

PORTALS: HOW CONNECTIVITY CAN BUILD COMMUNITY AMONG AMERICA'S DISPOSSESSED

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Summary

Problem

Unfreedom is expanding around the world — even in democratic societies. The population passing through prisons and detention centers today in the U.S. eclipses the number of historically enslaved people in North America and those confined under white rule during apartheid. Within America's poorest and most historically oppressed communities, even people who are physically free characterize their relationship to government as one marked by surveillance, extraction, and expendability.

While today's technologies connect those with privilege and power across the globe, subjugated communities too often remain isolated, and their isolation compounds their unfreedom. There are precious few opportunities for communities enduring state violence, detention, displacement and subjugation to meaningfully link to one another to collaborate for justice and freedom.

Modern media makes the privileged spectators to their plight, compounding their group stigma. Rarely do those with power over technology and media center unfree voices or acknowledge the agency they have as stakeholders to provide solutions to the injustice and violence they face. Yet, when groups enduring repression get access to technology, they have been able to collaboratively transform hegemony and build power, from the The Arab Spring to #BlackLivesMatter.

Intervention

Our vision is to link subjugated communities around the U.S. through Portals, immersive, live, interconnected environments that give people the sense of sharing the same room, to create a *global undercommons democracy*. By networking these communities through staffed Portals, we intend to create a digital-physical meeting place for the most marginalized, impoverished, and unfree across America, and, eventually, across the world. This 21st century public square will provide a space where people can tell their stories and bear witness, collaborate to transform the status quo, and ignite liberation projects.

Why

Over the past three years, working with Shared_Studios staff, called Portal_Curators, in eleven neighborhoods and five cities across the U.S. and one in Mexico City, we amassed the most extensive collection of first-hand accounts of the police by those who are policed to date. In capturing the narratives and discourses of people in neighborhoods who experience both problems

of crime in their community and the practices that legal authorities usually impose on them to address those problems, we have been able to glean important insights about the justice system previously overlooked by traditional methods for mining public opinion. For instance, we find civilians characterize the nature of policing to be one of *distorted responsiveness*, or the feeling that police are both selectively vigilant and negligent. And we find that the most policed civilians are inclined to *retreat* from civic life altogether and believe the antidote to their plight must be rooted in a *redefinition* of their stigmatized group. Beyond political vocabularies absent from mainstream venues, we also find other aspects of lived experience that are vital to understanding blights to our democracy, but not recognized, such as that over half of our sample had their first encounter with police as preteens, often as young as 10, 11, and 12. We synthesize these insights and the narratives that inspired them in a forthcoming book.

Midway through our data collection something interesting occurred that was not part of our original plan. The Portal had become a spark for community change. In Milwaukee, the Portal had ignited bottom-led projects to reshape the community. Rival gangs in the neighborhood dropped their colors and formed a single group to keep the area safe. A new neighborhood council was formed to protect the community. The district attorney, the local sheriff, and the alderman all began visiting the Portal in an area they rarely ventured to, or even noticed, before.

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The Portal had become a rallying point for groups in the community, even those that normally opposed each other: police officers and the policed. People began to say “our Portal.” And community-led projects were happening every day. The residents of the community lobbied the city government to get the Portal to remain. And the community members used the Portal to reclaim a space that had been in severe decline. When the Portal had to move to another place on its journey through the community, members of the community took over an abandoned building, rehabilitated it, and brought it back to life. We have observed how Portals in Milwaukee and beyond, in marginalized communities, have activated bottom-led projects for justice, new visions, new discourses, and new political consciousness.

Question

Our hypothesis is that creating a global undercommons is necessary to fully address the issues that unfree communities face. This is not obvious. One might argue that the most effective way to provide marginalized communities with political power is to ensure their direct access to politically powerful leaders. Yet, history demonstrates the inadequacy of this approach. Over four decades,

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we have seen that when these communities amass individual votes for greater representation, there has been almost no change in material conditions in unfree spaces (or even the centering of their framings of problems). Too often the policy solutions these communities desire are dashed or are truncated into something more palatable for more powerful groups (Forman 2017).

As Phil Thompson’s “deep pluralism theory” suggests, connection itself can be, indeed, always has always been, a vital political resource for the resource poor. When these groups form coalitions

first among themselves and then to other groups, they become the architects of political discourse responsive to their goals and projects rather than objects to be addressed by the politically powerful. They are able to redefine themselves as political agents rather than stigmatized subjects. As one Portals participant explains, “That’s why we need to be able to control our narratives. We need to be able to tell these stories.... We can’t wait for the news to talk about the positive things we do.”

Project

Thus, we seek to initiate Phase 2 of Portals to expand on the past three years of research by analyzing a network of 20 Portals situated in the poorest – economically and politically -- communities in America. While our initial research focused on the content of conversations in Portals to better understand the relationship of dispossessed citizens to their state, this new phase of research will focus on how Portals and connectivity themselves alter communities and relations of power.

This phase engages the following questions: How do unfree communities define freedom, liberation (and its absence)? How would they measure changes in freedom over time? What means of resistance do they deploy in the face of oppression, and how does collaboration with those in geographically distant but structurally similar conditions alter or enhance political efficacy? By exploring these questions over a five-year period, we will identify the ways Portals helps yield creative solutions to unfreedom in spaces of untapped human and communal potential — alternatives to mass detention and the precariousness of statelessness, which place human flourishing at the center. We will capture these changes as they evolve over time through a second book and a documentary film.

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Roadmap

This document will proceed as follows: The first section describes in depth what Portals is and how this technology is received by the communities and individuals who engage with it. The second section demonstrates the innovative role that Portals can play in researching (and arresting) political conditions of our time — be it polarization, punitiveness, or civic disengagement. The third section describes what Phase 2 of Portals would look like, where we use the technology to connect 20 of the nation’s most unfree communities with one another, and eventually link to a broader global network. Here we outline our method for design, implementation, and analysis, as well as how we intend to engage participating communities at every step of the process. We describe prospective sites and the process through which they’re selected. The remainder of this document outlines the diverse partnerships forged by members of our team which represent our longstanding commitment to understanding and intervening on matters of justice, freedom, and deepening civic engagement.

Portals Overview

In an era in which real-time media and the news cycle, aided by digital technology, have facilitated the rise of propaganda, it is easy to conclude that digital technologies impede the functioning of political life. United States citizens live in a time of runaway inequality when ordinary voices of citizens must contend with the rising influence of money in politics, challenges to our most basic democratic institutions, including an independent media, the fraying of our social bonds, and political leaders who are seemingly as polarized as they were when the country was torn by Civil War and its aftermath. And, critically, the neighborhoods we live in and the schools and churches we attend are segregated by race, income, and political ideology.

These multiple dimensions of segregation interact with social media use to compound the separation of our social worlds and undermine political discourse across boundaries of class, race and neighborhood. Thus, the speed of development in digital technologies combined with continued erosion of our civic fabric have led some to believe we are headed for a deleterious breakdown in political deliberation in the United States and in other countries across the globe.

Technology, then, has the potential to make politics more equal, more engaged, and more conducive to the society we envision for the next generation. Technology should achieve these goals, and it can.

Despite these pressing challenges, we believe that digital technologies may also be an antidote. While they have the potential to warp facts, silo segments of the citizenry from one another, and compound inequalities of status, digital technologies also have the potential to bridge communities who are far from one another in physical and cultural space, bringing people out of sheltered spaces – people who may never own a passport or even leave their municipality. Digital technologies have the potential to make ordinary residents the lifeblood of political life. Technology, then, has the potential to make politics more equal, more engaged, and more conducive to the society we envision for the next generation. Technology should achieve these goals, and it can.

Portals enhances politics by transforming the capacity of disparate people and communities to define their narratives, engage one another politically, and, therefore, to be more efficacious citizens. By creating a “wormhole” through space, a bridge to places unseen and unheard, and, crucially, by making access to these wormholes easy and free, Portals facilitate the politics and civic power of ordinary people. Moreover, by staffing these connectivity spaces with full-time Portal_Curators, Portals extend networks of trust and access to disconnected communities.

Portals gives the microphone to places like the Amani neighborhood in Milwaukee, a place where only one-third of the men have not been confined in a cell. It takes a difficult topic of policing, so often the source of trauma, stigma, joblessness, and community destabilization, and turns it into a space for ideas, activism, shared meaning, and resistance. It acts as a bridge to other communities in the black diaspora and empowers residents by giving voice and agency – keystones to a flourishing democracy. People from some of our nation’s most disinvested, most surveilled communities have a space to share ideas across communities, form coalitions, and define new political discourse. The positive/transformative potential of Portals has been on full display in neighborhoods that have a Portal. This is what Lewis Lee, a Curator of the Milwaukee_Portal, had to say:

I have a lot invested in this community. My daughter goes to high school here, I went to high school here. I even was shot in this neighborhood, I lost my brother in this neighborhood.... I've been incarcerated before. I've been shot. I've lost siblings to gang violence and gun violence. I'm a person who a lot of kids look up to in this neighborhood. I have an intimate connection to this neighborhood. And I thought who better to run this Portal than me? And it's been working wonders for this neighborhood..... We been utilizing it in so many ways and it's been helping control the violence that goes on in these neighborhoods. It's been doing a world of a difference. We have made lots of progress on this discussion of criminal justice. So what we're trying to do is just raising awareness and have been shining a light on the fact that there is a problem of mass incarceration of minorities.

Lewis goes on to describe how the conversations he has had in Portals have initiated a groundswell of local projects like building a vocational school, conversations with public officials, and describes a portrait of a community rising up to change the terms of the conditions facing their lives. In Los Angeles, Portal_Curators Maryam Hosseinzadeh and Aparna Bakhle describe how people who were sometimes quite recently released from incarceration (due to the Portal being located near a reentry foundation and halfway house) came to see this space — a dark enclosed space not unlike a cell — as a place of empowerment, not confinement. More broadly, they describe how many regulars in and around the market and library where the Portal was located come to see the Portal as a central gathering spot — “it ends up becoming this anchor.”

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Portal_Curator Lewis Lee speaking to a local reporter at the COA Youth & Family Center, Milwaukee, Wisconsin



Participants after a connection to Los Angeles, at the South Chicago Christian Center in Chicago, Illinois



Student rugby team at the Milwaukee_Portal, after speaking to rugby-playing students in the Germany.

About Portals

It seems[s] like you're standing right in front of me. It's an amazing technology, but it also represents what this summit's all about, which is young people from all around the world coming up with new ideas and making those ideas a reality.

– Barack Obama

Portals are gold shipping containers containing technology that allows people who are geographically disconnected (as well as culturally) to occupy the same virtual space and converse. The gold virtual chambers can be placed anywhere — in a neighborhood, in a community gathering spot, in a public square, outside a county jail. Upon entering the dark chamber, participants are connected by life-size video and audio with someone in an identical gold shipping container in real time in a different city or country, creating the illusion of being in the same room. Unlike other forms of video communication, a Portal is intended to be a highly intimate, secure space in which participants can be fully present in real time, without cropped images or curated personas. We are thus provided with an opportunity to read one another's full body language, to make eye contact, to bond over our shared or divergent lived experiences, or to confront difficult political issues in collaboration with each other. As one participant put it, “I don’t like to fly, so this is like my own virtual airplane.”

Since December 2014, Shared_Studios has used Portals to enable 150,000 intimate, one-on-one conversations among nearly 75,000 participants, including the former President of the United States, Barack Obama. Shared_Studios has launched Portals across 18 countries and more than 40 sites. Portal locations range from cultural centers, museums, universities, and art galleries to public parks, NGOs, tech hubs, a juvenile detention facility, and refugee camps. These sites have included Erbil, Iraq; Berlin, Germany; Mumbai, India; Tehran, Iran; Mexico City, Mexico; Herat, Afghanistan; Za'atari, Jordan; Havana, Cuba; Seoul, South Korea; Detroit, New York City, San Francisco, Washington, DC, and many others. Portals are programmed dynamically by local Portal_Curators. A Portal may be eliciting conversations between Baltimore and Herat in the morning, Kigali in the afternoon, and Los Angeles in the evening.

Portals in Research

Our use of Portals in research challenge more traditional methods in this arena both methodologically, and as a consequence of the methodological approach, substantively. With respect to method, Portals is an opportunity to rethink public opinion research, and in particular large-scale survey research, which dominates the data sources researchers, especially political scientists, use to develop theories about civic engagement and political participation. With respect to substance, the data we reap from Portals conversations reveal a richer tapestry to examine for identification of and variation in narratives of citizen (small c) engagement with the state, especially among members of “race-class subjugated communities” (hereafter RCS; Soss & Weaver 2017).

Let us address what we consider to be the methodological and substantive challenge to traditional research embodied in the Portals project in reverse order. A central purpose of this project is to describe and analyze the experiences of race-class subjugated Americans so that we might develop

better theories of how communities understand and react to police authority and legal authority more generally in the U.S. As a methodological matter for reasons we explain at greater length below, current public opinion research on policed populations is totally inadequate to help us understand how policing is shaping the political thought and action of communities where it is concentrated, and to identify patterns across different ecological contexts. In the aftermath of the social unrest in Ferguson, Missouri, following Michael Brown's death at the hands of a white police officer, it was all too common to hear news commentators, academics and pundits opining, "people who live in places like Michael Brown's neighborhood think ..." without actually speaking to those living in communities like Ferguson. In other words, most commentary was from the outside looking in rather than the inside looking out.¹ As Cathy Cohen (2004) argues in her path breaking *DuBois Review* article, "Deviance as Resistance,"

It is time for a new generation of scholars to put forth a new analytic framework for the study of Black politics, that of deviance. This, of course, means hearing from and listening to those who many would silence and make invisible in Black communities, individuals like single Black mothers, including those on welfare and/or teen-agers...and young Black men and women who are currently or have been incarcerated and who seem to engage uncritically in unlawful behavior with knowledge of the growing consequences of such behavior. Only by listening to their voices, trying to understand their motivations, and accurately centering their stories with all of its complexities in our work can we begin to understand and map the connection between deviant practice, defiant behavior, and political resistance.

We follow Cohen by leveraging Portals to listen to the voices of ordinary people with limited agency in order to both transform the meaning of public opinion by upending the method of its capture and to transform politics in communities of limited agency by connecting them to similar communities, engaging them in the process of politics, and amplifying their voices in policy that impacts them.

To follow Cohen's call, however, it is necessary to approach collection of data in a different way. To put this bluntly: Over the past few years – maybe decades – we have learned next to nothing about highly policed communities from surveys. There are several reasons for this desert in official data. One reason is that the surveys themselves do not ask questions about the variation and breadth of criminal justice experiences of respondents either directly or indirectly. A second reason is that the group comprising the so-called "representative sample" of respondents in these surveys typically includes a very small number of individuals with criminal justice experience, which is an admittedly small number in the national population. But, more concerning is the fact that such surveys rarely delve into the places where people live that are intensely impacted by criminal justice practices and crime. A third reason is that survey researchers design instruments for replicability and comparability. This means that valid instruments often are quite rigid, asking respondents to agree or disagree with one statement or another rather than attempting to plumb respondents' views or ask for details about experience. All of this means that we learn very little about the actual lived experience of the state and government authority in the places in which we most desperately need this information.

Without a large-scale systematic analysis of people's interactions with police, our scholarly knowledge rests on a very few qualitative accounts and single-city ethnographies (Rios 2011,

¹ Some recent exceptions include legal sociologist Monica Bell's (2017) ethnographic interviews from Freddie Gray's neighborhood and a recent people's history documentary on Ferguson, *Whose Streets?*.

Goffman 2009, Weitzer & Brunson 2009, Stuart 2016, Herbert and Beckett 2009, Bell 2016; Carr, Napolitano, and Keating 2007; c.f. Epp, et al.). These ethnographies are revelatory, to be sure, and have improved our understanding of how policing reshapes community dynamics, compounds segregation and marginality, and provides a civic education.

The Portals method is an innovation to traditional methods in several respects, even while taking what we see as the virtues and design advantages of each of those methods: it is larger scale than traditional qualitative studies and its focus on intimate interpersonal interaction and deliberation instead of shallow individual communication with survey researchers in apolitical settings. While dyadic interviewing and deliberative polling have been relied on in other fields (like public health) and while some cities have implemented “civic intergroup dialogue” programs, the field of American politics still mostly relies on a *single* means for collecting information about belief systems, one that privileges individual expressions as the primary unit of analysis. For all of their benefits, large-N surveys rely on researcher-imposed categories abstracted from real-life contexts and “situates citizens in isolation from each other.”² The Portals method moves away from the individual as the unit of analysis and towards the community and conversations where people would interact with *each other*, not the researcher, recognizing that ideas and systems of thought are usually constructed together, in “genuinely mutual, reflective, and truly deliberative consideration of public matters” (Sanders 1999, 253).

The deliberative context is also distinct. Portals doesn’t just involve routine contexts of discussion on the front stoop of a neighbor’s porch; it involves intimate interaction with a perfect (but relevant) stranger. We think that because the Portal provides an unusual opportunity to discuss policing with someone who may have similar exposure and experiences but who is *not* located in one’s core social network, it invites exchange that does not hinge on social support, past interactions or future expectations, and that is more prone to coincidental discoveries based on being unpredictable, unscripted, and unexpected but also is not totally random (they are connected to others who have something to say about police).

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Research by social networks scholars have found that people often discuss important, highly personal matters with people who they do not feel close to. “The idea that people reserve intimate matters for their intimates,” one argues, “is not supported by the evidence” (Small 2013, 481). Instead, and somewhat surprisingly, people discuss salient and personal topics with alters who are *knowledgeable* about the subject and who are *available* for discussion, regardless of whether they feel close to that person. Confiding in another, then, even disclosing highly personal details, does

² Traditional survey research assumes public opinion is adequately captured through measuring the “psychological states” of individuals and aggregating responses to repeated questions to arrive at a view of mass opinion. Such research prioritizes individual responses to researcher-defined questions that should be measured as unobtrusively as possible in private spaces with only the survey researcher present. This conception, dominant for several decades, limits face-to-face interaction and sees private utterances by individual respondents, which are then aggregated. These aggregated responses are deemed to capture underlying “true attitudes” of individuals. Indeed, these responses are considered superior to “open, debated, and critical” kinds of organic engagement between people. In searching for generalization of “true attitudes” and convenience, most orthodox public opinion research avoids expressions of attitudes in public settings or the articulation of attitudes that the researcher does not ask for herself. This approach comes at a cost. As Sanders notes, existing surveys are “incapable of doing more than collecting together the isolated opinions of separated private citizens” at a distance from actual debate about political ideas (Sanders 250).

not rely on the strength of the personal tie; data reveal that people often discuss important matters with acquaintances and “weak ties” given the opportunity to do so. Indeed, some even suggest that “close partners may be regularly avoided when important topics need to be discussed” (Small 2013, 471). We also think that the space itself inside a Portal disinhibits the audience: it is strange and therefore feels like a special experience; it is connected but anonymous; you cannot touch each other but the space is intimate and intentionally like a personal cocoon; it is enclosed and rid of distractions. The person on the other side is there to interact with you and you alone.

The Portal does both things simultaneously, providing the opportunity and space to discuss a topic and connecting them to those who can be assumed to be knowledgeable about that topic. While they are strangers, they are not random strangers; they are relevant interlocutors in the sense that they also (mostly) hail from highly policed neighborhoods. Emotional attachment may result from the encounter, but is not necessary for meaningful exchange or sharing of highly personal experiences with police. This method also captures those people who might be missed if we focused on people who belong to an organization, civic group, or informal social group that meets regularly in public spaces.

Thus, Portals allow us to listen to what members of criminal justice impacted communities say in conversation with others distant physically, but from similar neighborhoods, rather than in a structured conversation through a survey instrument with a researcher. Through open-ended, free-wheeling conversations, Portals empower people to say what they think in their own terms without the rigid constraints of surveyor-defined questions and forced choices. We can then examine these conversations and see processes and co-creation of ideas rather than simply snapshots of opinion.

Portals as Community Intervention

In addition to researching political knowledge, we can use Portals to experiment with creating connected political spaces, making ordinary people the lifeblood of political discourse. We believed, after experiencing the first few criminal justice conversations in the first phase of our research, that communities could be empowered through the project by simply by giving their voices public salience.

Until recently, civil society thrived in physical, public spaces — town squares, churches, barbershops, civic associations, and bowling leagues. It was here that we connected to other human beings, had conversations, created relationships, and spoke with those who were different from us. With the advent of modern technology, however, we have begun to disconnect from one another, consuming media but only sporadically engaging others in person (see Harris-Lacewell 2004). By placing these digital hubs in destinations and neighborhoods, we are exploring whether this intervention can enable new types of civic encounters and new spaces for politics — potentially a 21st century public square for the marginalized, disenfranchised and unheard, a space where people and groups across cities can employ their local wisdom to strengthen intra and international liberation. For instance, participants may come to see their experience linked to strangers in neighborhoods many miles away and they may come to feel they are heard and have ownership over the issues that confront them.

Most philanthropic projects designed to uplift communities undergoing state violence, displacement, and disinheritance utilize strategies designed by experts in a field to address or alleviate particular problems such communities face. These projects are well-intentioned and often

do much good, but they too often fail to acknowledge the power of local stakeholder knowledge. They construe them as unimportant to freedom projects instead of powerful political actors whose contestation has remade social relations, expanded public imagination around the poor and stateless, and expanded citizenship and democracy. Portals both centers and highlights stakeholder agency, leveraging it to drive out marginalization from inside. It provides communities a *mechanism* for connection.

This approach is in line with sociological studies of collective efficacy that propose community-level rather than individual-level solutions to poverty and subjugation. Scholars such as Sampson (2011) and Sharkey (2013) demonstrate that the effects of neighborhood poverty are longstanding and intergenerational. Sharkey (2013) points out that community-level interventions of the kind we propose through Portals have rarely if ever been attempted. Often, projects that are called community-level interventions are, in fact, not. For example, Sampson powerfully critiques social interventions such as Moving to Opportunity “MTO” as improperly characterized as community-level interventions (Sampson 2011).

Portals treats these communities as singular in their authority to understand their position, not supplicants. It positions them as on top, not just “on tap,” emphasizing that their problem is not lack of ideas or sophistication about the problems that dog their lives but lack of resources and isolation from other communities that could form a collective. The first phase of our project suggests as much.

In just a year within their respective communities, Portals participants began collaborating with one another to redefine and transcend the stigma associated with their neighborhoods. Through their connections with Kigali, Rwanda, Milwaukee organizers learned of the Gacaca courts, informal venues for transitional justice adapted after the Rwandan genocide. They began to imagine and implement new means of community healing that transcend coercive and adversarial practices in the U.S. These strategies engendered a gang truce and stopped store owners from selling tobacco and liquor to those underage — both without the use of police. Their connection with Newark, New Jersey stoked a cross-city initiative on fatherhood and prison reentry.

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In the absence of these interventions, we find the flipside: large-scale retreat from institutions and civic life. Without affirmation of their political knowledge and their visions of freedom, the most unfree will define their citizenship by surveillance and punishment. In Phase 1 of our criminal justice dialogues, one person captured the reality of many: “Right now, what I’m doing out here in the streets of Chicago, is staying to myself and doing what I gotta do to survive in these streets as a black man.”



The Portal in Times Square in November 2017.



Students at the Portal at Harvard University in Massachusetts speak to students at Hariwa University in Herat, Afghanistan.

About the Global Portals Network

When people speak to one another without hope of gain or fear of judgment, but to convey their own truth, authentically, and to listen to someone else do the same, they create their own, unique meaning together, laying the groundwork for our shared societies.

– Amar C. Bakshi

Since launch in December 2014, Portals has expanded around the globe. There are currently nearly fifty permanent Portals around the globe staffed by sixty Portal_Curators. Each month, Shared_Studios adds on average four new Portals to the network. These Portals exist across geographies and institutions, including in sites in active conflict, under repressive regimes, and in places of limited Internet connectivity. Since launch, 150,000 people have had intimate one-on-one conversations through Portals, and hundreds of thousands more have participated in classes, group dialogues, and other events.

Every Portal site connects to every other one, with global programming built by local Portal_Curators, overseen by global Portal_Curators. Programming varies based on the needs and desires of the communities. For example, Portals host weekly violin lessons between Kigali and Colorado Springs, dialogues between gang leaders and tribal leaders on in El Progreso and Herat, hackathons between innovators in Baltimore and Gaza City, and thousands of other similar dialogues, classes, performances, and events. Each week, there are more than fifty Portal connections involving more than 1,000 participants.

Portals have hosted special guests including Barack Obama, John Kerry, Penny Pritzker, Samantha Power, José Andrés, Melinda Gates, Priyanka Chopra, Ewan McGregor, Chris Wallace, Sergey Brin, Steve Case, and many more. Portals have also been featured at events including Davos 2018, TED 2017, the United Nations General Assemblies in 2015, 2016 and 2017, the European Parliament, the U.S. Congress, the Global Entrepreneurship Summit, the Obama Foundation Summit, the Aspen Ideas Festival and many more. And Portals have been covered by hundreds of press outlets around the globe including the New York Times, Washington Post, BBC, CNN, FOX, and more.

Portals are creating a new public infrastructure devoted to providing intentional, curated, and facilitated connections between people who would otherwise never meet. Just as librarians and teachers inspire and guide minds in the pursuit of knowledge, Portals_Curators inspire and guide their communities to engage in human diversity itself. Shared_Studios' long-term vision is to create a network of Portals permanently placed around the world, serving as a new public infrastructure, analogous to a library. Just as with a library with a library it's not just the librarian mechanically getting you a book to match your discrete interest the librarian is also trying to excite you about engaging human knowledge itself. Over the coming decade, Shared_Studios aims to build a network of 10,000 Portals across the globe. Shared_Studios envisions a world with at least one Portal, and one global Portal_Curator, per 1 million people. Even as technology evolves and changes, the human network behind Portals will stay firmly in place, extending the benefits of connectivity to all.

Selected Global Portal Locations

Portals exist around the globe in some of the world's most diverse locations, from a tech hub in Gaza City and an Internally Displaced Person's camp in Erbil, Iraq to a high school in San Pedro Sula, Honduras and a community center in Yangon, Myanmar. Each month, Shared_Studios adds roughly four new sites to its growing network. The Portals network is purposefully diverse. The following is a list of selected Portal locations:

Albuquerque, USA: The Albuquerque_Portal is located in a juvenile detention facility. This Portal is largely connected to the Montezuma_Portal and is focused on providing collaborative educational opportunities for young people in detention and students at the United World College.

Amman, Jordan: Our Amman_Portal is hosted by Mercy Corps Jordan, in a site associated with their three-year pilot project funded by Middle East Children's Institute (MECI) to establish an after school and youth program for children in Al-Salt (a community 1/2 hour outside of Amman). Mercy Corps is committed to long-term programming and community development in Jordan.

Andover, USA: The Andover_Portal is located at Andover High School and the new Cormier Youth Center in Andover, MA. The Portal connects students and educators with language instruction, musical collaboration, and global conversation as it moves across the community.

Astana, Kazakhstan: The Yangon_Portal is located at the American Center, and managed by the Student Council (ACSC), an organization that helps students gain access to global educational materials. By partnering with them, along with Turning Tables, a youth empowerment group, and Fringe Diplomacy, based at the Aspen Institute in Washington DC, we are able to draw upon a wide base of support in Yangon.

Berlin, Germany: The Berlin_Portal is located at Migration Hub. The Migration Hub Network creates spaces where social entrepreneurs and organizations meet to design solutions around mass migration. They gather grassroots organizations doing exceptional work in the field of migration and inclusion in community spaces, providing them with not only a place to work, but also personalized consulting and mentorship.

Bogotá, Colombia: The Bogotá_Portal is in a neighborhood known as "El Bronx." The neighborhood is the site of a massive urban renewal project, and the Portal is a component of community economic development revitalization. The Portal is supported by the Mayor of Bogotá and Fundación Gilberto Alzate Avendaño. (This Portal opens July 2018).

Brooklyn, USA: The Brooklyn_Portal is at New Lab, an interdisciplinary space designed to support entrepreneurs working in emerging technologies such as robotics, artificial intelligence, and connected devices. Located in the Brooklyn Navy Yard, the former epicenter of American shipbuilding.

Chicago, USA: The Chicago_Portal is located at the #LetUsBreathe community space. The #LetUsBreathe Collective is an alliance of artists and activists organizing through a creative lens to

imagine a world without prisons or police. The Portal moves between the University of Illinois at Chicago and other sites, as we work with the Obama Foundation.

Colorado Springs, USA: The ColoradoSprings_Portal rotates every three months between community arts organizations, universities, and public parks. Local community organization Imagination Celebration sponsors the ColoradoSprings_Portal and encourages community participation through artistic and creative expression.

Erbil, Iraq: The Erbil_Portal is located in the Harsham Camp for Internally Displaced Persons and refugees on the northern edge of Erbil. Harsham hosts more than 1,500 internally displaced Iraqi families who fled Mosul and its surrounding villages to escape Islamist militant attacks. Our Portal in the camp is based in a converted gas station and is operated in partnership with UNICEF Iraq.

Gaza, Palestinian Territories: Mercy Corps and Gaza Sky Geeks host the Gaza_Portal in Gaza City. Gaza Sky Geeks was founded in 2011 to build Gaza's startup movement. They run a vibrant co-working space. In 2013, the Gaza Sky Geeks accelerator began connecting top teams to global resources to transform Gaza's most talented youth into the Middle East's business leaders.

Greenwich, USA: The Greenwich_Portal is located at Greenwich Academy, an independent, college-preparatory day school for girls in Greenwich, Connecticut. Founded in 1827, it is the oldest girls' school in Connecticut.

Herat, Afghanistan: The Herat_Portal is located at Code to Inspire, a nonprofit committed to teaching female students in Afghanistan how to code. CTI aims to hitch women's economic and social advancement on to Afghanistan's growing tech industry. Courses in coding, access to tech & professional resources, and job placement will enable CTI students to attain employment that is both financially rewarding and socially accessible.

Ithaca, USA: The Cornell_Portal is located at the University Olin Library at Cornell University. (This Portal opens September 2018).

Kabul, Afghanistan: The Kabul_Portal is located at Kabul University, which is the oldest and largest institution of tertiary education in Afghanistan. It was founded in 1931 during the government of Mohammed Nadir Shah and then Prime Minister Mohammad Hashim Khan. Kabul University is attended by approximately 25,000 students, of which around 40% are women.

Kakuma, Kenya: The Kakuma_Portal is located at the Kakuma camp in the North-western region of Kenya. The camp was established in 1992 following the arrival of the "Lost Boys of Sudan". During that year, large groups of Ethiopian refugees fled their country following the fall of the Ethiopian government. Somalia had also experienced high insecurity and civil strife causing people to flee. (This Portal opens in July 2018).

Kigali, Rwanda: The Kigali_Portal in Rwanda is located at Impact Hub in downtown Kigali and run by Kurema, Kureba, Kwiga (“To Create, To See, To Learn”), a public arts social enterprise using street-arts and art-actions to involve civil society in positive social change. In particular, the organization creates large-scale public artworks, many of which seek to reduce the stigma against HIV-positive individuals.

Los Angeles, USA: The LA_Portal is located at Mercado la Paloma, which is located in the Figueroa Corridor of South Los Angeles -- a neighborhood that is full of creative entrepreneurs, community spirit, artists, musicians and cultural traditions. The area has historically suffered from disinvestment, including a lack of quality jobs and business opportunities, quality gathering spaces, food access, and cultural opportunities.

Mexico City, Mexico: The MexicoCity_Portal is now at Centro de Cultura Digital, a multi-functional cultural complex in Mexico City dedicated to activities of digital art, as well as the promotion of “expressive forms in the digital world.” The Mexico Portal is run in partnership with *Time Out Mexico*, the largest arts, culture and entertainment guide in Mexico.

Milwaukee, USA: The Milwaukee_Portal is located in Amani Park in the 53206 zip code, which has the highest black male incarceration rate of any zip code in America. The Portal is run in partnership with COA Youth & Adult Center, the Milwaukee Fatherhood Initiative, and numerous other local partners working on issues ranging from police-community relations to job trainings.

Montezuma, USA: The Montezuma_Portal is located at United World College USA. UWC-USA is one of 17 United World College (UWC) campuses located on five continents. A two-year residential school, UWC-USA serves students age 16-19 who typically represent more than 75 different countries. This Portal connects largely to the Albuquerque_Portal and is focused on providing collaborative educational opportunities between students at UWC and students in juvenile detention.

Selected Temporary Portal Activations

2018

Stavros Niarchos Foundation Annual Conference
Starbucks Headquarters
Obama Foundation Summit
Johns Hopkins Board of Trustees Meeting
InfoComm & TIDE
PeaceTech Summit
IMF and World Bank Board of Governors Meeting
BBC Headquarters
Intrepid Air and Space Museum
Davos World Economic Forum

2017

Times Square
United Nations General Assembly
American Academy of Religion
Reeperbahn Festival
Zoomtopia
European Parliament
TED
Skoll World Forum
Museo Tamayo
Mumbai Marathon

2016

U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum
European Parliament
United Nations General Assembly
Chicago Ideas Week
Aspen Ideas Festival
U.S. Congress
Global Entrepreneurship Summit
Sundance Film Festival 2016
World Humanitarian Summit

Nairobi, Kenya: The Nairobi_Portal is located at the Catholic University of Eastern Africa, in their library space. Portal partners in Nairobi include All Africa, the Kwani Literary Trust, and the International Education and Resource Network.

Oakland, USA: The Oakland_Portal is located at Oakland International High School. The school targets a population of students, newly arrived immigrants, who have historically been underserved nationally, in California, and in Oakland. The mission of OIHS is to provide newly arrived immigrants a quality alternative education focused on English language acquisition in preparation for college.

San Pedro Sula, Honduras: The SanPedroSula_Portal is located on the campus of the University of San Pedro Sula, in an ongoing programming partnership with youth development group OYE (Organization for Youth Empowerment). Oye's mission is to educate, empower and engage disadvantaged youth to break the cycle of poverty and become agents of change in their homes, schools and communities. They envision a society where youth are key actors in the positive development of Honduras.

Yangon, Myanmar: The Yangon_Portal is located at the American Center, and managed by the Student Council, an organization that helps students gain access to global educational materials. Partners include the Student Council, Turning Tables, a youth empowerment group, and Fringe Diplomacy, an initiative based at The Aspen Institute.

Select Notable Portal Participants

Barack Obama
U.S. President

Priyanka Chopra
Actress

Tom Friedman
NYT Columnist

José Andrés
Chef

Ban Ki-moon
UN Secretary-General

America Ferrera
Actress

Fareed Zakaria
CNN Host

Sergey Brin
Google Co-Founder

Haider al-Abadi
Iraqi Prime Minister

Ewan McGregor
Actor

Chris Wallace
FOX Host

Chris Anderson
TED Curator

Helle Thorning-Schmidt
Dutch Prime Minister

will.i.am
Musician

Nicholas Thompson
Wired Magazine
Editor-in-Chief

Klaus Schwab
World Economic Forum
Chairman

Mercedes Aráoz
Peruvian Prime
Minister

Aloe Blacc
Musician

Steve Inskeep
NPR Host

John Kerry
U.S. Secretary of State

Miguel Angel Mancera
Mayor of Mexico City

Melinda Gates
Philanthropist

Steven Pinker
Author

Andy Stefanovich
Author

Bob Corker
U.S. Senator

Tony Lake
UNICEF Director

Sam Harris
Author

Steve Case
AOL Co-Founder

Susan Rice
U.S. National Security
Advisor

Jonathan Sacks
Rabbi

Jack Balkin
Author

Damian Woetzel
Julliard President

Samantha Power
U.S. Ambassador to UN

Jonathan Reckford
Habitat for Humanity
CEO

Susan Brooks
U.S. Congresswoman

Tania Bruguera
Artist



President Barack Obama speaks with social entrepreneurs in four countries through Portal_Containers and Portal_Screens. The entrepreneurs are in London, UK; Erbil, Iraq; Seoul, South Korea; and Mexico City, Mexico. President Obama calls Portals “an amazing technology.”



Portals can be solar-powered, like this one in Crissy Field last year in San Francisco. Portals can also be run off of cell connections.



Choreographer Jonah Bokaer performs live during Art Basel Miami Beach with musicians at the Herat Portal.



The Adelaide Portal in Australia connects to the Portal in Gaza City.



Diners at the Portal in Times Square prepare for a meal with diners at the Portal in Mexico City.



Students leave the Portal in San Pedro Sula, Honduras, after participating in a language class with counterparts in the Chicago_Portal.



John Kerry speaks with an entrepreneur in Herat, Afghanistan from the Stanford_Portal, during the 2016 Global Entrepreneurship Summit.



Children at the Milwaukee_Portal jump out of the Portal after a dance session with kids in Kigali, Rwanda.



1



2



5



3



4

Clockwise from top left:

1. Musician Aloe Blacc performs from the LA Portal with artists in Herat, Afghanistan
2. Kindergarten students visit with counterparts in El Progreso, Honduras, for a joint class
3. A Portal at the U.S. Institute of Peace connects leaders such as Vint Cerf with peacetech entrepreneurs around the globe
4. Visitors to the Intrepid Museum in New York speak to a scientist at NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Houston
5. The Portal in Erbil is located in the Harsham IDP camp, and built in a converted gas station. Students peak out of the Portal after a language class.

Phase 1: Research Findings

In the United States the year 2014 marked a turning point in the way that residents of this country understood the institution of policing. On August 9, 2014, unarmed teenager Michael Brown was shot and killed by a white police officer in Ferguson, MO, and by December of that same year, video footage of Eric Garner's choking death in Staten Island, New York blanketed social media and more traditional news outlets. In response to these events, President Obama convened the first national commission in the nation's history devoted to policing, and seven months after Michael Brown's death, the United States Department of Justice delivered a blistering indictment of Ferguson's police department based on its in-depth investigation of practices in the city noting that nearly every aspect of law enforcement in the city was marked by racially disproportionate practices. In particular, Americans learned that public authorities in Ferguson, Missouri had imposed a 'predatory system of government' on poor black citizens through the police force.

In the years since, scholars have sought to understand and respond to the national conversation regarding discrimination in police practice, the seeming newly discovered regularity of police violence against citizens (especially citizens of color), and the prevalent practice of using police to line the coffers of local governments in a world of declining state and local tax revenues (Gordon & Hayward 2016), but there have been precious few systematic analyses of the views of the groups of people most affected by the police practices criticized by the federal government and by the problems related to crime that purportedly justify these practices. Even in the face of numerous first-hand accounts reported in traditional and social media sources, serious gaps in knowledge remain.

Without breadth and depth of such accounts, it is difficult to answer important questions about the relationship those with the greatest stake in local policing have with their government, which means that it is difficult in turn to develop organizing theories of these relationships. In no particular order, here some questions to which existing sources of data cannot answer and which the Portals project seeks answers to. How do people in highly policed neighborhoods come to understand state authority and how do they characterize the logic and role of the state? How is the power of state agents like police interpreted, resisted, or deployed by the citizenry? What discourses and ideologies do race-class subjugated communities draw on to make sense of their interactions with street-level bureaucrats? How do race-class subjugated communities reinterpret dominant discourses around the state and political authority to "better fit the realities" of their lived experience (Dawson 2001)? How do they redefine or reframe conceptions of black and brown

life and worth, public safety, American democracy? How do they innovate in response to local police practices? How do they counter the daily portrayals of their neighborhoods and confront the daily practices that encompass state action there? How does policing shape their collective memories and future aspirations? And how are these discourses patterned across space, gender, generation, race, and class?

This following section explores these questions using a new technology, Portals, to initiate conversations about policing and incarceration in communities where these forms of state action are concentrated. We analyze patterns in collective political discourses around the police and crime gathered from Portals. While extremely nascent, our analysis suggests that those who live in places most marked by criminal justice practices and crime characterize their relationship with the key institution of government present in their daily lives – the police – as one colored by *distorted responsiveness* flowing from a logic of *collective blame* and *institutionalized expendability*. We also try to explain what we are finding with respect to how citizens discuss how they respond to this state of affairs. Do they retreat from civic engagement? Or are they, as some accounts of the Black Lives Matters movement indicates, becoming more politically active as a result of the fraught relationships they have to local government.

The section unfolds in this way: First, we spell out how we used to Portals to engage citizens in civic dialogues about the police. In this section we describe our sites, our approach to the data, and the characteristics of our participants. The last section is a very early analysis of data from about 700 transcribed conversations. Here, we introduce the concepts of distorted responsiveness, collective blame and institutionalized expendability. And, we close by offering some future directions.

Using Portals for Civic Dialogue about Policing in the City

Deliberative debates are fundamentally shaped by societal inequalities of power and thus often promote the inequalities that democratic debate is supposed to alleviate.

– Michael Dawson

In April of 2016, we launched the Criminal Justice Dialogues, placing two Portals installments in our pilot sites: Moody Park in Milwaukee, WI and Military Park in Newark, NJ. Later that year, we incorporated a new Portal in the Bronzeville/Grand Boulevard area of Chicago, IL and by mid-2017, a Portal was operating in Lexington Market in Baltimore, MD, the Chicano neighborhood of Boyle Heights in Los Angeles, CA, and Mexico City, Mexico. To date, over 800 conversations have occurred in these six cities.

The process is powerful in its simplicity. The Portal is staffed by a member of the community – a curator – who does outreach, holds events, and describes the study (and is paid a living wage). Two things are critical here: 1) The curators have long-standing connections and trust in the communities; 2) they use the Portals for many informal “pop up” initiatives (showing movies to kids on the big screen, a space for art and performance like poetry slams, running a barbershop, a spot to gather around community projects, holding chess tournaments, having community “shared meals,” or dialoguing with global Portals that are not a part of our study) on the days and times that conversations are not being recorded for our study. In this way, the curators create the Portal to be a community gathering spot and interesting place for all kinds of discussions and collaborations,

not just for discussing the heavy topic of policing. For just one instance, Portals founder Amar Bakshi says, “we have people making a rap album in 15 countries, now being produced out of Milwaukee.”

Individuals enter the Portal typically after wandering in out of curiosity or word of mouth and engage in an approximately 20-minute conversation with someone else in a paired city that they do not know (sometimes, there is more than one participant on each side). After participants hear about the study and give consent to participate but prior to beginning a conversation, they fill out a basic iPad survey consisting of 12 brief questions, including basic demographic background as well as queries about the frequency of interactions with police (age at onset, how many times stopped in last five years), trust and confidence in police, and crime victimization. Crucially, as the individuals speak to one another, their conversation is not moderated by a researcher or even guided by traditional research questions posed in a survey. Instead, Portal participants are prompted with a single question: “How do you feel about police in your community?” Once participants enter the Portal container, they are alone, except for the person they are speaking to in the other city. Each of the Portal dialogues was video recorded and later transcribed (and will soon be coded for analysis).

Initially, and particularly in certain locations, participants are curious but skeptical of the Portal. Gilberto, a curator in Chicago, recounts that it was difficult to explain the study and the technology in a short amount of time to people who are trying to get to their destination. And the Portal can appear to be cold and institutional; he himself, upon seeing the Portal, relates that his first thought was “am I gonna get locked up or taken out?” Lewis in Milwaukee similarly described the initial days of the Portal installation and participants, many of whom initially thought it was helping law enforcement or that there “was a catch.” “But once they do have a conversation, then it is kinda hard to get them to stop talking.” Maryam describes that in one of the Los Angeles locations, the Law Library, people came in with the preconception that the Portal was a social services site because of its proximity to the library and other agencies and had to be persuaded that their interlocutor on the other side wasn’t going to be providing free legal advice.

When people leave a Portal, though, initial skepticism quickly gives way to catharsis. They come out giddy, teary, unnerved and everything in between (one curator said most participants looked like they had “dropped a big heavy weight that they’ve been carrying” and another described it as “a refuge”). Participants can jot down their impressions, ideas, and observations in “The Gold Book” that sits outside each Portal. The reflections reveal that these experiences are meaningful, surprising, and full of coincidental discoveries; many impart that they appreciated the chance to learn from another person’s experience. Most feel more than a fleeting sense of connection and most appreciate the chance to engage in a conversation they didn’t plan in a space that feels strange and futuristic. Take a few entries from The Gold Book in Los Angeles:

I was connected to a black man in Baltimore and his experiences with police were definitely different than mine. We had a shared fear of police [...] single people out, and we both feared our friends/family (who are argumentative) would be mistreated by police. The experience itself was very insightful. What he had to say gave me insights on what black men have to deal with in some areas of the U.S. I knew black men had it rough but hearing someone talk about his experiences made it a lot more tangible than before. If I could, I'd definitely do this again!

Oh my goodness – I loved this whole experience. Being part of a law enforcement family, this conversation just broadened my horizon as far as what's really going on out in other parts of the world. Would definitely recommend it & would enjoy doing this again

In the conversation I had, I noticed that police are not only similar to Coachella PD, but in Baltimore they appear to be worse, my chat mate said they even demand money with the threat of jail as the only alternative, I spoke of an officer following me for 10+ minutes just to tell me to turn on my headlights, while the sun was still up.

I thought I'd time travel.

My experience was a journey. I went in not knowing what to expect and I came out knowing what to expect. To realize a different perspective was mind blowing. We as a single race must come together to change the world.

This was a great learning experience, having the opportunity to talk to people across the U.S. about Problems that we face on a daily basis. It was pretty awesome talking to the ones I actually spoke to (they were really dope) But especially at this time, there is so much going on that deals with police brutality and social injustice, and I feel like this NEEDS to be discussed. Not just with our peers around us, but people all over the U.S. This is an amazing project and I hope it continues to expand.

Collecting over 800 conversations across ten sites with at least a dozen curators leading the process was not without hurdles. For example, achieving a balanced sample by gender proved challenging because women (and immigrants) were more reluctant than men to enter a dark container alone, especially in Chicago where the Portal was initially in a more remote location. Foot traffic in the wintry days of January was slow. Time zone differences reduced the number of hours we could operate. Internet connections got dropped – sometimes even disrupting a conversation mid-thought – and a batch of conversations between Newark and Milwaukee were inaudible. Conversations between Spanish-speakers in Mexico City depended on Spanish-speakers in Los Angeles or Chicago. Although our research design assumed one-on-one conversations, we bent the rules on more than one occasion allowing in more than one participant (which made transcription difficult). This was often done to address other issues such as women being fearful to enter the Portal alone. Sometimes a person who had entered the study and taken a survey left the box before having the conversation because they got a phone call.³

We learned and adapted quickly to ideas that didn't pan out, like the time we thought it would be interesting to pair police officers in one place with residents in another and realized the power dynamics made meaningful exchanges unlikely. Because we did not limit the number of times people could participate in a Portal conversation, some Portals participants are "regulars."⁵ And, we sometimes allowed the curator to participate in the conversation if there was no one on one side of a paired Portal at the exact moment a study participant was ready to converse on the other side.

One of our goals was to place ourselves as researchers in the background, but the preceding discussion should highlight the important role the curators played in shaping the research. Their own identities and backgrounds and ideas likely shaped the context of the dialogues and influenced participants entering the box.⁴ Their strategies and approach to participants were somewhat

³ Between 3 percent and 21 percent of participants in the 6 cities who completed a survey left the Portal before being entered into a conversation.

⁴ We have conducted team interviews with the curators for each site to get a sense of the typical day at the Portal as well as the dynamics at each site (hurdles and triumphs, events, people that were most excited to or wary of entering the

distinct. And the issues facing one Portal may not be an issue for another Portal. Some Portals were able to quickly establish a status as being a wanted feature of the neighborhood with important community-driven events; others took longer to establish relationships and be seen as an incubator of cross-city dialogue.

Thus, the process is messier, and data far more noisy, than a tightly controlled survey collection. But it speaks to the communal sense of Portals as a treasured gathering spot that across almost a year and a half of data collection, the Portal was only vandalized on one occasion, even during the pitched protests in Milwaukee. And as readers will see soon, the collective perspectives we have amassed give what can only be called a people's history of the police.

Portals are gold shipping containers with immersive audio and video technology inside. Upon entering the dark container, which is covered in gray carpet, a participant is connected by life-size video and audio with a complete stranger in an identical gold shipping container in real time in a different city, different time zone, even a different country. This creates the illusion of being in the same room with someone who is, in fact, on the other side of the world, ready to bridge the gap through meaningful conversations and collaborations. Unlike other forms of video communication, a Portal is intended to remove the walls that traditional technology creates. It provides a safe and secure space in which participants can be fully present without cropped images or staccato conversations. We are thus provided with an opportunity to read one another's full body language, to make eye contact, to bond over our shared or divergent lived experiences, or to confront difficult political issues in collaboration with each other.

The gold shipping containers can be placed anywhere – in a neighborhood, in a community gathering spot, in a public square. Since December 2014, Portals has enabled 150,000 conversations among nearly 75,000 conversationalists in more than 18 countries. Portal locations range from cultural centers, museums, universities, and art galleries to public parks, NGOs, tech hubs, and refugee camps. These sites have included Erbil, Iraq; Berlin, Germany; Mumbai, India; Tehran, Iran; Mexico City, Mexico; Herat, Afghanistan; Za'atari, Jordan; Havana, Cuba; New York City, U.S.; San Francisco, U.S.; Washington, DC, U.S.; Seoul, South Korea, and many more. A PORTAL may be eliciting conversations between Washington, DC and Herat in the morning, Kigali in the afternoon, and Yangon in the evening.

Research Sites

The Portals are located in areas with high concentrations of police-citizen encounters, though as we discuss below, there is significant variation across the cities and the sites within each city.⁵ The places were selected largely because of convenience and connections – the existence of community partners who would help run the Portal and share space. We partnered with local nonprofit organizations that have an artistic and justice-oriented mission; they often provide the Portal a physical space in a central location with high foot-traffic as well as an enduring connection to the community. They were deeply involved in the programming beyond our criminal justice dialogues.

Portal, at what points the most people turned away, whether participants worried about being recorded, typical responses/emotions/words of participants upon leaving the chamber, evaluations of the ease of each connection, technical problems, etc.). In addition, each city was visited by at least one of us.

⁵ We do not discuss our Portal installation in Mexico City in this paper because those conversations are in the process of being translated from Spanish.

In Newark, after a brief stint in Military Park, the Portal was located in historic Lincoln Park, a cultural destination in a low-income neighborhood that is the southern gateway to Newark's downtown; the park is ringed by social service agencies, halfway houses, and Integrity House, a large drug rehab center. The Newark Portal did not remain after the pilot phase of the project.

The Chicago Portal was located outside a cultural center, Harold Washington Cultural Center, and along a business corridor in the Grand Boulevard neighborhood north of Hyde Park. It moved to south Chicago in a largely residential area ten blocks south of South Shore; the Portal was located outside a faith based non-profit charitable organization (South Chicago Christian Center) anchored by a thrift shop that was started to empower the community. The Portal was at the Instituto Del Progreso Latino, an alternative school established to serve the educational and workforce development needs of the community, located along a busy road in the Little Village and Pilsen area of Chicago, a predominantly Mexican American neighborhood.

The Portal then moved to its current site at the LetUsBreathe activist encampment in Back of the Yards. The LetUsBreathe site is adjacent to a high school and across from a shelter for boys and men. Police are pervasive in this area; indeed, when one of us visited the Portal just as the local school was letting out, the corners of the block were outlined with police officers bedecked in yellow vests with CPD on the back and "Safe Passage Home" on the front; they were deputized to accompany students home and secured them from gun violence.

Our longest standing Portal is in Milwaukee in the Amani neighborhood (Moody Park) outside an urban ministry program which provides GED preparation, financial literacy, a resident-led revitalization program and other resources. Located in the heart of the 53206 zip code, an area that boasts the most incarcerated people per capita in the entire United States. By age 30 to 34, only 38 percent of men have not spent time in a correctional facility.

The Baltimore Portal first sat directly in front of 230-year old Lexington Market in the heart of downtown, with many different constituencies; it is now in the North Avenue Corridor, a major vein and point connecting the East and West sides of Baltimore and a mostly black neighborhood just a half mile south of Johns Hopkins, simultaneously experiencing a period of rapid gentrification and displacement, community arts and activism, and severely suffering from a city-wide opioid epidemic. It sat in the YNot Lot, a space specifically meant for pop-up arts and activism that is near an open-air drug market and adjacent to Red Emma's, a community run radical bookstore and coffee shop.

Our Portal in Los Angeles has had a presence in four distinct neighborhoods, first in the Boyle Heights area at Self Help Graphics & Art, the leading non-profit visual arts center serving the predominantly Chicano population of Los Angeles; it moved to the Law Library in downtown which is surrounded by the federal court house, as well as state and district courts, drawing in a mix of both low-income residents seeking knowledge of their own cases and legal professionals and the nearby unhoused population of Skid Row; next, it sat outside the Student Union of a bustling college campus of mainly first-generation Latino and black students, CSU Dominguez-Hills; and now resides at Mercado La Paloma, a revitalization project of Esperanza Community Housing Corporation in the majority-Latino Figueroa Corridor of South LA. Readers should refer to the Appendix for further details on each location, dates, number of conversations that occurred in each site, and other details. Participants span cities and sites, but conversations tend to be between particular paired cities (refer to Appendix for city pairings).

The fact that the Portals are mobile and connected across large geographic divides invites several sources of variation. First, there is variation across *cities with distinct policing regimes* (and local political histories and geographies), from a policing regime that has undergone several high-profile reforms and scandals (LAPD) to one in the midst of oversight by the federal government (Baltimore) to a classic policing regime where people distant from the city center come into the city to police and relations are extremely distrustful (Milwaukee). Second, there is variation in the *types of neighborhoods* the chambers are located in; they range from an upwardly mobile working class Latino student population at CSU Dominguez Hills founded after the Watts riot to the Amani neighborhood in Milwaukee, the most impoverished and distressed neighborhood (with a poverty rate of 48 percent) in a city that is the most racially segregated in the nation.

Broadly speaking, the Portals occupied a range of neighborhood “types”: segregated (Milwaukee, Grand Boulevard), downtown (Lexington Market, LA Law Library), and in transition (Lincoln Park in Newark, North Avenue Corridor in Baltimore). Importantly, and unlike most existing single site studies, we able to *capture different levels of empowerment within similarly disadvantaged contexts*. Our newest Portal site in Chicago is at the LetUsBreathe activist collective in Chicago, founded in opposition to police torture at the infamous Homan Square “black site”; like other areas, perceptions of police are largely negative, and participants likely have high rates of police contact but it also has a high level of successful mobilization around the issue. Thus, we can understand how policing is experienced and understood in places where it has inspired political contestation and activism to shift its terms as well as places where mobilization and empowerment are latent.

Third, Portals not only cross cities, they occupy *different spaces within the same city*. In Baltimore, Chicago, and Los Angeles, the Portal moved to different neighborhoods with very different local histories, police presence, and social relations. The mobility of the Portal highlights the unique ways in which policing plays out for particular constituencies within a city. It also means that even among a single demographic group – say, young adult black Americans – there is a broad range of experiences, statuses, and identities. These young adults could be college students (CSU), second generation immigrants (particularly in Chicago), former prison inmates (Amani, Mercado, Station North, Law Library), people seeking services (Lincoln Park, Law Library), former gang members (Mercado), people experiencing displacement through gentrification, budding activists (LetUsBreathe, YNot Lot), working class residents (Grand Boulevard), migrants from cities in the south (Chicago), or young professionals (LA Law Library).

Fourth, a single site often exhibits *variation, both in the kinds of groups in the area surrounding it and in the timing of the dialogue*. For example, the Los Angeles Law Library draws in highly educated people and lawyers as well as many people experiencing homelessness and mental health issues coming from Skid Row, which is just five blocks away. It draws in people from all over the city trying to obtain services, legal assistance, and free workshops as well as more working-class people trying to pursue civil legal claims, protection from eviction, or who were court-referred. The Mercado la Paloma site in Los Angeles, a vibrant market draws in a hipster foodie crowd, staff from nearby University of Southern California on their lunch break, food service workers and families running the stalls, community organizers, people from a homeless encampment, police officers getting food, locals lined up outside the DMV that is across the way, and ex-inmates and former gang members on ankle monitors because of nearby halfway house, a housing complex for formerly incarcerated, and a local foundation doing prison re-entry work. In Mexico City, for another example, the Portals curator describes a day when participants were a banker, a cleaning person, a former police officer, and an activist from the gay revolution rally.

Fifth, Portals also capture differences not just in city spaces, but in the *same neighborhood over time*. For example, we observe communal dialogues and oppositional frameworks in Milwaukee before, in the midst of, and just after the uprising surrounding the police killing of Sylville Smith. We hear Baltimore residents before and after the gun task force corruption case and Mexico City residents after a change in the judiciary system from inquisitorial to adversarial that has drawn a lot of attention to the police.

And finally, the dyadic nature of the Portals involves yet another source of variation – that of the participant pairings themselves. Conversations between Chicago and Los Angeles, for example, could be between two young Latinas, between a working class black man and a retiree from a Chicano neighborhood, or a number of other combinations. Conversations can span generations, gender, race and class position, and other significant markers of identity.

Thus, the Portals project encompasses different contexts, different people within those contexts, and even different moments and markers within those contexts. These sources of variation allow for an exploration of how meanings shift across cities, spaces, groups, and time. *Who* participates in the Portals dialogues and *how* participants perceive police practices often reflect these geographic and demographic distinctions of their locations. Even though we are capturing many sources of variation, readers will note that the data that gathered thus far does not represent residents of smaller cities, inner-ring suburbs like Ferguson, or southern communities, who may have unique experiences with the state not captured in the large urban cores that our study is centered around.

Approach to the Data

Importantly, the Portals project is descriptive, interpretive, and theory-generating. Rather than testing specific hypotheses of extant theories, we seek to identify common narratives in order to better understand how Americans, particularly race-class subjugated communities, perceive the police and how they relate their experiences to ideals of fairness, justice, and equality in order to develop better theories (and questions) of how communities perceive citizenship, political authority, racial order, and the state.

As such, readers will find no focused hypotheses here and no attempt at prediction or causal inference. The measurement of specific policing practices or attitudes about those practices is also not our concern. One could use the Portals to discover policing tactics, to be sure – conversations quickly center on police covering dashcams with the hoods of their cruisers in Milwaukee and gun burying as a practice to evade being taken to the station in Chicago. But that isn't our aim. It is also not our goal to pinpoint precisely what share of residents hold this or that attitude. Instead, and let us underscore this, we set out to locate what Cathy Cohen, Michael Dawson, and others have called an "oppositional ideology" – a set of ideas that challenge mainstream belief systems and "provide marginal group members with a different framework through which to assess their secondary position in society" (Cohen 1999, 41). Our project is concerned with identifying a coherent narrative or lens through which race-class subjugated communities (RCS) interpret their political world and to discover how they structure ideas of power and how they attach subjective meaning to the same events.

We follow the constitutive and "active listening" approaches of scholars like Katherine Cramer (2012), whose "listening investigations" uncovered a "rural consciousness." Though our topics are quite different – hers of visits to local café klatches of working class whites in rural Wisconsin and ours of dense urban neighborhoods of mostly black and brown people – our approach is motivated by a similar logic – that listening can yield unmatched insight into political understandings.⁶ Our approach is an interpretive exercise in hearing their analysis take shape through listening to how they make sense of the world, how they describe the "rules of engagement" with the state, and how they perceive their communities power and position.

Through this bottom-up approach, our hope is to identify a collective consciousness and its components. What themes animate or anchor the conversations? What categories and logics are important? What is obvious and commonsense to them? What metaphors, symbols, and vocabularies appear regularly in their testimony to each other? Do they reference historical touchpoints? What considerations are foregrounded? Which ideas are absent? What are the most prominent formulations? What distinctions are drawn? Which ideas are contested and where is

⁶ Unlike Cramer, and most political ethnographies to date, we purposefully don't insert ourselves into the conversations at all. The goal of both Cramer's work and our own is to learn about the ways individuals organically draw connections between an experience with the state and their daily lives, but the forums are quite different. Whereas Cramer participated in pre-existing forums for discussion amongst community members with well-established relationships, Portals is a convening of strangers. While the Portal experience is designed to facilitate intimacy and connection in a short amount of time, we believe that revealing our roles as researchers would introduce both a professional and power dynamic that would turn intimate dialogues into an interview. Relatedly and as mentioned previously, we see Portals as a forum for reciprocity, meaning-making, and connection that traditional interviews and focus groups do not. By de-centering ourselves as researchers, we were able to maintain our commitment to the Portal as a public good, not simply a tool for extraction. Cramer did this through her participating in pre-existing spaces for civic dialogue. We do so by providing a new forum for civic dialogue, and then getting out of the way.

there disagreement? Where do they see sparks of opportunity? Are patterns different by generation or gender or city?

And at one level up from these questions, once we identified common vocabularies, resonant frames (Woodly 2015), and ideological anchors we can begin to answer larger questions about oppositional frameworks, systems of thought, and political morality within RCS communities: What are the ideational currents and collective memories that flow through race-class subjugated communities? What are the competing visions of freedom? What is the range of discourse around the police? What forms the core of ideas? How do race-class subjugated communities reinterpret dominant discourses around the state and state authorities to “better fit the realities” of their lived experience? How do they seek to redefine and reframe dominant conceptions of black life, public safety, American democracy, etc.? Are there radical departures from dominant narratives, discourses, ideologies? What are the biggest fictions? What components of liberalism do they reject or adapt? What alternatives are presented to core American traditions? What alternative logics course through the dialogues? Are there concepts or appeals not in the broader public sphere that surface? What futures are imagined? What are the primary and secondary analytical categories operating at one level up from experiences?

So, instead of asking whether people think police are fair or whether they trust police all the time, sometimes, or never — what a survey might ask — instead we ask how do they “define the limits of the permissible” of police and residents (Dawson 2001)? Instead of asking does having a police encounter *cause* a particular attitude or behavior -- as those analyzing surveys might do, with some difficulty – we instead listen to hear their “causal story” of state action in their communities. Instead of trying to measure mere mentions of topics, or distributions of anti- police attitudes, we seek to explore *how people reason through their experiences*, the ways they frame and don’t frame problems with security from violence. And by doing all of this, we can locate the various strands of political discourse and beliefs structured by personal and communal experience with the state.

Take the following Portal conversation between two women and two men from the pilot phase of our project. Based on their survey answers about trust in police, their views may appear similar. But in conversation, we see more contestation and divergent formulations:

Dominique⁷: But hold on, drowning is drowning. When water get up your nose and you start coughing, you feel like you don't know what to do. So you reaching out, you hurting other [expletive] cause you want to live. So, we as a community is drowning, right?

Craig: Because women is free. They always been free.

Debra: Right. You right because I can quit 10 jobs and go get another one the next day... But why do black men wait for somebody to give them a job? We live in America.

Craig: They done asked every [expletive] on the planet for a job and they said no. That means create our own, right?

⁷ Fictive names are used to preserve confidentiality of participants.

Debra: So what about the half of black men that won? That got degrees, that got businesses. Why they never come back home? I got a rich brother, he ain't never came back home!

Dominique: They took that miseducation and ran with it.

Ty: [talks in detail about almost drowning by going too far out in the ocean] I said this is it for me, I can't go no further, I don't have no more energy in my body. So when I decided to drown, that was it. I think that's where we are as a black race. We have decided, you know, through generations to drown ourselves. Our kids are in a drown mode.

In this conversation, women and men are offering different diagnoses of the problems faced by their communities. Debra proposes a discourse of personal responsibility, noting her impatience with men who aren't proactive enough in securing employment. Craig and Ty counter with a more systemic diagnosis on the state of the Black community—collective exhaustion at repeated rejections from jobs. To which, Debra invites another analysis, questioning why some blacks made it and abandoned them. In this short exchange alone, we see disagreement, collective questioning (why they never come back home?), sense of opportunity (“we live in America”), and sense of peril (“we have decided.... To drown ourselves”). We can see the role of gender (“women is free”) and class (the reference to blacks that got degrees and businesses). We can see them learn from each other and discuss solutions to the crisis of not being able to secure employment (“that means create our own” jobs, “right?”). In this short back and forth, we can also see how participants make use of metaphors and analogies like drowning and exaggeration --as when Craig says black men have asked everyone “on the planet” for a job and got turned down. We hear certain terms – miseducation – that call to mind historic black voices (Carter G. Woodson’s *Miseducation of the Negro*). We can also *hear* a certain rhythm to the conversation, one that brings to mind black rhetorical and song traditions that use “call and response”. This is just a single conversation. By examining multiple conversations, across multiple neighborhoods, and across varying identities of people who are having them, we can better understand the discourses themselves and the structural features that predict their deployment.

We have several kinds of data – transcriptions of the 850 conversations; survey data from the 1750+ participants in each paired dialogue; non-systematic reactions from the Gold Book testimonies; and observations from curators. Eventually, we will incorporate interviews of the curators and their first-hand observations as well as watching videos of the conversations. Individual survey data have been matched to the conversation transcript, using Dedoose, a qualitative coding software. Dedoose permits us to see co-occurrence of themes, to understand how differences in participants (and their social location) maps onto themes, and to identify what frames are most and least resonant. Later, we will use supervised learning methods to do a systematic text analysis and to examine important patterns by gender, city, race, generation, among others. We can also use the timing in a given city to explore the impact of police violence and protest on community dialogues and identify shifts in discourse and new resonant frames.

For now, we rely on an in-depth reading of the 3000 pages of transcripts to provide a broad accounting of some of the most prominent categories, themes, and ideas that surfaced in conversations and attempt to pull it into a broader framework or vision of how the state operates, the role and function of police in constructing their own positions and that of their communities, and their collective aspirations and visions of justice. This is a first cut and is by no means a full accounting of all of the metaphors, themes, and different patterns by group, time, or place. But these

are themes that potentially recast how we understand the politics of race-class subjugated communities in the city in an era of high and targeted police action.

Representativeness

We believe the Portals exhibit the virtues of a more ethnographic or qualitative method – observing people in their communities and in their own words – while also demonstrating the powerful insights gained from scale and ecological diversity. However, to the extent that scholars of public opinion wonder whether the individuals who choose to participate in these Portals are “representative” of the communities of interest or whether the sites we choose are representative of RCS communities (for the purpose of generalizable findings), we have several responses.

It is true that we cannot systematically assess who we are missing from the communities (and it is not only likely, but certain, that we missed many different kinds of neighborhoods).

We do not know who elects not to have a conversation after learning about the Portal. In academic speak, we do not know what kind of response rate we are getting or whether we are systematically undersampling introverts, those who are more reticent to discuss their experiences with police, or people who are working during the operating hours. Readers may well wonder if the topic itself is incentivizing people who are upset about police more than others to enter into deliberation or conversely, leading some who have extremely negative traumatic encounters to decide not to participate, thus leading to “biased estimates.”⁸

First, we believe that not having a representative sampling design is an acceptable tradeoff when gathering narratives and dialogues; we are after richer data that reveals not just a snapshot of opinion that is “representative,” but how people reason together, how they frame things in their own words not those of the survey researcher, and how they develop a theory of state action and power. Interpersonal interactions capture aspects of political life that traditional large-N, representative surveys do not (Sanders 1999) – complexity, reasoning, disagreement, explanations for a given belief. For just one example, in the conversation described in the pages above between Debra, Ty, Dominique, and Craig, we saw multiple ideas, disagreement, and questioning. In a traditional survey, Debra might appear as a “don’t know” response, to be thrown out of the analysis, discarded as missing data. Indeed, in our own survey, 2 of the 4 participants in the exchange said they “sometimes” trust the police. A survey would conclude, unhelpfully, that 50% of the population “sometimes” trust the police and that black men were less likely to give this response.

In explaining her turn to intensive listening in local groups, Cramer puts it this way: “I find mass-sample public opinion surveys enormously helpful for capturing what a large population of people think at a given point in time. But for the task of figuring out why people think what they do I have found no better substitute than listening to them in depth and hearing how they piece the world together for themselves.... Poll-based analyses of opinion ought to be accompanied not just by focus groups or in-depth interviews but also by listening methods that expose us to the conversations and contexts of everyday life” (2016, 20). We agree.

⁸ Indeed, Portals_Curators report that some groups were especially reluctant to enter a conversation about police, either because the police were a taboo subject (Mexico City), because they feared retaliation or that their ideas would be disclosed, because they had a vulnerable legal status (immigrants and those on ankle monitors in LA), or because they felt they didn’t have enough to say (CSU Dominguez Hills).

Second, we would be more concerned about representativeness or bias if we were testing hypotheses about the distributions of attitudes (*how many*) or causal relationships between variables (how related), studies based on a “sampling logic.” Our study is more akin to a “case study logic”, “critical when asking *how* and *why* questions, with which a sampling logic has greater difficulty” (Small 2008, 6). That said, our focus on narrative will likely enhance and improve survey data collections and resulting studies that do focus on *how many* type questions. Other scholars can use the discursive themes we locate in Portals conversations to conduct their own larger representative surveys to specifically measure what specific proportion of the population thinks X or Y.

We also agree with Small, Cramer, and others who have thought a lot about various approaches to public opinion research that we need a wider range of approaches, more ways of gathering data, and that the way to proceed is most certainly not to make qualitative research “come closer to matching the logic of inquiry of classical statistics”; doing so is like “chastis[ing] Spanish for not being English” (Small 165).

Finally, if readers ask how representative and generalizable our study is, we could easily return the question. Are other studies that have larger samples and select “at random” better at generating answers about heavily policed communities? In most cases, no. Take the American National Election Study (ANES) or the General Social Survey (GSS), both based on large, nationally representative samples. The ANES has never queried respondents about encounters with police, courts, prisons, or other disciplinary encounters. The GSS recently started measuring arrest and incarceration. Even with oversamples of blacks and Latinos in the best years, the GSS would yield perhaps a 100 people with experiences with arrest, and even fewer with imprisonment, leaving little variation to explore and estimates with little statistical power. Under no scenario, does this sample represent the views or experiences of highly policed communities. Large-N survey samples do not capture the Philando Castilles of America, young men who have been arrested many times, people who live in high incarceration zip codes, or people who currently reside in halfway houses, jails, etc. (See Pettit 2012 for an excellent discussion of how modern social and population surveys regularly disappear incarcerated people from their samples).

Even when survey samples do capture these populations, the research gathered capture only snapshots of their private choices and views. The best major studies of urban life – *Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study*, for one eminent example – focus almost entirely on individual behaviors and choices (how they rear children, how they engaged the labor market, substance abuse and offending patterns, decisions to leave school, etc.). While they do examine exposure to police and other state projects of surveillance and discipline, they fail to explore in depth dispositions resulting from those socializing experiences. Conversely, the major surveys of American citizens and perceptions (like the ANES) focus almost entirely at the national level on behaviors such as voting and citizen political preferences. When the national level studies do address respondents’ actual experiences with government authorities, such studies tend to examine social programs aimed at the middle and upper classes (see Soss and Weaver 2017 for a discussion). It is as though these experiences are irrelevant to understanding the lifeworlds of the urban poor.

Furthermore, it is hard to see that the “bias” from a purposive, snowball, or convenience sample is worse than the bias from a more randomly selected sample with a low number of people with the experiences of interest. As Mario Small instructs, it may be “more random,” but it is hardly a statistical improvement or a better way of capturing the population of interest. In these cases, scholars are in a much better position when they design studies to include large numbers of

respondents with police experiences, “even if this meant finding them through non- random means, such as organizations” or placing a Portal in a highly-policed area (Small 2008, 3). In such cases, researchers usefully turn to non-probability, non-random purposive samples. Indeed, purposive samples “can be logically assumed to be representative of the population” by “applying expert knowledge of the population to select in a nonrandom manner a sample of elements that represents a cross-section of the population” (Battaglia 2008, 645).

Another issue of note: despite our belief that Portals can be a kind of intervention to spur political and civic engagement, we do not attempt to measure change as a result of the conversation and did not attempt to track participants over time after their Portal encounter. It is possible that people’s perspectives and ideas change as a result of sharing testimonies with a stranger. The Gold Book entries do suggest that people felt more efficacious, more connected, more willing to learn and be open to ideas counter to their own. It’s possible that polarization may relax, stereotyped ideas be disrupted, consciousness about policing raised, or empathy expand after one has this experience. We considered including a short post-Portal survey for participants upon exit but ultimately decided against it. Our feeling was that falling back onto a traditional survey method would alter the nature of the experience and we wanted their conversations (and their connection to another person) to be the last thing they left the Portal with and not a return to our research study and survey jargon. Our whole point was to disrupt the traditional way of gathering political thought by providing a space for unscripted, participant-led conversation. Additionally, we already are asking a great deal of participants – to sign a consent, to take a pre-Portal survey, to converse with a stranger for 20 minutes inside a dark box while being video recorded – so much so that what sounds like a good idea in theory would in practice, sufficiently discourage participation. The downside is that we lose information about what work dialogue does. We hope other scholars will embark on such a study.

Finally, while we could say much more on this, the Portals method should not be seen as a critique of or improvement on traditional ethnographic method, nor do we suggest that our method is better than other narrative methods. We believe more methods are better than one and the method should fit the substantive question. We are not sociologists trying to understand *social relations* and dynamics flowing from policing, which ethnography gets at really well, particularly recent works by Forrest Stuart, Carla Shedd, Didier Fassin, and Victor Rios. We are political scientists and legal scholars concerned with state-citizen relations, political discourse, and oppositional frameworks, which Portals is an excellent method to get at because it lets many people in many communities speak, question, define, relate, create. And yet, many disciplines, particularly political science, have often been hostile to qualitative/narrative/interpretive methods, using questions of “representativeness” as a strawman to discount their rich insights.

Participant Characteristics

Portals participants gave information about their demographic background, experiences with and trust in police, and victimization on a short iPad survey. Based on this information, the sample was 51 percent black, 24 percent Latino, 10 percent white, 2 percent Asian American, 1.7 percent Native American, and 11 percent mixed race or other. The modal participant had a HS education, was male, and young. Almost half of the sample (48%) reported having a high school education or less and 32 percent reported having at least a Bachelor's degree. 43 percent were under age 30, and 15 percent were 18. These characteristics varied greatly by city (see Appendix figures for site differences); most of our Latino participants are in Los Angeles, participants in Milwaukee and Chicago are younger, and a larger share of participants were female in Baltimore. Los Angeles drew a more educated sample: only 14 percent had a high school education or less in that city compared to 69 percent in Milwaukee, 61 percent in Chicago, and 54 percent in Baltimore. Conversation transcripts reveal even more variation; many in Chicago describe being southern migrants, some in all the cities describe having middle class ties, and many in Los

Figure 1: Frequency of Police Encounters

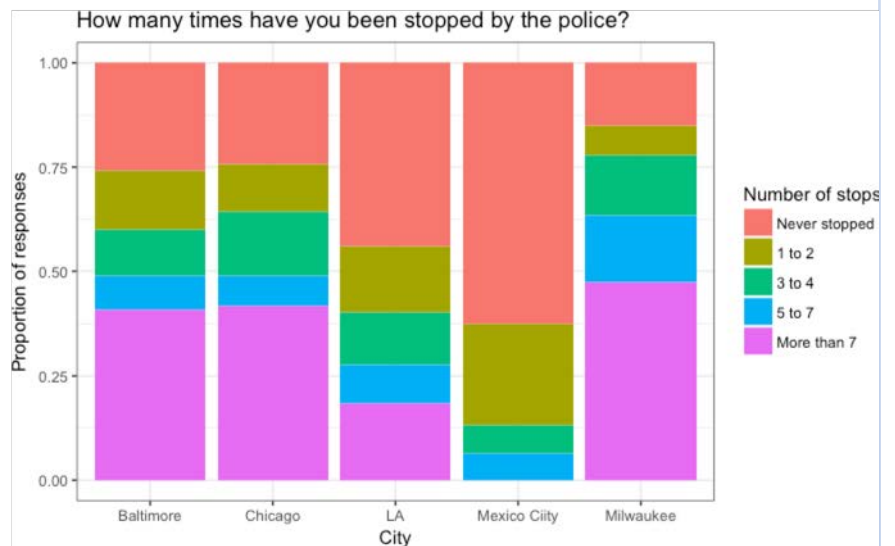
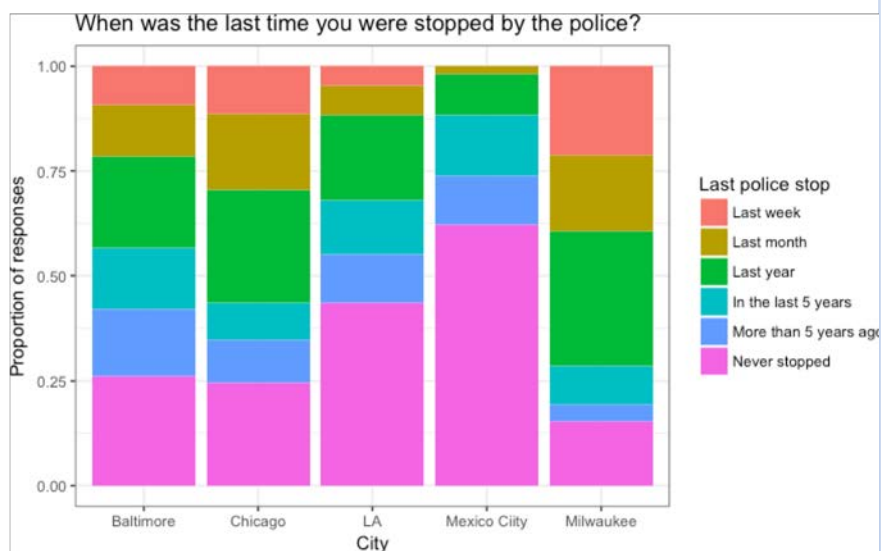


Figure 2: Last Police Contact



Angeles have law enforcement in their extended families. We will eventually systematically code these mentions.

This is just at the level of the individual; conversations also varied in who was paired with who. Conversations may take place between an older black man in Chicago and a Latina in LA or a white young Baltimorean with an older black woman in Newark. Many conversations are between an older and younger generation, so conversations cross not just geographic space but also generational time.

Portals participants are familiar with police contact – 72 percent reported that they had been stopped by police (not counting minor traffic violations). Almost half of those in Chicago, Baltimore, and Milwaukee reported that they had been stopped over 7 times (Figure 1). And strikingly, contact was quite recent – about 46 percent of participants who had been stopped at all in their lives in Milwaukee and 40 percent of respondents in Chicago had an involuntary encounter *in the last week or month* (Figure 2). 21 percent of all participants in Milwaukee reported that they had been stopped in the last week. Not surprisingly, women had fewer involuntary contacts with police – almost 40 percent had never been stopped compared to over half of men who had been stopped over 7 times in their lives (Figure 3). Women also had less recent contact; 40 percent of male participants had been stopped in the last month or week compared to one-tenth of women. Though we did not ask them specifically, many revealed in conversations that they had been incarcerated or had a felony conviction. The majority of Portals participants were early in adolescence when they had first encounter being stopped, patted down, or sat in handcuffs (Figure 4). The testimonies in conversation regularly described their first encounter as a defining memory in childhood:

I've been having problems with them since I was 12. I've ... I will remember this day because it was my first police interaction. Me and my cousin was walking down the street from the store and we, it was some girls that went in after us, like a group of girls. But we had came out. Because I told my cousin, she was younger than me at the time, she was like 10. So I'm like come on, I think they on some stuff. So we leave. And the girls ran past us, they went in there and stole some stuff. They ran past us and the police just came and just grabbed up me and my cousin. We like, we not with them. We don't even know them. ...And I remember this officer. He was Officer [], yep that was his name, Officer []. He a real big dude, like, I was scared as shit. I was 12 years old. I thought I was gon' die. [18 year old black woman, Milwaukee]

At a young age, like twelve years old, I, I experienced the police, they come in, into my house, they lookin' for one person but still they feel the need to put a gun to the head of a twelve-year-old, and I'm, that's my first time seeing a gun, and it's like, wow, this is what I'm exposed to, like just predetermined by who knows what, but not me being a young person. [19 year old black man, Milwaukee]

Like, uh, I wasn't at school one day so the officer, like, came on, he came on me and tried to slam me, and he threw me down a hill. So he tried to put handcuffs on me, and then he said I was resisting, jumped on my back,... And then he tripped me and threw me down a hill... He gave me a ticket, uh, for resisting, and then truancy, and then that's it... That was like two years ago. I'm a senior now. That was like sophomore year. [18 year old black man, Newark]

When I was about 14 and 13, I always been a full figured girl. The police would stop me when I was walking outside with my friends at night, "Are you a prostitute?" As me questions like that. I'm a 13 year old girl at the time. [18 year old black woman, Milwaukee]

When I first got locked up man, and put in a jail cell, I was eight years old. I was, I was in second grade. And after that bro I was like 10, 11, 12, 13, each one of those years the police called me....They used to pick me up and drop me off on the other side of the [expletive] tracks. [59 year old black man, Chicago]

Trust in the police skewed low in all cities, particularly Milwaukee. Distrust in police was particularly high among younger groups, men, and distrust rose with amount of police contact and recency of contact. For example, just over half of Milwaukee participants who were under 30 said they *never* trusted the police. And just under half of those stopped more than 7 times in their lifetime never trusted police.

Figure 3: Exposure to the Police by Gender

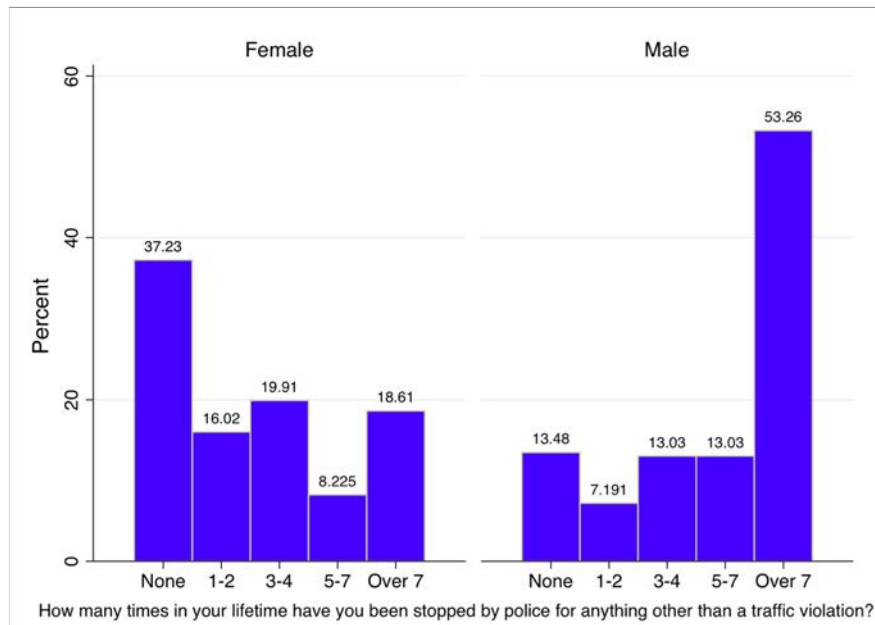
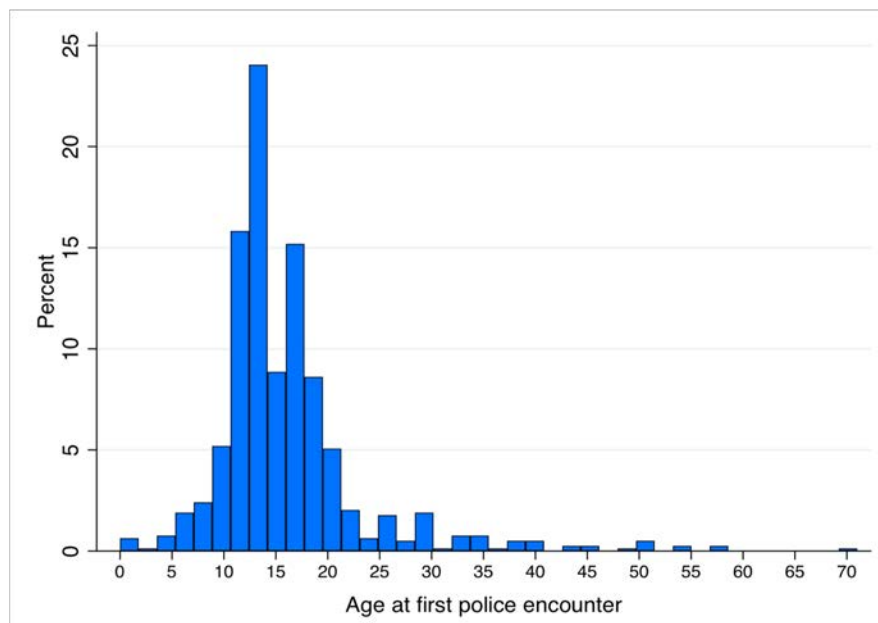


Figure 4: Majority of Participants in Early Adolescence at Initial Police Contact



Analysis: Citizenship & the City

Our first foray into data analysis focuses on ideas of citizen revealed through the Portals dialogues. We begin from the premise that citizenship is lived. For our purposes, *citizenship* is described in how citizens experience institutions, their daily encounters as citizens vis-a-vis the government, and in how they view their community as regarded by government and other citizens. Long before the high-profile police violence in Ferguson and West Baltimore, such themes had animated our research. In separate research projects, we challenged the notion that how the poor experience the state is best understood by its formal dictates and representative institutions and that citizenship could be measured through formal empowerment (Lerman and Weaver 2014; Justice and Meares 2014).

In contrast to many middle-class Americans who experience government as a “submerged state” that rarely interferes with personal autonomy and distributes various material benefits in ways unobservable by this class of citizens (Mettler 2011), for residents of communities such as Ferguson, MO, state interference is routine and expected, making the state an obstacle and frequently an adversary. The revenue system is dependent on fees for minor transgressions and bolstered by informal, private systems of financial seizure like payday lending, commercial bail bonds, and postal code profiling (Fergus 2013); schools are oriented to disciplining/monitoring in addition to educating; the safety net is not only less uplifting, but designed to regulate behavior and sanction people for non-compliance with a host of rules; and the police and penal system constitute a major way citizens interface with government. If the mark of middle class living is “reduced contact with the public sector” (Fernandez-Kelly 2015, 115), for the poor, “the state is all over.”

In other words, RCS communities are consequential places where political discourse happens; indeed, the black counterpublic is a formative place for indigenous critiques of the state and its agents to emerge (Dawson 2001). Police encounters are one of the central defining *political* experiences of black and brown life via the state and structure political conceptions. Beyond schools, it is here that many Americans have their first memorable experience of official authority. And it is here through their “causal narrative of society and the state” that we can observe “one of the most trenchant critiques of the theory and practice of American ‘democracy.’” (Dawson 2001). It is here that we can identify racial orders. And it is through these visions and reinterpretation that political transformation often occurs. It also gives us a chance to observe how political discourse is developing in a time not just of high police interventions but a black liberation movement to counter state violence. “Black visions” are located and formed “within a history.” At the same time, these ideas have the backing of intergenerational wisdom, “forged over the centuries.”

Though our prompt centers on the police, conversations are free flowing and typically wend their way through many topics – including gentrification and immigration and other changes in their communities and cities, national politics (i.e. Donald Trump), the opioid crisis, historical moments (i.e. Rodney King), popular culture, parenting and threats to youth, and many others.

The Portals conversations shed light on how race-class subjugated citizens characterize both the nature and logic of their citizenship based on their experiences with police. The nature of their citizenship is marked by what we will term *distorted responsiveness*, or the feeling that police are both selectively vigilant and negligent. And the logic that motivates the state’s orientation to it citizens is a sense that all community members are *collectively culpable* for disorder. When the police see civilians as perpetrators instead of victims, agitators instead of agents, civilians become

institutionally expendable — available for scapegoat, sanction, or abandon. The remainder of this paper will define these terms and the discursive patterns that gave rise to them. We conclude by highlighting ways in which this experience of citizenship shapes the civic aspirations of race-class subjugated citizens; while some participants remain hopeful about traditional channels for political change, many exhibit signs of disillusionment with the state all together.

Distorted Responsiveness

Across Portals conversations and across sites, a duality characterizing police orientations to the community comes quickly into focus: penetrating influence and a torturous silence. Conversations did not describe the police as performing a coherent mission but as doing two things simultaneously that made police authority at once useless *and* harmful. What characterized police authority and relationship to the community was something we term *distorted responsiveness*, though it was called many things by participants. The police were omnipotent and ubiquitous, powerful and visible *and* inattentive, unheeding, oblivious. These seemingly opposed orientations described police actions vis-a-vis their community. Participants described what police were doing and what they were not doing as two sides to the same coin. In the end, high levels of distrust of police stemmed from both experiences within this duality - the hyper vigilance in “busting us down” and the aloofness to their real victimization and community hurt other times. The collective understanding was one that positioned the police as not just exhibiting overreach in their communities, as is a common focus in media and academic narratives; but rather, that aggressive patrolling was *yoked* together with invisibility or ambivalence in the face of immediate danger.

In some ways the conversations reflect longstanding ideas of over and under policing, long present on legal and social science literature (Kennedy 1998). Typical conversations describe the police as “doing too much,” “they be like extra,” they “sweat people about cigarettes”, or “like they just so petty.” These terse phrases were followed by extensive elaborations on police dispositions to their communities and families; the police were extremely attentive to small infractions, to seeing who people were and where they were going, and to hounding people for minor quibbles. They were “petty.” But this energy and attentiveness to their family and friends did not translate into greater action when people were at risk of violence, predation, or had already endured violence; in these critical moments, the police were absent or slow to respond or responded in illogical ways that further victimized them or transformed them into suspects. Though they easily recognized the duality and described its pattern, participants were also confused by the contradictions inherent in policing, wondering aloud why police seemed to be there at a moment’s notice to check them for insignificant but technically unlawful things but withdrawn and reticent to protect them when it was really desired. Participants described their communities as having a sense of being on a tight leash sometimes but in a free fall of abandonment at key moments in their personal lives and the lives of those around them.

In important ways, however, the conversations reflect an understanding of the contemporary reality of policing, which has a self-understanding located in effectiveness at crime reduction (Meares 2016). This is a relatively new self-understanding. For the bulk of the 20th century it was generally thought, by policing scholars and police themselves that police could not do much about crime except to respond, highlighting the second concern of our respondents – that police fail to come when called for serious crimes (see also Leovy 2015). In our Portals conversations we see respondents describing the newer policing focused on crime reduction in the form of hyper attentiveness to small offenses. For example, one man details being harassed for selling “loose

squares” but when he hears gunshots and calls an officer over, it’s “nope, I didn’t hear anything.” His conversation partner concludes in agreement that “Yeah, they do shit when they ready to do it. When it’s beneficial to them. They really don’t give a fuck about how you is.” To him, it’s a “gimmick.” There is a keen sense that police are focused in pursuit of drug crime but that life and death situations were not of interest to law enforcement. (“Like a lot of them here in Baltimore, they sit on a corner, and they basically be like, you know, after, they after the people that sell drugs. But they don’t really, they don’t catch the crime. You know, people that’s dying here, getting shot and stuff, they don’t catch that. And, a lot of times, like, a lot of inflictions and I think people anger towards the police, it comes from that. Because, we feel like we’re not safe and secure as we supposed to be.”). At the same time, the participants discuss the failure of police to come when they are really needed because, at least in their understanding, they are obsessed with petty jaywalking.

In this frame, police are both fast *and* slow, vigilant *and* reticent. It was common for participants to highlight this duality, describing the police as being like “Johnny on the spot” when they or a friend was selling a loose cigarette but as nonresponsive or blasé when they really needed and tried to enlist their help – it’s gonna be like just callin’ a phone with nobody on the other end, you know.” The juxtaposition of extreme responses to things like a “10 year old walking across the street” without using a crosswalk or “speed walking” with shoulder shrug responses to people being shot in the head was a common feature of conversations. For example, one young black woman in Chicago started to describe the police to her Portal partner: “Well, the police in Chicago, I feel like they’re real picky, because you can call them for one thing and they take forever to come but if they hear it’s another thing that they rush, and that’s not fair.” Though she used the term “picky”, what she describes is distorted responsiveness. Another person revealed succinctly how things work: “In my city, it’s more of a they will put you in jail for weed or something little but if somebody gets shot in the head down the street, they can’t find who did it. That’s how it is here.” A 21-year old Latino in Los Angeles observed: “I grew up in, mostly like, minority groups area community, so I think policing was, like, really heavy... And then unfortunately when you did call them for help or like attention, they weren’t really as productive when you did.” Others described how police made arbitrary decisions, suddenly having the budget and manpower to police scruples and to harass but not to protect: “the police where I live at,” one 31-year old black woman in Milwaukee noted, “they just take a long time to get there. Like, you can call them for anything. It don’t matter what it is. And they be talking like, like they don’t got enough force out here to come and help you when you really need them. But they be harassing people who ain’t got nothing. Absolutely nothing.”

Collectively, participants described police spending a lot of time and energy on arresting people for selling loosies or drinking out of paper bags but when people need the police or there’s a chance for police to do something to help the community, they vanish. For others, memorable personal experiences formed the basis for their perceptions of distorted responsiveness. Take one young black woman in Milwaukee, who recalls a personal experience being questioned coming home and police flashing their lights in her sleeping son’s face before questioning her about being out late: “I really don’t like the police. Like, they don’t respond fast enough when you really need them. They rude as ever, they stop you for no apparent reason at all. Like, they just.... I feel like they do too much... Your mission is to serve and protect, but we see you as threats now. Me and my son, we scared to walk down the street. We go home, we shut all the doors, let all the blinds down. We go to bed.” She goes on to say “They worn out they welcome. They’re not even needed.... They’re pointless.” And after admitting that her biggest fear is having her 2 year old son shot by police, she says “I want to be able to take him to a park, or take him swimming and not be no police up there. Because now they everywhere.” Some had had personal experiences with victimization and police not responding:

"I happened to get a bullet in my spine, which is still there. I haven't heard anything about anybody being caught or anything. There's cameras right there on that corner and on the building."

"They come but they don't never come on time. Like when I had got shot they ain't really... they weren't too concerned. They came like, it took them like an hour to come. I mean where I got shot at, it wasn't too serious, but it's still a fact that a person gets shot and y'all taking all day to come."

"This fifteen year old girl just got shot in her kitchen and she dead. They couldn't save her. So like you said they don't come fast. They give you time to die. They give you time to die. You know it be like oh well they probably be deceased by the time we get there."

These personal experiences were followed by exasperation and confusion; policing logics made very little sense to them and were contradictory and inconsistent. After describing calling the police when his life was threatened and "they never even came," his conversation partner blurted out the question: "So who do we call to protect us? The people that's here to protect us is pumping fear in our hearts, so who do we call when we need..." Who was their guardian? That question hung heavy on the conversations. After noting that police "show a lack of regard for the community, but then again we're supposed to look up to them," one man admitted being confused ("I don't know what they want us to do, or how they want us to feel.")

Because of distorted responsiveness, participants saw police protection as a hoax; policing was not understood to be a public good at all. For some, it was just an accepted wisdom not worth lingering on. They mocked the official logo of police - "protect and serve." For others, nearly the whole conversation went back and forth describing the duality. This conversation between a man in Los Angeles and a man in Baltimore describes a game to measure how nonresponsive police were to gun violence, and their resulting interpretation that some areas get more responsiveness than others. Notably, these Portals participants disagreed about virtually every other topic that arose -- particularly the Rodney King shooting -- but shared a common description for why gunshots went unresponded to and the perverse reality that the highest crime areas had the least protection.

Los Angeles man: ... in the early 1990s, I lived in Venice and Crenshaw, which was not a good area back then. I used to listen to, to gun fire at night, with my friend.... We used to sit out on the balcony trying to figure out whether it was a 9 millimeter, a 38, an AK-47..... And we used to time them, time they're roll out, and how long it took, took to, to get to the, the crime, to the gunshots, and it was average 15 minutes to half an hour.... And that just does not make sense, you know what I mean? You got a police station which is, is several blocks away from gunshots, occurring all the time...

Baltimore man: Because they're not, they don't care about Watts and Crenshaw. They worry about Downtown.

Los Angeles man: Right, where the money is.

[A lengthy discussion on why there are no cameras in those areas but there are in downtown ensues.]

Baltimore man: But they don't care! But, but, if there's a community that is predominantly European with trickles of black in it, working class, they do have those cameras.

Los Angeles man: Yeah.

Baltimore man: They, they do. Protecting them.....You ask me, "Well, why do you want to move out?" Because I don't have any protection! I want my kids to go and play also. I don't want to abandon my area.

Los Angeles man: You want your kids to go to a good school, to be able to go to a park unmolested, to have real estate prices go up.

Baltimore man: Yes.

Baltimore man: To have the American Dream. And you cannot have that with drug dealers on the streets, prostitutes, murder, gunfire at night, um, that's just my point of view.

Police were perceived as having incredible power on one side of the duality -- "the police is always gonna be able to do what they wanna do. You know and I know that and I know you know that." Or as another person put it: "[Police are] a legalized gang on their own. They can do whatever they want to. Get you out the way if they want to and then nobody will never find out." Many people who personally experienced unfair treatment would conclude that the badge made police untouchable, and therefore, as the woman noted above, would just "mind their business" and not get involved. However, there were individuals for whom an experience led them to pursue an official complaint, taking their concerns up the chain of command. It is here that they would receive further evidence of distorted responsiveness. A Baltimore man recounts his experience having his young child beaten by police and eventually dropping the case:

When my son was nine years old, he was beaten very badly by a police officer. Nine years old. This man was a 160 pounds. My son was 86 pounds. He was climbing the tree. One of the neighbors said that he, uh, vandalized his car, which wasn't true. We were having a problem with the man showing the other children in the neighborhood pornographic material and I reported him, so he went after my children. And at that time, I- I was getting a divorce and I was, uh, just coming out of cancer surgery. And, um, he didn't understand to stay outside like the police officer. He said, "No, I'm going to sit in the house." When a police officer, when he tried to push past and go in the house he lifted my son off the ground with his elbow, where his legs was dangling, in a choke hold. My son started kicking. He kicked him in the groin. He threw him down on top of his shoulders and- and bruised him. All my neighbors said, "That's a child. Please, stop." ...These were all different races coming out and saying, "You don't need to treat that child like that. He doesn't understand." And when I called the supervisor of the police and the NAACP, they were all telling me to report it to the chief of police. But meanwhile the, uh, who investigates the police? Who was that, uh, came in and intimidated my neighbors. Would not come to court. Some showed up but they kept postponing it six different times. They could no longer show up because it was taking money out of their pocket because they were missing work. I ended up dropping it, but it has scarred my son for the rest of his life. You know, um, it scarred me, too. So what I did, I went to the Big Brothers program and I looked for a police officer that was white to be my son's big brother to show him that every officer is not like that. There's good and bad people everywhere.

His conversation partner responded, “That was — that was excellent.”

Part of the anger participants voiced in describing distorted responsiveness came from their belief that the practice was reserved for the “hood”- that police authority did not orient itself this way in more affluent communities. “They go out there to show what they doing,” one argued speaking of another part of the city, “but they come here only when we got chaos going on. That bothered me, too.” One of the LA Portal participants spoke about moving all over the state and “when I go to certain areas there's a community spirit. Like when I go to certain areas and the police go by, they're like, “Hey, how long have you lived here?” It's like, “I just moved here for about six months.” “Yeah, I haven't noticed you.” But then when I come back down to the hood where I grew up at, right, they're like, “Put your hands up!” (laughs).” One of the Chicago participants in a distinction regularly drawn between the North and South Sides said: “y'all understand the issues that we deal with when it comes to the South Side; ain't nobody pulling anybody over the same way they are on the North Side where all the white folks are. And I said to them [the police who stopped him], we're the ones that don't have the liquid and the capital to be able to pay for all of this, so that don't even make sense to me.”

Interestingly, even those who were sympathetic to the dangers police faced or to the difficulty of the job or revealed positive experiences with an officer, largely agreed with the distorted responsiveness. Many who relied on this frame also spoke vividly about the role their own people and communities played and “neither of them get a pass” — people who are committing violent crimes and police who violate their rights.

Moreover, a distorted responsiveness frame sometimes branched out to other arenas beyond police authority in the conversations. The conversations reveal a widespread consensus of the state selectively responding, simultaneously a hammer and torturous silence. They spoke of how white kids got civil provisions for getting hooked on heroin, while their children got railroaded for crack. Unarmed blacks are shot in the back or have their “asses whipped” while Dylan Roof shoots an entire church of blacks and is taken to McDonald's by the arresting officers. In Baltimore, where the opioid epidemic raged long before its current manifestation in rural white areas, participants described with disgust how assistance, treatment, and basic concern were withheld from black communities and the crisis was addressed by sending them to prisons. People are quite astute in recognizing the layers of distorted responsiveness. As the Baltimore resident describes below, a drug epidemic is met with silence by the municipal government, but when it envelops the wealthier white suburbs, government concern and funds are rolled out. At the individual level, addicts in white areas can “go to the nearest fire department” and get help. Black addicts are arrested. Whites who go into the city and buy drugs are left alone. But when blacks cross the boundary to the rich suburbs, they get arrested.

But now it moved out to the white community.... If your child is an addict, it will be no harm, go to the nearest fire department, and they will help you. Excuse me, fifteen years ago, you didn't say nothing about that.

...in Maryland, they have Prince George's County, one of the richest, PG County, Potomac, Bethesda, Annapolis, now it's out there, and it's, “Oh my God! My kids are opium, they do, they've been stealing my stuff from the cabinet!” Um, oh, oh. “I'm one too! I been taking it also! Now I'm addicted!” Well, who's going to help you? Da-na-na! We're going to help you. The government's going to give you money for it.

Well, 15 years ago, in the black community, we came to you for money. You said, "It's a epidemic. Um, we'll see what we can do." Long as it's here, it's okay, but when it get out there to your children, oh no! To your schools? Oh no! And how did it get there? Those same kids came into the city. No, we go out there, we get arrested. You know that. We out of place. They come to the city, they got carte blanche. everything gets taken care of it when it hits the money community.

Not being heard, not being cared for when you are a victim, not being taken seriously is a form of nonresponsiveness and disregard. It is painful in its own right. But being treated harshly *in the company of perceived abandonment* is what we mean by distorted responsiveness. Both inflicted pain, each exacerbated the other. What does it mean to not be heard but to be crushed on a lark? To not be defended one day but targeted the next? Watched over and sanctioned for slights while their real wound went unresolved? Does it give rise to a certain kind of citizenship in race-class subjugated communities? What does it mean to hold accountable each other when the state is withholding?

These two types of vulnerability, rooted in distorted responsiveness, are what characterize their relationship to powerful authority. It meant that their bodies were vulnerable on both flanks, and stories of both kinds of susceptibilities accented the conversations. And it meant being a citizen in their community demanded a kind of tightrope dance — to stay out of the way of law enforcement (sensing their vulnerability to police actions) while also knowing that enlisting police was perhaps futile, perhaps derailing but sometimes their only recourse. This tightrope usually meant curling into oneself: “I try to stay to myself and mind my business because things can go left at any moment. Whether it’s a fellow brother or whether it’s a police officer. Whether HE’S a fellow brother. You know what I mean?”

Eventually, after data collection is complete and all 850 conversations are coded, we will be able to discern what share of conversations featured distorted responsiveness and whether it was more prominent among participants of various backgrounds or neighborhoods or accompanied other frames and solutions. For now, we can say that distorted responsiveness was a prominent motif coursing through conversations that bridged various divides, among participants who said, “the police ain’t shit” at one end to those that said, “the police do the best they can.”

The Logic of Distorted Responsiveness: Blame and Expendability

How did our respondents make sense of the police practices they experienced that we characterize as *distorted responsiveness*? In this section, we illustrate that participants believe the state treats members of race-class subjugated communities, particularly those who are Black, as *collectively culpable* for the distress and disorder facing their neighborhoods. And this orientation toward a whole cross-section of the polity renders them *institutionally expendable* — available for profit or un-protection, available to be targeted easily with little consequence.

Collective Blame

Participants who live in communities struggling to overcome violence aren’t ignorant of the problems their communities face. They repeatedly cite issues with addiction, drug dealing, gun violence, mental illness. Some participants understand these problems within a personal

responsibility framework connecting to ideologies of Black conservatism and Black nationalism (Dawson 2001); they express frustration with their own communities' engagement with violence and apparent lack of solidarity echoing ideas of "linked fate" (Dawson 1994). Here individual deficits accumulate into a community pathology, leaving the police with no choice but to respond to crime in heavy-handed ways. However, the more prevalent diagnosis among participants is that deprivation drives disorder—that there are not enough employment, educational, and health opportunities to permit their communities to flourish. They feel the state operates at a distance when addressing root causes, but are in close proximity when treating the symptoms. One participant articulated his frustration with the state seeing crime but overlooking its origins:

"Instead of trying to really, really find out a solution on what is really going on in these communities, why so much crime, why is the crime rate so high. Like we know why the crime rate high, we're living in poverty, you know what I'm saying?... You know what I'm saying. So it's like more of, like, we don't just have a problem, it's not like we're committing crime because we like doing it, our, our lifestyles are hard, you know what I'm saying?"

As the state focuses on the symptoms and not the cause, they find police treat community members with a persistent presumption of guilt.

Whether they employ a personal responsibility framework or a systemic diagnosis, Black and Latino participants describe how this logic of collective blame results in civilians being stopped "for no reason"—be that in their cars or walking down the street. "Hey, they slay us up here like that though, you know what I'm saying? They'll see a group of us like, what are you guys doing? Minding are business, what? Like I had one day walk up on me, be like, excuse me, sir, are you on parole? Man, look, just cause I'm black don't mean I get in trouble, fam," one Milwaukee participant explains. Many Black men in particular refer to moments where they endured a traumatic interaction because the police "had the wrong guy." They did not find these experiences confined to segregated communities of color, however. Rather, their skin color followed them to the highway, to their friends' white suburban neighborhoods, all the way to college. One man, despite being currently employed in law enforcement, describes a moment where was wrongfully accused of vehicular theft on his way to work.

LA Participant: They told me I had stolen my car. And they pruned me out, to prone out, to lay on the ground, had guns on me, told me I had stolen my car. Told me I had taken it out of the employee parking lot.

Baltimore Participant: They didn't ask for registration or license or anything?

LA Participant: No it was just, down. Okay. So that was, for me, was a traumatic experience, you know, the problem was, even after they let us up it wasn't, hey I apologize, I'm sorry, or anything.

Baltimore Participant: Right.

LA Participant: And the neighborhood that I was in was predominantly white, so we go into the Jack in Box and everyone's looking at us like we're criminals. So you know, it was, that was really traumatic for at that time, but, you know, I didn't really have any problems with law enforcement because, you know, I was raised, you know do the right thing, do what you're supposed to do. I

didn't hang around a lot of people, I was pretty much in school doing other activities, so you know, I stayed out of trouble.

Others describe times when they've reached out to the police for help, only to be blamed or accused of culpability regarding the incident they reported. Black men are often treated like "they're already a suspect." "They can be well-educated, and the highest level of school, they could be lawyers and doctors, they don't even know," explains one participant. One young man in Milwaukee described a time where he called the police after someone mugged him on his way to community college; he felt the police offered him no compassion and assumed the robbery had something to do with drug dealing. Another participant in Baltimore described a time where his father, nearly bed-ridden and suffering from COPD, contacted the police after a scuffle with the man who lived with him; the police arrested his father, who could barely walk because the other man already fled the scene. Police assume that victims are in some way complicit in the violence they experience. Civilians then learn that when they contact the police as victims, they risk being implicated as perpetrators.

The Portals conversations reveal a sense from participants that the state does not value Black civilians because the state associates, and therefore blames, them with (perceived or real) disorder characteristic of segregated communities of color.⁹ Repeated interaction with the police leads Portals participants to conclude that the state views race-class subjugated civilians as collectively responsible for neighborhood disorder and deprivation. Residents of segregated communities of color do not understand themselves as principals who can direct or count on police as agents for public service in part because they do not understand the state as seeing them residents as principals. If you believe your presence blameworthy it is difficult to believe, your protection is a priority.

Institutional Expendability

In explaining and interpreting their encounters, many conversations revealed a notion of their person, their family, their community as being categorically "up for the taking." Police had broad warrants to approach them, demand from them, humiliate them, fleece them, or assault them. In their formulations, displacement, bodily harm, financial seizure, and arbitrary stops were easily accomplished precisely because their value to the city or before society was not recognized. Respondents projected understandings that they were not in a position—through being in the "pure ghetto", or because of not "knowing any white people," or because they "looked like a thug" -- to contest. There seemed to be deep recognition that police *knew* that our respondents knew that no one was in a position to demand better or hold them accountable because they belonged to overlapping groups with degraded status, and thus were expendable. In theoretical terms, the written rules, the "overt curriculum" (Justice and Meares 2014), could be elided because they were members of a group that was not seen as having clout or significance, or as one person remarked "You know, black already means nothing to America at the end of the day...." We call this *institutionalized expendability*.

⁹ Importantly, there is extensive empirical support for the idea that people conflate perceptions of disorder with race. E.g., Sampson R & Raudenbush S. 2004. Seeing Disorder: Neighborhood Stigma and the Social Construction of Broken Windows. *Social Psych. Quarterly* 67:319-342.

A prominent feature of being “up for the taking” was the idea that police could seek you out in almost any circumstance, however ordinary, for no reason at all; being law-abiding was inconsequential. Going to work, getting gas, walking to your neighbors, being on the porch “enjoying the weather”. Take the following testimony as one example:

Baltimore man: Um, there have been many times where, um, just because I have black pants on and a white T-shirt going to work, I get pulled over, handcuffed on the sidewalk and sat there and I'm 2, 3 hours late to work, getting fired from jobs and, uh, cops never ask, just search. They asked me to search my bag all the time just from walking down the street. Um, after, I mean, I would even, like you know, I'd even smoke a cigarette outside, they'd come and bother me, it's whenever they see me, wanna know what I'm doing. And I could be, I could be sitting in front of a restaurant, I wouldn't ... with a sandwich and a coffee and they wanna know.

Milwaukee man: Right, right, right, right. Well, hey, it's the same thing these ways, bro. I'm from Milwaukee, know what I'm saying. And ain't nowhere I can really go in my city without these ... the police and the higher authority harassing.... You barely can pull up a pump and pump your gas without the police asking what you doing, you know what I'm saying. You barely can walk your child to the park to see fireworks without the police wondering why you at the park. This is a time for play, you know what I'm saying, for my child, you know what I'm saying.

That's like when you a child, your dad tell you, son, I got your back. Anything happen to you, son, I'm here. But instead your father is the one that's abusing you and beating you. Why is you protecting me? You the one harming me. You know what I'm saying? It's the same way with the police and the higher authority here, you know. And we go through this every day. I just got pulled over by the police last week. Not even 3 to 4 days ago, you know what I'm saying. Of harassment. I mean, I got a good license and everything, so what more can you do, you know what I'm saying. What more can you do when I get pulled over? Man, I got a good driving license. I'm a high school graduate. I'm not a felon, you know what I'm saying. I don't smoke, but you still wanna search my car and, and, and harass me like I murdered someone, you know. So. Yeah, bro.

Another participant recounted a particular officer coming around the block repeatedly:

So he constantly harassing us, cussing us out. I mean, all that. I mean, for nothing. That don't make no sense that you gotta live like that. And he slowing, like he slowing down in his, in his police car. Just to try to look for something that, to try to lock somebody up or shoot somebody. He constantly blasts his bright lights up on us and still harass us. I n- ... and I'm tired of living like that. That mean you can't come on your own porch just to set and just chill and enjoy the good weather.

People made sense of their encounters by drawing on a logic of expendability, rooted in various status designations -- race, youthfulness, neighborhood clout. Each status lessened the likelihood that they would be seen as someone who could push back. One woman described seeing police treatment of a pregnant woman:

I know this girl, she was 7 months pregnant, got dumped on her shit by a police officer.... He dropped her right on her stomach and did not care. Now if she would have lost that baby, then

what? Oh nothing because she was black. He would have still had his job and she'd have just lost her child.

The woman was “up for the taking” despite her pregnant status which might have protected her because of her status as a black woman. To some, police exhibit vast displays of power without consequence, even with reward:

*If a black man shoots another black man, he go to jail.
Immediately.
If they shoot a black man, he get a pension.
He get a pension.
He start a GoFundMe and become a millionaire.*

Another more complex face of being “expendable” was the perception of being viewed as a profit source. Police could not only approach them without justification but saw them as being available for confiscation. “Up for the taking” here reflected a collective experience of having resources appropriated or police as making money off of their families. This idea came out in various ways but it was surprising how often nouns like revenue, profit, tax-collectors or verbs like seizing and profiting animated the conversations. They spoke of how profit loved disorder. They spoke of being fleeced. They wondered aloud why their communities had to pay for being disrespected and killed via city settlements. And how their resources were depleted so the police could protect the interests and assets of the rich. Their neighborhoods and families were used to “collect a dime for the city and the government” and they were “nothing but a check” to the police:

You black man and you young, they don't care about you... ya dig? They want to keep you behind the walls so they can get paid. See they get paid from you good money, man, you know good money. That's how they sending they kids to college and all that stuff man. Buying houses and Mercedes Benz, you know. See, we can't have that, they don't want us to have it, so they kill us, they kill up all our blacks.

...because y'all tax collectors. I was like, you really just trying to be able to collect money for the city.

A lot of these police departments and criminal justice systems, they all about the money, the dollars and stuff. They like to invest in private prisons and make money off of people getting arrested rather than, like, uh, put them back in the community on a positive path.

Drug trafficking, the drug game itself, yeah, it's money for the pushers, it's money for the connect, but it's more money in it for police officers. Extra hours, overtime, incarceration, and that means you can bump taxes up....

It's like the United States criminal system is all about revenue. I'm serious, it's all about create money for ... I see it like this, there's some white people happy, there's some black folks struggling.

It's funny because the police, we're nothing but a check to them. When we do stuff bad, we get sent to jail and they get a paycheck while we just sit in there. None of that money is going to us, they just a paycheck for it.

They come in your house and steal out your crib. That's another form of bribery to them. Instead of them asking for some money, they come in your house and find some money and keep it

...peace is not attractive to them, because it does not make them any money. They do not make money off peace, they make money off chaos.

...in real life, taxpayers, us, we do pay for them. They salary coming off of the lower class. The lower class people pays for policing, fire fighters, hospitals. Taxpayers pay for a lot.... . So, if we have to keep giving y'all our money and y'all gunning us down, guess what?

This logic is familiar. It speaks to the legacy documented by historians and political scientists of the mid-20th century shift from the “War on Poverty” to the “War on Crime”—a political “frontlash” by politicians to repudiate the growing power of previously marginalized groups, first through vilification and then through repression (Hinton 2016, Weaver 2007). But Portals participants’ characterization of community blame highlights the way the state’s orientation toward their communities may shape police practices, including the selective nature of their vigilance and the moments where their bodies feel expendable.

Civic Retreat or Civic Resurgence in the Politics from Below

The *policy feedback* of repeated police interactions with police have been a concern for social scientists over the past decade. Through this research we’ve learned that arrests and incarceration result in decreased political participation and trust in government (Lerman and Weaver 2014, White 2015), while the incarceration of a loved one increase one’s engagement in the polity (Walker 2016). Yet there is much to learn about how particular (and persistent) interactions with the police motivate particular civic behaviors and aspirations, and our hope is that the Portals conversations shed light on this nuance. How do they seek to build power in the face of police interventions characterized by distorted responsiveness? Even without systematic coding, two themes seemed to figure prominently in participants’ civic sensibilities: retreat and recommitment.

Retreat refers to a loss of faith in the state or a desire to “lay low,” and steer clear of spaces where police may be in order to avoid encounters. This theme emerged frequently when participants described how they cope with their status as citizens. Retreat discourse takes on two different forms in the dialogues. The first is resignation toward government and citizens’ ability to actualize change. “Anything that’s got to do with government is straight bullshit” one man explains. This feeling of political dejection often had a temporal component, referencing a sense that the situation has only “gotten worse” with time. “No. I don’t. I don’t think it can change. I don’t ... It is what it is right now. If it was gonna change it would’ve changed already. And if it’s gonna change then it’s just getting worse, and it’s gotten worse,” explains one man. The second type of retreat discourse involved a retreat from civic life altogether. Many describe feeling the need to “keep to myself,” to “lay low” avoid being in groups or out in public. One participant describes feeling powerless to help his little brother navigate his adolescence as a Black man in Chicago:

He asked me what can we do to change that. What advice can I give him to change that? Right now, I cannot give you an honest answer.... I’m still trying to figure that out for myself. Right now, what I’m doing out here in the streets of Chicago, little bro, is staying to myself, minding my own business, and doing what I gotta do to survive in these streets as a black man.

Participants who appear to have had repeatedly negative interactions with the criminal justice system are most likely to deploy the rhetoric of civic retreat. They feel these interactions, coupled with their marginal status of being Black, nullifies their standing with state authority; their resistance would never be taken seriously.

The second theme, recommit, describes a desire to “come together” and rebuild the community from within. Often this theme was rooted in solidarity amongst racially marginal groups, or amongst Black Americans in particular. It was prevalent both among participants who were most likely to express frustration toward members of their own community as well as among those inclined to diagnose crime and violence as a product of deprivation. Take the dialogue below:

Milwaukee participant: I don't think that's fair at all, man. But that's how this world was set up, you know? I feel like...I don't know how we gonna deal with the police situation, I really don't. I just feel like we all gonna have to, like, we gotta stop aiming at each other.

Chicago participant: Right.

Milwaukee participant: You know what I mean?

Chicago participant: We gotta come back together.

Milwaukee participant: Exactly.

Chicago participant: Everybody trying to kill each other, worry about the game. You supposed to be trying to make some money, why you out here trying to kill each other?

Milwaukee participant: For real, man, for real. Like, I think that if we organize together then, you know what I'm saying, there's nothing really wrong with that. Cause we...

Chicago participant: Right, they know...

Milwaukee participant: And not apologize, uh, like the Black Panthers. They didn't do anything to the Black Panthers cause we stronger when we together.

Some describe solidarity in direct reference to public safety and community surveillance. “We the only people in America don’t police they own neighborhoods,” one participant explains to the other. Other forms of solidarity are more holistic, focused on community empowerment through art, intergenerational dialogue, and the frequently recited phrase of “coming together.”

Yeah, I agree man. Exactly what you were saying, that is my thoughts too. It is time for us to just come together as a united group. We just got to all come together, like you said. Like you and all the people that you know of your generation, and all of you that are coming together taking care of the situations at home. You all are setting that platform for me, and my people, and our generation to come in, and then take it to the next level. Then we set that platform for younger people to come in, and then take it to the next level. We cannot depend on them no more, it is obvious, and we can all agree that they are not going to help us.

The language of recommitment fits smoothly within the vision of the Portals as a public square, as a space for imagining the radical potential of civic dialogue and creativity. And the prevalence of this theme may even suggest that more abundant and innovative spaces for civic engagement create new possibilities for civic life in these communities. Furthermore, the instinct may be to read retreat and solidarity as oxymoronic—that there are groups who are withdrawing and others drawing in. But perhaps interpreting retreat and solidarity as two sides of the same coin is a better representation the aspirations of race-class subjugated communities.

Perhaps residents *want* strong, safe, and self-policed communities. They aspire for unity, for agency, and autonomy. In its absence, however, and with the status quo of their citizenship, the safest choice is retreat.

Conclusion

"That's why we need to be able to control our narratives. We need to be able to tell these stories.... We can't wait for the news to talk about the positive things we do." – Portals participant

This paper employs a new technology to make methodological and, in turn, substantive headway on better understanding policing and incarceration in communities where these forms of state action are concentrated. Methodologically, we argue that Portals provide a means of listening to the public beyond the confines of narrow survey questions, and it does so specifically for a constituency that traditional methods fail to meaningfully reach. And as we've demonstrated in this paper, the substantive gains from this method are plentiful and have important implications for policy.

Policymakers concerned with criminal justice reform have a lot to gain from the wisdom captured in the Portals project. The Department of Justice reports on policing in Baltimore and Ferguson revealed that the city used the police as their surrogate to raise local revenue through fines and fees. What these reports did not consider, however, were the ways in which this form of predation would mean for the way citizens interpret their value—or *expendability*—in society. Similarly, opponents of stop and frisk have critiqued these practices for their injustice and ineffectiveness, but they have done less to examine how the lived experience of *collective blame* may incentivize a certain kind of retreat and disengagement.

The nuance that Portals offers should not only alert policymakers to the more complicated story of policing happening on the grounds of race class subjugated communities, we hope it also reveals who is missing at the table during the policymaking process. For generations, many intellectuals and activists of color have argued that those most failed by police practices must be a central part of the solution. This leads to a natural extension of this research, where we hope to trace the way discourse in the Portal aligns with or diverges from more historical critiques by Black intellectuals and activists about the particular role the police play in shaping the lives of Black Americans. What is the same or different since Du Bois' *Philadelphia Negro*? To what extent has a vision for community control evolved since Black Power? Or has little evolved, as Octavia Butler's *Kindred* so hauntingly alludes? In addition to tracing this discourse in the dialogues we've collected thus far, we could also imagine using the Portal as a space to convene activist groups in some of the neighborhoods in which they're located to both provide a space for collaboration and learn more about regional distinctions of local movements.

There are other extensions of this project that we hope to pursue. One extension is to examine different geographies and constituencies who may also have frequent encounters with the police. The cities we've examined are large, mostly northern, dominate their media markets, and are experiencing significant redevelopment and gentrification. How would citizens in southern, suburban, and/or divested cities characterize their relationship with the police and the state more generally? Another extension in this vein is exploring how white working-class neighborhoods in the same cities experience the police, and how or to what extent these experiences shape their sense of power and belonging. Do these experiences lend themselves to the same feelings of expendability and blame as their neighbors of color? Lastly, as mentioned throughout this paper, we hope to think more about this project's power to intervene as a "public square of the 21st century." The expediency through which intimacy is developed and ideas are exchanged, suggests that Portals can be a forum for learning more about political socialization, deliberative democracy, and reconciliation.

It is time for scholars of politics to pursue more creative ways to listen to the public and understand the contours of citizenship across race and place in the United States. While survey data and even scraping social media has proven revelatory, a public art project like Portals is an example of how researchers may begin to partner with organizations and community members to listen to frequently marginalized or under-studied publics. The Portals project not only sheds light on how some of the most policed civilians in Baltimore, Newark, Chicago, Milwaukee, and Los Angeles characterize the nature of their citizenship, it reveals a desire for solidarity and agency in an environment where retreat continues to seem like one's safest bet.

Phase 2: Portals as Community Intervention

In a 2017 address to the American Sociological Association, sociologist Michele Lamont called upon researchers to develop “a sociology of recognition and destigmatization” which requires “specifying concepts, describing empirically the existence of recognition gaps, and analyzing some of the pathways through which they develop and the possible ways they can be narrowed” (Lamont 2018, p. 3). She argues that the tendency for researchers to concern themselves with the individual-level behavior and experiences — versus the community as a whole — leads policymakers to emulate this inclination in their interventions. Within this framework, *getting free* means *getting away* from an association with your stigmatized group(s). Doing so may be *impossible* when stigma is marked by visible traits such as race or ethnicity. It may be impractical based on the region or neighborhood in which one lives. It may even be immoral given one’s love and commitment to family, friends, and community. Policies such as school or housing vouchers may address piecemeal problems faced by the individual, but they do not rid them of the stigma of being part of one or many subjugated statuses.

Destigmatizing actions, on the other hand, include community-based interventions that “make public claims” to remove blame, draw equivalences, and assert worth of the group and its identity and practices. They also address “structural stigma” through legislation, organizational policies, and providing testimony and evidence for institutional change (Lamont 2018). Many community organizers have long sought these interventions, whether in the form of reparations, reconciliation, or what urbanist J. Phillip Thompson calls “deep pluralism” — the recognition and civic incorporation of all group statuses within a polity.

Portals will employ these interventions by connecting 20 unfree (and stigmatized) communities across the U.S. with the global Portals network and engaging its members in the design, deployment, and analysis of the research. Rather than simply being “subjects” of a study, community members will work with the research team to collaboratively identify metrics on the front end for three core arenas of transformation: infrastructural, civic life, and consciousness. They will engage in designing the intervention itself and determine the process by which we will evaluate these metrics.

Methodology

In Sampson's *Great American City: Chicago and the Enduring Neighborhood Effect*, the author explains that "disadvantage is not encompassed in a single characteristic but rather is a synergistic composite of social factors" and deploys the concept of "collective efficacy" to explain the linkages. Collective efficacy refers to the ability of members a community to control the behavior of its own individuals and groups. Sampson explains:

Thus conceived, neighborhoods differentially activate informal social control. It is for this reason that we see an analogy between individual efficacy and neighborhood efficacy: both are activated processes that seek to achieve an intended effect. At the neighborhood level, however, the willingness of local residents to intervene for the common good depends in large part on conditions of mutual trust and solidarity among neighbors. Indeed, one is unlikely to intervene in a neighborhood context in which the rules are unclear and people mistrust or fear one another. It follows that socially cohesive neighborhoods will prove the most fertile contexts for the realization of informal social control. In sum, it is the linkage of mutual trust and the willingness to intervene for the common good that defines the neighborhood context of collective efficacy. Just as individuals vary in their capacity for efficacious action, so too do neighborhoods vary in their capacity to achieve common goals. And just as individual self-efficacy is situated rather than global (one has self-efficacy relative to a particular task or type of task), in this paper we view neighborhood efficacy as existing relative to the tasks of supervising children and maintaining public order. It follows that the collective efficacy of residents is a critical means by which urban neighborhoods inhibit the occurrence of personal violence, without regard to the demographic composition of the population.¹⁰

There are a wide range of methods for measuring collective efficacy and destigmatization, including surveys, randomized experiments, and ethnography. The Portals technology facilitates the deployment of multiple methods at once to obtain rich and multifaceted measures of change. First, the audio and video technology of the Portal allows us to interpret the rhetorical and physical gestures through which groups exchange ideas, manage conflict, and build consensus. We can compare locations that experienced both friction and synergy, explore intergenerational and gendered dynamics of dialogue and development. Second, the ability to connect physically distant groups allows us to convene community members and curators to brainstorm interventions and metrics at an unprecedented scale. Often known as participatory action research (PAR), this method invites research subjects into the process of "knowledge production," engaging and recognizing their labor in the design, implementation, and analysis of a research initiative.¹¹ While the deployment of PAR often occurs at the neighborhood or cohort level, Portals can involve multiple constituents in multiple locations at once. Third, the placed-based nature of the Portal allows for site specific evaluations, whether through the use of administrative data or locally-defined measures. We are even able to investigate how collective efficacy and destigmatization changes or stagnates in similar locations that were not equipped with the Portals technology.

¹⁰ Sampson, Robert J., Stephen W. Raudenbush, and Felton Earls. "Neighborhoods and violent crime: A multilevel study of collective efficacy." *Science* 277.5328 (1997): 918-924. http://users.soc.umn.edu/~uggen/Sampson_SCI_97.pdf

¹¹ Bergold, J., & Thomas, S. (2012). Participatory research methods: A methodological approach in motion. *Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung*, 191-222.

Installing the Portals starts with forging partnerships with community stewards currently engaged in liberation projects (in whatever form that may take). These stewards may include clergy members, community organizers, local artists, or educators who will help to identify a location for the Portal accessible to a diversity of local constituents as well as a person who could serve as the Portal “Curator”. The Curator, paid and trained by Shared_Studios, is responsible for preparing and facilitating dialogues between their site and others, engaging local community groups, and putting forward ideas for events and programming.

Outcomes

Based on the connections between Shared_Studios existing network of nearly thirty interconnected public Portal sites in thirteen countries as well as the newly developed Portals sites in 20 United States cities, we will document visible and enduring shifts – political, material, social, and systemic – that have occurred in the communities themselves by way of their intersections with other global unfree communities through Portals.

After locating 20 new Portals, we will measure the concrete outcomes from the Portal as a platform to build power among the unfree. Specifically, we will measure three core arenas of transformation: infrastructural, civic life, and consciousness formation and mobilization – the areas that if changed simultaneously could unsettle hierarchy’s strong foundation in civic ostracism and structural violence. The first area, infrastructural, implies indicators of changes contained in the communities where Portals are sited, from the building of new communal institutions to revitalization of existing physical space (i.e. abandoned buildings are reclaimed, etc.) to other indicators of systemic change in the actual spaces where Portals sit. The second arena, the civic, would encompass changes happening both within single communities as well as *across* communities in the global network that encompass the activation of cross-city collaborations and coalitions to advance justice; examples include the creation of new civic associations, greater engagement of people in those groups, new *forms* of engagement, as well as progress in longstanding accepted measures of social capital and collective efficacy. Thriving civic life also means the absence or ebbing of civic harms, particularly violence, intergroup conflict and distrust and the negative civic forms (i.e. gangs) that arise. The third area – consciousness and mobilization – entails the articulation of shared interests and the sustained mobilization on behalf of those interests to strengthen liberation.

In the strongest version, the communities own political standing and civic significance will change in the local region; and in the global region, coalitions to advance justice of the unfree will unite behind new projects and a new discourse to solve actual problems that affect people’s ability to live free, arguably the biggest threat to democracy.

We will seek to track changes using a triangulated approach as well as multiple sources of data at the individual and community and intercommunity level – civic group density and coalition formation, changes in social trust, specific indicators of violence and gang activity, measures of political power and discourse, and network activity. We will collect longitudinal data on attitudes as well as administrative data in each community. We will measure endurance, or whether the changes to civic life, infrastructure, and consciousness inspired by radical connection continue. Measuring community level and intercommunity level changes – big and small – across a variety of arenas in several communities that span the globe across several years is no simple

undertaking and there is no randomized control trial suited to the task. However, this multi-method, multi-venue approach will seek to measure not a specific changed factor, but transformation in many arenas at once.

Phase 2 Sites

Final sites will be selected among places and people that dominant discourse would describe as having limited civic capacity. These communities are conservative cases, in this regard, and may be characterized by high rates of poverty, chronic joblessness, violent crime, segregation, and incarceration and low rates of quality public investment in schools, housing, parks, and cultural institutions and a history of state violence, extraction, and containment. They may also be characterized by low rates of educational attainment, life expectancy, cellphone and internet penetration, and density of civil society organizations. Despite certain commonalities, the unfree can be found in all of the places in which America is “blessed”—*from the mountains, to the prairies, to the oceans*. The unfree can be found in our cities, our deltas, our bayous, our deserts. The following sites are preliminary and may be altered based on community partnerships, research needs, and related factors. To avoid spectatorship and advance research goals, Phase 2 requires both breadth and depth in selecting Portal sites. Clusters of Portals should share certain demographic traits and institutional challenges, while the overall mix should be characterized by diversity. The sites below represent such clustering and diversity.

List of Potential Sites

Baltimore, Maryland (existing Portal site)	Monroe, Louisiana
Bessemer, Alabama	Mosses, Alabama
Muniz, Texas	Norfolk, Virginia
Boone, North Carolina	Oakland, California
Camden, New Jersey	Owsley County, Kentucky
Chicago, Illinois (existing Portal site)	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Coahoma County, Mississippi	Pine Ridge, South Dakota
Cullowhee, North Carolina	Portsmouth, Virginia
Detroit, Michigan	Rio Grande, Texas
East St. Louis, Illinois	Savannah, Georgia
Charleston, West Virginia	Fort Myers, Florida
Fresno, California	Orlando, Florida
Nashville, Tennessee	Vanceburg, Kentucky
Kykotsmobi Village, Arizona	Waco, Texas
Rochester, New York	Wasilla, Alaska
Los Angeles, California (existing Portal site)	Waterville, Maine
Milwaukee, Wisconsin (existing Portal site)	West Memphis, Arizona

Camden, New Jersey

The population of Camden has a very low overall level of education: only 8.19% of people over 25 hold a 4-year college degree or higher. The per capita income in Camden in 2010 was \$14,110, which is low income relative to New Jersey and the nation. This equates to an annual income of \$56,440 for a family of four. Camden also has one of the higher rates of people living in poverty in the nation, with 38.40% of its population below the federal poverty line.

Camden is an extremely ethnically-diverse city. The people who call Camden home describe themselves as belonging to a variety of racial and ethnic groups. People of Hispanic or Latino origin are the most prevalent group in Camden, accounting for 48.10% of the city's residents (people of Hispanic or Latino origin can be of any race). The greatest number of Camden residents report their race to be Black or African-American, followed by White.

Important ancestries of people in Camden include Irish, Jamaican, German, and African. The most common language spoken in Camden is English. Other important languages spoken here include Spanish and Vietnamese.

Population

74,426

Income

Per Capita Income: \$14,110

Median Household Income: \$26,214

Education

Attending College: 4.9%

High School Graduation: 68.8%

College Graduates: 8.2%

Crime

Violent Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 21.19

Property Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 35.78

Crime

Violent Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 21.19

Property Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 35.78

Demographics

White: 5.3%

African American: 42.4%

American Indian and Alaska Native: 0.1%

Asian: 2.7%

Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders: 0.0%

Other Race / Two or More Races: 1.4%

Hispanic or Latino (Of Any Race): 48.1%

Pine Ridge, South Dakota

In Pine Ridge, 12.73% of people have at least a bachelor's degree, which is lower than the national average for cities and towns of 21.84%. The per capita income in Pine Ridge in 2010 was \$10,833, which is low income relative to South Dakota and the nation. This equates to an annual income of \$43,332 for a family of four. Pine Ridge also has one of the higher rates of people living in poverty in the nation, with 49.72% of its population below the federal poverty line.

The people who call Pine Ridge home describe themselves as belonging to a variety of racial and ethnic groups. The greatest number of Pine Ridge residents report their race to be Native American, followed by White. Important ancestries of people in Pine Ridge include English, Irish, German, and Polish. The most common language spoken in Pine Ridge is English. Other important languages spoken here include Native American languages and Spanish.

Population

3,462

Income

Per Capita Income: \$11,041

Median Household Income: \$30,000

Education

College Graduates: 14.3%

Crime

Violent Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 8.38

Property Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 21.09

Demographics

White: 3.4%

African American: 0.3%

American Indian and Alaska Native: 92.4%

Asian: 0.0%

Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders: 0.0%

Other Race / Two or More Races: 0.5%

Hispanic or Latino (Of Any Race): 3.4%

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

The overall education level of Philadelphia is somewhat higher than in the average U.S. city of 21.84%: 26.35% of adults 25 and older in the city have at least a bachelor's degree.

The per capita income in Philadelphia in 2010 was \$23,696, which is middle income relative to Pennsylvania and the nation. This equates to an annual income of \$94,784 for a family of four. However, Philadelphia contains both very wealthy and poor people as well.

Philadelphia is an extremely ethnically-diverse city. The people who call Philadelphia home describe themselves as belonging to a variety of racial and ethnic groups. The greatest number of Philadelphia residents report their race to be Black or African-American, followed by White. Philadelphia also has a sizeable Hispanic population (people of Hispanic origin can be of any race). People of Hispanic or Latino origin account for 13.77% of the city's residents. Important ancestries of people in Philadelphia include Italian, German, Polish, and English.

The most common language spoken in Philadelphia is English. Other important languages spoken here include Spanish and Chinese.

Population

1,567,872

Income

Per Capita Income: \$23,696

Median Household Income: \$39,770

Education

Attending College: 6.7%

High School Graduates: 82.6%

College Graduates: 26.3%

Crime

Violent Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 9.92

Property Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 31.48

Demographics

White: 35.3%

African American: 41.6%

American Indian and Alaska Native: 0.2%

Asian: 6.8%

Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders: 0.0%

Other Race / Two or More Races: 0.0%

Hispanic or Latino (Of Any Race): 13.8%

Rio Grande, Texas

In terms of college education, the citizens of Rio Grande City rank slightly lower than the national average. 16.82% of adults 25 and older in Rio Grande City have a bachelor's degree or advanced degree, while 21.84% of adults have a 4-year degree or higher in the average American community. The per capita income in Rio Grande City in 2010 was \$15,784, which is low income relative to Texas and the nation. This equates to an annual income of \$63,136 for a family of four. However, Rio Grande City contains both very wealthy and poor people as well. Rio Grande City also has one of the higher rates of people living in poverty in the nation, with 32.72% of its population below the federal poverty line.

Rio Grande City is an extremely ethnically-diverse city. The people who call Rio Grande City home describe themselves as belonging to a variety of racial and ethnic groups. People of Hispanic or Latino origin are the most prevalent group in Rio Grande City, accounting for 98.79% of the city's residents (people of Hispanic or Latino origin can be of any race). The greatest number of Rio Grande City residents report their race to be White, followed by Asian. Important ancestries of people in Rio Grande City include Italian, Polish, German, and Czech. Foreign born people are also an important part of Rio Grande City's cultural character, accounting for 25.28% of the city's population.

The most common language spoken in Rio Grande City is Spanish. Other important languages spoken here include English and Italian.

Population

14,483

Income

Per Capita Income: \$15,784

Median Household Income: \$31,066

Education

Attending College: 3.3%

High School Graduates: 62.6%

College Graduates: 16.8%

Crime

Violent Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 28.12

Property Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 22.44

Demographics

White: 0.8%

African American: 0.0%

American Indian and Alaska Native: 0.0%

Asian: 0.0%

Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders: 0.0%

Other Race / Two or More Races: 0.4%

Hispanic or Latino (Of Any Race): 98.8%

Kykotsmovi Village, Arizona

The population of Hotevilla has a very low overall level of education: only 9.05% of people over 25 hold a 4-year college degree or higher. The per capita income in Hotevilla in 2010 was \$12,660, which is low income relative to Arizona and the nation. This equates to an annual income of \$50,640 for a family of four. Hotevilla also has one of the higher rates of people living in poverty in the nation, with 34.66% of its population below the federal poverty line.

The people who call Hotevilla home describe themselves as belonging to a variety of racial and ethnic groups. The greatest number of Hotevilla residents report their race to be Native American, followed by Black or African-American. Important ancestries of people in Hotevilla include Yugoslavian, Other West Indian, West Indian, and U.S. Virgin Islander.

The most common language spoken in Hotevilla is Native American languages. Other important languages spoken here include English and Navajo.

Population

2,829

Income

Per Capita Income: \$12,660

Median Household Income: \$38,542

Education

Percent with College Degree: 9.1%

Percent with Advanced Degree: 4.7%

Crime

Violent Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 9.19

Property Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 7.42

Demographics

White: 0.1%

African American: 0.7%

American Indian and Alaska Native: 96.6%

Asian: 0.6%

Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders: 0.2%

Other Race / Two or More Races: 0.8%

Hispanic or Latino (Of Any Race): 1.0%

Rochester, New York

The education level of Rochester citizens is a little higher than the average for U.S. cities and towns: 23.66% of adults in Rochester have at least a bachelor's degree. The per capita income in Rochester in 2010 was \$19,830, which is low income relative to New York, and lower middle income relative to the rest of the US. This equates to an annual income of \$79,320 for a family of four. However, Rochester contains both very wealthy and poor people as well. Rochester also has one of the higher rates of people living in poverty in the nation, with 32.84% of its population below the federal poverty line.

Rochester is an extremely ethnically-diverse city. The people who call Rochester home describe themselves as belonging to a variety of racial and ethnic groups. The greatest number of Rochester residents report their race to be Black or African-American, followed by White. Rochester also has a sizeable Hispanic population (people of Hispanic origin can be of any race). People of Hispanic or Latino origin account for 17.64% of the city's residents. Important ancestries of people in Rochester include Irish, Italian, English, and Polish.

The most common language spoken in Rochester is English. Other important languages spoken here include Spanish and Other Asian languages.

Population

208,880

Income

Per Capita Income: \$19,830

Median Household Income: \$29,829

Education

Attending College: 7.5%

High School Graduates: 80.8%

College Graduates: 23.7%

Crime

Violent Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 8.85

Property Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 37.48

Demographics

White: 36.7%

African American: 38.6%

American Indian and Alaska Native: 0.2%

Asian: 3.3%

Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders: 0.0%

Other Race / Two or More Races: 3.5%

Hispanic or Latino (Of Any Race): 17.6%

Fresno, California

In terms of college education, Fresno is nearly on par with the U.S. average for all cities of 21.84%: 20.46% of adults 25 and older in Fresno have a bachelor's degree or advanced degree.

The per capita income in Fresno in 2010 was \$20,141, which is lower middle income relative to California and the nation. This equates to an annual income of \$80,564 for a family of four.

However, Fresno contains both very wealthy and poor people as well. Fresno also has one of the higher rates of people living in poverty in the nation, with 30.02% of its population below the federal poverty line.

Fresno is an extremely ethnically-diverse city. The people who call Fresno home describe themselves as belonging to a variety of racial and ethnic groups. People of Hispanic or Latino origin are the most prevalent group in Fresno, accounting for 48.62% of the city's residents (people of Hispanic or Latino origin can be of any race). The greatest number of Fresno residents report their race to be White, followed by Asian. Important ancestries of people in Fresno include Irish, English, Italian, and French .

Foreign born people are also an important part of Fresno's cultural character, accounting for 20.66% of the city's population. The most common language spoken in Fresno is English. Other important languages spoken here include Spanish and Miao/Hmong.

Population

522,053

Income

Per Capita Income: \$20,141

Median Household Income: \$41,842

Education

Attending College: 7.7 %

High School Graduates: 75.3 %

College Graduates: 20.5%

Crime

Violent Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 6.36

Property Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 40.46

Demographics

White: 27.6%

African American: 7.7%

American Indian and Alaska Native: 0.5%

Asian: 13.1%

Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders: 0.1%

Other Race / Two or More Races: 2.4%

Hispanic or Latino (Of Any Race): 48.6%

Nashville, Tennessee

The population of Nashville is very well educated relative to most cities and towns in the nation, where the average community has 21.84% of its adult population holding a 4-year degree or higher: 37.63% of adults in Nashville have a bachelor's degree or even advanced degree. The per capita income in Nashville in 2010 was \$29,427, which is wealthy relative to Tennessee, and upper middle income relative to the rest of the US. This equates to an annual income of \$117,708 for a family of four. However, Nashville contains both very wealthy and poor people as well.

Nashville is an extremely ethnically-diverse city. The people who call Nashville home describe themselves as belonging to a variety of racial and ethnic groups. The greatest number of Nashville residents report their race to be White, followed by Black or African-American. Nashville also has a sizeable Hispanic population (people of Hispanic origin can be of any race). People of Hispanic or Latino origin account for 10.25% of the city's residents. Important ancestries of people in Nashville include Irish, English, Italian, and Scottish.

The most common language spoken in Nashville is English. Other important languages spoken here include Spanish and Arabic.

Population

660,388

Income

Per Capita Income: \$29,427

Median Household Income: \$49,891

Education

Attending College: 6.4%

High School Graduates: 87.2%

College Graduates: 37.6%

Crime

Violent Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 11.26

Property Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 37.85

Demographics

White: 55.7%

African American: 27.9%

American Indian and Alaska Native: 0.2%

Asian: 3.5%

Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders: 0.1%

Other Race / Two or More Races: 2.3%

Hispanic or Latino (Of Any Race): 10.3%

Portsmouth, Virginia

The population of Portsmouth overall has a level of education that is slightly above the U.S. average for all U.S. cities and towns of 21.84%. Of adults 25 and older in Portsmouth, 21.07% have at least a bachelor's degree. The per capita income in Portsmouth in 2010 was \$23,878, which is middle income relative to Virginia and the nation. This equates to an annual income of \$95,512 for a family of four. However, Portsmouth contains both very wealthy and poor people as well.

Portsmouth is an extremely ethnically-diverse city. The people who call Portsmouth home describe themselves as belonging to a variety of racial and ethnic groups. The greatest number of Portsmouth residents report their race to be Black or African-American, followed by White. Important ancestries of people in Portsmouth include Irish, German, African, and Italian.

The most common language spoken in Portsmouth is English. Other important languages spoken here include Spanish and French.

Population

95,252

Income

Per Capita Income: \$23,878

Median Household Income: \$47,050

Education

Attending College: 6.6%

High School Graduates: 84.9%

College Graduates: 21.1%

Crime

Violent Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 7.97

Property Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 56.49

Demographics

White: 38.9%

African American: 52.2%

American Indian and Alaska Native: 0.2%

Asian: 1.2%

Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders: 0.1%

Other Race / Two or More Races: 2.3%

Hispanic or Latino (Of Any Race): 3.9%

Waco, Texas

The population of Waco overall has a level of education that is slightly above the U.S. average for all U.S. cities and towns of 21.84%. Of adults 25 and older in Waco, 21.21% have at least a bachelor's degree. The per capita income in Waco in 2010 was \$19,847, which is lower middle income relative to Texas and the nation. This equates to an annual income of \$79,388 for a family of four. However, Waco contains both very wealthy and poor people as well.

Waco is an extremely ethnically-diverse city. The people who call Waco home describe themselves as belonging to a variety of racial and ethnic groups. The greatest number of Waco residents report their race to be White, followed by Black or African-American. Waco also has a sizeable Hispanic population (people of Hispanic origin can be of any race). People of Hispanic or Latino origin account for 32.23% of the city's residents. Important ancestries of people in Waco include Irish, English, Italian, and French.

The most common language spoken in Waco is English. Other important languages spoken here include Spanish and Chinese.

Population

134,432

Income

Per Capita Income: \$19,847

Median Household Income: \$34,099

Education

Attending College: 14.2%

High School Graduates: 79.9%

College Graduates: 21.2%

Crime

Violent Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 6.77

Property Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 41.45

Demographics

White: 43.3%

African American: 20.7%

American Indian and Alaska Native: 0.1%

Asian: 1.9%

Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders: 0.1%

Other Race / Two or More Races: 2.3%

Hispanic or Latino (Of Any Race): 32.2%

Norfolk, Virginia

The overall education level of Norfolk is somewhat higher than in the average U.S. city of 21.84%: 26.61% of adults 25 and older in the city have at least a bachelor's degree. The per capita income in Norfolk in 2010 was \$25,450, which is middle income relative to Virginia and the nation. This equates to an annual income of \$101,800 for a family of four. However, Norfolk contains both very wealthy and poor people as well.

Norfolk is an extremely ethnically-diverse city. The people who call Norfolk home describe themselves as belonging to a variety of racial and ethnic groups. The greatest number of Norfolk residents report their race to be White, followed by Black or African-American. Important ancestries of people in Norfolk include Irish, English, Italian, and French.

The most common language spoken in Norfolk is English. Other important languages spoken here include Spanish and Tagalog.

Population

245,115

Income

Per Capita Income: \$25,450

Median Household Income: \$45,268

Education

Attending College: 10.8%

High School Graduates: 87.5%

College Graduates: 26.6%

Crime

Violent Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 7.97

Property Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 56.49

Demographics

White: 43.8%

African American: 41.4%

American Indian and Alaska Native: 0.4%

Asian: 3.3%

Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders: 0.1%

Other Race / Two or More Races: 3.6%

Hispanic or Latino (Of Any Race): 7.4%

Savannah, Georgia

In terms of college education, Savannah is somewhat better educated than the 21.84% who have a 4-year degree or higher in the typical U.S. community: 27.67% of adults 25 and older in the city have at least a bachelor's degree. The per capita income in Savannah in 2010 was \$21,192, which is upper middle income relative to Georgia, and lower middle income relative to the rest of the US. This equates to an annual income of \$84,768 for a family of four. However, Savannah contains both very wealthy and poor people as well.

Savannah is an extremely ethnically-diverse city. The people who call Savannah home describe themselves as belonging to a variety of racial and ethnic groups. The greatest number of Savannah residents report their race to be Black or African-American, followed by White. Important ancestries of people in Savannah include German, English, Italian, and Scottish.

The most common language spoken in Savannah is English. Other important languages spoken here include Spanish and French.

Population

146,763

Income

Per Capita Income: \$21,192

Median Household Income: \$37,108

Education

Attending College: 11.4%

High School Graduates: 86.5 %

College Graduates: 27.7%

Crime

Violent Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 5.31

Property Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 38.11

Demographics

White: 36.7%

African American: 53.7%

American Indian and Alaska Native: 0.2%

Asian: 2.2%

Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders: 0.1%

Other Race / Two or More Races: 1.9%

Hispanic or Latino (Of Any Race): 5.2%

Fort Myers, Florida

The population of Fort Myers overall has a level of education that is slightly above the U.S. average for all U.S. cities and towns of 21.84%. Of adults 25 and older in Fort Myers, 24.98% have at least a bachelor's degree. The per capita income in Fort Myers in 2010 was \$24,690, which is middle income relative to Florida and the nation. This equates to an annual income of \$98,760 for a family of four. However, Fort Myers contains both very wealthy and poor people as well.

Fort Myers is an extremely ethnically-diverse city. The people who call Fort Myers home describe themselves as belonging to a variety of racial and ethnic groups. The greatest number of Fort Myers residents report their race to be White, followed by Black or African-American. Fort Myers also has a sizeable Hispanic population (people of Hispanic origin can be of any race). People of Hispanic or Latino origin account for 21.37% of the city's residents. Important ancestries of people in Fort Myers include Irish, English, Haitian, and Italian. In addition, Fort Myers has a lot of people living here who were born outside of the U.S. (18.02%).

The most common language spoken in Fort Myers is English. Other important languages spoken here include Spanish and French.

Population

77,146

Income

Per Capita Income: \$24,690

Median Household Income: \$38,971

Education

Attending College: 3.5%

High School Graduates: 79.4%

College Graduates: 25%

Crime

Violent Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 12.35

Property Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 28.97

Demographics

White: 47.8%

African American: 27.2%

American Indian and Alaska Native: 0.1%

Asian: 1.9%

Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders: 0.1%

Other Race / Two or More Races: 1.9%

Hispanic or Latino (Of Any Race): 21.4 %

Orlando, Florida

The education level of Orlando citizens is very high relative to the national average among all cities (21.84%): 35.00% of adults in Orlando have a bachelor's degree or even advanced degree. The per capita income in Orlando in 2010 was \$26,982, which is middle income relative to Florida, and upper middle income relative to the rest of the US. This equates to an annual income of \$107,928 for a family of four. However, Orlando contains both very wealthy and poor people as well.

Orlando is an extremely ethnically-diverse city. The people who call Orlando home describe themselves as belonging to a variety of racial and ethnic groups. The greatest number of Orlando residents report their race to be White, followed by Black or African-American. Orlando also has a sizeable Hispanic population (people of Hispanic origin can be of any race). People of Hispanic or Latino origin account for 29.25% of the city's residents. Important ancestries of people in Orlando include Irish, English, Italian, and Haitian.

Orlando also has a high percentage of its population that was born in another country: 18.44%. The most common language spoken in Orlando is English. Other important languages spoken here include Spanish and French Creole.

Population

277,173

Income

Per Capita Income: \$26,982

Median Household Income: \$44,007

Education

Attending College: 6.7%

High School Graduates: 89.5%

College Graduates: 35%

Crime

Violent Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 8.47

Property Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 53.40

Demographics

White: 39%

African American: 25.5%

American Indian and Alaska Native: 0.1%

Asian: 3.7%

Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders: 0.1%

Other Race / Two or More Races: 2.4%

Hispanic or Latino (Of Any Race): 29.2%.

Muniz, Texas

The education level of Edinburg citizens is substantially higher than the typical U.S. community, as 29.93% of adults in Edinburg have at least a bachelor's degree. The per capita income in Edinburg in 2010 was \$18,204, which is lower middle income relative to Texas, and low income relative to the rest of the US. This equates to an annual income of \$72,816 for a family of four. However, Edinburg contains both very wealthy and poor people as well.

Edinburg is an extremely ethnically-diverse city. The people who call Edinburg home describe themselves as belonging to a variety of racial and ethnic groups. People of Hispanic or Latino origin are the most prevalent group in Edinburg, accounting for 89.07% of the city's residents (people of Hispanic or Latino origin can be of any race). The greatest number of Edinburg residents report their race to be White, followed by Asian. Important ancestries of people in Edinburg include Irish, English, Italian, and French.

In addition, Edinburg has a lot of people living here who were born outside of the U.S.(19.61%). The most common language spoken in Edinburg is Spanish. Other important languages spoken here include English and Tagalog.

Population

87,650

Income

Per Capita Income: \$18,204

Median Household Income: \$43,760

Education

Attending College: 8.7%

High School Graduates: 77.3%

College Graduates: 29.9%

Crime

Violent Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 4.34

Property Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 49.33

Demographics

White: 7.4%

African American: 1.1%

American Indian and Alaska Native: 0.1%

Asian: 2.1%

Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders: 0.0%

Other Race / Two or More Races: 0.3%

Hispanic or Latino (Of Any Race): 89.1%

Boone, North Carolina

Boone is one of the most well-educated cities in the nation. 49.74% of adults in Boone have at least a bachelor's degree. Compare that to the average community in America, which has just 21.84% with a bachelor's degree or higher. The per capita income in Boone in 2010 was \$12,688, which is low income relative to North Carolina and the nation. This equates to an annual income of \$50,752 for a family of four. Boone also has one of the higher rates of people living in poverty in the nation, with 62.19% of its population below the federal poverty line.

The people who call Boone home describe themselves as belonging to a variety of racial and ethnic groups. The greatest number of Boone residents report their race to be White, followed by Black or African-American.

Important ancestries of people in Boone include Irish, English, Italian, and Scots-Irish. The most common language spoken in Boone is English. Other important languages spoken here include Spanish and German/Yiddish.

Population

18,834

Income

Per Capita Income: \$112,688

Median Household Income: \$14,725

Education

Attending College: 68.1%

High School Graduates: 90.1%

College Graduates: 49.7%

Crime

Violent Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 2.44

Property Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 24.58

Demographics

White: 90.7%

African American: 2.3%

American Indian and Alaska Native: 0.5%

Asian: 1.5%

Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders: 0.0%

Other Race / Two or More Races: 2.3%

Hispanic or Latino (Of Any Race): 2.6

Athens, Ohio

63.20% of adults here have a 4-year degree or graduate degree, whereas the national average for all cities and towns is just 21.84%. The per capita income in Athens in 2010 was \$13,758, which is low income relative to Ohio and the nation. This equates to an annual income of \$55,032 for a family of four. However, Athens contains both very wealthy and poor people as well. Athens also has one of the higher rates of people living in poverty in the nation, with 54.66% of its population below the federal poverty line.

Athens is a somewhat ethnically-diverse city. The people who call Athens home describe themselves as belonging to a variety of racial and ethnic groups. The greatest number of Athens residents report their race to be White, followed by Asian. Important ancestries of people in Athens include Irish, Italian, English, and Polish.

The most common language spoken in Athens is English. Other important languages spoken here include Chinese and Arabic.

Population

25,341

Income

Per Capita Income: \$13,758

Median Household Income: \$22,204

Education

Attending College: 61%

High School Graduates: 96.2%

College Graduates: 63.2%

Crime

Violent Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 1.66

Property Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 25.02

Demographics

White: 81.4%

African American: 4.0%

American Indian and Alaska Native: 0.0%

Asian: 7.3%

Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders: 0.1%

Other Race / Two or More Races: 3.7%

Hispanic or Latino (Of Any Race): 3.4%

Mosses, Alabama

Mosses ranks among the bottom of the nation in terms of college education compared to other cities and towns: only 5.45% of people over 25 have a college degree. The per capita income in Mosses in 2010 was \$10,376, which is low income relative to Alabama and the nation. This equates to an annual income of \$41,504 for a family of four. Mosses also has one of the higher rates of people living in poverty in the nation, with 57.52% of its population below the federal poverty line.

The people who call Mosses home describe themselves as belonging to a variety of racial and ethnic groups. The greatest number of Mosses residents report their race to be Black or African-American, followed by White. Important ancestries of people in Mosses include Slovak, Luxemburger, Irish, and German.

The most common language spoken in Mosses is English. Other important languages spoken here include Spanish and African languages.

Population

945

Income

Per Capita Income: \$13,479

Median Household Income: \$20,743

Crime

Violent Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 5.29

Property Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 19.05

Demographics

White: 6.3%

African American: 92.9%

American Indian and Alaska Native: 0.0%

Asian: 0.0%

Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders: 0.0%

Other Race / Two or More Races: 0.7%

Hispanic or Latino (Of Any Race): 0.0%

Vanceburg, Kentucky

Overall, Vanceburg's crime rate is one of the lowest in the nation, which makes a great place to live if safety is an important concern. The citizens of Vanceburg have a very low rate of college education: just 8.47% of people over 25 have a bachelor's degree or advanced degree, compared to a national average of 21.84% for all cities. The per capita income in Vanceburg in 2010 was \$14,026, which is low income relative to Kentucky and the nation. This equates to an annual income of \$56,104 for a family of four. Vanceburg also has one of the higher rates of people living in poverty in the nation, with 42.63% of its population below the federal poverty line.

The people who call Vanceburg home describe themselves as belonging to a variety of racial and ethnic groups. The greatest number of Vanceburg residents report their race to be White, followed by Black or African-American. Important ancestries of people in Vanceburg include Irish, English, British, and Scottish.

The most common language spoken in Vanceburg is English. Other important languages spoken here include Spanish and Italian.

Population

1,427

Income

Per Capita Income: \$14,026

Median Household Income: \$16,493

Education

Attending College: 2.6%

High School Graduates: 59%

College Graduates: 8.5%

Crime

Violent Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 0.00

Property Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 3.50

Demographics

White: 99.2%

African American: 0.8%

American Indian and Alaska Native: 0.0%

Asian: 0.0%

Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders: 0.0%

Other Race / Two or More Races: 0.0%

Hispanic or Latino (Of Any Race): 0.0%

Cullowhee, North Carolina

In Cullowhee, 50.51% of adults here have a 4-year degree or graduate degree, whereas the national average for all cities and towns is just 21.84%. The per capita income in Cullowhee in 2010 was \$9,006, which is low income relative to North Carolina and the nation. This equates to an annual income of \$36,024 for a family of four. Cullowhee also has one of the higher rates of people living in poverty in the nation, with 41.38% of its population below the federal poverty line.

Cullowhee is a somewhat ethnically-diverse town. The people who call Cullowhee home describe themselves as belonging to a variety of racial and ethnic groups. The greatest number of Cullowhee residents report their race to be White, followed by Black or African-American. Important ancestries of people in Cullowhee include Irish, English, Scottish, and Scots-Irish.

The most common language spoken in Cullowhee is English. Other important languages spoken here include Spanish and Italian.

Population

6,343

Income

Per Capita Income: \$9,006

Median Household Income: \$23,324

Education

Attending College: 71.0%

High School Graduates: 90.1%

College Graduates: 50.5%

Crime

Violent Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 1.73

Property Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 13.24

Demographics

White: 81.9%

African American: 7.7%

American Indian and Alaska Native: 0.2%

Asian: 0.6%

Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders: 0.0%

Other Race / Two or More Races: 1.4%

Hispanic or Latino (Of Any Race): 8.2%

Detroit, Michigan

The percentage of adults in Detroit with college degrees is slightly lower than the national average of 21.84% for all communities. 13.83% of adults in Detroit have a bachelor's degree or advanced degree. The per capita income in Detroit in 2010 was \$15,562, which is low income relative to Michigan and the nation. This equates to an annual income of \$62,248 for a family of four. Detroit also has one of the higher rates of people living in poverty in the nation, with 39.39% of its population below the federal poverty line.

Detroit is a very ethnically-diverse city. The people who call Detroit home describe themselves as belonging to a variety of racial and ethnic groups. The greatest number of Detroit residents report their race to be Black or African-American, followed by White. Important ancestries of people in Detroit include Irish, Polish, African, and English.

The most common language spoken in Detroit is English. Other important languages spoken here include Spanish and Arabic.

Population

672,795

Income

Per Capita Income: \$15,562

Median Household Income: \$26,249

Education

Attending College: 6.2%

High School Graduates: 79%

College Graduates: 13.8%

Crime

Violent Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 20.43

Property Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 47.21

Demographics

White: 9.5%

African American: 79.4%

American Indian and Alaska Native: 0.3%

Asian: 1.4%

Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders: 0.0%

Other Race / Two or More Races: 1.9%

Hispanic or Latino (Of Any Race): 7.5%

Monroe, Louisiana

In terms of college education, Monroe is somewhat better educated than the 21.84% who have a 4-year degree or higher in the typical U.S. community: 28.63% of adults 25 and older in the city have at least a bachelor's degree. The per capita income in Monroe in 2010 was \$20,700, which is middle income relative to Louisiana, and lower middle income relative to the rest of the US. This equates to an annual income of \$82,800 for a family of four. However, Monroe contains both very wealthy and poor people as well. Monroe also has one of the higher rates of people living in poverty in the nation, with 34.67% of its population below the federal poverty line.

Monroe is an extremely ethnically-diverse city. The people who call Monroe home describe themselves as belonging to a variety of racial and ethnic groups. The greatest number of Monroe residents report their race to be Black or African-American, followed by White. Important ancestries of people in Monroe include English, German, French, and Italian.

The most common language spoken in Monroe is English. Other important languages spoken here include Spanish and Vietnamese.

Population

49,297

Income

Per Capita Income: \$20,700

Median Household Income: \$28,681

Education

Attending College: 8.1%

High School Graduates: 81.8%

College Graduates: 28.6%

Crime

Violent Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 30.43

Property Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 95.42

Demographics

White: 32.7%

African American: 63.8%

American Indian and Alaska Native: 0.2%

Asian: 1.0%

Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders: 0.0%

Other Race / Two or More Races: 0.6%

Hispanic or Latino (Of Any Race): 1.6%

Bessemer, Alabama

In terms of college education, the citizens of Bessemer rank slightly lower than the national average. 13.44% of adults 25 and older in Bessemer have a bachelor's degree or advanced degree, while 21.84% of adults have a 4-year degree or higher in the average American community. The per capita income in Bessemer in 2010 was \$17,928, which is lower middle income relative to Alabama, and low income relative to the rest of the US. This equates to an annual income of \$71,712 for a family of four. However, Bessemer contains both very wealthy and poor people as well. Bessemer also has one of the higher rates of people living in poverty in the nation, with 30.65% of its population below the federal poverty line.

Bessemer is a very ethnically-diverse city. The people who call Bessemer home describe themselves as belonging to a variety of racial and ethnic groups. The greatest number of Bessemer residents report their race to be Black or African-American, followed by White. Important ancestries of people in Bessemer include African, German, English, and Italian.

The most common language spoken in Bessemer is English. Other important languages spoken here include Spanish and French.

Population

26,511

Income

Per Capita Income: \$17,928

Median Household Income: \$30,682

Education

Attending College: 2.7%

High School Graduates: 82.7%

College Graduates: 13.4%

Crime

Violent Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 28.78

Property Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 90.64

Demographics

White: 23.2%

African American: 70.8%

American Indian and Alaska Native: 0.2%

Asian: 0.1%

Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders: 0.0%

Other Race / Two or More Races: 1.8%

Hispanic or Latino (Of Any Race): 4.1%

West Memphis, Arizona

The percentage of adults in West Memphis with college degrees is slightly lower than the national average of 21.84% for all communities. 13.88% of adults in West Memphis have a bachelor's degree or advanced degree. The per capita income in West Memphis in 2010 was \$16,679, which is lower middle income relative to Arkansas, and low income relative to the rest of the US. This equates to an annual income of \$66,716 for a family of four. West Memphis also has one of the higher rates of people living in poverty in the nation, with 31.30% of its population below the federal poverty line.

West Memphis is an extremely ethnically-diverse city. The people who call West Memphis home describe themselves as belonging to a variety of racial and ethnic groups. The greatest number of West Memphis residents report their race to be Black or African-American, followed by White. Important ancestries of people in West Memphis include German, English, Dutch, and Italian.

The most common language spoken in West Memphis is English. Other important languages spoken here include Spanish and Polish.

Population

25,284

Income

Per Capita Income: \$16,679

Median Household Income: \$30,632

Education

Attending College: 3.5%

High School Graduates: 80%

College Graduates: 13.9%

Crime

Violent Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 18.23

Property Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 47.46

Demographics

White: 32.2%

African American: 63.4%

American Indian and Alaska Native: 0.2%

Asian: 0.7%

Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders: 0.3%

Other Race / Two or More Races: 2.4%

Hispanic or Latino (Of Any Race): 0.9%

Baltimore, Maryland

The education level of Baltimore citizens is substantially higher than the typical U.S. community, as 29.72% of adults in Baltimore have at least a bachelor's degree. The per capita income in Baltimore in 2010 was \$27,129, which is lower middle income relative to Maryland, and upper middle income relative to the rest of the US. This equates to an annual income of \$108,516 for a family of four. However, Baltimore contains both very wealthy and poor people as well.

Baltimore is an extremely ethnically-diverse city. The people who call Baltimore home describe themselves as belonging to a variety of racial and ethnic groups. The greatest number of Baltimore residents report their race to be Black or African-American, followed by White. Important ancestries of people in Baltimore include Irish, African, English, and Italian.

The most common language spoken in Baltimore is English. Other important languages spoken here include Spanish and African languages.

Population

614,664

Income

Per Capita Income: \$27,129

Median Household Income: \$44,262

Education

Attending College: 6.4%

High School Graduates: 83.5%

College Graduates: 29.7%

Crime

Violent Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 17.95

Property Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 48.76

Demographics

White: 27.7%

African American: 62.4%

American Indian and Alaska Native: 0.2%

Asian: 2.5%

Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders: 0.0%

Other Race / Two or More Races: 2.3%

Hispanic or Latino (Of Any Race): 4.8%

East St. Louis, Illinois

In East St. Louis, just 9.85% of people over 25 hold a college degree, which is very low compared to the rest of the nation, whereas the average among all cities is 21.84%.

The per capita income in East St. Louis in 2010 was \$13,443, which is low income relative to Illinois and the nation. This equates to an annual income of \$53,772 for a family of four. East St. Louis also has one of the higher rates of people living in poverty in the nation, with 44.66% of its population below the federal poverty line.

The people who call East St. Louis home describe themselves as belonging to a variety of racial and ethnic groups. The greatest number of East St. Louis residents report their race to be Black or African-American, followed by White. Important ancestries of people in East St. Louis include European, German, Sudanese, and Jamaican.

The most common language spoken in East St. Louis is English. Other important languages spoken here include Spanish and French.

Population

26,922

Income

Per Capita Income: \$13,443

Median Household Income: \$19,946

Education

Attending College: 4%

High School Graduates: 81.3%

College Graduates: 9.8%

Crime

Violent Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 28.12

Property Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 22.44

Demographics

White: 1.7%

African American: 95.4%

American Indian and Alaska Native: 0.3%

Asian: 0.4%

Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders: 0.0%

Other Race / Two or More Races: 1.3%

Hispanic or Latino (Of Any Race): 1.0%

Charleston, West Virginia

The education level of Charleston citizens is very high relative to the national average among all cities (21.84%): 38.67% of adults in Charleston have a bachelor's degree or even advanced degree. The per capita income in Charleston in 2010 was \$34,182, which is wealthy relative to West Virginia and the nation. This equates to an annual income of \$136,728 for a family of four. However, Charleston contains both very wealthy and poor people as well.

Charleston is a very ethnically-diverse city. The people who call Charleston home describe themselves as belonging to a variety of racial and ethnic groups. The greatest number of Charleston residents report their race to be White, followed by Black or African-American. Important ancestries of people in Charleston include German, Irish, Italian, and Scots-Irish.

The most common language spoken in Charleston is English. Other important languages spoken here include Spanish and Langs. of India.

Population

49,138

Income

Per Capita Income: \$34,182

Median Household Income: \$46,720

Education

Attending College: 4.3%

High School Graduates: 91.4%

College Graduates: 38.7%

Crime

Violent Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 15.89

Property Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 82.56

Demographics

White: 79.4%

African American: 11.3%

American Indian and Alaska Native: 0.1%

Asian: 2.3%

Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders: 0.0%

Other Race / Two or More Races: 5.5%

Hispanic or Latino (Of Any Race): 1.6%

Oakland, California

The population of Oakland is very well educated relative to most cities and towns in the nation, where the average community has 21.84% of its adult population holding a 4-year degree or higher: 39.72% of adults in Oakland have a bachelor's degree or even advanced degree. The per capita income in Oakland in 2010 was \$34,984, which is upper middle income relative to California, and wealthy relative to the rest of the U.S.. This equates to an annual income of \$139,936 for a family of four. However, Oakland contains both very wealthy and poor people as well.

Oakland is an extremely ethnically-diverse city. The people who call Oakland home describe themselves as belonging to a variety of racial and ethnic groups. The greatest number of Oakland residents report their race to be White, followed by Black or African-American. Oakland also has a sizeable Hispanic population (people of Hispanic origin can be of any race). People of Hispanic or Latino origin account for 26.68% of the city's residents. Important ancestries of people in Oakland include Irish, English, Italian, and European. Foreign born people are also an important part of Oakland's cultural character, accounting for 27.26% of the city's population.

The most common language spoken in Oakland is English. Other important languages spoken here include Spanish and Chinese.

Population

420,005

Income

Per Capita Income: \$34,984

Median Household Income: \$57,778

Education

Attending College: 6.1%

High School Graduates: 80.5%

College Graduates: 39.7%

Crime

Violent Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 14.55

Property Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 58.23

Demographics

White: 27.3%

African American: 24.1%

American Indian and Alaska Native: 0.4%

Asian: 15.8%

Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders: 0.6%

Other Race / Two or More Races: 5.1%

Hispanic or Latino (Of Any Race): 26.7%

Owsley County, Kentucky

The percentage of adults in Booneville in Owsley County with college degrees is slightly lower than the national average of 21.84% for all communities. 16.95% of adults in Booneville have a bachelor's degree or advanced degree. The per capita income in Booneville in 2010 was \$26,053, which is upper middle income relative to Kentucky and the nation. This equates to an annual income of \$104,212 for a family of four. However, Booneville contains both very wealthy and poor people as well.

The people who call Booneville home describe themselves as belonging to a variety of racial and ethnic groups. The greatest number of Booneville residents report their race to be White. Important ancestries of people in Booneville include Dutch, English, Welsh, and Scots-Irish.

The most common language spoken in Booneville is English. Other important languages spoken here include Spanish and German/Yiddish.

Income

Per Capita Income: \$27,129

Median Household Income: \$44,262

Education

Attending College: 6.4%

High School Graduates: 83.5%

College Graduates: 29.7%

Crime

Violent Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 17.95

Property Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 48.76

Demographics

White: 27.7%

African American: 62.4%

American Indian and Alaska Native: 0.2%

Asian: 2.5%

Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders: 0.0%

Other Race / Two or More Races: 2.3%

Hispanic or Latino (Of Any Race): 4.8%

Coahoma County, Mississippi

The per capita income in Clarksdale in 2010 was \$14,868, which is lower middle income relative to Mississippi, and low income relative to the rest of the U.S.. This equates to an annual income of \$59,472 for a family of four. Clarksdale also has one of the higher rates of people living in poverty in the nation, with 35.00% of its population below the federal poverty line.

Clarksdale is a somewhat ethnically-diverse city. The people who call Clarksdale home describe themselves as belonging to a variety of racial and ethnic groups. The greatest number of Clarksdale residents report their race to be Black or African-American, followed by White.

Important ancestries of people in Clarksdale include Irish, Italian, German, and Other Arab. The most common language spoken in Clarksdale is English. Other important languages spoken here include Italian and Spanish.

Population

16,272

Income

Per Capita Income: \$14,868

Median Household Income: \$29,175

Education

Attending College: 6.2%

High School Graduates: 79.7%

College Graduates: 19.2%

Crime

Violent Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 2.15

Property Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 9.28

Demographics

White: 18.4%

African American: 80.8%

American Indian and Alaska Native: 0.1%

Asian: 0.3%

Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders: 0.0%

Other Race / Two or More Races: 0.4%

Hispanic or Latino (Of Any Race): 0.0%

Wasilla, Alaska

In terms of college education, the citizens of Wasilla rank slightly lower than the national average. 15.28% of adults 25 and older in Wasilla have a bachelor's degree or advanced degree, while 21.84% of adults have a 4-year degree or higher in the average American community. The per capita income in Wasilla in 2010 was \$27,166, which is lower middle income relative to Alaska, and upper middle income relative to the rest of the U.S.. This equates to an annual income of \$108,664 for a family of four. However, Wasilla contains both very wealthy and poor people as well.

Wasilla is a very ethnically-diverse city. The people who call Wasilla home describe themselves as belonging to a variety of racial and ethnic groups. The greatest number of Wasilla residents report their race to be White, followed by Native American. Important ancestries of people in Wasilla include Irish, English, French , and Norwegian.

The most common language spoken in Wasilla is English. Other important languages spoken here include Spanish and Slavic languages.

Population

9,748

Income

Per Capita Income: \$27,166

Median Household Income: \$61,774

Education

Attending College: 3.9%

High School Graduates: 91.4%

College Graduates: 15.3%

Crime

Violent Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 5.95

Property Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 49.96

Demographics

White: 75.9%

African American: 2.2%

American Indian and Alaska Native: 4.9%

Asian: 2.4%

Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders: 0.0%

Other Race / Two or More Races: 9.0%

Hispanic or Latino (Of Any Race): 5.6%

Waterville, Maine

Waterville is a medium-sized city located in the state of Maine. With a population of 16,406 people and three constituent neighborhoods, Waterville is the 15th largest community in Maine. Waterville has an unusually large stock of pre-World War II architecture, making it one of the older and more historic cities. The citizens of Waterville are slightly better educated than the national average of 21.84% for all cities and towns, with 24.78% of adults in Waterville having a bachelor's degree or advanced degree. The per capita income in Waterville in 2010 was \$23,095, which is lower middle income relative to Maine, and middle income relative to the rest of the U.S.. This equates to an annual income of \$92,380 for a family of four. However, Waterville contains both very wealthy and poor people as well.

The people who call Waterville home describe themselves as belonging to a variety of racial and ethnic groups. The greatest number of Waterville residents report their race to be White, followed by Black or African-American. Important ancestries of people in Waterville include French , English, French Canadian, and German. The most common language spoken in Waterville is English. Other important languages spoken here include French and Chinese.

Population

16,406

Income

Per Capita Income: \$23,095

Education

Attending College: 16.8%

High School Graduates: 91.1%

College Graduates: 24.8%

Crime

Violent Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 2.5

Property Crime Per 1,000 Residents: 42.96

Demographics

White: 89.1%

African American: 3.3%

American Indian and Alaska Native: 0.9%

Asian: 2.5%

Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders: 0.1%

Other Race / Two or More Races: 2.6%

Hispanic or Latino (Of Any Race): 1.5%



Camden, New Jersey



Wasilla, Alaska



Kykotsmobi Village, Arizona

Timeline

July 2018	Re-commit to four current Portal sites for five-year term; implement initial data capture
September 2018	Begin documentary video capture
September 2018	Add four new sites and expand data capture, for eight total sites live
December 2018	Add four new sites and expand data capture, for twelve total sites live
February 2019	Add eight remaining sites and expand data capture, for twenty total sites live
March 2019	Begin network-wide data collection
June 2019	Complete book, based on Phase 1 research
September 2019	Ongoing academic presentations, papers, public presentations, and media appearances focused on lessons learned from Phase 2 of Portals
September 2020	Phase 1 book published published in popular press
December 2020	Ongoing data capture and review
February 2022	Documentary Film Released
June 2022	Phase 2 book published in popular press
September 2022	Deadline for sponsors and foundations who wish to continue the initiative beyond Phase 2 (seeking support of \$50m per year to expand network and sustain it)
April 2023	Phase 2 concludes
May 2023	Expansion and Phase Three begins

Budget

Staffing Per Site Per Year Staffing includes at least one full-time and one part-time position. All staff are drawn from members of the local community, creating employment opportunities in underserved communities.	\$100,000
Operating Costs Operating costs include on-site costs, including power and Internet, along with global coordination and staffing costs, live language interpretation, all relevant software licenses, recording, and surveys deployed at sites.	\$55,000 per site per year
Amortized Setup Cost ¹² This cost includes all local costs, including Portal structure and technology, along with legal, insurance, and service activation or upgrade costs.	\$20,000 per site per year
Continuing 4 Sites and Operating for 5 Years The Portals in Baltimore, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Milwaukee will be extended. Therefore, there are no setup costs to be amortized.	\$3,100,000
Adding 16 Sites and Operating for 5 Years	\$14,000,000
PROJECT TOTAL	\$17,100,000

¹² Setup costs are \$100,000 per site, which we amortize over five years. Four sites are already established in Milwaukee, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Baltimore. Continuing these sites does not require additional setup costs. The cost to continue these sites for five years is \$3,100,000. The cost to set up and run sixteen additional sites is \$14,000,000.

Partners

Lead Research Partners

Yale University

The Justice Collaboratory at Yale Law School brings together an interdisciplinary group of scholars and researchers at Yale University and elsewhere to work on issues related to institutional reform and policy innovation and advancement. It infuses theory and empirical research in order to achieve our goal of making the components of criminal justice operation simultaneously more effective, just, and democratic. The Justice Collaboratory is forging a new path grounded in the idea that if we as a society are to build a fair and effective system, we must 1) arrest the persistence of inequality and draw down the concentration of criminal justice exposure that itself can become criminogenic, 2) focus on mobilizing and engaging members of the community as co-producers of justice, and 3) be mindful of the fact that offending and victimization are concentrated and intertwined within the same small social networks. The Justice Collaboratory pursues this vision through the production of innovative and collaborative research, policy engagement, training, and outreach.

Johns Hopkins University

The Johns Hopkins University Department of Political Science is known for its strength in theory and in innovative and trans-disciplinary approaches to uncovering new knowledge. The department is cross-cutting in its intellectual orientation, encompassing the themes of power and inequality, identities and allegiances, agency and structure, and borders and flows.

Representative Local Partners

Milwaukee Fatherhood Initiative

Founded in 2005 by the Mayor of Milwaukee, Tom Barrett, the Milwaukee Fatherhood Initiative engages fathers across Milwaukee to combat fatherlessness, poor graduation rates for African American Boys, and increased juvenile delinquency referrals for boys of color.

Shared_Studios has been working with the Fatherhood Initiative for more than two years, helping organizing gatherings of fathers around the world. A major event organized through Portals brought 500 fathers in Milwaukee and Newark into conversation with one another.

COA Youth & Family Centers

COA Youth & Family Centers was established in 1906 to serve low-income children and families in Milwaukee. It focuses on three core areas: early child development, youth development, and community development. Shared_Studios set up a Portal_Container and a Portal_Screen with the Center.

Self Help Graphics & Art

Founded in 1970 in the heart of East Los Angeles, Self Help Graphics and Art is dedicated to the production, interpretation, and distribution of prints and other art media by Chicana/o and Latina/o artists. Its multi-disciplinary, inter-generational programs promote artistic excellence and empower our community by providing access to space, tools, training and capital.

Family ReEntry

Family ReEntry is dedicated to restoring dignity, rebuilding families and transforming Connecticut's inner-city communities that have been ravaged by issues of mass incarceration. Shared_Studios is workign with Family ReEntry to place a Portal within the Connecticut prison system.

Mercado La Paloma

Mercado La Paloma is located in the Figueroa Corridor of South Los Angeles — a neighborhood that is full of creative and hard working entrepreneurs, community spirit, artists, musicians and cultural traditions. The area has historically suffered from disinvestment, including a lack of quality jobs and business opportunities, quality gathering spaces, quality food, and art and cultural opportunities. Over a five year period characterized by intense community engagement and research, Esperanza has renovated its current building, converting it from a garment factory to a vibrant community gathering space. It is an experiment in community revitalization that provides opportunities for local residents and showcases local creativity to the broader Los Angeles community.

#LetUsBreathe

The #LetUsBreathe Collective is an alliance of artists and activists organizing through a creative lens to imagine a world without prisons and police. The Collective operates the Breathing Room space, a Black-led liberation headquarters for arts, organizing, and healing on Chicago's South Side. Shared_Studios hosted its Portal at #LetUsBreathe in its inaugural months.

Other Current or Likely National or Global Programming Partners

Obama Foundation

Shared_Studios is working with the Obama Foundation to set up Portals in underserved communities, using Portals as a hub for community empowerment projects. We have worked with the Foundation since its first Summit in October 2017 and currently have a Portal in Chicago at the University of Chicago. Among other projects with the Obama Foundation, we are bringing a Portal to Lalapalooza with them!

SNF Agora Institute

This organization is focused on harnessing new technologies to improve democratic dialogues and diminish polarization. Housed at Johns Hopkins University and funded by the Stavros Niarchos Foundation, this new center is deploying Portals to help create a new global public square.

U.S. National Park Service

We launched a Portal at Crissy Fields in San Francisco with the National Park Service, and have been exploring ways of scaling up Portals across U.S. public parks.

Cornell, Oberlin, Harvard, and Boston College

We have Portals or are launching Portals across a number of U.S. universities, including those listed above.

UNICEF

Our Portal in Erbil is made possible by UNICEF. We are working with UNICEF to expand Portals across refugee sites globally.

Other Current or Likely Technology Partners

Biamp Systems

Biamp is providing advanced microphone systems as an in-kind contribution. Biamp Systems is a leading provider of professional AV equipment, with a particular focus on live teleconferencing. Biamp currently provides Shared_Studios with microphone systems.

Zoom

Zoom is providing unlimited pro licenses with unlimited recording and transcription as an in-kind contribution. Zoom is the leader in modern enterprise video communications, with an easy, reliable cloud platform for video and audio conferencing, chat, and webinars. Zoom currently provides Shared_Studios with licenses.

Community Professional Loudspeakers

Community is providing advanced indoor and outdoor speaker systems as an in-kind contribution. Community Professional Loudspeakers is a developer and manufacturer of innovative loudspeaker systems for installed sound applications. Based in Chester, Pennsylvania, Community is an American original whose innovative products have shaped the professional sound industry since the company was founded in 1968. Community currently provides Shared_Studios with speakers for outdoor concerts.

NEC Display Solutions of America

NEC is providing large-scale, bright displays as an in-kind contribution. NEC has a comprehensive set of displays — from LED video walls to ultra-bright laser projectors — and deep industry expertise. NEC currently provides Shared_Studios with several high-end projectors.

St. Louis and Confluence Scholars Strategy Network, 2017

Princeton University

Center for Study of Democratic Politics, 2017

Georgetown University

Prisons and Justice Initiative, 2017

Northwestern University

2017

University of Chicago

Neubauer Collegium for Culture and Society

“The State, Violence, and Social Control in the Contemporary World”

2017

New York University

Law School, 2017

Johns Hopkins University

Sociology Department, 2017

Duke University

Sanford School of Public Policy, “Big Problems in American Democracy” series, 2016

University of North Carolina

Chapel Hill, 2016

Press on Portals Research

NBC

“Golden Portal Project Brings Strangers Together for Discussion”

<https://www.nbclosangeles.com/on-air/as-seen-on/Golden-Portal-Project-Brings-Strangers-Together-for-Discussion-Los-Angeles-435947923.html>

CNN

“This Gold Box is Better Than Facebook”

<https://edition.cnn.com/style/article/portals-project-los-angeles/index.html>

Milwaukee TMJ4

“High Tech Equipment Aids Crime Prevention”

<https://www.tmj4.com/news/local-news/high-tech-equipment-aids-crime-prevention>

The Atlantic, CityLab

“The ‘Portals’ Encouraging Real Conversations About Policing and Race”

<https://www.citylab.com/life/2017/05/portals-project-race-policing/525639/>

Milwaukee Journal Sentinel

“The Unlikeliest Neighborhood: A 19th Century concept finds a new home, as Amani becomes a test case watched nationwide”

<https://projects.jsonline.com/news/2017/3/29/the-unlikeliest-neighborhood.html>

Next City

“Gold-Painted Shipping Containers Create a Global Public Space”

<https://nextcity.org/daily/entry/milwaukee-newark-parks-portals-shipping-containers>

Precious Lives Project

“A Portal to Answers”

preciouslivesproject.org/episodes/a-portal-to-answers/

Selected Press Coverage

Hundreds of press pieces on Portals are available online at www.sharedstudios.com/press. Scores of major news outlets have covered Portals including New York Times, Washington Post, BBC, CNN, FOX, ABC, NBC, Univision, and Telemundo.

88Nine Radio	DCist	New Haven Independent	The Miami Hurricane
ABC's This Week	Designboom	New York Times	The Muse
ABC News	Forbes	New York Times Video	The New Times
Adweek	Foreign Policy	Newsweek	The Observer
Al Jazeera	Fox News Sunday	Next City	The Stanford Daily
Angela's Capsule	Greenwich Free Press	NJ.com	The Yale Herald
AP	Haute Living	NJTV News	Time Out Mexico
Arca TV	Hilltop Views	NPR's Morning Edition	Time Out Chicago
Art Beat	Hola Ciudad	PBS Face-to-Face	TMJ-TV
Artnet News	Hoodline	Precious Lives	UNICEF Blog
Aspen Public Radio	Hoya	PRI's The World	United Nations Radio
Aztec Container	Huffington Post	PSFK	Vanderbilt Hustler
Baltimore Sun	Juxtapose	Quartz	Vice
BBC	KALW SF Public Radio	SF Weekly	Virgin
BBC Radio	McClatchy	Stanford News	Voice of America
Best of the News	Miami Herald	Stanford Report	Vulture
Blouin Artinfo	Journal Sentinel	The Atlantic	Washingtonian
Brick City Live	Monocle	Telemundo	WDJT
Buzzfeed	MSN	The Creators Project	WNYC
CNN's Fareed Zakaria	MSNBC	The Daily Dot	WSHU Public Radio
Crain's Chicago Business	NBC	The Daily Star	Yale Daily News

Portals Programming Examples

Gender Equity & Women's Empowerment

Members from [Resonate](#) in Kigali, Rwanda use storytelling to describe mentorship practices and experiences among women and young girls. They lead skills trainings and describe how mentorship has impacted local communities.

Members of the Health and Wellness Program of the Los Angeles based grassroots organization [Dignity and Power Now](#) discuss civic activism and offer advice on how to develop and lead a grassroots organization.

UNICEF staff and aid workers in Erbil, Iraq meet with students to discuss professional challenges and successes as international healthcare workers. They discuss access to healthcare for women in Iraq, and the challenges of providing healthcare in refugee/IDP settings.

UN Populations Fund (UNFPA) field workers in Herat, Afghanistan describe access to contraceptives and other maternal health resources, and meet with students to discuss the care provided by free clinics in Afghanistan to women and girls.

Criminal Justice & Social Action

Residents of the Amani community in Milwaukee who were featured in the documentary [Milwaukee 53206](#) screen their film and discuss challenges with criminal justice and policing in their neighborhood, which is the most incarcerated zip code in the U.S.

Members of [Together We Remember](#) and [I Am Your Protector](#) speak about individual stories of protectors around the world who stood up against discrimination or hatred, and how their lives and work can be an example for youth.

Students, experts, and community activists in Berlin come together with students to discuss surveillance. In Berlin, cameras are almost universally absent. In the U.S., cameras are omnipresent. Specific prompt for this conversation: what is the relationship between surveillance and behavior? Surveillance and freedom?

Medicine & Science

Doctors and administrators from the Rwandan Women's Health Resource Center, [Babyl](#) and [Kasha](#) connect with Women's Studies and Nursing departments to address important social concerns such as the stigmatization of birth control and access to health care.

NASA researchers, including Stephen Licata, Senior Software Engineer at the [Jet Propulsion Laboratory](#) in Los Angeles, visit the Los Angeles Portal and share their current and future projects and research. They can teach a brief lesson on space and exoplanets to earth science students.

Students in physics classes design earthquake-resilient structures and test them with architects and designers in Mexico City and Gaza who have designed buildings to withstand infrastructure damage.

An “instant” engineering and design challenge is giving to students on both sides and they are given a time limit to complete it. For example, students in San Pedro Sula and students in Andover may meet in the Portal and see who can complete a 5 foot tall structure in the shortest amount of time using only popsicle sticks.

General Practitioners in Herat, Afghanistan describe emergency care systems there, and the challenges of sourcing certain medical essentials in areas of the world experiencing conflict.

High school students connect with activists, academics, and researchers in Andover, MA to discuss challenges and solutions to the opioid epidemic in Massachusetts.

Technology & Entrepreneurship

Omar Alshafai, a founder of [BureaCrazy](#), an app which helps simplify German bureaucracy for refugees and migrants, shares ideas and brainstorms innovations with students and teachers of design and technology.

3D printing experts at New Lab in Brooklyn, NY connect with students working on advanced manufacturing for a connection on new methods and technologies in additive design.

Sociologists and technologists from Cornell University and Kabul University meet with students to discuss online information sharing in a digital age. How do we share information about ourselves on the web, and what does it mean to enter a trusted space that’s moderated by a real human being?

International groups working on Blockchain technologies – including groups using Blockchain technology in Kigali, Rwanda to design revenue generation models for new solar companies – will share their work and design collaborative experiments with students.

Female entrepreneurs and business owners in Nairobi speak about their access to financial resources, and both challenges and opportunities for women to start enterprises in Kenya.

Students in Future Business Leaders of America (FBLA) groups at high schools in the U.S. meet with entrepreneurs at Gaza Sky Geeks in Gaza City, Palestine to discuss entrepreneurship, and the challenges of starting a business in an area of difficult geography.

Students and educators around the world discuss the option of online studies – have they decreased the value of face-to-face learning?

History & Architecture

Researchers and activists from the [Migration Museum](#) in Adelaide share their research, and discuss best practices in heritage preservation in their city.

Architectural historians from [Hariwa University](#) present on important architectural icons in Afghanistan, including the great mosques of Herat and Mazar-e Sharif, Great Arch of Qal'eh-ye Bost, the Chel Zina and Babur’s tomb. They provide a comprehensive overview of the historical significance of these landmarks.

Students and faculty specializing in [Tourism Administration](#) at the University of San Pedro Sula present on their research and new growth strategies for Honduras and recent Honduran history.

Members of the [Historic Preservation Alliance of Colorado Springs](#) discuss threats from demolition or development to historic local infrastructure. They share examples of political activists or organizers in history who have defended historical architecture with students.

Students and educators meet with docents from The Memorial to the Holocaust in Berlin to discuss commemoration, memory, and the role of place in genocide commemoration with students who may be studying the Holocaust.

In Milwaukee, members of the Wisconsin Black Historical Society enter the Portal and share lessons and stories of the history of Black people in Wisconsin. They discuss the Northern Migration and speak with students about prejudice and politics in the northern states in the 18th and 19th century.

Music & Dance

Traditional Dabke dancers from the group Al-anqaa PDT in Gaza City, Palestine, perform for and collaborate with school dance classes and the general public.

Well-known Mexican [DJ Borch](#) participates in a DJ battle and performance with a local DJ, or performs and shares his diverse experience in the music industry with students as a supplement to an after-school dance or prom.

[Fist Band](#), and their lead rapper Sami Enteqad perform their latest songs from Herat in collaboration with hip hop groups and students. Programming could be supplemented by a rap battle or performance.

Jazz orchestras in schools meet with renowned flautist Rajeev Raja in Mumbai or Jazz singer Kavita Shah in Brooklyn, NY for a jam and feedback session on their technique.

Renowned classical guitarists in Los Angeles conduct a guitar masterclass with students as they perform a piece and then receive a short critique.

Sports

Aspiring soccer players from the [Harsham IDP Camp](#) in Erbil, Iraq connect with school soccer players and share best practices, skills, and team structure.

Students connect with the [Boys and Girls Club of Greater Milwaukee](#) for a jump rope competition and other games in the Portal.

Yoga instructors in Kigali, Rwanda lead a collaborative Yoga class between Kigali and schools, with group participation taking place in multiple locations.

Students in Myanmar gather with students around the world to play “Blindfold Minefield.” Toys or objects are scattered in one Portal where someone with a blindfold has to find them at the direction of someone in another Portal.

Gold Book Reactions

After participating in Portals, people are invited to write in gold pen in our gold books. We have thousands of their moving stories available online. Some are available at www.sharedstudios.com/reactions.

"Profoundly beautiful...exactly what social media technology should be used for."

"An exquisite and unforgettable experience!"

"The Portal is a gift of presence, connection and oneness."

"We laughed from our hearts, because we connected."

"The Portal worked perfectly, like magic."

"Mind blowing.... You are opening your soul and your thoughts to another human being."

"Getting to know him briefly has been a highlight of my life."

Please allow me to thank everyone who has worked to put together this remarkable project. It is an exquisite and unforgettable experience! What could be a better way to facilitate communication in this era than to combine contemporary technology with the innate inclination we all have to talk and find connections with each other. I met Melissa Biglow, the photography student mentioned earlier, and compared our experiences with a number of noteworthy parallels. From our fondness of city walks at night to our appreciation of our recent skydiving trips, the proximity of our lives in form seemed to make the geographical distance insubstantial. I cannot wait to return here and hear of the project's expansion to other cities. It is so rare to discover such remarkable things in a short period of time, but perhaps that is just my perception. Maybe the world and our lives are filled with so many more opportunities for these kind of things than we recognize, and the world's life is more imbued with subtle goodness than we typically perceive. So in summary, thanks again to all that put these elements in motion, who will keep it going, and to all who participate. And to others who haven't tried it yet, enjoy...

Peter Jordan

Dear Portal,

I have been sitting by your side for the last two weeks, listening to the thoughts of all the people who have shared in your experience: Passersby, students, professors, lawyers, artists, children, and even a snorty bulldog named Winnie.

It has been such a gift to be witness to a growing, maturing, loving way of being in this young world. I feel different. I feel bigger and smaller at the same time, knowing how I was a part of Herat, a place I have never been, for this short time. And those on the other side, I feel such camaraderie for them! What will I do without Omid? Said every morning?

I know this time has made a difference in hundreds of peoples' lives, me being one of them. I want to go visit Afghanistan!

Keep doing what you do, because it is important and works. I'll miss you, but hopefully I will see you later!

Love, Ali T. B +

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Epp, C.R., Maynard-Moody, S. and Haider-Markel, D.P., 2014. *Pulled over: How police stops define race and citizenship*. University of Chicago Press.

Fergus, D., 2014. Financial Fracking in the Land of the Free, 1980–2008. In *The Assets Perspective* (pp. 67-95). Palgrave Macmillan US.

Fernández-Kelly P. 2015. *The Hero's Fight: African Americans in West Baltimore and the Shadow of the State*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press

Gordon C & Rile Hayward C. 2016. "The Murder of Michael Brown." *Jacobin*. August 9 Harris A. 2016. *Pound of Flesh: Monetary Sanctions as Punishment for the Poor*. New York: Russell Sage

Harris A. 2016. *Pound of Flesh: Monetary Sanctions as Punishment for the Poor*. New York: Russell Sage

Harris-Lacewell, M. 2004. *Barbershops, bibles, and BET : everyday talk and Black political thought*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press.

Hinton, E. (2016). *From the War on Poverty to the War on Crime*. Harvard University Press.

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Katzenstein MF, Waller ML. 2015. Taxing the poor: incarceration, poverty governance, and the seizure of family resources. *Perspect. Polit.* 13(3):638—56

Kennedy R. 1998. *Race, Crime and the Law*. 1st Vintage Books

Leovy, J. 2015. *Ghettoside: A true story of murder in America* (First edition.). New York: Spiegel & Grau.

Lerman AE, Weaver VM. 2014. *Arresting Citizenship: The Democratic Consequences of American Crime Control*. Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press

Meares, T. 2016. *The Importance of Public Security. Keynote Address*. Univ. Chicago Legal Forum 1-13.

Mettler, S., 2011. *The submerged state: How invisible government policies undermine American democracy*. University of Chicago Press.

Mettler, Suzanne. 2011. *The Submerged State: How Invisible Government Policies Undermine American Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Pettit, B., 2012. *Invisible men: Mass incarceration and the myth of black progress*. Russell Sage Foundation.

Rios VM. 2011. *Punished: policing the lives of black and Latino boys*. New York: New York Univ. Press

Sanders, L.M., 1999. Democratic politics and survey research. *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, 29(2), pp.248-280.

Small, M.L., 2008. Lost in translation: How not to make qualitative research more scientific. In *Report from workshop on interdisciplinary standards for systematic qualitative research*. Washington, DC: National Science Foundation.

Small, M.L., 2013. "Weak ties and the core discussion network: Why people regularly discuss important matters with unimportant alters." *Social networks*, 35(3), pp.470-483.

Soss, J, Weaver VM. 2017. Police are our Government: Politics, Political Science, and the Policing of Race-Class Subjugated Communities. *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.* 20:565-91

Stuart, F. 2016. Down, Out, and Under Arrest: Policing and Everyday Life in Skid Row. University of Chicago Press.

Stuart, F. 2016. Down, Out, and Under Arrest: Policing and Everyday Life in Skid Row.

Taylor, K.Y., 2016. *From# BlackLivesMatter to black liberation*. Haymarket Books.

University of Chicago Press.

US DOJ (US Department of Justice). 2015. Investigation of the Ferguson police department. www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/opa/press-releases/attachments/2015/03/04/ferguson_police_department_report.pdf

Walker, H. L. (2014). Extending the effects of the carceral state: Proximal contact, political participation, and race. *Political Research Quarterly*, 67(4), 809–822.

Weaver, V. M. (2007). Frontlash: Race and the development of punitive crime policy. *Studies in American political development*, 21(2), 230-265.

White, A. (2015). Misdemeanor Disenfranchisement? The demobilizing effects of brief jail spells on potential voters. Harvard Scholar.

Woodly, D. (2015). The Politics of Common Sense: How Social Movements Use Public Discourse to Change Politics and Win Acceptance, Oxford University Press.

Biographies & CVs

Tracey L. Meares

Biography

Tracey L. Meares is the Walton Hale Hamilton Professor of Law and Founding Director of The Justice Collaboratory at Yale University. Before arriving at Yale, she was Max Pam Professor of Law and Director of the Center for Studies in Criminal Justice at the University of Chicago Law School. She was, at both The University of Chicago and Yale Law Schools, the first African American woman to be granted tenure. Before going into academia, Professor Meares held positions clerking for the Honorable Harlington Wood, Jr., of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit and as an Honors Program Trial Attorney in the Antitrust Division of the United States Department of Justice.



Professor Meares has worked extensively with the federal government, having served on the Committee on Law and Justice, a National Research Council Standing Committee of the National Academy of Sciences from 2004–2011. Additionally, she has served on two National Research Council Review Committees: one to review research on police policy and practices, which produced the book, *Fairness and Effectiveness in Policing: The Evidence* (2004, Skogan and Frydl, eds.) and another to review the National Institute of Justice, *Strengthening the National Institute of Justice*, (2010, Welford, Chemers and Schuck, eds). In November of 2010, Meares was named by Attorney General Eric Holder to sit on the Department of Justice’s newly-created Science Advisory Board. And in December 2014, President Obama named her as a member of his Task Force on 21st Century Policing.

Professor Meares’s teaching and research interests focus on criminal procedure and criminal law policy, with a particular emphasis on empirical investigation of these subjects. Her writings on such issues as crime prevention and community capacity building are concertedly interdisciplinary and reflect a civil society approach to law enforcement that builds upon the interaction between law, culture, social norms, and social organization. She has written widely on these topics in both the academic and trade press. To this end, Professor Meares has been engaged in a number of action-oriented research projects in Chicago, Northern California, and several sites across New York State focused on violence reduction through legitimacy-enhancing strategies. Meares has been especially interested as of late in teaching and writing about communities, police legitimacy, and legal policy, and she has lectured on this topic extensively across the country to audiences of academics, lay people, and police professionals. Together with Tom Tyler, she directs the [Justice Collaboratory](#) at Yale Law School, which plays a central role, along with John Jay University and the Center for Policing Equity at UCLA in a new [federal initiative](#) to build trust and confidence in the criminal justice system. She has a B.S. in general engineering from the University of Illinois and a J.D. from the University of Chicago Law School.

CV

Education

The University of Chicago Law School

J.D. cum laude, June 1991

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

B.S. in General Engineering, May 1988

Employment

Yale Law School

Walton Hale Hamilton Professor, October 2007 to present Founding Director, Justice Collaboratory, January 2015 to present

Deputy Dean, July 2009 to July 2011

Professor of Law, January - October 2007

Visiting Professor, September 2005

Courses: Advanced Criminal Justice Reform Workshop; Advanced Criminal Procedure; City Policing: Policies and Procedures; Criminal Justice Policy (seminar); Criminal Justice Reform; Criminal Law and Administration; Criminal Procedure: Adjudication; Criminal Procedure: Police Practices and Investigations; Guns in the United States; Innovations in Policing; Introduction to Legal Scholarship; Introduction to Legal Theory; Legal Theory Colloquium; Legal Practicum

Fordham Law School

Bacon-Kilkenny Distinguished Visiting Professor, January to May 2018 Course taught: Current Issues in Police Reform

University of Chicago Law School

Max Pam Professor of Law, July 2004 to December 31, 2006

Professor of Law, May 1999 to 2004

Director, Center for Studies in Criminal Justice, July 2000 to December 31, 2006

Assistant Professor of Law, July 1994 to May 1999

Visiting Assistant Professor of Law, July 1993 to July 1994

Courses and seminars taught: Criminal Law, Criminal Procedure, The Law of Lawyering, Advanced Appellate Advocacy, Remedies, Issues in Poverty and the Law, Juvenile Justice (seminar), Crime and Punishment (seminar), Ethnography and Law (seminar), and The Criminal Justice System (seminar)

Columbia University Law School

Visiting Professor of Law, January to May 2012

Henry and Lucy Moses Visiting Professor, January to May 2003

Courses and seminars taught: Criminal Law; Criminology (seminar); Policing (seminar)

American Bar Foundation

Senior Research Fellow, June 2005 to September 2007

Research Fellow, June 1999 to 2005

Joint appointment with the Foundation and the University of Chicago

University of Michigan Law School

Visiting Professor of Law, January to May 1998

Courses taught: Issues in Poverty (seminar) and The Law and the Law of Lawyering

Antitrust Division, United States Department of Justice

Trial Attorney, Attorney General's Honor Program, November 1992 to August 1993

Judge Harlington Wood, Jr., United States Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit

Judicial Law Clerk, September 1991 to September 1999

Appointments and Research Center Affiliations

Future of Justice Policy, Executive Member, 2018-2021

Public Theology and Racial Justice Collaborative, *National Advisory Committee*, Vanderbilt Divinity School, January 2017 to present

Wolters Kluwer Legal Education, *Editorial Advisory Board*, May 2017 to present

The American Law Institute, Principles of the Law, Policing Project

Associate Reporter, 2015 to present

President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing

Task Force Member, Appointed December 2014 (Appointed by President Obama)

The Joyce Foundation

Board of Directors, September 2010 to present

Committee on Proactive Policing: Effects on Crime, Communities, and Civil Liberties in the United States, National Academies of Sciences, *Committee Member*, October 2015 to present

Office of Justice Programs Science Advisory Board

Office of Justice Programs, United States Department of Justice

Board Member, November 2010 to November 2016 (Appointed by Attorney General Holder)

Center for Policing Equity, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, New York, NY

Board of Directors - 2008 to present

National Network for Safe Communities, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, New York, NY

Senior Research Advisor - 2009 to present

The University of Chicago Crime Lab, University of Chicago
Faculty Affiliate, 2008 to 2012

Connecticut Sentencing Commission, Hartford, Connecticut
Commissioner, 2011 to 2016

**National Academies of Sciences,
Committee on Law and Justice, National Research Council Standing Committee,**
Committee Member, 2004 to 2011

Police Executive Research Forum - Commission to Review the Arrest of Henry Louis Gates, Jr.,
Cambridge, Massachusetts
Committee Member, 2009

Committee on Assessing the Research Program of the National Institute of Justice, National Research Council
National Academy of Sciences, *Committee Member*
National Research Council (2010). Strengthening the National Institute of Justice. Committee on assessing the Research Program of the National Institute of Justice. Charles F. Wellford, Betty M. Chemers and Julie A. Schuck, editors. Division of Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education. Washington, D.C: The National Academies Press.

Committee to Review Research on Police Policy and Practices, National Research Council
National Academy of Sciences, *Committee Member*
National Research Council. (2004). Fairness and Effectiveness in Policing: The Evidence. Committee to Review Research On Police Policy and Practices. Wesley Skogan and Kathleen Frydl, editors. Committee on Law and Justice, Division of Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education. Washington, D.C: The National Academies Press.

The University of Chicago Center for the Study of Race, Politics, and Culture
Faculty Affiliate, 1997 to 2007

Berkeley Center for Criminal Justice, University of California, Berkeley
Senior Research Fellow, 2007 to 2010

Joint Center for Poverty Research, Northwestern University/University of Chicago
Executive Committee Member, 1999 to 2002

Research Grants

The Justice Collaboratory (with Tom Tyler)
John D. And Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation
Yale Law School, Ruebhausen Fund
October 2014 to present

National Initiative for Building Community Trust & Justice (with Tom Tyler)
John D. And Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation
Yale Law School, Ruebhausen Fund
October 2014

Chicago Gang Violence Reduction Initiative (with David Kennedy)
John D. And Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation
March 2010 to July 2016

Policing and Legitimacy (with Anthony Braga, Jeffrey Fagan, Robert Sampson, Tom Tyler, and Christopher Winship)
American Bar Foundation
Russell Sage Foundation
Yale Law School, Ruebhausen Fund
May 2007

Project Safe Neighborhoods in Chicago (with Jeffrey Fagan and Andrew Papachristos)
Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics
Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Assistance
Yale Law School, Ruebhausen Fund
September 2003

Chicago Gun Project (with Jeffrey Fagan and Andrew Papachristos) United States Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Assistance January 2006 to 2012

Law, Legitimacy, and the Construction of Justice: Majority and Minority Community Perspectives on the Law and Legal Authorities (with Anthony Braga, Jeffrey Fagan, Robert Sampson, Tom Tyler, and Christopher Winship) Russell Sage Foundation January 2001 to September 2007

Institutional Integration between the Church and the Police in Chicago's Disadvantaged Neighborhoods (Principal Investigator)
John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation and
Center for the Study of Race, Politics and Culture
May 1998 to 2005

Publications

Books

Comprehensive Criminal Procedure, 4th edition (Wolters Kluwer, 2016) (with Ronald Allen, William Stuntz, Joseph Hoffman, Debra Livingston and Andrew Leipold)

Criminal Procedure: Investigation and Right to Counsel, 3rd edition (Wolters Kluwer, 2016) (with Ronald Allen, William Stuntz, Joseph Hoffman, Debra Livingston and Andrew Leipold)

Criminal Procedure: Adjudication and Right to Counsel, 2nd Edition (Wolters Kluwer, 2016) (with Ronald Allen, William Stuntz, Joseph Hoffman, Debra Livingston and Andrew Leipold)

Legitimacy and Criminal Justice: A Comparative Perspective (Sage Foundation, 2007) (edited with Anthony Braga, Jeffrey Fagan, Robert Sampson, Tom R. Tyler and Christopher Winship)

Urgent Times: Policing and Rights in Inner City Communities (Beacon Press, 1999) (with Dan Kahan)

Book Chapters and Sections

"Policing: A Model for the Twenty-first Century" in *Policing the Black Man*, Davis, Angela J. (Pantheon Books, June 2017)

"Police Lawfulness and Public Security," Chapter in the *SAGE Handbook of Global Policing*, (October 2016)

"Policing in the 21st Century" in *Ferguson's Fault Lines*, Norwood, Kimberly Jade, ed. (2016)

"The Law of Community Policing and Public Order Policing" in *The Encyclopedia of Criminology and Criminal Justice* (Springer, 2014)

"The Distribution of Dignity and the Fourth Amendment" in the *Political Heart of Criminal Procedure: Essays on Themes of William J. Stuntz*, Klarman, Michael, David Skeel and Carol Steiker, eds. (Cambridge University Press, 2011)

"The Progressive Past" in *The Constitution in 2020*, Balkin, Jack and Reva Siegel, eds. (Oxford University Press, 2009)

"Third Party Policing: A Critic" in *Prospects and Problems in an Era of Police Innovation: Contrasting Perspectives*, Weisburd, David and Anthony Braga, eds. (Cambridge University Press, 2006)

"Simple Solutions? The Complexity of Public Attitudes Relevant to Drug Law Enforcement Policy" in *Crime Control and Social Justice: The Delicate Balance*, Hawkins, Darnell F., Samuel Myers Jr., and Randolph Stone, eds. (Greenwood, 2003)

"Communities, Conflicts and Social Capital" in *Moving Out: What Should Be Done for those Who Have Been Left Behind*, Fiss, Owen (Princeton University Press, 2003)

"Race and Crime (including Ethnicity)" in *The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (Elsevier, 2001)

Articles

"Policing: A Public Good Gone Bad"
Forum 3 Boston Review 93, *The President's House is Empty* (2017)

"The Path Forward: Improving the Dynamics of Community-Police Relationships to Achieve Effective Law Enforcement Policies"
117 Columbia Law Review 1355 (2017)

"Policing and Procedural Justice: Shaping Citizens' Identities to Increase Democratic Participation"
111 *Northwestern University Law Review* 1525 (2017)

Harvard Law Review, Book Review, Risa Goluboff, Vagrant Nation, "This is My Land?"
130 *Harvard Law Review* 1877 (2017)

"Burying the Lede: Why Teaching the Due Process Cases is Critical to Investigations in Criminal Procedure"
60 *Saint Louis University Law Journal* 497 (2016)

"Policing in the 21st Century: The Importance of Public Security"
The University of Chicago Legal Forum (2016)

"Lawful or Fair? How Cops and Laypeople View Good Policing"
The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, Northwestern University School of Law, Volume 105, Number 2 (2015)

"Broken Windows, Neighborhoods, and the Legitimacy of Law Enforcement, or Why I Fell In and Out of Love with Zimbardo" *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* (2015)

"Programming Errors, Understanding the Constitutionality of Stop and Frisk as a Program, Not an Incident"
82 *University of Chicago Law Review* 159 (2015)

"Desistance and Legitimacy: The Impact of Offender Notification Meetings on Recidivism among High Risk Offenders" (with Danielle Wallace, Andrew Papachristos, and Jeffrey Fagan)
Justice Quarterly (2015)

"Justice Sotomayor and the Jurisprudence of Procedural Justice"
123 *Yale Law Journal Forum* 525 (2014)

"The Law and Social Science of Stop and Frisk"
Annual Review of Law and Social Science 335 (2014)

"How the Criminal Justice System Educates Citizens" (with Benjamin Justice)
651 *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 159 (2014)

"The Good Cop: Knowing the Difference between Lawful or Effective and Rightful Policing - And Why It Matters"
54 *William & Mary Law Review* 1865 (2013)

"Why Do Criminals Obey the Law" (with Andrew Papachristos and Jeffrey Fagan)
102 *Journal of Criminal Law & Criminology* 397 (2012)

"Randomization and the Fourth Amendment" (with Bernard Harcourt)
78 *The University of Chicago Law Review* 809 (2011)

"The Legitimacy of Police Among Young African American Men"
92 *Marquette Law Review* 651 (2009)

"Punishment, Deterrence and Social Control: The Paradox of Punishment in Minority Communities"
(with Jeffrey Fagan)

6 *Ohio State Journal of Criminal Law* 173 (2008)

"Attention Felons: Evaluating Project Safe Neighborhoods in Chicago" (with Andrew Papachristos
and Jeffrey Fagan)

4 *Journal of Empirical Legal Research* 223 (2007)

"When 2 or 3 Come Together" (with Kelsi Brown Korkran)

48 *William and Mary Law Review* 1315 (2007)

"Seeing Crime and Punishment Through a Sociological Lens: Contributions, Practices, and the
Future" (with Calvin Morrill, John Hagan and Bernard Harcourt)

University of Chicago Legal Forum 289 (2005)

"Warren Court Retrospective: Everything Old Is New Again: Fundamental Fairness and the
Legitimacy of Criminal Justice"

3 *Ohio State Journal of Criminal Law* 117 (2005)

"Gangs & Gang-related Crime"

4 *Criminology & Public Policy* 575 (2005)

"Lawful Policing" (with Wesley Skogan)

593 *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 66(18) (2004)

"Mass Incarceration: Who Pays the Price for Criminal Offending"

3 *Criminology and Public Policy* 295 (2004)

"Updating the Study of Punishment" (with Dan Kahan and Neal Katyal)

56 *Stanford Law Review* 1171 (2004)

"What's Wrong with Gideon"

70 *University of Chicago Law Review* 215 (2003)

"Praying for Community Policing"

90 *California Law Review* 1593 (2002)

"Three Objections to the Use of Empiricism in Criminal Law and Procedure-And Three Answers"

University of Illinois Law Review 101 (2002)

"Signaling, Legitimacy, and Compliance: A Comment on Posner's Law and Social Norms and
Criminal Law Policy"

36 *University of Richmond Law Review* 407 (2002)

"Norms, Legitimacy and Law Enforcement"

79 *Oregon Law Review* 391 (2000)

"Transparent Adjudication and Social Science Research in Constitutional Criminal Procedure" (with
Bernard Harcourt)

90 *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 733 (2000)

"Adolescence, Context, and Culpability: Some Thoughts on the Next Essay"
6 *Virginia Journal of Social Policy and the Law* 583 (1999)

"Terry and the Relevance of Politics"
72 *St. John's Law Review* 101 (1998)

"The Coming Crisis of Criminal Procedure" (with Dan Kahan)
86 *Georgetown Law Journal* 1153 (1998)

"The Increasing Significance of Genes: Reproducing Race" (book review)
92 *Northwestern Law Review* 1046 (1998)

"Place and Crime"
73 *Chicago-Kent Law Review* 669 (1998)

"Law and (Norms of) Order in the Inner City" (with Dan Kahan)
32 *Law and Society Review* 805 (1998)

"Social Organization and Drug Law Enforcement"
35 *American Criminal Law Review* 191 (1998)

"Black, White and Gray: A Reply to Alschuler and Schulhofer" (with Dan Kahan)
University of Chicago Legal Forum 245 (1998)

"The Wages of Antiquated Procedural Thinking: A Critique of *Chicago v. Morales*" (with Dan Kahan)
University of Chicago Legal Forum 197 (1998)

"It's a Question of Connections"
31 *Valparaiso Law Review* 579 (1997)

"Charting Race and Class Differences in Attitudes Toward Drug Legalization and Law Enforcement:
Lessons for Federal Criminal Law"
1 *Buffalo Criminal Law Review* 137 (1997)

"Rewards for Good Behavior: Influencing Prosecutorial Discretion and Conduct with Financial
Incentives"
64 *Fordham Law Review* 851 (1995)

"Exploring Departures Based on the Victim's Wrongful Conduct through *US. v. Koon*"
7 *Federal Sentencing Reporter* 201 (1995)

Op-Eds and Popular Press

"Move Criminal Justice Forward"
REGBLOG, Penn Program on Regulation (March 6, 2017)
<http://www.regblog.org/2017/03/06/meares-move-criminal-justice-forward/>

"Policing Should Move Beyond Crime Reduction"

The Washington Post (July 2016)

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/policing-should-move-beyond-crime-reduction/2016/07/20/f561df64-4cf3-11e6-aal4-e0c1087f7583_story.html?utm_term=.f89c1e068158&wpisrc=nl opinions&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/policing-should-move-beyond-crime-reduction/2016/07/20/f561df64-4cf3-11e6-aal4-e0c1087f7583_story.html?utm_term=.f89c1e068158&wpisrc=nl%20opinions&wpmm=1)

"A Strategy to Build Police-Citizen Trust"

New York Times, (July 2016)

[https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07126/opinion/a-strategy-to-build-police-citizen-trust.html](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/126/opinion/a-strategy-to-build-police-citizen-trust.html)

"Fight Crime Sensibly, Not Hysterically,"

New York Times, Room for Debate (June 2016)

<https://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2015/12/15/are-americans-fears-legitimate/fight-crime-sensibly-not-hysterically>

"If You Want Independent Judges, Don't Elect Them"

New York Times, Room for Debate (June 2016)

<https://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2016/06/08/should-an-unpopular-sentence-in-the-stanford-rape-case-cost-a-judge-his-job/if-you-want-independent-judges-dont-elect-them>

"Crime Statistics Don't Show that the Sky is Falling"

New York Times, Room for Debate (2015)

<https://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2015/06/04/have-fearful-police-brought-an-end-to-the-drop-in-crime/crime-statistics-dont-show-that-the-sky-is-falling>

"What 'Ferguson Effect'? Understanding Recent Ups and Downs of Crime" (with Jeffrey Fagan)

Columbia Law School and The New York Times (2015)

<http://www.law.columbia.edu/news/2015/06/ferguson-effect>

"Rightful Policing" (with Peter Neyroud)

Perspectives in Policing Bulletin. Washington, D.C.: US. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice. NCJ 248411 (2015)

"A Third Reconstruction?"

For the Symposium: *Deconstructing Ferguson One Year Later* (2015)

<https://balkin.blogspot.com/2015/08/a-third-reconstruction.html>

"Introduction: Deconstructing Ferguson One Year Later"

For the Symposium: *Deconstructing Ferguson One Year Later* (2015)

<https://balkin.blogspot.com/2015/08/introduction-deconstructing-ferguson.html>

"Ferguson's Schools Are Just as Troubling as Its Police Force"

The New Republic (2014)

<https://newrepublic.com/article/119169/ferguson-missouri-schools-are-just-troubling-its-police-force>

"What Chicago is Doing Right"

Bill Moyers GroupThink (2013)

"Firearm Violence: A Public Health Problem"

The Hartford Courant (2013)

"Justice Falls Down" (Review of William Stuntz's "The Collapse of Criminal Justice")
Harvard Magazine (2012)

"Taking Traffic Violations Seriously"
New York Times, Room for Debate (2012)

"The Arizona Solution" (with Jeffrey Fagan)
Slate Magazine (2010)
http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/jurisprudence/2010/05/the_arizona_solution.html

"What the Court Didn't Do" (Commentary on *Graham v. Florida*)
New York Times, Room for Debate (2010)

"Profiling Not Pathway to Safe Streets"
New Haven Register (2009)

"Law Enforcement for Lawabiders"
Ideas in American Policing, Number 8, January 2007

"Public-Order Policing Can Pass Constitutional Muster," (with Dan Kahan)
The Wall Street Journal, A18 (1999)

"When Rights Are Wrong" (with Dan Kahan)
Boston Review, (1999)

"Let's Cut Chain Gangs Loose"
U.S. Catholic Magazine, (1997)

"Weak Link"
The University of Chicago Magazine, (1996)

"Land of Lincoln Shouldn't Revive Chain Gangs"
Chicago Tribune, §1, (1996)

Invited Lectures

"Thinking Through the "Public" In "Public Legitimacy"
American Philosophical Association, Public Session on Policing, Chicago, January 2018
Howard League Conference, Redesigning Justice: Promoting Civil Rights, Trust, and Fairness, Oxford, England, March 2018

"The Future of Police Legitimacy and Police Reform," Ralph F. Fuchs Lecture
Indiana University, Maurer School of Law, April 2017

"The Promise of Police Reform in the New Administration," Neil A. Weiner Research Speaker Series
Vera Institute of Justice, June 2017

"Police Legitimacy and Police Reform," Convening Yale Speaker Series
Yale School of Management, March 2017

"The Legitimacy of Policing and Citizenship," William H. Leary Lecture University of Utah S.J. Quinney College of Law, February 2017

"The Intersection of Technology, Oversight, and Legitimacy in 21st Century Policing"
Cato Institute, Washington, DC, December 2016

"Policing and Its Reform in the 21st Century," Robert H. Jackson Lecture
Chautauqua Institution, Jamestown, NY, July 2016

"Lifesaving Solutions to the Urban Gun Violence Epidemic," Panelist
Democratic National Convention, July 2016

"Justice System Breakdown: The Need and the Time for Change in Illinois,"
John Howard Association Annual Meeting, November 2015

"Police Reform and Public Security," Legal Forum Keynote Address
University of Chicago, November 2015

"Building Trust and Legitimacy Toward Effective Community Policing," 21st Century Policing Symposium
SIU School of Medicine and SIU School of Law, November 2015

"Thoughts on 21st Century Policing"
ACLU of Springfield, IL at University of Illinois-Springfield, November 2015

"Policing in the 21st Century," Order of the Coif Distinguished Lecturer
Oklahoma University Law School, October 2015
UCLA Law School, October 2015
Drake University Law School, September 2015

"Enhancing Procedural Fairness"
Centre for Justice Innovation "Better Courts" Conference, London, February 2015

"Policing Chicago," Robert McCormick Foundation Lecture
Chicago Humanities Festival, October 2013

"The Good Cop: Knowing the Difference between Lawful or Effective and Rightful Policing-And Why It Matters," George Wythe Lecture, William & Mary College of Law (2013)

"Promoting a Curriculum of Positive Civic Identity through Legitimate Policing"
Rutgers University Graduate School of Education, December 2012

"The Legitimacy of Police among Young African-American Men," Inaugural George and Margaret Barrock Lecture, Marquette University Law School, February 2009

"The Second Movement: Crime, Law Enforcement and the Black Church"
Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Lecture, University of Pittsburgh, January 2000

"The New Policing: Social Organization, Legitimacy, and Law Enforcement"

Fortunoff Colloquium, Center for Crime and Justice at New York University Law School,
November 1999

Paper Presentations

"Portals to Politics: Grassroots Narratives of Policing in the Low End, North Station Baltimore,
South LA, and the 53206"
Fordham Law School, February 2018

"Police Lawfulness and Public Security"
Florida State University College of Law, January 2017

"Lawful or Fair? How Police and Laypeople Judge Good Policing"
Drake University Law School, September 2015
Oklahoma University Law School, October 2015

"The Two Different Worlds We Live In"
Northwestern University Institute for Policy Research, April 2014
University of Minnesota Law School, April 2012
Columbia University Law School, February 2012
Yale Center for Research on Inequalities and the Life Course Workshop, September 2011
Cornell University Law School, September 2011
Sixth Annual Criminal Justice Roundtable, Yale Law School, April 2011

"How the Criminal Justice System Educates Citizens"
USC Gould School of Law, March 2014
Yale University, Institute for Social and Policy Studies Conference: Detaining Democracy,
November 2012
Yale University, African American Studies Department, Endeavors, November 2012

"Randomization and the Fourth Amendment"
Vanderbilt Criminal Law Roundtable, Vanderbilt Law School, September 2009 Quinnipiac
Law School, September 2009
Fifth Annual Criminal Justice Roundtable, University of Chicago Law School, May 2009

"Why Do Criminals Obey the Law?"
Fordham Law School, April 2009

"Attention Felons: Evaluating Project Safe Neighborhoods in Chicago"
Loyola University Chicago, April 2006
Yale Law School, November 2005
American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting, 2005 Harvard Law School, May 2005

"When 2 or 3 Come Together: Cooperation Between the Black Church and the Police in Chicago"
University of Illinois Law School, October 2005
University of Chicago Law and Philosophy Workshop, February 2005
Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University, May 2004
Yale Legal Theory Workshop, April 2004

Iowa College of Law, February, 2004
Yale Law School, February 2001

"What's Wrong with Gideon"

Fordham University School of Law, April 2003
Rutgers (Newark) Center for Law and Justice, March 2003

"Churches, Crime and Communities: A Community-focused Model of Faith Based Initiatives"

Columbia University Law School, February 2003
Ohio State University College of Law, September 2002
University of Florida College of Law, February 2002
Harvard University John F. Kennedy School of Government, September 2001
University of Utah College of Law, October 2001

"Legitimate Policing in the Eyes of the Police"

American Bar Foundation, November 2001

"Law Enforcement for Law Abiders: Achieving Voluntary Compliance through Social Organization Improvement"

Institute on Race and Social Division at Boston University, November 1999
Pennsylvania State Dickinson Scholar Series, September 1998

"Place and Crime"

Harvard Law School, May 1998
Center on Race, Politics, and Culture at the University of Chicago, May 1998
Boston University Law School, April 1998

"Terry and the Relevance of Politics"

St. John's Law School, Conference on the 40th Anniversary of Terry v. Ohio, April 1998

"When Rights Are Wrong" (with Dan Kahan)

The University of Chicago Legal Forum Symposium, "The Right to Fair Trial," November 1997
ITT Chicago-Kent Law School, October, 1997
University of Chicago Law School, October 1997

"Law and (Norms of) Order in the Inner City" (with Dan Kahan)

Law and Society Annual Meeting, June 1997

"Social Organization and Drug Law Enforcement"

University of Michigan Law School, November 1998
The University of Virginia Law School, March 1997
Stanford Law School, February 1997

"Charting Race and Class Differences in Attitudes Toward Drug Legalization and Law Enforcement"

Rethinking Federal Criminal Law Symposium, SUNY Buffalo, November 1996
The American Society of Criminology 48th Annual Meeting, November 1996

"It's a Question of Connections"

Symposium on Teenage Violence and Drug Abuse, Valparaiso University School of Law,

November 1996

"An Empirical Exploration of Attitudes toward 'Get Tough' Drug-Law Enforcement Policies"
The Drug Policy Foundation's 10th International Conference on Drug Policy Reform,
November 1996

Selected Presentations, Symposia, and Conferences

Rikers: An American Jail, Panelist, Fordham Law School, A2J Initiative, February 2018
Crime, Legitimacy and Reform: Fifty Years after the President's Commission, Roundtable American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, November 2017

Advancing Justice Summit, Panelist, George Washington Law Review Symposium, October 2017

Advancing Justice: An Agenda for Human Dignity and Public Safety, Panelist Charles Koch Institute, Washington, DC, October 2017

Police Legitimacy and Police Reform, Seminar on Violence Prevention John Hopkins University, October 2017

Prosecutor's Conference
Vera Institute of Justice, June 2017

Annual Law and Society Conference, Mexico City, June 2017
Collective Aspects of Procedural Justice - Presenter

Courting Death: The Supreme Court and Capital Punishment - Reader

Criminal Justice Roundtable Convening Committee Harvard University, 2018

Columbia University, 2017

Stanford Law School, 2016

Yale Law School, 2015

Harvard Law School, 2014

University of Chicago Law School, 2013

Yale Law School, 2011

University of Chicago, 2009

Harvard Law School, 2008

Yale Law School, 2007

University of Chicago Law School, 2006

Harvard Law School, 2005

"Procedural Justice and Community Policing," Speaker
Civilian Office of Police Accountability, Chicago Inaugural Training Academy, May 2017

Law Enforcement Labor Relations and Arbitration & 21st Century Policing, Panelist
National Academy of Arbitrators Meeting, Chicago, May 2017

Bookfest, Faculty Colloquium

University of Texas at Austin, February 2017

De-Bureaucratization: Police and Prosecutors, Panelist
Democratizing Criminal Law Symposium, Northwestern Pritzker School of Law, November 2016

Deconstructing Ferguson II, "How do Social Policy, Law, and Institutions Shape Civic Life in Newark," Moderator
Rutgers School of Criminal Justice, May 2016

Restoring Police Legitimacy Symposium, Panelist
Harvard Law School, April 2016

Police Actions and Citizen Mobilizations in Democratic Societies Conference
Yale University, ISPS Center for the Study of Inequality, April 2016

Mayor Libby Schaaf's Safe Oakland Series: Fair and Just Policing Oakland, CA, April 2016

The Inner City School: Inequality and Urban Education (School to Prison Pipeline), Moderator
Yale University, April 2016

The Empirics of Legal Interpretation, Speaker
AALS Annual Meeting, New York, January 2016

National Initiative for Building Community Trust & Justice Research Roundtable (with Tom Tyler)
Yale Law School, December 2015

Better Courts, A National Conference on Court Innovation
Centre for Justice Innovation, London, June 2015

Justice Collaboratory Conference - Policing Post Ferguson
Yale University, April 2015

The National Initiative for Building Trust and Justice
Police Legitimacy and Procedural Justice Summit for the Northern District of California, March 2015

Legitimacy and Fairness: 2 Views of Rightful Police Conduct, Presenter
Northwestern Law School, Chicago Forum on Procedural Justice and Policing, March 2014

Bringing Justice Home: Initiatives Rooted in Community, Panelist
Vera Institute, February 2014

Applying the Research towards Reforming the Criminal Justice Process, Panelist
AALS Crosscutting Program, January 2014

Broken Windows, Neighborhoods and the Legitimacy of Law Enforcement, or How I Fell In and Out of Love with Zimbardo
Netherlands Institute for Study of Crime & Law Enforcement Conference on Broken Windows October 2013

What is Procedural Justice and How Can It Contribute to Reducing Violence
8th National Community Prosecution Conference, Philadelphia, September 2013

"The Distribution of Dignity and the Fourth Amendment"
Conference in honor of William Stuntz, Harvard Law School, March 2010

Police Stops, Community Trust and Legitimacy: Can They Be Reconciled? Panelist Police Executive
Research Forum Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, April 2010

Over-incarceration and Decarceration, Panelist
Thirteenth Annual Liman Public Interest Colloquium Yale Law School, March 2010

National Network for Safe Communities Annual Conference Opening Plenary Speaker
Speaker, Increasing Criminal Justice System Legitimacy
John Jay University, December 2009

Justice for All: Perceptions of Racial and Ethnic Bias in Our Courts
Prosecutorial Discretion, Panelist
SMU Dedman School of Law and ABA Judicial Division, April 2009

"The Changing Jurisprudence of Policing"
Urban Seminar Series on Children's Health and Safety, Harvard University, May 2000

Learning from Sociology and Political Science, Lecturer
AALS 2006 Mid-Year Meeting Workshop on Criminal Law and Procedure: Lessons from
other Disciplines and New Realities, Vancouver, June 2006

52 Years After Hernandez v. Texas
"Hernandez, Brown and the Future of Criminal Procedure," Lecturer University of Chicago,
April 2006

American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting
"Legitimacy, Policing and the Constitution," Presenter
Toronto, November 2005

"Pulling Down Strongholds: Black Churches and Criminal Justice," Lecturer
National Black Church Task Force Initiative on Crime and Criminal Justice
St Louis, July 2003

Law and Society Annual Meeting, Pittsburgh, June 2003
Author Meets Reader: Derrick Bell's Ethical Ambition and Jeannine Bell's Policing Hatred

Federal Criminal Practice for the Trial Attorney
United States Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit, September 2002 "Standards of
Review," Lecturer

Conference on Faith-Based Initiatives and Urban Public Policy
University of Chicago Center for Studies in Criminal Justice, Conference Organizer, March
2001

American Association of Law Schools Equal Justice Colloquium, Midwest Region
University of Chicago Law School and DePaul College of Law, Conference Co-Chair, October 2000

American Sociological Association Annual Meeting
"Criminalization and Disenfranchisement: The Unintended Consequences of Incarceration,"
Session Presider and Commentator, Washington, D.C., August 2000

American Association of Law Schools Conference on Criminal Justice
"What is the Point of Teaching and Scholarship in Criminal Law & Procedure?" Presenter,
Washington, D.C., June 2000

Law and Society Association Graduate Students Workshop
Plenary Speaker, Miami Beach, May 2000

Law and Society Annual Meeting
Plenary Speaker, Aspen, Colorado, June 1998

MacArthur Foundation Research Program on Adolescent Development and Juvenile Justice
Miami, Florida, October 1998 and Atlanta, Georgia, May 1998

"Institutional Integration and the New Policing"
University of Michigan, Seminar on Poverty, the Underclass and Public Policy, February 1998

"Black Civil Society and Crime," Presenter
University of Michigan Public Policy School, Martin Luther King Day Program Ann Arbor,
Michigan, January 1998

"Variety of Firearms Controls," Panelist
Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology & Northwestern University School of Law:
Conference on Guns and Violence in America
Northwestern University School of Law, February 1996

"Rewards for Good Behavior: Influencing Prosecutorial Discretion and Conduct with Financial Incentives"
Law and Society Annual Meeting, June 1995

"Enforcement of Fair Lending Laws Through Multiple Agencies"
AALS Annual Meeting, January 1995

The Roundtable Symposium, Intermediate Punishments: Viable Alternatives to Prison?
University of Chicago, January 1995
"The Machiavellian Perspectives on Boot Camp Prisons: A Debate" by Prof. Doris MacKenzie, Commentator

Race, Ethnicity and Urban Poverty Workshop

"Urban Unemployment, Gender and the Problem of Proletarianization in a Third World Economy: Jamaica, 1943-1973" by Prof. Orlando Patterson, Discussant
University of Chicago, December 1994

"Race and Gender Bias in the Simpson Case," Guest Lecturer
Introduction to Lawyering
Harvard Law School, November 1994

Selected Media

"After Stephen Clark Shooting, Questions Remain About Police Use of Force" by Martin Kaste
National Public Radio/ All Things Considered
<https://choice.npr.org/index.html?origin=https://www.npr.org/2018/04/04/599525838/after-stephen-clark-shooting-questions-remain-about%C2%AD%20police-use-of-force>

MSNBC Live: The Point with Ari Melber, "Attorney: Police shooting of black teen 'completely unjustified'" (May 7, 2017)
<http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc-news/watch/attorney-police-shooting-of-black-teen-completely%C2%AD%20unjustified-938412611950>

Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, "Race and Policing: State and Local Perspectives" (March 28, 2017)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=+qAAktNnKaU>

Yale School of Management, "Police Legitimacy and Police Reform" (March 2, 2017)
<http://som.yale.edu/event/2017/03/conversation-with-yale-law-school-professor-tracey-meares-on%C2%AD%20police-legitimacy-and-police-reform>

The Atlantic, CITYLAB, "The 'Portals' Encouraging Real Conversations About Policing and Race" (May 8, 2017)
<https://www.citylab.com/life/2017/05/portals-project-race-policing/525639/>

Khan Academy, "The Fourth Amendment," March 2017
<https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ap-us-government-and-politics/civil-liberties-and-civil-rights/amendments-balancing-individual-freedom-with-public-order-and-safety/v/the-fourth-amendment>

NPR, "At Confirmation Hearing, Sen. Sessions Links Police Morale to Crime Spike" (January 11, 2017)
<https://choice.npr.org/index.html?origin=https://www.npr.org/2017/01/l%201/509265937/at-confirmation-hearing-sen-sessions-links-police%C2%AD%20morale-to-crime-spike>

Scholars Strategy Network, Episode 47: "A Path for Police Reform" (August 23, 2016)
<http://www.scholarsstrategynetwork.org/podcast/path-police-reform>

In The Thick with Maria Hinojosa, "Law and Order: Is it Black or White" (July 13, 2016)
<http://futuromedia.libsyn.com/21-law-and-order-is-it-black-and-white>

WHYY Public Media, Radio Times with Marty Moss Coane, "Crime is Down, but We're Still Worried" (January 12, 2016)

<http://whyy.org/cms/radiotimes/2016/01/12/crime-is-down-but-were-still-worried/>

NPR, "Did the Dallas Ambush Set Back Reform at Police Departments?" (July 11, 2016)

<https://choice.npr.org/index.html?origin=https://www.npr.org/2016/07/11/485512660/did-the-dallas-ambush-set-back-reform-at-police%C2%AD%20departments>

NPR, "Video Release in Chicago Police Cases Is Unusual, Experts Say" (June 4, 2016)

<https://choice.npr.org/index.html?origin=https://www.npr.org/2016/06/04/480731328/video-release-in-chicago-police-cases-is-unusual-experts%C2%AD%20say>

MIT, Jim Crow and the Legacy of Segregation Outside of the South w/Melissa Nobles (September 2015)

<https://vimeo.com/141700569>

Legal Talk Network ABA Annual Meeting 2015: "Perspectives on Race, Communities, and Policing in Twenty-First Century America" (August 20, 2015)

<https://legaltalknetwork.com/podcasts/special-reports/2015/08/aba-annual-meeting-2015-perspectives%C2%AD%20race-communities-policing-twenty-first-century-america/>

The Atlantic, "Is the U.S. Criminal-Justice System Broken?" (August 12, 2015)

<https://www.theatlantic.com/video/index/401096/criminal-justice-system-broken/>

WNPR, "State Child Advocate; Policing in the 21st Century" (July 28, 2015)

<http://wnpr.org/post/state-child-advocate-policing-21st-century#stream/0>

NPR, Sandra Bland Video Shows an Argument with Police Officer (July 22, 2015)

<https://choice.npr.org/index.html?origin=https://www.npr.org/2015/07/22/425224947/sandra-bland-video-shows-an-argument-with-police%C2%AD%20officer>

Brian Lehrer Show on WNYC, Radio Talks Race: A National Dialogue on Race, Justice, and Policing (July 10, 2015)

<https://www.wnyc.org/story/radiotalksrace-national-dialogue-race-justice-and-policing/>

NPR, Brian Lehrer Show on WNYC, Radio Talks Race: A Multi-City Roundtable (July 8, 2015)

<https://www.wnyc.org/story/race-justice-and-policing-multi-city-roundtable/>

British Broadcasting Company, "U.S. Police: Warriors or Guardians?" (June 15, 2015)

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p02tsp36?ocid=socialflow%20twitter>

NPR, The Brian Lehrer Show on WNYC, "Experiencing the 'Realities of Being a Police Officer'" (June 11, 2015)

<https://www.wnyc.org/story/experiencing-the-realities-of-being-a-police-officer/>

Constitution Daily, "The Aftermath of Ferguson for the Legal System" (December 10, 2014).

<http://sl06.podbean.com/pb/6177c7d9b6fc82d9640988520320ac28/5947f23a/data2/fs60/644803/uploa%20ds/ferguson12102014.mp3>

Brian Lehrer Show on WNYC, "Flashpoint: A Tale of Two Police Forces" (April 12, 2013)
<https://www.wnyc.org/story/281399-flashpoint-tale-two-police-forces/>

MSNBC, The Melissa Harris Perry Show, (January 13, 2013)
<http://www.nbcnews.com/id/50458600>

Professional Affiliations and Service

Admitted to Illinois Bar, November 1991
2009 AALS Planning Committee for the Workshop on Criminal Justice 2005 AALS Committee on Professional Development
1997 AALS Section on Remedies, Chair
1995 AALS Section on Remedies Executive Committee American Bar Foundation Appointments Committee, 2003-2006
American Bar Foundation Research Committee, 2000-2003
Justice/Crime Index Advisory Council, Chicago Metropolis 2020, 2006
The Chapin Hall Center for Children at the University of Chicago, Board of Directors University of Chicago Law School Appointments Committee 2002-2006
University of Chicago Law School Dean Search Committee 2002, 2005
University of Chicago Law School Admissions Committee 1999-2000
University of Chicago Committee on Minority Affairs, Chair 2001-2002
Law and Society Association Board of Trustees, Class of 2000
Law and Society Membership Committee, Chair 1998
Law and Society Committee on Diversity, 1999
Law and Society Article Prize Committee, 2000
Law and Society Summer Program Committee, 2000
Law and Society Nominations Committee, 2002
Law and Society Graduate Student Workshop Committee, 2003
Yale Law School, Deputy Dean, 2009-2011
Yale Law School, Appointments Committee, 2011-12, 2014-15 Yale Law School, Dean Search Committee, 2009
Yale Law School, Visiting Lecturers Committee, 2008-09 (chair) Yale Law School, Calendar Committee, 2007-08
Yale Law School Grading Review Committee, 2014-15 (chair)
Yale Law School, First Term Writing and Research Committee, 2007 Yale University Diversity Committee, 2011-13
Yale University Budget Committee, 2011-13
Yale University, Minority Affairs Committee, 2010 Yale University, Sexual Misconduct Committee, 2010 Member, Chicago Council of Lawyers
Associate Editor, Law and Social Inquiry, 2003-2007, 2010-2012
Editorial Board, Law and Social Inquiry
Editorial Board, Crime and Justice: A Review of Research Board of Advisors, Ohio State Journal of Criminal Law Editorial Board, New Criminal Law Review
Scholarly Journal Peer Review: Law and Society Review, Law and Social Inquiry, Journal of Criminal Law & Criminology, Journal of Experimental Criminology and Journal of Criminology and Public Policy, Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency
Research Grant Peer Review: Law and Social Science Program, National Science Foundation
Editorial Board, Annual Review of Criminology
Community Policing Advisory Panel, Chicago Editorial Board, John Howard Association

Vesla Weaver

Biography

Vesla Mae Weaver (Phd, Harvard, Government and Social Policy) is the Bloomberg Distinguished Associate Professor of Political Science and Sociology at Johns Hopkins University and a 2016-17 Andrew Carnegie Fellow. She has contributed to scholarly debates around the persistence of racial inequality, colorism in the United States, the causes and consequences of the dramatic rise in prisons, and the consequences of rising economic polarization. Despite being advised that punishment was not a core concern of political science during her early years as a graduate student, Weaver argued that punishment and surveillance was central to American citizenship in the modern era, played a major role in the post-war expansion of state institutions, was a key aspect of how mostly disadvantaged citizens interact with government, and was a political “frontlash” to make an end-run around civil rights advances.



Authoring the first article in nearly two decades on the topic of punishment to be published in her discipline's top journal, she shortly thereafter published an award-winning book with Amy Lerman, [*Arresting Citizenship: The Democratic Consequences of American Crime Control*](#), the first large-scale empirical study of what the tectonic shifts in incarceration and policing meant for political and civic life in communities where it was concentrated. Weaver is also the co-author of *Creating a New Racial Order: How Immigration, Multiracialism, Genomics, and the Young Can Remake Race in America* (with J. Hochschild and T. Burch). Her research has been supported by fellowships from the Russell Sage Foundation, National Science Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and the Brookings Institution. She has served on the Harvard/NIJ Executive Session on Community Corrections, the APSA Presidential Taskforce on Racial Inequality in the Americas, and the Center for Community Change's Good Jobs for All initiative and has written in the *New York Times*, *Boston Review*, *Marshall Project*, and *Slate*. She is at work on a new project that will map patterns of citizenship and governance across cities and neighborhoods called the *Faces of American Democracy* using an innovative technology that creates digital ‘wormholes’ called Portals.

CV

Education

Harvard University

Ph.D. Joint Degree Programs in Government & Social Policy, 2007

University of Virginia

B.A. in Government, 2001

Employment

Johns Hopkins University

Bloomberg Distinguished Associate Professor of Political Science and Sociology

Yale University

Associate Professor (with tenure), 2016-, African American Studies and Political Science

Assistant Professor, 2012-2015, African American Studies and Political Science

Founding Director, 2015-, ISPS Center for the Study of Inequality (I-CSI)

Faculty Affiliate, The Justice Collaboratory, Yale Law School

University of Virginia

Assistant Professor, Woodrow Wilson Department of Politics 2007 – 2012

Research Grants

Andrew Carnegie Foundation Fellowship, \$200,000, *Faces of American Democracy*

Russell Sage Foundation Presidential Award, \$149,466 (Award # 83-15-16), June 1, 2015-May 31, 2016.

UVA Research Grant for Support in the Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences, 2011

UVA Page-Barbour Fund for Interdisciplinary Initiatives Grant, 2009

UVA Research Grant for Support in the Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences, 2008

Time-sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences Grant, 2006

National Science Foundation Pre-Dissertation Fellowship Recipient of the Center for American Political Studies seed grant, 2003

Publications

Books

Arresting Citizenship: The Democratic Consequences of American Crime Control

University of Chicago Press, May 2014 (with A. Lerman).

Winner of the American Political Science Association's Dennis Judd Best Book in Urban Politics Award. Reviewed in *Perspectives on Politics*, *American Journal of Sociology*, *Ethics*, *Punishment & Society*, *Contemporary Sociology*, *Criminal Justice Review*, *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, *American Prospect*, and by the Prison Policy Initiative.

Creating a New Racial Order: How Immigration, Multiracialism, Genomics, and the Young can Remake Race in America. Princeton University Press, March 2012 (with J. Hochschild and T. Burch).

Named a Choice Outstanding Academic Title for 2012. Reviewed in *Political Science Quarterly*, *Journal of American History*, *American Journal of Sociology*, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, and *Contemporary Sociology*.

Frontlash: Civil Rights, the Carceral State, and the Transformation of American Politics.

Under contract, Cambridge University Press.

Articles & Chapters

Police Are Our Government: Politics, Political Science, and the Policing of Race-Class Subjugated Communities. (with J. Soss), *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 20: May 2017.

<http://www.annualreviews.org/doi/abs/10.1146/annurev-polisci-060415-093825>

Learning from Ferguson: Welfare, Criminal Justice, and the Political Science of Race and Class (with J. Soss), APSA Taskforce on Racial Inequality in the Americas. 2016. Available at:

<http://www.apsanet.org/inequalities>

A Tradeoff Between Democracy and Deterrence? An Empirical Investigation of Prison Violence and Inmate Advisory Councils (with A. Lerman), in *Democratic Theory and Mass Incarceration*, I. Loader, A. Dzur, and R. Sparks, eds., Oxford University Press, 2016.

The Carceral State and American Political Development. (with A. Lerman). In *Oxford Handbook of American Political Development*, R. Lieberman, S. Mettler, and R. Valelly, eds., 2016.

Is the Significance of Race Declining in the Political Arena? Yes, and No. (with J. Hochschild). *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 38.8 (2015): 1250-1257.

Staying out of Sight? Concentrated Policing and Local Political Action. (with A. Lerman). *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 651.1 (Jan. 2014): 202-219.

Detaining Democracy? Criminal Justice and American Civic Life. (with J. Hacker and C. Wildeman). *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 651.1 (Jan. 2014): 6-21.

Race and Crime in American Politics: From Law and Order to Willie Horton and Beyond. (with A. Lerman). In *Oxford Handbook of Race, Ethnicity, Immigration and Crime*, S. Bucerius and M. Tonry, eds., 2014.

Unhappy Harmony: Accounting for Black Mass Incarceration in a Post-Racial America. In *Beyond Discrimination: Racial Inequality in a Post-Racial Era*, F. Harris & R. Lieberman, eds. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2013.

Black Citizenship and Summary Punishment: A Brief History to the Present, *Theory and Event* 17.3 (2014).

The Electoral Consequences of Skin Color: The "Hidden" Side of Race in Politics. *Political Behavior* 34.1 (2012): 159-192.

Supported by a grant from the Time-Sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences. Data at: www.experimentcentral.org/data/data.php?pid=208

The Significance of Policy Failures in Political Development: The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and the Growth of the Carceral State. In *Living Legislation: Durability, Change, and the Politics of American Lawmaking*, J. Jenkins and E. Patashnik, eds. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012.

Destabilizing the American Racial Order. (with J. Hochschild & T. Burch). *Daedalus* (Spring 2011): 151-165.

Political Consequences of the Carceral State. (with A. Lerman). *American Political Science Review* 104 (Nov. 2010): 817-833.

'There's No One as Irish as Barack O'Bama': The Policy and Politics of American Multiracialism. (with J. Hochschild). *Perspectives on Politics* 8 (Sept. 2010): 737-759.

Winner of Best Paper Award from the APSA Public Policy section.

Between Reconstructions: Congressional Action on Civil Rights, 1891-1940. (with J. Jenkins and J. Peck). *Studies in American Political Development* 24 (April 2010): 57-89.

Frontlash: Race and the Development of Punitive Crime Policy. *Studies in American Political Development* 21 (Fall 2007): 230-265.

The Skin Color Paradox and the American Racial Order. (with J. Hochschild). *Social Forces* 86 (Dec. 2007): 643-670.

Racial Classification and the Politics of Inequality. (with J. Hochschild) In *Remaking America: Democracy and Public Policy in an Age of Inequality*, S. Mettler, J. Soss, and J. Hacker, eds., New York: Russell Sage, 2007.

"Detaining Democracy? Criminal Justice and American Civic Life," Introductory essay for a special issue of the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, (2014)

"Unhappy Harmony: Accounting for Black Mass Incarceration in a Post-Racial America," in *Beyond Discrimination: Racial Inequality in a Post-Racial era*, Harris, F. & Lieberman, R. (Russell Sage Foundation, 2013)

"The Carceral State and American Political Development" in Oxford Handbook of American Political Development, Lieberman, R., Mettler, S., & Valelly, R.

"Race and Crime in American Politics: From Law and Order to Willie Horton and Beyond" Oxford Handbook of Race, Ethnicity, Immigration and Crime, Bucerius, S. & Tonry, M. (Springer, 2014)

"Racial Classification and the Politics of Inequality" in Remaking America: Democracy and Public Policy in an Age of Inequality, Mettler, S., Soss, J., & Hacker, J. (Russell Sage, 2007)

"The Significance of Policy Failures in Political Development: The law Enforcement Assistance Administration and the Growth of the Carceral State" in Living Legislation: Durability, Change, and the Politics of American lawmaking, Jenkins, J. & Patashnik, E. (University of Chicago Press, 2012)

Reviews

"The Untold Story of Mass Incarceration." Book review of James Forman's Locking Up Our Own and John Pfaff's Locked In. *Boston Review*. <http://bostonreview.net/race-law-justice/vesla-m-weaver-untold-story-mass-incarceration>

Perspectives on Politics Trialogue: Marie Gottschalk's *Caught: Race, Neoliberalism, and the Future of the Carceral State and American Politics* and Naomi Murakawa's *The First Civil Right*, Sept. 2015.

The Condemnation of Blackness: Race, Crime, and the Making of Modern Urban America. By Khalil Gibran Muhammad. *Perspectives on Politics* (2012).

Justice In America: The Separate Realities of Blacks and Whites. By Mark Peffley and Jon Hurwitz. *Public Opinion Quarterly* (2011).

More than Words: How 'Law and Order' Invigorated Conservatism, Did Irreparable Damage to Liberalism, and Ushered in a New Political Order. Review of Michael Flamm, Law and Order: Street Crime, Civil Unrest, and the Crisis of Liberalism in the 1960s. *The Forum*. (July 2008)

In Progress

Faces of American Democracy. Book Project.

"They Treat Us Like a Different Race": A Multi-City Project on Class-in-Race Inequality (with J. Hochschild). Awarded Russell Sage Foundation, Presidential Award (\$149,446), June 1, 2015-May 31, 2016. <http://www.russellsage.org/awarded-project/they-treat-us-different-race-multi-city-project-class-race-inequality>

Portals to Politics: Grassroots Narratives of Policing in the Low End, Baltimore, Boyle Heights, and the 53206 (with G. Prowse) for a special issue on Citizenship and the City in *Urban Affairs Review*.

Consequences of Mistreatment by the State, Volume 15, *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*.

A Generation Exposed: Examining the Links between Criminal Offending and Criminal Justice Contact Across Two Cohorts (with A. Papachristos) for the 2018 special issue of the *Russell Sage Foundation Journal*, "Criminal Justice and Inequality."

"The Only Battle in the Nation's History in Which the Black Community has not been Enlisted": Black Resistance and Alternatives to Incarceration

From Deportable to Documented: Exploring the Effects of DAPA on the Civic Identities of the Undocumented (with C. Amat & S. Chaudhry)

Retrenching Rights: The American Legislative Exchange Council and the Agenda to Curtail Racial Progress.

Re-estimating Race: How Incarceration Biases Studies of Black/White Political Attitudes. (with A. Lerman)

Public Writing

Did Blacks Really Endorse the 1994 Crime Bill? (with E. Hinton and J. Kohler-Hausmann), *New York Times*, 13 April 2016.

"The next four years: Criminal justice," *Yale Alumni Magazine* (Jan. 2017).

The Missing Lesson of Ferguson: Conduct ≠ Contact, *Balkinization* Blog

Why Starbuck's is a Great Place to Talk About Race, *Take Part* (with B. Hopper)

Charging Media for Using Police-Shooting Video May Be the Price of Equal Justice, (with B. Hopper) *The Conversation*, 22 April 2015. Reprinted in the *New Republic* and *Newsweek*.

The Missed Opportunity of Robert Woodson: One conservative black activist's campaign for community crime control. *The Marshall Project*, 25 Feb. 2015.

High incarceration may be more harmful than high crime. *Baltimore Sun*, Dec. 21, 2014.

Protest is Democracy at Work. (with A. Lerman) *Slate*, 23 Dec. 2014.

The Only Government I Know: Citizenship, Democracy, and the Carceral State, *Boston Review*, May/June 2014.

Recognize, Revalue, and Rid. (with K. Matos) *Yale Daily News*, 25 Feb. 2014.

Is the United States a Racial Democracy? (with J. Stanley) *New York Times*, 12 Jan. 2014.

Democracy Spoiled: National, State, and Local Disparities in Disenfranchisement through Uncounted Ballots. (with C. Edley, Jr., P. Klinkner, and J. Benson). 2002.

The Incarceration Generation: When Parents Go to Prison, What Happens to Their Children? 2001. *FOCUS*, monthly magazine of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. 29(8): 5-6.

Interviews and appearances on Slate's Gabfest, PBS, C-Span Book TV, ThinkProgress, National Public Radio, BlogginheadsTV, Washington Post's Monkey Cage, Voice of America, BlogtalkRadio on the Tavis Smiley Network, and St. Louis Public Radio.

Invited Lectures (Last 5 Years Only)

2018

Brown University, Anton-Lippitt Conference on Citizenship & the City
Harvard University, Political Psychology Workshop
Princeton University, Cities, Inequality, and Electoral Politics Workshop
Stanford University, American Politics workshop
Cornell University, Population Center and the Institute for the Social Sciences
Hamilton College
Oxford University, Astor Visiting Lecturer, Roger Hood Lecture
Penn State University, Keynote at the Ethics of Policing conference

2017

PORTALS: Conversations about the Police by the Policed. (with T. Meares)
Russell Sage Foundation
Notre Dame, The Rooney Center for the Study of American Democracy & The Center for Civil and Human Rights
University of Missouri, St. Louis and Confluence Scholars Strategy Network
Princeton University, Center for Study of Democratic Politics
Georgetown University, Prisons and Justice Initiative
Northwestern University
University of Chicago, Neubauer Collegium for Culture and Society, "The State, Violence, and Social Control in the Contemporary World"
New York University Law School

National Endowment for the Humanities Civil Rights Summer Institute, Harvard University (July 2017)
Emmaus United Church of Christ (Oct. 2017)

2016

PORTALS: Conversations about the Police by the Policed
Johns Hopkins University, Sociology Dept.
Duke University, Sanford School of Public Policy, "Big Problems in American Democracy" series
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Maryland Judiciary Education Center, presentation on the Impact of Incarceration on Communities (Oct. 2016)

Educate the Vote: Presidential Election 2016, Cornell University Institute for Public Affairs (Sept. 2016)

‘They Treat Us Like a Different Race’: The Politics of Rising Intra-racial Class Inequality, Johns Hopkins, Political Science (April 2016).

‘Forbidden the Very Air’: Race, Policing, and American Politics.
Duke University, public lecture in the series “Mass Incarceration and the Carceral State: Global Dialogues and Local Histories.” (April 2016)
Black Solidarity Conference, Yale University (Feb. 2016)

2015

‘They Treat Us Like a Different Race’: The Politics of Rising Intra-racial Class Inequality, Columbia University, School of International and Public Affairs (Nov. 2015).

Wealth and Finance in Post-Civil Rights America, Harlem Book Fair, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York (Aug. 2015).

Learning From Ferguson: Welfare, Criminal Justice, and the Political Science of Race and Class (with J. Soss), APSA Taskforce on Racial Inequality in the Americas, UC Berkeley (June 2015).

A Tradeoff Between Democracy and Deterrence? An Empirical Investigation of Prison Violence and Inmate Advisory Councils, Yale Law School, Criminal Justice Roundtable, (April 2015).

Arresting Citizenship, *Val R. and Madge G. Lorwin Lecturship* at the University of Oregon; Rutgers University American politics workshop (March 2015).

“The Only Battle in the Nation’s History in Which the Black Community has not been Enlisted’: Black Resistance and Alternatives to Incarceration, Columbia University political science department (Feb. 2015).

The Jerome Project: Reflections on Incarceration and Citizenship, The Artist’s Voice: Titus Kaphar in Conversation with Kika’il DeVeaux, Tina Reynolds and Vesla Mae Weaver, around the Jerome Project exhibit, Studio Museum of Harlem (Feb. 2015).

Thoughts on Urban Inequality, Diverging Experiences, and Political Isolation, Stanford University, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences (CASBS), *Building a Decent Society By Building Decent Cities* (Nov. 2014).

Reflecting on Race in America 50 Years after the Civil Rights Act. Brookings Institution, Washington, DC (Oct. 2014).

Arresting Citizenship, Harvard Kennedy School (Dec. 2014); Red Emma’s, Baltimore, MD (Oct. 2014); University of Virginia’s Miller Center for Public Affairs, *American Forum with Douglas Blackmon* (Sept. 2014).

‘We’re Free, but not Free’: Custodial Citizenship in Our Time.

Swarthmore, Charles Gilbert Lecture.

Yale University, Inspiring Global Leaders in the 21st Century (Oct. 2014), 45th Anniversary of Yale’s African American Cultural House.

Johns Hopkins University School of Public Health, *Squandered Resources: Incarceration—Its Consequences, Costs and Alternatives* (April 2014).

‘The Only Battle in the Nation’s History in Which the Black Community has not been Enlisted’: Black Resistance and Alternatives to Incarceration. UC Berkeley (Feb. 2014), Cornell University (March).

2014

Thoughts on Urban Inequality, Diverging Experiences, and Political Isolation, Stanford University, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences (CASBS), *Building a Decent Society By Building Decent Cities* (Nov. 2014).

Reflecting on Race in America 50 Years after the Civil Rights Act. Brookings Institution, Washington, DC (Oct. 2014).

Arresting Citizenship, Harvard Kennedy School (Dec. 2014); Red Emma’s, Baltimore, MD (Oct. 2014); University of Virginia’s Miller Center for Public Affairs, *American Forum with Douglas Blackmon* (Sept. 2014).

‘We’re Free, but not *Free*’: Custodial Citizenship in Our Time.

Swarthmore, Charles Gilbert Lecture.

Yale University, *Inspiring Global Leaders in the 21st Century* (Oct. 2014), 45th Anniversary of Yale’s African American Cultural House.

Johns Hopkins University School of Public Health, *Squandered Resources: Incarceration—Its Consequences, Costs and Alternatives* (April 2014).

‘The Only Battle in the Nation’s History in Which the Black Community has not been Enlisted’: Black Resistance and Alternatives to Incarceration. UC Berkeley (Feb. 2014), Cornell University (March).

Leadership

Founding Director, The ISPS Center for the Study of Inequality (I-CSI), launched in February 2015. In contrast to the abiding focus on economic causes and consequences of inequality in America, I-CSI aims to promote research to address the political and civic dimensions of inequality. www.inequality.yale.edu During our first two years, we held important events on racial inequality after the voting rights act (“Equality Re-Imagined”), shared prosperity and income inequality with the Washington Center for Equitable Growth, on HBO’s hit series *The Wire* and urban inequality, immigration policy and inequality (“States as Immigration Battlegrounds”), and policing in comparative societies. Most importantly, we launched the signature stamp of the center, the working groups comprised of two dozen intellectual leaders who develop a multi-faceted research agenda around a pressing issue related to inequality. I-CSI’s working groups think expansively, work collaboratively, and measure unconventionally in order to push the frontiers of inequality research. Led by a simple charge – to put forward one bold idea – we work closely over the next two years on these ideas in order to begin new conversations or change old ones. Our inaugural Working Group, Deconstructing Ferguson: How Social Institutions, Policy, and Law Shape American

Civic Identity and Experience, began their two-year long collaborative journey this past May at Yale, joining forces with the Justice Collaboratory at Yale Law School. The “outside the box” ideas briefs discussed new concepts – like racialized state failure and predatory government – as well as suggesting new ways to study old questions – like using network analysis to study police violence. We set out to develop these embryonic ideas, provide them with seed funding (thanks to the Justice Collaboratory and its funders), met again in May 2016 when many of the projects inspired by the ideas briefs bloomed into research papers, critical essays, creative policy proposals, grant proposals, and other products that break new ground. We wrote an initial set of blog posts to mark the anniversary of Michael Brown’s death by several of the working group members. The second working group met in Jan. 2017 at Yale, Toward a New Urban Reconstruction, and included 24 academics, faith leaders, organizers, and policy experts.

Member, Executive Session on Community Corrections, Harvard Kennedy School of Government and National Institute of Justice (2013-2016). The Executive Session is an 18-member body appointed by the National Institute of Justice and the Harvard Kennedy School that meets twice a year for a three-year term. Its work is geared towards generating bold reforms and concepts for creating a better, more humane, less racially targeted criminal justice system. Along with four other academics, I serve alongside district attorneys, chiefs of police, judges, and heads of state prison and probation systems. I co-wrote the consensus document, “A Vision for Community Corrections.”

Detaining Democracy? Criminal Justice and American Civic Life. Yale University, November 8-9, 2012. Co-organized with Jacob Hacker and Chris Wildeman. Papers were published in a special issue that we edited of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (Jan. 2014).

Symposium on the Politics of Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity (SPIRE). Yale University (10/12), Rutgers University (5/13), University of Pennsylvania (9/14). Co-organized with Dan Butler, Daniel Gillion, and Sophia Wallace to provide young faculty of color and scholars interested in race a robust forum for presenting their work and a community of scholars while advancing the frontiers of racial politics research.

National Service (Last 5 Years)

Advisory Council Member, Center for Community Change, Putting Families First: Good Jobs for All campaign (2015-)

Member, Presidential Taskforce on Racial Inequality in the Americas, American Political Science Association (2014-)

Roosevelt Institute private convening on developing support for an intersectional progressive agenda

Blurbs for books by Jamila Michener, Julilly Kohler-Hausmann, Jesse Rhodes, Domingo Morel, Frank Baumgartner, Maya Sen, and Chris Zepeda-Millan

Member, E.E. Schattschneider Award Committee for best dissertation in American Politics, American Political Science Association (2018)

Member, Social Science Research Council, Working Group on Big Data and Historical Social Science, 2018-

Executive Council Member:

APSA's Race, Ethnicity, and Politics section (2015-)

APSA's Urban and Local Politics section (2016-)

Editorial Board Member:

Perspectives on Politics (2015-)

Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics (2014-)

Political Behavior (2014-)

Manuscript Workshop or Author Meets Critics Panelist:

Brown University, Anton-Lippitt Conference on Domingo Morel's *Takeover* (2018)

Harvard Kennedy School of Government Ash Institute Manuscript Review for Yanilda

Gonzalez's book ms., "Authoritarian Coercion by Democratic Means: The Paradox of Police Reform in Latin America" (2017)

Brown University Political Theory Project manuscript workshop for Brandon Davis,

"Predation in State and Nation: Carceral Contact and Political Spillage" (2017)

Harvard Kennedy School Manuscript Review for Avidit Acharya, Matthew Blackwell, and

Maya Sen's book, "Southern Slavery and its Political Legacy: How America's Peculiar

Institution Continues to Affect American Politics Today" (2015)

Panelist, Center for Community Change annual conference (Dec. 2017)

Panelist, Ralph Bunche Summer Institute 30th Anniversary Panel at the 2016 Annual Meeting of the APSA

Discussant, Policing in Comparative Perspective: Police Violence, Corruption and Democracy, APSA 2016

Organizer and Chair, 2016 APSA Roundtable, Gender Inequality in the US: Beyond Political Representation

Panelist, Committee on the Status of Women panel on Gender Best Practices in political science at the 2015 Annual Meeting of the APSA

Moderator, Scholars Strategy Network, event on Jacob Hacker and Paul Pierson's *American Amnesia* (April 2016)

Member, Social Science Research Council, initiative on the Decent City (2014)

Meeting with CT Gov. Dannel Malloy over Second Chance Society proposals (Dec. 2014)

Chair, APSA Section on Public Policy, Best Paper 2014 Award Committee

Section co-chair, Politics and History, 2011 APSA Annual Meeting

Steering Committee, Ralph Bunche Summer Institute

Regional Leader, Scholars Strategy Network (2013-2015)

Referee, American Journal of Political Science, American Politics Research, American Political Science Review, Cambridge University Press, Chicago University Press, Du Bois Review, Guggenheim Foundation, Journal of Politics, Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics, Journal of Urban History, Law and Society Review, MacArthur Foundation, National Science Foundation, Oxford University Press, Perspectives on Politics, Political Behavior, Princeton University Press, Public Opinion Quarterly, Punishment and Society, Routledge, Russell Sage Foundation, Social Problems, Sociological Perspectives, Studies in American Political Development, Time-sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences, Washington Center for Equitable Growth.

Academic Service (Last 5 Years)

Moderator, “Life Sentences: A Conference on Incarceration and the Humanities,” Johns Hopkins (Nov. 2017)

Member, Presidential Frontier Awards committee, 2017

Faculty member, Social Policy Faculty Committee, 2017-

Bloomberg Distinguished Professors Lunch and Learn presentation

Senator, FAS Faculty Senate, elected to three-year term in first ever system of faculty governance (2015-2017)

Executive Council Member, Faculty Senate (2015-2016), elected to one-year term on 6-person council

Serve on Senate’s Committee on the Yale College Expansion, Diversity and Inclusion ad-hoc committee, and chair the Committee on Elections

Conducted and analyzed the Diversity and Inclusion survey in 2016 and co-wrote the report on diversity and inclusion; ran the internal senate elections

Chair, Search committee in Race, Ethnicity, and Migration tenure-track job, Political Science (2016)

Council Member, Yale Women’s Faculty Forum (2015-2017)

Faculty Affiliate, Yale Law School, Justice Collaboratory (2015-)

Advisory Board member, Yale ISPS Policy Lab (2016-2017)

Committee Service:

Yale Poynter Fellowship (2016-2017)

African American Studies Curriculum Committee (2016-2017)

Graduate Admissions Committee, African American Studies (2016)

Graduate Admissions Committee, Political Science and African American Studies (2012-13)

Senior Social Scientist Search Committee, African American Studies (2012-13)

Marshall, Mitchell, Rhodes scholarship committee (2012) (2014)

Guest lecturer, The Politics of US Public Policy (J. Hacker), Racial Formations (E. Alexander), Affirmative Action (I. Shapiro), Inequality and American Democracy (J. Hacker), Race and Punishment (J. Forman, Jr.), Contesting Injustice (L. Wood), Introduction to Politics (S. Stokes), Introduction to Politics (S. Kalyvas)

Discussant, Yale Law School, Critical Race Theory conference (Nov. 2016)

Panelist:

Yale FAS Senate panel on Academic Expertise in the Trump Era (2017)
Yale Law School, Arthur Liman Public Interest Colloquium, *Detention on a Global Scale: Punishment and Beyond*, panel on "Democracy and Detention" (April 2015)
"Charleston and its Aftermath: History, Symbols, Policy," Gilder Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery Resistance, and Abolition, Yale University (Sept. 2015)
"Arresting Patterns" conference, Yale University Art Gallery and Artspace, panel on Decarcerating America. (Sept. 2015)
Yale University, Ferguson and Beyond Teach-In (March 2015)
Yale University, Martin Luther King, Jr. celebration panel, "Policing and Incarceration" (Jan. 2015)
"The Next Four Years: A Policy Agenda for the Second Obama Term," Yale ISPS (2013)
"How to Choose a Dissertation" panel for graduate students in the social sciences, Yale (2012)

Moderator:

Battleground: Three Experts on the 2016 Election's Key Race and Media Dynamics, Yale University (Oct. 2016)
Policing Post-Ferguson, Yale Law School (April 2015)
"The Progressives' Century: Democratic Reform and Constitutional Government in the United States," Yale University (2013)

Founder, Working Group on Racial Inequality. University of Virginia. Supported with funds from Page Barbour.

Co-organizer, The Problem of Punishment: Race, Inequality, and Justice. Carter G. Woodson Institute, University of Virginia. April 16-17, 2009. Symposium co-organized with Deborah McDowell and Claudrena Harold.

Politics Department: Advisory Committee (2008-2010, 2011-12), Graduate Committee, American Politics Study Group (2007-2012), American Politics Search Committee (2008) (cancelled)

Miller Center of Public Affairs: Organized "Constructing a New Political Order" Colloquium series, Governing American in a Global Era (2007-2012), Predoctoral Fellowship Selection Committee (2009), Presidential Oral History Project Search Committee (2008, 2010)

Batten Policy School Search Committee in American Politics (2009)

Harrison Undergraduate Research Award Committee (2009)

UVA Carter G. Woodson Institute, African-American Studies Curriculum Committee (2007-09)

Prior Professional Experience

The Civil Rights Project at Harvard University, Professor Christopher Edley, Jr. (2002-03)

Southern Poverty Law Center, Montgomery, AL (2002)

Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, Washington, DC (2001)

Democratic National Committee, Office of African American Outreach, Washington, DC (1999)

U.S. Agency for International Development, Washington, DC (1998)

Gwen Prowse

Biography

Gwen is a joint doctoral student in political science and African American studies. Her research explores how state policies shape civic agency, federalism, and how the legacy of slavery shapes political institutions. She is a research fellow with the Institute for Social Policy Studies (ISPS) and affiliated with the Justice Collaboratory at Yale Law School.

Prior to coming to Yale, Gwen worked in education and community development as a high school teacher and instructional coach in southeastern Arkansas and Delaware. She also served as a consultant at an education technology firm, helping Fortune 500 companies better educate and empower their employees. Gwen received her Bachelor's in urban planning and public policy from Rutgers University—New Brunswick.



CV

Education

Yale University, New Haven, CT

PhD Student, Political Science & African American Studies Began in fall 2016

Subfields: American politics and political economy

Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, New Brunswick, NJ B.A., Urban Planning and Public Policy, 2011

Minors: History and Political Science

summa cum laude

Working Papers

Portals to Politics: Grassroots Narratives of Policing in the Low End, Baltimore, South LA, and the 53206 (with Tracey Meares and Vesla Weaver)

A discourse analysis of criminal justice dialogues (with Tommaso Bardelli and Vesla Weaver)

Policy Activism in Red States with Blue Cities

Measuring Perceptions of Segregation (with Jennifer Wu)

Conference and Workshop Presentations

American Political Science Association Annual Meeting. August 31. "Interviews as Discourse." With Tommaso Bardelli

Princeton University. March 9-10, 2018. Workshop on Cities, Inequality, and Electoral Politics. "Portals to Politics: Grassroots Narratives of Policing in the Low End, Baltimore, South LA, and the 53206." With Vesla Weaver.

Brown University. January 26, 2018. Anton Lippitt Conference: Citizenship and the City. "Portals to Politics: Grassroots Narratives of Policing in the Low End, Baltimore, South LA, and the 53206." With Vesla Weaver.

Awards

Yale Institute for Social Policy Studies Fellowship

Highest honors, Bloustein School of Planning and Public Policy, Rutgers University

Fellow, Eagleton Undergraduate Associate's Program, Rutgers University

Amar C. Bakshi

Biography

Amar C. Bakshi is an artist whose work focuses on how to integrate technology into environments and across pronounced distance to create new forms of digital-physical public spaces that challenge and subvert existing norms. In particular, he works to connect members of diverse communities who would likely not otherwise meet in intimate environments to create their own meanings. He created the global public art initiative, [Portals](#), in 2014.

As an artist, Amar treats the formation of institutions as, themselves, sites of creation. To explore these practices, Amar launched the [Legal Medium](#). Amar previously worked as a reporter at the Washington Post, an editor at CNN, and as Special Assistant to the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations. Amar, a Soros Fellow and Truman Scholar, has an AB from Harvard University, a MA from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, and a JD from Yale Law School.



CV

Education

Yale Law School

J.D. 2015

Awarded Paul & Daisy Soros Fellowship for New Americans

Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies

M.A. in International Affairs and International Economics, 2014

Harvard University

A.B., Joint Major in Social Studies and Visual & Environmental Studies, 2016

Awarded Harry S. Truman Scholarship

Employment

Shared_Studios (www.sharedstudios.com)

Creator and Artistic Director (2014-Present)

Built a diverse team of 60 people around the globe curating more than 200,000 international conversations and events across 50 global sites while developing patented, immersive, real-time technology and designs.

The Legal Medium (www.thelegalmedium.com)

Founding Director (2014-2015)

Created a multidisciplinary, multi-year exploration of how contemporary artists encounter, take advantage of, and seek to mold law as their creative medium.

CNN, Global Public Square

Managing Editor (2011-2012)

Launched and hosted a real-time online show connecting people around the world in unexpected conversations.

U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations

Special Assistant (2009-2010)

Provided policy and strategic advice to Ambassador Rice on global health (including U.S. response to H1N1 pandemic), education, and development.

The Washington Post

Domestic Correspondent (2009)

Developed series and reported on the role of identity in politics during the 2008 elections in small towns across the United States.

International Correspondent (2006-2009)

Designed and executed a year-long, online text and video reporting series on how people from all walks of life view the United States and U.S. policies.

Select Publications and Patents

Patent US9706166 - Network architecture for immersive audio-visual communications by temporary communication structures

"The Legal Medium: How Artists Use Law as Material," Yale Journal of Law and Humanities, Volume 26, Issue 2 (Summer 2015).

"Why and How to Regulate Native Advertising in Online News Publications," Journal of Media Law & Ethics, Volume 4, Numbers 3/4 (Winter/Spring 2015).

Invited Lectures and Presentations

"Disrupting Polarization: New Forums for Dialogue"
Starvos Niarchos Foundation Agora Institute's Annual Conference, June 2018

"Portals and New Frontiers in Education"
Johns Hopkins Board of Trustees Gathering, June 2018

"A Shared Vision: Portals and the New Global Public Square"
TIDE, June 2018

"A People-Centric Internet: A Conversation with Vint Cerf and Amar C. Bakshi"
U.S. Institute of Peace, Peaceteach Summit, May 2018

"Portals and the Future of Philanthropy "
The Louvre Museum, Thanks for Nothing conference, April 2018

"Shared_Meals and Virtual-Physical Social Spaces"
Google Food Lab, April 2018

"The Internet You Can Walk Through and the Future of Public Space" (2017)
Games for Change, August 2017

"The Need to Lay Moral Claim to Technological Change" (2017)
National Coalition of Girls Schools, June 2017

"The Emerging, Global Creative Economy"
Nuqat, November 2016

"The Emergent Chorus, Collaborative Creativity, Simple Tech, and Giving Voice to the Voiceless"
Aspen Ideas Festival, June 2016

"Lessons from Portals"
Re:Publica, Keynote, May 2016

"Grounding the Connective Potential of the Internet"
Tribeca Film Institute, March 2015

“How Good is Smart? Portals and the City”

Art Dubai, March 2015

“Connecting Across Distance Through Public Art”

Yale University Art Gallery, February 2015

“How Contemporary Artists Use Law as Material”

Yale University, *The Legal Medium* Symposium, February 2018

Select Exhibitions

Stavros Niarchos Foundation (2018)
 Johns Hopkins Board of Trustees Gathering (2018)
 TIDE (2018)
 Peacetech Summit (2018)
 Davos, World Economic Forum (2018)
 Times Square (2017)
 Obama Foundation Summit (2017)
 Museo Tamayo, Mexico City, Mexico (2017)
 European Parliament, Brussels, Belgium (2017)
 TED 2017, Vancouver, Canada (2017)
 Centro de Cultura Digital, Mexico City, Mexico (2017)
 Crissy Field, San Francisco, USA (2017)
 Skoll World Forum, Oxford, United Kingdom (2017)
 Grand Park, Los Angeles, USA (2017)
 Light City, Baltimore, USA (2017)
 SXSW Festival, Austin, USA (2017)
 U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington DC, USA (2017)
 Mumbai Marathon, Mumbai, India (2017)
 University of Colorado, Boulder, USA (2017)
 Tempelhof, Berlin, Germany (2016-2017)
 Gaza Sky Geeks, Gaza, Palestine (2016-2017)
 Va Gallery, Isfahan, Iran, (2016-2017)
 Turquoise Mountain, Kabul, Afghanistan (2016-2017)
 United Nations Headquarters Exhibition Hall, New York, USA (2016)
 Chicago Ideas Week, Chicago, USA (2016)
 U.S. Institute of Peace, Washington DC, USA (2016)
 Aspen Ideas Festival, Aspen, USA (2016)
 U.S. Congress, Washington DC, USA (2016)
 Global Entrepreneurship Summit, Palo Alto, USA (2016)
 Sundance Film Festival, Park City, USA (2016)
 University of Maryland, College Park, USA (2015, 2016)
 United Nations General Assembly, New York, USA (2015, 2016)
 World Humanitarian Summit, Brussels, Belgium (2015)
 Danese/Corey Gallery, New York, USA (2015)
 Vanderbilt University, Nashville, USA (2015)
 Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, USA (2015)
 Lu Magnus Gallery, New York, USA (2014)
 Sazmanab Gallery of Contemporary Art, Tehran, Iran (2014)

