

“They Were Looking at Us Like We Were Bad People”: Growing Up Policed in the Gentrifying, Still Disinvested City

Caitlin Cahill

Pratt Institute
ccahill@pratt.edu

Brett G. Stoudt

The Graduate Center of the City University of New York
bstoudt@gc.cuny.edu

María Elena Torre

The Graduate Center of the City University of New York
mtorre@gc.cuny.edu

Darian X

Make the Road New York
Darian.Agostini@maketheroadny.org

Amanda Matles

The Graduate Center, City University of New York
amatles@gradcenter.cuny.edu

Kimberly Belmonte

The Graduate Center, City University of New York
kbelmonte@gradcenter.cuny.edu

Selma Djokovic

The Graduate Center of the City University of New York
selma.djokovic@gmail.com

Jose Lopez

Make the Road New York
jose.lopez@maketheroadny.org

Adilka Pimentel

Make the Road New York
Adilka.Pimentel@maketheroadny.org

Abstract

In this essay we explore how the politics of global urban restructuring and broken windows policing collude to criminalize and dehumanize communities of color. Drawing upon the intergenerational participatory action research project, *Growing Up Policed*, our research centers young people of color's intimate knowledge about the differentiated realms that violence is endured, felt and resisted in their everyday lives. Tracking the "heavy surveillance" of young people growing up in gentrifying, still disinvested New York City, we explore how the spectacle of criminalization obfuscates state violence as it justifies the displacement of communities of color. Our analysis traces how young people of color understand and challenge the "carceral continuum" (Sharpe 2014), raising critical questions about witnessing, recognition, visibility, and erasure that may be relevant for the current political moment. To conclude, we call for investing in the community as part of imagining an emancipatory urban future.

Keywords

Criminalization; young people; broken-windows policing; gentrification; slow violence; racial capitalism

Introduction

In one situation, me and Tyler were just sitting outside this laundromat...and I see this black jeep. I didn't even know they were like cops at first. I saw the white dude's arm sticking out of the car and I was, like, "more white people in my neighborhood and, like, gentrification is real." That's what I was looking at -- the white arm --and thinking, in my mind. And then it's just, like, I looked for too long! And so they came out of the car, and they approached us, made us stand up against the wall, frisked me. I told the cop I didn't consent to a search and he still went through my pockets, then he like looked at me and was, like, "I could do whatever I want." ... So that's a situation where I'm feeling monitored and I'm feeling unsafe because of police presence. And I wasn't even doing

anything! I was just looking at the car, like, “Wow, my neighborhood is changing.” And the police, they were monitoring me. They were looking at us like we were bad people, like we were bad elements in our community. And they made us feel uncomfortable. That was, like, how police push people out of the neighborhood. ...

Darian, 22, Crown Heights, Brooklyn

Raising critical questions regarding the surveillance of communities of color and “the right to have rights” (Arendt 1973), Darian articulates concerns that are at the heart of social movements demanding an end to the carceral state (Vitale 2017; Black Youth Project 100; Camp & Heatherton 2016, Gilmore 2019). We write today reflecting on a time not that long ago, when community members came together in New York City to organize against “the iron fist” of Stop & Frisk policing (Platt et al. 1982). As policing strategies have shapeshifted over the last few years morphing into formations that include the “velvet glove” of community policing (Ibid), and actuarial methods of predictive policing and dataveillance, along with targeted “gang takedowns” (Ferguson 2017; Harcourt 2008; Howell & Bustamante 2019; Howell 2015; Vitale 2017). We look back to when the use of police power as a means of social and spatial control was even more explicit, offering critical insights into the relationship between gentrification, criminalization and policing that are particularly relevant now, as what Stein (2019) calls the “real estate state,” upzones communities of color across New York City threatening their displacement (Angotti, Morse, & Stein 2016).

Motivated by the experiences of young working class people of color including Darian and Tyler, who were routinely stopped by the police as they went about their everyday lives, we developed the intergenerational participatory action research project, *Growing Up Policed* in 2012, the year following the peak of “Stop & Frisk” policing. That year there was over 685,000 police stops and 83% of the people stopped were Black and/or Latino, and more than half under the age of 25. *Growing Up Policed* was connected with the local movement for police reform in New York City, developed at the dawn of the Black Lives Matter movement and just before the uprisings in Ferguson and elsewhere, when people across the country organized to challenge antiblack state violence. We were inspired by a similar impulse, to do something, to mobilize research as a method of abolition geography, and a project of justice for Black and Brown communities (Camp & Heatherton 2016; Dozier 2019; Gilmore 2017; Loyd 2012; McKittrick 2011; McKittrick & Woods 2007; Pulido 2005; Sharpe 2014; Woods 2000).

When Darian and Tyler were stopped and frisked, the police effectively re-made their neighborhood as a criminalized space. Rashad Shabazz (2015) identifies this as the “prisonized landscape” that takes shape via the daily “mechanisms of normalization” (Foucault 1975) and disciplinary systems of control that operate through policing, property regimes, and urban policies. Extending this analysis in our research we consider how the *prisonized landscape* is also a *privatized landscape*, in gentrifying New York City. Understanding gentrification as a form of racial capitalism (Robinson 2000), an ongoing cycle of displacing and replacing poor people for profit facilitated by the state (School of Echoes 2017). We consider the role of criminalization in this dynamic to produce and legitimize state violence and racial inequality (Gilmore 2002; Melamed 2015). After being searched against his will, Darian concludes “They were looking at us like we were bad people, like we were bad elements in our community. ... That was, like, how police push people out of the neighborhood.” Clearly articulating the relationship between policing and displacement, Darian foregrounds the significant role of representations in this dynamic. Focusing on “the culture wars in urban America,” our analysis engages with what Robin Kelley identifies as “the significance of the cultural terrain as a site of struggle” (Kelley 1997, 8). This is not just a matter of theoretical interest, Kelley argues, as the “battle over representations continues to rage each day in the streets of urban America.”

Centering young peoples' knowledge and stories about their personal experiences with the police in their everyday lives, our research engages an analytics of desire (Fine 1988; Tuck 2009), countering the hypervisible violent imagery and racialized stereotypes that circulate in the public sphere. Raising questions about witnessing, recognition, visibility, and erasure, our analysis brings us into conversation with how we understand violence, what counts as violence, and how it is represented. Drawing upon, and complicating, Nixon's conceptualization of slow violence (2011, 2), which he describes as "a violence that occurs gradually and out of sight, a violence of delayed destruction that is dispersed across time and space, an attritional violence that is typically not viewed as violence at all," we consider the relationship between the real estate state and the carceral state. In this essay we explore how the politics of global urban restructuring and broken windows policing collude to criminalize and dehumanize communities of color, erasing not only the state violence of routinized surveillance, but also the ongoing slow state violence of segregation, disinvestment and abandonment. At the heart of our work is a commitment to documenting and challenging the cumulative violence of criminalization that not only invisibilizes the concerns and experiences of young working-class people of color, like Darian and Tyler, their families, and communities, but also subjects them to surveillance and violence. Attending to the differentiated realms that violence is endured, known, felt, and resisted, we trace how young people negotiate and make sense of the "carceral continuum" (Sharpe 2014) in their everyday lives. This is a project of both recognition and redistribution (Fraser 1995), as criminalization is not only discursive, but has material consequences for young people and their families – including displacement, segregation, and forms of punishment, and all that is lost, stolen, and destroyed in the expansive geographies of the prison industrial complex (income, school, housing, children, etc.) (Gilmore 2007, 2017; Loyd 2012; McKittrick 2011; Shabazz 2015).

Nixon argues that "contests over what counts as violence is intimately entangled with conflicts over who bears the social authority of witnessing, which entails much more than simply seeing or not seeing." The issues Nixon articulates animate our work as organizers and scholars to make visible what Giroux (2014) calls the "organized violence of forgetting" of racial capitalism. Darian's testimonial offers insights. Challenging what Butler (1993) identifies as the presumed "racially saturated field of visibility," that fixes him and Tyler as dangerous and deserving of surveillance, Darian's recounting raises questions about what it means for violence to be "out of sight" and "unseen." Stopped in broad daylight, in public, we wondered, who else witnessed this encounter? What else was happening on the street? We considered the location of Bedford Stuyvesant, Brooklyn, an African-American neighborhood that is rapidly gentrifying. Who else was stopped by the police that week in the neighborhood? Was Darian and Tyler's encounter noted by passerbys? Did anyone check in with them to see if they were okay? Did anyone video their police encounter just in case? Or did it occur unnoticed, part of the background of neighborhood activity, "hidden in plain sight" (Dawson 2016)? Who is seeing and who is unseen? Sharing their experience, Darian invites us to witness their encounter, making visible how racialization structures not only surveillance but sight (Billies 2015b; Browne 2015). Shedding light on the larger structural context of Stop & Frisk policing where hundreds of thousands of Black and Brown people were stopped each year.

Growing Up Policed is part of a larger movement focused on decriminalizing Black and Brown life. Following Gilmore (2017) who reminds us, "abolition, is about presence, not absence," we are reminded of how people create community and take care of each other in the context of the slow violences of state abandonment and neoliberal austerity, in neighborhoods including Bed-Stuy, where Darian and Tyler grew up. We consider too the presence of activists and community members who took over the streets in protest here in New York and across the country in the wake of ongoing state violence calling attention to how Black Lives Matter. Or those, who over many years, continue to tirelessly organize against the carceral state behind the scenes, including those who are mobilizing against the building of new jails in NYC now. Our participatory research contributes to this effort, documenting the presence

of young people who are arguably most affected by overpolicing, and yet whose voices are too often absent from scholarship and policy-making. We work to call attention to ongoing state violence, that though ‘unseen’ by some, is experienced and witnessed by many.

In this article, we theorize the relationships between formations of state violence and the criminalization of young people growing up policed. First, we track the “heavy surveillance” of young people growing up in the disinvested, now gentrifying city, analyzing how broken windows policing functions as a management strategy disciplining and “blaming the victim” dispossessed by neoliberal austerity policies. Second, we focus on the spectacle of the police encounter from the perspective of young people, revealing how criminalized stereotypes cut both ways, justifying both the disinvestment and gentrification of communities of color. Finally, in conclusion, we consider the question of criminalization and alternative futures. To begin we discuss the *Growing Up Policed* participatory action research project.

Project Background

Appadurai (2006, p. 168) insists that within the political economic context of globalization, for many a state of ongoing crisis, research is the right to “systematically increase the stock of knowledge which they consider most vital to their survival as human beings and to their claims as citizens.” *Growing Up Policed* was informed by this sense of urgency, contributing to a citywide movement to end discriminatory policing (see changenypd.org). A collaboration of scholars, organizers, young people and community members, *Growing Up Policed* is an intergenerational participatory action research (PAR) project and partnership between Youth Power Project of [Make the Road New York](#) and the Public Science Project at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. Organizers from the Youth Power Project have been addressing discriminatory policing for over a decade now, doing extensive outreach, education and organizing with young people about their rights in schools and communities. The [Public Science Project](#) is a center for critical participatory action research that works collaboratively with communities, using social science to address and act upon injustice.

Critical PAR is an epistemological approach to collaborative knowledge production drawing upon feminist and critical race theories, community development, and legacies of grassroots organizing (Askins 2018; Fine 2017; Freire 1997; Hale 2008; Kindon, Pain, & Kesby 2007; kinpaisby-hill 2011; Nagar 2014; Smith 2013; Torre 2009; Torre, Fine, Stoudt, & Fox 2012; Zeller-Berkman 2014). Our emphasis upon “critical” PAR signals our commitment to addressing structural inequalities. Originally titled *Researchers for Fair Policing*, reflecting the contradictions of neoliberal racial capitalism, our project was motivated by a desire for justice and what, with hindsight, we might characterize as a sense of “cruel optimism” (Berlant 2011). “Fair policing” was not, at first, understood to be a contradiction by our youth researchers who came up with the name, even as they analyzed the damning data of stop & frisk, which clearly revealed the patent unfairness and injustice of policing. As we moved forward, however, our research findings, grief, outrage, and collective engagement in public protest movements shifted our critical consciousness working towards abolition informed by a radical critique of police power.

On the frontlines of social movements across the country, young people of color are challenging state violence, and yet their perspectives and concerns are conspicuously missing from much of the scholarship focused on policing (Billies 2015a; Bustamante, Jashnani, & Stoudt 2019; Camp & Heatherton 2016; Dozier 2019; Fine et al. 2003; Herbert & Beckett 2009; Loyd & Bonds 2018; Ritchie 2017; Smith 2001; Stoudt, Fine, & Fox 2011; Stoudt et al. 2019; Vitale 2017; Welfare Warriors Research Collaborative 2010). Working *with* (rather than ‘for’ or ‘on’) young people who are disproportionately targeted by broken windows policing, our project began with the stories of young people’s encounters with the police, to inform and shape research questions (Cahill et al. 2017; Stoudt et al. 2016,

forthcoming). Youth organizers were involved in every step of the research process from identifying the research questions, collecting and analyzing the data, to developing the presentations of research (see GrowingUpPliced.org). As young people at *Make the Road NY* are first and foremost organizers, throughout the process we considered how our research is accountable to, and in dialogue with, activist movements, and in turn how activism informs our analysis.

Committed to shifting what we define as the “problem” off the backs of individuals and onto structures, systems and policies (Torre et al. 2012), we document how “the global and the intimate intertwine” (Pratt & Rosner 2012) in young people’s encounters with the police. At the beginning, we focused on quantitative data, reanalyzing publicly available NYPD (New York Police Department) data (see the “Geography of Stop & Frisk,” Figure 2 below). Next, we developed a participatory survey, collecting over 1000 surveys from young people of color across the city. At the same time, youth researchers/organizers conducted “Know Your Rights” trainings with all of the young people who took the survey. To capture the stories of young people’s experiences with the police we developed a living archive of video testimonials informed by the feminist Chicana testimonios tradition that engages in story sharing as an approach to building solidarity with an emphasis upon embodied knowledge (Delgado Bernal, Burciaga, & Flores Carmona 2012; Moraga & Anzaldúa 1983). In addition, we conducted focus groups with youth organizers as part of our collective analysis process. In this paper we draw upon various forms of data from our participatory research, including our ethnographic field notes.

“Heavy surveillance”: Broken windows policing and the slow violences of urban austerity

Stopped Right Outside of My Building



Figure 1: Devonne, 25, Stopped Right Outside of My Building. www.GrowingUpPliced.org

I got stopped one time, I’m literally standing in front of my building with my hands on my head listening to my music, waiting for my sister to come downstairs and open the door.

How does that look any type of guilty? But they stopped me... And then the door opened, and I was lucky that it was my mother because they- had it been my little sister, I feel like they would have beaten me up right there in front of my sister and said I was disturbing the peace.

It just makes me feel embarrassed... And then it's weird that I'm used to it. .. Like when I first started to get stopped, first thing I do, open my sweater, give them my ID, "I got everything, here." Why am I doing that? Why am I doing that? I don't have to show you anything. But, I do it to, you know, just keep the peace and try to you know, I guess hey if I make your job a little bit easier, you'll make my day a little bit easier...

- Devonne, 25, Bedford Stuyvesant, Brooklyn ([click here watch to Devonne's video testimonial](#))

Our research documents the constant presence of police in the most intimate spaces of young people's everyday lives, their neighborhood streets, schools, and homes. Young people express the feeling of being watched all the time, of being under surveillance by the cops who ask them for IDs in their building lobby, ask them to move when standing on a street corner, who stop them on their way to the corner store and pat them down, and who watch over as students pass through metal detectors at schools. A total of 89% of the young Black and Latino people we surveyed had some *personal* contact with police. Over half of the young people surveyed were stopped by the police (53%) and asked to move or show their ID by police (62%). Of those who were stopped, 76% were stopped more than once and 57% were stopped inside or in front of their building, like Devonne. While Devonne's experience of being stopped in front of his home is extremely personal, it is also public and part of the community's experience of surveillance.

Teenagers hanging out on the street were identified as a "sign of disorder" to be ordered in the 1994 missive "Police Strategy No.5: Reclaiming the Public Spaces of New York City," coauthored by Mayor Giuliani and Police Commissioner Bratton, kicking off the notorious "quality-of-life" campaign that made broken windows policing famous around the world (Giuliani & Bratton 1994). While the race and gender of the teenagers was not made explicit in their writing, "urban youth" was coded as Black, Brown and male in the "inner city." Criminalized representations of young people of color as "visible signs of a city out of control" (Ibid) were, and continue to be, central to producing and securitizing the "crisis at home" (Katz 2015) in the disinvested and now gentrifying neighborhoods of New York City (Cahill et al. 2017).

Promoted as a "return to urban civility," broken windows policing focuses on order-maintenance, aggressively cracking down on minor offenses such as jumping the turnstile, selling looses, open containers, and biking on sidewalk. It is defined by a reliance upon the frequent use of surveillance practices such as "stop, question, and frisk" and asking for IDs. Credited with its role in producing a precipitous drop in crime in NYC in the 1990s, critical criminologists have debunked this, arguing that the "broken windows" theory of policing is not evidence-based, but instead produces a way of "seeing disorder" that further reproduces urban racial inequalities (Smith 2001; Sampson and Raudenbush 2004; Harcourt, 2009). Significantly, the theory of broken windows policing (Wilson & Kelling 1982) was conceptualized in the context of the 1980s "urban crisis" produced by decades of state policies of segregation, containment, "serial forced displacement" (Fullilove & Wallace 2011) and abandonment. 'Urbicide' (city- killing) was never only about the destruction of urban infrastructure, McKittrick (2011) argues, but always about the dispossession of people of color, and deliberate attempts to "destroy a black sense of place." Across New York City, Black and Brown neighborhoods were almost burned to the ground in the 1970s and 80s (Berman & Berger 2007; Wallace & Wallace 1998). In this death-dealing survival context of "organized abandonment" (Gilmore & Gilmore 2017), Gilmore (2002) argues that "the struggle against group-differentiated vulnerability to premature death is being waged on every

front—and the police, as the arm of the state, manages this surplus.” Legitimized as a management strategy for the collateral damages of racial capitalism, broken windows policing shifts attention away from the slow violences of state disinvestment – the literal broken windows and boarded up buildings – training the gaze onto the “moral failings” of people on the street (Camp & Heatherton 2016; Vitale 2017). Dovetailing with racialized tropes of the “culture of poverty,” the underclass, and the welfare queen in the 1980s and 90s (Auletta 1982; Coates 2015; Kelley 1997; Moynihan 1965), that displace concerns about structural inequities onto poor people of color, broken windows policing disciplines and “blames the victim” (Harcourt 2009; Vitale & Jefferson 2016). Contemporary revanchist discourses now not only blame but punish, in criminalizing stereotypes of the thug and gangbanger as ‘at risk’ and out of control (Cacho 2012; Cahill 2006; Smith 1996). This too an ongoing slow violence, an accumulation of representations that dispossesses (Harvey 2003).

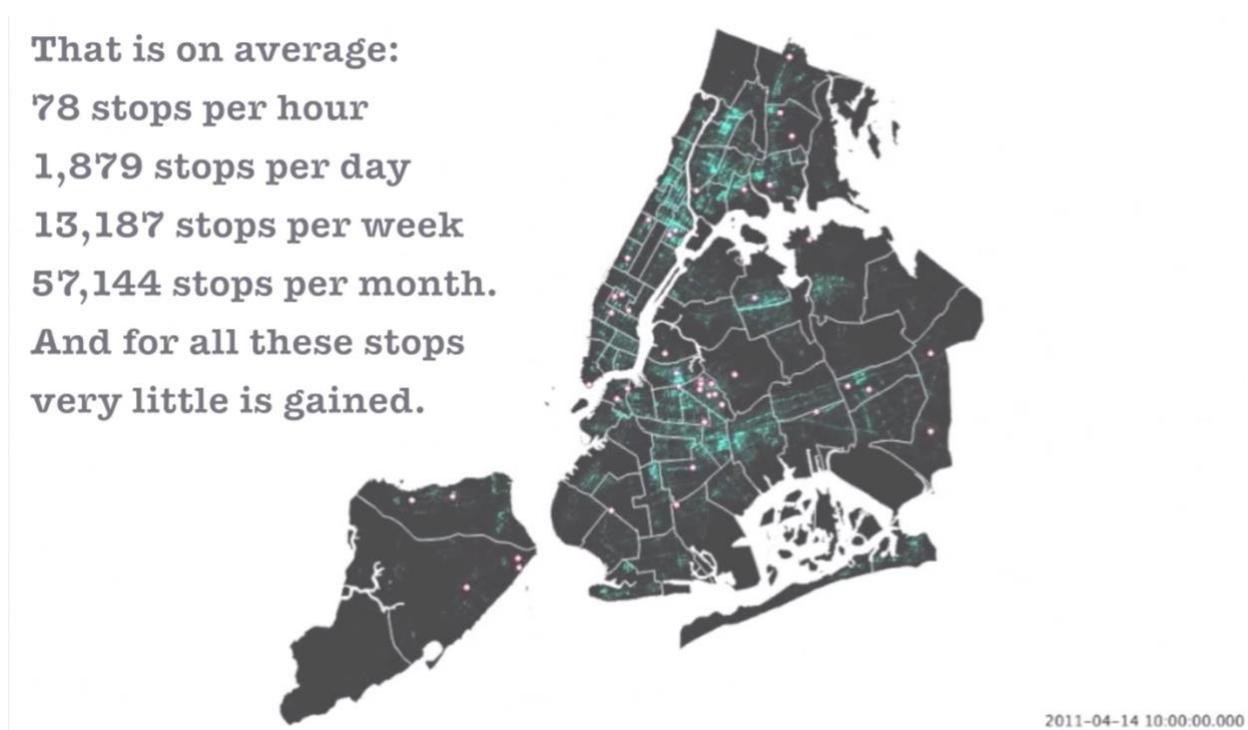


Figure 2 :Geography of Stop & Frisk, ©Public Science Project 2013 www.GrowingUpPoliced.org [Click here and scroll down to play the Geography of Stop & Frisk video short.](#)

While relationships between communities of color and the police have a long and oppressive history (Muhammad 2010; Shabazz 2015; Wilder 2000), broken windows policing represents a dramatic escalation in its role producing the mass incarceration at the heart of the “new Jim Crow” (Alexander 2012). Brett Stoudt’s mapping of the NYPD data of police stops (Figure 2, see the “Geography of Stop & Frisk”), as part of our research revealed the scope and unevenness of policing across the city, clearly showing the disproportionate targeting of black and brown neighborhoods, once abandoned by the state, and now gentrifying. The neighborhoods surveilled by the police, covered in a thick blue fog on our map, “the scars of our city,” document the loss of civil liberties and criminalization of communities of color. As Manny, a young person in our research describes this, “heavy surveillance” is a feeling that the police “accumulate on you.” The number of recorded stop & frisks increased over 600% during the tenure of Mayor Bloomberg (2002-2013), topping off at nearly 700,000 stops in 2011, at the same time that over a third of the city was rezoned. Upzoning communities of color, the state produces the political

economic imperative for gentrification (Angotti et al. 2016; NYU Furman Center 2015; Stein 2019). The slow violence of disinvestment turns a profit, opening up communities to the violences of displacement and evictions (Cowen & Lewis 2016; Smith 1987). Many of the neighborhoods that are heavily policed on our map, are also classified as “gentrifying” as the “rent gap” increases (Smith 1987), as calculated by the average percentage change of rent above the median over the last twenty years, ranging from 20% to 75% (NYU Furman Center 2015). For the young people who participated in our research, all born after 1995, they grew up in the material conditions of disinvestment of neoliberal austerity. As their neighborhoods have transformed, they have remained in place, “grounded” in disinvestment, as Katz suggests (2004, 163), giving “new meaning to the term, long associated with punishment.”

Qualitatively, our research documents that encounters with the police are not experienced in a vacuum by young people but as part of a convergence of deepening inequalities. At the same time that young Black and Brown people are subjected to intensified police scrutiny in their neighborhood streets, rents are going up, families are being displaced, and there are few living-wage jobs. New York City’s public schools are not only the most segregated in the country, but are also among the most securitized, characterized by harsh disciplinary practices of the school-to-prison-pipeline (Advancement Project 2003; Mukherjee 2007; Skiba 2000; Urban Youth Collaborative & The Center for Popular Democracy 2017). If at one time gentrification was understood as a slow process, proceeding in fits and starts, the temporality of global restructuring has sped up in the current political economic context in NYC. For the young people who participated in our research, gentrification was experienced as a sense of not belonging and losing rights to one’s community. As Janderie, 18, shares: “I’m scared for the Bushwick community to crumble up because I feel my community is a family. Like, we know everybody here and everybody’s so close! And my hope is to keep it like that. ... So that’s what scares me the most ... where my family was born, there’s so much history in this area and I don’t want it to be forgotten. ... I just hate when people move in and they just try to take over.” Janderie’s love for her community is overshadowed by a profound sense of precarity. As part of our research, we document neighborhood change, the tell-tale markers of gentrification in a highly differentiated, striated geography. Unlike the apartheid maps of redlining, gentrification is a diffuse pixelated process of class and race stratification, whose boundaries of social and spatial exclusion are clearly visible to longtime residents, even if newcomers might be oblivious of the geography of inequality. The borderline of the “new urban frontier” (Smith 1996), zigzags through neighborhoods, demarcating structural disadvantage and privilege, public and private.

In concert with the neighborhood changes, a stepped-up police force patrols the boundaries of gentrification and subjectivities creating a minefield of surveillance. Tracing the flickering blue dots on the Geography of Stop & Frisk map, we consider the hundreds of thousands of stops. Like militarized zones in Palestine, Iraq, and other places around the world, the police presence effectively creates moving checkpoints, disrupting everyday life in community (Rizvi 2014). While many encounters may be characterized as routine and without the “use of force,” all interactions with the police, Murakawa (2016, 232-3) argues, “occur, by definition under the threat of violence. If you are being questioned by someone who has a gun strapped to his or her hip and is authorized to use it, ... there is the threat of brutality.” As one youth organizer explains, “once a police officer approaches me I feel threatened. Like, why are you approaching me? A police officer is not going to approach someone who they don’t think is or has committed a crime.” This is what Murakawa (Ibid) calls “the daily racial tax.” As Keeshan Harley, 18, a youth researcher/organizer, who has been stopped dozens of times in his young life noted, “at any moment during those interactions, my life could have also been stripped away.”

Engaging strategies to circumnavigate the police in their everyday lives to stay safe and to avoid police contact, our research documents how young working class people of color learn to be “copwise” (Stuart 2016), which involves changing their routes, their appearance, or modifying their behavior to

pass unnoticed (Billies 2015b; Cahill 2000; Fine et al. 2003; Stoudt et al. forthcoming; Weitzer & Brunson 2009). Julian, 17, explains:

Sometimes they park on my block and I have to go right past them to head to my house. So I would, like, wait at the store to see what they're doing. Like, one time I was walking with my cousin and we had just bought a drink from the store and, like, I was, like, trying to hurry up, and, I was, like, "hurry up let's go!" And even when I got inside, like, the gated area I was still scared and was, like, "hurry up let's get inside."

Another tactic is to make oneself imperceptible.

Maria: Yeah we get quiet. Everyone gets silent.

Jeri: Everyone gets quiet.

Maria: You just want to get silent and wait for them to pass and then go back. It's just, like, it's not really, like, you planned to do it. It's more like a reflex, like, "oh the police are around calm down. Chill out."

While young men of color are disproportionately targeted by the police, our research documents how broken windows policing is experienced collectively as a community under siege. Copwise strategies are often collective. Jasmine, a little sister armed with her phone and concern, describes:

On my block there are these groups of boys ... when I see them, when I see the police, I have my phone ready to record. I'm just waiting for something to happen. And it's like not even just them as, like, that's like my older brother too. ... It's been known that he can't leave the corner without being stopped by police. So that's one of the things. He's not safe neither. ... I'm scared that his life will be taken away.

At the ready to protect the young men on her block, Jasmine is "engaging in care as shared risk" (Sharpe 2018, 180), knowing that at any moment everything could go wrong. Documenting the ways that young people and their families care for each other and reclaim spaces, our research centers relationships, from the mothers who watch out windows and hang out together in building lobbies to monitor police interactions (Stoudt et al. 2019; Torre, Stoudt, Manoff, & Fine 2017), to teachers who wait outside of schools to make sure their students are not detained by the police, to community members who advocate for each other, questioning police authority (Billies 2015a; Gilmore 2007; Welfare Warriors Research Collaborative 2010). While broken windows policing purports to create order and a better quality of life, not surprisingly, our research demonstrates the opposite—that it produces "disorder" in the lives of young people and their families, wearing out the fabric of community relationships, curtailing both the freedom of movement and "the right to stay put" in one's home community (Newman & Wyly 2006), by creating an overall hostile environment. This is not the panopticon (Foucault 1975). Carceral geographies are not cheap and the sheer quantity of recorded stops (almost 700,000 in one year at its peak in 2011) is evidence of the excessive amount of capital and labor mobilized to produce the "spectacle" of broken windows policing as normative and part of the fabric of everyday life, hiding violence in plain sight.

The spectacle of criminalization

When me and my friends and I were walking around Knickerbocker, these two cop cars like stopped in front of us and grabbed us and like they started frisking us, and they slammed my friend on the floor. They told us they stopped us because "we fit the description." Dark skinned, Latino, with, um, their pants sagging. They were like, "Oh," that we were sagging." They described our sneakers. They described our hair. ... Like, they would like say little slick stuff on the side, like, "You fuckin faggot," and "Oh, you spicks

always think that you can do what y'all want" ... That makes me feel like unsafe, insecure. It makes me feel like I shouldn't even come outside anymore if I'm just gonna get harassed by a policeman that's supposed to be protecting me.
 - Markeys, 17, Bushwick, Brooklyn [Link to watch Markeys' video testimony](#)

Makes Me Feel Like I Shouldn't Even Come Outside Anymore



Figure 3: “Makes me feel like I shouldn't even come outside anymore”
www.GrowingUpPoliced.org

Markeys's testimonial offers critical insights into the embodied experience of carceral space. Focusing on his encounter as a site of struggle and not a transparent or completed space of racial violence (McKittrick 2011, 955; Billies 2015), we unpack it to understand how the bodies and subjectivities of young working-class people of color are key sites in the political-economic and cultural struggles over global urban restructuring. The “garretted” geography of overpolicing that young people of color negotiate in their everyday lives (McKittrick 2006) is not, as McKittrick (2006, 62) reminds us, a space of the margin, but instead a “paradoxical space” that is central to how we know, understand, and negotiate racial capitalism.

First, shedding light onto how the police create a hostile state of “everyday terrorism” (Pain, 2014), Markeys offers an intersectional analysis that is not often articulated in the public debate about state violence (Billies 2015a, 2016; Gieseeking forthcoming; Hanhardt 2013; Mogul, Ritchie, & Whitlock 2011; Ritchie 2006; Welfare Warriors Research Collaborative 2010). Making visible the experiences of LGBTQ young people that go “unseen,” not counted or taken into account, by the police who do not collect data on sexuality or gender presentation. Our research documents how queer and trans young people, and particularly those who are homeless, are targeted and criminalized by the police (Hanhardt 2013; Stoudt, Fine, & Fox 2011). Expanding our understandings of violence, beyond slow, we join feminist and antiracist scholars who call for analyses that are always intersectional, global and intimate (Crenshaw 1995; Dowler & Christian, this issue; Fine & Ruglis 2009; Fine, Tuck, & Zeller-Berkman 2008; Jones, this issue; McKittrick 2006; Mountz & Hyndman 2006; Pain & Staeheli 2014; Pratt & Rosner 2012), reflecting how structural oppressions intertwine in young people of colors' experiences.

Our work resonates with what Bustamante et al (2019) conceptualize as “cumulative dehumanization,” an ongoing “active condition of becoming,” and a web of processes that are vertical and horizontal, embodied, cognitive, political and economic, structurally imposed on and resisted by racialized communities.

Markeys says he was stopped because he “fit the description.” Lisa Marie Cacho (2012, 6) argues that young people of color are not misrecognized or stereotyped, but *ontologized* as criminal. Even if they aren’t doing anything illegal, as in “you fit the description,” and “even if the evidence is not actually evidence.” As Jose, 20, a youth organizer explains, “It makes you feel like a criminal. Because that’s who the police are supposed to be looking out for.” The overwhelming majority of young people who took our survey, 74%, said they felt targeted by the police, explaining that this was because of “how I look” or a combination of “how I look and where I live.” Mapping criminalization onto gentrifying New York City reveals how property regimes produce and securitize racialized space (Bonds 2019; Camp 2009; Connolly 2014; Correia 2013; Dozier 2019; McKittrick 2011; McKittrick & Woods 2007; Pulido 2016; Roy 2017; Safransky 2014, 2017; Shabazz 2015; Woods 2000). For those who are criminalized, Cacho (2012) writes “they are not just excluded from justice, they and the places where they live are imagined as the reason why a punitive (in)justice system exists in the first place” (cf. Hall et al. 1978).

When the police stop Markeys and his friends playing ball, they produce a hypervisible spectacle of crime and disorder, to be “ordered.” The spectacle disciplines, operating through a “complex interplay between presence (what you see, the visible) and absence (what you can’t see, what has displaced it within the frame)” (Hall 1997, 59; Browne 2015; Foucault 1975). Just as gentrification is made possible by the revaluation of disinvested real estate, stereotypes of young men of color as dangerous and “at risk” also generates “value.” Wright (2006, 371, italics in the original, we switched the pronoun from ‘she’ to ‘they/their’) argues:

[A]s with any process of devaluation, there is value still to be gained from *them*, if *their* image as value’s antithesis can be put into motion towards the production of more value... Following this logic, we find progress in the places where *they* once worked, in the spaces *they* once occupied, in the city *they* once inhabited.

Aligned with the disinvestment of the “ghetto,” the social and spatial exclusion of young men of color is part of generating value for the new neighborhood. Markeys says he stays home to be safe. Driving Markey and his friends out the public spaces of gentrifying Bushwick, the police engage in what Smith (2001) describes as “social cleansing,” sweeping the sidewalks ‘clean’ through zero tolerance policing as a key strategy of gentrification, a practice of “banishment” (cf. Beckett & Herbert 2001). The police encounter functions in this way as a mode of governance, and criminalization is critical in securing the consent of the public who witness young people being stopped by the police as a sign of safety. In the place of young people of color, upscaled establishments catering to a new whiter public with disposable incomes reflect the shifting demographics of the neighborhood. Their presence marks prosperity, just as the absence of Markeys and his friends does too (Cahill 2006).

In the reinvested, but still disinvested city, broken windows policing is part of preparing and creating the conditions for real estate development in the neighborhoods of working-class communities of color. As Sarah Schulman (2013) writes starkly “these are policies designed to replace one human being with another.” This is not uncontested. Speaking back to the state, Markeys takes a risk, representing the police encounter as violence, Markeys reverses the “subjectifying gaze” (Foucault 1980) of the spectacle, as an act of refusal. “Turning the gaze back on power” Markeys making transparent “its spectatorship for pain” (Tuck & Yang, 2014, 817), revealing how criminalization works (Browne 2015).

Afterward (there is no conclusion to policing yet): Community Futures

The struggle continues. Over the last seven years, since we first began our participatory research, we have witnessed significant change locally and across the country. Five years ago, following the police killings of Mike Brown, Eric Garner, Akai Gurley, and many others, hundreds of thousands of New Yorkers took over the streets in citywide protests. Staging “die-ins,” people lay down together side-by-side transforming prisonized and privatized landscapes into public spaces of collective presence and solidarity. Significant victories include the Federal Court’s landmark decision declaring Stop & Frisk policing to be unconstitutional and racially biased (*Floyd, et al. v. City of New York*), followed by local organizing campaigns in NYC for meaningful police accountability including the Community Safety Act and the Right to Know Act (see changenypd.org). While the official number of recorded police stops has gone down substantially, thousands of young people of color report encounters that are not documented by the police. Targeted in mass “gang takedowns,” pushed into the school-to-prison pipeline, and profiled by ICE (Immigration, Customs and Enforcement), the police are still very present in Black and Brown communities, despite the official narrative to the contrary. “Kinder and gentler” policing strategies from community policing to the dataveillance of predictive policing “administer all aspects of pacification” with the “velvet glove,” while at the same time legitimizing the expansion of the carceral state (Gilmore & Gilmore 2016, 386; Ferguson 2017; Harcourt 2008; Beck & Matles 2015).

If policing is flying below the radar, the opposite is true for gentrification. Over the same time period, the gentrification of the city has rapidly expanded, highlighting the outsized power and force of private development in shaping the city. As the skylines rise, so do the rents. Targeting Black and Brown neighborhoods across the city for rezoning, the pace and scope of urban development is sending waves of panic across the city as communities of color are threatened with displacement at alarming rates (Angotti et al. 2016; Marcuse & Madden 2016; Newman & Wyly 2006; Stein 2019). Experienced by communities of color as a form of state abandonment and betrayal, as neighborhoods are revalued and sold off to the highest bidder, gentrification is articulated by Black and Brown neighborhoods as a violence that is anything but slow. After decades of weathering the slow violences of disinvestment, now communities of color are threatened with social and spatial exclusion.

What have we learned? Reflecting upon the contemporary conjuncture of racial capitalism, marked by increasing structural racial inequality, our research offers insights that are relevant today. Perhaps our most significant finding is that power lies in how one is defined. From this critical insight, everything else follows. As Robin D.G. Kelley (2015) writes:

In this system our black and brown children must prove their innocence every day. We cannot change the situation by simply finding the right legal strategy within a system designed to protect white privilege, property and personhood, and where the very purpose of police power was to discipline, monitor, and contain populations rendered a threat to white property and privilege. ... we were rendered property in slavery, and a threat to property in freedom.

At the heart of our analysis is the ontological violence of criminalization (Cacho 2012). How is it that young people come to be seen as “bad elements in their community”? Darian’s opening question structures our inquiry as we trace how criminalization functions to “police the crisis” (Hall et al., 1978), hiding and unseeing the violence of racial capitalism. Our analysis builds upon the prescient work of Stuart Hall et al. (1978) who analyzed how moral panics around mugging were mobilized to construct consensus for an “exceptional state” of “law and order” (similar to broken windows / Stop & Frisk policing) that conceals the structural inequalities of neoliberalism. Dispossessing those who are already dispossessed by the slow violences of the state (urban polices of segregation, disinvestment, gentrification), criminalization is experienced as a cumulative racialized violence of dehumanization. Concealing state slow violence, racialized stereotypes project the “problem” onto the bodies of young

people who are represented as “always already criminal” (Billies 2016), as in you “fit the description.” Devonne explains “The face of a criminal should be a question mark, because they come in all shapes, forms, and sizes. So you can’t treat all black people like criminals, because black people don’t look like question marks.” Experienced as a social betrayal by young people whose encounters with the police are a too stark reminder of the “the dominant and persistent grammars of our unhumaning” (Sharpe, 2016, p. 117), the violence of criminalization masks and justifies material dispossession. This too is cumulative. Not only do criminalized representations conceal the devastating effects of racial capitalism as they are lived, endured, and resisted everyday in disinvested neighborhoods, from the rat-infested, moldy, lead-ridden public housing (now being privatized) to segregated under-resourced public schools. But, at the same time, stereotypes legitimate and “naturalize” the state violences of surveillance and overpolicing of communities that is part and parcel of the new Jim Crow carceral state and all of its dispossessions (from disenfranchisement, “prison life,” and all that is lost). And, as we have attempted to demonstrate, in the gentrifying, still disinvested neighborhoods of NYC, stereotypes of young people as dangerous and “at risk,” are part of constructing a consensus that justifies the “social costs” of gentrification and displacement as not only inevitable, but even as a sign of “progress” (Bonds 2019; Cahill 2006; Cahill et al. 2017; Dozier 2019; Gilmore & Gilmore 2016; Herbert & Beckett 2009; Koh 2017; Roy 2017; Smith 2001; Vitale 2010).

Challenging the state violence of broken windows policing, our research focuses on and contests the ontological violence that it both relies upon and produces. “Policing the crisis” (Hall et al. 1978) of racial capitalism as it is lived and negotiated in young people’s everyday lives on the “streets of urban America” (Kelley 1997), requires that we see the crisis hiding in plain sight as a cumulative dispossession that is personal, political, intimate and global, in the historical present. As Delshawn, 18, describes as he deliberates over what to wear to stay safe from unwanted police contact:

Like sometimes I worry about, like, the way I dress, like, when I’m around my neighborhood. Like, sometimes I might, like, I wear hoodies a lot and sometimes I feel, like, that’s a target in a way cause I’m dark too. Dark as hell! And, like, at nighttime, yeah, sometimes I think to myself that I probably look suspicious but I, like, shouldn’t think like that, ‘cause I’m a human being!

Narrating and contesting the violences of dehumanization, Delshawn raises questions that inform not only how we understand state violence, but organize against it in the contemporary political moment. One of our key objectives in *Growing Up Policed* was to document the crisis of policing as it takes shape in young people’s everyday lives. And critically, to make visible how state violence impacts young people of color, their families and communities. These same questions are relevant today in the shapeshifting context of racial capitalism as we struggle to organize against the racialized surveillance of predictive policing. “Out of sight,” big data promises a technocratic allegedly “color blind” efficient fix to address the heavy-handed strategy of broken windows policing. Intensifying the criminogenic spotlight on communities of color now entire neighborhoods are identified as suspicious by the algorithms of predictive policing. We can guess which neighborhoods these are. Documenting how predictive policing exacerbates racial profiling, critical carceral scholars argue it produces a self-fulfilling and seemingly prophetic cycle of crime, a cycle that communities of color know all too well (Browne 2015; Harcourt 2008). Laying bare how race structures surveillance practices, our work suggests, is crucial to *seeing* and un hiding how power operates -how the crisis is policed literally - and its resistance (Browne 2015).

To conclude, we end with a call from youth organizer Darian X. to rethink community safety as community development, asking “What would it look like to totally reinvest in communities of color?” Arguing for economic redistribution to address ongoing structural dispossession, Darian testified at a

New York City Council hearing on the Community Policing. Sharing our research findings, he centered young people's experiences:

Crime is caused by lack of housing, lack of job opportunities, lack of sound educational systems and institutions, lack of extracurricular things for our young people to get involved in after school. After school, young people are going back to homes where their parents have to work until 9, 10 o'clock at night to support them, so there is no one home when they get back there. There is nothing but the community that has been criminalized, that has been broken down systemically, so what we need to do is really uphold, support, and reinvest in young people in communities of color.

Calling for a complete reorganization of the state's relationship to communities of color, Darian proposes alternative forms of measuring "progress" that reflect community needs:

I feel like graduation rates, a great way to track outcomes. Are more of our young people graduating? Are less of our young people in prison? ... Are the suspension rates going down? These are trackable ways of seeing if improvement is really happening in our community. Do more people have access to jobs than they did when we started this program? ... Right now, we can see that people are underemployed, undereducated, overworked, under accredited with humanity and dignity as a person. So can we track human dignity? No, we cannot. But we can definitely track a community's progression and growth. Are there more institutions that support this community? Are there more banks that give loans to developers that build low-income houses in this community? How are we progressing as a people - totally and holistically?

Imagining an alternative and emancipatory urban future predicated on staying rooted and community well-being demands new narratives that centers the self-determination of the community. Taking up space, the *Growing Up Policed* research project affirms the right to represent and the right to the city as mutually constitutive. At the forefront of the struggle to decriminalize their lives, Darian, Tyler, Markeys, Devonne, Delshawn, Manny, Jasmine, Janderie, Maria, Jose, and many others, speak out and share their experiences with you and all of us. This is what they wanted to do as part of the *Growing Up Policed* project, as part of their activism and research. Sharing their stories, they create a social context for witnessing and reliving their own private experience of violence as a public matter. Exploring the possibility of communicating with others across traumatic boundaries, in our research we attempt to build solidarity one story at a time as part of a collective effort to shape change and imagine another future. As Michelle Billies (2016) states "For, if oppressions act in concert, so do forces of liberation, like so many hands tearing open a net."

Acknowledgments

We are grateful to all of the young people who have been involved in this project over many years, who bravely shared their stories, and engaged with others in collective analysis and action to address state violence and imagine a more just future.

Thanks very much to the reviewers for their very helpful feedback. We are especially grateful to Jack Giesecking for his critical editorial insights, support, and patience. Special thanks to Rachel Pain, Raymond Cabrol Jr, and Ann Holder for their encouragement and care throughout the writing process. In addition, we appreciate the thoughtful comments shared by Peter Hopkins on an earlier version of this work. Much gratitude to Jan Monk, *Gender Place & Culture*, University of Arizona, Betsy Olson, University of North Carolina, and the Centre for Social Justice & Community Action, Durham University for the opportunity to present on the research.

This research would not be possible without the support of the Adco Foundation; Antipode Foundation; Graduate Center, CUNY; Institute for Human Geography; Pratt Institute; Taconic Fellowship, Pratt Center for Community Development; and the Sociological Initiatives Foundation.

References

- Advancement Project. 2003. *Derailed: The schoolhouse to the jailhouse track*. Washington, D.C.: Advancement Project.
- Alexander, M. 2012. *The new Jim Crow: Mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness*. The New Press.
- Angotti, T., Morse, S., & Stein, S. 2016. *Zoned Out! Race, Displacement, and City Planning in New York City* (1st edition). New York City: Terreform.
- Appadurai, A. 2006. The right to research. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 4(2), 167–177.
- Askins, K. 2018. Feminist geographies and participatory action research: Co-producing narratives with people and place. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 25(9), 1277–1294.
- Auletta, K. 1982. *The underclass*. Random House.
- Beck, B., & Matles, A. 2015, June 10. Op-Ed: Bratton's Collaborative Policing Doesn't Offer Real Reform. *City Limits*.
- Berman, M., & Berger, B. (Eds.) 2007. *New York Calling: From Blackout to Bloomberg*. Reaktion Books.
- Billies, M. 2015a. *Low income LGBTGNC (gender nonconforming) struggles over shelters as public space*.
- Billies, M. 2015b. Surveillance threat as embodied psychological dilemma. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 21(2), 168.
- Billies, M. 2016. Impossible Compliance: Policing as Violent Struggle over Bodies and Urban Space. *Metropolitics*.
- Bonds, A. 2019. Race and ethnicity I: Property, race, and the carceral state. *Progress in Human Geography*, 43(3), 574–583.
- Browne, S. 2015. *Dark matters: On the surveillance of blackness*. Duke University Press.
- Bustamante, P., Jashnani, G., & Stoudt, B. G. 2019. Theorizing cumulative dehumanization: An embodied praxis of “becoming” and resisting state-sanctioned violence. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 13(1), e12429.
- Butler, J. 1993. Endangered/endangering: Schematic racism and white paranoia. *Reading Rodney King/Reading Urban Uprising*, 15–22.
- Cacho, L. M. 2012. *Social death: Racialized rightlessness and the criminalization of the unprotected*. NYU Press.
- Cahill, C. 2000. Street literacy: Urban teenagers' strategies for negotiating their neighbourhood. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 3(3), 251–277.
- Cahill, C. 2006. ‘At risk’? The Fed Up Honeys re-present the gentrification of the Lower East Side.’ *Women Studies Quarterly (Special Issue Edited by Geraldine Pratt & Victoria Rosner)*, 34, 334–363.

- Cahill, C., Stoudt, B. G., Matles, A., Belmonte, K., Djokovic, S., Lopez, J., Torre, M.E., X, D. 2017. The Right to the Sidewalk: The Struggle Over Broken Windows Policing, Young People, and NYC Streets. In *City Unsilenced* (pp. 94–105). Routledge.
- Camp, J. T. 2009. “We Know This Place”: Neoliberal Racial Regimes and the Katrina Circumstance. *American Quarterly*, 61(3), 693–717.
- Camp, J. T., & Heatherton, C. 2016. *Policing the Planet: Why the Policing Crisis Led to Black Lives Matter*. Verso Books.
- Coates, T. 2015. Moynihan, Mass Incarceration, and Responsibility. *The Atlantic*.
- Connolly, N. D. 2014. *A world more concrete: Real estate and the remaking of Jim Crow South Florida* (Vol. 114). University of Chicago Press.
- Correia, D. 2013. *Properties of violence: Law and land grant struggle in northern New Mexico* (Vol. 17). University of Georgia Press.
- Cowen, D., & Lewis, N. 2016. Anti-blackness and urban geopolitical economy reflections on Ferguson and the suburbanization of the internal colony. *Society & Space*.
- Crenshaw, K. W. 1995. The intersection of race and gender. In K. Crenshaw, N. Gotanda, G. Pellow, & K. Thomas (Eds.), *Critical race theory: The key writings that formulated the movement*. New York: New Press.
- Dawson, M. C. 2016. Hidden in Plain Sight: A Note on Legitimation Crises and the Racial Order. *Critical Historical Studies*, 3(1), 143–161.
- Delgado Bernal, D., Burciaga, R., & Flores Carmona, J. 2012. Chicana/Latina testimonios: Mapping the methodological, pedagogical, and political. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 45(3), 363–372.
- Dowler, L., & Christian, J. this issue. The Gendered Binary: A Feminist Critique of Slow and Fast Violence. *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies*.
- Dozier, D. 2019. Contested Development: Homeless Property, Police Reform, and Resistance in Skid Row, LA. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 43(1), 179–194.
- Ferguson, A. G. 2017. *The rise of big data policing: Surveillance, race, and the future of law enforcement*. NYU Press.
- Fine, M. 1988. Sexuality, schooling, and adolescent females: The missing discourse of desire. *Harvard Educational Review*, 58(1), 29–54.
- Fine, M. 2017. *Just Research in Contentious Times: Widening the Methodological Imagination*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Fine, M., Freudenberg, N., Payne, Y., Perkins, T., Smith, K., & Wanzer, K. 2003. “Anything can happen with police around”: Urban youth evaluate strategies of surveillance in public places. *Journal of Social Issues*, 59(1), 141–158.
- Fine, M., & Ruglis, J. 2009. Circuits and Consequences of Dispossession: The Racialized Realignment of the Public Sphere for U.s. Youth. *Transforming Anthropology*, 17(1), 20–33. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-7466.2009.01037.x>
- Fine, M., Tuck, E., & Zeller-Berkman, S. 2008. Do you believe in Geneva. *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies*, 157–180.
- Foucault, M. 1975. *Discipline and Punish*. New York: Vintage Books.

- Foucault, M. 1980. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972-1977*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Fraser, N. 1995. From redistribution to recognition? Dilemmas of justice in a 'post-socialist' age. *New Left Review*, 68–68.
- Freire, P. 1997. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books.
- Fullilove, M. T., & Wallace, R. 2011. Serial forced displacement in American cities, 1916–2010. *Journal of Urban Health*, 88(3), 381–389.
- Giesecking, J. forthcoming 2020. *A Queer New York: Geographies of Lesbians, Dykes, and Queers, 1983-2008*. New York: NYU Press.
- Gilmore, R. W. 2002. Fatal Couplings of Power and Difference: Notes on Racism and Geography. *The Professional Geographer*, 54, 15–24.
- Gilmore, R. W. 2007. *Golden gulag: Prisons, surplus, crisis, and opposition in globalizing California* (Vol. 21). Univ of California Press.
- Gilmore, R. W. 2017. Abolition geography and the problem of innocence. In G. T. Johnson & A. Lubin (Eds.), *Futures of Black Radicalism*. Verso Books.
- Gilmore, R. W., & Gilmore, C. 2016. Beyond bratton. *Policing the Planet: Why the Policing Crisis Led to Black Lives Matter*, 173–199.
- Giroux, H. A. 2014. *The violence of organized forgetting: Thinking beyond America's disimagination machine*. City Lights Publishers.
- Giuliani, R. W., & Bratton, W. J. 1994. Police strategy no. 5: Reclaiming the public spaces of New York. *New York*.
- Hale, C. R. 2008. *Engaging contradictions: Theory, politics, and methods of activist scholarship*. Berkley, CA: University of California Press.
- Hall, S. 1997. The work of representation. In S. Hall (Ed.), *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices* (pp. 13–74). London: Sage Publications.
- Hall, S., Critcher, C., T Jefferson, J. C., Roberts, B., Holmes, Meier Publishers, I., & America, U. S. of. 1978. *Policing The Crisis-Mugging, The State And Law And Order*. Retrieved from <http://www.ncjrs.gov/App/abstractdb/AbstractDBDetails.aspx?id=51970>
- Hanhardt, C. B. 2013. *Safe Space: Gay Neighborhood History and the Politics of Violence*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Harcourt, B. E. 2008. *Against prediction: Profiling, policing, and punishing in an actuarial age*. University of Chicago Press.
- Harcourt, B. E. 2009. *Illusion of order: The false promise of broken windows policing*. Harvard University Press.
- Harvey, D. 2003. *The new imperialism*. Oxford University Press, USA.
- Herbert, S. K., & Beckett, K. 2009. *Banished: The New Social Control in Urban America*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Howell, & Bustamante, P. 2019. *Report on the Bronx 120 Mass' Gang'Prosecution*.
- Howell, K. 2015. Gang policing: The post stop-and-frisk justification for profile-based policing. *U. Denv. Crim. L. Rev.*, 5, 1.

- Jones, N. this issue. Dying to eat? Black food geographies of slow violence and resilience. *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies*.
- Katz, C. 2015. *Domesticating the Crisis, James Blaut Award and Memorial Lecture*. Lecture, Chicago: American Association of Geographers.
- Kelley, R.D.G. 1997. *Yo' Mama's Disfunktional! Fighting the cultural wars in urban America*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Kelley, R.D.G. 2015, April. *Toni Morrison Lectures Mike Brown's Body: Meditations on War, Race and Democracy*. Presented at Princeton, Princeton, N.J.
- Kindon, S., Pain, R., & Kesby, M. 2007. *Participatory Action Research Approaches and Methods: Connecting People, Participation and Place*.
- kinpaisby-hill, mrs. c. 2011. Participatory praxis and social justice: Towards more fully social geographies. In *A Companion to Social Geography*. Blackwell.
- Koh, A. 2017. Placemaking When Black Lives Matter. *Progressive City*.
- Loyd, J. M. 2012. Borders, Prisons, and Abolitionist Visions. In J. M. Loyd, M. Michelson, & A. Burrige (Eds.), *Beyond Walls and Cages: Prisons, Borders and Global Crisis* (pp. 1–15).
- Loyd, J. M., & Bonds, A. 2018. Where do Black lives matter? Race, stigma, and place in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. *The Sociological Review*, 66(4), 898–918.
- Marcuse, P., & Madden, D. 2016. *In defense of housing: The politics of crisis*. Verso Books.
- McKittrick, K. 2006. *Demonic grounds: Black women and the cartographies of struggle*. University of Minnesota Press.
- McKittrick, K. 2011. On plantations, prisons, and a black sense of place. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 12(8), 947–963.
- McKittrick, K., & Woods, C. A. 2007. *Black geographies and the politics of place*. South End Press.
- Melamed, J. 2015. Racial capitalism. *Critical Ethnic Studies*, 1(1), 76–85.
- Mogul, J. L., Ritchie, A. J., & Whitlock, K. 2011. *Queer (in) justice: The criminalization of LGBT people in the United States* (Vol. 5). Beacon Press.
- Moraga, C., & Anzaldúa, G. 1983. This bridge called my back: Radical writings by women of color. *New York: Kitchen Table Press. Reprinted in Part in Race, Class, and Gender: An Anthology, M. Anderson and P. Hill Collins (Editors). Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1992, 20–27.*
- Mountz, A., & Hyndman, J. 2006. Feminist approaches to the global intimate. *Women's Studies Quarterly* 34, 1-2, 446.
- Moynihan, D. 1965. *The Negro Family: The Case For National Action*. Washington, DC: Office of Policy Planning and Research, United States Department of Labor.
- Muhammad, K. G. 2010. *The condemnation of blackness: Race, crime, and the making of modern urban America*. Harvard University Press.
- Mukherjee, E. 2007. *Criminalizing the classroom: The over-policing of New York City schools*. NYCLU.
- Nagar, R. 2014. *Muddying the waters: Coauthoring feminisms across scholarship and activism*. University of Illinois Press.

- Newman, K., & Wyly, E. K. 2006. The right to stay put, revisited: Gentrification and resistance to displacement in New York City. *Urban Studies*, 43(1), 23–57.
- NYU Furman Center. 2015. *State of New York City's Housing and Neighborhoods in 2015*. NYU School of Law, Wagner School of Public Service.
- Pain, R. 2014. Everyday terrorism Connecting domestic violence and global terrorism. *Progress in Human Geography*, 38(4), 531–550.
- Pain, R., & Staeheli, L. 2014. Introduction: Intimacy-geopolitics and violence. *Area*, 46(4), 344–347.
- Pratt, G., & Rosner, V. 2012. Introduction: The global & the intimate. In G. Pratt & V. Rosner (Eds.), *The Global and the Intimate: Feminism In Our Time*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Pulido, L. 2005. *Black, Brown, Yellow, and Left: Radical Activism in Los Angeles*. University of California Press.
- Pulido, L. 2016. *Flint, environmental racism, and racial capitalism*. New York: Taylor & Francis.
- Ritchie, A. J. 2006. Law enforcement violence against women of color. *Color of Violence: The INCITE! Anthology*, 138–156.
- Ritchie, A. J. 2017. *Invisible no more: Police violence against Black women and women of color*. Beacon press.
- Robinson, C. J. 2000. *Black Marxism: The making of the Black radical tradition*. Chapel Hill, NC: Univ of North Carolina Press.
- Roy, A. 2017. Dis/possessive collectivism: Property and personhood at city's end. *Geoforum*, 80, A1–A11.
- Safransky, S. 2014. Greening the urban frontier: Race, property, and resettlement in Detroit. *Geoforum*, 56, 237–248.
- Safransky, S. 2017. Rethinking land struggle in the postindustrial city. *Antipode*, 49(4), 1079–1100.
- Sampson, R. J., & Raudenbush, S. W. 2004. Seeing disorder: Neighborhood stigma and the social construction of “broken windows.” *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 67(4), 319–342.
- School of Echoes. 2017. *Gentrification is the Displacement and Replacement of Poor People for Profit (Syllabus/Anti-Gentrification Reader)*. Retrieved from bit.ly/anti-gentrification.
- Schulman, S. 2013. *The Gentrification of the Mind: Witness to a Lost Imagination* (Reprint edition). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Shabazz, R. 2015. *Spatializing Blackness: Architectures of Confinement and Black Masculinity in Chicago*.
- Sharpe, C. 2014. Black studies: In the wake. *The Black Scholar*, 44(2), 59–69.
- Sharpe, C. 2016. *In the wake: On blackness and being*. Duke University Press.
- Skiba, R. J. 2000. Zero tolerance, zero evidence. *An Analysis of School Disciplinary Practice*.
- Smith, L. T. (2013). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. Zed Books Ltd.
- Smith, N. 1987. Gentrification and the rent gap. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 77(3), 462-465.

- Smith, N. 2001. Global social cleansing: Postliberal revanchism and the export of zero tolerance. *Social Justice*, 68–74.
- Smith, N. 1996. *The new urban frontier: Gentrification and the revanchist city*. Routledge.
- Stein, S. 2019. *Capital City: Gentrification and the Real Estate State*. Verso Books.
- Stoudt, B. G., Fine, M., & Fox, M. 2011. Growing up Policed. *NY Law School Law Review*, 56.
- Stoudt, B. G., Cahill, C., Belmonte, K., Djokovic, S., Lopez, J., Matles, A., Torre, M.E. X, D. 2016. Participatory Action Research as Youth Activism. In J. Conner & S. Rosen (Eds.), *Contemporary Youth Activism: Advancing Social Justice in the U.S.* Praeger.
- Stoudt, B. G., Cahill, C., Torre, M. E., Matles, A., Lopez, J., Pimentel, A., Torre, M.E., X, D. Forthcoming. *A Young Person's Guide to Broken Windows Policing: The punishments, insecurities and contradictions of growing up policed in NYC*. White Paper published by Make the Road NY & the Public Science Project.
- Stoudt, B. G., Fine, M., & Fox, M. 2011. Growing up Policed in the Age of Aggressive Policing Policies. *New York Law School Law Review*, 56, 1331.
- Stoudt, B. G., Torre, M. E., Bartley, P., Bissell, E., Bracy, F., Caldwell, H., Dewey, L.; Downs, A., Greene, C., Haldipur, J., Lizama, S., Hassan, P., Manoff, E. Sheppard, N. & Yates, J. 2019. Researching at the community-university borderlands: Using public science to study policing in the South Bronx. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 27, 56.
- Stuart, F. 2016. Becoming “Copwise”: Policing, Culture, and the Collateral Consequences of Street-Level Criminalization. *Law & Society Review*, 50(2), 279–313.
- Torre, M.E. 2009. Participatory action research and critical race theory: Fueling spaces for nos-otras to research. *The Urban Review*, 41(1), 106–120.
- Torre, M.E., Fine, M., Stoudt, B. G., & Fox, M. 2012. Critical participatory action research as public science. In H. Cooper, P. M. Camic, D. L. Long, A. T. Panter, D. Rindskopf, & K. J. Sher (Eds.), *APA handbook of research methods in psychology, Vol 2: Research designs: Quantitative, qualitative, neuropsychological, and biological* (pp. 171–184). Washington, DC, US: American Psychological Association.
- Torre, M.E., Stoudt, B., Manoff, E., & Fine, M. 2017. Critical Participatory Action Research on State Violence: Bearing Wit(h)ness Across Fault Lines of Power, Privilege, and Dispossession. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Fifth edition, pp. 492–523). Los Angeles London New Delhi Singapore Washington DC Melbourne: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Tuck, E. 2009. Suspending damage: A letter to communities. *Harvard Educational Review*, 79(3), 409–428.
- Tuck, E., & Yang, K. W. 2014. R-words: Refusing research. *Humanizing Research: Decolonizing Qualitative Inquiry with Youth and Communities*, 223–248.
- Urban Youth Collaborative, & The Center for Popular Democracy. 2017. *The \$746 million a year school-to-prison pipeline: The Ineffective, Discriminatory, and Costly Process of Criminalizing New York City Students*. New York: Urban Youth Collaborative & The Center for Popular Democracy.
- Vitale, A. S. 2010. The Safer Cities Initiative and the removal of the homeless: Reducing crime or promoting gentrification on Los Angeles' Skid Row? *Criminology & Public Policy*, 9(4), 867–873.
- Vitale, A. S. 2017. *The end of policing*. Verso Books.

- Vitale, A. S., & Jefferson, B. J. 2016. The emergence of command and control policing in neoliberal New York. *Policing the Planet: Why the Poling Crisis Led to Black Lives Matter*, 157–172.
- Wallace, D., & Wallace, R. 1998. *A Plague on Both Your Houses*. New York: Verso.
- Weitzer, R., & Brunson, R. K. 2009. Strategic responses to the police among inner-city youth. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 50(2), 235–256.
- Welfare Warriors Research Collaborative. 2010. *A fabulous attitude: Low income LGBTGNC people surviving and thriving with love, shelter, and knowledge*. New York: Queers for Economic Justice, Graduate Center of the City University of New York.
- Wilder, C. S. 2000. *A Covenant with Color: Race and Social Power in Brooklyn 1636-1990*. Columbia University Press.
- Wilson, J. Q., & Kelling, G. L. 1982. Broken windows. *Atlantic Monthly*, 249(3), 29–38.
- Woods, C. 2000. *Development Arrested: The Blues and Plantation Power in the Mississippi Delta*. New York: Verso.
- Wright, M. W. 2006. *Disposable Women and Other Myths of Global Capitalism*. New York: Routledge.
- Zeller-Berkman, S. 2014. Lineages: A past, present and future of participatory action research. *The Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 518–532.