

COMMUNITY ADAPTIONS AND SOCIAL ORDER IN URBAN, LOW-INCOME COMMUNITIES

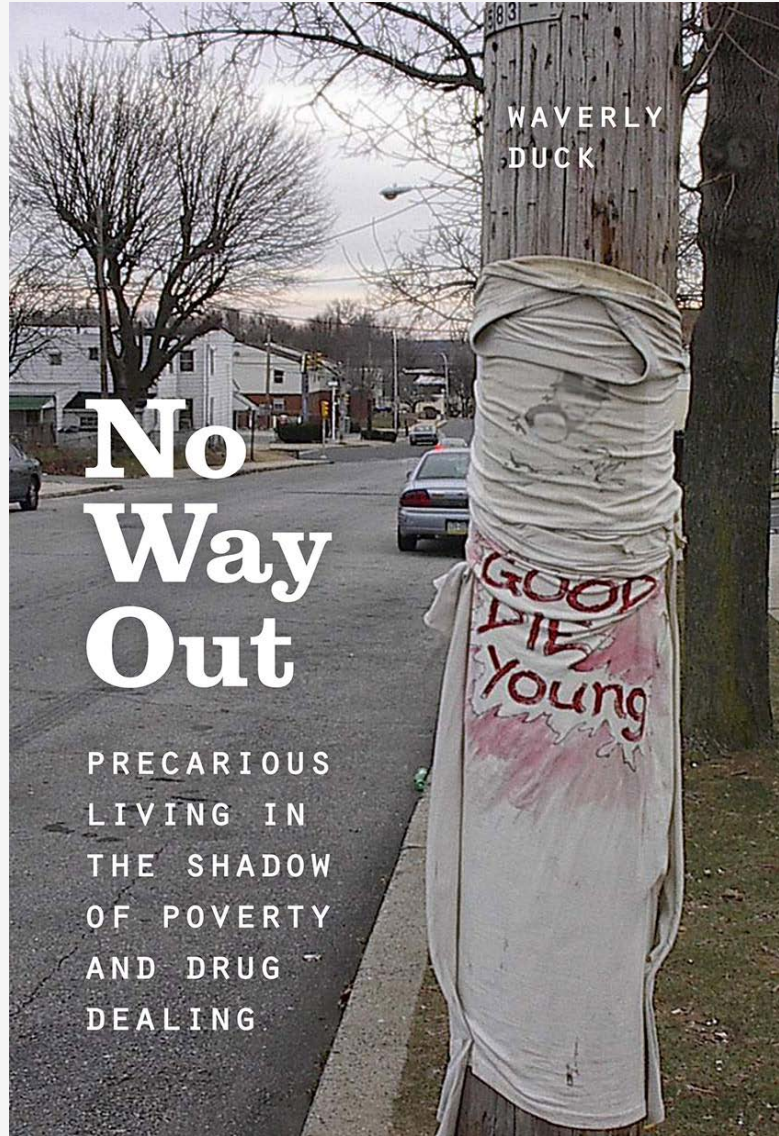
Notes and Images from the Field

Waverly Duck

WAVERLY
DUCK

No Way Out

PRECARIOUS
LIVING IN
THE SHADOW
OF POVERTY
AND DRUG
DEALING



ANNE WARFIELD RAWLS

TACIT RACISM

WAVERLY DUCK

Interaction Order

Interaction orders are relatively autonomous orders of practice regulated by shared presuppositions and conventions (Goffman 1983: 5).

- Local social relationships
 - Learned behavior
 - Commonly recognized practices
 - Shared expectations and reciprocity
 - Temporally ordered
 - Practices are sanctioned and rewarded in ways that are contextually and situationally understood
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Getting In: Field Site and Methods

- Site: An impoverished, predominantly African American neighborhood in a Northeastern U.S. city
 - Method: ethnographic fieldwork, including interviews, observations, and participant observation over a period of seven years (2005-2012)
 - Roles: Expert Witness, Community Organizer, Tutor, Community Garden Builder, Conflict Resolution, and Day Camp Counselor
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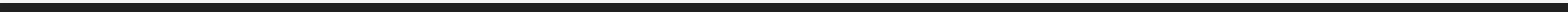
Questions

- How do residents make sense of the embedded drug scene in their community?
 - How do residents make sense of the police presence in their neighborhood?
 - How do residents produce community in the face of the embedded drug scene and police presence?
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Goals of this Ethnography

- Explore
 - Investigate
 - Illustrate
 - Evaluate
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Residents' Understandings of the Police: Justin's Account



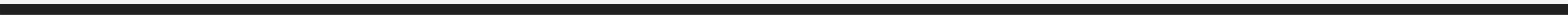
Residents' Understandings of the Police: Justin's Account

- Law enforcement functions to meet the demands of the prison as an industry.
 - There is a quota system in place.
 - The quota system is filled by incarcerating black men.
 - Although law enforcement patrols the neighborhood, their presence never solves the root problems related to crime. Instead, “they mess with people and get petty”.
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Law Enforcement Presence

- Community Policing: Neighborhood patrols
 - Problem-Solving Policing: Crime sweeps (drug dealing, prostitution, gangs, etc.)
 - Hot-Spot Policing: Focused policing that targets visible street crimes
 - Crime Analysis/Crime Mapping: Quantitative data based on arrests and police calls.
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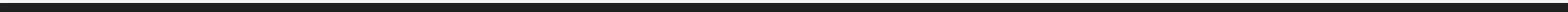
Sanctions vs. Discretion: Tickets and Accidents



Sanctions vs. Discretion: Tickets and Accidents

- Per Justin's account, the constant presence of law enforcement leads to sanctions.
 - Minor infractions can lead to debt, prison, and the worsening of everyday life.
 - Yet, law enforcement officers are known to residents and they are able to use discretion for serious offenses.
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Shooting



Police Use of Excessive Force: The Aftermath of a Shooting

- Police shooting of an unarmed 21-year-old black man in 2011.
 - Shot in the back while fleeing from police.
 - The police officer was put on leave until the investigation was resolved.
 - Investigation found that the officer did not use excessive force.
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Brother of the victim

- “Everyone knows that if anyone other than a cop shoots and kills someone, they are arrested and held in jail while things are sorted out. We are frustrated that only because the police are involved, and he is allowed to continue to work. We don’t completely understand the investigation process, who is conducting it, how long it will take, or what to expect. I wish that investigators would come in from the outside who have no ties to the community and would only work with facts and what is right or wrong. There is not a lot of confidence that the investigation will uncover the truth. Why do almost all the ex-cons in Bristol Hill who have paid their debt to society never seem to get a second chance? Why can a troubled cop come to our town and get a job but I can’t go to that town and get a job?”
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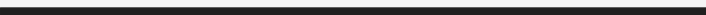


LEGAL RECOURSE

LAWSUITS, CONSENT
DECREEES, SETTLEMENT
AGREEMENTS AND
MEMORANDUM OF
AGREEMENT

Consent Decree

A court order to which all parties have agreed. It is often done after a settlement between the parties that is subject to approval by the court.



Cities with Consent Decree

BALTIMORE, MD 2017

NEWARK, NJ 1999, 2016

FERGUSON, MO 2016

PHOENIX, AZ 2015

CLEVELAND, OH 2015

ALBUQUERQUE, NM 2015

LOS ANGELES, CA 2001, 2015

PORTLAND, OR 2014

SAN JUAN, PR 2013

NEW ORLEANS, LA 2013

EAST HAVEN, CT 2012

WARREN, OH 2012

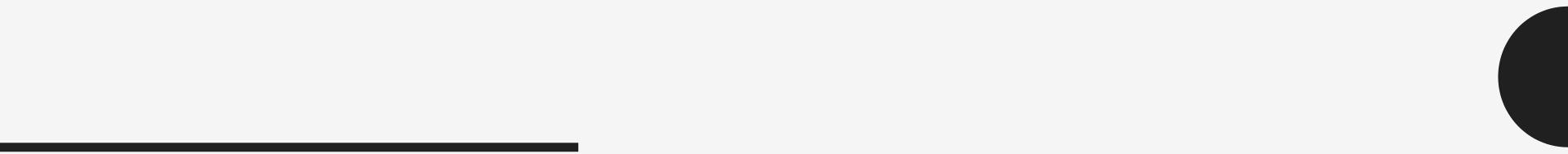
CHARLOTTE VI 2009

UPR MARLBORO, MD 2004

DETROIT, MI 2003

STEUBENVILLE, OH 1997

PITTSBURGH, PA 1997



Cities with Consent Decree

1. The Lawsuit
 2. Compulsory Violence, Detainment and Sexual Assault—What caused it?
 3. The Construction of the Consent Decree
 4. The Enforcement
 5. The alignment of Local, State, And Federal Law
 6. What are alternatives?
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Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) and Settlement Agreement

- A **Memorandum of Agreement (MOA)** is a written document describing a cooperative relationship between two parties wishing to work together on a project or to meet an agreed upon objective. An **MOA** serves as a legal document and describes the terms and details of the partnership **agreement**
 - **Settlement Agreement**—similar, but oversight and breach of contract are wider issues.
 - **Bankruptcy**—Renegotiate contracts which takes into consideration the city or municipality financial status.
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Significance

- This research shows that policymakers are belated in asking the right questions and listening to what **community members have long known**.
 - Economic dynamics – especially disparities experienced by the poor – change over time (**e.g. welfare reform, public housing, availability of livable wages, public education, displacement, mass incarceration**).
 - Instead of treating residents like “cultural dopes” (Garfinkel, 1967) who need to be **regulated from the outside**, policymakers need to see them as skilled actors embedded in a complex setting whose practices are adaptive in *that* context (w/ its own internal interaction order).
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Conclusions

- Interaction order is a framework for studying the complexities of all communities, especially with respect to how law enforcement works – penalties and discretion.
 - Residents have mixed feelings about the police – i.e. negative sanctions and mixed use of discretion – amidst larger concerns about trust, recourse and legitimacy.
 - The lawsuit and consent decrees are rare and require multiple actors to coordinate their actions.
 - When citizens have legal recourse, and there are sanctions and accountability for those who wrong them, it restores trust, strengthening the foundations of the local interaction order.
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