creation through the praxis of walking and talking" (Moles, 2008, n.p.). For my study, the material probes represented the pinnacle of interruptions.

In my study, the material probes were a tree surrounded by memorial flowers, teddy bears, balloons, and the name and photo of someone who had been killed; a car; a house; various sounds of music, sirens, talking ("Where will you be?" and "Call me"), and dogs barking; quietness and required silence; the presence of other people (known and unknown); the absence of people (known and unknown); the weather, including rain, freezing temperatures, and wind; condoms on the ground that lead to conversations about prostitution; the body moving through the neighborhood, crossing streets, avoiding cars, avoiding people in tight spaces, avoiding sidewalk cracks, and avoiding gates left ajar; a person across the street, a person stopping to converse, a person who was driving, and a neighborhood elder; a cellphone ringing; a text or notification; a second cell ringing and another text or notification—this time from someone important, such as a potential job, community supervision officer, or girlfriend—smells; a familiar house or a missing house; strong emotions caused by a memory, a sight, a person, or an experience; and hopes and imaginations of the future.

In the case of a conversation on abandoned homes, a topic I discuss to in Chapter 6 on gentrification and recidivism, Twenty-six's story stops abruptly after a car passes by playing a favorite song:

TWENTY-SIX: But how do they ever notice, though? People that do heroin, what they do? They do their heroin while they're in the house. They don't come outside robbing and stealing. They don't sleep. That makes 'em nod. People who do marijuana, what do they do? They smoke weed. They've got the munchies. They want to go home. Ain't nobody going around and be busting motherfuckers' heads and shit for marijuana. They fucking stupid?

NICOLE: So, you're not too worried about it in terms of what it's gonna do to the community?

TWENTY-SIX: No, man. What can you do? The community's already fucked, right? *[Laughter]* You see it for yourself. Come on, man. How many abandoned houses have you seen? Look, one, two, three, one, two, three, four. Let's count how many abandoned houses on one block.

NICOLE: Well, this right there, this is this whole half-side of the block.

TWENTY-SIX: Yeah, one, two, three, four, five. Five houses right next to each other. That's crazy.

NICOLE: That is.

TWENTY-SIX: Five abandoned houses on the same block. Come on, man, the hood is the hood. *[Humming to music]* That's the shit right there. That's Lucci. *[Singing]* Hey, you need to listen to that song when you get home, "Young Fly Nigga." It's by Lucci, called "Young Fly Nigga." *[Music is the interruption.]*

The interviewees and I both played a role in creating, sustaining, and curtailing interruptions. They pointed out things, I pointed out things, we both ignored things. We saw homes they had lived in, streets where they sold drugs, neighbors they knew and grew up with, places they hung out, and situational incidents (guys sitting in a car, garbage in an alleyway, and ornately-dilapidated homes). A story about an event leading to reincarceration abruptly ended when the person saw one of his family's homes had been abandoned and neglected. For example:

NICOLE: What's going on with her that she lost her kids?

BOOGIE: One of the kids had bruises, and so they assumed by it she must be abusing them. She whooped them and ripped them pretty hard. So she was fighting that, and I guess it felt like, man, these kids are better off in this situation than with you. So they terminated her parental rights there and then she end up – 'cause she was married before and the two kids – she had three before my son. Two kids who's taken away and then the son was given to her ex-husband, her first ex-husband. And so that's when we end up having a kid but I end up going to prison and stuff like that so she end up having –

NICOLE: You went to prison for?

BOOGIE: That's for 2008 when I was selling crack and stuff like that, crack and weed. Yeah, this is the house. Man, this house is destroyed, man! God.

NICOLE: It's another big [house].

BOOGIE: Yeah, this is the last one she had. This house is destroyed, man. God!

These interruptions were also the spatial mechanisms and social processes I was interested in for my research study. They make the person and the environment whole. In the context of necropolitics, interruptions are manifestations of the parts and wholes of the different technologies employed by the state in the death world (Kwate & Threadcraft, 2017). The neighborhood's physical and social features represent the colonial spatial order I was seeking to understand by witnessing my participants in context during the walking interviews. The interruptions are part of what I continue to value about this approach—engaging the people who are most impacted to understand their perspective in context. This also served to tap into spatial knowledge whereby participants formulated thoughts and opinions and came closer to the language to describe their experiences through the interview process. Tuck et al. (2014) referred to this as geotheorizing.

The most challenging interruptions resulted in lost data or poor-quality data. The literature on walking interviews states that it is difficult to develop spontaneous questions, and I also found this to be the case. Some interruptions were stressors—the GPS and recording device, safety decisions on whether we should go down an alley, techniques to keep the conversation flowing and continue building trust, translating participant responses into "data", and assessing the kinds of data obtained, and constant concerns over whether my research question was being answered and whether how I presented myself was impacting the study. It was a dense interview experience. The timing of the questions was unpredictable and was often influenced by the built environment. My memories (and the feelings associated with them) were also triggered, along with those of the participants. At the beginning of the interview, the questions centered on the travel diary. If there were lulls in the conversation, I asked standard questions[47] about racism, mass incarceration, what was happening the day they committed their last offense, and what happened after their release. Beyond this, very little in the interview was structured.

Even within a sedentary interview, interviewers must exercise judgment about the length of time they spend on one topic before moving on and engaging in reciprocal interaction, a practice referred to as narrative probes (Angrosino, 2005). The spontaneity introduced by the walking interview, however, can lead to the loss of stories and incomplete exchanges (Ross et al., 2009), and this can become a central challenge to data quality. I experienced several types of interruptions that resulted in lost stories. Managing different aspects of the interview process while walking affected the construction of the questions and the series of questions asked. Running errands and meeting other people interrupted the flow of questions and returning to important stories. With Tell, for example, I did not learn about one of his gun experiences

[47] Also see Clark & Emmel (2010). They asked, "What's your memory of this place?" "Do you know people in this area?" and "I will seek clarification about how you feel connected to these spaces; why these are important to you." (p. 4).

because a person he knew drove by, and the conversation changed as a result. Another example appears below of an interviewee describing getting shot and then abruptly commenting on a building renovation. I did not return to the shooting story in the remainder of the interview.

Example of how the environment created an interruption right when he divulged, he was shot· We were able to continue the conversation after we discussed the new strip mall·

Interviewee: I just got shot in the chest. This is a nice – this little thing here, I like the way they fixed all this up.

Interviewer: What is this?

Interviewee: It's like a strip mall, like a little strip thing. They got different – like different stuff that goes on here.

Figure 25. Example of Environmental Interruption

Lack of follow-up (on my part) as a result of interruptions happened in more than one interview, and there were times that I missed opportunities to learn more about the effects of mass incarceration. When I inquired about the recorder with Uncle Ruckus, I interrupted his story about the man he thought he was becoming. The recorder malfunctioned during the interview because of the winter temperatures, and I did not pick up the conversation again with my next set of questions. With Eckes, I never gathered sufficient information about his mental health issues and why he committed property crimes. He was not able to live at home for these reasons. The examples shared in this section are just a few examples of the interruptions, that while productive to this study's aim, impacted the nature of the data collected and sometimes led to unfinished stories.

Safety Against the Backdrop of Necropolitics

In this section, I examine a theme recurring throughout the study, *safety*, along with implications for walking interview research designs. At the center of my study are race, place, and crime as seen through the lens of necropolitics and similar, intersecting theoretical frameworks (e.g., critical criminology, abolitionist geography). In necropolitical environments,

> the Other is constantly on the alert. He lives in the expectation of a repudiation. He does everything so that this repudiation does not take place, all the while knowing that it will necessarily come and at a time over which he has little control. (Mbembe, 2019, p. 132)

Applying these concepts directly to the topics of crime and policing, necropolitical projects result in a climate of fear in Black neighborhoods where "Black bodies are themselves a low level offense" (Kwate & Threadcraft, 2017, 542). In the case of formerly incarcerated persons (FIPs), members of the FIP's social network contribute to this climate of fear: "when ex-offenders return, neighbors are welcoming but cautious, suspicious, and frequently fearful" (Clear et al., 2001, p. 342). As a result, daily life is organized around the fear of reincarceration, and steps are taken to avoid people and places that increase the chance of reincarceration (see Goffman's [2009] study). If place forms identity and is the site where identity is performed (Moles, 2008), what identities and behaviors would I encounter on a walking interview in a necropolitical environment that produces fear?

For my study, the value of the walking-interview is a functional one, that is, the interview format should elicit place-based stories that tap into the men's spatial identity and what it is like to *live*, *exist*, or *be* in racialized places, to recidivate or not, and to avoid reincarceration. The study site, the 53206 zip code area, is a Black place. In this space, various necropolitical state tools are employed to maintain particular conditions, many of which are the subject of Milwaukee-based news stories, in-state university research, and local advocacy campaigns (e.g., stop and frisk, and police surveillance). As a result, fear and safety were twinning or dual occurrences that shaped the walking interview experiences in this study.

Several study participants took additional safety precautions to prevent reincarceration, further challenging the notion of a universal body and the use of design protocols that assume a universal body. To be clear, prior studies on the walking interview discussed safety, but they did

so mostly through the lens of individualism. For example, in Tong et al.'s (2016) study, the researchers were concerned about their participants (older adults) and their risk of tripping and falling. Their research protocols included monitoring the pace of the walk, bringing first aid supplies, and carrying fully charged cell phones. They also followed procedures for checking in and out with the research office. In the current study, the need for *safety* was not a consequence of individual behavior but rather of neighborhood social processes (e.g., police surveillance) that would be experienced as personal, physical, and individual matters. To organize my discussion around safety, I first take up the participants' general strategies to preserve their safety, and then discuss my own experiences with safety. I make several recommendations for future research, including more research on researcher self-care and coping in necropolitical environments.

Participant Safety

General Participant Strategies. During the consent process, participants were fairly open, as if the interview had already begun. Most participants provided detailed stories of their arrest and experiences with incarceration and talked about the trip we would take during the interview. In all but one case (discussed later), the rapport was instant: we laughed and talked about non-interview topics, and sometimes I was introduced to their relatives and partners. Safety was an issue that influenced how the person approached the study. For several participants, safety was addressed early on during the consent process. For all participants, safety was a shared responsibility during the interview. The general strategies the participants employed are discussed in terms of research design considerations. I have included an extended conversation on snitching and the use of interview recording devices in carceral neighborhoods.

Protecting my safety. The participants wanted to ensure that I was safe to avoid reincarceration, and this influenced where they would take me. Some expressed that they would

avoid any area they considered “too rough.” To prevent reincarceration by way of protecting me, Dead Loop said, “we’ll do it during the daylight,” and he planned to avoid blocks that he considered “wild.” In the interview, we did just that. We avoided blocks that he felt he was not familiar with and where he could not predict what might happen. In my interview with Will, he noted that the GPS made it safer for me to be in the neighborhood, as it would provide my last known location. Twenty-Six walked me to my car, concerned that someone might be watching and waiting until I was alone. At the consent meeting, Shotta was the most concerned about my safety and visibly dreaded the idea of going back to prison should something happen to someone from the university. He told me at the consent meeting that we would not be able to visit the places where he sold drugs. Instead, he took me to the area where his children lived and that he frequented (he also used to have a trap house in that neighborhood). He noted that “shots would be fired” if he went to certain neighborhoods, given the things happening in his life at the moment. Ironically, he mentioned the street I grew up on as a place where both he and I would be unsafe. He shared, “You don’t want the wrong thing, the wrong idea and I definitely don’t want anything happening to you because I know for sure I’m going to jail and don’t want that.”

Shotta went on to describe other ways he would preserve his safety by noting what he would be willing to tell me and what contraband he would carry during the interview, “Well I’m not gonna have anything on me ’cause I don’t want nothing going wrong. I just want to do the interview, let you know what’s going on in the ’hood, let you know what’s wrong, this area’s bad, this area really needs help, really needs attention, things like that and go about my business. Anything extra I don’t want to do. I don’t want problems, I don’t want no warrants, arrests, none of that.” He continued by stating, “I feel like Keefe and Townsend would be a dangerous

situation for me because we can't walk through the neighborhood because: 22nd and 21st are neutral, but 22nd to 23rd and 24th is problems." Shotta continued, stating,

> I can go down there but if I go down there it's gonna be shots fired. So I try not to – I don't want to bring you in the midst of it, you know what I mean? If something happens, it's not worth it. But down here, I'm free. I can do whatever I want. You know what I mean. I mean they've got beef going on down there but I'm not a part of it so I can walk around freely without no problems. No expectations of people or nothing like that 'cause it's not my 'hood. It's just somewhere where I stay.

I will discuss the safety concerns around the recording device in the following section, but, at the consent meeting, the use of a recorder in necropolitical settings was a source of fear and anxiety, especially if the person was still involved in criminalized behavior. Shotta shared,

> I'm not gonna put on a recording device because I'm out here for real. I go through this, I've been shot, I've been stabbed. I've been in prison, I've been in jail, I've did it all. This is my lifestyle for real. This is something that I'm trying to get away from. This is something that a lot of people get out here hustle and do the things that they do to try and show off. I'm not trying to show off. I'm not trying to be flashy or anything. I'm trying to make it from down here. I show my kids better, you know what I mean? 'Cause poverty ain't fun. A lot of people like to live here. A lot of people love to struggle. I don't understand how you love to struggle. I don't understand how you don't want to make some money, put the money to the side to better yourself. And not just yourself, but to better our future for your kids. You know what I mean? A lot of people don't think like that. I think about my kids first."

Shotta was also concerned about the travel diary documenting his movements and excluded similar types of activities deemed private.

Punctuality. Safety was also tied to standing still and in place. Standing on the corner or in front of a venue, or even at a crosswalk without reason, can lead to an interaction with the police and possibly reincarceration. Most participants texted me to let me know that they were at the meeting site or were waiting, even if it was close to the appointment time. They depended on rides so, if they got there early, they asked whether I could come sooner to avoid standing in place idling. As a helpful practice, I was always on time so that the participant would not be stopped for loitering or harassed in some way by library staff, the police, or another authority.

On a single occasion, I was late for a consent appointment—about four minutes late to meet Jayson. After I arrived and waited a few minutes, I texted Jayson to let him know that I was in front of the library waiting. He responded that when I was not there on time, he decided to leave and was already several blocks away walking home. He agreed to return and explained during the interview his apprehension about waiting too long and his suspicion that the opportunity was not real and that I might not be legitimate.

Travel diary. In the study, it was helpful to see the everyday activities of fathers, partners, and, in general, men. Most reported that the travel diary was easy to maintain, but the data, by and large, did not reveal large activity spaces or extensive schedules. This was similar to the findings from Roy's three-block father study: participants engaged in normal, regular activities, and their trips were straightforward. There were two explicit instances in which the participants applied additional safety precautions to avoid reincarceration tied to the travel diary. Most participants gave me their completed booklet out in the open, but Twenty-Six gave me his book by putting his hand behind his back as he walked toward a friend. I quickly grabbed the book and put it in my bookbag, not opening it at all, and skipped over the questions about how it was to fill it out. Later in the interview, Twenty-Six anxiously asked where it was. I told him it was in my bag. His journal included trips to buy marijuana. Another participant, Eckes, was stopped by the police and did not record the event in the journal or the trip at all. He later explained his concerns about rearrest, since he did not plan to report the incident to his extended supervision officer. The following is an excerpt from the conversation with Eckes:

NICOLE:	Oh. So, you don't want to put that in there? Yeah, you're kinda busy at that moment.
ECKES:	I mean, yeah, I didn't want to put it in there, though, period, because –

NICOLE: Why?

ECKES: It's – I guess it's – I look at it as like a conflict of interest. You say it's confidential, but –

NICOLE: Oh. What does that mean?

ECKES: You know, like you gotta have it. You have contact with the police, you're supposed to tell your PO.

NICOLE: Oh.

ECKES: Like just contact any time. So, if you have police contact –

NICOLE: No.

ECKES: No, I'm just saying –

NICOLE: Oh, they didn't – if she asks – [Crosstalk]

ECKES: She asked if – she's gonna ask. She'll find out I'll be in trouble for lying.

NICOLE: Oh, they didn't take your name or anything?

ECKES: Well, they just take your ID and run it. They see –

NICOLE: Oh, it's not stored anywhere where she can confirm?

ECKES: 'Cause they didn't give you no violation. There's nothing.

There are two rules related to property in the community supervision (https://doc.wi.gov/Pages/AboutDOC/CommunityCorrections/SupervisionRules.aspx). In rule 6, the person must make themselves available for search, including their residence and property. In rule 8, the person must obtain prior approval for changing residence (HIP, 2016). Rule 2 is reporting all arrests and police contacts within a 72-hour period (HIP, 2016). By not writing down the police contact, Eckes was avoiding further challenges with his extended supervision officer.

Boundaries. Consistent with other research projects, the study participants used a variety of methods to establish boundaries, maintain privacy, and avoid sharing information that might lead to reincarceration. These strategies were aided by the walking-interview format and are a form of participant power over the research process. For example, Fred laughed instead of offering a response about whether he owned a gun, which is illegal for all felons residing in the state (WI statute 941.21). Throughout the interview, he mumbled—the recording during these parts of the conversation was almost inaudible, and the resultant transcript had missing data. He also made extensive use of nonverbal gestures. I tried to add voice prompts, in part so that something was captured in the audio. Dre avoided any direct questions about his history of substance use, often giving one-word answers or deflecting the question. I tried to observe boundaries when we were in public spaces and followed their lead. Shotta told me directly as we entered a corner store that I could not ask any questions while in the store. Eckes asked me to wait outside a store while he bought paper to roll his marijuana cigarettes. Twenty-Six covered his head with his hoodie as we walked past news cameras after a shooting (he spoke to the cameraperson and continued the interview with me next to the camera). Later during the interview, he covered the microphone when discussing his use of guns when he was younger, and the perception people had of him.

Boundary work also took the form of avoiding places and people. Both Twenty-Six and Dead Loop took me to the edge of their "territory," the end of the blocks that they did not go past. I recall the feeling of these moments, as if there were an imaginary wall separating one block from the next. During the interview with Don Juan, a group of teenage boys blocked the street, and I observed Don Juan watch them and decide for us to turn the corner. When we were several blocks away, I asked him about it and he said that we could have gone through them, but

it was easier to avoid trouble. He noted that I stood out in terms of my dress and bookbag, which did not help. Don Juan's observations mirror findings from Hodgson's (2012) study. Hodgson documented the skills needed to navigate and assess neighborhood environments on the fly, which required vigilance skills, the ability to spot others, and danger reduction skills to determine which paths or blocks to take. With Don Juan, Will, and others, I witnessed vigilance skills and restricted mobility, the very mechanisms I wanted to observe. My exchange with Don Juan is below.

NICOLE:	I have a question about the young guys we just saw, and we didn't keep going. Was there a reason we didn't keep going? Did you see them?
DON JUAN:	Well, I was just looking at the houses and stuff like that. Yeah, I saw them. I saw they're a little weird walk, they staring, wondering who you are, what we talking about, yeah.
NICOLE:	They kinda –
DON JUAN:	You stand out. [matter of fact]
NICOLE:	How do I stand out? [disappointed]
DON JUAN:	You don't look like you belong over here.
NICOLE:	Oh, really?
DON JUAN:	You stand out, especially with the bag on your back.
NICOLE:	I'm wearing corduroys. [laughing]
DON JUAN:	You stand out. I don't think they've seen that today. [laughing]
NICOLE:	Oh, lord.
DON JUAN:	You stand out.
NICOLE:	I got a book bag.
DON JUAN:	Yeah, on a Saturday. They like, "What they doing?" Yeah they're wondering what we up too.
NICOLE:	I didn't even think of that.
DON JUAN:	She riding around. She's going to really chase us in circles. Why in hell you don't just sit still or walk with us?
NICOLE:	Go to the park right here. But they kinda took over the street there, the way they were walking, it wasn't –
DON JUAN:	Oh, yeah.
NICOLE:	It almost didn't feel like we could go if we wanted to. Or we could have?
DON JUAN:	No, yeah we could have went, could have went. We're safe unless they got a gun. I'm good with my hands. What's up, little buddy? Safe unless they got a gun. I'm good with my hands.
NICOLE:	I'm not good with my hands. [laughing]

DON JUAN: Then again it goes back to me talking about going around things instead of going through things. It's the same way out here in the streets. It's just survival, man. Certain stuff can be avoided completely. Completely, certain stuff can be avoided out here. Some people don't care to avoid it, and you read about them on the news for that reason. Let me see what's up with her real quick [his girlfriend].

For my next example, most of the interview with Bates took place in the park or walking back and forth on the same street. Bates told me he wanted to avoid people meeting me. He did not consent to wearing a recorder but allowed me to wear one. He also took me to the most secluded, cricket-quiet area, where I ended up waving to a White man just so that someone would remember seeing me. It was an area that was a mix of industrial and residential properties. Although we never left the area, in this short city block we visited a shelter and a store whose services he had used, and his favorite basketball court, which conjured stories of when he was a basketball star in high school. We were two blocks from the 53206 zip code area, and, as we were walking there toward his friends, I adjusted the microphone and he said, "oh, we can go back," and we turned back. He had forgotten I was wearing a recording device. I had adjusted it because he was much taller than me and, when we switched sides, the microphone was no longer near him. He explained his views on snitching and his concerns of accidentally recording a crime while doing the interview as we walked away from his friends (and the target zip code) and toward a gas station.

The walking interview as personal empowerment can be difficult to achieve in carceral neighborhoods with fears of police, violence, and reincarceration. Despite this, participant boundaries were not impenetrable; they still shared their vulnerabilities. For example, when I missed a drug house or a drug sale, Don Juan permitted us to walk backwards so I could observe the end of the transaction. We passed a car with known gang members, and my participant

pointed it out from a safe distance. Jayson openly talked about robbing a family dollar store while buying groceries at the cashier counter (from what I could tell the cashier did not openly react to the story). Tell reflected through the course of our conversation and concluded out loud that he realized he was homeless, ironically while on house arrest. He shared, "So I'm, like, dude, I'm really bleeping homeless, so that's where I'm, like, oh my god, it's so hard. So I'm just trying to be cool with them till I could build myself up. It's just so hard."

While boundary maintenance was a normal part of any conversation, when it did occur, I spent time reflecting on whether it arose due to my interviewing skills, the question, the neighborhood, or a combination of the three. Ross et al. (2009) noted that participants can set boundaries, pace the content shared, and intentionally (and successfully) avoid researcher probes. Elam and Fenton (2003) recommended open, relaxed interviews that build trust and rapport and ensure that the person has power over the research process when sensitive topics are discussed. A relaxed interview in carceral neighborhoods was not impossible but it was not immediate either.

Informal interactions. Several participants encountered people on the streets that they knew; we sometimes met people who were walking through the area, in the front yard if we passed their house, or in their cars as they were driving. As a result of these exchanges, the participants offered updates on what was happening in the neighborhood and in their lives. These experiences brought me reassurance that I was experiencing a part of their life while in their neighborhood. Sometimes I was introduced, usually as a student or a social worker. If the conversation lasted a few minutes, I stayed back, away from them so as not to completely overhear it. I usually received a brief summary of the conversation and a profile of the interlocutor after the exchange ended. During these interactions, boundary work took the form of physical gestures that made it clear to stay back and give them privacy. One participant, for

example, shared what he thought others in the neighborhood might think: “People will stay away from you for that reason. Like they’ll avoid you. Like for real, like who is she? See what my guy saw, ‘Oh she’s a reporter.’ Everybody got assumption of who you are. See, if they know me they’re going to have assumptions. They know you’re not my wife. They know she’s crazy as hell, so they know I ain’t on no bullshit, and she ain’t far, they know that too. They know, they just wondering.”

Dress code. Safety entailed who I would be and what I would wear to protect them from harm. For Shotta, it was important that I dress to blend in and not wear my sling bag unless I was using it to store a gun. This is not always the practice in walking-interview studies. For example, in Chang’s (2017b), safety was an issue too. The author’s response was to wear a badge and let it be known what that signifies: *authority* and *outsider*. The author stated:

> I took extra steps to reduce the risks to the participant’s safety and privacy and to the neighborhood and community itself. I reminded the participant throughout the interview that their safety and comfort was of the highest priority. My university badge was clearly visible during all parts of the docent method. (p. 616)

This approach would not have been acceptable in my study, and it might have had to do with insider-outsider status. Chang (2017) might not have been able to pass as an insider. She may have had to leverage her outsider status by wearing a badge. The badge as a symbol of power and control is not interrogated in her paper.

Recording Device and Snitching. Warren's (2017) argument, that there is no universal body when applying the walking interview format, is even more salient in the context of carceral neighborhoods and the use of a device typical in qualitative research, the recorder. In prior studies, recording devices have been discussed. For Chang (2017b), Emmel and Clark (2009), and Tong et al. (2016), the use of discrete recording devices served to protect participant confidentiality and protect the person from being identified as a research participant while out in the field. For Brown and Durrheim (2009), Garcia et al. (2012), and Trell and Van Hoven (2010), the recording device did not necessarily change the feel of the interview; participants appeared comfortable and relaxed and spoke candidly. In carceral neighborhoods, however, recording devices mimic police surveillance and could potentially be used by individuals serving as informants for the police or other carceral institutions. As Goffman's (2009) study documented how family, friends, and acquaintances can be coerced into snitching for the police and other authorities. In necropolitical environments, Black bodies are under surveillance[48] through technology and by people they may or may not know.

The first person to raise the issue of snitching was a caller who was inquiring about the study on behalf of someone else. I told the person that they could say I was a journalist just getting their story, or a girlfriend, and that people had devices similar to what I would be using (e.g., cell phone, a wire that could be for ear plugs). The caller, a female, remained skeptical.[49] Then participants mentioned it, and then I initiated the conversation during the consent meeting and during the interview. Uncle Ruckus' friend, who attended the consent meeting, asked him

[48] This issue has led to a national initiative called Data 4 Black Lives, which aims to dismantle surveillance technologies, apparatuses, and devices, given their impact on Black communities (https://blog.d4bl.org/introducing-nomoredataweapons/)
[49] It is likely that potential participants may have also assessed whether the recording device was too high a risk, which could have factored into the low response rate for this study.

directly if he really wanted to do this after I mentioned the recording device. I asked Bates directly, and he said "you're good, you're good."

In this study, the concerns around snitching varied from participant to participant. The participants for whom it was not a concern said I did not look, talk, or walk like law enforcement and would not be mistaken for law enforcement. For Silver Bullet, he noted that "he'll just hide in plain sight" and that "people will just observe." For him, I looked like a student. Several participants also said that their reputation in the neighborhood would supersede any notions of snitching. They were, as Boogie put it, "a real nigga." He shared with me,

NICOLE:	Did you know those guys we just passed?
BOOGIE:	No. Like I say, I barely knew my neighbor. I knew her because she's Jamaican. I conversate, not much, with my across-the-street neighbors. But really I am just home.
NICOLE:	Because they <u>were</u> looking at us.
BOOGIE:	Yeah. They're inquisitive. They want to know what's going on. Everybody wants to know. Especially if you're seeing me wearing a wire. Because I would have been like, "What are they wearing for walking around?"
NICOLE:	Were you not worried about that, and how you'd be perceived or?
BOOGIE:	No, because at the end of the day, when you're real, you're real. Real recognizes real no matter where. It doesn't matter what neighborhood or wherever I go. Real is real. If you take that moment to find out what it is, and what it is, "Hey man, this is what it is. So, cuz what's your next move?"
NICOLE:	What would you have said if they would have asked about it?
BOOGIE:	It's research. We're trying to come up with solutions for the city and why it is the way it is and try to get an understanding so we can get some help here. If you want to disturb that process, you can try to disturb that process, but I'm just telling you what it is. I'm a real nigger, though. Not saying, you gotta, but you've got to break it down into a way that they understand and they process it, "Like, okay."
NICOLE:	That's what I thought. Other people have said – if you were really trying to catch someone you wouldn't have it out like this.
BOOGIE:	Right.
NICOLE:	You'd be really bad at it.
BOOGIE:	Right, at what you're doing. At the end of the day, like I said, that is what I would tell them, "We're doing this for the city, doing this

> for our people because we've got to understand what's going on. Why are we in the top ten in murders? Why is this city the most segregated city in America? Why our eighth grade boys and girls can't read at a certain level, do math at a certain level? Why? Why?" Is it something that systematically that was put in place and we're just the guinea pigs? Is that why? "Hey man, the right to work – they take it away," and all that stuff. These are things that they implement here that they say, "Okay, this is what is going on in Wisconsin. Let's try and see if we could do this somewhere else," and do that. We're always the guinea pigs.

Some participants joked about snitching, commenting on how the black cords looked like a wire. Some never mentioned snitching or concerns about snitching at all except when I asked about it. They told me they were not concerned because they were not telling me anything they could get arrested for. In my conversation with Twenty-Six during the interview, he shared:

NICOLE: I appreciate this 'cause I have been getting feedback that people are concerned about the recorder here.

TWENTY-SIX: Concerned about what, though? If you're a known person, ain't nobody gonna worry about it, though. What are they gonna worry about it for?

NICOLE: 'Cause they're concerned about snitching, the perception.

TWENTY-SIX: Motherfuckers know you're not in the damn police or anything. Common sense.

NICOLE: That's what I thought.

TWENTY-SIX: Common fucking sense, man. Motherfuckers know you're not the fucking police, man.

NICOLE: That's what I thought. How do you know I'm not?

TWENTY-SIX: 'Cause you're not. I'm not worried about it. What can you do? What are you gonna do, arrest me? For what? I ain't sold you no drugs. I ain't gave you no gun.

NICOLE: Yeah, that's what I said. I was like, "If that was what we were doing, the wires wouldn't be out in the open."

TWENTY-SIX: You couldn't even see the wires. The wires will be put up somewhere.

For those participants where someone might perceive them as snitching if they wore the recording device, it was a valid safety concern, and they engaged in various mitigating strategies. At the corner of his block, Tell exaggerated his arm gestures to make it clear that he was talking about *his* gun case. We were standing on the corner of his block, and across the street were several young men standing in front of a corner store. The guys on the corner watching us left the area immediately. When Twenty-Six observed the person he was talking to looking at the recorder, he yelled, "I'm doing an interview." The conversation concluded shortly after this pronouncement. He had previously said that he had sufficient clout to move through the neighborhood with me and the device, which he also noted looked like the same devices "young people" use.

Not all participants agreed to wear the recorder, but they allowed me to wear one. Shotta was active and involved in selling large quantities of drugs. He showed up to our first meeting bruised from a fight he was in the day before, and he had nearly $6,000 on him when we met for the interview. With Shotta, I could only wear the recorder underneath my clothing. Shotta demonstrated his preference in the consent meeting, where he put the recorder on, clipped it to his undershirt, and made sure it was not visible. Shotta also had preferences for what I wore—that I would need to blend in more and appear more like a girlfriend. He suggested leggings, earrings, and Nike shoes. Below are his initial reactions:

SHOTTA: I really wouldn't want you to walk down in that neighborhood because if we walked down that neighborhood and we got recording devices on they're saying I'm walking with you and you look how you look.

NICOLE: Oh man, you know what I usually wear a sweatshirt. Would that be better? I usually wear that.

SHOTTA: No, it's not even that. It's just you gotta take it from my perspective. I'm doing this for the money and I'm also doing it because you're helping everybody. But to my niggas, excuse my language, to my guys, they're gonna look at it like he's walking around with an informant. You know what I mean? So if you dress and you play a different role as to part of not being yourself then probably we can pull it off. But me walking down the neighborhood – the 'hood and they know how I am, he's walking – he's with a female and she's taking pictures – they're gonna look at that kind of suspicious and you ain't gonna have to hear about it but I am. So if you portray yourself something different then that probably – no disrespect. I don't want to disrespect you. But if you come down there and you look like the police or you look like somebody that's not from that area, I'm going to wind up dealing with it.

NICOLE: What's a way – 'cause I won't take photos. You already said no to that. What's another – would I just change my clothes? Usually I don't wear this.

SHOTTA: Do you got a pair of Nikes?

NICOLE: No.

SHOTTA: No disrespect. Don't take this the wrong way but you gotta look like you're part of the area, you know what I mean? And the recorder's gotta be hid. I'm not a police informant. I ain't never told on nobody in a day of my life. But at the same time, I don't want it to look like that. My name is everything. Everybody know me in the 'hood. Everybody respect me in the 'hood. But I don't want them to be looking like, what he doing? What's going on? You know what I mean? If you can portray yourself to fit in and blend in, there's no problem meeting on 22nd. But if we can't portray that image then we just go somewhere where I'm not from. Then I'd be more comfortable. I can take you to some family members' neighborhoods to where I know the neighborhood well and they know me. You know what I mean? But, with my stomping grounds is gonna look different. I don't need no access. He's talking with the police or he's doing this. 'Cause then I'm gonna wind up being right back in jail over something stupid that it ain't.

NICOLE: And I don't want that to happen to you either. I don't know that I can – well, I don't know. Because they're gonna know that I'm not from the neighborhood 'cause I don't live – they wouldn't have seen me before.

SHOTTA: That doesn't mean that – they don't know that – they're gonna see you with me, but because of how you carry yourself and how you look, they'll look like okay, he's just courting a love – no disrespect – dotty body or something like that. If you don't know what that means, it means basically he just met a new girl that he's

fucking with – I mean talking to or something. You know what I mean? So they look at it like okay, it's cool. But if you come down there, you've got your suit and tie on and you've got your heels on, you got your microphone right here.

NICOLE: No, let me show you the device. So no book bag?

SHOTTA: If you got your gun on you, you can put it on your bag or put it on your side, your hip or something like that then cool. But –

NICOLE: No, I don't have a gun.

SHOTTA: Well –

NICOLE: No book bag?

SHOTTA: No book bag.

NICOLE: Okay. This is what it looks like.

SHOTTA: Most definitely look like police.

NICOLE: It's very –

SHOTTA: POLICE.

NICOLE: Very –

SHOTTA: Police.

NICOLE: Yeah, it's supposed to be discreet. The other thing I do is just carry this around as if it's a phone and it does pick up a lot of the environment, like if I just did this and if someone came by. I mean I don't know.

SHOTTA: You don't want the wrong person to see that. Me, if I seen that and I was talking to one of my guys or whatever, immediately – immediately there's gonna be an issue. So I don't want it to be like that when we down there. 'Cause we'll goes on in the hood stays in the 'hood. I'm not trying to say it like that, but if one of us seeing that on one of our guys then immediately we're gonna take it to the head, like what you got going on? Why you walking around the 'hood with microphones and wearing devices and things like that?

NICOLE: Where would we put this though? In here? I feel like that's even more suspicious. You don't think so?

SHOTTA: If you can put it in the shirt and clip it to here to where they can't see the recorder and nothing like that and I can get you an empty bottle and we can fill it up with Kool-Aid or something and we went around laughing, playing, you just interviewing me though, everything is for a show. You know what I mean? But I don't want them to portray and look at me walking around. I don't want us to be looked at as a factor 'cause I don't want them to be looking like, bro, what's Shotta on? Why he got her walking through the 'hood interviewing and putting mics and things like that? 'Cause that's gonna backfire on me. They might not act on it right then and there but when you're not around they might act on it. And, I'm not. I don't play.

NICOLE: No, I wouldn't want that to happen to you. That's the worst thing. So if this were to go –

SHOTTA: So you need to take it out. If this were to go –

NICOLE: I don't have Nikes but I do have tennis shoes. Do you have – not tank top, but like a wife beater?

SHOTTA: Yeah. Right here. If this was to go right here that'd be cool.

NICOLE: You don't think that's even more – well I can't see it on you.

SHOTTA: Yeah, you know what I mean. We're just walking, we're having fun, we're talking. We're walking through the 'hood. They're not gonna disrespect or say anything like that 'cause they're just gonna think you're a female I'm talking to. You've got your little bottle of juice and they thinking that it's liquor. I got my bottle, which is probably nine times out of ten be juice too. But at the same time they won't sweat it. We'll be able to have a real conversation. We'll be able to talk and you'll be able to document the things that you need. As long as there's no faces on cameras or nothing like that then you'll actually get a full understanding of what's going on in the ghetto and see how we really function and see how we really have to survive.

NICOLE: So, if I meet you, can I give this to you in a carton or something? How can I give this to you and then you can go in the house and put this on? 'Cause otherwise I don't know how you – what you just did just there, you couldn't do that out in the open.

SHOTTA: Yeah, we'd just meet up before we go to – you text me and you tell me to meet you at Walgreen's or something like that. I go use the restroom, get the recording device on me. Then I drive down there, you pull up five, ten minutes later. I have a group people around me. We sitting back and I tell them this my little chick I was just talking to. I'll get up with you all later. We're fixing to walk around the block and chop it up. And it's just gonna go like that. You ask me some questions when they're not around. And when they're around – I mean when we're walking up to them you hit me up, they hear me talking to them, socializing, and seeing what's going on with them, how they're reacting to what's going on in the situation. I can start a conversation about the things that you already asked me, conversated about. Then you give them more information about it.

NICOLE: All right, so we'll do that. So you want to go at noon though?

SHOTTA: Yeah, that'd be cool.

To prepare for the interview with Shotta, I had to practice putting on the device under my clothes, and I bought travel case that fit underneath my shirt. I asked a store clerk whether she could see the recorder, and she informed me that it was hidden but that the recorder's light was visible through my clothes. I mentioned to Shotta how a recorder underneath my clothes seemed more like snitching, but I did as he requested and continued to find a way to wear the device

underneath my clothes. I had learned during the flyering process to be more aware of my surroundings, but, from the interviews, I had also learned that my observation skills were inadequate and I had little street vigilance. I wanted to check the device after I entered the store where I was meeting Shotta before the interview. The bathroom was off limits to customers. I tried to leverage my outsider status, speaking very proper, and the store clerk almost let me use it, but she hesitated while thinking it over and looking at the other guests, and said no. I could not check my recorder in the store. It had too many mirrors and cameras. I even went to an aisle to test the recorder, which would have required lifting up my shirt. As I looked around, I saw five or six generations of security devices, from dome mirrors to cameras, box cameras, bullet cameras, and hidden/covert cameras (these cameras look like fire alarms).

This was his neighborhood, and I did not know whether someone would see me and then see me with him, so I could not take the chance. Nor did I want to look like I was stealing from the store. I went to my car to see whether I could check the device and start the GPS. I slouched down but still felt that people on the sidewalk could see me. Then, a car parked next to me (I had parked far from the shop door and from other cars), and when its inhabitants started smoking marijuana I knew they would not be leaving anytime soon. After all of this, Shotta was texting me and getting anxious, wondering where I was.

To respect his concerns, I did not check the device during the interview even though I wanted to. I tried to remember his words in case I did lose the recording, which made the interview even more intense. It was one of the best interviews, and I learned a great deal from him. We visited one of his former trap houses. I learned about his plans for going back to school, for saving money, and his role as a father. I eventually met his daughter, who adored him, and a friend who was dropping her off with family. During the interview, I started each question

repeating much of what he said since he was not wearing a device, in hopes my recorder would catch it. On the day of the interview, unbeknownst to me, the recorder and GPS device set to record the route had malfunctioned and turned off. Nothing was recorded except for the sounds of me exiting my car and shutting the door. I did not have an interview recording or a geo-summary of our walk together. When I discovered that I had lost the recording, I wrote extensive field notes.

Researcher Safety

My study's safety protocols were fairly traditional. Most protocols were designed to protect participant confidentiality, privacy, and physical safety. For example, participants selected their own pseudonyms for use in presentations and reports. I secured a certificate of confidentiality to prevent the data from being used in any legal proceeding. In the event that police stopped or questioned me, I pledged to not disclose that I was a researcher or reveal that the person was a research participant. I sought general approval to take photographs and if granted, I asked for permission again immediately prior to taking the photographs and ensured that no other identifying information was included in the shot. For my safety as a researcher, I used a dedicated research phone to communicate with potential and enrolled participants, which maintained healthy boundaries. I checked in with my advisor each time I entered or exited the field for outreach or to conduct an interview. While in the field, I carried only my driver's license, a few dollar bills, and my professor's business card to provide to law enforcement if necessary. I parked on busier streets. I recruited and interviewed only during the day and dressed down (e.g., hoody, corduroys, tennis shoes) so I would not call attention to myself. The stipend was concealed in a small white envelope in my front pocket, which I paid to the participant at the end of the interview. I asked everyone to not be under the influence of drugs or alcohol at the

time of the interview. These protocols, however, once applied in necropolitical backdrops, took on different functions and interacted with other features of the study (e.g., sharing power and achieving empowerment in qualitative methods). In this study, "safety" encompassed safety from police violence, interpersonal violence, surveillance, and reincarceration. As such, safety was a shared and negotiated responsibility. My approach to coping with the safety issues that arose throughout the study are discussed in a separate section to encourage researchers employing the walking interview format to create self-care plans.

IRB Protocols. There were very few times that I appreciated the multiple ways that the university "could find my dead body." That is what I thought of the initial concerns and safety protocols discussed in the IRB special committee for vulnerable populations (prisoners). I recall debriefing with a colleague and noting that their concerns did not match my own. My colleague abruptly said, "it's because they are White women, and they would never go into these neighborhoods." My colleague was referring to the IRB panel's imagination of my study site and the 53206 zip code—one that fit the goals of the necropolitical project and created fears regarding the university's liability if something were to happen to me. I believed that this explained part of it. Because I was from the neighborhood (or zip code), I would be able to appease their safety concerns and successfully exercise vigilance while in the field. To address the IRB committee's concerns, I created the safety protocol described in the methods section in Chapter 5. The combined effect of these procedures was a constant preoccupation with safety throughout the study. It seeped into every activity. For example, maintaining a log on the university shared drive served more to track my movements rather than record events and methodological decisions, which should have been the primary function.

Constantly thinking about safety created stress. At one point, I thought, "you know, whatever happens to me, happens," and I just gave in to whatever harm might happen to me while in the field. Then, I reflected and thought, "is anything actually happening to me? Do I need to be afraid?" The answer was no. I realized that despite the constant attention that I needed to pay to the IRB safety procedures, nothing was actually happening, and I needed to believe that nothing was going to happen in the future. After brief exposure to the neighborhood, I adopted the same view as study participant Dee W., who had been shot on two separate occasions and was on life support for three days. Dee W. shared that "a lot of things that they don't even report on the news, as far as like robberies, people getting robbed, walking down the street. I don't fear for it because I figure like whatever God got intention for me is going to be what happens, regardless of the fact." To be fair, I did witness fights, and there were people who were not particularly nice to me and whose behavior worried the people around them. Still, the shift from being hyper focused on my own safety to knowing that nothing was actually happening, offered some relief. I still wonder whether I could have addressed safety in other ways without also creating so many rituals around it.

The IRB protocols introduced fear into the study because the procedures institutionalized behaviors that were predicated on fear, danger, and harm reduction and prevention; this fear colored my lens throughout the research process. I feared the participants, especially when meeting them at their home, but, if I wanted them to trust *me*, I had to trust *them*, and knowing that alleviated some of my stress. My first interview went well, and, at the end of it, we both felt a sense of friendship given the types of intimate details shared. I wanted to give him a hug afterwards; for me, it is a cultural norm to hug new acquaintances. It was awkward, and I did not do it, but I think that it would have been respectful to do so and created closure to the time we

spent together. As I made the decision, the IRB protocols dominated my thoughts, and, as a result, I had less presence of mind in those final moments of the interview. This reminds me of Rager (2005) asking, "am I prepared to take on another's full humanity and to explore and unveil my own" (p. 101) (in Rager, 2005, p. 24)? I had many tensions with the boundary work that was mandated by the IRB, since what was permitted and what was natural for a neighborhood study were sometimes at odds.

To provide another example, I was afraid *for* Will and *of* Will. In my conversation with Will, we discussed the possibility that he had a clinical disorder; his anxiety made it difficult to focus and be around other people. He was unable to make the necessary plans to obtain state identification to apply for social services or to use when applying for a job. We talked about how cold it was that fall and how he had only one spring-weather jacket. We discussed how he often did not eat because he did not have money to buy food. He planned to use the interview incentive to buy deodorant. During our walk, we had to quickly move out of the way of someone who was visibly agitated, had clenched fists, and was not going to share the sidewalk with us. Will commented that in those instances, he always had to make a decision to either take it further or just allow himself to be disrespected. We talked about how hard it was for him to find either temporary or steady employment. He was robbed four months prior to the interview by someone who pulled a gun on him. He still seemed vulnerable to theft, so I asked him if we could go into a nearby store so I could pay him there rather than out in the open. When we did, I still had fears both *for* him and *of* him. He left the store before me; I did not want him to know my car, and when I did not see him when I walked outside, I felt disappointed at both not seeing him and by my unwarranted fears. There was no real reason to fear Will. Will was kind. He was the youngest

person interviewed and had an innocence to him. My fears surely impaired the interview process in unknown ways (also see Yassour-Borochowitz, 2012).

With Mark, the experience was different, and the IRB protocols offered appropriate and desired guidance. I never gained Mark's trust. During the consent process, I felt that his answers were inconsistent and possibly untrue or that he was attempting to conceal certain details, which created contradictions in his story. The police happened to be on the library premises that day, and I considered that this may have made him nervous and that he might have altered his stories since the police were nearby. During the 3-day grace period when he was supposed to complete the diary, I received a series of text messages from him. His words carried a combative tone, and I knew the best way to address it was to ask to meet in person. When I made this request, his text messages ceased. He missed our first interview, and we rescheduled. I wrote in my journal:

> Waiting on him, here is what is going through my mind: It is probably taking him a lot to get here, so have compassion. He probably has to hustle for money or whatever to get the bus, so have compassion. He won't even put his name on the phone voice mail; why is that? I don't think he is eligible. I think he's more vocal during text message but not in person. Why is that? It's getting dark outside, and I have my wallet, and I don't think he lives around here anyway. Should have went with my gut. You don't have to like every participant, but you do have to trust what they are saying and telling you. I liked his idea about looking at different neighborhoods. Need to add to the consent form that if you miss a meeting, you forfeit your place in the study. I feel remorse because he's exactly the kind of person we need to know to understand how to provide services to.

I kept thinking that our personalities were not compatible and that I might say something that would make him angry. I had to be extremely submissive with him (e.g., stay very quiet, meek). He changed the interview dates multiple times, and I wondered if he would become the first participant to not finish the study. For the last appointment, he wanted me to meet him at an entirely new location. I had entered our original meeting location in the logbook and could not update it without access to a computer, and, at that point, I did not feel comfortable doing the

interview at this new location (a friend's house). I abandoned the submissive, passive routine and stated assertively that he must meet me at the library if he wanted to do the interview. He agreed and eventually met me there.

When he arrived at the library, it was still closed. While we waited, he did not acknowledge that he knew me, offer a greeting, look at me, or talk to me. His energy was cold. I obliged and stood next to him as if we were strangers. Once inside, I interviewed him in a small conference room, where he shared that his housing situation had changed since the consent meeting, and he had lost his job. As he relayed the stories, I gathered that he was violent toward his roommate, who owned the home, and the roommate asked him to leave and secured a restraining order against him. He was also violent toward his boss, which caused his firing. He shared the barrage of text messages that he sent to his boss; his boss begged him to stop texting him. He lost his travel diary, and I asked him to complete it in the room so that he could receive his full stipend. I knew he would want his full stipend and would want to perform the work for the stipend as a way to validate his level of participation in the study. I accepted his log entries and thanked him for his work. I felt like I had to create an environment where the interview seemed real because, underneath, it felt like a highly manipulative event. We did all of this in 30 minutes, during which he rarely looked me in the face or made eye contact.

When I read the transcript, the conversation read nothing like how it felt to me at the time it occurred. The anger was not there; he seemed normal. The pleas from the other person for him to stop the harassment were discussed calmly and clearly as if the events were benign, rational, and justifiable. This discrepancy of how people perceive him is actually something he talked about. Mark shared:

> Because when I type, like because I don't know what it is about me, when I talk, people don't listen even though most times I'm probably the most logical person in the room, in

> the conversation. But they don't listen to me. They like to yell at me and tell me I don't know nothing, but in actuality I'm more logical than they are. But they will not talk to me. Like people actually act crazy around me. Like I don't know what it is.

I asked myself whether I projected my own biases onto him. I rejected that notion almost immediately. As I wrote in my journal:

> Go with your gut, just give him $75. Was late again, after a few texts showed up close to 12:56. Longest 4 minutes of my life till the library opened. He barely acknowledged me, gave me a brief head nod, and he stood next to me as if we were strangers. I said I had to go to the bathroom right away. While I did that, he sat at the same table we did the consent. He was speaking low, so I got us the meeting room. He shut the door all the way. Was on his phone; he has two of them. He showed me text messages with pastor, where he was fired from. The text messages are harassing. He was trying to do the same thing to me; engage me into a fight. He's the type of person to fixate on you. It's in the way he does it where he has just enough evidence to say everybody is wronging him and he didn't do anything.

As I look back at the social imaginations that might have informed the IRB's concerns for me while in the field, the ones my colleague pointed to, walking-interview safety procedures that match the transformative, power-sharing aspects of the methodology with the various safety concerns that might arise in a neighborhood study must be crafted. The hallmark of participatory research—that the participant has the most power—does not hold when the researcher feels unsafe and cannot trust the participant. Since we did not achieve trust, the walking interview did not occur. We stayed inside the library, and the interview appears on the map as a dot.

Shared Safety. In this study and in the context of necropolitical climates of fear, safety is not a product of individualism. Safety is communal, and even the IRB protocols implicate the reciprocal nature of safety as a shared social contract between the researcher and participant. During the consent meeting, the participants thought of ways to protect me during the interview. They also practiced gendered spatialized safety norms (e.g., walking a female researcher to her car) and enjoyed being a host in their neighborhood (e.g., determining which blocks to visit and

providing me with informal security). These efforts were offset by the need to protect themselves from reincarceration. My experience with Dre offers an example of this.

During Dre's consent process, the police entered the premises to arrest someone hiding in the parking lot of his property. The police asked for permission to look around, but they were already well inside the property by the time we saw them and when they asked for permission. Upon seeing them, I immediately hid the recorder in my pocket, but then worried about how that behavior might have been perceived. We had paperwork in front of us and were seated outside on grated carts. Maybe it looked like a business meeting? Maybe they had already seen the recorder and made an assessment of our activities? The memory of that moment is engrained in me, along with the smells, mosquito bites, and soreness from sitting on a small cart. It is engrained along with the rush of the search lights that lit up the property as if it had its own personal sunrise. They arrested the man hiding on the premises, and the memory of his blue coat shimmering in the light and his hands in the air remains strong. Earlier, Dre and I had heard a loud crash, but it was unclear what had happened. The arrest appeared to be connected to that event. We both knew that we needed to leave. Without saying anything, we both started packing up as the police arrested the person. We negotiated each other's safety. He wanted to make sure I was safe by walking me to my car, but he also needed to get to his car to be safe. I was assessing whether he was safe too, and I thought it was better for him to leave the area rather than take the time to walk me to my car. I was more worried for his safety, based on his reaction and hesitation regarding taking me to my car as a gentleman or leaving the area immediately.

This is a necropolitical neighborhood where the presence of the police creates stress, not a sense of safety. The police were at the library, and they were at the consent locations. They were nearby when I posted flyers around the neighborhood. The walking interview process put

me in close contact with the police, and this was stressful. With Dre, I shared a first-hand experience of feeling unsafe in the presence of police as they entered private property. During the walking interview, Dre shared that he was concerned about the police asking for his identification, running his name, and finding a warrant for his arrest. The experience was not only about his physical safety in the moment but also his freedom; for Black men the two are interwined.

A final example of shared safety pertains to field notes and future potential participants. Field notes were challenging to maintain because this activity mirrors surveillance (by police and others such as social workers). As part of my field documentation, I recorded recruitment locations and experiences while in the field. For example, I noted that I encountered more women and children than men while on foot. I put a flyer on every possible commercial property covering every block in the designated zip code. I worked mostly in the winter months. I had to be cognizant of how I might be perceived if I talked to people and then sat in my car taking notes or talking into an audio recorder. Furthermore, as I have mentioned, I was not nearly observant enough (e.g., each time I thought I saw the participant first, they always noted that they saw me from blocks away). To gather field notes but avoid being seen as an informant, I sometimes drove one or two blocks away and pulled over near a store to take notes. This was difficult to do when I was on foot or on my bicycle moving from location to location.

Initially, I relied on both paper and oral notes, realizing that both were of value and elicited different kinds of information, which caused me to spend more time with the data. However, as it became more difficult to write in the field without looking like a cop, I took the most detailed notes via a recorder and later transcribed the audio. Eventually, I relied solely on verbal field notes because it was easier to keep my recorder on while driving back to the

university to process the data in my office. This differs from prior studies, such as one by Tong et al. (2016), in which the authors took field notes immediately after the interview concluded and in the same location where the interview took place. Since they did not record the interviews, they took notes as the interviews transpired. This is something that I would not have been able to do. Tong et al.'s design features would be highly problematic in a carceral neighborhood.

Doctoral Student Self-Care Plan and Coping Strategies

In the previous section, I examined safety issues and emotions that arose during the walking interviews and their impact on me, my role as a doctoral researcher, and the study in general. In this section, I discuss the value of an explicit self-care plan for regulating high levels of stress. I argue that self-care plans should be a vital component of the research design protocol for walking interview studies in carceral neighborhoods. In line with arguments made by Vincett (2018) and Davison (2004), researchers employing the walking interview method should develop a formalized self-care plan with clear coping strategies to help them "accept that anxiety and distress can be worked with, rather than denied or repressed" (Davison, 2004, p. 390).

The need for self-care is threefold. First, my study is concerned with necropolitical projects and how carceral powers operate in a neighborhood and impact life after re-entry. Necropolitical projects take a toll on the human body. Even though I experienced this for only a few hours a day for a few months, I eventually adopted the attitude that I could not prevent injury to myself and that I had to accept that "whatever happens, happens." This new way of approaching the work dulled some of the trauma I experienced but did not eliminate the anxiety, fatigue, and stress I felt as a result of the study. Second, this study seeks to support a marginalized population, Black men at risk for re-incarceration, and investigates complex stressors such as police encounters, precarious housing, and inadequate incomes. I therefore

experienced vicarious trauma and emotional fatigue within and even outside of the interview process.

For instance, after one of the participants broke down the door to the place he was staying with his children, the friend called me to find out if I knew where he was. I did not know, and if I had, I would not have told him. I was saddened that the participant was involved in a conflict with one of the few people he had known for a long time. During our conversations, he told me that this person was one of the last people he knew where he had not ruined the relationship or taken advantage of it. Third, the primary data collection method is hyper-sensory and amplifies every notion of the concept of researcher-as-instrument. Each facet of the study took a toll on my mind, body, and research capacity. Vulnerabilities and negative emotions arose very early in the project. A month into the study, I wrote in my journal the following:

> How am I feeling? Tired. Haven't been sleeping and I wake up at 5:00 am. Trying to keep my hypothyroidism under control but haven't been able to eat right. Also tired because flyering is a lot. Lots of heartbreaking stories, lots of anxiety about safety of myself and my car. Has anything really happened to warrant a concern for safety? Being watched in the neighborhood (people probably being suspicious of me).

The necessity to be "on" throughout the walking interviews to create rapport and maintain presence, the physical work of the walking interviews (the thirst, heat, and miles walked), and the management of the entire project and its regimented safety protocols created feelings of self-doubt and imposter syndrome as well as a form of workplace stress. I became cynical regarding the possibility of structural change and doubtful about whether this or any project could change the criminal justice system. I also had intense food cravings immediately after each interview, where I wanted a soda, a candy bar, and meat. I craved an enormous dinner. I began to carry various snacks, which I ate in the car on the way home. I also ate while journaling after the

interviews. As a result, I gained over 10 pounds. I soon wore pants with an elastic waist, as I could not fit into my corduroys. Below is an excerpt from another journal entry

> Talk about my physical health! I got such a crook in my neck and my head, yesterday, my sister said, “I can feel the stress exuding from you.” So it just shows, these two hours in these neighborhoods are intense, and it shows what I think of them or feel about them. And what they feel about them, too, because they live this all the time. And so that's why when you see these young dues that they've got, like, I think David [my Chair] mentioned it, a chip on a shoulder, being macho, that explains some of it. 'Cause it's, very exhausting. I took ibuprofen, this morning, 'cause I've been icing my head and my neck, for the amount of stress, or strain.

While it is recognized that self-care is important for the integrity of qualitative research in general (Howard & Hammond, 2019), the research design (e.g., number of interviews conducted in a day; Rager, 2005), the researcher’s experience in conducting specific research activities (Kumar & Cavallaro, 2018), and the study’s quality (Ballamingie & Johnson, 2011), the literature on self-care and coping strategies for doctoral researchers is limited, and there is little instruction on researcher self-care plans in the walking interview literature. In the current study (as with others), the IRB approval process emphasized physical safety but neglected the researcher’s emotional and mental well-being (also see Kumar & Cavallaro, 2018). This is a major oversight. For example, Rager (2005) experienced sickness, back pain, sleeplessness, and digestion issues; Kumar and Cavallaro (2018), reported becoming cynical, suffering back pain, and compartmentalizing their feelings; and Vincett (2018) reported feeling angry, losing sleep, and becoming sarcastic. Vincett concluded that researchers “employing ethnographic methods, investigating delicate topics, in sensitive environments, and involving vulnerable, marginalized or hidden populations […] may also be the vulnerable ‘other’” (p. 46).

I should have developed an explicit and written self-care plan prior to beginning the study, but this was not part of my research protocol. Explicit care plans are essential for research with vulnerable populations or sensitive topics (Rager, 2005). A major challenge in this type of

research is that most researchers are not trained in how to deal with (un)expected emotional distress (Davison, 2004), vulnerabilities (Howard & Hammond, 2019), vicarious trauma, or compassion fatigue (Vincett, 2018). Critical qualitative research methods, particularly interviewing, require reflexivity on the part of the researcher, who must understand what is happening and how it is shaping their view and lens. This process only works if the researcher is not emotionally distant. According to Davison (2004),

> On occasions, the emotions I felt because of the quality of empathy which was achieved, were uncomfortable and distressing to me. Yet without the benefit of this emotional resonance, I believe my research analysis would have been incomplete and fractured. Additionally, the absence of my emotional reflexivity would have limited the therapeutic and cathartic benefits which several participants suggested they had experienced during their life story narrations. (Davison, 2004, p. 382)

Acknowledging researcher emotions is in line with social work research. Davison (2004) further stated the following:

> My view is that the process of carrying out qualitative research demands an honest ownership of our feelings and understandings, in a way that often mirrors social work praxis. To reject the very responses that humanize the interventions of social work practice has very negative connotations for ethical social work research. My own experiences, as researcher and supervisor, suggest that few others will appreciate the depths of emotions and anxiety that can be produced for an individual researcher. Encouraging an open and honest interpretation of the possible repercussions of doing research helps to ameliorate feelings of self-doubt and guilt. Seeing beyond the stressful emotions that are generated at times of crisis can promote the kinds of reflective practice skills which are essential for all social workers. (p. 386)

Self-Care Plan Components. In the empirical literature available on self-care, journaling is widely recommended as a way of mitigating negative emotions. For example, Davison (2004) recommended keeping a personal research journal to deal with uncomfortable and unexpected matters and to process one's feelings. Howard and Hammon (2019) suggested that vulnerability can be successfully managed through reflexivity, and Vincett (2018) found that reporting on her

emotions in her field notes provided her with deeper insights. Her care plan strategy was to avoid suppressing emotions and to instead acknowledge them by writing without self-judgment or self-criticism. I did not find journaling to be a helpful coping strategy. In discussing why this was so, Milwaukee-based healer Mudwymn (personal communication) shared that a purposeful self-care plan is one that helps stabilize and discharge feelings. She indicated that writing and other cognitive reflective exercises recommended for qualitative researchers are insufficient for researchers of color, who often benefit from embodied healing over cognitive exercises. I did not find journaling helpful because it served the analytical functions of the research process. Journaling did not provide the repair or, in Mudwymn's words, the discharge of feelings that I needed.

Other doctoral researchers have used more embodied approaches. For instance, Kumar and Cavallaro (2018) included a variety of activities in their self-care plan, from debriefing and venting to physical exercise and rewards. One of the authors noted,

> I made it a ritual to attend a yoga class after each interview. These classes helped me shift from thinking about my research to my body and breath. Yoga helped me become present and get reconnected to the larger purpose of life and to the purpose of the study. (Kumar & Cavallaro, 2018, p. 652)

For me, walking through the neighborhood and observing its beauty was an embodied approach that I discovered by accident and that helped me make sense of my emotions and focus on positive feelings. There were many emotions to make sense of and tease out, some of which directly impacted the study (e.g., by guiding the questions I should ask in the next interview) and others that I simply needed to experience and then release in a constructive manner. Emotions are a form of data, and this data added to the layers of unexpected information I was attempting to manage. I found walking through the neighborhood and noticing beauty calmed me. The experience served as a reminder of Tuck et al.'s (2014) notion that one's relationship to land is

sacred and that while moving through space, one experiences Black spatial imaginations and Black spatial futures of neighborhood life, which facilitates regenerative and restorative *living* (Tuck et al., 2014), the counter-position to Mbembe's necropolitics.

Self-Care Plan Implementation. As mentioned, few frameworks exist guiding doctoral or novice qualitative researchers in developing a self-care plan for their studies. Vincett (2018) recommended a formalized plan for doctoral and novice researchers and ethnographers that includes a self-assessment to identify both risk factors and aspects of the research that may be traumatizing; strategies for establishing emotional proximity and distance (to connect with and better understand emotions and how, why, and when they emerge); strategies for maintaining physical health and well-being, such as sleep regulation and exercise; mental time-out strategies (to switch off or step away); social support mechanisms (reaching out to people who are active listeners and are available both on a regular basis and during emergencies); and the creation of an enabling environment (work breaks, relaxing and stimulating spaces and people). Based on their research experiences, Kumar and Cavallaro (2018) created a framework centered on researcher awareness of the need for self-care. They also noted the difficulty of fully implementing, refreshing, and maintaining a self-care plan throughout each stage of the research process. One of the authors admitted, "I regularly neglected and fouled up my own self-care" (p. 654) and observed that this resulted in feelings of guilt and internal conflict. One also noted that self-care might not begin during data collection:

> Much of my attempt at self-care and healing occurred after the fact because I was not fully prepared to handle my emotions at the time. I now know the importance of understanding the risks of emotionally demanding research and the absolute necessity of self-care. (Kumar & Cavallaro, 2018, p. 654)

Mudwymn (personal communication) also recommended changing and updating one's self-care plan as seasons change (i.e., a new self-care plan for the winter, summer, fall, and

spring), across the research phase (e.g., data collection and writing), and upon assessment that the original plan is no longer working (e.g., when emotions are not discharged or stabilized or when the plan is not implemented when it is needed). As I observed in this study, self-care cannot be a static event.

Future Research Recommendations

More studies employing walking interviews with other populations and settings should report their experiences, directly interrogating the notion of a universal body walking and talking through space. The current study is among the first to use this interview format with Black men returning home after incarceration to racialized, carceral neighborhoods. It is based on a spatialized theory with careful attention devoted to spatial mechanisms (e.g., necropolitics), which are discussed in the context of the walking interview format.

Walking interviews require advanced-level interview training, particularly in spontaneous question generation. Interview interruptions can offer opportunities to return to previous topics and extend conversations to contradict, emphasize, withdraw, or add to statements shared earlier (Tong et al., 2016). Since the process is not linear in time, space, or content, interview interruptions can also result in lost or low-quality data. When Carpiano (2009) stated that "the majority of guiding and clarifying questions were crafted ad hoc by me depending on the topic or feature of the social or physical environment for which a participant was discussing" (Carpiano, 2009, p. 265), this occurred in the context of a host of other interruptions and was also a product of the researcher's spatial positionality, a topic Carpiano did not discuss in terms of ad hoc question generation. I found the interruptions to be rich but difficult to manage, and discerning data quality was challenging.

Given the above, it may also be helpful for more lines of research to consider analysis similar to Irvine et al.'s (2013) conversational analysis on the differences between face-to-face and phone interviews. Their study covered topics such as "question construction, pauses and silence, turn transitions, speaker overlap, elaboration, digression, repetition and formulation,[50] duration, floor-holding, comprehension, empathy, emotion, delicacy, and the overall 'shape' of the interview" (Irvine et al., 2013, p. 94). A study design employing such analysis will help researchers prepare and train for a hyper-sensory interview process wherein generating questions is not the only cognitive task the researcher is performing.

Finally, future research on walking interviews should develop a framework to understand self-care plans as part of the research protocol. Rager (2005) adopted various strategies of self-care, including counseling, debriefing, and social supports, but nevertheless reported difficulty in balancing emotions and encouraged researchers to not leave the plan to chance. I struggled to maintain self-care throughout the entire study. If walking interviews continue to grow in popularity, another line of research should examine self-care and improve the field's understanding of stress arising in neighborhood research, with the neighborhood serving as an occupational setting. I believe that if I had developed a formal self-care plan, I would likely have struggled to implement and prioritize it. I recommend additional research to fully understand what "self" is the most vulnerable and in need of protection, self-love, and additional support. Future research should also assess how coping strategies directly impact the research process. I am still unsure of what a self-care plan for a neighborhood necropolitical project would look like, particularly in neighborhoods with a high police presence. However, I believe that a walking interview research protocol requires specific coping strategies as part of a formal self-care plan.

[50] Formulation is repeating the content of a message to show understanding.

Such a plan should be deeply embedded in the research design and anticipate bodily stress resulting from environmental triggers (e.g., in my study, seeing a car where the person inside had been shot only hours before) and vicarious trauma (e.g., several of the participants were homeless). I also did not have a specific coping strategy to absorb and then release the pain and sadness evoked by homeless children waiting in the car for the interview to end. A self-care plan would have been a helpful resource to periodically review, name, and understand such triggers. I believe a formal self-care plan would have supported emotional repair and discharge of the chronic stress resulting from being "on" while in the field.

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Appendix A: Walking Interview Participant Demographics

Table 1. Participant Demographics

Demographics		**Value**
Age	Mean SD	34.8 (8.18)
	Range	18-49
Education		
	Did not graduate HS	4 (21%)
	HS/GED Equivalent	10 (53%)
	Some College	3 (15%)
	College	2 (11%)
Employment		
	Disabled and not able to work	2 (11%)
	Looking for work	12 (63%)
	Part-time	2 (11%)
	Full-time	3 (15%)
Income (annual)	Mean SD	$9,694 ($9,660)
	Range	$0 to $30K
	No income	6 (32%)
	%0 to $5,000	2 (11%)
	>$5,000 to $15,000	4 (21%)
	$15,000 to $29,000	6 (32%)
	Equal to or Greater than $30,000	1 (5%)
Debt		
	Total	$530,649
	Mean SD	$33,695 ($57K)
	Range	0 to $182,709
No. of participants with debt…	From court fees	8 (42%)
	From child support	7 (37%)
	From spousal support	0
	From formal loan	4 (21%)
	From informal loan	0
	From credit card	0
	From school loans/fees	4 (21%)
Partner-Status		
	Single, never married	16 (84%)
	Married or Partnered	2 (11%)
	Separated	1(5%)
Parenting		
	Never had children	5 (26%)
	Have custody of children under 18 years	12 (63%)
	Do not have custody of children under 18 years	6 (32%)
	Have adult children	5 (26%)
Housing		
	Unstable (I don't know how long I can stay there)	3 (16%)

	Stable (I can stay there for the next foreseeable future)	9 (47%)
	Desirable (I want to stay where I am living now)	1 (5%)
	Undesirable (I want to leave the place where I am living now)	3 (16%)
	I am homeless	3 (16%)
	Homeless participants with children in custody	1 (5%)

Table 2. Use of Social Services and Government Welfare Programs

Demographics		**Value**
Use of Benefits		
	SSI/SSD	2 (11%)
	Food stamps	15 (79%)
	TANF	1 (5%)
	Medicaid/Medicare	8 (42%)
	Unemployment	1 (5%)
	Housing vouchers	0
	Other	0
Use of Other Services	Neighborhood services	10 (53%)
	Economic-related	11 (58%)
	Housing-related	4 (21%)
	Health-related	5 (26%)
	Family-related	3 (16%)
	Social welfare-related	2 (11%)
	ATODA-related	5 (26%)
Volunteer Engagement		5 (26%)

Table 3. Criminal Justice Characteristics

Characteristics		**Value**
Supervision Status	Low	4 (21%)
	Medium	2 (11%)
	High	2 (11%)
	NA	10 (53%)
Time Since Last Incarceration		10.3 months (avg)
Length of time incarcerated (most recent incarceration)		
Juvenile Arrest	Mean (SD)	3.26 (5.62)
Adult Arrest	Mean (SD)	7.42 (9.32)
Types of Crimes	Property	5 (26%)
	Violent	9 (47%)
	Drug	8 (42%)
	Other	11 (58%)
Note: Total time spent incarcerated was not asked in the survey.		

Table 4. Key insights into the Walking-interview Process by Participant

#	Pseudonym	Select Demographics	Key Insights into the Walking-Interview Process
1	Dead Pool	Off paper since 2014, long-time drug dealer; waiting to move to a house using housing voucher	• Protected me by avoiding 1-2 blocks that were "wild" • Already recidivated with a domestic violence incident with his children's mother • Had distinct activity spaces, never ventured one block over where it was "wild"
2	Tell	Artist, legal defense paid for by national nonprofit	• Was on house arrest, still completed the travel diary because he was allowed to go to court, visit his lawyer and get tested for drugs • The shots spotter located near his house led to police finding him but not the other assailants • Did not leave his block on foot so interview circled his block • Realized he was homeless during the interview • Protected self by ensuring neighbors knew he was discussing his gun case with me
3	Will	Rarely eats, planned to buy deodorant with the stipend; previously homeless	• Earliest participant, forced me to confront my fears in the study • Helped me see how I needed to revise the consent form to accommodate various literacy levels • Experienced street vigilance and violence reduction skills by avoiding street confrontations • He wanted to avoid his house, so we walked down a busy street near his house
4	Mark	Various cases including a new case that led to his eviction	• Very quiet during the consent meeting • Rescheduled interview multiple times and eventually completed a sedentary interview at the library
5	Dre	Long-time resident, parents had multiple properties that his siblings inherited	• Police arrested someone on his property during the consent meeting • Evaded substance abuse questions using material probes • First person who had concerns about using the recorder
6	Don Juan	Homeless with children	• Owner of the place he was staying said he broke the door down and they called me to find him; was proud of how long he knew the person and had not burned the relationship and now he it seems like he had • Boys blocking the street, avoided going passed them, and noted that "I stand out"
7	Twenty-Six	He didn't want to go back to prison because he had too much to lose. He was on paper for over a decade, received a 21-year sentence	• Covered microphone when discussing rationale for violent acts • Provided technical assistance on how to sell drugs for friend who drove by, originally was concerned that we were going to be shot at but then it was just a friend who was in the car • Transcriptionist had a difficult time with his slang • I checked his GPS and he asked why I was doing that • He showed me his home, he was proud of it • He wanted to make sure I was safe, walked me to my car
8	Uncle Ruckus	Back injury prevented him from working; he married young	• His friend voiced concerns over use of the recording device • His grandmother lives in the area and he lived with her to take care of her
9	Bates	In past four years he was homeless twice, once for about 12 weeks; in past year moved 3x. Arrested over 40x as an adult. Spent 1/3 of life in	• Ended up homeless in between interview; he did not have travel diary as a result • Afraid of getting arrested and provoked into hitting his girlfriend who left the state to end the relationship • Did not want me to meet friends or wear a recorder; requested no photos • Low literacy

		prison, never had a full-time job	
10	Starvin	Long history of substance use, but previously held upper middle-class job and was employee of the year	• Interview location changed because his roommates were using drugs at his home, and he couldn't be there because it was a trigger, brother was also using drugs, so we had to stay away from his house too
11	Shotta	Stays in various places to avoid leaving a trail; was in a fight the day before the interview and arrived with bruises	• He asked me to blend in more when I arrived at the consent meeting in work clothes, did not want me to carry a book bag • Recorder and GPS failed, had to write extensive field notes • We avoided his neighborhood due to "shots fired" and instead met near his children's house and former trap house • He differentiated street income from job income
12	Boogie	Used to sell drugs, now does community work	• We drove to three sites that he selected to represent his past, present, and future • He was fearful of his ex-girlfriend's new man, and whether it would lead to reincarceration and/or an altercation
13	Silver Bullet	Artist, walks long distances throughout the city	• Holiday interview, was kicked out of his house the day before; a knife was put in the door to deter him from coming back • Avoided questions about his criminal history
14	K.C.	Was out a year before being revoked for battery. Lost custody of son who was born with drugs in his system	• Interview location was near an open-air drug market that was in the newspaper • His girlfriend walked behind us • Transcriptionist had hard time with his speech • Says he has stable housing during survey but then revealed he was homeless in the interview
15	Jayson	Armed robbery conviction prevented him from getting a job in retail	• He left right away when I was a few minutes late • First time I went on an errand with a participant; went grocery shopping where he discussed robbery in front of the cashier • My emerging abolitionist identity was the most pronounced during this interview • Never talks to his neighbors, lives with girlfriend but needs another place to live because they broke up (she is pregnant) • Would move out of the state but his children are here (originally from Chicago)
16	Eckes	Artist	• Asked me to stay outside the store while he bought marijuana wrappers • He was okay to introduce me as a student researcher (when they thought I was his girlfriend) but when he ran into someone he shared a cell with he referenced it as 'I'll call you after I get done with this shit."
17	Raw	Was released from jail six days prior; has worked in various factories and connections to the neighborhood	• Refers to Wisconsin as a dead-end state and tried living in another state but lacked a social support network and returned • Used material probes to be avoid questions
18	Fred	Former substance user, now into eastern healing methods	• Avoided answers to protect himself by laughing • Explained reasons for having a gun for protection and reasons he was ready to defend himself against the police
19	Dee W.	First and only felony cases were connected to child support payments	• Already recidivated due to domestic violence rule that primary aggressor must be booked • Avoids people who might cause him to be incarcerated or hurt • Built environment led to interruptions in his story about being shot on two separate occasions

Appendix B: WIDOC Releasee Demographics

Table 1. Demographics

Demographic	Value
Race/Ethnicity	
Black	1,265, 75.2%
White	247, 14.7%
Latino	155, 9.2%
Other	16, 1%
Education at Admission	
Less than 5th grade	9, 0.5%
Less than high school	612, 36.4%
High School Graduate	755, 44.9%
College or technical degree partial and completed	232, 13.8%
Unknown	82 (4.9%)
Marital Status at Admission	
Single, Never Married	1,448, 86%
Married	136, 8.1%
Unknown	99, 5.9%
Age	33.38 (SD = 10.39)

Table 2. Criminal History

	Mean	SD
Number of statute violations for most recent conviction	2.17	1.90
Number of prior WIDOC incarcerations	2.43	1.87
Number of prior felony cases	2.14	1.48
Number of prior felony conviction counts	4.20	5.09
Number of prior conviction counts (all)	5.25	6.25

Table 3. Most Serious Offense Using ASCA and UCR Categories

ASCA Categories **Most Serious Offense**	Number	Percent
1 - Part 1 Violent Crime	507	30.1%
2 - Other Violent Crime	218	13.0%
3 - Property	396	23.5%
4 - Drug Offense	324	19.3%
5 - Other Public Order Offense	238	14.1%
UCR Categories **Most Serious Offense**		
01a - Murder & Nonnegligent Manslaughter	30	1.8%
01b - Negligent Manslaughter	26	1.5%

02 - Forcible Rape	4	.2%
03 - Robbery	382	22.7%
04 - Aggravated Assault	91	5.4%
05 - Burglary	210	12.5%
06 - Larceny/Theft	108	6.4%
07 - Motor Vehicle Theft	37	2.2%
08 - Arson	5	.3%
09 - Other Assaults	128	7.6%
10 - Forgery & Counterfeiting	15	.9%
11 - Fraud	11	.7%
13 - Stolen Property	3	.2%
14 - Vandalism	7	.4%
15 - Weapons Offense	125	7.4%
16 - Prostitution & Commercialized Vice	1	.1%
17 - Sex Offense	2	.1%
18 - Drug Abuse Violation	324	19.3%
20 - Family Offense	9	.5%
21 - Driving Under the Influence	62	3.7%
24 - Disorderly Conduct	11	.7%
26 - All Other Offenses	92	5.5%

Table 4. Release Type

	Number	Percent
Discharged from Sentence - Adult Released via Direct Discharge	89	5.3%
Paroled - Adult Offender	26	1.5%
Released by Court - Court Order	3	.2%
Released on Extended Supervision - Adult Offender	1355	80.5%
Released on MR to Supervision - Adult Offender	210	12.5%

Table 5. Recommended Supervision Level

	Number	Percent
High	546	32.4%
Low	355	21.1%
Medium	745	44.3%
Unknown	37	2.2%

Table 6. Recidivism Rates

	Frequency	Percent
Did Not Recidivate	994	59.1%
Recidivism between 0 and 1 year	225	13.4%
Recidivism between 1 and 2 years	175	10.4%
Recidivism between 2 and 3 years	135	8.0%
Recidivism between 3 and 4 years	98	5.8%
Recidivism between 4 and 5 years	51	3.0%
Recidivism between 5 and 6 years	5	.3%

Table 7. ASCA Reconviction Offense

	Number	Percent
1 - Part 1 Violent Crime	95	13.79%
2 - Other Violent Crime	96	13.93%
3 - Property	178	25.83%
4 - Drug Offense	108	15.67%
5 - Other Public Order Offense	212	30.77%

Table 8. UCR Reconviction Offense

	Number	Percent
01a - Murder & Nonnegligent Manslaughter	11	1.60%
01b - Negligent Manslaughter	7	1.02%
02 - Forcible Rape	13	1.89%
03 - Robbery	52	7.55%
04 - Aggravated Assault	19	2.76%
05 - Burglary	53	7.69%
06 - Larceny/Theft	83	12.05%
07 - Motor Vehicle Theft	9	1.31%
08 - Arson	2	0.29%
09 - Other Assaults	72	10.45%
10 - Forgery & Counterfeiting	7	1.02%
11 - Fraud	3	0.44%
13 - Stolen Property	1	0.15%
14 - Vandalism	20	2.90%
15 - Weapons Offense	80	11.61%
16 - Prostitution & Commercialized Vice	1	0.15%
17 - Sex Offense	3	0.44%
18 - Drug Abuse Violation	107	15.53%
20 - Family Offense	3	0.44%
21 - Driving Under the Influence	26	3.77%
24 - Disorderly Conduct	36	5.22%
26 - All Other Offenses	81	11.76%

Appendix C: Bivariate Correlations

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
1. Recidivism	1													
2. Race	.050*	1												
3. Release Age	-.163**	-.123**	1											
4. Number of Prior Convictions (all)	.061*	-.022	.384**	1										
5. Number of Prior Incarcerations	.064*	.056*	.459**	.709**	1									
6. Number of Releasees in Same Tract	.013	-.053*	-.161**	.665**	.127**	1								
7. Gentrified (NCRC)	.030	.079*	-.021	.003	.018	-.026	1							
8. Eligible (NCRC)	-.005	.257**	-.064*	-.027	.029	-.043	-.328**	1						
9. Not Eligible, Not Gentrified (NCRC)	-.009	-.307**	.077*	.026	-.040	.058*	-.138**	-.889**	1					
10. Abandonment (IMO)	.052*	.147**	-.019	.017	.025	.011	.024	.092**	-.109**	1				
11. Low-Income Concentration (IMO)	-.014	-.031	.005	.023	.020	.021	-.194**	.242**	-.160**	-.289**	1			
12. Stable (IMO)	-.035	-.091**	.021	-.028	-.031	-.019	-.084**	-.268**	.240**	-.296	-.758	1		
13. Overall Growth (IMO)	.063*	.041	-.016	-.014	-.012	-.010	-.026	-.032	.046	-.038	-.098**	.101**	1	
14. Displacement (IMO)	.011	.078*	-.037	-.008	-.007	-.017	.337**	-.075*	-.084**	-.051*	-.130**	-.134**	-.017	1
Mean	.409	.751	33.37	5.25	2.43	2.17	.048	.677	.273	.101	.424	.437	.013	.022
SD	.491	.432	10.38	6.25	1.86	1.90	.215	.467	.445	.302	.494	.496	.113	.148
*= Sig. at $p < .05$, **= Sig. at $p < .000$.														