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SPLENDOR IN THE BLUEGRASS: THE POLICING OF DRUG RELATED CRIME IN LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

SPLENDOR IN THE BLUEGRASS:
THE POLICING OF DRUG RELATED CRIME IN LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY

This project is designed as a case study investigating the relationship and practices between residents and police officers in the William Wells Brown neighborhood of Lexington, Kentucky toward the issue of drug-related crime. Employing Michel Foucault's work on governmentality and his concept of Splendor, I explore how governance is practiced within the daily negotiations of the WWB neighborhood. I approach this project through the lens of policing because some residents, especially those who comprise the William Wells Brown Neighborhood Association, form a limited partnership with the police department in combating the threat of drug crime in the neighborhood. Drug-related crime is defined as the purchasing, selling or using of illegal drugs. In my research, the illegal drug most commonly referred to is crack cocaine. Through my analysis, I explore the importance of visual appearances and spatial regulation in the policing of individuals.

KEYWORDS: Policing, community, crack cocaine, governmentality, splendor

Christine Elizabeth Smith

4 June 2010

SPLENDOR IN THE BLUEGRASS:
THE POLICING OF DRUG RELATED CRIME IN LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY

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THESIS

Christine Elizabeth Smith

The Graduate School

University of Kentucky

2010

SPLENDOR IN THE BLUEGRASS: THE POLICING OF DRUG RELATED CRIME
IN LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY

THESIS

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the
College of Arts and Sciences
at the University of Kentucky

By

Christine Elizabeth Smith

Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Anna Secor

Lexington, Kentucky

2010

For Giant.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Chapter 1: A prized Purchase…

Figure 1.1 Advertisement for Lifebuoy Royal Disinfectant Soap (black and white version)

A Prized Purchase, Lifebuoy Royal Disinfectant Soap
Prized by those who value a healthy skin
Prized by parents who value a healthy family
Prized by all who value healthy homes
Prized by those who dread skin disease
Prized by those who dread disease germs
Prized by those who dread infection
Lifebuoy Royal disinfectant is recognized by Press, Public and Experts as a safe, sure
simple protection from infection
Lever Brothers, limited, Port Sunlight, Cheshire

When conducting my second ride-along with the Lexington-Fayette Police Department I noticed these words on a framed colored version of the above poster on the wall across from the lunchroom. The poster stood out because all the other framed items on the wall were pictures of horses. The scene depicted appeared to be 19th century Britain. There is a blond girl wearing pink who is stepping outside of a shop holding a box of Lifebuoy soap. The proprietor of the store where she has just purchased her soap is watching her leave and enter a grayish-brown street.

This soap's ability to provide cleanliness and order while fighting the dread of disease, infection and by implication disorder and dirtiness oddly, fit perfectly within the definitions of the 'Police' provided by the Oxford American and the Merriam-Webster dictionary. The definitions provided stated the following: to control, regulate, or keep in order by use of police, to make clean and put in order, to supervise the operation, execution, or administration of, to prevent or detect and prosecute violations of rules and regulations and the civil force of a national or local government. In Michel Foucault's formulation, policing is concerned with all facets of life: how it is lived, how it is organized, how it is regulated and importantly how is contributes to the strength of the state. The Splendor that his formulation of policing refers to is the beauty of an organized, regulated and strong state. Splendor and policing are at the heart of Foucault's concept of governmentality, conceptualized as the attempt to regulate the conduct of a population in particular ways. Splendor is not only the happiness of the state when order and organization is maintained, but the happiness of subjects in conducting themselves in concert with the wishes of government.

Intended as a case study of the relationship between residents and police officers in the policing of drug-related crime in the William Wells Brown neighborhood of Lexington, Ky, this thesis utilizes splendor to analyze the practices of these groups. This project employs Michel Foucault's work on governmentality to explore how governance is practiced within the daily negotiations of the WWB neighborhood. I approach this project through the lens of policing because some residents, especially those who comprise the William Wells Brown Neighborhood Association, form a limited partnership with the police department in combating the threat of drug crime in the neighborhood. Drug-related crime is defined as the purchasing, selling or using of illegal drugs. In my research, the illegal drug most commonly referred to is crack cocaine.

This project is based on 26 hours of participant observation with the Lexington police force, 4 months of attending monthly WWB neighborhood Association Meetings and related activities, and 30 formal and informal interviews with residents of the WWB neighborhood, neighborhood association members, police officers, and activists in the neighborhood. The primary questions that this research attempts to answer are: How is drug-related crime being combated in the neighborhood? How do the police work to organize and control this neighborhood in relation to drug-related crime? How do those who self define as a 'community' within the William Wells Brown Neighborhood define their community and define who belongs versus who does not? And how does the C.L.E.A.R.[1] unit help police drug-related crime. These questions form a matrix wherein each question is directly related to or embedded within the other. While this research is highly site specific, it aims to illuminate trends that are present in other cities within the

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[1] The C.L.E.A.R. unit is an acronym for Community Law Enforcement Action Response unit. It is a unit of

United States. Particularly, these questions provide a window into spatial transformation of this neighborhood as it attempts to become reintegrated into the city of Lexington through redevelopment projects.

Historical, Geographical, and Social Context

The Williams Wells Brown neighborhood is located in the East End of Lexington, Kentucky. It is wedged between Downtown and the Winchester Road area that is home to several industrial businesses and serves as a thoroughfare to suburbs located outside of the beltway of New Circle Road. Historically, this area was home to African American populations of Lexington. Geographer John Kellogg(1982) has written that the several factors influencing the placement of African American communities following the civil war were racism, housing covenants, the necessity for cheap housing, land elevation, and the desirability of 'grand avenues' where the rich could build their home. Before and during the Civil War, the city of Lexington was diverse, with slaves, former slaves, and whites living amongst each other. Kellogg notes that in many cases slaves lived with their owners within their home. In the Post civil war period, the population of blacks in Lexington jumped, with recently freed blacks entering the city in pursuit of economic and educational opportunities as well as access to governmental bureaus and militias for assistance and safety. In Lexington, the need for cheap housing to rent was in part satisfied in the eastern outer portion of the city where land that was previously used for grazing was easily subdivided. It is important to note that it was not just African Americans who occupied positions outside of the city, but also poor whites

Thus, while there were several African American enclaves and even businesses within the downtown area, they were clustered in the periphery of the city, typically in

rental properties, in low lying areas, near railroad tracks or cemeteries. The East End began as tracts of land that were gifted by union supporters for development by newly freed slaves. As such, it became a place in the city for the expression of black life. Deweese Street was known as an area that had several black owned businesses, the Lyric theatre hosted famous Jazz entertainers, and the neighborhood had the Charles Dunbar high school as well as elementary schools that served black children within the area. It was also home to several notable black residents of Lexington such as Isaac Murphy and Dr. T.T Wendell. According to interviews with longtime residents, the advent of integration, along with the dispersal of many residents to other parts of the city and the state, led to a deterioration of the community. The 1980s and 1990s saw an increase in drug activity and, for the older residents, a break down in the social cohesion that once marked the East End.

Today, the William Wells Brown neighborhood located in the East End is a neighborhood with a high percentage of renters and residents who live close to or below the poverty line. The area is divided between tracts three and four of the 2000 U.S. census. According to this data, 48.8% of 'families with children under 18' living in census tract three live below the poverty line. In census tract four the proportion is 65.4%. Despite economic disadvantages, the neighborhood is currently engaged in revitalization projects to renovate historic sites in the neighborhood. As such, William Wells Brown is also the site of increasing gentrification, as wealthier homebuyers are attracted to the neighborhood due to its historic nature, low cost, and proximity to Lexington's downtown. The majority of the population (87.2 %) is African American.

William Wells Brown Community Description

As you walk up Elm Tree Lane before reaching Corral Street, you pass Lighthouse Ministries on the right, which provides services for recovering addicts. Across the street is the Lyric Theatre, which is currently under reconstruction. It has been gutted and is being expanded to include performance space and a museum. As you walk further up, there are apartment buildings and new blocks of recently built housing. Once one reaches Fourth Street the architecture begins to change again to a variety of homes and apartments that are one story. Many of the homes have areas in the front yard for sitting and fences around them. There are several two story homes that are divided up into rentals and 'No Trespassing' signs are pervasive. During walks through the neighborhood (primarily in the afternoon) it is common to see friends and neighbors talking with each other in the front of the house or on the sidewalk. Front yards are often marked by toys, political signs and decorative pieces of Kitsch on display. Catholic Action Center is located along Chestnut Street, which provides food, and emergency sleep accommodations for the homeless. A fish fry restaurant as well as the William Wells Brown Community Center (now closed) is also located on Chestnut Street. Chestnut leads out to Seventh Street and African American Cemetery No.2. Along this street (up until North Limestone) there are automotive parts and junk businesses, one-story apartment complexes, small businesses, as well as the Seventh Street Center that works with and has different programming for children in the neighborhood.

Map 1.1 Map of the William Wells Brown neighborhood[2]

The neighborhood is one of nine sites in the city of Lexington that sponsors the

Community Law Enforcement Action Response Unit. Under the Bureau of Special

Operations, the program, which began in 2006, utilizes two primary strategies "proactive

law enforcement" and "community policing". The C.L.E.A.R. unit operates by having a

Neighborhood Coordinator and Response officers who communicate with each other

about concerns and issues in a particular area. The neighborhood Coordinator attends

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[2] This map represents the borders of the William Wells Brown neighborhood as presented by the Lexington Division of Police Citizen's Crime Watch Information Page http://crimewatch.lfucg.com/

neighborhood association meetings, talks with residents about their concerns, and works

with code enforcement to address property maintenance issues. The response officer

"addresses crime trends and patterns through the use of directed patrols and proactive

crime reduction techniques…Response officers concentrate their efforts in the

identification and apprehension of all criminals with emphasis given to street level drug

offenders and street gang activities"[3]. The other areas in which the C.L.E.A.R. unit

operates are Cardinal Valley, the area around the University of Kentucky, Centre

Parkway, Martin Luther king, Eastland, Hollow Creek, and Winburn. The C.L.E.A.R.

unit officer for the William Wells Brown Neighborhood is Officer Brian Penix. Officer

Penix typically visits neighborhood association meetings for the first 15-20 minutes to

give a report of crime for the last month as well as answer questions of residents.

In addition to the C.L.E.A.R. unit there are a number of other programs that the city

advertises that train residents of the city in the basics of police work and provide tips on

crime prevention. One such program is the Citizen Police Academy, which aims to build

understanding and trust with city residents. Its mission is to,

> …foster better communication between citizens and police through education. The
> Academy will create a nucleus of well-informed citizens who possess greater
> insight into police practices and services. Emergency Response Graduates of the
> academy can shared their knowledge and experiences with the community as the
> opportunity arises. Everyone benefits from enhancing citizen understanding of the

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[3] Lexington-Fayette Urban County Government Lexington, Kentucky : Planning and Analysis. (2009). .

Retrieved February 25, 2010, from http://www.lexingtonky.gov/index.aspx?page=133

role and function of their police department[4].

There is a stated emphasis that the police department wants to work with residents through the sharing of information and education, where officers train citizens to possess an informed and proper understanding of police work. The issue of trust and understanding is a highly contentious issue for officers of the Lexington Police. During research, I was asked several times about whether I was writing something that would be damaging to the police department. In an interview with officer Penix, when I bring up trust, it inspires laughter:

> Interviewer: Can you speak about this issue of trust, Obviously me as a university student, with a notebook wanting to hear about drugs and crime has come up against several trust issues. How does the issue of trust interact with your work in the area?
>
> [officer Penix begins to laugh and he looks to the other officer next to him]
>
> Penix: Well I think it's historical, I mean, I don't know if it's the music that people are listening to or…I think it's the media that helps to blow things way out of proportion. To use some examples—people will hear something on the tv about stuff that happens in Los Angeles or New York and they'll see all cops that way, as bad. They don't know me when I am on the street, they don't know that I have a wife and sons. They see a cop they can't trust. In fact I had some young kid tell me I was a dirty cop just like all others. Never mind that we are very different from those other departments" (Interview 1, 3/16/2009)

The C.L.E.A.R. unit's work with the William Wells Brown Neighborhood Association

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[4] Lexington-Fayette Urban County Government Lexington, Kentucky : Citizen Police Academy. (2009). .

Retrieved February 25, 2010, from http://www.lexingtonky.gov/index.aspx?page=87

(WWBNA) is one such strategy in this effort to build trust and knowledge of police work.
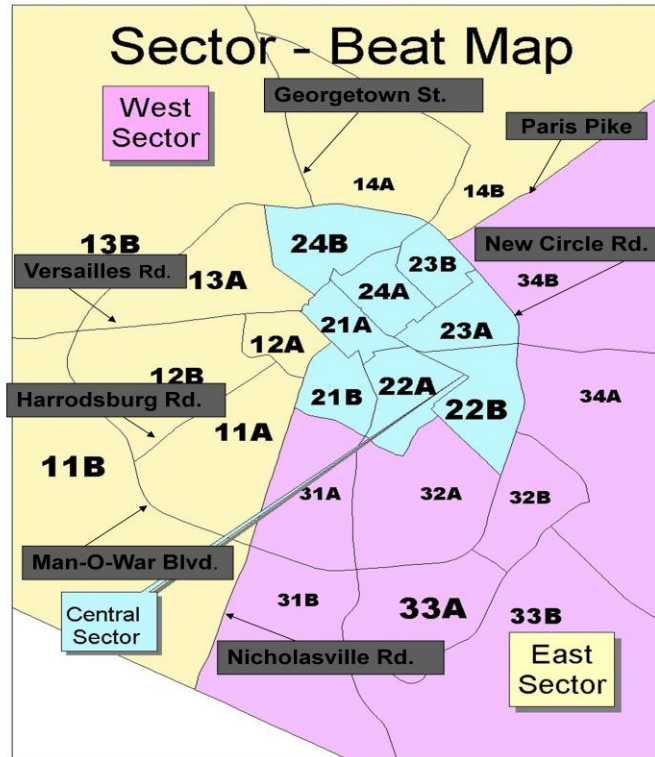
Map 2.1 Sector beats in Lexington, Kentucky. William Wells Brown is located within sectors 24A and 23A

The William Wells Brown Neighborhood Association

The William Wells Brown Neighborhood Association began shortly after the opening of the William Wells Brown Elementary and Community Center, which was built on the former site of the Bluegrass-Aspendale Public Housing project. Before the William Wells Brown Neighborhood Association, there were smaller associations throughout the area that identified more closely to particular streets. Sarah Brown, the legislative assistant to 1st district council woman Andrea James describes the formation of

the WWB neighborhood:

> When the neighborhood association was forming, there wasn't anybody really in Bluegrass/Aspendale anymore. The school had been named and they decided as a group what their boundaries were and what their name was and they decided to associate themselves with the school and call themselves the William Wells Brown Neighborhood Association and they decided on those boundaries (Interview 2, 7/22/09).

While it never became clear what exactly sparked the formation of the neighborhood association, the WWB neighborhood association began as a resident run and designed neighborhood association. The neighborhood association holds meetings the third Thursday of every month. Currently, they meet in the William Wells Brown Elementary and Community Center. From June of 2009 through September 2009, I attended the monthly meetings and events hosted by the association such as the East End Cleanup. Community meetings gave residents time to think of and design neighborhood projects as well as to air grievances and report problems to officer Penix. Indeed, a common theme that officer Penix emphasized is that residents should report any thing that seemed out of the ordinary or any problems they had. Beyond this, officer Penix never gave residents a clear definition of what to look for.

Policing in Lexington: Setting the stage for the study

In conversation with residents of the William Wells Brown neighborhood there was an overwhelming desire to see the police actively arresting neighborhood dealers and addicts. In my conversations with residents, there seemed to be a contradiction: residents often saw police driving through the neighborhood but they did not see them actively removing criminal elements. The residents in William Wells Brown neighborhood experience the police as a passive force that is not engaged in eliminating drug-related

crime. The contradiction is highlighted in the commentary of a black male resident of

Chestnut Street:

> You see them drive through here but they don't do nothing, they stop
> everyone who they ain't supposed to stop, pulling people over, while the
> people they are supposed to stop have a free pass. That house right there
> with the 'No Trespassing' in the window, they [drug addicts] used to go in
> there and the police didn't do nothing. I had to put stuff in the yard to try to
> stop them. When you need them, they don't come. (Interview1P, 3/26/2009)

The interviewee expresses frustration and irritation with the police and their methods. His

statement can be interpreted as anger over harassment and the seeming ineffectiveness of

the police. Similarly, another black male resident of Chestnut St and 6th responded:

> You don't see the police doing much, they drive through but they don't
> bug us. We don't pay them any attention. As long as you are not doing
> anything bad in public they don't stop. (Interview 3P, 3/26/2009)

I then asked about the relationship between the police and drugs in the neighborhood:

> If you don't do it in public, they don't stop. I know all about it. I used to
> use, not anymore, I've had heart attacks, all kinds of problems but they
> don't stop if they don't see it. (Interview 3P, 3/26/2009)

The respondent in the above quote identifies how policing is visually oriented;

how they are concerned with maintaining the visual appearance of order. The picture of

police activity drawn by residents fits into geographer Steve Herbert's conception of

police competence. Herbert (1997) has argued that there are six 'normative orders' under,

which police officers operate. These are: law, bureaucratic control, adventure/machismo,

safety, competence, and morality. In order to appear as though they have control over a

particular area, police patrols regularly drive through, giving off an effect of competence

through control. The intended effect of this patrol is to give the perception of order, as

well as deterrence, even if it is widely known by residents that it does not work. In

addition to the order of competence that acts to establish a sense of control, the law is

identified as another normative order that restricts the police in their actions. While many

community members can point out dealers and addicts in their neighborhood (one

resident knew of three dealers on her block) and the places where they sell or get high,

the police are restricted in their engagement. When asked about community perceptions

of inaction, officer Penix of the Lexington Police department responded thus:

> Yeah, people don't understand. This isn't a police state, there are rules we have to
> follow to make a legal arrest. I can't just arrest someone because you say he's
> dealing. How do you know he's dealing? I can't just enter into homes. I think the
> patrol is a good thing. (Interview 1, 3/16/2009)

Even though law can be interpreted a number of ways while an officer is on duty,

there are restrictions upon an officer's actions. Additionally, officer Penix expresses

frustration over resident claims about their neighbors. As one officer, he cannot see every

illegal act that is happening and he cannot go after every case of illegal drugs in the

neighborhood. He also can't arrest someone because a resident says his or her neighbor is

doing something bad. One must also consider that due to the well-known ineffectiveness

of the 'drug war' (Benavie 2009), this also affects how the police respond to criminal

drug activity. When asked about the general goal of the Lexington Police department

with regard to illegal drugs in the city, officer Penix responded:

> Well, ideally, it would be complete drug eradication, but lets get real that ain't
> happening. So it's education, prevention, and prosecution. Some of these guys
> need to be arrested. If they are putting a strain on the community, what can you
> do? There's a problem with the younger ones because it can change your

> life…This is their community—there is a line they can call to leave an anonymous tip, you know, 'I see a guy in a green shirt and cap selling drugs at this location'. That goes to an officer. Now, whether we will respond to it that day, if we have a day where there are several things, a serious car incident may be our first priority, a kid dealing might be fourth" (Interview 1 3/16/2009).

Here, officer Penix realizes the impossibility of eradicating drug crime. As such it is not always major priority for officers to respond to dealers. Illegal drug use and dealing will be permanent fixture of daily life as long as there are people who use drugs. While officers ask residents to report such incidences, it is questionable as to whether they will investigate such incidences further.

In his conceptualization of power, Michel Foucault writes, 'Power is not something that is acquired, seized or shared, something that one holds on to or allows to slip away; power is exercised from innumerable points, in the interplay of non-egalitarian and mobile relations' (Lemert 1999). Policing has to be understood as influenced by both the neighborhood, law enforcement, and the regulations that restrict and give the police their purpose.

In his research on the LAPD, Herbert acknowledges that law has been viewed as one of the least important aspects of law enforcement culture. The law has been typically viewed as secondary to police discretion or rather, police base their various actions and 'unique solutions' only vaguely on the law. Contrary to this traditional view, Herbert argues that 'basic police responsibilities and powers are defined by the law'. Police action or inaction as view by several community members I spoke with can be seen as being influenced by police understandings of the law. For example officers cannot enter homes without permission, a warrant or just cause. Also, based on their knowledge of the law, officers can make decisions regarding whether or not they should make an arrest. In one

incident I witnessed, officers chose not to arrest a homeless man caught for stealing

because he was injured on his head while being captured. Instead, the suspect was given a

'cite and release' where the suspect was freed, but given a date to show up in court.

Officers reasoned that the police department could be seen as legally liable for his injury

if he went to jail (although the man was caught and injured before the police arrived).

Here, knowledge of the law helps officers in making decisions.

Drugs in Lexington

Cities all around the United States have a history of drug-related crime and

Lexington is no different. The 1980s, however, marked a significant shift in public

discussions about drugs because of the growing prevalence of crack cocaine. Crack had a

significant impact on several cities around the country; it became a hot topic for the

media as well as for politicians. In the late 1980s and early 1990s there was a surge of

news stories in the Lexington Herald Leader that described the effects of crack in bigger

cities such as Philadelphia , Miami and New York.[5] Some of these news stories served as

more 'educational' pieces that sought to inform the public about the effects of drugs. For

example, in one article published in the Lexington Herald-Leader, the connection

between crack and sex was explored. The argument put forward was that sex, when

combined with crack, made women hyper-sexual:

> For crack addicts, this seems to promote a lot of sex, pleasant or not. Several
> women in a series of interviews arranged by the Philadelphia Health Management
> Corporation, which concerns itself with the health of drug abusers, said crack or
> cocaine made them lusty or "bolder" or, as a third woman put it, "more

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[5] (1986, May 25). POTENT FORM OF COCAINE CREATING NEW U.S. 'EPIDEMIC'. Lexington
Herald-Leader (KY) FINAL ed., A1. Retrieved February , 25 2010 from NewsBank on-line database
(Access World News)

ambitious." When they first used the drugs. A man lamented that "When I'm sober and doing the same thing again, it doesn't have the same pleasure"[6]

Those who are linked to drugs are usually seen as something dangerous, something that is diseased or as something to pity. Likewise the spaces proscribed for them are jails, rehab clinics, or places that provide religious guidance. While I do not argue with the dehumanizing effects that drug addictions may have, the dominant image of drug users is predominantly of those who are desperately out of control. It is this image of the crazed drug addict that has been used politically since the inception of the 'War on Drugs' in the 1980s and that has deeply influenced both the perception of those who use drugs and their general position within society (Baggins, 1998).

Into the 1990s, news stories of drugs depicted a threat that had come into Lexington from bigger cities.[7] During this period the city had a string of several huge drug raids[8] and some reports called Lexington a "hub" of crack cocaine for surrounding areas.[9] In combating drugs, officers were seen as attempting to regain their territory. "What we're doing today is we're moving back into these neighborhoods…with high-visibilitiy walking beats, with high-visibility patrols," Lexington Police Chief Larry Walsh said at a news conference announcing indictments against nearly 200 alleged crack

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[6] (1989, October 28). CRACK, COCAINE AND SEX: THE DANGERS ARE MULTIPLYING. Lexington Herald-Leader (KY) FINAL ed., A2. Retrieved February, 25 2010 from NewsBank on-line database (Access World News)

[7] (1993, November 6). STATE POLICE SMASH LEXINGTON CRACK COCAINE RING. Lexington Herald-Leader (KY) Final ed., A1. Retrieved February, 25 2010 from NewsBank on-line database (Access World News)

[8] (1996, June 8). AT LEAST 51 SEIZED IN CITY'S THIRD CRACK COCAINE RAID. Lexington Herald-Leader (KY) Final ed., A1 Retrieved February 25, 2010 from NewsBank on-line database (Access World News)

[9] (1995, November 29). STREET DEALERS TARGETED IN CRACK RAIDS TOTAL OF 31 ARRESTED, 21 SOUGHT AFTER-MONTH INVESTIGATION. Lexington Herald-Leader (KY) FINAL ed., C1. Retrieved February, 25 2010 from NewsBank on-line database (Access World News)

dealers.[10] This fight for territory has not ended. Indeed, in July of 2009 during my

fieldwork, 23 indictments were served within the William Wells Brown Neighborhood,

Specifically targeting the area surrounding Race Street (Interview 17, 7/17/2009).

Figure 2.1 Corner of East third and Race Street

[10] "ibid"

Figure 3.1 Pak-N-Save market on the opposite corner of East Third and Race Street

In charting the city-wide arrest for drug-related crime from the beginning of the current decade, arrests steadily increased between 2000 and 2006. In a follow up interview that I conducted with Lt. Ken Armstrong of the Lexington Police force, he attributes these rises in drug arrest to three factors: The increase in population in Hamburg and Masterson Station, an increase in prescription drugs and methamphetamines and the growth of drug-related crime around the campus of the University of Kentucky.

Table 1.1 City Wide Drug Arrest for 2000-2008

Year	Total
2000	794
2001	777
2002	993
2003	1197
2004	1388
2005	1839
2006	2001
2007	1861
2008	1713

Table 1.1 Crime include controlled substance possession, cultivation of Marijuana, Forged prescription of a controlled substance, substance obtained by fraud –forgery, possession of forged prescription, possession of controlled substance, possession of drug paraphernalia, possession of Marijuana , Trafficking of Marijuana, Trafficking in controlled substances (Provided by Lexington-Fayette Planning and Analysis)

Citizen-Police Complex

It is not only the police or those in positions of political and economic power who decide what public space is like. Citizens also have a say in what constitutes their neighborhood, yet how one defines who is a citizen is often itself complex. In her work on Stay Out of Drug Zones in Seattle, Geographer Marcia England (2006) has discussed at length the struggles behind belonging within cities. Drawing on Mary Douglas as well as the theory of 'abjection' from Julia Kristeva, England frames her argument around the idea of transgression or border crossing. Seattle is a gentrifying city that has changed

dramatically with new meanings of belonging and citizenship. These understandings of

citizenship have come into play with addicts, dealers and prostitutes being seen as outside

areas of citizenship—outside the polis. Therefore, to be in the city has become an act of

transgression.

> Marked as impure, immoral, polluted, dangerous, corrupt and contagious, drug
> users are often seen, described, and feared as diseased. The spatial counterparts to
> this discourse are found in the practices of quarantine, exile, and incarceration—
> all of which reduce access to, and mobility within, public space…the physical and
> social cleaning of public space in the name of public safety or public health is a
> common practice used by government agencies in order to create the illusion of
> orderly, sanitized, public space. (England 2006)

Mary Douglas (1966) has argued that people must categorize objects, other people and

various phenomena in the world in order to make sense of it. Perceptions of what is clean

or dirty or what belongs as opposed to what does not are based within a cultural system,

which creates anomalies and norms. In several of the interviews I held with residents in

the William Wells Brown Neighborhood, interviewees expressed their view that crack

addicts, dealers, and the homeless were not part of the "community," but rather a

nuisance that brought in crime and brought down the appearances of the area. This led me

to question 'who represents the community?' In my initial interview with officer Penix,

he sees drug eradication as impossible and unrealistic—addicts and dealers live

everywhere. Douglas argues that human beings have a categorization scheme for sorting

through anomalies and abnormalities and placing them accordingly, but in the William

Wells Brown Neighborhood this breaks down, as it does for many communities and

urban spaces. The 'unclean' and the 'defiled' co-exist with those who are defined as

clean and normal. Geographer Don Mitchell (2003) has argued that cities are, through

their very nature, necessarily messy spaces. This unacknowledged truth is evident in the basic fact that no matter how one wishes to define community, those who are excluded conceptually are physically located within the space of that neighborhood. In other words, some of the residents of the William Wells Brown neighborhood may envision their community in a particular way that excludes drug users, dealers, and the homeless. These unwanted groups, however, are still physically located in those spaces and they still have an influence on that community and arguably, a claim to belonging. In the words of one interviewee "I think that the drug dealers are—and this is a bad way—but they're just a part of the neighborhood! They just are!" (Interview 2 7/22/2009)

Governmentality

This thesis uses Michel Foucault's work on governmentality to understand the policing of drug-related crime in Lexington Kentucky. As such, this thesis will argue that the governing of those who are linked to drug-related crime is not isolated to government officials such as police, but has diffused out to residents and associations. I analyze the ways in which the William Wells Brown neighborhood association, William Wells Brown residents and the Lexington Police Department work to exclude those linked to drug-related crime.

The history of the illegalization of drugs demonstrates the shifting descriptions that have come to mark the bodies of those seen as linked to drug-related crime. Scholars have noted how the illegalization of drugs was tied to the exclusion of Chinese, black and Mexican laborers (Buxton 2006, Benavie 2009, Labrousse and Laniel 1999). In one article from the Lexington-Herald Leader in 1903 entitled " The "dope" habit in Kentucky", cocaine was understood to be

> …acquired by certain of the laboring classes—miners, negroes, etc. for the purposes of a stimulant….Dr. Clahn, city physician of Owensboro, KY, say the habit oft-originates from lack of healthy mental and physical employment, which means living a life without a purpose. (Sunday edition, 5/10/1903)

This is despite the fact that many of the people hooked to drugs such as cocaine, morphine and opium were white former Civil war vets and white women, and dealers were often their pharmacists and doctors (Buxton 2006, TIME 1938). With illegalization, specialists and the media began to describe just who in the population is prone to the scourge of drugs (i.e. the 1919 article was written by sociologists from the University of Kentucky). It is ironic that Lexington was the site for the infamous 'Narco Farm' (Time, 1938), a quasi-prison and drug rehabilitation center in which doctors and psychiatrists studied addictive drugs and their human effect in order to find treatment and cures. In its beginnings, primarily white inmates went to the Narco Farm. However, before its closing most of the inmates there were African- American (Lexington Herald Leader, 2009). This thesis will examine the process through which a group of people become visible and subject to policing through a particular 'expertise' that is fostered by city officials and police officers. In addition, this thesis will throw into question what 'policing' means in this particular context.

The Issue of illegality, public and private

Residents of the William Wells Brown Neighborhood are well aware of the fact that drugs are everywhere—not just in their neighborhood. A National Survey on Drug use and Health completed in 2007 shows that 35.9 million Americans over the age of 12 have

used cocaine and 8.6 million have used crack [11]. But they also know that as long as drug

use or selling is done in private, there are very few penal ramifications. Indeed, the

selling or consumption of drugs in private spaces is blocked from the visibility of police

officers and other residents, leading to an uneasy grey area between legality and

illegality. Along with the issue of whether doing drugs is legal or illegal, we have to look

at the differences between public and private space and the way in which the illegality is

used as a technique of power. Don Mitchell (2003) has written that we need to see public

space as developing in tandem with private space. In my observations with police

officers, public space became a very limited and bounded entity. In other words, public

space for the officer exists because there are private spaces to which people should

return. Public space is the space of the officer, where he (and it was always a 'he' that I

rode along with) could establish himself as a presence and maintain control. Sidewalks

and street corners had unwritten rules of conduct and times of use. Control was

maintained by a series of factors, which the officer kept in mind when performing his

duties: What was the location, what time was it, and what actions were present. In

addition to these basic questions, officers I observed had keen observational skills: They

remembered faces, trials, the details of cars that they stopped before, and the family

members of people they've arrested, they observed nuances in how people walked and

made assumptions about their level of intoxication. While the public served as a space of

observation and control, private spaces become spaces of individuals and their actions.

This crude and tenuous distinction is displayed in police protocol. Police cannot enter a

home without permission, warrant or a just cause, and as a result they simply cannot *see*

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[11] *NSDUH (formerly known as the National Household Survey on Drug Abuse) is an annual survey of Americans aged 12 and older conducted by the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. www.samhsa.gov.*

what happens in the private spaces of a home. Illegal activity or activity that becomes

illegal by being conducted in public is more prone to policing and regulation. This also

suggests more problems for neighborhoods in which police presence is substantial:

- Officers are regulating a neighborhood based on a set of rules that are not defined by all residents of the neighborhood
- This privileges people who have private spaces to go to and utilize, making vulnerable those who do not
- This problematizes the 'illegality' of illegal drugs if they can be transported, sold, bought and used in an orderly private manner without punishment.

The law is porous and unclear when it comes to this distinction between public and

private. Residents and police officers know this. However this distinction is being made

even more tenuous by residents and community policing organizations who are asked to

speak about things that appear out of order or suspicious. As Ralph Saunders (1999) has

argued, residents engaged in "community policing" are becoming an extra set of eyes and

ears that allow the police to see beyond their patrol cars and their legal limitations.

Argumentative Outline of Thesis

Using Foucault's idea of governmentality (2009) as "the conduct of conduct", this

project wishes to understand the relationship of the policing of drug-related crime

between the residents of the William Wells Brown neighborhood and the Lexington

Fayette police department. This case study compliments other works in geography using

governmentality by demonstrating how a population of people (in this case, those linked

to drug-related crime) are policed and managed through spatial tactics. Additionally, in

response to the surfeit of literatures on people directly linked to drug-related crime, the

research focuses primarily on residents' and organizations' responses to drugs in the

William Wells Brown Neighborhood. In this thesis, I will advance three primary arguments:

- That in the policing of drug-related crime it is necessary to create a policeable individual. Based on a shifting catalogue of chracteristics, residents and police officers construct a dangerous/scary body that can then be policed. Public and private spaces are produced and defined by the policing strategies of officers and residents. Thus in turn, people are policed differently based on their presence in these spaces and their access to them.

- In the policing of drug-related crime, the objective is not to eradicate drugs from the neighborhood. This concern is secondary to the primary concern, which is to create a neighborhood which presents an appearance of order and control. Similar to Foucault's work on the police and "splendor," this sense of order and control is created through a series of strategies by the police department that include the utilization of the C.L.E.A.R. unit. An intimate knowledge of the neighborhood, its activities and questionable residents is fostered through community policing, patrol and other mechanisms that inspire residents to speak and describe in detail issues that disturb them in the neighborhood. This increased volume of information in turn helps the police department in wielding influence and establishing territoriality.

- In the policing of drug-related crime, African American males fare the worst. While this is not a new phenomenon, this thesis attempts to look at the spatial practices utilized by residents of the William Wells Brown neighborhood to indicate why they are susceptible to policing. In addition to using interview

material to analyze the relationship of black men to the neighborhood, this thesis turns to critical race theory to illuminate this phenomenon. I will argue that in addition to issues of race, it is the *way in which young black males utilize neighborhood spaces* that appear to threaten residents and attract the gaze of police.

And finally,

- In attempting to create an atmosphere of control and order, a neighborhood filled with splendor, police officials fail. My thesis will show how there are various different communities, with different ways of maintaining control in their neighborhood in the geographical area I refer to as William Wells Brown. For some people, drugs are not an issue and for some, drugs are an issue but they are opposed to working with the police. The different practices and tactics of residents overwhelm police attempts to control this area. Additionally, instead of in-depth knowledge of the neighborhood, the people, and how social networks are organized in the neighborhood, officers rely on perception. Perception is a type of knowledge about surface appearances and as such cannot establish real control because officers do not have knowledge of how this neighborhood is structured. If governmentality is conceived of as the 'conduct of conduct,' implying an in-depth knowledge of behaviors and the motivations of individuals, having limited information about how residents conduct their lives or make decisions demonstrates a failure. The roaming patrol car of the police officer becomes a symbol of impotency and failed splendor.

Chapter 2: There goes the neighborhood… A literature review.

Governmentality

In this project, I utilize governmentality as a theoretical framework through which I attempt to understand the policing of drug-related crime in the William Wells Brown neighborhood. In one of the many definitions of governmentality that Michel Foucault provides in his lecture series entitled *Security, Territory and Population* at the College de France, governmentality is seen as the management of things: people, objects, relationships, and desires (Foucault 2009). The relationship of the rulers to the governed is not simply the directing of the masses; it is not done through law or directives alone. Rather, interests and wants are managed through a complex of institutions and organizations such as schools, doctors or officers. In the William Wells Brown Neighborhood Association, one is seen as being an involved and good neighbor when you attend neighborhood meetings, plan neighborhood events and communicate with the C.L.E.A.R. officer about neighborhood happenings that you have witnessed. In these settings, one learns and has reinforced what it means to be a good neighbor, a good community member and a good citizen. Additionally, your desires become meshed and developed with the desires of others through a community organization. As Foucault has written, it is no longer an issue of saying 'no' to different desires or attempting to eliminate unwanted acts, instead it is how the government can say 'yes' to the actions of a 'free' subject. This 'free' subject however has already had its field of possibilities roughly defined by a series of institutions. In order to be free, it has had to become a subject, "shaped, guided, moulded into one capable of responsibly exercising that freedom through systems of domination" (Dean 1999,165). Residents of the

neighborhood are free to develop neighborhood associations with boundaries and apply for grants, but in order to do this you must register your neighborhood association with the city. Residents are free to start a neighborhood watch to patrol against crime, but you must also register *this* with the city and work with the police. In an unbalanced play, the subject enters into partnership with government (Burchell et al. 1991). Colin Gordon emphasizes the importance of the free subject by arguing that real power, in distinction to physical force is actually exercised on other's actions, on how they decide to act. However, it is this contingent and variable process that leaves open room for strategizing and resistance. (Burchell et al.1991).

This process of governmentalization is able to develop because of a major break in the medical and political fields—that of seeing individuals as a species with natural biological processes and as part of a population (Foucault 2009). Governing seeks to guide individual actions so that they result in an end that is aligned with government. As Mitchell Dean has put it, "It becomes a fundamental human faculty that can be made calculable and manipulated by working on the environment and spaces within which it is exercised (Dean, 1999, 159). Here, unwanted events or occurrences are not ruled out. In fact, unwanted occurrences are part of the natural process of interactions within a milieu and are necessary for the proper functioning of governance. It is accepted that unwanted events will happen. These events impact the behavior of the populace and their impacts guide decision-making about self-behavior and how various institutions discipline their subjects.

> "Here, on the contrary, it is not a matter of imposing a law on men, but of the disposition of things, that is to say, of employing tactics rather than laws, or as far

as possible employing laws as tactics; arranging things so that this or that end may be achieved through a certain number of means" (Foucault, 1999, 99).

A critical distinction is made between discipline and security. Discipline is concerned with all the actions, movements and details of a subject. It seeks to know everything and control everything. In Foucault's historical analysis of transformations of power from sovereignty to government, discipline is closely associated with early forms of sovereign authority that sought to rule closely over the lives of subjects. As the notion of government and the idea of a population begin to develop and intermingle, making each other possible, we get a transformation in thought toward security. As Foucault defines it:

> The apparatuses of security, as I have tried to reconstruct them, have the constant tendency to expand; they are centrifugal. New elements are constantly being integrated; production, psychology, behavior, the ways of doings things of producers, buyers, consumers, importers, and exporters, and the world market. Security therefore involves organizing, or anyway allowing the development of ever- wider circuits. (Foucault, 1999, 45).

Security is made possible by acknowledging that population and the things that make up a governable territory have a rationality of their own. In contrast with a state ruling a territory through discipline, government manages and allows things to develop. Discipline however has not disappeared; rather there is a relationship between the two that is held in tension. The neighborhood association can be seen as an example of this tension. As a neighborhood association, it is an organization that manages. People come together to organize various projects for the neighborhood to be involved in. It creates objectives and goals. Members report to C.L.E.A.R. officers about unkempt rental properties or homes they suspect are being used for drugs. In turn these officers find ways

of tackling these issues through code enforcement. At once, the activities in a neighborhood association seek to manage an area through activities and its appearance while simultaneously sharing information.

Foucault's work has been quite instrumental in helping geographers work through issues of governance in urban spaces. However, in some instances, how governmentality is embodied is completely left out of the analysis. Instead, attention is focused primarily on policy documents and the rationalities of government practices, following closely with Foucault's own work (Raco and Imrie, 2000, Huxley 2006, Barnett et al 2008). In contrast, recent works by geographers (Coleman, 2008, England, 2006) have highlighted how documents, policies and laws have actual implications in space and on bodies. Eugene McCann's (2008) work uses governmentality to demonstrate the creation of expertise and truth in the policing, surveillance and assistance of drug addicts within Vancouver's downtown. This work is instrumental in that it shows how truth is constructed from newspaper articles, speeches and conferences in which various discourses on the treatment of drugs form a dispotif of truth which are then operationalized in urban areas. Similarly, Anthropologist Johnathan Xavier Inda (2006) has utilized governmentality to analyze the exclusion of racialized migrant bodies from the United States.

A reoccurring problem in works that utilize governmentality is the tendency to plug various political relationships into essentialized understandings of neo-liberalism, or advanced liberal government, in ways emulating problematic components of structural theories of the state. These works view the state and its functions as unified and completely rational (England 2006, Rose et al 2006, Barnett et al 2008). Foucault saw his

work as a particular way of thinking about the practices of government; as such it is simply not enough to identify phenomena and plug it into the theory of governmentality. The art of government is a set of contingent practices that depend on the rationalities of what is being governed (Rose 2006). This project utilizes governmentality as a framework more closely allied to a methodology and a tool, which helps in sifting through the practices of government and it relationship to those who are governed.

Foucaultian analyses used in geography have come under critique for being unhelpful in providing critical social analysis conducive to political change (Mitchell 1997) and for depicting the reach of state power as unavoidable (Staeheli 2008). Indeed, it has often been described as limiting and pessimistic. Additionally, Sara Mills (Crampton and Elden 2007), who has written about feminist perspectives of Foucault's work, has argued that it is problematic because it assumes that anyone can have access to power and ignores it's unequal distribution. Quite contrary to this view, Foucault argues that power is relational, it is exercised through practices and actions; claims to power are unequal and contingent. Manifestations of power can be imagined as an ever-shifting field in which power responds to power, strategically adjusting and responding to each other with effects that can exceed their sources (Foucault 1990).

Foucault's concept of power can be seen as combating what Mitchell Dean as characterized as an ideology critique. Mitchell Dean, in his text *Governmentality* (1999), rebukes the search for the "real relations of subordination" under everyday practices, arguing that such an approach simplifies complex actors and obscures more than it reveals. Instead of simply envisioning a set of actors with power in opposition to those who have significantly less power or who are powerless, Foucault's concept of power

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allows for complexity. In the William Wells Brown neighborhood, each resident is both subject to and a subject of power. In addition to the neighborhood association, there are residents who think about the neighborhood differently and who have in the past formed smaller associations and organized through local churches to address their needs. There are networks of familial and social ties in the neighborhood through which residents solve problems, share resources, and impact change. This thesis attempts to show the messy process through which this happens.

Foucault's emphasis on looking at practices within institutions and forms of governance has also been seen as ignoring the excess or the silent tactics of subjects as they navigate the interstices of power (De Certeau, 1984). In Nigel Thrift's essay, "Overcome by Space: Reworking Foucault" (2007), much of Thrift's critique is addressed toward the lack of phenomenology, affect, or analysis of inanimate objects. Thrift critiques Foucault's usage of space as an entity that is un-alive and manipulated by outside forces. Foucault's work is interested in practices and thought and how they conceptualize space for their ends—space *is* not alive, it is something that is manipulated. In later interviews, Foucault acknowledges this gap and realizes the importance of a spatial analysis for his research and beyond, that there is a history of spaces "that have yet to be written" (Gordon 1980, Crampton and Elden 2007). My research project moves to show explicitly how space is actively involved in the policing strategies of residents and police officers. Heeding the critiques by De Certeau, this thesis highlights small practices that do not factor in the relationship between the local government and residents. Within the rationalities of this particular relationship there are practices that do not fit, that are unaccounted for.

Community

   This project pivots on questions of community. Recent analyses in geography and the social sciences, however, highlight that attempting to define community is as difficult as attempts to create it (Herbert 2006, Staeheli 2008, Johnston et al. 2000, Bhattacharyya 2004). Scholars have argued that community has suffered from being portrayed as a thing to be "retrieved" (Herbert 2006) or as an entity that is warm and comforting, a space that in itself is conducive to political change (Staeheli 2008, Clarke 2008). Additionally, recent discussions of community have discussed it as a technique of government and as a retraction of the welfare state (Rose 2000, Hayes-Conroy 2008). The difficulties of community are present in the William Wells Brown neighborhood association. Although association members define their neighborhood as a community, it was unclear who they represented. The organization has a problem with recruiting members (although, to be fair this is a problem in many organizations). Additionally, all of the residents interviewed not affiliated with the neighborhood association but within the neighborhood boundaries did not know they lived within the William Wells Brown neighborhood nor who William Wells Brown[12] was. Furthermore, many interviewees identified their community as the street they lived on, or a particular set of homes that surrounded their own. Although this project uses the names 'East End' and 'William Wells Brown', it is important to note that many people I talked to don't necessarily recognize these areas as representing their neighborhood or their community. These issues call for an attentive analysis of the concept of community.

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[12] William Wells Brown was born a slave Lexington, Kentucky. After escaping to freedom, he was a conductor on the Underground Railroad, a lecturer on the issue of abolition and is believe to be the first African American novelist with his book *Clotel*.

In defining community, Bhattacharyya (2004) identified three issues that continue to confound its meaning: the conflation of community with neighborhood, the conflation of community with a defined space and the seeming self-evident nature of community. In contrast, Bhattacharyya defines community as "any social configuration that possesses shared identity and norms" (p. 12). Other theorists have attempted to dissociate feelings of "belonging" from the concept, identifying belonging as a form of "communion" instead (Johnson et al. 2000). However, these broadened and stripped down versions of community feel insufficient in that they do not allow for the performances that go into constructing a community. In other words, community is a verb, a doing represented by a series of repeated actions, bodily gestures and movement that are just as significant to the concept of community as conceptualized notions of shared identity and norms (Hayes-Conroy 2008). Checking in on next-door neighbors or stopping at a friend's house to say good afternoon and inquire about their day are examples of the small practices that go into creating a community and these practices take place in the neighborhood *outside* of the William Wells Brown Neighborhood Association. An additional issue with Bhattacharyya's definition is that it removes space. As geographer Marcia England (2006) has noted, community gives one a claim to space. Community must be performed and enacted some*where*. Those enactments take place in different locations and at different scales.

Homogenization is inherent in notions of community, despite the variety of ways in which we define it. Community can erase individuality, and political issues and crises can be oversimplified by focusing solely on recognized communities (Saunders 2008). Groups can become policing organizations, keeping group members in line with group

rhetoric and foreclosing opportunities for change (Isin and Wood 1999). Geographers

have documented in their work how communities can become fascistic in their adherence

to sameness and their commitment to preserving the group boundaries (Staeheli 2000,

Herbert 2006). Community formations come to take on a lot of weight as they are

freighted with hopes of a closer, more intimate future of understanding and justice that

come through the building of community (Herbert 2006).

Morality and ethics have also been debated within the issue of community. If we

take Bhattacharyya's definition of community as "shared identity and norms," then it

follows that there are values, rules and expectations that are attached to belonging in a

community. In addition to community being a site of shared values, rules and

expectations, the idea of community itself is value laden. Particularly in work on neo-

liberalism and governmentality, community, due to the values it is freighted with, is seen

as a place of self-governance (Rose 2000, Dean 1999). Values such as self-reliance,

responsibility and empowerment (Dean 1999; Raco and Imrie, 2000) become invested

and manipulated through the word 'community' to encourage people to rely less on

government for basic services.

Exclusion

Within this web of morality and ethics (not to mention the emotions of disgust

and fear), community and the spaces in which community is enacted become sites for

exclusionary practices. Regarding the use of drugs, Bernd Belina (2007) argues that

linking "the mere presence of undesirables to 'crime'" gives the police the power to use

coercive force and evict them. In her study of community policing in Seattle,

Washington, Marcia England (2006), using Julia Kristeva's theory of abjection,

demonstrates how communities exclude prostitutes, those perceived to be linked to drug-related crime, and alcoholics through themes of disgust and fear. David Sibley (1995) has also argued, utilizing psychoanalysis, that the self is culturally produced, and in the production of the self there is the construction of boundaries through which the self defines itself in contrast to the "other", which is also a culturally produced construction.

The use of stereotypes in portraying the drug addict and drug user is prevalent within the neighborhood in which I conduct research. Particularly in popular culture films, which portray black life, the drug dealer is seen as destructive, greedy and powerful (*New Jack City*) and the drug addict is seen as a filthy, spacey, negligent, scary, uncontrollable fiend (*Boyz-N- the Hood, Jungle Fever, Losing Isaiah, Crooklyn*). Sibley has written that the fear and disgust associated with bad stereotypes are linked to anxieties of being in a world beyond one's control. Bad stereotypes become repositories for our fears allowing them to continue undisturbed stabilizing an otherwise unstable world:

> Fear precedes the construction of the bad object, the negative stereotype, but the stereotype—simplified, distorted and at a distance—perpetuates that fear….the stereotype is a simplification because it is an arrested, fixated form of representation which denies the play of difference. 'Others' disturb the observer's world-view, but the stereotype removes them from the scene in the sense that they are distinct from the world of everyday experience (p.15- p.18).

This project seeks to identify the ways in which the 'other' who is linked to drugs is portrayed in Lexington and how these portrayals are utilized by local police officers and residents as they define who they are as a community and the territory through which that community is enacted.

Citizenship

Citizenship is often traced back to it use in the Greek city (Atkinson, et al. 2007, Heater 1999). The city was a place of interaction and engagement with the work of politics but also highly exclusionary, where only propertied adult males were allowed to be citizens. The city viewed through the lens of citizenship was a closed community, which is small and close-knit in order to properly carry out the duties of citizenship (Pile and Philo 1992). Seyla Benhabib (2004) notes that the work of being a citizen within the city-state was itself highly exclusionary because one had to have wealth in order to dedicate free time to politics. Those left out of possessing citizenship included servants, slaves, non-Christians, non-whites, children, women and the property-less (Benhabib, 2004). A close-knit group of men with the power of creating a community and excluding others through various power dynamics were able to create laws, norms and rights that had the language of being applicable to all. However, at its foundation it was incredibly limited to a small group of individuals.

In the example of the Greek city, we can see the dialectical relationship between community and citizenship where both rely on each other to make sense (Clarke 2008). Several scholars have critiqued citizenship for its ability to obscure difference and render it as unimportant. To be a citizen may not only entail adhering to a larger identity, but the negation of other forms of identity such as race, ethnicity and gender or personal beliefs (Young 1989, Benhabib 2004, Staeheli 2005). The universality of rights and obligations that citizenship entitles ignores a lot of the other allegiances that one may have: "The ideal of the public realm of citizenship as expressing a general will, a point of view and interests that citizens have in common which transcends their differences, has operated in

fact as a demand for homogeneity among citizens" (Young, 1989, p. 252). Likewise, Darren O'Byrne has highlighted that amongst contemporary citizenship theorists there is now an understanding that what is needed is an analysis that allows for "multiple citizenships and allegiances" (Atkinson et al., 2007, p. 139).

In line with the arguments of homogeneity, scholars have argued that citizenship leads away from politics because of trends toward homogeneity (Clarke, 2008). Instead of understanding citizenship as a space of shared beliefs and norms others have moved to see citizenship as a term that denotes contestation and that is incredibly political. Inspired by Henri Lefebvre's work *The Right to the City [Le Droit a la ville],* geographer Don Mitchell (2003) has argued that citizenship means the equal participation of all who inhabit a city to shape and influence the city's form, in the process creating a *work*. The city is a place of difference. Thus, instead of framing citizenship as an adherence to a set of norms, citizenship is based on the right to inhabit (to live and be) and to participate. From another angle, geographer Anna Secor (2004) has studied the ways in which everyday practices disrupt the discourses of citizenship that seek to homogenize and obliterate different identities and allegiances. In her analysis of Kurdish women navigating the city streets of Istanbul, Turkey, Secor demonstrates how the demands of citizenship do not have a complete hold on their lives. Viewing citizenship as a strategy of the state, Secor writes about the practices of 'making do' that the women utilize to move through the city: "The everyday life-spaces of the city—its neighborhoods, parks streets, and buildings—are thus both the medium through which citizenship struggles take place and frequently, that which is at stake in the struggle" (p. 353). The analysis that geographers have provided to citizenship studies is that it is not guaranteed or

complete—citizenship is negotiated and performed differently in different spaces of the city and at different scales within the state. In its spatial enactments it is fundamentally political, rendering 'community' and 'citizenship' unstable. In tension with these works on citizenship, it is still necessary to recognize that citizenship is still a highly desirable status that brings with it political recognition and security (Bosniak 2006). As such, this project acknowledges all the residents who inhabit the neighborhood defined in my research as a citizen and member of that community because their presence uniquely has an impact on how the everyday spaces of that community is experienced.

Broken Windows Theory

Published in 1982, Broken Windows Theory argues that if small acts of social disorder are not controlled (i.e. litter, graffiti, broken windows) or if people such as the homeless or drug addicts are allowed to keep a presence in the neighborhood, then over time the neighborhood will decline and become an uncontrollable place. Written by James Wilson and George Kelling, their theory has been accepted widely by cities implementing zero tolerance policies (Mitchell 2003) and has been referenced on three different occasions by police officers and residents in the William Wells Brown Neighborhood. Fear looms large within the theory, as according to its authors, 'broken windows' and the problem it represents disarms whole neighborhoods and prevents cities from keeping unwanted behaviors at bay. Wilson and Kelling write,

> We tend to overlook or forget another source of fear—the fear of being bothered by disorderly people. Not violent people, nor necessarily, criminals, but disreputable or obstreperous or unpredictable people: panhandlers, drunks, addicts, rowdy teenagers, prostitutes, loiterers, the mentally disturbed (Wilson and Kelling 1982, 1-2).

Like the spreading of a disease, 'unpredictable people' breed destabilizing fear that renders whole neighborhoods weak and defenseless.

In one of their explanatory moves, Wilson and Kelling argue that the police should be able to operate according to principles that the people in a particular 'community' would acknowledge and use themselves. Hence, they are arguing against adherence to laws that protect the civil rights of people deemed scary or unsafe, because an addict, dealer or a homeless person is virtually the same as a broken window and must be dealt with quickly before the neighborhood spirals out of control. In one section of their argument they quote a police officer who patrols a housing project as saying "We Kick Ass," underlining their approval of extralegal actions and 'machismo' (Herbert 1997) deployed in the struggle to keep an area free of unwanted individuals.

A second move in their essay is aimed to disable critiques of racism that might undo their argument. Wilson and Kelling move to stop arguments against racial discrimination citing the example of Charles Taylor Homes, a housing project in Chicago in which black residents supported policing against black gang members (hence rendering the police as objective ass-kicking machines). For Wilson and Kelling it was not a question of race, but of "how can the police strengthen the informal social-control mechanism of *natural communties* in order to minimize fear in public places?" (p. 8, my emphasis added). Further, they offer their readers the consolation that even though there is no certainty that officers will not be overly brutal or racist within the areas that they patrol, there must be hope that through their 'selection, training, and supervision' they will know their limits.

Although Broken Windows theory has widespread use in several cities, it has been

acknowledged that it is highly controversial and lacks empirical evidence (Cerda et al. 2009). However, there have been studies that link environmental and social aspects of a neighborhood with opportunities for crime (Storr et al. 2004). In a *Science* (Holden 2008) article, scholars in the Netherlands performed a series of experiments that tested whether or not people would commit crimes or go against norms if they saw other rules being broken (Kelzer et al 2008). In the experiment, six situations were set up to test whether people would litter, steal, or break stated rules in the presence of other rules being broken such as graffiti in areas where it is explicitly forbidden. The results of the study confirmed the basic premise of Wilson and Kelling's argument that disorder and crime are linked.

While there are smaller issues of contention with the study, the biggest gap between the Wilson and Kelling theory and this study is that Broken Windows Theory has been applied largely to people viewed as symbols of disorder as opposed to small acts such as graffiti. An additional issue with the study is that the 'community' was not identified. The question of whether the rule of 'no graffiti' was a 'community' norm or a government norm was left open. Thus the issue of disorder *for whom* went unanswered.

In a study on the perception of social disorder by business owners, it was found that the recognition of social disorder is tied to understandings of the seriousness of the crime (Casten and Payne 2008). Thus, in the Kelzer et al. study, it is unclear. what is considered disorderly. Additionally, the issue of place was not addressed. In the Wilson and Kelling essay, the places that they reference are housing projects and cities or areas with high amounts of crime, and a visible population of alcoholics –places where Broken Windows had seemingly already had its effect. The study however was conducted in Groningen,

Netherlands, an old city defined by its universities, research centers and scenic medieval churches[13]

In another study looking at the relationship between Broken Windows Theory and homicide in New York city, researchers found that there is no link between the reduction in homicides and the reduction of physical disorder (Cerda et al. 2009). In fact, the study found that instead of increased policing for physical disorder, "that public assistance was associated with lower levels of homicide."

'Broken Windows Theory' has been critically called into question by geographer Don Mitchell (2003) in his work on homelessness in the U.S. There are three issues that Mitchell contends with in particular : that Broken Windows is in many cases the only approach toward dealing with the issue of homelessness, that Broken Windows Theory advocates for the policing of the ostensibly innocent to prevent the future crime of others and that there is a conflation of a particular class status (homelessness) with a type of behavior (alcoholism and mental illness). Indeed, in the essay by Wilson and Kelling, there is only a brief mention to alternatives, "Of course, agencies other than the police could attend to the problems posed by drunks or the mentally ill, but in most communities—especially where the 'deinstitutionalization" movement has been strong—they do not" (p.7). Thus, instead of advocating for more social programs, Wilson and Kelling opt to rely overwhelming on extra-legal policing tactics.

This theory is used within the Lexington Police department and referenced by neighborhood association members. Code enforcement is one way in which officer Penix

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[13] Retrieved from "Welcome to Groningen," (http://toerisme.groningen.nl/english/hoofdmenu/groningen-province) 24 May 2010.

and the neighborhood Association combat "broken windows." Also, it has been a topic of discussion on several occasions within the neighborhood association and in interviews with city officials that the Catholic Action Center, a resource center for the homeless, is a nuisance and a "blight" (Interview 2 7/22/2009) on the neighborhood because many of the people who go there spend time outside of the building. It is clear that they are a "blight" because they are visible.

There have been alternative views on fear of the unknown 'other' in urban settings. In her text *Urban Danger: Life in a neighborhood a strangers* (1986), anthropologist Sally Merry argues that the issue of fear or danger in a neighborhood can be attributed to anonymity. In her study of a housing project in Philadelphia populated by African Americans, Whites and Chinese immigrants, Merry argued that Chinese immigrants felt the least safe because of a lack of familiarity with the seemingly scary strangers who also lived or passed through the project in addition to having language barriers. In contrast, whites and blacks felt more safe in the neighborhood because their social networks included more people in the neighborhood or at least provided information on various characters, allowing residents to make informed decisions about their own behavior in the presence of unknown people, allaying their own fears by giving them the opportunity to predict the other's behavior. The increased number of renters as well as the deaths of older residents in the William Wells Brown neighborhood can be a contributing factor to the perception of crime because fewer people are familiar with each other and each other's habits. Also, during research, I noticed a huge age gap between residents who felt threatened being in the neighborhood and younger residents who felt confident and safe. From my research, I discerned a major lack of communication between younger residents

in the neighborhood and older residents whose social networks are smaller. The lack of

communication between younger and older residents fueled a sense of disconnect that

older residents had toward the William Wells Brown Neighborhood and also a sense of

danger because for older residents their previous ability to know the people in their

neighborhood and the families who lived on a particular street is disappearing. In its

place is left behind anonymity as well as a break down in traditional ways of resolving

problems. For example, it is now not so easy for un-related residents to discipline

children who misbehave or discuss a problematic issue with other families on the street.

Not only is their the feeling of not knowing others on the street, but I sensed that their

was a reluctance to try—as if building networks of communication was no longer

possible or the energy was no longer there.

Policing

As part of this project's focus on policing, research entailed conducting three ride-

alongs with the Lexington-Fayette Police department, one of which was with the

Community Law Enforcement Action Response Program (C.L.E.A.R.) that specifically

patrols in the East End. The C.L.E.A.R. unit " is based on two distinct policing concepts

which address proactive law enforcement and community involved policing. The

program concentrates officers' efforts in specific neighborhoods by providing both a

permanent day time presence and night patrols[14]" These moves toward incorporating

community policing can be seen as the most recent implementation of policing reforms in

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[14] Retrieved from the Lexington-Fayette Urban County Website.

http://www.lexingtonky.gov/index.aspx?page=80).

24 May 2010

the United States. Prior to the use of community policing as a policing philosophy, police departments in the U.S. experienced a backlash for the 'professionalization policing model' which was critiqued for creating police forces that were aloof and unaccountable to the public or political oversight (Bass 2000, Klockars 1988). Geographer Steve Herbert (1997) has done extensive ethnographic research with the Los Angeles police department and has identified seven normative orders by which the police operate in the daily performance of their duties: Territoriality, law, bureaucratic control, adventure/machismo, safety, competence and morality. For officers, these orders intersect and overlap. Despite Herbert's attempt to give a more textured and in-depth portrayal of the police (particularly in the aftermath of the Rodney King trial), his text is startling for the lack of analysis on race (Marston 1997). Geographer Sally Marston has pointed to a series of critical absences in his text that make it incomplete as a study of policing culture. The police are portrayed as only existing within their jobs instead of as people who bring multiple subjectivities to bear on their roles as police officers (Marston 1997). While Herbert focuses on the practices of the LAPD, he neglects the place in which these practices are acted out. Los Angeles in many ways was absent from his analysis. As Marston has argued in her critique, "Places are implicated in the production of space through the particular configurations of locally generated social practices" (p. 386). Further, Don Mitchell (1997) has critique Herbert's work for its lack of discussion of the ramifications of police action, legal analysis, or an analysis of how citizens negotiate space in response to police action. My project, while influenced by Herbert's work, moves to fill in these silences through an analysis of policing in the William Wells Brown Neighborhood in Lexington. By focusing on the interactions of both officers and

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residents in the neighborhood, I aim to highlight the negotiations that each group makes through the spaces of the neighborhood and the issues of fear and race that color these enactments.

Territory

Policing connects with the concepts of citizenship and community through the creation and defense of territory. Particularly with policing, establishing territory is a major component of an officer's everyday job (Herbert 1997). Herbert is emphatic when he argues that 'spatial competence' is important for understanding police actions outside the police station. In addition, Herbert discusses the increasing reliance on technology (helicopters, infrared, dogs, etc.) to erect imaginary boundaries and perimeters to create a sense of control (Herbert 1997).

Similarly, the work of Marcia England (2008) on Seattle, Washington's 'Stay out of Drug Area Zone' demonstrates how a group of residents who define themselves as a community, in partnership with the police department and local government, strives to claim their neighborhood as their territory in response to prostitutes, drug addicts and drug dealers. They accomplish this by a series of spatial strategies: residents making agreements with local business not to sell particular products that facilitate illegal drug use or high alcohol content beverages and the creation of stay out of drug zones that give police the power to eradicate individuals who have been associated with illegal and suspicious activity (England 2006). While this research analyzes the policing practices of the police department and community members, the power of the police is distinctive from the power of community groups in that the police are invested with power by the state to use coercive force and they have the power to exercise force and authority within

the state's territory (Fyfe 1991).

Splendor

Foucault's work on the police is quite different from how we see the police today but there are strong connections that are constructive for this project. In his work on the subject, police means everything within a territory that contributes to the beauty of the state and maintenance of order. "It is both the visible beauty of order and the brilliant, radiating manifestation of a force. Police therefore is in actual fact the art of the state's splendor as visible order and manifest force" (Foucault 2009). It is this desire for splendor, here described as 'order,' that is utilized for this project. In histories of the police, the rise of police organizations was attributed to social disorder and the need to control the growing armies of reserve labor during the industrial revolution (Hamid 1998, Fyfe 1991). In Foucault's work, the splendor maintained by the police was information on the lives of citizens: what jobs they pursued, what social classes they belonged to, etc. In addition to maintaining physical order, they maintained social order by ensuring that everyone stayed within the life stations they had chosen or inherited. What is important from Foucault's notion of the police for this project is the understanding that policing is not simply the use of force in a territorially defined space; it also incorporates knowledge of the people whom one polices. Indeed community policing relies on such knowledge.

Community Policing

In thinking through community policing, the first problem one encounters is how to define exactly what it is. Indeed, there is no standard definition to community policing (Skolnick and Bayley 1988). In many cases it is understood as a philosophy of practice (Gianakis and Davis 1998), a mix of different techniques to help improve connections

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with local citizens (Herbert 2006) and as a consolidation of police reform efforts (Greene and Mastrofski 1988). The phrase 'community policing' is used so widely that any policing organization can claim to be practicing community policing (Skolnick and Bayley 1988), thus making it harder to create standards and measures of effectiveness for police departments that utilize it (Gianakis and Davis 1998). Others, however, find this useful because it "can be shaped to meet the specific needs of the community it is designed to serve" (NIJJ, Aug, 1992 p4). The following actions are commonly associated with community policing:

- Problem oriented policing: solves local problems in conjunction with other governmental agencies and residents

- Increased communication between police departments and citizens: face to face, non-emergency related conversations between officers and those whom they encounter during their patrol. Increased communication also includes increased transparency of police strategies, support of community organizations, attendance at local community meetings, use of foot patrol and bike patrol

- Support of community crime prevention activities

- A move toward non-hierarchical organizational structure in police departments: emphasizing collaboration and team work, particularly the sharing of information between different sections of the force. Additionally, patrol officers are given more leadership opportunities for problem solving within their beats.

- Order maintenance: Broken-windows policing

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(Feins 1983, Skolnick and Bayley 1988, Greene and Mastrofski, 1988)

In community policing literature, there is an emphasis on the shared responsibility between local citizens and the police force toward combating crime or seeing each other as partners (NIJJ, Aug, 1992, Herbert 2006). Community policing is seen as a response to older forms of policing that can be criticized as corrupt, quasi-militaristic, opaque, hierarchical and severed from the communities in which they patrolled (Kelling and Moore 1988, Bass 2000). Now, in language paralleling corporate strategies and Market-talk, community policing is an attempt to get the public to "[share] the burden of protection" and participate in its own defense (Skolnick and Bayley, 1988; Giankis and Davis, 1998; Kelling and Moore, 1988). While much lauded and now widely implemented, there are several critiques of community policing, particularly in light of the fact that there is inconclusive evidence that community policing actually reduces crime (Skolnick and Bayley 1988). In his well cited essay, 'The Rhetoric of Community Policing', Carl Klockars argues that community policing " is best understood as the latest in a fairly long tradition of circumlocutions whose purpose is to conceal, mystify and legitimate police distribution of nonnegotiably coercive force" (Klockars, 1988, 240). In his argument, he problematizes 'community' and argues that it does not exist in the ways in which community policing is commonly described. For Klockars, the fact that there is a police force who has the right to use coercive force to settle disputes proves that community is in fact a fractured entity. Additionally, Klockars argues that community policing allows the police force to blame the community if crimes are not reduced, giving the police a barrier to critique. Likewise, geographer Ralph Saunders (1999) has argued,

using the metaphor of the 'policing body,' that community policing allows the police force to enter new spaces that were previously closed of to them. In allowing a 'community' or neighborhood watch groups to become the 'eyes and ears' of the police department, police officers now have the ability to enter private spaces such as homes and to be in many places as once. Saunders argues that by forming partnerships with groups the police recognize as 'communities,' they are able to ignore and delegitimize other broader communities such as the gay or black community. Taking another cut into the argument, Steve Herbert has argued that communities do not have the resources or the know how to share responsibility with police officers to police their neighborhoods. While Herbert's research on community policing again neglects obvious issues of race (Kobayashi 2007), or a theorization of the police as an entity of the state (Flint 2007), he has highlighted what other writers have acknowledged. A lack of motivation by the Seattle Police department to form transparent and decentralized partnerships with the neighborhood groups with which they work, and a lack of cohesion, or dedication by neighborhood groups to actively share the responsibility of policing, make community policing an unattainable and problematic goal. In the William Wells Brown Neighborhood Association, community policing means reporting issues to officer Penix who then investigates them. In terms of transparency, Officer Penix shares crime statistics with the association and answers questions for 15-20 minutes before leaving the meeting. This form of community policing is quite bare and at worst amounts to tattling on neighbors.

Policing and drug-related crime

In this project drug-related crime is defined as the using, selling or delivery of illegal narcotics. I have explicitly narrowed the definition of drug-related crime because it is these types of illegal activity to which neighborhood residents respond.

The United States' approach to drugs has been overwhelmingly characterized by prohibition and intense law enforcement (McShane and Williams 1997, Buxton 2006, Gray 2007). Despite the large amount of U.S. dollars invested in the fight against illegal drugs, it is estimated that 19.1 million Americans are addicted (Davey et al. 1997). Despite the wide scale use of illegal drugs, it is often black and Latino men who experience the brunt of incarceration (Peck and Theodore 2008, Benavie 2009). It has been argued that the 'war on drugs' fuels what has been called the prison-industrial complex, a profitable industry of prison building and maintenance (Labrousse and Laniel 2001). In popular accounts drugs and crime are commonly put in a causal relationship, with drugs causing insanity, murderous impulses, and sexual profligacy (Isaac Compos Costero lecture 'Marijuana and the Mexican origin of the war on drugs in North America, McBride and McCoy 1993, Buxton 2006). At their worse, popular accounts of drugs and crime can be racist and xenophobic. While this relationship has been scientifically debunked, it is still used with frequency. Scholars are also quick to point out that much of the drug crime committed in the U.S. is due to the prohibition and illegalization of drugs (McBride and McCoy 1993; Inciardi et al.1994). Police in the U.S. principally utilize methods aimed at suppressing the sales of illegal drugs and education. However, it has been acknowledge that these methods have no lasting influence on the trade and use of drugs (Engel, 2002). Rather, suppressing the sale of illegal drugs often leads to

'displacement effect' (Aitken et al. 2002) in which the selling and using of drugs moves from one area to another that is nearby. Hence, police agencies are fighting against a never-ending demand for drugs.

In Lexington, the police use three primary strategies to combat drugs, arrest, education and prevention. Education and Prevention was done through the D.A.R.E. program but now that will be done through a gang unit (Interview 1, 3/26/2009). Additionally, Lexington has a drug court in which people convicted of drug crime have to graduate through a community service program in order to avoid jail time. The Lexington Police force also has a narcotics units which performs undercover operations and smaller activities such as 'buy-bust' in which they snag people coming in the neighborhood to buy by posing as drug dealers.

Conclusion

This thesis does not attempt to deny that drug-related crime can be violent. Nor does this thesis attempt to dispel the tragedy that addiction can bring to neighborhoods. This thesis will attempt to highlight the underlying logics through which a group of people and certain types of behavior are excluded and why. I attempt to understand exactly why drug-related crime in the William Wells Brown Neighborhood is a problem. I argue that is a problem because it is visible, and in its visible public manifestations it presents disorder and a claim to space that threaten the claims of others who want to construct an ideal of community. Within these relationships of contestation and exclusion are complex issues of race and management. As argued earlier through Foucault, WWB represents a case study of how government and neighborhood residents participate within

a managerial relationship that ultimately moves to benefit the state by aligning diverse and multiple desires.

This research draws together a number of literatures to address the issue of drug-related crime in the William Wells Brown neighborhood. Literatures in this review present more questions than answers going into this project. As a case study, my project attempts to hold these various issues in tension and to reveal how they interact within this context. Instead of trying to provide an answer to questions raised around community, citizenship, community policing, etc., I attempt to tell a variety of stories and to illustrate different perspectives. I want to demonstrate the different layers and interactions that structure the policing of drug-related crime.

Chapter 3: Riding fast in cop cars and other research methods

The three central empirical questions for this thesis project are 1) what are the policing practices of the Lexington Police department toward drug-related crime? 2) what are the practices of the William Wells Brown neighborhood residents toward drug-related crime and 3) What are the practices and effects of the Community Law Enforcement Action Response (C.L.E.A.R.) unit toward drug-related crime? Under questions 2 and 3 are an additional set of questions: Do the residents of the William Wells Brown Neighborhood see themselves as a community? If so, who belongs to the community and who does not? Do residents know the people linked to drug-related crime? What are the common characteristics associated with people who are involved in drug-related crime? Do residents feel safe in the William Wells Brown neighborhood in the presence of drug-related crime? And how do residents experience drug-related crime? For this project, drug-related crime is defined as the selling, buying, or using of illegal drugs.

To answer these questions I utilized three methods: semi structured interviews, participant observation of neighborhood association meetings and police ride-alongs. This project serves as a case study. I wanted to study the context in which drug-related crime was happening and how this influenced policing. Additionally, I felt that performing a case study would allow me to accept data from a variety of sources (Yin 2003). I feel that studying the reactions to the policing of drug-related crime in this setting could provide a complementary analysis to other researchers doing work on drug-

related crime and illuminate broader national trends in the policing of drug-related crime as well as contribute to literatures analyzing governmentality in everyday life.

Site Selection

The site for this project was selected over time through my involvement in the neighborhood. In the previous months before I began preliminary research, I had been volunteering at the Catholic Action Center on Chestnut Street in the William Wells Brown Neighborhood. I looked at Lexington Crime Watch Maps after concerns were expressed about me leaving the center after hours. The website indicated the number of times police officers responded to an incident based on a call. When I began to design a research project, I went back to the crime site to map various neighborhoods in the city that had several calls for narcotic related incidents. These calls were only represented with blue dots; there was no corresponding statistical information. In my survey of neighborhoods, the William Wells Brown Neighborhood showed a high number of blue dots. In my early requests for statistical data from the city, I was told that the Freedom of Information Act required that I write a letter to get the actual number of calls that the neighborhood received. After submitting a letter, I did not receive any response from the Lexington Police department.[15]

Two sites of interests that I selected with a high number of blue dots were Aylesford Place, the neighborhood I lived in, which was in close proximity to the

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[15] I later discovered that the direct way to request forms from the city were through the Planning and Analysis office.

University, and the William Wells Brown Neighborhood, located east of downtown. I conducted preliminary research in which I held informal interviews with residents in both areas about drug-related crime. Due to its closeness to the University of Kentucky Aylesford place has a large population of student renters. Aylesford Place is patrolled by the University of Kentucky police department and city of Lexington police officers. In speaking with people I encountered who lived or frequented the area, there was acknowledgement of a high police presence and drug use but besides being a nuisance, it was not seen as a problem that negatively impacted everyday life.

In the William Wells Brown neighborhood, I spent a week walking around and conducting informal interviews with people who I met walking on the street or sitting on the porch. In all, I collected five interviews with residents. From my conversations, I learned of the William Wells Brown Neighborhood Association. I attended a William Wells Brown Neighborhood Association Meeting and was able to learn more about the neighborhood as well as to get acquainted with the Community Law Enforcement Action Response Unit (C.L.E.A.R.). From this initial meeting, I was able to get in contact with Officer Brian Penix and conducted a semi-structured interview. Officer Penix is the C.L.E.A.R. unit officer in charge of the William Wells Brown Neighborhood.

The William Wells Brown site was selected for the following reasons: First, the neighborhood had a population of residents who I encountered that resided in the area for several years. The long-term presence of the residents I encountered has bred a close knit "Everybody knows everybody" mentality. This serves to illuminate changes that have happened in the neighborhood over a long period of time regarding the practices of the police department and shifts in the experience of drug-related crime. Also, choosing a

neighborhood with many long-term residents allowed me to look at the formation of communities in the neighborhood and their response to drug-related crime. Second, the William Wells Brown Neighborhood is one of nine neighborhoods under the community policing program called the Community Law Enforcement Action Response (C.L.E.A.R.) unit. C.L.E.A.R. began in 2006 in an attempt to work on preventive policing and to address community concerns. Third, based on the information obtained from the crime watch website and preliminary interviews it became clear that the site could highlight several factors that influenced drug-related crime. The link between the neighborhood association and the Lexington Police department provided a unique opportunity to study the practices of community policing and how it worked in reference to drug-related crime. An additional reason for using the William Wells Brown neighborhood is because of its unique position within the city. Located between downtown and industrial businesses along Winchester Road, the neighborhood is undergoing revitalization. This revitalization is marked by the renovation of the Lyric theatre, the creation of an art garden to commemorate Lexington horse Jockey Isaac Murphy, the creation of the London Ferrell Community Garden, the creation of new public and private housing through federal HOPE VI funding, the building of the new William Wells Brown Elementary and Community Center, and increasing gentrification. These transformations within the William Wells Brown Neighborhood can affect the extent to which officers patrol the neighborhood and can illuminate various relationships between police officers and the neighborhood that are modulated by class.

Gaining Entrance

Neighborhood Association

Once I selected the William Wells Brown neighborhood as the site for this research project, I proceeded to make acquaintances and to establish myself as a researcher within the neighborhood. Neighborhood Association Meetings are held the third Thursday of every month. During this project, the meetings were held in the Phyllis Wheatley Community Center but toward the end of my research, the center was put up for sale. Meetings are now currently being held at Williams Wells Brown Elementary School and Community Center. After my initial attendance at the William Wells Brown Neighborhood Association, I went back the following month to formally introduce myself and to ask for permission to conduct my research. I noticed on my second visit that the group was considerably smaller than it was my first time there and that, over time, the regulars in attendance were the core of the association (most of them held leadership positions). In addition to the core members of the neighborhood association, Andrea James, the local district councilwoman, and C.L.E.A.R. Officer Brian Penix regularly attended.

The composition of the neighborhood association is diverse in terms of age and race. Typically, there is a mix of older, African American female residents, middle-aged African American residents, and a similarly mixed group of white residents who attend. From conversations at the meeting, I discerned that most of the residents in attendance were homeowners, although membership did not require home ownership. Two key members with whom I attempted to forge connections were the president of the association and the neighborhood association treasurer. While the then- president of the

association proved to be difficult to schedule interview time with, the treasurer has been quite helpful and encouraging about me completing my research. After my formal introduction and after receiving acceptance from the neighborhood association, I followed up, by requesting a formal written letter of allowance, which was supplied by Clinton Graham, the neighborhood association vice-president.

The Lexington Fayette Police Department: C.L.E.A.R. Unit

The Lexington-Fayette Police Department provides several opportunities for residents of the city to learn about daily police work and how the police do their jobs. The departments provide workshops for landlords to help them implement changes on their property to prevent crime, they provide a short academy for residents to gain a more in-depth understanding about the work of emergency responders and they offer police ride-alongs for residents of the city to spend an evening patrolling with officers during their shift. Each resident is allowed to do up to three ride-alongs with the Lexington-Fayette Police Force. For this project, I signed up to do all three police ride-alongs during the months of June, July and August. To register to do the police ride-alongs, Instead of going to the main downtown precinct, sign up is located outside the center of the city on Old Frankfort Pike. This building is home to departments that fall under special operations within the police department.

When I initially signed up to conduct the ride-along, I spoke with secretary Charlene Cornish and her supervisor at length about my research and my desire to do ride-alongs with the C.L.E.A.R. unit for research. Once I filled out the request form I was instructed to report to roll call at central sector. Roll Call allows all the officers who are working a shift to check in, receive updates, and get information about suspects. Officers

also communicate about areas of the city in which they need to pay additional attention or to share concerns from the previous shift. The roll call is conducted in a room structured like a classroom. A Sergeant or a Lieutenant conducts the actual roll call and uses the assistance of a power point presentation.

Despite my spoken desire to ride-along with the C.L.E.A.R. unit, I was assigned with a regular patrol officer to patrol sector 23A which covers a portion of the north section of the city that includes Winchester road, the idle hour area, Richmond road and sections of the William Wells Brown Neighborhood. I completed the ride-along but I called the Frankfort Pike office again to re-iterate that I wanted to do ride-alongs with the C.L.E.A.R. unit.

On my second ride-along, I was assigned to the C.L.E.A.R. unit, which conducted their roll call at the Old Frankfort Pike Location. Much of the roll call is similar to what would happen at a normal roll call, Except in the C.L.E.A.R. unit Neighborhood Coordinators, officers who work in the neighborhood during the day following up complaints or attending community meetings, will share information with Response Officers who patrol the neighborhood at night. This was one of the primary reasons for the creation of the C.L.E.A.R. unit, to increase communication within the police department (Interview 17, 7/17/2009). For this ride-along, the areas patrolled where the William Wells Brown neighborhood and parts of Georgetown/New Town Pike.

After this break through in getting to ride with the C.L.E.A.R. unit, I was disappointed in my attempts to schedule a third ride-along when I was told that ride-alongs with the C.L.E.A.R. unit were now prohibited. On my final ride-along we

patrolled the Aylesford Place neighborhood, sections of the Martin Luther King

neighborhood, sections of the William Wells Brown neighborhood and downtown. This

arrangement actually worked toward the benefit of research because 1) I saw how distinct

neighborhoods in the East End were policed in contrast to other parts of the city, 2)

despite the different sectors, I was still able to retrieve data on the William Wells Brown

Neighborhood and 3) this arrangement limited what could be an awkward process

between neighborhood residents and myself when conducting interviews. The police are

not popular amongst many of the residents in the WWB neighborhood and a concern that

I had when conducting research was the fear that residents who saw me would think I

was an employee of the police department. Besides destroying possibilities for research,

this could also be potentially dangerous. The way each ride-along happened, my exposure

with officers in the neighborhood was limited.

Police Ride-alongs

Each police ride-along would run from four p.m. until one a.m. in the morning. I

completed the first two ride-alongs and left and hour early on the last one. Thus for this

project I conducted 26 hours of observation. Evenings would consist of patrolling a

particular sector, responding to calls on the dispatch and one meal. Conversations with

officers were informal. When attending to an incident, I would be required to wear a

wristband, which identified me as a guest and to observe from a distance. For situations

regarded as dangerous, I was asked to sit in the car. Notes on incidents responded to and

my conversations with officers were jotted down in my field notebook. Police ride-alongs

were crucial to this project because they allowed me to see how police officers

established territoriality through the strategy of patrol and to gain insight into the logics that guide officers through their daily shifts.

Participant Observation

Russell Bernard (2006) defines participant observation as:

> Participant observation involves going out and staying out, learning a new language (or a new dialect of a language you already know), and experiencing the lives of the people you are studying as much as you can. Participant observation is about stalking culture in the wild—establishing rapport and learning to act so that people go about their business as usual when you show up.

My experience utilizing participant observation was quite different. In utilizing participant observation, I wanted to know how the thoughts and opinions of residents within the neighborhood association gave meaning to their beliefs and actions in the neighborhood (Bodgewic 1999). During the time of my research, the William Wells Brown neighborhood Association met the third Thursday of every month at the Phyllis Wheatley Community Center (now closed) in the neighborhood. The acting president was Janet Coleman. Meetings would last from 1 hour and 30 minutes to 2 hours. Since the meetings happened once a month, I felt that each time I went to a meeting, I never became unnoticeable. In fact my notebook and I stood out at each meeting. Additionally, because the meetings were spaced out over a month, I didn't develop an "explicit awareness" (Bernard 2006) of small details and their meanings until August. Because of the brief amount of time spent interacting with the neighborhood association, I rapidly assessed (Bernard 2006) the data of my encounters with the neighborhood association; I selected and recorded data that was most pertinent to the issue of drug-related crime. To record information from meetings, I jotted notes in my field notebook and transferred

them after the meeting into my personal computer. In the process of attending

neighborhood association meetings, I joined the membership committee[16] and

participated in the East End Clean-up. Interviews with individuals in the neighborhood

association in conjunction with my jottings from meetings helped to give a more

comprehensive picture about issues affecting the neighborhood association.

Interviews

Over the course of this project I conducted 30 semi-structured and informal

interviews with residents of William Wells Brown, police officers, lieutenants,

neighborhood association members, representatives of drug treatment centers and local

activists who do work in the area. I conducted interviews primarily to learn how these

different groups perceive drug-related crime and how residents were actively responding

to drug-related crime. For example, I wanted to know whether they responded by staying

close to home or whether they went through their neighborhood feeling secure and safe.

As a research method, the interview is an excellent method for revealing the

"lived world" of informants (Kvale 1996). It was also important to do interviews on the

perception of drug-related crime because, as I argue, drugs and in particular crack

cocaine are given a variety of descriptions by residents in order to mark those whom they

see as a threat to the neighborhood. A variety of descriptions are attributed to drug

dealers and addicts. These descriptions may in turn lead to an atmosphere in which the

threat of drugs seems larger than it really is, setting in motion a series of policing

strategies on the part of residents and police officers that dramatically alter their

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[16] I've never participated in a formal meeting with the membership committee.

relationships to the neighborhood. Interviews illuminated the different ways in which people rationalized their views and behaviors and how they saw those linked to drug-related crime.

For recruiting informants, I used purposive sampling (Bernard 2006) because I specifically wanted to interview residents who lived in the William Wells Brown neighborhood and people who had relationships to the neighborhood. Aside from residing in the WWB neighborhood, there were no criteria for interviewees. In order to recruit respondents, I knock on doors and approached people on sidewalks and front porches and asked if they wanted to participate in my research. I combed the geographic area of the William Wells Brown neighborhood by foot and bike between June and late August to recruit residents for interviews. Afternoons were usually chosen for interviews throughout the week.

Each interview was designed to last one hour with an interview guide (Kvale 1996) that included 14 questions. I utilized probes to get comprehensive responses to questions that dealt with the informants' perception of their neighborhood (see index). These interviews were indeed "conversations" (Kvale 1996) and many lasted over an hour. In the process of conversation, many new topics came up that were not directly related to my research but that helped to provide a more detailed understanding of the neighborhood. Additionally, from these interviews I built relationships with some of the respondents.

Because I had thirty interviews, I went through and listened to my collection before selecting interviews before transcription. Interviews selected for transcription were

interviews in which the answers provided were descriptive and answered my questions in detail. Nine of the thirty interviews were not recorded. Instead they were written in my field notebook and transferred to my computer when I got back home. Interviews were transcribed to include moments that were unclear because I felt that these moments, in their confusion, sometimes revealed a lot of factors that influence their responses. However, for the most part I take out 'ums' and 'likes' and I edit phrases to make them clear in written form. Understanding that my transcription of interviews in not a claim to truth but an interpretation of what was said (Kvale 1996), I attempted to transcribe interviews to keep the integrity of what I understood to be the respondents' thoughts and opinions. In order to protect the privacy of respondents, interviewees were given pseudonyms with the exception of police officers.

Reflections and Lessons Learned

In her article on the importance of situated knowledge in feminist methodologies, Gillian Rose (1997) problematizes the idea of a transparently known self who can clearly reflect on the ways she co-produces knowledge from a positioned self within society. Rose argues that this view reproduces the god trick, an all seeing entity, only what is being observed is the self. Instead, we can understand the researcher and the researched as an interactive text, meshing and communicating, in the process producing knowledge. In this process there are gaps and worries, areas of misinterpretation or concern about the types of relationships being fostered are produced. These very same gaps or "fault lines" as Rose calls them characterizes my experience conducting research. Indeed, sometimes these fault lines led to earthquakes in my understandings of a particular situation and of myself.

When I began research, the William Wells Brown (WWB) neighborhood felt familiar to me. I grew up in a neighborhood with similar demographics as WWB and also dealing with the issues of drug violence. When I began, I had a degree of comfort in moving around the neighborhood and introducing myself to residents. This quickly changed when I began to interview residents. With many of the people I spoke with, the first question people asked was 'where are you from?' They had no reason to be familiar with me and my sometime high-pitched voice was certainly in no way distinctive to the area. When I would ask respondents to describe a mental map of their neighborhood by, for example, detailing the ways they went to a local grocery store, they had a hearty laugh and told me there was no grocery store in the neighborhood. In other interactions, when interviewees would spot my bike, they asked me where I lived. At the time I lived in the University area on Transylvania Park only 6-10 minutes away from the WWB neighborhood on bike. When I told them where I lived, this was followed by amazement that I had come so far. Later I came to realize that "far" for some people meant that I came from a street that was home to students, local council representatives, and beautiful middle-to upper class home. Some were just amazed that I biked at all. Essentially, all familiarity that I thought existed was non-existent, and who I thought I was went through a series of changes.

In many ways, I occupied the in between area that Rose highlights in her piece. Although I went through the research process with only the desire to conduct a project that was fair and filled with good intentions, that did not stop people from viewing me as a snitch that worked for the police, from people angrily telling me to leave their homes when I told them about my research or viewing me as one more exploitative grad student

who was coming through their neighborhood to take information. One 72 year-old female African American resident sternly talked to me at length about the various organizations and students who went into the neighborhood to implement programs or to conduct research that changed nothing. With each new interview I felt that I was perceived as a different type of person with different motives. This in turn sometimes led to miscommunication or led people to give incredibly guarded responses.

Richa Nagar has a similar experience in her piece 'Exploring Methodological Borderlands through Oral Narrative' (1997). As a Asian woman doing fieldwork in Dar es Salaam, how she is identified by others depends on the racial group she encounters. For black Tanzanians, she was seen as a racist, for the Hindi families she conducts research with, she is an Americanized young woman who cannot take care of herself, and the Goan population saw her as old fashioned because of her dress style. As Nagar writes:

> Ethnic, gender, class, or sexual identities do not define a fixed profile of traits, but a fluctuating composition of differences, multiple intersections, and incommensurabilities that are historically, politically, culturally, and contextually constructed, and constantly transformed in continuous plays of history, culture, and power (p.204).

For example, during one interview I noticed that the respondent was a little tense and took several moments to think about their response before speaking. After the conclusion of the interview when I spoke more about my project and the new things I had been learning, the respondent looked visibly relieved and told me that he was puzzled by my questions because he couldn't clearly decipher my motives or political leanings. Our post interview conversation had in some way given him relief because my 'motives' or politics became clearer for him.

At the same time, in all of the police ride-alongs I conducted, I would always get asked by officers whether I was writing something damaging to the police department. In some cases, I felt that this fear led officers to want to be sure that I had a fun time, or led to officers showing me the drug 'hotspots' in the city. In other cases it lead to a heightened defensiveness. On one ride-along when I had dinner with three officers, the officers were all comparing time spent in the army and I asked one officer why he chose to serve. He sharply and quickly with an austere look responded, "Because I love my country." To this officer, I was someone who seemed to stand against what he believed in. Indeed, in my interviews with officers, I sometimes felt trepidation about asking critical questions in fear that the interview would shut down. At times it felt that being a black female instantly sent up red flags. I even felt uncomfortable about whether my dreadlocked hair signaled a degree of militancy that would put officers on guard about my questions. In short, my insecurities with how I was being perceived and their insecurities about being portrayed in a bad light resulted in a hesitation to delve deeper or to push the envelope on difficult issues. It seemed that both I as a researcher and the officer I researched wanted to occupy an imaginary, objective, neutral space where we didn't make any mistakes. At times this was comical but in other instances it was terribly frustrating.

Fieldwork is a mixed bag of experiences and emotions. Despite the difficulties experienced, I enjoyed conducting research. I was giddy with delight when people allowed me to enter their homes. Entering into someone's home or front yard felt like the beginning of reading a book. A friend passing by, an item in the front yard or inside the house would trigger stories, anecdotes, and jokes. I found that I thoroughly enjoyed

having people tell me about themselves. I enjoyed seeing their artifacts, hearing about

family members, their routines, and their future goals. I also enjoy seeing the moment in

which they had to reflect on basic things they did every day. It was as if for the first time

my questions made them think about things they had taken for granted and performed

without thinking.

Using these three methods allowed me to gain an in-depth picture of the

neighborhood and an understanding of daily life in relation to drug-related crime.

Participant observation of the neighborhood association would have been of little help

without being able to triangulate my data with interviewing and police ride-alongs. Using

these three methods helped me to understand the nuances and complexities that informed

the policing of drug-related crime. In the next chapter, I explore these issues more in

depth to highlight resident's perceptions on the issue of drugs in their neighborhood.

A Friday Afternoon Story

Police Ride-along with Officer Wallace, June 12, 2009

As we were driving there was a call on the dispatch about a man who may have drugs in the Martin Luther King neighborhood. He was seen pulling a white bag out of the bushes. The Helicopters had been called and were searching for a black man wearing a white 'doo-rag' and a cap. Wallace said by the time we get there, the person would be gone but we made our way in that direction, in case something else came up, and because he knew it was my area of interest. As we got close, they were still searching. We turned up sixth and another officer on dispatch said they spotted someone with a white doo-rag and a blue baseball cap. He wanted a confirmation that the suspect they were looking for was wearing a blue baseball cap. He couldn't get a confirmation. We found officer Dellacamera and the suspect with a blue baseball cap. I decided to stay in the car. I rolled down the window and covered my face with my hand to block residents from seeing me. The suspect didn't speak English, Wallace and Dellacamera kept asking him questions that the suspect barely answered. The other officer had black gloves that he put on. He asked the suspect to empty his pockets. He indicated the action of emptying his pockets so the suspect could understand. The suspect pulled out paper and what seemed to be eye drops. One of the papers was a check. Wallace and Dellacamera found a Spanish speaker on the street to talk to him in Spanish and ask about the check. Dellacamera took the check and walked away for a long period of time. Wallace stayed and talked to him. The suspect indicated that he lived around Loudon. When Dellacamera returned, he asked who Bobbie Pitman was. The suspect said he didn't understand. There was a back and forth between questions from the officer and miscomprehension from the suspect. The suspect was handcuffed and made to sit on the ground. The Spanish speaker returned and translated. The translator said that it was a check that his boss had given him by accident. The officer later confirmed that he had called his boss who said that there was a Bobbie Pitman. Three or Four other officer pulled up and formed a group around the suspect. One asked a question and when the suspect indicated he didn't understand, the officer told him he did understand and chuckled. Dellacamera also accused him of understanding English. He then asked the translator to ask him if he understands what ICE is and smiled. Then the officers moved a yard away to talk. Wallace stayed with the suspect and the translator asked if he could leave. After the officers finished speaking, the suspect was placed under arrest. Wallace returned to the car and we drove away. The suspect had a warrant to bring him to jail. Afterward, he would go to an ICE detention center for deportation to Honduras. Wallace did not know what the warrant was for. The check that he had in his pocket was for $76 dollars. I asked Wallace why did they keep him if his boss said it was a mistake? Wallace said that there are many places in that neighborhood that would cash that check without ID.

Chapter Four: The illusion inherent in policing

In 2006, the Lexington police department began the Community Law Enforcement Action Response unit. This unit was created in order to increase communication between officers and their communication with communities in which they patrol. The unit also assists in giving officers more flexibility in performing their job duties. When asked to discuss the differences between the patrol conducted by a member of C.L.E.A.R. and a regular officer, C.L.E.A.R. officer Anderson responded by saying that C.L.E.A.R. officers are not tied to a radio, (meaning that they could be selective in answering calls outside their beat) they have the freedom to initiate their own investigations, and they have the freedom to investigate complaints more deeply (ride-along 7/7/09). In addition to these services, officers in C.L.E.A.R. have increased communication with neighborhood residents through neighborhood association meetings.

Another service that the Lexington Police department offers is the police ride-along program, which allows citizens of the city to ride with officers for a shift to understand how officers perform their job duties. A shift, last for a little more than 9 hours and typically covers a particular beat, but also provides assistance to other beats that are within close proximity. This project utilizes participant observation of neighborhood association meetings which where attended by C.L.E.A.R. officers and police ride-alongs to provide an analysis of the policing of drug-related crime in the William Wells Brown neighborhood.

In the state of Kentucky for the year 2008 there were 59,093 drug-related arrests[17]. Opium, cocaine and its derivatives, marijuana, addiction causing narcotics and dangerous non-narcotic drugs were the categories under which these arrests were made. The majority of these arrests were made for marijuana (21,695 arrests) and non-narcotic drugs (29,109 arrests). Cocaine only accounted for 6,300 arrests. In Fayette County, this trend is continued where opium, cocaine and its derivatives only accounted for 610 arrests. Marijuana (991 arrests) and dangerous non-narcotic drugs (1,425 arrests) dominated arrest for the county. The 2008 National Survey on Drug Use and Health[18], reports that at the time the survey was conducted, 1.9 million drug users (0.7% of the population) over the age of 12 had tried cocaine in the past month. Of that number, 359,000 were crack users. Federally, for the year 2008, there were only 6,168 sentences for crack-cocaine related crimes[19]. Most of these crimes (95.9 %) involved the trafficking of crack cocaine[20]. While on the surface, law enforcement officials try to focus on drug dealers, thus making a distinction between drug dealers and users, numerous studies have noted that crack cocaine users will also sell drugs to support their habit (Wallace 1991, McShane and Williams 1997).

Based on these trends, it would appear that cocaine and cocaine derivatives were in decline. However, this does not square with the experience of C.L.E.A.R. officer Brian Penix who claims that he mostly encounters crack cocaine while on the job, "…here it would be mostly crack, coke, prescription pills and marijuana. I mean, we do get a few meth labs but narcotics handles that" (Interview 1 3/26/2009). Nor does this square with

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[17] http://www.kentuckystatepolice.org/pdf/cik_2008.pdf

[18] http://www.oas.samhsa.gov/nsduh/2k8nsduh/2k8Results.cfm
[19] http://www.ussc.gov/general/20091230_Data_Overview.pdf
[20] http://www.whitehousedrugpolicy.gov/drugfact/crack/crack_ff.html

several residents who indicate that the dealers and users they see within their

neighborhood are linked to crack cocaine. This is to suggest that there is a geography of

crack cocaine, and to all drugs, which is influence by who uses them, the income of drug

users, and the physical geography[21] in which particular drugs are cultivated. While crack

cocaine abuse is not as big a problem nationally as other drugs, it is a problem within the

William Wells Brown neighborhood.

Readers may notice momentary attention paid to the role of law in the following

analysis. Geography Steve Herbert (1997) has argued that law is one of the normative

orders that guide policing practices. In other words, Herbert argues that officers are

limited in what they do by the law. While Herbert has been critiqued for not giving

enough attention to the law (Mitchell,1997), legal scholar Joshua Dressler (2006) has

argued that the law is a highly interpretative process.

> As professor Anthony Amsterdam once observed about United States Supreme
> Court case law:"[o]nce uttered, these pronouncements will be interpreted by
> arrays of lower appellate courts, trial judges, magistrates, commissioners and
> police officials. Their interpretation…, for all practical purposes, will become the
> word of God." Put more bluntly, the law at the end of a billy club or police
> firearm may look very different than the law handed down by nine justices of the
> United States Supreme Court or by a legislative body" (Dressler 2006: 4)

Respecting the highly interpretive process of law, I move to focus on the actual

practices of police officers, which I observed during field work. The law is a guiding

principle but the law is actively manipulated and interpreted through daily policing

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[21] DEA Briefs & Background, Drugs and Drug Abuse, State Factsheets, Kentucky. (2009). . Retrieved
February 11, 2010, from http://www.justice.gov/dea/pubs/state_factsheets/kentucky.html

practice. While law occupies a prominent position within an officer's toolbox for carrying out their duties, the discretion of an officer that is deployed when an officer needs to make a quick decision is what I find fruitful for this project.

C.L.E.A.R. unit

The C.L.E.A.R. unit's "mandate is based on two distinct policing concepts which address proactive law enforcement and community involved policing"[22]. The two units that the C.L.E.A.R. unit relies upon are neighborhood coordinators, who work closely with neighborhood residents, and response officers. Started in 2006, the program enables the police to have increased communication with community members and also attempts to build trust within neighborhoods in which officers' patrol. Patrol is the primary technique through which officers perform their duties. Lexington officers utilize foot, bike, horse and most pervasively, car patrol. The deployment of the C.L.E.A.R. unit is an attempt to get officers to interact with the neighborhood, and serves to counter traditional patrol methods in which officers stay within their cars.

Lieutenant Ken Armstrong (Interview 16 7/13/2009), the 1st supervisor of C.L.E.A.R. and subsequently the director of the narcotics unit, identifies the following justifications why certain neighborhoods were selected for the C.LE.A.R. program:

- number of calls for service considering population size
- number of crimes reported
- number of complaints, concerns, issues placed through various forms of communication

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[22]Retrieved from the Lexington Fayette Urban County Web page,

http://www.lexingtonky.gov/index.aspx?page=80 accessed 3/21/10.

The William Wells Brown Neighborhood was specifically selected because, according to Lt. Armstrong, the neighborhood was facing a series of "quality of life issues", increasing amounts of renters, exploitation of the neighborhood for drugs and prostitution, and because it has a reputation for drug trafficking, meaning that people around the city identify it as an area to go to for drugs. According to the lieutenant, areas that specifically breed street level drug trafficking are areas with a lot of foot traffic, a high density population (particularly transient populations of renters), proximity to a major thoroughfare, small streets, and a reputation that can spread by word of mouth.

The C.L.E.A.R. unit utilizes "community-oriented policing" and problem oriented policing technique SARA (Scanning, Analysis, Response and Assessment), in order to move away from "traditional policing" methods such as confinement to a patrol car, solving problems by simply arresting suspects, and insufficient intimate experience with an assigned beat. While community-oriented policing for the C.L.E.A.R. unit means a more intimate engagement with neighborhood associations and residents, the SARA model is an approach that C.L.E.A.R. officers embrace to solve problems that consistently plague an area. This technique relies on officers having an in-depth knowledge of an area including: people, typical behaviors, behaviors as they correlate to time, and the location of trouble areas. Based on this in-depth knowledge, officers then respond to such actions in ways that are tailored for the particular problem in a particular place. Problem-oriented policing subsumes community-oriented policing because it is in engaging with the residents of a neighborhood that an officer can effectively apply the SARA model. An issue, such as drug-related crime, is a 'problem' not because there is a dealer and a buyer who exchange illegal products, but because it is a reoccurring event

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that has effects within an entire neighborhood. Instead of there being a clear perpetrator and a clear victim, Lt. Armstrong characterizes both the dealers and buyers as perpetrators that victimize a neighborhood. To solve the problem, officers use a variety of tools to guide them. These may not directly include arrest. It is more important to manage negatively perceived events and eliminate or displace problems. Officers recognize that making arrest does not necessarily stop particular forms of crime, such as open air drug markets, from happening. Instead of arrests, officers move to transform aspects of the landscape in order to influence the decision making of would be dealers. In an example used by Lt. Armstrong, he discussed a bus stop in Cardinal Valley, which was frequently used for drug deals. Instead of arresting drug dealers, officers moved the bus stop a few yards closer to a major thoroughfare, increasing visibility of the stop and making it unfavorable to drug dealers. The bus stop can be seen as an example of security and discipline working together. The spatial arrangement of the bus stop comes to assume panopticon-like powers that encourage all users of the space to regulate themselves— heightened visibility opens up the possibility of being seen all the time. This enables the management of populations. As I will argue using the idea of splendor, the primary goal of policing is optical. The control of the police is to be seen and acknowledged by the public consequently the police create an atmosphere in which the public believes it is being watched by the police.

Code Enforcement

In my observations of the WWB neighborhood association meetings, residents who often had a complaint and reported it to officer Penix were told in return that he would investigate the issue with code enforcement. The code enforcement division is

responsible for inspecting properties within neighborhoods that pose significant problems

due to needed repairs or neglected house maintenance issues such as overgrown grass. As

a method of proactive policing, utilizing code enforcement operated by removing the

sources of problems. Instead of going after an individual (which is usually difficult if not

impossible in the absence of a crime), code enforcement seeks to displace problems by

routing them out of the neighborhood (Green 1995). This process is usually laborious and

long. Code enforcement is irritating for homeowners or landlords who are faced with

steep fines and equally irritating for residents who complain that the process takes so long

that it seems as if nothing is happening.

> It deals with high weeds and trash and debris and things like that. Then there's a
> code enforcement officer who deals with things like if the gutter is falling down
> or there's a broken window or those kinds of things. One's like a nuisance
> violation and one's like a housing notice so there's two different sets of code
> enforcement officers. Then they will go out and take a look at the property and
> see what needs to be addressed and they will send a letter to the owner of the
> property and say you have so many days based on the violation and the law, you
> have so many days to remedy the situation and if you don't we'll do it for you and
> charge a fee, which is a really large fee. And so tall weeds is like 14 days whereas
> a downed gutter or a broken window might be thirty or something like that and
> then they have to wait. And that's where residents often get frustrated because
> they'll say, I called code enforcement, I talked to Brian Penix and nothing's
> happening, well they have a certain amount of days to do that. They don't do it,
> they will abate the situation, code enforcement will abate the situation, charge the
> fee and if the owner is unknown or unfound it may take a while. They'll abate it,
> we'll do it again, they'll abate it, we'll do it again. Finally if the abatement cost
> gets up to a certain amount they'll put a lien on it, they could move into
> foreclosure and they could ultimately take the house and that's a very long
> process. (Interview 2, 7/22/2009)

Code Enforcement has been central in resident and police battles against drug-related

crime because residents argue that there are drug dealers who sell from particular

properties in the neighborhood and that some abandoned or unmaintained properties

serve as spaces for drug use, providing places to hide. Code enforcement is also a handy

tool because officers cannot walk into properties and search[23] them without warrants or

permission. Code enforcement allows officers of the C.L.E.A.R. unit and residents the

opportunity to manage problem areas and people in their neighborhood and to make them

conform to basic standards established by the city, if they cannot actually remove them.

Through making reports to officer Penix and trusting him to handle issues within the

neighborhood, residents in the neighborhood association actively work with officers and

code enforcement to attack what they find to be a nuisance in the neighborhood. The

policing of drugs therefore is strongly spatial. Effective problem solving is not tied to

making arrest but in the effective re-arranging and management of space. Architectural

and aesthetic considerations become important tools for officers and other officials

concerned with public safety and policing. The potential spaces where drug abuse and

dealing can take place are targeted and rearranged reducing the need to target specific

individuals and changing the appearance of a space in the hopes of influencing attitudes

and behaviors in that space.

Time and Place make a world of difference

In their definitions of police, Jacques Donzelot (1997) and Michel Foucault used a

broad definition of police which incorporates a variety of knowledge about a territory, its

people, their professions, behaviors, and the spatial arrangements of the home or the

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[23] Originally,prior to 1967, the fourth amendment of the United States constitution that prohibited
"unreasonable searches and seizures" was applied only to searches that physically intruded upon private
property. Acts such as wiretapping fell outside of what was deemed a search because it did not impinge
upon private property and therefore the fourth amendment was not applicable. In the U.S. Supreme Court
case *Katz v. United States* (389 U.S. 347 1967) application of the fourth amendment was re-interpreted as
applying to cases in which a person had a "reasonable expectation of privacy." For example, a conversation
on a busy street would not be applicable whereas a phone conversation in a telephone booth or a bedroom
that the defendant believes to be private would be protected by the fourth amendment. (Dressler and
Michaels 2006)

cities in which they live. Foucault (2004) and Donzelot (1997) write that policing incorporates all of government; it is interested in acquiring knowledge of how people live and how they live in a society. The state has become embedded in every day interactions (Painter 2006). Most importantly, it is interested in "making men's happiness the very strength of the state…splendor of the republic and the felicity of each" (Foucault 2004, 327),in other words, aligning the desires of individuals with the desires of the state. This acquired knowledge of a population is dispensed for the benefit of the state, to help in maintaining order and increasing the prestige or "splendor" of all facets of the state. Splendor is not only manifested in the strength of the state but also in its form, its visual representation. This Foucauldian definition of policing is both different from and similar to how I use it here. It is different in that Foucault and Donzelot see policing as something that is far greater and embedded within a number of different institutions besides police departments. It is similar in that all officers, particularly C.L.E.A.R. officers, possess a type of knowledge about the areas in which they patrol and the people who live in them, and they use this knowledge to regulate and manage populations of people. In this way, officers utilize visual skills to distinguish whether something is wrong while patrolling their beats. For the officers that I rode with, differences with regards to time and place highly influenced how they operated within a specific area. They have a vision of how things should happen and how things should look for the optimal functioning of the city. In their minds they have a general vision of the order of things and people and knowledge of how activities should correspond to time. It is a faculty that we all have but is heightened in the work of the police officer. It is this quality which helps officers to perform their duty.

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During my second ride-along, Officer Anderson explains that the place and time where an action takes place influences how he deals with it. He listed a few examples such as sitting in a car in front of one's home late at night as an incident that would arouse suspicion or a car that drives around in the same area at night. For an area known to have a high number of calls for drugs and drug-related crime, relying on time and place can impact the residents of a neighborhood because the officer will treat the neighborhood as one that has a problem with drug crime and will adjust his practices accordingly while patrolling the neighborhood. This in turn can lead to harassment.

Yet, I hesitate on how to characterize this knowledge. In the duration of my research, with all of the officers I rode along with, it never became clear whether they possessed an in depth knowledge of the neighborhood or if they possessed a particular perception of the neighborhood. On my ride-along with C.L.E.A.R. response officer Anderson, he states that he is "a big believer that perception is reality". For Officer Anderson, the WWB neighborhood was a "bad area" (ride along 7/7/2009). None of the officers, with the exception of officer Penix, had an in depth knowledge of the history of the neighborhood and none of them lived in the neighborhood. Things that they remembered were people they arrested, particular calls they had, or areas that had several calls for incidents. The knowledge that officers seemed to patrol by was their perception of the type of neighborhood it was and the type of people who lived there. While it is true that the neighborhood has a high number of calls for drugs, I could not verify if all of the calls made for drugs during a given time period actually resulted in drugs being found. However, the fact that calls for drugs are being made has given the perception that drugs are a large issue.

To use two examples based outside of the William Wells Brown neighborhood to demonstrate the power of appearance, when riding with Officer Wallace, we were called to a house where there was a report of adults smoking crack in front of children in the Idle Hour neighborhood. We pulled up to the house and there was a man who was smoking a cigarette standing in front of the home. After he sees us, he quickly puts it out and goes inside. We knock on the door and are allowed in. The house is clean with a group of women in their teens to early 20s, their children and two older men. After a few questions the officer leaves and says that it could have been a spite call.

In a contrasting case, we were called to a house of a man supposedly selling prescription pills on Dakota Street. By the time we got there, his female roommate S— had kicked him out, but the house was messy and she had a 4 year old boy asleep on the couch who was wearing two different shoes. What started with two officers responding to the call grew to four to five officers searching the house for prescription pill bottles, diagnosing her four year old child as possibly having a mental disability because he did not talk clearly, and making remarks that insinuated that she was a negligent mother because her house was "filthy". S— was arrested that evening for having pills in the wrong prescription bottle.

The visual cues that each house gave to the officer served as a cue for subsequent action. Based on their perceptions of what a home should look like, how children at four should behave, and to some extent, the area they were in, they made decisions as to whether they should investigate more or leave the scene. In the first example in the Idle Hour Neighborhood, the apartment was clean, it was the afternoon, and there was more than one adult there. In contrast, the home on Dakota street was messy, there was only

one adult there, the apartment complex that S—lived in was not well maintained and her son seemed too young to be able to put on his own shoes in the wrong manner without an adult, but too old to not form clear sentences. Relying on visual cues, officers in these cases made judgments about a situation based on place. In at least two of my interviews with residents of the neighborhood, they reported being stopped in front of their homes, at night, because they were white. They felt that officers had either thought they were lost or looking for drugs because of their presence in the neighborhood at night, particularly an area that officers perceive to be mostly black and known for drugs. In the absence of in-depth knowledge, perception is all an officer has to go on.

As in the *Friday Afternoon Story* of this thesis, because the place in which the call was received is known as an area where drugs are prevalent, a call about a black man pulling a white bag out of bushes brings out helicopters, and leads to the handcuffing and searching of an ostensibly innocent non-English speaking migrant. Perception might seem like commonsense, like something we innately have that is distinct from an acquired knowledge. However, perception is an acquired knowledge that is concerned with surface appearances. How we perceived is influenced by our sense of order and our degree of knowledge about the world around us. Police officers are enabled by the state to enforce a particular vision undergirded by a perfunctory knowledge of the William Wells Brown Neighborhood. It is knowledge of what ought to be based on a series of superficial factors such as immediate appearances, emotion and simplified truths. It is upon these factors—a knowledge of how things ought to be, appearances—that officers weld power to police and participate in the transformation of a neighborhood.

How clear is the C.L.E.A.R. unit?

All the neighborhood association members whom I interviewed appreciated Officer Penix's presence at neighborhood association meetings. His involvement with the neighborhood was lauded and seen as having a positive impact on the neighborhood. The form of community oriented policing that I witnessed being practiced included officer Penix attending neighborhood association meetings for 15 to 20 minutes, or the length of time it took to get through opening meeting business. Meetings typically lasted one and a half to two hours. Other than this, officer Penix investigated complaints in the neighborhood during the day. In my ride-along with officer Anderson, the response officer of the C.L.E.A.R. unit for the William Wells Brown neighborhood, we stayed in the car and performed a patrol though the neighborhood with Anderson paying particular attention to areas that he has experience with, places where he knows someone who was in jail resides, or places that he received complaints from.

For example, in our only traffic stop that night, Officer Anderson saw a car that he recognized from someone he has dealt with in the past in front of a house. He ran the license plate number and confirmed that it is registered to the mother of a man he arrested. He could not see who was driving the car so he followed it. The car was driving within a reasonable speed limit on Warnock St. and turned onto Goodloe, but turned without using a signal. Anderson turned on his light and pulled the car over. He realized that it was indeed the mother. Instead of a ticket, he gave her a warning. Besides this incident, Anderson drove around and mostly responded to calls in other nearby areas.

The practices of the Lexington police department can be regarded as practicing community policing:[24] They advocate for community oriented policing, they have increased communication between the police department and select citizens, they encourage community crime prevention activities by actively motivating residents to call the police, they verbally emphasize team work between neighborhood coordinators and night patrol officers and they practice order maintenance (i.e. Broken windows) through code enforcement (Fein 1983, Skolnick and Bayley 1988, Greene and Mastrofski 1988). However, in practice, the most this amounts to is a sharing of information between the police department and residents—one that is very uneven. For example, during a July neighborhood association meeting Officer Penix shared information about a recent drug crackdown which made a visible reduction in the amount of open air drug dealing that was occurring in the neighborhood. After his sharing of crime information, he left quickly and I ran after him to make sure I got all the correct information and to double check the information about the crackdown, which I had known about from Lt. Armstrong. After asking about the number of arrests made and the indictments that occurred, officer Penix stated that he would like to keep information regarding the number of arrests out of the public (and away from neighborhood association members) in order to create an uncertain atmosphere of fear of the police amongst dealers. This instance is demonstrative of police officers sharing very little with residents and controlling the flow of information but requiring that residents share everything that seems out of the ordinary or strange.

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[24] Defining community policing is a difficult task, see chapter three, 20-23

While this technique arguably helps a police officer and the narcotics unit be more effective in the policing of drugs and drug-related crime, it highlights that community oriented policing is more oriented toward using the trust of community members as a tool to perform police work. Residents are partners in crime fighting to the extent that they report concerns and complaints to police officers.

Steve Herbert has argued that community policing does not work because neighborhood residents are not organized enough, or dedicated enough, to take on the task of community policing. He argues:

> Residents look to their neighbors not to collectively develop a web of life-anchoring values nor to develop an enlarged and effective politics. Rather, they seek to know one another well enough to go about their daily business with minimal disruption. These are relations of basic familiarity rather than intimacy, of casual contacts rather than political discovery. They want simply to locate themselves within their milieu, to feel secure in their knowledge of those who surround them, to see their neighbors as reliable. Sharing space means sharing some collective vulnerability, so residents seek ties of just enough strength to minimize that vulnerability [sic]. (Herbert 2006:37)

Based on my research in the William Wells Brown neighborhood, I argue that residents look to their neighbors as more than causal contacts but as intimate friends and in some cases as family members. In several of my interviews neighbors shared food and cigarettes, chatted together on sunny afternoons, and had kids who played together. These bonds are geographically various—in some cases spanning just one block or a few houses, and in other cases the general area of the east end. I also argue that neighborhood residents are not effectively given the ability to share policing responsibility with officers because the police department is not interested in sharing authority with residents. As the example above shows, there is a thick line drawn between the role of the officer and the resident. The only information shared with neighborhood association residents are calls

for crime and the number of arrest for different crimes. Community policing as enacted

by the C.L.E.A.R. unit is *policing* with the addition of a select group of homeowners

voices and more efficient communication within the police department. A neighborhood

as communally diverse as what is regarded as the William Wells Brown neighborhood is

simplified into a small group of residents who represent a very small part of the

neighborhood. Herbert argues that devolving authority to a community is irresponsible

because it does not realize the "immense obstacles that many urban neighborhoods face"

due to economic, social and political inequality. In my research, I find that 'authority' has

never been devolved to residents, and certainly not in a way which recognizes the

geographic variations of community as enacted within the East End. While residents

within the neighborhood association deeply appreciated the work of C.L.E.A.R. officers

and their presence, many people I spoke to outside of the association (with the notable

exception of several elderly residents) felt ambivalent, unenthusiastic, or irritated by their

presence. Here, *community*, as construed by the police department through the practices I

observed, was limited to the neighborhood association. As mentioned earlier, residents

who did not belong to the William Wells Brown neighborhood association did not know

what it was. While neighborhood association members enjoyed community oriented

policing as put forward by the police department, it was my perception that for the rest of

the neighborhood, they reaped no benefits of this policing strategy.

Failed splendor?

If splendor is to increase the state's strength and make it beautiful through order,

does policing in the William Wells Brown neighborhood represent a failure of police

officers to police drug crime? Does this neighborhood represent disorder? Can splendor

ever be achieved? I argue, in this case, that the splendor that policing attempts to ensure is a failure in the sense that officers do not possess an in-depth knowledge of the neighborhood that extends beyond surface appearances. Policing is concerned with surfaces, how things appear. Appearance is reality. Many people I spoke with said that that police on patrol will not stop to investigate if they do not see drugs out in the open. If we rethink policing as it concerns beat officers, policing engages with everything visible to the eye and perceptible by the senses. Splendor is not so much about an in-depth knowledge of a people and a place that contribute to the state's strength. Splendor is much more about a beauty in order that represents control. The knowledge required here is knowledge of how to read and create surfaces. If perception is reality, policing becomes concerned with creating the appearance of territoriality, of creating an appearance of the law's strength, of creating an atmosphere where one feels as though you are consistently being watched and patrolled. The experience of splendor is supposed to influence behavior and guide decision making. For some, this splendor feels safe. In the ecstasy of visions of splendor, people who work with the police feel happy and contented with their actions. Their wants and desires are in alignment with those of the police department. For some, it does not matter if a police officer never leaves his patrol car, the sight of the patrol car is in itself a deterrent; as one interviewee said, "When you see them people straighten up and talk right"(Interview 4F). This is not to say that the actions of police officers do not have real and material effects on the lives of people, it is well documented that prisons are overflowing with inmates who were arrested on drug charges. Jails are filled with street level drug dealers because these bodies are visible. To deal crack in a low-income neighborhood, they must be publicly visible. According to Lt.

Armstrong, finding high level drug suppliers is difficult because they live in relatively wealthy areas and have supplementary jobs. Their drug activities stay private.

While police officers attempt to maintain an atmosphere of splendor in their daily actions and with the help of residents who share information with police officers, this process is not neat or straight-forward. Not all residents cooperate with the police; many residents stand on sidewalks and hang out in the street day and night. Residents have systems for solving their own problems without police officers and many residents have a different sense of splendor that runs deeper than appearances and is actually grounded in communal ties to place, friends, and family within different definitions of community. For some residents and association members who do report issues to the police, their practices can be understood as tactics that are employed for array of personal reasons. Some people were interested in trying to maintain or raise property values so that they could make a profit when they decided to move, some were concerned about children and friends they knew and worried about and some just wanted to walk through their neighborhood without fear. Simply put, residents and association members are not unknowing dupes of the police department. In the next chapter, I turn to these stories and daily practices to demonstrate the tactics that escape the fixing moments of order and control by police officers.

A Saturday Story

East End Clean Up 6/6/2009, organized through the William Wells Brown Neighborhood Association

My cleanup partner was Sally. As we picked up trash along Third Street heading toward Winchester road, she told me about the corner of Race and Third Street being a drug dealing hub (the older ladies would later reference it as a no-go zone for them). There were several vacant lots that she expressed annoyance with because they were filled with trash. We also discussed the Bluegrass-Aspendale housing project. I learned that she has been living for a year in the town homes that were built to replace the housing project. I asked her if she noticed a change and she said yes because the people who lived there before didn't come back. For her the change was positive. Later in the conversation she referenced a study she had read (she didn't share the title of it) that said that people of the same ethnicity and income levels living in the same area would have detrimental effects. She also referred to the Broken Windows theory when speaking about crime in the neighborhood. As she spoke about drugs through out the neighborhood she said that the C.L.E.A.R. unit had definitely made a difference: Police patrols were able to build trust with community members who were then able to report to officers crime activities. Sally and I set out on our second run down Third Street but toward Elmtree Lane. As we walked down Elmtree, she asked me about what historical tidbits I had learned about the city. She spoke to me of the new developments and homes built in the 1990's and 2000's that are located on Elmtree between third and sixth. Also, both of us shared the mutual enjoyment of looking at the historical homes in the neighborhood and equal despair over their neglect and our inability to live in them. By the end of our second run, another association member suggested that we go to the pea-picking party being held in the London-Ferrell community garden. We spent 40 minutes there. Once we returned, Sally left and I sat amongst a group of older women who sat next to Greater Liberty Baptist Church. Two of the women (who had each lived in the area for 60+ years) told me that Chestnut street was once filled with elderly people who cared for their homes but once they died 'a little bit of everything' moved in to replace them. They marked the corner of Third and Race street as a center of drug crime which they avoided. One woman expressed anger that not only did drug dealers sell in front of her house, but they greeted her often by saying 'hello.'

Chapter 5: Crack is Whack

R: What drug you talking about?

I: Well, most people I speak to discuss crack cocaine

R: That's the only drug.

Crack Cocaine and the bodies that use it

Crack Cocaine is a rock solid form of cocaine hydrochloride (powder cocaine) (Willis 2005). Known somewhat synonymously as freebase, crack is made by reducing cocaine hydrochloride to a purer form by mixing with an alkali (usually baking soda, sometimes ammonia) (Wallace 1991). Crack derives its name from the 'cracking' sound it makes when being boiled. Crack unlike, powder cocaine is inhalable. This produces a fast high that peaks in 3-5 minutes (Wallace 1991). This is in contrast to power cocaine which can be taken intranasal or intravenously and produces a peak high usually within 30 minutes (Willis 2005). Crack Cocaine can be smoked in a variety of ways utilizing any durable material shaped as a tube and tin foil. Cocaine produces feelings of happiness, confidence, euphoria, and alertness (Ruiz et al 2007). This effect is produced because cocaine affects the central nervous system of the brain by blocking the dopamine receptor, resulting in prolonged feelings of joy. The good effects of powder cocaine can last up to 60 minutes; the good effects of crack cocaine can last up to 15 minutes (Wallace 1991, Willis 2005). It has been studied that contrary to popular notions, being high on cocaine is unremarkable in controlled settings (Kosten and Kleber 1992); behavior can be subdued or marked by inactivity. A suppressed appetite and depending on the social context—varying levels of productivity and enhanced sociability can

characterize this period. But taken on its own—it does not lead to crazed behavior. The environment in which it is taken tempers the effects of crack. However, erratic behavior is associated with the period after the high. After the feeling of euphoria, there is a crash where the user can feel deeply depressed, anxious, paranoid, and irritable (Willis 2005, Wallace 1991, Kosten and Kleber 1992). For crack users, this crash is pronounced because the duration of the high is so short. Desiring to return to the euphoric state of the high, crack users will go on binges that can last hours or days until money or the supply of crack runs out. Physicians attribute to the rapid effects of crack its high level of addiction (Wallace 1991). With powder cocaine users, the effects are slower and more gradual. Crack is a fast high and a fast crash leaving the user seeking more drugs to soothe disturbing feelings (Kosten and Kleber 1992). Although crack provides highly pleasurable feelings, users develop a tolerance for crack over time, never attaining the euphoric impact of the first high (Wallace 1991).

The long-term effects of crack cocaine on the body are significant. Crack can lead to a permanent transformation of neural pathways, negatively impact the liver, exacerbate problems with asthma, diabetes, and depression, result in 'cracked' lung, dental damage and interpersonal damage (Kosten and Kleber 1992, Willis 2005). There is no reliable treatment method for crack addiction. Relapse is common and to be expected (Wallace 1991). Current treatments focus on therapeutic remedies, abstinence and changing environmental factors in order to reduce memory cues (i.e. an old pipe or old smoking friend) that jumpstart cravings (Willis 2005). Crack is linked to criminality (Baumer 1994) and the loosening of inhibitions, but this is in large part due to its illegality. In a study on the connection between crack, cocaine and crime, researchers found that 699

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users over a 90 day period committed 1,766, 630 crimes and that a majority of the people in the sample (92.8%) were dealers who sold to support their habit (Inciardi et al. 1994). Additionally, the vast majority of these crimes were non-violent.

How crack is perceived interacts with the environment and social context within which it is sold and used. In the late 19th century and early 20th, before the Harrison Act[25], cocaine was legal and was used in everything from coca-cola to surgery (Kosten and Kleber 1992, Stearns 1998). Up until the 1980s, medical books informed readers that cocaine, taken in moderation, was not addictive (Musto and Korsmeyer 2002). Powder cocaine surged in popularity during the 1970s as an expensive social drug and, as mentioned earlier, produced an extended high, with no immediate withdrawal effects. It was also done mostly in affluent and white circles (Keire 1998, Johnson et al. 1990). What I mean to suggests is that the effects of crack on the body are not only influenced by the chemical nature of the drug but also by the environmental, social and political context in which it is used and sold. (Musto and Korsmeyer 2002, Zerai and Banks 2002, O'Donnell 1969).

Crack rose to popularity within the United States during the 1980s (Dyson 2007 and 1996, Williams et al 1990). Within black urban neighborhoods the effects of crack were profoundly detrimental. The drug's inexpensiveness combined with its strong addictive properties rampaged through African American communities, particularly in the post-integration/ urban renewal period when disinvestment from cities occurred (Williams et al 1990). Combined with poverty, crack brought a level of despair to low-income black communities. For many, dealing drugs became a lucrative business

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[25] This act federally prohibited the use of Cocaine

opportunity within cities with few job opportunities. This led to high levels of violence

and incarceration. Rap artist Jay-Z before he became an international star, sold crack in

his New York neighborhood. In his song 'U Don't Know', he describes his younger days:

I'm from the streets where the
hood could swallow 'em and, bullets'll follow 'em and
There's so much coke that you could run the slalom
And cops comb the shit top to bottom
They say that we are prone to violence, but it's home sweet home
Where personalities clash and chrome meets chrome
The coke prices up and down like it's Wall Street homes
But this is worse than the Dow Jones your brains are now blown
All over that brown Brougham, one slip you are now gone
Welcome to hell where you are welcome to sell
But when them shells come you better return 'em
All scars we earn 'em, all cars we learn 'em like the back of our hand
We watch for cops hoppin' out the back of van

In this biographical sketch, Jay-Z describes a harsh environment where drugs were

rampant and in order to make money through drug selling, one had to be street smart,

quick and equally violent to survive. Additionally, if one chose to deal, they were

consistently on the lookout for police. Jay-Z lyrics paint a portrait of a neighborhood

awash in drugs with business as robust as activity on Wall Street. This story is not

anomaly but is symbolic of the life many people lead in neighborhoods across the country

impacted by crack cocaine.

In Lexington, the late 1980s and 1990s saw a surge in drug-related crime. With

reported links to dealers in bigger cities such as Philadelphia and New York, there were a

series of major drug busts within the city revealing that crack was a booming business in

Lexington[26]. Crack use, dealing and violence spilled into the open spaces of
neighborhoods. The pleasurable effects of crack, which manipulates the central nervous
system, created a visual spectacle within neighborhoods where drug use and selling could
not be contained within the private spaces of the home or the imagined bounded spaces of
the body. Steve Pile has noted this bodily distinction between public and private. In his
work *The Body and the City* (1996), Pile implies that in the nineteenth century city, the
bourgeoisie's pre-occupation with dirt was essentially a fear of pieces of 'other' bodies
entering public space and contaminating surrounding clean spaces. As I interpret his
argument, visions of cleanliness and order as related to the body are contained and
bounded within private homes spaces and proper sewage systems. With those who were
seen as "low," their bodies were conceived as open and visible, sharing smells, liquids
and pleasures in public. Quoting from the *Politics and Poetics of Transgression* by Peter
Stallybrass and Allon White, Pile writes "The grotesque body is emphasized as a mobile,
split, multiple self, a subject of pleasure in processes of exchange; and it is never closed
off from either its social or ecosystemic context" (Pile 1996: 176). In my interviews with
neighborhood residents and officers, they relayed experiences of bodies who they
believed were under the influence of crack and private transactions that had spilled out
into the public. Below are excerpts from three interviews that highlight the recognition of
the 'grotesque' body.

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[26](1996, June 8). AT LEAST 51 SEIZED IN CITY'S THIRD CRACK COCAINE RAID. Lexington
Herald-Leader (KY) Final ed., A1 Retrieved February 25, 2010 from NewsBank on-line database (Access
World News)
(1995, November 29). STREET DEALERS TARGETED IN CRACK RAIDS TOTAL OF 31
ARRESTED, 21 SOUGHT AFTER-MONTH INVESTIGATION. Lexington Herald-Leader (KY) FINAL
ed., C1. Retrieved February, 25 2010 from NewsBank on-line database (Access World News)

Interview 4F, two black females, one age 62, and her daughter in her mid-twenties:

Camille: Oh yeah most definitely, you see em'
Lily: But they're not from this neighborhood, they're from the other neighborhood
Camille: They just walk around with their eyes wide open

Interview 9F, black female in her 70s:

Nigella: An idle mind is the devil's workshop—there's nothing to do. It depends on the time. If they done messed around, you can tell the difference. The way they approach you, their language.

Interview 1F, officer Penix, white male late to early 30s:

Officer Penix: Also, what's different is the open air drug dealing. I mean drugs can be anywhere. It can probably even be in my neighborhood, I don't know. But here it is out in the open, on the street corner…

Officer Penix's comments are especially illustrative of why bodies become

grotesque—the experience of using is out in the open, in the public, and becomes part of

and transform that space. While it may seem that there is a distinction between bodies

that are 'open' in public versus bodies that are private, this distinction is non-existent.

Elizabeth Grosz has defined the body as:

> concrete, material, animate organization of flesh, organs, nerves, muscles, and skeletal structure which are given a unity, cohesiveness and organization only through their psychical and social inscription as the surface and raw materials of an integrated and cohesive totality. The body is, so to speak, organically/biologically/naturally "incomplete"; it is indeterminate, amorphous, a series of uncoordinated potentialities which require social triggering, ordering, and long-term administration (Pile and Nast 1998: 43-44).

There is no such thing as bounded bodies; rather bodies are always being defined or

becoming through the social context and environment in which they are located. While

the chemical effect of crack on the human nervous system can trigger effects throughout

the body that correlate to the surrounding social context, bodies that are not linked to illegal substances are also in the process of becoming, transforming and being in space. The false distinction between bounded and unbounded bodies that is created serves a purpose of excluding some bodies over others by "distancing" (Pile 1996). Making a distinction between a 'normal' body and a body that is 'open' serves as a distancing strategy in that it creates space between normal bodies and bodies that may be 'othered' for a variety reasons.

In interviews conducted with residents, many knew how to identify drug users, drug deals and how to identify tactical maneuvers made by users and dealers in public to avoid being caught. Yet, when prodded further, many respondents were vague on how they distinguished those linked to drug-related crime. I received responses such as "I don't pay them no mind" or "They look like normal people... There's undercover crack heads too". Some identified crack addicts as being sneaky and some, like in the interview with Nigella, could *just tell* through body language and expertise acquired through years of living within the neighborhood. In the same way that the neighborhood bred an 'everyone knows everyone' mentality, it also seemed to inform residents about who those linked to drug-related crime were and how they behaved. This in turn reinforced divisions that split along age, class and race. Without denying that expertise or the experiences of residents, I want to further explore these encounters and argue that this 'knowledge' of who's *who* in the neighborhood also serves to police those who are seen as strangers—as not belonging.

Who's That? Strangers, strangers everywhere

Early in this thesis, I have written, in accordance with other scholars, that through some of the basic premises of community policing, residents are asked to report anything that seems out of the ordinary or strange. Yet, in this call for people to report what they see, one is never told what they are supposed to look for; they are never told what is supposed to look out of the ordinary. It is assumed that they already know what is off or wrong. In essence, residents are supposed to instinctively know who does not belong. Sara Ahmed (Himley and Fitzsimmons 2005) has written that a stranger is not just someone 'you fail to recognize.' One has knowledge of a stranger because s/he does not belong; you know the stranger because the stranger is not you. There is a recognized difference. As Ahmed writes, this process is necessary in the constitution of the subject and represents the moment when "the subject comes to inhabit or dwell in the world" (20). Operating as a "visual economy," this process of recognizing the stranger reproduces the subject and instantly sorts the stranger into a manageable mental map of the world.

To be a stranger has a territorial aspect to it. You come into contact with a stranger because they have entered a place that one regards as one's own. You know them to be a stranger because they do not fit; a look, their posture, or clothing might signal that they do not belong. It is at the moment when you recognize a stranger that you recognize who you are, that you are part of some type of community and neighborhood to which the stranger does not belong. The stranger is someone who is recognizably different in a particular place.

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Again, while I don't want to ignore the fact that there are drug addicts/dealers in the neighborhood, or the expertise of residents, I want to delve further into the question of how 'one knows' who is and who is not a linked to drug-related crime. There are drug dealers known by the neighborhood, but it is unlikely that residents know every dealer and addict by sight. What markers on the body lead one to know who is who? With drug addiction, one is most likely often left with a trace such as small zip lock baggy or vial. Crack is usually sold in small (smaller than a dime) rock sizes that can be smoke with the aid of a variety of materials. Cocaine constantly changes form throughout its production and when fully consumed leaves nothing behind except for effects that are influenced by environment and context. Likewise, drug dealing is a highly mobile enterprise that demands that dealers constantly shift positions within an area in order to avoid the law. In detecting a drug dealer, one has to pay fine attention to how suspected dealers are moving, slights of hand, body posture and signals. It is argued that suppliers are simply satisfying a demand, resulting in a crime that leaves behind no victim (Interview 16, 7/13/2009). Thus, unless one has intimate knowledge of who is using and selling in one's neighborhood, it is very difficult to tell.

Yet, many people *can tell* who is an addict and who is not through a range of indicators, usually in some way identified with the body. I want to argue that it does not matter if people can accurately tell. In a visual economy of splendor that operates on surfaces, the most important aspect is picking out strangers who do not fit and reporting them to the police. It does not matter if they are addicts or not, drug dealers or not. Suspicion justifies investigation.

In the 'Friday Afternoon Story,' several things are striking. However, I want to focus on the beginning of this event with the call to the dispatch. Helicopters had been called in to scan and search for a black man with a doo-rag who had pulled a white bag from bushes. Someone, most likely a resident of the neighborhood, called because this behavior was suggestive of someone who didn't belong, a drug dealer. The man who was found was Honduran (he had dark tanned skin) and did not possess a white plastic bag or drugs. What he did possess was a check given to him by accident and a warrant for deportation. It did not matter that there were no drugs found on him when he was stopped. Due to an anonymous complaint to the police under the suspicion of drugs, the police were able to stop what ostensibly was a man walking in the street, check his personal belongings and background to arrest him. The anonymous caller decided that the strange behavior of pulling a white bag out of a bush by a man in a doo-rag was indicative of someone possessing drugs. For officers, the issue of not finding drugs does not matter. Due to the anonymous caller, they have justification in stopping and searching the man. Whether drugs are found or not, they have a cause to further check out the suspect.

Not all calls for drugs end in such a dramatic manner. Often scenarios like this hinge upon discretion exercised by the officer. But I want to draw attention to the link between the role of the anonymous caller and what was regarded as suspicious—a stranger, a black man wearing a doo-rag and pulling a white bag out of the bushes. The issue of place is deeply implicated here. What if this had happened elsewhere? If it had happened downtown, would there be the same response? Unfortunately, even though drugs are ubiquitous, neighborhoods such as the William Wells Brown neighborhood are

singled out for extra policing because of the stigma of poverty and drug crime. In the next

section, I turn to an analysis of race and how it is embedded within this context of drug-

related crime and how it plays out in this particular space.

Race, Place and Crack

It is undeniable that the 'political economy of crack[27]'(Dyson 2007, 1996) has had

a dramatic and detrimental impact on low-income communities of color. The crack era,

1985-present (Johnson et al. 1990), in combination with the ease of purchasing weapons,

has resulted in a huge increase in violence, terrorism, and death. For African-Americans

in particular, the crack era has brought with it a dramatic increase in incarceration. As

noted by editorials, scholars and activists, the war on drugs launched in the 80s has

served to incarcerate, politically disenfranchise, and socially cripple large swaths of the

African American population, particularly black males. Lawyer Michelle Alexander

writes,

> The uncomfortable truth, however, is that crime rates do not explain the sudden
> and dramatic mass incarceration of African Americans during the past 30 years.
> Crime rates have fluctuated over the last few decades — they are currently are at
> historical lows — but imprisonment rates have consistently soared. Quintupled,
> in fact. And the vast majority of that increase is due to the War on Drugs. Drug
> offenses alone account for about two-thirds of the increase in the federal inmate
> population, and more than half of the increase in the state prison population.[28]

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[27] The political economy of crack refers to all the processes that are involved in crack production: coca
cultivation, processing, shipping, distribution, and selling of product in the form of crack
[28] Alexander, M. (2010, March 9). The New Jim Crow: How the War on Drugs Gave Birth to a Permanent
American Undercaste. *Revista Amauta*. Retrieved March 9, 2010, from http://revista-
amauta.org/?s=michelle+alexander&x=0&y=0&=Go

The crack economy alone cannot be blamed for the negative issues plaguing

communities of color, but the crack economy takes places within a nation that has a

perverse racist history, black people (and especially black males) have limited

opportunities for meaningful employment that provides a living wage, are more likely to

drop out of high school, and continue to face several levels of racial discrimination in

daily life (Dyson 1996, hooks 2004). Additionally, regarding the explosion of crack

within African American communities, it is noted in government documents and by

scholars that as Ronald Reagan was launching a major policy driven and legal offensive

on drugs, his administration was responsible for allowing crack cocaine to flood African

American neighborhoods (Dyson 2007). This event has been representative for many of

the total disregard and disrespect that the U.S. government has toward black communities

and the ambivalence for which people of color view government representatives.

How black communities and young black males are perceived by some of the

residents and police officers has been a recurring issue within my research. With the

racial history of the United States, it is not surprising that the relationship between

African Americans and the police has been historically fraught. Due to several high

profile cases of police brutality, everyday accounts of harassment, and racial profiling,

relations between police departments and African Americans are marked with tension,

anger, and annoyance (Feagin, 1991). In 1994 black teenager Tony Sullivan was fatally

shot and killed in the Bluegrass-Aspendale housing project[29] when a white Lexington

police officer claimed to have shot him accidentally. This event set off a violent riot in

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[29] Bluegrass-Aspendale was within the boundaries of the William Wells Brown Neighborhood (Clarke 2007).The demolition of the project set in motion processes that helped to bring the neighborhood association into being.

which mostly young African American males rioted through downtown throwing stones and bottles[30].

Critical race theorist, Theo Goldberg (1993) has argued that race, while a politically important concept, on its own is an empty category that comes to be filled by the ever-shifting social context in which it is deployed. Utilizing intersectionality, sociologists Assata Zerai and Rai Banks (2002) argue that gender and class inequality intersect with race and that one cannot be understood without the others. In conducting research, a recurring topic included the fear of drug dealers who occupied street corners. Often the description was of black males who would congregate on street corners at any time of the day or night. These responses came from both black and white respondents when asked about how they navigated the neighborhood with their knowledge of drug relate crime. In interviewing a group of young black men who were sitting in front of a house on the porch, I received responses that illustrate how contentious the street corner is:

> Interviewer: Can you describe where you have seen drug-related crime happen in this neighborhood?
> Brian: The white parks, where the government is.
> [There's laughter, chuckles]
> Brian: Nah, all the crime is where the white people is. I'm scared of where the white people is more than the black.
> Interviewer: So as a black male who has identified harassment as a major problem, can you describe what happens when the police come down here?
> James: There can't be more than three people standing on a corner
> Interviewer: Why?

[30] Gregory, E. (1994, October 26). Killing of Teen sets off Rampage police say shooting by officer was accident. *Lexington-Herald Leader*, A1. Lexington.

Brian: There's a lot of stereotyping in this neighborhood
interviewer: well neighborhood residents who I've spoken to say it's a problem
for them when you stand on the street corners.
Brian: that's wrong they be telling people that.
James: I think we should stand on the corner in protest
Interviewer: Why do they try to keep you off the corner?
Michael: to contain you, to keep you contained in the house
James: It's a form of neo-slavery (Interview 6F)

The imagined spatiality of drug dealers and addicts was of a congregation of

predominately black men who stand on the sidewalk or on street corners or stand directly

in front of homes. Like in the 'Saturday Story,' their presence is threatening because of

the mysterious nature of their activities and equally irritating because these same figures

perform their perceived activities publicly. They greet passer-bys; they say 'hello' to

neighbors indicating a lack of shame about their perceived devious activities. I want to

suggest that in addition to issues of class and culture, the issue of race is very present here

as well. In many of the interviews conducted with residents, the ability to see people out

on the street, on their porches or standing in front of their home was identified as a charm

of the neighborhood that fostered a mentality of 'everybody knows everybody.' One

interviewer identified a "surburban mentality" as one in which people never talked to

their neighbors and one in which people stayed in their homes; the interviewee said that

such a mentality was to a large extent absent in the William Wells Brown Neighborhood.

For this group of young black men, they felt harassed when they tried to hang outside of

their homes. In an interview with a black male community activist in his fifties, the

interviewee emphasized the racial differences between black men in public spaces in

Lexington in contrast to other citizens of the city:

Hell yeah, I've been thinking about this for a long time. You can go to downtown
Lexington, all through downtown, and you see every bar, white folk mostly,

sitting outside drinking. All through downtown. Out in the street even, okay? Their bottle in their hand, drinking. But, if young brothers up here, next to the liquor store, put a bottle in their hand, it's called loitering, uh police say 'nah you can't drink out here'. But wait a minute, you can go downtown and do it all night till three a.m. in the morning. So hell yeah it's a big deal. When black folk would do that even up here at a liquor store—what's the difference? If you buy it cheaply in a whole bottle, a whole forty ouncer and you're outside and drinking it or if you go downtown and buy a little glass, which is you know, a four dollar glass of beer, what's the difference? There is none in my opinion but in the eyes of the legal institutions, in the eyes of the powers that be, there's a differential to where these young brothers get run off the corner. But you can be downtown and there's a hundred folk all down Upper Street, all outside, on both sides of the street. So, I think that's a traditional differential, okay? That again, part of this whole destruction of a community, you apply this differential in a variety of ways. People's schools, young people coming in and they have a differential of how in schools teachers apply rules of behavior mostly to young brothers. Okay? And then they lock them up and send them to academy, they're on track to go to prison. There's a different punishment system going on…it ought to be shameful but it's not. (Interview 22, 7/23/2009)

Additionally, a member of the neighborhood association, without prompting, blasted the

conflation between drug dealers and black people on street corners:

I'm not aware—I don't know the extent to which drug related crime is a problem cause I don't associate with people who are involved in drug related crime. Now, I'm not so naïve as to believe that there is not drug related crime, I've never been broken into in my house. So I've never lost anything—somebody went in my garage and stole a lawnmower three or four years ago—that's the most valuable thing I've lost. What I was going to say is, I don't know the degree to which there is drug related problems. I hear officer Penix give crime reports—I don't know if there are drug rings in the neighborhood. Somebody may say they see two or three unemployed hoodlum sort of guys hanging out on the corner and they want to say they're dealing drugs and I don't believe that. I don't believe that every time three, four black people stand on the corner together they're selling drugs. If you and I went and stood on the corner and two other people came and joined us, does that mean because four black people are standing on the corner we're dealing drugs? No! You'd probably be offended if somebody said 'look at them niggers over there, they're dealing drugs.' Shit, you're working on your master's degree, I'm standing in front of my own damn house and somebody come by and likens us to being drug dealers. I take offense to that. I think people tend to paint with that very broad brush. And every time there's some unsavory looking people and unsavory by the standards of the people making the comment, four or five black people standing on the corner, they're dealing drugs, I don't think that's true. So I don't know the degree—I don't mean to defend the drug dealers but I

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think the drug problem gets a lot more blame than perhaps it's due. And I don't even know if I can make that statement. I don't know the degree to which there are drug problems in the East End. I really don't. I don't see it….I wonder if it's just the stigma of the neighborhood…I wonder if it's our stigma that is worse than our drug problem. (11F Interview)

I believe one of the issues here is class. The young men I interviewed were mostly unemployed or working low-wage jobs. They all mentioned that they had been arrested several times (they identified the Fayette County Department of Corrections as "vacation time") and some of the men's style of clothing was one which emulated the popular fashions of low slung pants and oversized white t-shirts (or no shirt). These black men appear threatening because they are seemingly from a lower class bracket and because they defy social mores that dictate when and how they should work, when they should be in public space and how they should appear in public space. Although this is a predominantly African American neighborhood with black respondents who expressed a fear of these men who occupy street corners, the analysis of race or racism cannot be left behind. Assuming that African Americans are not one homogenous group, that racism is far more complex than white versus black, and that racism can only be understood using an analysis of intersectionality. Race and class must be seen as more than the money that one makes or one's skin color, but something which comes to account for ways of being, acting, actions, decisions etc. It is something which hinges upon access to social and political rights, it shifts meaning by social context and is to some extent decided by the one who does the defining. The group of men cited above, being who they are, in their social context, marks them out for racial discrimination. While being a black man or woman anywhere is a dangerous position, and studies have shown that fear of other in space is impacted by gender and race (Day 2004), in William Wells Brown it is different

because they are in their own neighborhood, surrounded for the most part by other black residents—yet here they are seen as dangerous and scary. Indeed, the perception of drugs in the neighborhood could be, as the interviewee in interview 11F suggests, largely overblown due to the conflation of a black man on a street corner with drugs. In this space, race, class, age, gender and the way that particular spaces in the neighborhood are utilized mark these men out as scary, as suspect drug dealers, and as such, to be avoided.

De Certeau (1984) has written, using a Foucaultian analysis that discipline works to structure movements through space, and in turn attempts to structure social life. In one particular section, de Certeau writes:

> To walk is to lack a place. It is the indefinite process of being absent and in search of a proper. The moving about that the city multiplies and concentrates makes the city itself an immense social experience of lacking a place—an experience that is, to be sure, broken up into countless tiny deportations (displacements and walks), compensated for by the relationships and intersections of these exoduses that intertwine and create an urban fabric, and placed under the sign of what ought to be, ultimately, the place but is only a name, the City (p.103).

The sidewalk and street corners are conceptualized as a space of flows and movement (Blomely, colloquia 2009). The sidewalks are for people to walk and for people to reach their proper destinations of home, work, shopping or another house. In contrast, to stand on the corner defies the logic with which such structures have been invested. To stand on a corner is to claim a place, a public one, in which to be seen and encountered. One strategy of policing is to encourage flows and movements to maintain order. An aspect of policing, particularly in this neighborhood, entails breaking up congregations of people who are not engaged in recognized or acceptable activities that can be easily watched over. To be congregated on the sidewalk in this location is an affront to those who have a

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vision of how movement through the neighborhood should go, and ultimately what the neighborhood should be. As Ahmed has argued, "Community is not just established through the designation of pure and safe spaces, but becomes established *as a way of moving through space*" (Himley and Fitzsimmons 2005). In this case, it is threatening how men stop and occupy space, defying the flow logics of the sidewalks or streets. Thus the contestation over street corners—or the failure in disciplinary transmission between the disciplining orders of other residents and state officials and these young men—is indicative of the play of circuits of power that are going back and forth and feeding off of each other, and also how fraught this issue is with intersecting issues involving race. It is not an ironic statement when one of the men in interview 6F identified the policing of sidewalks as a form of neo-slavery.

This failure in disciplinary transmission is not only present on the sidewalks. Although there are examples of people who enjoy working cooperatively with the police, as this thesis has shown, there are also cases where this type of communication is subverted and rejected. When interviewing one older respondent about a boy on her street who she knew was selling drugs, instead of calling the police she approached him about going to church with her. For this respondent, religion could do more to change the life path that the boy had chosen than calling the police. Additionally, some interviewees identified a type of street justice in which residents policed their neighborhood without the participation of the police department:

> Bob: …There was an incident that happened a few weeks ago, a guy who's got a mouth, he's always talking and talking with people and he gets into fights—oh, but usually he doesn't fight but he gets people riled up to the point where they're about to fight, and there's several times he had whole gangs of Latinos that came out—

Elizabeth: With broken bottles ready to just jump…

Bob: And he would always call Elizabeth sugar whenever he saw her and I talked with him and said that's not right, that's my wife. He does that with everyone, all the women hate it… apparently he pushed a woman down, a prostitute down, and was immediately disciplined for it. He got the crap beaten out of him by three or four guys

Elizabeth: Her protectors—

Bob: But it just wasn't her protectors, they just ganged up and beat the crap out of him and told him he will not do that again… but the interesting thing about that is, I mean he got beaten up, there was blood everywhere…but there's a woman over there who has some mental and social problems and calls the police all the time. She's one of the tattletale kind of people but everyone hates her for calling the police constantly and she *did not* call the police for this situation. And people said 'yeah, even she understands that that's the right thing'. So there's the police discipline and there's the street discipline and those are two separate things completely. (my emphasis) (Interview 17, 7/17/ 2009)

For these respondents, calling the police is something they did not do unless they heard gunshots. The splendor of the state is not solid. Here residents also move to create a sense of order and territoriality, to enact their own collectively recognized visions of order that exist outside of discourses put forward by the police department and the neighborhood association.

The desire to call the police is not simply the successful disciplining of residents but also the desire of some residents to feel safe and secure and to enact a vision of the community that they wish they had. Selling crack is dangerous and highly violent. Some respondents spoke of gunshots going through their homes, some were frustrated that they were often confined to their homes; when there was a drug bust on their street, and some respondents were angered when they saw children who they knew and loved dealing drugs. After speaking to me about the concerns they had with the community,

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respondents would whisper to me that they often called the police. All the residents I interviewed just wanted to feel safe. Some pursued this through the neighborhood association, viewing safety as working with the police, while others relied on religion and forms of street justice.

The things that do not fit

The police want to create a perception of control and authority. In conjunction with this, some respondents want people to know that they are working with, support, and salute police officers they see in their neighborhood. Seeing the police on patrol made them feel safe, made them feel that someone was watching out for them. In publicly speaking with police, having small conversations and welcoming police officers to stop in front of their homes, they were actively performing what they wanted their community to become; they were performing in the hope that other people would see them and feel encouraged to do the same, or at least see that a change was developing in the community. On the other hand, there were residents who refused to call the police unless they had to, and people who didn't call them at all. Some residents acknowledged that drugs were an issue in their neighborhood but did not feel that the issue was a concern for them and their lives.

Overall, the relationship between residents and officers over the issue of drugs, when it existed, was not simply one in which residents were trained in how to be good citizens. Cases varied, and residents had their own ways of dealing or not dealing with the issue of drugs in William Wells Brown. In many cases, the practices of residents were motivated by fear and not being able to freely walk around in their neighborhood. The fear that they possess might be motivated by ideas of race, class, generational differences,

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and anonymity but it is a valid fear that still exists and that impels people to call the police. This fear especially gripped older residents who often had issues of mobility, since they often didn't have a car and were not in good health. Walking around the neighborhood was out of the question for them, not because they could not walk, but because they feared they could not run away from a tense or potentially violent situation. In essence, actions of residents in relation to the knowledge of drug-related crime in their neighborhood are motivated by a series of factors. In this chapter, I've tried to illuminate how the selling and use of crack within the William Wells Brown neighborhood prompts a series of effects on bodies and relationships within the space of this neighborhood. I've also tried to illustrate the various layers of this issue, which are not managed by police departments or other state officials.

Crack cocaine's effects within the William Wells Brown neighborhood are greater than its chemical influences on the bodies that use them. This chapter has sought to show the virtual and concrete effects of crack. As a predominantly African American community with a sizeable population that lives in poverty, the stigma of crack has been attached to this community. Although drugs are everywhere in our society— the mark of crack has been applied to these streets, these corners, these bodies, and this neighborhood. It has marked them as dangerous and scary.

A question that has been imminent through the writing of this chapter is how does crack occupy the space between actual material thing with consequences and ghostlike object— an illegal object that is always moving, transforming and being consumed. How can a very small object have such distressing and violent ramifications but at the same time prove to be so elusive. Clearly crack is real. Within processes of production and

distribution, it can be a fatally dangerous trade and it has resulted in the mass incarceration of men, women, and children (Dyson 2006, Anderson 2008). For abusers of the drug it induces binges that can last from a few hours to a few days. There are severe withdrawal symptoms that impact judgment, mental, and health issues. Its effects are seen by residents in the William Wells Brown neighborhood—residents can identify dealers and addicts who occupy spaces in the neighborhood. But in an effort to pin down the extent of the drug issue in the William Wells Brown neighborhood—concrete numbers of dealers or abusers arrested and the ways in which you can definitively identify a drug abuser or a dealer—this goal remained elusive. In this particular neighborhood, there is a mix of truth, fear, and stigma which has become a magnet for a series of issues that plague the neighborhood, issues that I have tried to highlight in this chapter. The actions by some residents and police officers to effect changes on the surface—to change the appearance of the neighborhood becomes understandable when understood from this angle.

In the turn toward a racial analysis, I have tried to show, using the lens of intersectionality, how the virtual effects of crack transforms into concrete realities for the William Wells Brown community. Drugs such as crack may be everywhere, but the bodies overwhelmingly punished for it are poor, black, Latino, and predominantly male.[31] Drugs are everywhere but here it is forced out into the open. Drugs are everywhere but due to a lack of educational and economic opportunities, dealing becomes a lucrative, competitive and therefore deadly enterprise. Crack may be everywhere but here the situation is so tense that residents look suspiciously on neighbors and people they don't

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[31] There are increasing numbers of women who are being incarcerated for drug related crime.

know, inadvertently reinforcing racial and class tensions. Stealing away feelings of safety and peace, crack is impacting communal bonds, stressing systems that maintain order and provide support outside of the police. In the William Wells Brown neighborhood, drugs are creating a community of distrustful neighbors.

Chapter 6: Conclusions and some ways forward

In the summer of 2008 I began to wonder about how neighborhoods and groups that defined as a community dealt with the issue of drugs in the absence of other resources such as rehabilitation programs. My thought process focused solely on low-income communities who often do not have access to constructive and healing resources. The question that sparked the process that manifested in this thesis was, 'How can neighborhoods and communities create solutions for themselves in the presence of drugs related crime?' My initial answer to this question was too simple but nonetheless geographical. I reasoned that people could not effectively deal with the issue of drugs because many people imagined drugs as something that came from somewhere else. In personal conversations that I had with friends and family members, drugs were portrayed as a spreading disease that infected people and neighborhoods. I felt that once people knew that drugs came from everywhere and were everywhere, that drug addicts and drug dealers were people who we knew and loved, and then we could begin the process of making realistic solutions. I was wrong. Of course it is far more complex. A good portion of the respondents whom I interviewed for this project knew the addicts and dealers in their neighborhood. This knowledge did not help to make anything better. For the people who felt that drugs came from another neighborhood—it is because they envisioned the boundaries of their neighborhood differently from the official boundaries on city websites. Often a neighborhood was just a block and sometimes just a cluster of houses.

From my simple hypothesis, what this thesis has shown is the spatial implications of drug crime—how people identify addicts and dealers relies a great deal on their spatial movements and appearances and how they occupy a space. Police officers regulate and

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police drug related crime through re-arranging space and maintaining an appearance of order. In this reliance on surface appearances, including the spatial movements and looks of some bodies, residents are called upon to work with police officers in maintaining the appearance of control and order. In keeping with 'Broken Windows Theory,' policing on the level of appearances is enacted in order to impact deeper structural problems that enable drug crime. However, with the known fact that drugs are an ingrained and permanent feature of our society, this process is perverted. Instead of a goal of elimination, the goal is spatial regulation—keeping it out of sight and preserving a sense of order. Undoubtedly, these spatial tactics lead to concrete penal, life changing, and sometimes fatal effects for large swatches of the population. Maintaining the splendor of the surface is crippling because it does little in terms of moving toward substantial transformation in ways of thinking of and dealing with drug related crime. Ironically, what is needed for substantial transformation is the key to the definition of Splendor as laid out by Foucault, an in-depth understanding of how those involved in illegal drug crime are living and a knowledge of the factors and motivations that have oriented their life toward the direction of drugs.

The most glaring example of spatial regulation that depends upon appearances is the presence of the police patrol car through neighborhood spaces. As a easily recognized vehicle, the patrol car loops through neighborhood streets. Its visible presence serves a purpose similar to Foucault's panopticon, it works to deter drug crime, it seeks to create an actively engaged police presence and encourage a sense of surveillance and therefore safety and order amongst residents. However, despite the goals of spatial regulation and by implication the splendor that the patrol car promises, interviews with officers and

residents show that these aims are not in alignment with the actual physical experiences of daily life in these same neighborhood spaces. For many residents the patrol car did little to regulate drug related crime. While its visibility did help to make some residents feel safer and secure, many residents complained about what they perceived to be the patrol officer's inaction. Although the patrol car was a very visible sight within the neighborhood, many felt that the patrol car succeeded with very little else. Despite arrests that may have been made by officers in pursuit of drug regulation, it did not, during the course of my research, result in the successful elimination of perceived visible and violent drug related crime from the neighborhood for residents. At most, the degree of regulation of drug related crime fluctuated through different periods of the summer that I conducted research.

With the reliance on the appearances of drug crime that I found during research, it was important to present the materiality of Crack-Cocaine in an effort to provide more information that moved beyond the surface. This thesis was written with the knowledge that the political economy of crack exists because it presents an opportunity of economic advancement to people who have had sub-standard education and employment opportunities. It also arose in a post-integration atmosphere that disrupted communal and familial bonds through integration. While crack is just one of many issues confronting communities of color, this suggest that there needs to be deep structural change that address the political, social and emotional well being of these communities. When a stranger is seen or when someone who is known becomes strange through their appearance and actions, this incites fear and concern. Their behavior gets attributed to drugs and this fear is then deployed for the use of police officers. The Friday Afternoon

story is demonstrative of how fear and suspicion of a strange person leads to associations of drug crime and comes to aid police officers in their work. With this type of 'community policing' residents are left with a vague and shallow level of knowledge about drugs and the extent of the drug problem in their neighborhood and all fears and suspicions become justification for further investigation by the police. Indeed, as I have shown, policing by officers relies on a superficial understanding and perception of how things should be. Showing the actual material effects of drugs is an attempt to pierce this surface. Also, highlighting the materiality of crack was an effort to de-stabilize the stigma held over and within neighborhoods such as William Wells Brown. While the political economy of crack has wreck havoc within several communities, the operation of the stigma that drugs have brought to the William Wells Brown community is equally as destructive.

While most of the problems attributed to crack cocaine can be attributed to its illegality, crack is still a substance that ruins interpersonal relationships with loved ones and causes severe physical and psychological problems. While acknowledging that drugs are a part of our society, it is important to arm people with as much knowledge as possible on the physical and social effects of various drugs. All drugs do not act in the same way and people need to be aware of the effects in order to make responsible decisions.

In regulating drug crime, the positive effects of policing have been minimal. Officers acknowledge that arresting drug dealers does very little in combating the issue of drugs. In some cases, it might displace it to other areas, but it is acknowledged that drugs are a permanent feature of our society. 'Community policing' is simply a smarter way of

policing that utilizes community members in small and limited ways. The way in which policing is structured makes any real sense of 'community policing' impossible. While this might seem like a negative thing, during my research I did not come across any association members or residents who actively work with the police and saw this as a negative. Within the relationship between residents and police officers, officers maintain their authority and decision-making power. Several of the residents who support the police department seemingly supported this structure. While the relationship between officers and residents are uneven, it is important to note that residents are not blindly following officers or the police department. All of the residents of the William Wells Brown Neighborhood are making informed decisions based on their needs and wants for the neighborhood. Within this relationship, these multiple and contrasting needs and wants react in co-constructive ways with the various needs and wants of law enforcement agents.

The point of education cannot be stressed enough. My research analyzed the role of splendor, beauty through the perception of order, surface appearances. The focus on appearances alone is creating an atmosphere of harassment and distrust, and inflicting even more injuries on an already vulnerable community. Officers are rarely invested in intimately knowing the neighborhoods that they police and some residents affected by the stigma of drug crime and possessing limited information on who exactly is an addict or a dealer make decisions that impact the psyche, bonds and atmosphere of a neighborhood. The best recommendation that this research can put forward is that there needs to be thorough and ongoing dialogue within neighborhoods such as William Wells Brown. Residents from different age groups and class distinctions need to be able to discuss their

differences and the challenges that they face. In my interviews, resident's prided themselves on living in a welcoming and warm community where people talked to each other. However, in my research I found wide gulfs filled with fear between younger and older residents, between homeowners and renters, and even between neighbors.

This research did not purposely seek out the voices of addicts and dealers and their uses of neighborhood spaces. This information is crucially necessary in low-income communities in order to understand the challenges and effects that poverty and the illegality of drugs pose to users and the areas they use in. There has been research on users in rehab but not enough in-depth analysis of those linked to drug related crime in the context of everyday life in a neighborhood.

In an interview with an older resident, she used the word 'homeplace' to describe her home and the street where she spent most of her life. When asked what that meant for her she responded:

> A place where I, where there are a lot of memories of the family that's grown up from, well I can go back to my grandparents and my aunties, my mother, and my mother, my sister, my brother and then my children and then I got a grand daughter and all those memories are here in this place and it's a memory for a lot of people back when in the 20s and 30s when my mother was raised up here.

For the respondent, these memories were positive and gave her a strong sense of her place in the world. For many people I spoke with: William Wells Brown, The East End, their street, and their neighbors represented a homeplace, a place of strong bonds and close knit social networks. As bell hooks (1990) has written, having a homeplace—a place where one felt fully human—was a resource for African Americans who experienced the terror and daily degradation of segregation in the United States. A

homeplace as defined by hooks is a site of renewal, recognition, familial and communal ties. It served as a space for blacks to engage in intellectual dialogue and critique about the culture they lived in, as well as a site for spiritual and psychological healing. The crack era has threatened these bonds with imprisonment, addiction, violence, and trauma. This thesis represents one small effort to do something about it.

Appendix A:

The following represents questions asked of officer during ride-alongs and interviews.

Please note that ride alongs were not structured as arranged interviews. Additionally, all

of my interviews are designed as semi-structured.

*Drug-related crime refers to the unlawful abuse and dispensing of drugs as well as the

abuse and dispensing of illegal drugs.

Police Questions:

1. How long have you patrolled the William Wells Brown neighborhood?
2. You are part of the C.L.E.A.R. unit; can you define what this means and describe how this influences your work here in contrast to other neighborhoods where you've worked?
3. Can you tell me about the history of the neighborhood and how it came to be designated as one of the neighborhoods under C.L.E.A.R.?
4. In your engagements with neighborhood residents, what is some of the feedback that you've received on drug-related crime? On your performance? What feedback have you heard from the William Wells Brown Neighborhood Association?
5. Can you describe the benefits of the C.L.E.A.R. program from the perspective of a police officer? What do you interpret the benefits to be for the community? Do you feel there are negatives?
6. How exactly does the night patrol operate? And what are its goals?
7. Regarding drug-related crime, are there specific trends that are common in this neighborhood in contrast or similar to other neighborhoods?
8. Can you provide an average of how many arrests you make for drug related crime in the William Wells Brown neighborhood?
9. Do you have specific locations where you have high arrest rates for drug- related crime within the William Wells Brown neighborhood?
10. As a Law enforcement official, can you share your general opinions on drug-related crime and your specific opinions on drug related crime as it relates to William Wells Brown?

11. Besides patrol, are there other policing strategies utilized by Law enforcement in this neighborhood toward drug related crime?
    →If yes: can you describe these strategies
12. To consider yourself 'effective' within this area at combating drug-related crime (or within any area of the C.L.E.A.R. program) can you describe what goals need to be attained?
13. If you were to describe this community to someone who does not live here or has never been here what would you say?
    →If Applicable: As an officer, can you describe how you wish or how you think this neighborhood should be?

Appendix B:

The following represents questions administered to William Wells Brown Residents and

Members of the Williams Wells brown Neighborhood Association during arranged

interviews. All interviews are designed to be semi-structured

1. How long have you lived in the area?
2. Do you see yourself remaining a resident of the WWB neighborhood?
3. If you were to describe this neighborhood to someone who does not live here, how would you describe it?
   →Do you like that description? Is there anything you wish to change about it?
4. What does community mean to you and do you see yourself as belonging to a community?
   → Can you describe what that community is and what it means to be a part of it?
   →No: what is lacking?
5. What is the biggest concern for this neighborhood (it can be crime or otherwise)?
6. Do you feel that drug related crime is a problem here?
   → Yes: Can you describe any time when drug related crime has impacted your life in this neighborhood?
7. Can you describe where you have seen drug related crime happen in this neighborhood?
   →Yes: Where were you as a viewer? What were you doing? And what actions did you take?
8. With knowledge of drug related crime in your neighborhood, do you travel freely through out your neighborhood or avoid certain places?
9. Within your description of your community and in what you wish it to be, where do the people involved in drug-related crime fit in?
10. (If the respondent does come into contact with addicts or dealers) How would you characterize drug addicts or dealers? Do they look or act a particular way when you see them? How do they behave?
11. The WWB neighborhood is part of a community policing unit called C.L.E.A.R. in which there are extra police who patrol the area. How do you view the police and their interactions in the neighborhood?

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