

Gentrification and Probation:

A Study of North Lawndale

BY

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THESIS

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SUMMARY

There are more individuals on probation in the United States than under all other forms of correctional supervision combined, and yet probation has historically received the least attention from researchers. Given the prevalence of criminal justice control in poor, inner-city communities, and the move toward gentrifying many of these disadvantaged areas, this study aimed to better understand whether gentrification has an impact upon the work of probation officers.

The question was explored using a mixed-methods approach centered on the community of North Lawndale. Descriptive statistics and field observations were used to supplement the findings of interviews conducted with twenty-seven officers at the Cook County Adult Probation Department with experience working in Lawndale. While gentrification had largely stalled by the conclusion of this study, probation officers' accounts of their work throughout Chicago indicated that the structure of their duties left little room for community responsiveness.

The department contained several levels and types of supervision tailored to each client's risks and needs, but the essence of probation work appeared most strongly shaped by a "culture of verification" stemming from the bureaucratic demands of the department. Aside from the specific conditions being verified and the frequency of contact between officers and clients, officers were largely precluded from engaging in meaningful community- or offender-specific practices within the context of the department's structure of accountability. Along with the slowing of economic development within Lawndale, there was no clear observed impact of gentrification on probation work within Cook County. Nonetheless, the positive relationships that officers described with their clients suggested that they may hold unique potential to positively impact inner city communities relative to other criminal justice actors.

I. INTRODUCTION

The concentration of criminal justice involvement in disadvantaged urban areas is well-documented. Less explored in criminological discourse has been the slow disappearance of the classic “inner city” as developers and local governments stake claim to debilitated space for revitalization. There is some indication that police are sometimes used to clear these areas of “social disorder” in preparation for gentrification (Parenti, 1999). Incarceration has been identified as having a potentially destabilizing effect on social networks and neighborhood institutions in areas of concentrated criminal justice involvement (Clear, 2007), which may weaken the ability of residents to successfully mobilize in opposition to the developments that threaten to displace them. Little is known about how probation is impacted by gentrification. Do probation officers face pressure to assist in the “cleanup” of social disorder as with some policing agencies, or might they be uniquely positioned to broker much-needed services for the at-risk population under their supervision as new employers and services move into historically disadvantaged communities? This study was designed to explore whether gentrification affects the supervision of probationers, and if so, how. Through an examination of probation within North Lawndale, a disadvantaged Chicago neighborhood that has been targeted for redevelopment, it was found that while probation within Chicago is largely dependent upon community resources, several institutional and social factors buffer the effect of gentrification on probation.

A growing body of literature has examined the social implications of incarceration and, increasingly, reentry as it relates to areas of concentrated disadvantage (e.g. Clear, 2007; Clear, Rose, & Ryder, 2001; Petersilia, 2003; Visser & Farrell, 2005). Scholars have noted that the United States makes heavier use of incarceration than any other developed nation (Mauer, 1999),

and that much of the burden of incarceration has fallen on African Americans who have been targeted as part of the war on drugs (e.g. Alexander, 2010; Tonry, 1995). The emphasis that has been placed on incarceration and reentry in the correctional literature has left a gap in our understanding of how probation operates within the contested space of urban communities, an unusual exclusion given the extent to which criminal justice involvement is concentrated in these locales, the status of probation as the nation's most prevalent form of correctional control, and the inherent embeddedness of probation within a larger community context.

In the literature that has focused on probation, it is largely taken for granted that probation has followed the broader trend toward "risk management" in the United States (e.g. Feeley & Simon, 1992), characterized by a shifting emphasis from treatment to assessment and control. Accordingly, much of the research in this area is technical in nature, examining the strengths and weaknesses of risk assessment tools (see discussion in Simon, 2005) and specific technologies of supervision (e.g. Hurwitz, 1987; Wish & Gropper, 1990). Few researchers have approached probation with more open-ended questions regarding the relationship between departments and the communities they serve, even though several authors have recently called for departments to focus on the strengthening of these relationships (e.g. Reinventing Probation Council, 1999; 2000). Case studies have primarily taken the form of program evaluations, often within juvenile probation departments (see, for example, Karp & Clear, 2002). Research on the nature of the community/probation relationship continues to be limited, leaving significant questions about how probation operates within disadvantaged urban communities undergoing gentrification.

A. Purpose of Study

This study begins to bring probation back into discussions of the nation's punitive milieu through an examination of the factors that shape probation work in the Chicago neighborhood of North Lawndale, a community that was the focus of urban renewal efforts during the period of study. Gentrification has begun to transform urban environments physically, economically, and racially. Gentrification alters the landscape within which the criminal justice system is embedded, which may introduce new opportunities and challenges relevant to the handling of offenders. Still, even as police agencies have become increasingly aware of the importance of working hand-in-hand with the communities they serve, community corrections has generally moved in the opposite direction (Byrne, 1989), focusing on offenders' control and punishment rather than community priorities. This has left little understanding of the relationship between probation and community context.

B. Study Overview

An exploratory case study approach was adopted to secure an in-depth description of the experiences of probation officers at a time that Chicago's North Lawndale had been targeted for gentrification. Information from historical documents, government reports, newspaper articles, and past scholarly works were combined with field observations in Lawndale and participant observation and interviews (N = 27) with officers in the Cook County Adult Probation Department (CCAPD) to form profiles of the community and department. Descriptive statistics were compiled on probationers in North Lawndale based upon data provided by the CCAPD. The data was analyzed to identify the ways in which gentrification has impacted probation work, and to identify the departmental policies, officer practices, and community characteristics that have shaped this impact.

C. Research Questions

Probation has historically assumed a treatment-oriented casework approach with offenders, though the recent shift in the United States' punitive culture is believed to have resulted in a new emphasis on close monitoring and supervision. This leaves substantial uncertainty regarding the impact of gentrification on probation. For example, while probation might be employed as a tool to clear "undesirable" populations from desirable space through aggressive oversight and revocations, it is also possible that probation officers are working on behalf of their clients to facilitate access to the employment, education, and treatment resources that accompany the influx of capital brought by community redevelopment. In order to make sense of such divergent potentialities, this research is organized around the central questions: How does gentrification impact probation work, and what factors influence this effect?

Embedding this study within a single locale allows for a consideration of the interplay of factors that shape officers' responses to gentrification. Community dynamics and departmental structure, resources and priorities all affect the extent to which officers interact with, and can be responsive to, the broader communities in which they serve. This study examines the extent to which probation officers in Cook County interact with community residents, agencies, and other actors within Lawndale, the nature of these interactions, and the factors that shape them. For officers who have noticed signs of gentrification, what impact have they noticed on their clients, and on their own efforts within the community? For those who have not yet noticed signs of gentrification in Lawndale, how do they anticipate such developments will affect their supervision of offenders? How is the impact of gentrification shaped by department policies, community dynamics, or other factors?

D. Hypothesis

It was predicted that probation officers would report that gentrification has impacted their work within North Lawndale. Probation is subject to the same broader political and social influences that have been identified as shaping the nation's other punitive practices, but it is also uniquely susceptible to local political and judicial influences due to its funding and organizational structure (Rothman, 1980/2002). Probation is inherently community-based, and the same community-level factors that impact crime can reasonably be expected to affect the prospects of those on probation. Insofar as community investment might be predicted to strengthen and stabilize social institutions, one might expect gentrification to facilitate the ability of probation officers to connect their clients to much-needed treatment, educational and employment opportunities.

By contrast, a critical perspective would anticipate a different but no less salient impact of gentrification on probation. Gentrification transforms the ghetto into contested space, with subsets of existing residents fighting to improve and remain in their own neighborhoods (e.g. Thornton, 1986) even as developers eye them for economic development (e.g. Longworth, 1986) or restoration efforts (Zukin, 1987). Gentrification brings an influx of capital into areas that have historically suffered from disinvestment, but it also risks the displacement of existing low-income residents who may be left with few housing options (see discussion in Newman, 2004). The influx of more affluent residents may place pressure on probation officers to more stringently supervise, and more readily begin revocation proceedings for, disadvantaged clients who reside in gentrifying areas.

E. Defining Gentrification

Gentrification refers to a process in which traditionally blighted areas experience reinvestment as middle- and upper-class individuals seek to relocate closer to urban centers. Gentrification is often operationalized by changes in the level of educational attainment or income of residents in a circumscribed geographic space as population turnover takes place (e.g. Freeman, 2009), or by corresponding increases in rent and property values. To its supporters, gentrification represents a desirable broadening of the urban tax base (Freeman, 2005). Existing residents who are not displaced stand to benefit from new opportunities for employment, an expansion of retail choices, and improvements to the local housing stock (Freeman & Braconi, 2004). Gentrification has also been valued for its ability to attract new cultural venues. Still, gentrification has been the focus of substantial criticism centered on the premise that such developments are likely to displace current residents who are unable to afford the corresponding increases in housing costs.

F. Defining Race

While gentrification is an inherently economic process, it also has racial dimensions. Gentrification often occurs in traditionally minority areas; where investors succeed, it is typically the white middle-class that populates the area (Perez, 2002). As race takes on different meanings for different people and at different times, it is necessary to clarify what is meant by references to “race” and “minority” within this study. Historically, essentialist definitions of “race” had been widely accepted even as the specific boundaries of racial groups were contested socially (Ignatiev, 1995) and legally (Haney Lopez, 1996; Moran, 2001; Pascoe, 1996). Since the 1920s, “race” has increasingly come to be recognized as socially constructed rather than scientifically defined (Pascoe, 1996), with its meanings traced to social cognitive processes (e.g. Bobo & Fox,

2003; Loury, 2002) and reified through segregation (Massey & Denton, 1993) and the inequitable distribution of wealth (Oliver & Shapiro, 1995).

Bonilla-Silva (1997) proposed that racial categories initially “invented to justify the conquest and exploitation of various peoples” (p.471) have shaped “group association and identity” (p.472) in a manner that continues to shape the social structure, and which perpetuates racial inequality even as overt racial discrimination has largely receded. Omi and Winant (1994) provide a similar explanation as to how the meanings attached to “different types of human bodies” (p.55) have persisted and evolved through discursive practices and the organization of social interactions and structures.

The term “race” is not used here to imply any essential differences among groups of people, nor does it intend to capture the nuances of self-identity that vary with culture, language, and other variables. Consistent with the social constructionist perspective, it is used to refer to social categorizations loosely based upon physical distinctions and relevant to the distribution of power and status within society. While the distinction of “minority” is inherently fluid due to the socially constructed nature of race, in this study the term is used in reference to groups that have been systematically disadvantaged in the differential distribution of power by race, which in the context of the United States includes those identified as African American and Hispanic.

G. Potential Contribution

This study is anticipated to make a number of meaningful contributions. First, in gathering some basic statistics regarding those under probation supervision in North Lawndale, the probation department and other local agencies can obtain a better understanding of the service and supervision needs that exist within the community. This may facilitate a more effective allocation of resources to support the success of probationers.

Second, this work can support probation officers and community agencies in North Lawndale and elsewhere in identifying the opportunities and challenges posed by the unique circumstances of gentrification. While some work on gentrification emphasizes the potential friction between newcomers and existing residents, the influx of capital may also provide new opportunities for building community partnerships in an effort to achieve common goals. At the same time, the tensions and economic realities often present in gentrifying communities may pose additional hurdles to probationers' success and therefore warrant new approaches to supervision. If gentrification results in the displacement of those under probation supervision, it may warrant a reallocation of department resources. This study aims to make sense of such divergent potentialities.

On a broader scale, this work seeks to contribute to correctional literature by providing a new perspective on the relationship between corrections and community. Many works have highlighted the ways in which the social fabric and economic realities of disadvantaged urban communities shape and are shaped by punitive practices, but they have failed to give probation a prominent role in analyses. Additionally, many of these works focus on the process by which poverty had become increasingly concentrated, and poor populations "ghettoized," to the oversight of the efforts currently taking place to revitalize historically disadvantaged communities.

This work also serves as a much-needed compliment to the literatures that have focused on recent trends in incarceration (e.g. Tonry, 2004), reentry (e.g. Petersilia, 2003), the death penalty (e.g. Zimring, 2003), and punishment more generally (e.g. Feeley & Simon, 1992; Garland, 2001) within the United States. These studies are often based on the premise that the nation's culture has become uniquely punitive due to cultural, political and racial trends that

converged with a decreasing confidence in the rehabilitative ideal. The widespread adoption of risk classification systems and various “technologies of control” within probation are held as evidence of its adaptation to this broader penalty. This fails to account for variation among probation agencies, many of which fall under localized control. Through a detailed qualitative examination of probation within one community, this study presents a starting point in identifying factors that can shape probation at the micro-social level.

Finally, this project contributes to the field of urban sociology through its exploration of probation as it operates within the landscape of contemporary cities. Correctional involvement has become a common experience among African Americans, with 16.6 percent of all African American males in state or federal prison at year-end 2001 (Bonczar, 2003) and some proposing that imprisonment has become a rite of passage in predominantly minority communities. Little discussion has taken place surrounding the role of probation within these communities, even though African Americans are similarly over-represented among probationers (Glaze & Bonczar, 2010) and there are more probationers than jail inmates, prisoners, and parolees combined (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2000). Does probation primarily serve as an additional pathway to incarceration for disadvantaged minority populations, or do probation departments provide services that ameliorate some of their disadvantages? This study takes a first step toward understanding the role of probation within urban locales.

H. Dissertation Outline

This dissertation is organized into seven chapters. The second chapter reviews the literature relevant to understanding the potential significance of gentrification for probation. At a time when studies of punitive culture in the United States focus almost exclusively on incarceration and reentry, it describes the contemporary correctional landscape and sets out an

argument for the importance of probation as a focus of inquiry. Theoretical arguments are presented regarding the likely impact of gentrification and probation.

The third chapter explains the methodological logic and approach of this study. Quantitative measures were gathered on the extent of probation supervision within Lawndale, and interviews were conducted with twenty-seven probation officers who had experience working within the community. As probation practices are highly localized, it was important to focus the study on a single gentrifying community.

The fourth and fifth chapters provide the social and institutional landscape for this study. Chapter four describes the history of Lawndale as a contested but long-struggling community finally poised for change. Information is presented regarding rates of correctional involvement in Lawndale, including descriptive data gathered from the quantitative component of this study. The results support that probation is not equitably distributed across space or demography. Rates of supervision within Lawndale varied by zip code, and African Americans had substantially higher rates of probation supervision than whites or Hispanics. There were also variations in the types of offenses that had resulted in probation, with African Americans most likely to be under supervision for drug crimes, Hispanics for driving violations, and whites for property offenses.

Chapter five provides a description of the CCAPD, one of the agencies responsible for probation in Lawndale. Information is integrated from past research, primary documents, observations and interviews to offer a portrait of the department, with a particular emphasis on officers' relationships to the communities they serve and the factors that shape those relationships. Officers described being heavily dependent upon the resources available in the community for service to their clients, but high caseloads, broad areas of geographic

responsibility, perceptions of departmental priorities, and the current departmental structure all temper their ability to secure community resources on their clients' behalf.

Chapter six presents interview results regarding officers' knowledge and impressions of North Lawndale and their observations of gentrification. Officers were asked about the relevance of gentrification for the supervision of their clients, and about the potential challenges and benefits presented to the department by community change. Aside from a few pockets of rehabilitated buildings and new developments, they continued to describe Lawndale as deeply disadvantaged. Officers expressed concern about the possible displacement of their clients if the development continues. They voiced interest in exploiting the benefits of gentrification to the benefit of their clients, but suggested that even with full departmental support, several broader social and structural forces would likely preclude their clients' ability to benefit from gentrification. While they did not report experiencing direct community pressure to enforce conditions more stringently, there was some indication that a general concern for the department's public image may play a role in shaping its policies and practices.

Chapter seven presents the conclusions and implications of this study. Officers in Lawndale had not yet encountered localized pressure to more stringently enforce conditions of probation as a result of gentrification, nor had they yet witnessed a dramatic displacement of their clients, though many predicted that such displacement would occur. Officers expressed an interest in exploiting the resources brought by gentrification on behalf of their clients, but identified several departmental characteristics and social realities that may stand in the way of such efforts. It is ultimately suggested that while the department's regulatory structure is useful in buffering officers from pressure to inequitably enforce conditions of supervision, it also handicaps officers in their efforts to serve their clients in a manner that would be most likely to

support their success and, by extension, community safety. If the department is to take advantage of the changes brought by gentrification, its policies must be amended in order to support officers' efforts to build meaningful community partnerships.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Much effort has been invested in understanding the factors that shape punitive practices, but little attention has been paid specifically to the role of community factors in shaping the work of probation officers. In fact, both research and theory are sorely lacking on the topic of probation as a whole (see discussion in Reinventing Probation Council, 2000). This is unusual given the widespread use of probation, the extent to which it is inherently embedded within a community context, and the move toward community-centered practices within other areas of criminal justice. This section sets forth an argument for the importance of probation studies in shaping a broader understanding of punishment within the contemporary United States, summarizes the current literature on probation, and presents the theoretical basis for the prediction that gentrification will impact the work of probation officers.

A. Existing Explanations of Punishment in the United States

Since the early 1970s, the United States has witnessed a shift away from therapeutic interventions for convicted offenders and toward a risk management approach largely focused on incapacitation (Feeley & Simon, 1992). Several prominent scholars have dedicated works to explaining the dramatic increase in the nation's reliance on incarceration (e.g. Currie, 1998; Mauer, 1999; Tonry, 2004), often using charts similar to figure 1 to illustrate the trend. This shift may have been driven in part by a spike in crime rates that spanned from the 1960s through the 1980s (Garland, 2001; Mauer, 1999; Tonry, 2004), but crime rates alone cannot account for the extent of the correctional growth, which has persisted despite a dramatic decline in overall crime rates since the early 1990s (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2006; Clear, 2007). Other explanations point to the prominence of politics, economy, race, and social geography, or some combination thereof, to account for the nation's peculiarly high rate of correctional control.

Most often cited are the “law and order” politics that had been advanced by Barry Goldwater, Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan, George Bush, Bill Clinton, and others (e.g. Garland, 2001; Miller, 1996; Parenti, 1999; Tonry, 2004), and the subsequent war on drugs (see especially Alexander, 2010; Mauer, 1999; Tonry, 1995). This politicization of crime and punishment has been closely intertwined with the nation’s racial tensions, leading “law and order” to sometimes serve as a euphemism for racist policies (von Hirsch, 1976). Political explanations often identify the war on drugs as the specific vehicle feeding incarcerative growth and shaping its racial dimensions (see Alexander, 2010; Austin & Irwin, 2001; Blumstein, 1993; Mauer, 1999; Petersilia, 2003; Tonry, 1995; Tonry, 2004). Drug policies in particular have been highly politicized in the late modern era, and the public’s resulting concern about drugs is now “used as a political football to justify an ever-increasing use of imprisonment of drug users” (Austin & Irwin, 2001, p.7).

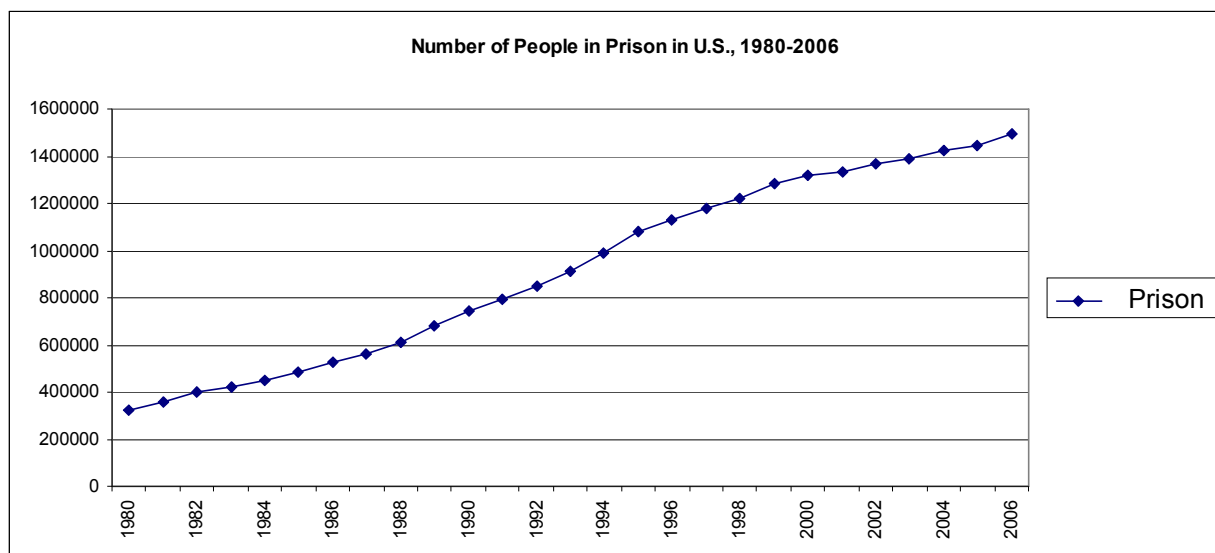


Figure 1. Size of United States prison population, 1980-2006. Chart created with data from Bureau of Justice Statistics (2008).

Other works have extended beyond politics to examine the role of economic, racial, and spatial influences in shaping our nation's body of corrections. A number of contemporary works have outlined the relationship between specific economic incentives and the development of correctional practices. In one of the few accounts of parole in the United States that predates the recent focus on "reentry," Jonathan Simon (1993) argues that the labor market was integral to the development of parole. He describes parole's early emphasis on employment as a key anchor to offenders' socialization, but suggests that since the 1970s "a collapsing inner-city economy and increased legal and political demands for accountability have driven parole toward a managerial model" (Simon, 1993, p.9).

Parenti (1999) has argued that local governments have incentive to foster the growth of a prison labor force that can be used as a low-cost alternative to public works crews (p.212). In a similar economic framework, Schlosser (1998) coins the "prison-industrial complex" as a phrase to describe the "set of bureaucratic, political, and economic interests that encourage increased spending on imprisonment, regardless of the actual need" (p.54). Companies that provide phone service, transport, technologies of supervision, and construction for the nation's prisons, as well as private prison companies and the small communities that have become home to prisons, all reap direct economic benefits from the nation's imprisonment boom (Schlosser, 1998). Parenti (1999), Greene (2002), and Huling (2002) agree that correctional growth has been facilitated by the promise of prison construction to boost rural economies.

Extending beyond direct economic incentives, others have indicted increasing economic fragmentation and segregation within American society as central to shaping its correctional structure (e.g. Austin & Irwin, 2001, p.11). Garland (2001) argues that the shift toward skilled labor has excluded "inner-city youth in poor or minority communities" from the labor market (p.

82), a situation which has incentivized gang involvement (Hagedorn, 1988), drug sales (Hagedorn, 1988; Wilson, 1996) and other “hustles” (e.g. Wacquant, 2008). Higher crime rates coupled with strong federal incentives for drug enforcement have rendered these areas popular targets for policing efforts (Alexander, 2010). These areas have suffered from a general reduction in government funding for social programs (Garland, 2001; Wacquant, 2008) with convicted offenders—and drug offenders in particular—hardest hit as a result of being disqualified from some of the few housing and welfare programs that have remained intact (e.g. Petersilia, 2003; Rubinstein & Mukamal, 2002).

The concentration of incarceration in minority urban communities has led Wacquant (2000) to conceptualize prison as the latest of a number of “peculiar institutions” that “have operated to define, confine, and control African-Americans in the history of the United States” (p.377). Wacquant notes that the U.S. has always maintained specific institutions of racial domination to isolate and dominate those labeled black: slavery, Jim Crow segregation, and the ghetto. He suggests that the prison has emerged in recent decades as a prominent force for minority control. In particular, he notes four commonalities between the prison and the ghetto: “...stigma, coercion, physical enclosure and organizational parallelism and insulation...” (p.383). Alexander’s (2010) analysis of drug law enforcement supports this conceptualization of prison as a system of racial control.

B. The Continuing Significance of Probation

Most of the above explanations of our nation’s punitive practices have centered on the nation’s increased reliance upon incarceration. One might expect that a punitive trend toward risk management would be detrimental to the nation’s use of probation, and indeed the literature on punishment in the United States seems to indicate just that, having come to focus almost

entirely on incarceration. In Tonry's (1995) book *Malign Neglect: Race, Crime, and Punishment in America*, "punishment" seems to be used as a euphemism for "incarceration" and probation did not even make the index. Alexander's (2010) account of the drug war acknowledges the relevance of all forms of correctional supervision in the lived experiences of those under the system's watch, but similarly prioritizes incarceration by subsuming the ill effects of felony convictions under the term "prison label," which she only occasionally clarifies to be more closely predicated upon having a criminal conviction than having actually served time behind bars. In fact, this almost obsessive focus on imprisonment obscures that correctional policies have *not* shifted dramatically away from probation. By a large margin, probation continues to be the most common form of correctional control in the United States (see Figure 2). The use of probation has grown almost at-pace with incarceration, with more than four million people under probation supervision in 2008 (Glaze & Bonczar, 2009).

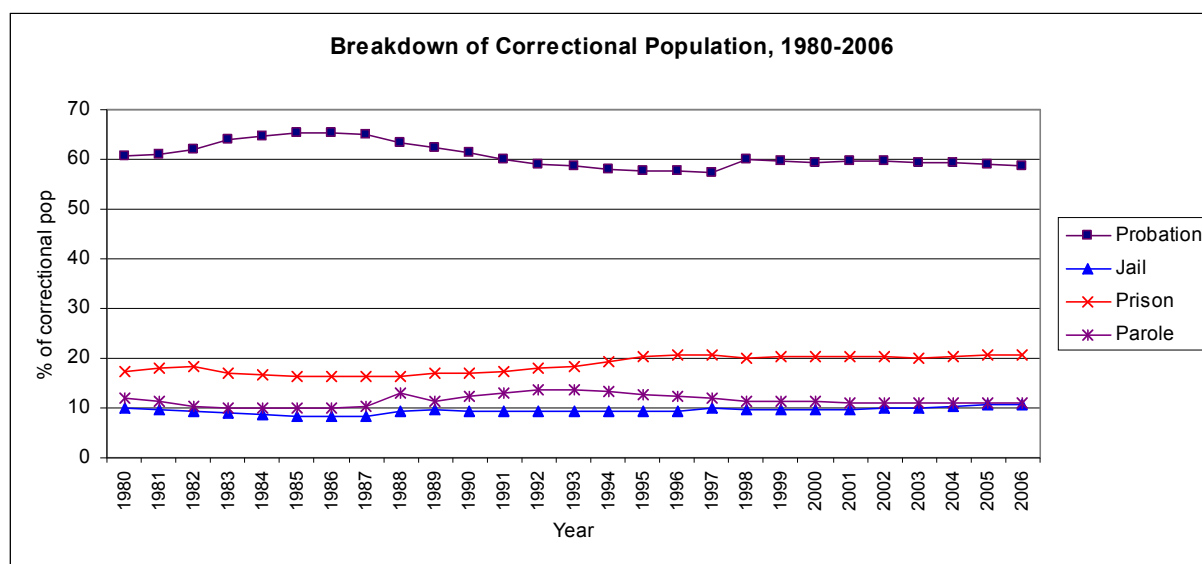


Figure 2. Breakdown of United States' Correctional Population, 1980-2006. Chart created with data from Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics (2006).

In the few cases where probation has been the focus of study, it is often portrayed as adapting to the broader risk-management culture of the “new penology” (Feeley & Simon, 1992) by prioritizing the classification and control of offenders over their treatment (Cullen, Eck, & Lowenkamp, 2002; Petersilia, 1998; Rhine & Hinzman, 2000). “Intensive supervision probation” (ISP) programs, which are characterized by stringent conditions and the close oversight of offenders, have been taken to symbolize this shift (Morris & Tonry, 1990).

Probation has done more than ride the coattails of the nation’s trend toward risk management. In some ways, it has been a driver of the incarceration boom; it has been suggested that ISP programs may lead to higher rates of imprisonment through the heightened detection of violations and subsequent revocation of offenders (Tonry, 1990). Probation also holds significance extending beyond its potential as a vehicle to incarceration. Probation represents a conditional freedom, with offenders held to a higher standard of behavior than unsupervised citizens and entitled to fewer procedural rights in the withdrawal of their freedom. Within Constitutional boundaries, judges and jurisdictions can tie a wide variety of conditions to an offender’s term of probation. These conditions are sometimes quite intrusive; for example, the Oregon Supreme Court recently upheld a condition which restricted a man from having any children during his term of probation without first receiving written court approval, which could only be sought after completing several court-ordered treatment programs (Corneal, 2003). Offenders’ freedom can be rendered contingent upon maintaining employment or abstaining from contact with known felons, which could be particularly troublesome in communities with high rates of unemployment and criminal justice involvement. While the dramatic impacts of imprisonment and reentry upon individuals and communities have been well-documented (e.g. Alexander, 2010; Clear, 2007; Mauer & Chesney-Lind, 2002; Travis & Waul, 2003), little is

known about the role of probation in the lived experiences of offenders, or its impact upon disadvantaged minority communities.

While less often recognized in the contemporary literature, even within a broader climate of risk management probation continues to represent a mix of supervision and treatment. Probation is uniquely positioned to channel much-needed resources toward at-risk populations. Some departments offer in-house treatment programs to address drug use, anger management, sex offending, employability, and other issues, and others connect offenders to local agencies providing the same. It has been suggested that incarceration is now one of the primary mechanisms for providing services to dispossessed populations (Comfort, 2007), yet the role of probation in doing so remains unexplored. In an era more broadly characterized by the retrenchment of the welfare state (see argument in Wacquant, 2008), probation departments may play a key role in brokering services for those in need.

C. Critiques of Probation

Despite the widespread use of probation, a series of critiques have been launched regarding its effectiveness. Rearrests of probationers have been used as an indication of its failings (Petersilia, 1995/1998; Reinventing Probation Council, 2000). The field has been accused of becoming too “office-centered” in practice to effectively supervise clients (Reinventing Probation Council, 1999) on the premise that “spending an average of five to twenty minutes once a month with offenders in an office does not constitute a reasonable quantity or method of supervision” (Reinventing Probation Council, 1999, p.4). So bleak was the landscape of probation in 1998 that one participant at an Office of Justice Programs-sponsored gathering of leaders in the field, while voicing general optimism for the *future* of probation, opened with the following description of its present state:

Despite a proliferation of outstanding cutting-edge programs, for the most part and in most places public regard for probation is dangerously low, and for the most part in most places what passes for probation supervision is a joke. It's conceptually bankrupt and it's politically not viable. (Office of Justice Programs, 1998, p.v)

Another publication described the widely held view of probation as “anemic and ineffectual” (Reinventing Probation Council, 2000).

Probation's difficulties have been attributed to several factors. Most commonly cited are under-funding and high caseloads (see discussion in Petersilia, 1997; see also Reinventing Probation Council, 1999), both of which have plagued probation since its inception (Rothman, 1980/2002). A lack of clarity in purpose has also been cited (Office of Justice Programs, 1998). The combined law enforcement and social work components of probation lead to definitions of “success” as variable as low rates of recidivism, *high* rates of revocation (indicating the successful detection of offenses), connecting offenders to needed resources, or having a measurable impact on criminogenic issues such as employment and drug dependence.

A handful of studies suggest that the ineffectiveness of probation may be more perception than reality. A meta-analysis of the effectiveness of probation conducted by Geerken and Hayes, 1993/1998) found felony probationers to have lower rates of recidivism than those incarcerated. Petersilia and Turner (1985/1998) matched felony prisoners to felony probationers, and found that those who had been imprisoned had a higher likelihood of recidivism than those allowed to remain in the community. This makes some amount of sense when one considers the many mechanisms through which criminal justice involvement can affect one's life chances. For example, Western, Petit, and Guetzkow (2002) indicate that wage growth is impacted by the stigma of a criminal conviction—a factor that could be expected to affect both probationers and parolees—as well as the erosion of job skills and weakening of social connections, which are likely to be more keenly felt among those who experience a period of incarceration.

D. A Movement Toward Place-Based Probation

In response to the critiques that have been launched against probation, some have called for the field to move from its individual casework approach to one of community-centeredness. Community embeddedness has long been recognized as one of probation's inherent strengths. In contrast to a prison setting, probation officers have the benefit of tapping into community resources to support their clients' success (Lawrence, 1991). Additionally, probation is particularly well-situated to tackle some of the place-based criminogenic influences brought to light by the Chicago school (e.g. Shaw & McKay, 1942). Scholars have found community-level variables such as social disorganization (Shaw & McKay, 1942), low collective efficacy (Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997), visible signs of disorder (Wilson & Kelling, 1982/2002), and high rates of unemployment (Wilson, 1996) to render crime more likely. Probation stands to address some of these influences by working not only with offenders, but also with their families and acquaintances and other community actors such as business owners and service agencies.

The literature advocating for probation departments to refocus on the communities in which they serve has developed along three threads. Clear and Karp (1999) suggest that probation should adopt a community justice approach, which recognizes quality of life as a legitimate concern for criminal justice practitioners (cited in Karp & Clear, 2002). Community justice calls for a proactive, collaborative, problem-solving approach to the supervision of offenders (Karp & Clear, 2002). Working in partnership with community actors enables departments to tailor their work to localized differences in conditions and needs (Karp & Clear, 2002).

Others have recommended reinserting “place” into probation through an application of environmental criminology. Cullen, Eck, and Lowenkamp (2002) suggest that the routine activities-inspired goals of reducing offenders’ propensity toward crime and their opportunities to engage in it provide a coherent unifying framework for the traditional enforcement and treatment roles of probation officers. Similar to community justice, these authors support a problem-solving approach to probation, and emphasize the utility of forming partnerships with families, community members, police, and businesses.

A third “place-based” approach to probation was borne from a brain-storming session of academics and practitioners organized by John DiIulio in 1997. The meeting led to the creation of the “Reinventing Probation Council,” a group of veteran practitioners who conceptualize a new future for probation centered on the goal of public safety (Reinventing Probation Council, 2000). In an approach they deem “broken windows probation,” they emphasize more fully leveraging community resources and prioritizing partnerships with community actors (Reinventing Probation Council, 1999).

Some agencies have made a concerted effort to apply these concepts in practice (Karp & Clear, 2002; also see discussion in Reinventing Probation Council, 1999), contributing to a small body of evaluative case studies on community-based initiatives within probation (see, most notably, Karp & Clear, 2002). These initiatives have taken several different forms, ranging from the establishment of a “multiagency, one-stop site” for juvenile probation (e.g. Karp, Lane, & Turner, 2002) to the implementation of reparative boards (e.g. Karp, 2002) to the establishment of a robust police-probation partnership (e.g. Corbett, 2002).

While not specifically addressing the topic of gentrification’s impact on probation, one evaluative case study of a neighborhood probation model implemented in Phoenix (Clear

& Cannon, 2002) did document the implementation of a place-based model within a gentrifying community. The Coronado neighborhood was described as a transitioning area characterized by new businesses, rehabilitation projects, and demographic changes. The probation department opened a community-based probation office in a church that served as a center for other community services, conducted surveys of residents to identify their concerns and to help with the identification of existing resources, and facilitated probation officer attendance at a number of community meetings and events.

Clear and Cannon (2002) attribute the success of this program to local politicians' support of community-oriented programs, a departmental mission that emphasizes service to the community, and the neighborhood's access to grant money to support initiatives and redevelopment. The probation department in this case had also been willing to take on the significant task of restructuring caseloads and redefining the role of its officers to incorporate their familiarization with local "resources, networks and dynamics" (p.46). They report that the initiative was accomplished without any additional funding within the department, but rather through the realignment of existing resources. The community location facilitated more informal contact between officers and their clients, and through their partnerships officers were able to negotiate sliding-scale services for those clients.

E. The Significance of Community for Probation

In high concentrations, custodial punishment has been recognized to destabilize neighborhoods by damaging social networks, local economies, and residents' perceptions of the legitimacy of state authority (Clear, 2007). Probation offers a mechanism for circumventing some of these issues, but offenders are simultaneously rendered vulnerable to localized conditions. Whereas correctional institutions are highly regulated and insulated from

external influence by virtue of their physical bounding and spatial dislocation from offenders' originating conditions—what Goffman (1961) terms “total institutions”—any boundaries placed upon probationers or parolees are inherently permeable. Regulatory and technological tools can be invoked to monitor compliance but not exert physical control over offenders, who are entrenched in conditions and subject to environmental influences that extend well beyond the purview of correctional officers.

The exposure of probationers and parolees to broader community influence becomes particularly problematic in disadvantaged urban areas. Structural characteristics have been identified as relevant to individuals' behavior (e.g. Shaw & McKay, 1942); in disadvantaged areas, disorder has been identified as a source of criminal behavior (e.g. Wilson & Kelling, 1982/2002) which begets disorder (e.g. Lehrer, 2000/2002), fear (Skogan, 1986), and correctional control (Clear, 2007), with each contributing to further decline in a perpetual feedback loop. Probation officers are tasked with the challenge of supervising offenders within the very environment that may have been instrumental in their entry into crime.

The benefit of the unbounded nature of community corrections is that officers have the ability to harness resources from the broader environment for their benefit. At least in theory, early probation departments embraced this opportunity by forming cooperative relationships with other local agencies (Bates, 1933; Cooley, 1933; Glueck, 1933). The emphasis on engaging with the broader community was evident in the following 1931 bulletin to federal probation officers:

You cannot properly do the work of probationary supervision by my maintaining an office to which probationers make personal visit, or to which, because of distant residence, they send you letters and form reports. You will have to travel about in every nook and corner of your district to visit the probationer's home occasionally, to check up on his conduct by calling diplomatically upon employers and others... (cited in Bates, 1933, p. 268)

The social work orientation of the field (Rothman, 1980/2002) led departments to approach offenders' problems in a holistic manner. As one early Chicago probation officer stated:

[Officers should be] a neighborhood factor, being looked upon as a 'general utility man.'...She must be prepared to respond to calls; enter into consultations and give advice to children, parents, relatives, principals, teachers, societies, clubs, institutions, and police departments...[probation] stands not only for the solution and treatment of crime but most valuable of all is its preventive force. (cited in Rothman, 1980/2002, p.65-66). Interagency cooperation is still valued for its role in supporting clients' success

(Lawrence, 1991), but some have launched critiques that probation has failed to leverage community resources (e.g. Reinventing Probation Council, 2000) and become too "office-centered" (as opposed to community-based) in practice (e.g. Reinventing Probation Council, 1999). Even with community-focused probation initiatives, those working in disadvantaged urban areas may be at a disadvantage by way of the limited community resources at their disposal.

F. The Implications of Gentrification for Probation

While no prior studies have specifically focused on the effects of gentrification on probation, some insight can be gained from existing understandings of crime. Kubrin and Stewart's (2006) study of community supervision found a higher rate of recidivism among offenders returning to disadvantaged neighborhoods relative to more affluent areas after individual-level variables had been taken into account. This could suggest that probationers may become less likely to reoffend as gentrification increases an area's relative affluence, particularly where gentrification is accompanied by an improvement in job placement centers or other agencies that could potentially channel assistance to probationers within the community (e.g. Henderson, 1986), or that the population at greatest risk for criminality is displaced as gentrification progresses.

A study conducted by Eli Lehrer (2000/2002) found gentrification and declining crime rates to reinforce one another. A decline in the number of bars and liquor stores contributed to reductions in crime, which in turn freed the community to focus on social needs and area improvement rather than crime prevention. He observed a strengthening of community bonds as individuals became more comfortable partaking in pro-social local activities late in the evening due to a reduced fear of crime. This supports the potential for gentrification to improve collective efficacy and social organization within communities, which could potentially aid the success of probationers.

McDonald (1986) outlined several specific mechanisms through which gentrification could be expected to reduce crime: The general increase of affluence; the renovation of homes by both newcomers and existing residents, which may increase pride in the community and, by extension, reduce minor violations; the organization of crime-reduction efforts by newcomers; the ability of newcomers to mobilize city resources against crime; and the displacement of existing residents, including “the young and the criminal” (p.168). Existing residents are unlikely to benefit from improvements if they are displaced by an increased cost of living. If probationers are displaced en masse, the local probation department may need to reallocate resources to follow the movement of their clients. A high rate of residential mobility among probationers may also pose new problems with effective supervision, or may contribute to a weakening of social ties and collective efficacy among probationers even as the same factors are strengthened in the community at large.

McDonald (1986) also acknowledges a number of mechanisms whereby gentrification may serve instead to *increase* crime. Gentrification inserts “attractive targets” for victimization into the community (p.169); presents an inevitable transitional period during which the

neighborhood is characterized by economic inequality; potentially damages social bonds among existing neighborhood residents; and may result in conflicts between new and existing residents. In probation, this may lead to a temporary spike in violations if newcomers become targets for victimization by probationers.

Where gentrification leads to an increase in crime, newcomers may possess the political and economic clout to enlist powers of local law enforcement for their own protection (McDonald, 1986). Some have argued that the criminal justice system has been actively invoked as a tool to clear existing residents (often composed of economically and racially stigmatized populations) from disadvantaged areas to make way for revitalization efforts. For example, Parenti (1999) describes policing efforts being used to facilitate gentrification efforts beginning in the 1980s as a result of close entanglements with “a set of local racial and geographic agendas” (p.59). He critiques the broader literature on gentrification for failing to consider this “security imperative” (p.95) that he sees as underlying cultural and economic shifts in urban development.

To some extent Parenti’s analysis coincides with that of Lehrer (2000/2002) in that both see combating crime and disorder as necessary preconditions for business and residential redevelopment projects. The juncture is that Lehrer views these enforcement efforts as part of a desirable effort toward neighborhood improvement, whereas Parenti views them as part of a war waged on the disadvantaged to the benefit of those with power and wealth.

Blalock’s (1967) theory of minority group relations supports that conflict is especially likely when “there is an objective competition for scarce means...rival groups have sharply different cultures and practices...[and] the less powerful of the two groups originally possesses the object of competition” (p.209). Since land is a limited commodity, it follows that

discrimination may be invoked as a tool to secure formerly blighted areas in cities' redevelopment efforts in the manner described by Parenti (1999).

A number of researchers have applied Blalock's (1967) framework to criminal justice in efforts to understand the impact of racial threat on law enforcement practices in minority areas (Stolzenberg, D'Alessio, & Eitle, 2004). While findings have been mixed regarding whether the size and might of criminal justice agencies are directly related to the size or proximity of local minority populations (see discussion in Parker, Stults, & Rice, 2005), critical examinations have continued to emphasize the criminal justice system's racial (e.g. Alexander, 2010; Miller, 1996; Wacquant, 2000) and economic (e.g. Reiman, 1979/2004) dimensions.

Taken as a whole, the literature on gentrification and crime paints a diverse array of possibilities regarding the impact of gentrification on the work of probation officers. Gentrification may pose significant opportunities for probation officers to capitalize on new community resources and economic opportunities on behalf of their clients, as clients are able to take increased pride in their neighborhood environment. Conversely, from Parenti's (1999) perspective, probation might be invoked as part of the "front line assault" to clear the way for redevelopment efforts, and departments may find themselves subject to pressure by local politicians and incoming residents to aggressively enforce probation conditions and revoke violators. Where probation departments are able to evade such pressure, officers may nonetheless find their relationships with probationers strained if they come to be associated with the aggressive law enforcement tactics of local police.

Gentrification may also impact probation if it has the effect of displacing probationers due to increases in rental and housing costs. In the general literature on gentrification, concerns about displacement are widespread, likely due to the visible racial and socioeconomic changes

that characterize the process. There have been cases of eminent domain being used to secure private property from existing residents for private development projects (see discussion in Carpenter & Koss, 2009). Other works have doubt has been cast on this phenomenon (Freeman, 2005; Freeman & Braconi, 2004). For example, in their study of communities within New York City, Freeman and Braconi (2004) found that gentrification rendered disadvantaged residents less likely to move from their community rather than more. They attribute this drop in mobility to the desirability of the revitalized neighborhood, and attribute the changing demographics to alterations in the process of replacement as people move on for other reasons rather than to a process of forced displacement.

If concerns about displacement are founded, large groups of offenders may be displaced, requiring probation departments to adapt to a shifting geographic concentration of their clientele. Probationers may encounter difficulty securing a new residence based on their economic circumstances or their disqualification from housing assistance due to their criminal record. Upon moving, they may face challenges rooted in the stress of adjusting to a new environment, or may be exposed to new opportunities.

G. Bureaucratic Considerations

For all of the ways that probation may be impacted by conditions in the broader community, there are several bureaucratic considerations that may affect a department's responsiveness to changing environmental conditions. High caseloads and underfunding have led probation to become largely office-centered (National Advisory Commission, 1973/1978, p. 8), which may render it difficult for officers to keep pulse on changes within the communities where their clients reside. Organizational constraints have generally had the effect of probation officers spending less time in the community (see, for example, discussion in Byrne, 1989), with

the structure of some departments also rendering it difficult to respond to community-specific needs (Clear & Cannon, 2002), though some departments have taken the initiative to implement community-based programs (Clear & Karp, 2000). A complete understanding of the impact of gentrification on probation needs to take such interdepartmental factors into consideration, as they are likely to shape the extent to which the department is equipped to respond to community changes.

H. Conclusions

Community-level variables have long been recognized as relevant to matters of crime and justice. Probation is inherently dependent upon community conditions in several respects, though factors such as under-funding have limited the extent to which departments have been able to actively engage at a community level. The operation of probation at the community level has not been well-studied, and there have been no prior examinations of how gentrification might impact the work of probation officers. The broader criminological literature on probation garners divergent predictions. On one hand is the optimistic view that improved community conditions could benefit those on probation. By contrast, probation officers may be enlisted to enforce conditions of supervision more vigorously to the detriment of minority populations—or those populations could be displaced before they have the opportunity to benefit from the influx of improvements and resources that accompanies neighborhood redevelopment.

The importance of understanding the impact on gentrification on probation is particularly significant as correctional practices do not simply reflect social reality; they serve to reify it in significant ways. In disadvantaged urban areas that are already plagued by high rates of unemployment, largely due to the effects of deindustrialization (e.g. Hagedorn, 1988; Wilson, 1996), concentrated rates of incarceration have been found to exacerbate the problem through

business owners' reluctance to invest in areas with a "bad reputation" (Clear, Rose, & Ryder, 2001, p. 341); a negative impact on individuals' wages and rate of wage growth (Western, 2002; see also Western, Petit, & Guetzkow, 2002); the additional financial burden placed on families by way of legal fees and costly phone calls and trips for prison visitation (Braman, 2002); the strain placed on interpersonal relationships (Haney, 2003, p.41); and weakening neighborhood social networks (Braman, 2002; Clear, Rose, & Ryder, 2001).

High rates of probation supervision can impact communities through revocation patterns that contribute to imprisonment rates, but probation should not be reduced to its potential impact upon incarceration. Probation addresses the negative impact of coercive mobility that has been problematized by Clear (2007), but it is not without its own burdens. Probationers may need to meet a number of financial obligations, including restitution and fees for their own supervision (Lemert, 1993). Failure to maintain employment may place the burden of the probationers' living costs upon the family. Probationers who are prohibited from associating with known felons may need to rearrange their household arrangements if any of their relatives have felony convictions (Richie, 2002). Probationers may be disqualified from public housing or public assistance as a result of their conviction (Rubinstein & Mukamal, 2002).

At the same time, probation is potentially situated to tackle some of the spatially-concentrated influences on criminality through work with offenders as well as their relatives and acquaintances. Unlike jail or prison, probation has the potential to tap into community resources to support clients' success (Lawrence, 1991), and probation allows offenders to maintain positive ties within the community (National Advisory, 1973/1978), including relationships with their children and other loved ones, to an extent not possible with custodial punishments.

III. METHODOLOGY

The objective of this study was to explore the question of how gentrification impacts probation. As little is known about the micro-level functioning of probation departments, particularly in regard to the factors that affect probation workers' responsiveness to community changes, an exploratory case study was conducted. This allowed for the most comprehensive consideration of departmental- and community-level variables that might be relevant to probation work.

A. Site Selection

The Chicago community of North Lawndale was selected as the site for this study. This follows a long tradition of neighborhood-level urban sociological inquiry in Chicago. Wilson (1996) describes the significance of this history:

Since the early twentieth century, Chicago has been a laboratory for the scientific investigation of the social, economic, and historical forces that create and perpetuate economically depressed and isolated urban communities...The Chicago social scientists recognized and legitimized the neighborhood—including the ghetto neighborhood—as a subject for scientific analysis. (p.17)

Chicago is one of the nation's most segregated cities (Iceland, Weinberg, & Steinmetz, 2002), which renders it an ideal laboratory for examining inherently racial processes such as gentrification. Additionally, North Lawndale has served as the specific focus of several prominent urban sociological studies, being prominently showcased in Kozol's (1992) study of education, Wilson's (1996) account of deindustrialization, and Wacquant's (2008) discussion of "hyperghettoization." While the results of this study are not generalizable as they are deeply couched in a specific localized context, centering this study in a community that Fremon (1998) has described as the "embodiment of the urban black ghetto" (p.157), but which is now the focus

of gentrification efforts, may present insights relevant to other urban locales facing redevelopment.

B. Methods Overview

There were several components to the data collection for this study. Existing data was compiled from several sources on both North Lawndale and the Cook County Adult Probation Department (CCAPD). Field observations were conducted within North Lawndale to assess the social and structural characteristics of the community. Quantitative data was gathered from the CCAPD to establish a profile of probation within Lawndale. The remaining data—which forms the crux of this study—was gathered from participant observation and interviews conducted within the CCAPD.

C. Collection of Existing Data

In order to establish a rich context for this study, scholarly databases and existing sociological works were mined for data on both North Lawndale and the CCAPD. A request was also made to the department for potentially relevant documents, and they were able to provide a copy of their first annual report (published in 1912) as well as papers that had resulted from past evaluative studies. Contact was made with a researcher who had been heavily involved with the department to identify additional relevant works. Newspaper databases were searched from the 1980s to the present day for articles on development efforts in North Lawndale, as well as probation within the community. Census data was gathered and analyzed to confirm that the area was undergoing changes consistent with gentrification, both from the census.gov website and from data compiled in the *Local Community Factbook* (1990) produced by the University of Illinois.

D. Field Observations

In order to supplement the information gathered from existing sources on North Lawndale, I visited the community on several occasions in the summer and fall of 2008. Some of these visits entailed driving around the area independently and taking audio notes of observations regarding the social and physical landscape, including notes of any developments taking place. These notes were later transcribed. Other visits were made with a former offender who had grown up in Lawndale and was working to establish a youth center in the area. This contact was able to share insights regarding the historical development of the community, and to introduce me to acquaintances who shared their thoughts regarding the challenges facing North Lawndale and the role played by probation. Detailed field notes were taken immediately after these visits.

E. Quantitative Data Collection

In order to adequately understand the relationship of probation and gentrification in North Lawndale, it was necessary to establish the extent of probation involvement in the community. To achieve this aim, case-level data was sought from the CCAPD. Since probation records do not contain clients' neighborhood affiliation or census tract, zip codes had to be used as an approximate indicator of neighborhood. Four zip codes were identified as overlapping with North Lawndale: 60608, 60612, 60623, and 60624 (see Figure 3). A report was requested from the probation department of all cases in these four zip codes. The provided report contained case-level data that included the demographic variables of race, sex, and age, as well as crime of conviction and the length and level of each offender's supervision. The case-level data were analyzed against available census data for those zip codes, which allowed for a profile of probation supervision in total and broken down by zip code.

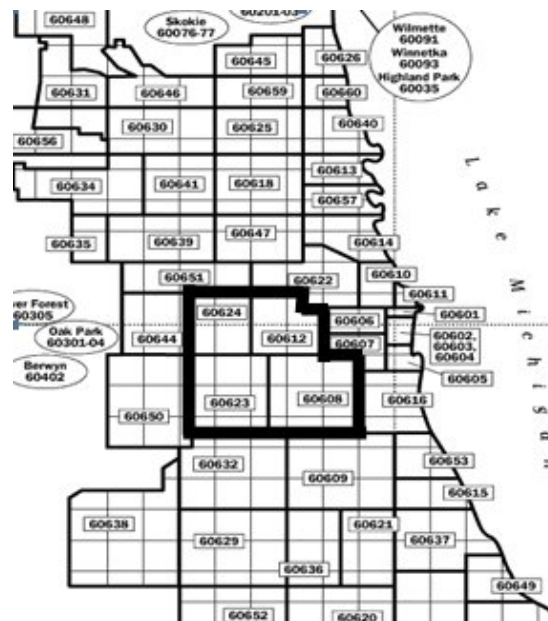


Figure 3. The four zip codes overlapping with North Lawndale, on a map of the city of Chicago.

F. Limitations to Quantitative Data Collection

Just as census tracts are an imperfect approximation of neighborhood (e.g. Rankin & Quane, 2002), so too are zip codes. While there was an advantage to being able to compare and contrast the geographic quadrants created by the identified zip codes and to analyze the data within the specific contexts of those geographic areas, more preferable would have been data more closely matched the geographic boundaries of North Lawndale. Ideally, block-level data could be gathered to allow for the most nuanced information regarding the distribution of correctional involvement within the community, and to allow the data to precisely reflect rates of correctional involvement within official neighborhood boundaries. This level of data has been achieved by other researchers applying geographic information system (GIS) technology in different cities (e.g. Cadore, Swartz, & Gordon, 2003), but such data is not yet available in the

city of Chicago. Since an understanding of the extent of correctional supervision is important in setting a context, but does not serve as the central focus for this study, original data collection of such detailed information was beyond the scope of this project. As a result of this limitation, the quantitative results must be interpreted within the context of the relevant broader geographic area.

There were two other key weaknesses to the quantitative portion of this study. First, the quality of the data is reliant upon the record-keeping of the agency. A contact within the department mentioned that it was not uncommon to encounter human errors in data entry within their record-keeping system. In this case, there was insufficient data to include offenders' assessed risk level in analysis—a factor relevant to the frequency of contact that offenders were required to maintain with the department. Second, the data obtained from the department reflected those on probation in 2008, but the most recent available census data is from 2000. This complicates the accurate assessment of rates of probation supervision within the community. While typically this would be particularly concerning due to the recognition that Lawndale is in the midst of a process of population change, in contrast to the white flight of the 1950s and 1960s gentrification is often a slow process. This may be particularly true in Lawndale due to the recent economic downturn—a conclusion supported by the observations of probation officers who work within the community. Still, it is necessary to use caution when interpreting the calculation of the percentage of individuals within each zip code who are on probation.

G. Access and Observation within the CCAPD

As part of this study, access to the CCAPD was gained through an internship which, at the graduate level, allowed access to the department as an “independent researcher” (personal communication, 2008). Initial contact was made through the department's public information

officer. I was then put in touch with the program evaluator, who walked me through the process of obtaining access. I submitted an application for an internship, and provided a copy of my approved dissertation proposal and documentation of IRB approval for the review of the department's Chief Probation Officer.

Once my access was approved by the department, I was provided with a temporary pass that provided access to the two probation offices that would serve as the sites for most of my study. At the first site (Site A), an office geographically located in South Lawndale, I was introduced to an administrator who started putting me in touch with caseload officers to "show me the ropes." (Throughout this paper, I will reference those holding the positions of supervisor, deputy chief, or assistant chief simply as "administrators" rather than referencing their specific positions in order to protect their identities.) The vast majority of individuals were welcoming and highly supportive of my research. One administrator shared that he was surprised that there hasn't been more research interest in the department, and expressed enthusiasm for my study. I was provided with a desk within the department to allow me to spend time there and become a "familiar face." I spent several weeks utilizing the desk to work on my quantitative data analysis so that officers would become acclimated to my presence, and spoke with officers informally during that time. I was also invited to be present for "staffing" and court proceedings for the department's drug court program, attend a meeting organized for offenders on the mental health caseload, and observe office visits with clients. (Within the department, the terms "offender" and "client" are used interchangeably.)

After spending a couple of months learning the basic structure and processes of the department, observing the events outlined above, and speaking formally and informally with standard and specialized caseload officers at Site A who had experience working in North

Lawndale, I pursued access at a second office location (Site B) in Chicago's Near West Side community. I was informed that the second office location would have a higher concentration of officers supervising probationers from the zip codes overlapping with North Lawndale as they had recently been moved to the location due to its proximity to Lawndale and an overload of cases at Site A.

There was approximately a four month gap between the time spent at Site A and securing access to Site B, simply due to lags in communication with administrators at the site and challenges with coordinating a meeting that the administrators requested I hold with officers to introduce them to my study. The meeting included the direct reports of one administrator who was particularly enthusiastic about my research, and whose officers held substantial experience working within Lawndale. The meeting provided an opportunity to provide a brief description of the study and invite officers to schedule interviews. Only one interview came from that initial meeting, but I once again was provided with office space and invited to spend time within the department. Over the course of three months, during which time I maintained a presence at the office transcribing interviews from the first site and engaging in informal interactions with probation officers, I was able to secure several additional formal interviews with officers from standard and specialized caseloads, and was invited to observe additional office visits and an in-house budget class.

H. Interview Sample Selection

Probation officers were interviewed as they are best equipped to describe the nature of their involvement in North Lawndale, their observations and impressions of the development efforts taking place, and the factors that shape their responsiveness to those changes. Probation officers are responsible for monitoring offenders' compliance with court-ordered conditions, and

therefore are likely to have observations regarding whether community changes have been relevant to their clients' success. They also maintain record of clients' residence and employment, and therefore can relay the affects of redevelopment on their clients' housing and employment circumstances.

The selection of officers was limited to those who have supervised offenders in the zip codes that overlap with North Lawndale. Initial interviewees volunteered or were recommended during the course of my informal interactions within the department. Additional participants were identified by asking each interviewee to recommend other officers with experience working within Lawndale. In all cases, participants' appropriateness for the study was verified by their appearance on a departmental list of officers with clients in the relevant zip codes.

Several constraints precluded the ability to interview all of the probation officers who had some experience in the zip codes of North Lawndale. Areas of responsibility within the department change frequently, meaning that many of the more than 500 officers in the department ("Administration," 2006) may have worked with some clientele in Lawndale over the years. Officers are also divided among several offices throughout the county. As a researcher I had access to the two offices with the greatest concentration of officers working in Lawndale, but even during the period of research there were departmental shifts that rendered full access logistically difficult. For example, while I was conducting interviews at Site A, I was repeatedly told that officers at Site B worked more extensively within Lawndale, but in just the few months that lapsed between those interviews and my access to Site B, many of the aforementioned officers had been transferred back to Site A. While there was an effort to assign cases to officers geographically, the department faced challenges in sticking tightly to these geographic

assignments, and some clients in Lawndale were further distributed among several specialized caseloads as a result of their perceived risks and needs.

As not all relevant officers could be interviewed, purposive sampling strategy was most appropriate for narrowing the selection of interviewees due to the nature of the study as well as the structure of the department. Purposive sampling is a good fit for case studies in that it allows the strategic identification of key stakeholders and perspectives (Bachman & Schutt, 2001). In Cook County, eighty-eight percent of adult probationers are assigned to “standard supervision” (Cook County Courts, 1/12/2011), but the department maintains several specialized caseloads to adapt their services to the differing risks and needs of clients. Each specialized unit is characterized by unique procedures and client populations, and can be expected to interface with a unique subset of community agencies. In my interactions with officers, I therefore made an effort to secure recommendations for additional participants from a diverse array of caseload types. The use of recommendations also resulted in a sample composed of many whose primary concentration of offenders was within Lawndale. While it would have been possible to devise a randomized sample from the universe of Lawndale-experienced officers, a purposive sampling strategy allowed for the inclusion officers from a variety of units in order to gain a broader understanding of the department’s involvement within the community.

I. Interview Sample Description

Ultimately data were gathered in 2009 from twenty-seven (N=27) in-person, semi-structured interviews of probation officers across the two research sites who had some experience working with offenders in the zip codes of North Lawndale. The interviewees ranged in their time with the department from 5 to 32 years, with a mean of 16 years of experience. The sample was diverse in terms of gender (11 females) and race (9 black, 5 Hispanic, and 13 white).

Officers were interviewed from standard caseload, drug court, and intensive supervision probation, as well as the gang, home confinement, resource, compact and mental health units. Five of the officers interviewed held supervisory positions within the department.

J. Interview Process

Semi-structured interviews were conducted in private offices within the two department office locations that served as the sites for this study. Interviews ranged in length from 25 to 90 minutes. Participants were informed that this was a study on gentrification and probation within the community of North Lawndale. They signed an informed consent document(see Appendix A), and were provided with a copy of the document at the conclusion of the interview. When permission was granted by the officer, the interviews were audio recorded in order to ensure an accurate record of statements for the purposes of analysis. No compensation was provided for participation in the study.

The interview questions were designed to elicit probation officers' perspectives on North Lawndale, gentrification, and the relevance of community characteristics and community change on their task of supervising offenders. Officers were first asked some basic questions about their experiences, including how long they had worked for the department and the nature of their work in North Lawndale. Officers were then asked about their perceptions of North Lawndale; their involvement in the community; their clients' housing and economic circumstances; interactions with residents, police, and other agencies within North Lawndale; the largest perceived needs of, and challenges faced by, their clients; and what types of programs are or could be run in-house to support clients' success. Officers were also asked whether they had noticed any recent changes to North Lawndale and what impact they anticipated gentrification might have on their clientele.

(See Appendix B for the full questionnaire.) Follow-up questions were frequently added during the interview to follow up on officers' responses.

K. Analytic Techniques

The qualitative analysis began with transcribing the interviews verbatim. It should be noted that throughout this paper, brackets and ellipses are used to indicate minor rewording or removal of interview text for succinctness. Content was not removed where it was believed to risk altering the meaning. Some excerpts have been edited to remove "filler words" (e.g. "like," "you know," "um") that did not alter the substantive content of the message but which may have exposed the identity of participants through their speech patterns; these minor edits were not indicated within the text.

Once interviews were transcribed, they were loaded into MAXQDA10, a text analysis program, for coding. Data was coded using the constant comparative method outlined by Glaser and Strauss (1967/2008). With this technique, coding begins with organizing data "into as many categories of analysis as possible" (p. 105), with each subsequent piece of data compared to previously coded pieces to determine whether they can be organized into categories. The resulting categories were explored for insights regarding the probation department's structure and practices, probation officers' views of North Lawndale, and their observations of the realized or anticipated impact of gentrification for their clients.

L. Limitations to Qualitative Data Collection

Ideally, additional time would have been spent within North Lawndale in order to more fully understand the nature and extent of the changes taking place. My fieldwork was further limited in two respects. First, as a white female, my informal interactions with the residents of Lawndale were likely shaped by both race and gender. While working with a contact possessing

connections in the field was helpful, individuals may have been less candid with me as a result of my “out-group” status within a community that is still almost wholly African American. Second, while I did spend time within Lawndale, and separately was able to observe some of the workings of the CCAPD, I was unable to secure an opportunity to observe probation officers conducting fieldwork within Lawndale. While I had inquired about such observations, several members of the probation department, including administrators, expressed that I was not likely to be allowed to join officers in the field due to concerns about liability.

During my time in the two office locations of the CCAPD, I was able to secure interviewees representing many but not all specialized assignments. I did not come into contact with officers from three units—community service, sex offender, and intensive drug supervision. As a result, the perspectives of officers from these units were not represented in this study, and information about those units had to be garnered from indirect resources, including other interviewees; the department’s website; and published studies of the department. Direct representation from all units would have provided a more holistic understanding of the ways in which the department interfaces with the community.

In addition to their descriptions of North Lawndale, the interviewees provided a wealth of information regarding the department structure and practices. Nonetheless, it became apparent that the officers and administrators interviewed for this study were not always able to convey the reasons for changes that had occurred within the department, including the recent dissolution of community-based initiatives, one of which had been centered in North Lawndale. Additional interviews, particularly of key decision-makers within the department, would have strengthened an understanding of the factors underlying such changes.

All interviews were conducted with probation officers who have worked within North Lawndale. Probation officers provide a valuable perspective, but key stakeholders in North Lawndale's redevelopment, such as probationers and area employers and resource providers, are not represented. The addition of these perspectives in the next phase of this study is expected to provide crucial insights into how both gentrification and probation are impacting the lives of those within Lawndale. The exclusion of voices so central to this topic will necessarily limit the conclusions that can be drawn at this time.

Finally, there are some inherent weaknesses to relying heavily upon interviews as a methodology. Interviewing can serve as an important mechanism for identifying predominant discourses regarding the topics under study, but interview responses cannot be interpreted as objective reflections of reality. Speech does not simply relay information; rather, discourse must be understood as action, the intentions and effects of which are closely rooted in context. Even statements which appear to simply describe the state of things are subject to "insincerity" (Austin, 1962/1999, p.73), and people tend to self-present in a manner that is sensitive to the many ways in which they are likely to be judged (Goffman, 1959). As Briggs (1986) points out: "[T]he interview is...probably the last place where one should forget that the statements were made in a particular context" (p.23).

As a result of these limitations, the interview responses must be interpreted with the understanding that the realities of probation in North Lawndale may have been selectively presented. Respondents may have excluded important aspects of their own work, or of department operation, in a desire to be viewed positively by the interviewer or in the resulting analysis. While my "out-group" status was not as readily apparent within the CCAPD as it had been within Lawndale—when I first started spending time in the office, I was asked by a few

individuals whether I was a new officer in the department—this does not change my status as an outsider. There may have been hesitancy to voice criticism of the department, particularly since the interviews took place within the office, though this did not appear to be the case in all instances—in one situation, an interviewee sharing distaste for a coworker leaned closer to my audio recorder and stated “I hate that guy, make sure you get it [on the record],” and in another case, an officer returned to my office after being interviewed to thank me for providing an opportunity to “vent.”

Officers generally appeared candid and sincere in their interview responses, but they may have been hesitant to be candid regarding sensitive topics such as race. Bonilla-Silva (2003) provides a particularly insightful consideration of interpreting how people “talk about” race in his discussion of interview data. Recognizing that “[m]ost whites assert they “don’t see any color, just people”” (p.1), he was careful to interpret interview responses within the context of the interviewee’s demographic characteristics, the race of the interviewer, other responses within the same interview, responses from other interviews, and broader knowledge regarding social patterns. For example, though a number of student respondents claimed to have friendships with racial minorities, these responses were interpreted in light of broader statistics regarding the (un)likelihood of this being the case, and so on.

M. Conclusions

The data borne from this study begins to fill the dearth in the correctional literature surrounding probation. Perhaps just as importantly, if not more so, the data is expected to assist probation agencies, developers, community activists, and other interested parties in identifying the possible opportunities or challenges posed by gentrification in the supervision of offenders within the community. A case study allowed the interviews that formed the crux of this research

to be supplemented with several other data sources for the richest possible understanding of probation practice within Lawndale as it relates to gentrification. Compiling an in-depth analysis of one department presents the best opportunity for identifying and understanding the potentially complex relationships between probation and gentrification, some of which may not be easily anticipated within the limited frameworks of existing theories.

IV. COMMUNITY PROFILE: NORTH LAWDALE AND PROBATION

North Lawndale is one of seventy-seven designated community areas in the city of Chicago, located just a few miles west of the city's central business district. Lawndale has long been recognized for the extent of its social ills, but the community has not always been disadvantaged, and since its decline in the early 1900s, there have been several efforts to restore Lawndale to its past level of vitality. While these efforts have been largely unsuccessful, there is indication that the community may be poised for a turn-around. Lawndale has been extensively studied over the last several decades, but none of these studies have focused on probation nor explored how probation in Lawndale might be impacted by revitalization efforts. This chapter outlines the contentious history of Lawndale, recent community changes, and the extent of criminal justice involvement in the area, and presents data that was gathered to understand the current landscape of probation within Lawndale.

A. Early History

Lawndale was first settled in the aftermath of the Great Chicago Fire of 1871, which drove businesses and people outside of the city center (Seligman, 2005). The area's growth was supported by the extension of two elevated train lines in the 1890s and early 1900s, which drew settlers of primarily Dutch, German and Irish lineage (Helgeson, 2006). Most of Lawndale's presentday housing stock can be traced to this period, when construction was dominated by 2- and 3-flat greystone buildings (Helgeson, 2006). Major employers including the Sears national headquarters and a plant for Western Electric opened in the first decade of the 1900s, further adding to the attractiveness of the area (Seligman, 2005).

Lawndale attracted an upwardly mobile population of predominantly Jewish immigrants from Russia and Poland between 1910 and 1930 with its solid housing stock and well-landscaped

Douglas Park (Culter, 1995/1977). A strong commercial corridor developed along Roosevelt Road, and several youth centers and other community centers were established (Cutler, 1995/1977). One historical account described a typical scene in North Lawndale from the early 20th century:

The Greater Lawndale community was alive with outdoor activity, especially in the warmer months. Through the alleys came a constant procession of peddlers in horse-drawn wagons, hawking their fruits and vegetables in singsong fashion. Mingled among them were the milkmen and the icemen. Occasionally fiddlers would play Jewish melodies in the yards... (Cutler, 1995/1977, p.157)

The population of Lawndale more than doubled between 1910 and 1930 (Cutler, 1995/1977), from 46,000 to more than 112,000 (Seligman, 2005). This rapid population growth put strain on the housing stock, which started to show signs of disrepair (Seligman, 2005). The crowded and deteriorating conditions, coupled with the fact that most of the buildings were two-flats, which limited opportunities for home ownership, led residents to migrate to other areas of the city and suburbs (Cutler, 1995/1977). As the population moved, several of the Jewish institutions moved or shut down (Cutler, 1995/1977).

The city of Chicago experienced an influx of blacks migrating from the South in the 1930s and 1940s (Zielenbach, 2000), some of whom initially settled on the Near West Side, just east of Lawndale (Seligman, 2005). As the Jewish population abandoned Lawndale in the 1950s blacks began to take their place (Sinai Urban Health Institute, 2001). During this decade, the number of white residents in Lawndale declined from 87,000 to 11,000 while the number of black residents increased from 13,000 to 113,000 (Zielenbach, 2000, p.148).

The migration of African Americans to Lawndale did not cause its decline—the depopulation of the community's Jewish residents and the deterioration of its housing stock were already under way when middle-class African Americans began to settle in Lawndale after

World War II (Seligman, 2005). Still, the perception of African Americans as synonymous with “urban decline” prompted resistance among some remaining Jewish residents who were concerned about declining property values (Seligman, 2005). Seligman (2005) describes several instances of hostility toward blacks moving into the neighborhood, as with the following in 1957:

...a crowd of about a thousand whites gathered around a building at 3714 West Polk in North Lawndale...The home was occupied by its new African American owner, who rented the second floor to another black tenant. A black family had also just purchased the house next door. Members of the white North Lawndale mob broke windows in the house...The next night a smaller crowd of approximately two hundred teenagers gathered nearby shouting, “We want blood.” (p.167)

Resistance to their presence led some African American homebuyers to enlist the assistance of “blockbusters” to procure property in white neighborhoods (Seligman, 2005). The additional expense associated with this practice led some blacks to rent out space in their homes to other relatives, which placed additional strain on the housing stock (Seligman, 2005). This problem was further exacerbated by the city’s policies and practices regarding housing code enforcement and urban renewal. A new housing code passed in 1956 included a provision to prevent overcrowding, in addition to other structural requirements. When enforced, it was often to the detriment of homeowners who couldn’t afford to make the required changes (Seligman, 2005). In some cases, the city waited until buildings were so deteriorated that they could use the housing code to require its demolition (Seligman, 2005).

B. The Making of Lawndale as a Hyperghetto

Lawndale has increasingly borne the markers of a “hyperghetto” since the early 1960s. In Wacquant’s (2008) framework, the “hyperghettos” of the United States contrast to the ghettos of other nations based on the extreme extent of their racial homogeneity, exclusion from the formal economy, internal violence, infrastructural deterioration, and the confluence of spatial and

racial stigmatization with perceptions of “dependence.” Furthermore, these factors have all been exacerbated by the retrenchment of the welfare state and simultaneous policy of punitive containment over the last several decades (Wacquant, 2008).

Lawndale literally serves as a case example of hyperghettoization (see Wacquant, 2008). Lawndale had already begun to depopulate by the time riots broke out after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., nearly devastating the commercial zones on Roosevelt Avenue and 16th Street (Zielenbach, 2000). Many of these resources were never rebuilt, and the community experienced a significant out-migration of businesses (Wilson, 1996; Zielenbach, 2000) as well as residents (Zielenbach, 2000) by the end of the 1960s. Its economy suffered further substantial blows in the 1970s, when International Harvester and Western Electric closed nearby plants and Sears moved its headquarters out of Lawndale (Wilson, 1996; Zielenbach, 2000). The population had dropped below 95,000 by 1970 (Zielenbach, 2000), and continued to decline through 2000, by which time the population was only 41,768 (U.S. Census, 2000). Almost half of the neighborhood’s housing units had been destroyed from 1960 to 1985, with only 8 percent of the remaining units considered to be in “good condition” by the late 1970s (Zielenbach, 2000, p.160). As of 2001, Lawndale’s population was 99% nonwhite with 42% of families living below the poverty line and high rates of unemployment and crime (La Vigne & Mamalian, 2003).

The economic hardships of Lawndale have been well-documented by the popular media and sociological literature. In 1986 the *Chicago Tribune* published a book exploring “the nation’s permanent underclass” composed entirely of articles on Lawndale (Chicago Tribune, 1986). The account was palatably pessimistic, portraying Lawndale as a torrent sea of hopelessness and despair through article titles such as: “Checks Bring Basics and a Dead-End Emptiness: ‘It’s

Like Running in Quicksand” (p.91). Throughout the book were images of black residents bearing far-away looks, or smiling black faces juxtaposed with foreboding titles like “In the Delivery Room, Poverty Cycle Starts Again” (p.131). The book focused almost entirely on the twin scourges of poverty and violence.

The social ills faced by Lawndale and its extreme racial homogeneity have rendered it an attractive locale for sociological inquiry. Lawndale has served as a focus of urban studies for a parade of sociologists. Jonathan Kozol (1992) visited Lawndale’s Mary McLeod Bethune School for his study on urban education, contrasting the “bright and optimistic” voices of kindergarteners to the resigned boredom that pervaded a fifth grade classroom. Kozol (1992) documented the pervasiveness of infant mortality, dropouts, criminal justice involvement, and other issues within the community (pp. 41-51). William Julius Wilson (1996) included an account of the deindustrialization of North Lawndale in his book *When Work Disappears*. Massey and Denton (1993) mention Lawndale in their effort to explain the persistence of residential segregation within the United States, including Chicago in their list of “hypersegregated” cities. In setting forth his argument on “hyperghettoization,” Wacquant (2008) himself dedicated a chapter to Lawndale.

The neighborhood’s persisting rate of “punitive containment” (Wacquant, 2008, p.175) also supports its status as a hyperghetto. Wacquant (2009) documents the sprawl of the “penal dragnet” that encompasses not only prisons, but community supervision, alternative sanctions, and other forms of supervision as well (see discussion on pp. 64-68), all of which have been concentrated in disadvantaged minority urban areas. McKean and Raphael (2002) confirmed this phenomenon within Lawndale in finding that Lawndale residents composed about twelve percent of statewide intakes to the Illinois Department of Corrections in 2001. This means that

eight percent of adults from Lawndale entered the state prison system in 2001 (McKean and Raphael, 2002), a figure which does *not* count those already serving sentences, in jail or under community supervision. Lawndale has also seen the effects of reentry as residents fulfill their sentences; North Lawndale is one of six Chicago communities that receive the highest portion of returning prisoners (La Vigne & Mamalian, 2003). Of those neighborhoods, Lawndale had the highest percentage of vacant housing (15.2%), renter-occupied housing (73.9%) and female-headed households (46.2%) (Visser & Farrell, 2005), and was “by far the most impoverished” (La Vigne & Mamalian, 2003, p.58).

My field observations for this study further support the salience of the criminal justice system in the everyday experiences of Lawndale residents. Flashing blue lights on permanently-mounted police cameras along the neighborhood’s main corridor served as a reminder of being “watched.” In conversations with residents, stories of police interactions and references to relatives in prison or on parole were common. In one exchange, upon asking residents to put me in touch with probationers (as this study was initially going to include offender interviews), they started to call out to others on the street to see whether they knew anyone on probation only to be met back with responses of people who were on parole or in prison. Demonstrating the interplay between criminal justice involvement and economic circumstance, one resident who had been released from prison five weeks prior greeted my contact and I with the simple statement: “I need a job.” Indicating that probation and parole have different implications for offenders, another resident who had been on both forms of community supervision expressed her preference for parole, as it entailed fewer office visits and fewer fees that she felt she would only be able to pay by returning to selling drugs.

To date, only one study has offered an estimate of probation involvement within Lawndale. McKean and Raphael (2002) found that 7,315 Lawndale residents were on probation at some point in 2001. They contrast these numbers to just 2,442 new sentences to the Illinois Department of Corrections (IDOC) and 2,487 individuals on parole (McKean & Raphael, 2002), though no other 9,893 community residents were reported to still be serving sentences with IDOC from prior convictions (McKean & Raphael, 2002).

According to McKean and Raphael's (2002) study, probation was the most common *disposition* for Lawndale residents in 2001, but most of those under correctional control were serving time with IDOC, a circumstance that may be explained by the accumulation of prisoners serving multi-year sentences from prior conviction years. The average sentence for state prison was between 3.6 and 4.1 years, whereas most probationers were given sentences of less than two years (McKean & Raphael, 2002). Another factor to consider is that the IDOC numbers appear to reflect both direct sentences and those revoked for probation and parole offenses; without distinguishing between these populations, it is unclear how prominently probation and parole may feed into the imprisonment of Lawndale residents. Revocations have been identified as the driving force of increased prison admissions in many states (Parent, et. al., 1994), and while McKean and Raphael (2002) estimate a 45 percent failure rate for those on parole, they do not offer an estimate for probationers. While they caution that their methodology does not account for duplicate cases (for example, those revoked from probation may appear in both the probation and IDOC numbers), what is striking is McKean and Raphael's (2002) conclusion that up to 57 percent of adults in North Lawndale may have been under the control of the correctional system in 2001.

C. Renewal Efforts

The problems of Lawndale highlighted by the *Chicago Tribune*'s (1986) compilation and so many sociological studies tell only part of the story. North Lawndale continues to have high rates of poverty, unemployment, and criminal justice involvement, and in Wacquant's (2008) description of Lawndale as a hyperghetto, he rightfully highlights its structural decline, high rate of criminality, and prominent informal economy. While Lawndale has suffered from the retrenchment of the welfare state and the decline of the industrial economy, there have also been several instances of public and private funds being invested to improve the area. One *Chicago Tribune* article in 2008 observed that "what makes North Lawndale unusual is its history of receiving millions in government development funds and somehow ending up no better than when it started" (Olkon, 2008, 1). Wacquant's account of Lawndale's hyperghettoization is in many ways accurate, but it risks oversimplifying the path that has led Lawndale to its present state and obscuring the contested nature of the community.

Multiple players with competing interests have long taken part in a struggle for the identity and fate of Lawndale. In the 1950s, liberal residents who envisioned the potential for Lawndale to become a thriving interracial community formed a block club called the North Lawndale Citizens Council (NLCC), first providing health and employment services before narrowing their efforts to the physical improvement of the community (Seligman, 2005). The NLCC was soon overshadowed by the Greater Lawndale Conservation Commission (GLCC), an organization supported by Sears but never broadly supported by area residents due to its focus on business interests rather than residential concerns (Seligman, 2005). Neither the NLCC nor the GLCC were successful in attracting the attention of Chicago's city government to the needs of Lawndale until the 1960s (Seligman, 2005). When city officials finally did target Lawndale for

urban renewal, they were faced with resistance by residents who formed the West Side Federation in 1967 to demand community participation in the renewal process (Seligman, 2005).

The 1960s also witnessed a grassroots effort by the Conservative Vice Lords, a traditionally criminal gang, to beautify the neighborhood and “keep the peace,” but the gang met with official resistance (Dawley, 1992; Vice Lords, 2008). A series of investments in Lawndale as part of the nation’s War on Poverty in the 1960s had little discernable impact (Zielenbach, 2000). In 1986, the *Chicago Tribune* highlighted the grassroots efforts of existing North Lawndale residents to clean trash from vacant lots and plant grass and flowers in its place (Thornton, 1986) and reported on the interest of developers and architects in building a multi-million dollar shopping center in the community (McCarron, 1986). Some of the businesses that had been showcased as indicators of Lawndale’s redevelopment in the 1980s have since shut down.

Just as Wacquant’s (2008) account of state retrenchment risks oversimplifying the circuitous history of economic investment and disinvestment that has shaped present-day Lawndale, he accurately recognizes probation and parole as part of a broader pattern of punitive containment but fails to fully explore their impact on the community. While not “containing” in the traditional sense, these forms of supervision nonetheless represent a meaningful imposition of criminal justice agents on the daily lives of residents.

D. The Current State of Lawndale

The fieldwork conducted for this study revealed the complex reality of present-day Lawndale. New developments are interspersed with vacant lots, overgrown in some cases and paved in others, small stores and check-cashing businesses, storefront churches, and closed

businesses. My audio notes from a drive along the neighborhood's business corridor exemplifies the types of juxtaposition now characteristic of Lawndale:

...what appears to be an abandoned lot, a sign for roach spray, the lot appears kind of run down...apartments, United Baptist Church, empty lots...Kingdom Hall...an empty lot...retail space for lease, and here...some nicer looking developments. Across the street from that is a nice little mini-mall [with restaurants and a beauty shop]. Here's a gas station and what looks like a pretty nice restaurant. ...Sunshine Missionary Baptist Church, a big empty parking lot...[a small grocery store], right next to the House of Prayer...and on the north side right across from the church is a liquor store followed by empty parking lots on both sides. ...a nicer, newer building...I'm not quite sure what it is, followed by [a learning center], a Walgreens, but I'm not quite sure if it's still open...

On the residential streets of Lawndale, vacant lots interrupt rows of classic Greystones, and a beautiful view of the Chicago skyline forms the backdrop for blocks of extreme disorder.

Advertising banners for development companies are visible past vacant lots, and I observed new shopping complexes on the outer geographic edges of the community. Contemporary real estate agencies have already begun to describe community in terms of its "spacious public parks, educational institutions and a tasty roster of restaurants" (Dream Town Realty, 2008), yet it appears that the most recent development efforts have yet to take full hold over the community.

Lawndale has long been an attractive area by virtue of its solid housing stock, proximity to Chicago's downtown, and accessibility via the Eisenhower expressway, multiple major roadways, and mass transit(Zielenbach, 2000), and yet local dynamics have rendered prior attempts at revitalization impotent. There is reason to believe that the efforts currently under way are better poised for success. In recent years, the areas bordering Lawndale have seen significant redevelopment, including the Near West Side (Zielenbach, 2000). Furthermore, just as the out-migration of the Jewish population had rendered Lawndale vulnerable to an influx of African Americans from nearby areas despite the protests of remaining residents in the 1950s, Lawndale has experienced a severe depopulation in recent decades (see Table I) that weakens the

ability of its remaining African American residents to collectively resist the outside investors who threaten their displacement.

TABLE I
QUANTITATIVE INDICATORS OF CHANGE IN LAWNDALE

Measures	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
Total Population	124,937*	94,772*	61,523*	47,296*	41,768**
Percent Black	91*	96*	97*	96*	94**
Poverty Level		28.2 (poverty)* **	40 (percent families below poverty)*	44 (percent income below poverty)*	45.2%*** **
Median Family Income			9,902*	14,209*	\$18,342** **
Chicago's Median Family Income			\$28,775	\$30,707*	\$38,625** ****
* From the Chicago Fact Book, 1995 ** Calculated from data on census site for tracts 2901-2927, which compose Lawndale. ***From Zielenbach, 2000. **** From "Housing," 2009 ***** From Chicago Department of Public Health, 2006 *****Data for 1999, from Census, 2011					

As nearby gentrification and significant depopulation converged to make Lawndale vulnerable to the investments of outsiders, local non-profits continued to work to improve the prospects of its existing population. The Steans Family Foundation ("Housing," 2009) has channeled resources to combat social ills within the community, and the North Lawndale Employment Network (2011) is striving to improve the employability of residents. The

Lawndale Christian Church runs two arms of investment—the Lawndale Christian Health Center, focused on healthcare, and the Lawndale Christian Development Corporation (LCDC), which funds economic endeavors such as rehabs and new housing developments with the mission of supporting current residents in securing home ownership (Lawndale Community Church, 2011). The LCDC has successfully built or rehabilitated more than 100 low-income housing units (Zielenbach, 2000, p. 166)

Using an index reflective of per capita income (50%), loans (25%) and property values (25%) in several Chicago neighborhoods relative to city averages, Zielenbach (2000) confirms that North Lawndale and several surrounding communities began to show modest signs of improvement in the 1980s and 1990s. There appeared to be a perfect storm in place for Lawndale’s second coming, though it may be too early to tell how these changes will manifest, and how they will impact the neighborhood’s current residents. Family income in Lawndale has continued to lag far behind city averages, and poverty levels remain high (see Table I). Several organizations are dedicated to uplifting those in Lawndale, but new private developments hint at their potential displacement. The story of Lawndale is far from its conclusion.

E. Probation in North Lawndale

It is clear that North Lawndale is a community that continues to struggle, even as signs had begun to indicate its turn-around. What is less clear is the role that probation plays within Lawndale. McKean and Raphael’s (2002) study provided an initial foundation for understanding the prevalence of probation supervision, but offered few details beyond their quantitative analysis. Given concerns about duplicate cases in the McKean and Raphael (2002) data, the number of years that had passed since their study, and the limited conclusions that can be drawn

from community-wide totals, this study sought to gather more current and detailed information regarding probation within North Lawndale.

Cook County maintains two populations of adult probationers. The Social Service Department may receive the cases of those convicted of traffic, ordinance, misdemeanor, and felony offenses (“Department Profile,” 2006b), though most of their caseload originates from misdemeanor and traffic convictions (McKean & Raphael, 2002). By contrast, most felony offenders are placed under the supervision of the Cook County Adult Probation Department (CCAPD). This renders the CCAPD distinct from most departments nationwide—whereas 51 percent of probationers in the United States are under supervision for a felony offense (Glaze & Bonczar, 2010), the bifurcation of Cook County’s probation population has resulted in a CCAPD caseload composed of 95 percent felony offenders (McKean & Raphael, 2002).

McKean and Raphael (2002) report that most of the probationers sentenced from Lawndale in 2001 were placed under the supervision of the CCAPD (2,818) rather than the Social Service Department (1,039). This research focuses on the CCAPD, as an analysis of data from both departments was beyond the scope of this study. Without data from the Social Service Department, the resulting profile presents an underestimate of probation within Lawndale, and is reflective of a more serious offending population (as the CCAPD primarily supervises felony offenders).

The case files of the CCAPD indicate offenders’ zip codes but not their neighborhood affiliation, and the zip codes that encompass North Lawndale do not align neatly with community boundaries. As a result, data were secured for the zip codes that overlap with Lawndale. While this was initially seen as a limitation in properly assessing the number of North Lawndale residents on probation, securing information on bordering zip codes, each with

their own unique social landscape, enabled some interesting comparative analyses of the resulting descriptive data. Since zip codes draw more arbitrary lines than the commonly recognized community borders that divide residents more sharply by race, class and local culture, any significant differences among zip codes are all the more striking.

Ultimately, four zip codes were identified as encompassing parts of North Lawndale—60624, 60612, 60608, and 60623. As shown in Figure 4, the bulk of both North Lawndale and South Lawndale (a predominantly Mexican community also known as “Little Village”) fall into the 60623 zip code. The other three zip codes overlap with Lawndale only slightly—60624 overlays prominently with East and West Garfield Park, which are predominantly African American, and the southern part of Humboldt Park, a gentrifying Hispanic community; 60612 overlaps with East Garfield Park, the highly gentrified Near West Side (e.g. Lenz & Coles, 1999), and to a lesser extent with Humboldt Park and West Town; and 60608, along the eastern edge of Lawndale, encompasses parts of the Near West Side, Lower West Side, McKinley Park, Bridgeport, and South Lawndale.



Figure 4. Overlap of zip codes with community areas. Map modified from Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission (2003).

The case-level data provided by the CCAPD included the zip code of residence, sex, race, age, and offense of conviction for the 3,234 individuals on probation within the four zip codes in April of 2008. While information was also provided on offenders' sentence length and level of supervision, these variables were excluded from analysis due to the extent of missing data. Offenses of conviction were collapsed into the following categories: drugs, property, driving, violent, weapons, sexual, administrative, and "other" (see table II for details).

To approximate the percentage of the population under probation supervision in 2008, the number of people on probation within each zip code was divided by the adult population for the corresponding zip codes according to the 2000 U.S. Census. Unfortunately population estimates for 2005-2009 were not available by zip code for the area under study, and the 2010 Census data had not yet been released at the time of analysis. The results suggest that the extent of probation supervision varies significantly by location, even within these four conjoining zip codes.

Across the four zip codes, approximately 1.7% of the adult population was under the supervision of the CCAPD. The largest concentration of probationers appeared in 60624, where 3.49% of the adult population was under probation supervision, followed by 60612 (2.18%). Both of these zip codes overlap with the northern edge of Lawndale and parts of East Garfield Park. In zip code 60623, which encompasses most of North and South Lawndale, approximately 1.57% of the adult population was on probation. By contrast, the 60608 zip code has the lowest concentration of probationers (0.86%). (See Table III) This compares to a Department of Justice estimate that about two percent of the adult population nationwide is under probation supervision on any given day (Petersilia, 1997).

TABLE II
DETAILS OF COLLAPSED OFFENSE CATEGORIES

Collapsed Category	Partial List of Included Offenses
Drugs	Possession of a Controlled Substance Manufacturing of a Controlled Substance Delivery of a Controlled Substance Illegal Possession of Script Forms Bringing a Controlled Substance into a Penal Institution
Property	Arson Burglary Financial Identity Theft Forgery Fraud Issuance of Worthless Checks Criminal Damage to Property Receiving/Possessing/Selling Stolen Property Theft Trespassing
Driving	Driving with a Suspended or Revoked License <u>Driving Under the Influence*</u>
Violent	Battery Robbery Assault Manslaughter Murder With Intent to Kill/Injure Vehicular Hijacking/Attempted Vehicular Hijacking
Weapons	Aggravated Discharge of a Firearm Aggravated Unlawful Use of a Weapon Felony Possession/Use of a Firearm Gunrunning Possession of a Firearm with a Defaced Serial Number Purchasing a Firearm with False Information Unlawful Possession of a Handgun

Collapsed Category (cont'd)	Partial List of Included Offenses (cont'd)
Sexual	Prostitution Public Indecency Sexual Abuse of a Minor Sexual Assault Prostitution Public Indecency
Administrative	Failure to Pay Child Support Failure to Report Annually Failure to Report Change in Address/Employer False Information for the Sex Offender Registry False Report to 911 Violation of Order of Protection
“Other”	Aggravated Fleeing Arson with the Knowledge of People Present Child Abandonment Child Endangerment Cruelty to Animals Disorderly Conduct Own/Breed/Train a Fighting Dog Reckless Conduct/Homicide Resisting/Obstructing a Peace Officer Unlawful Restraint

* Often in conjunction with driving without a valid driver's license, or no valid insurance.

TABLE III
DISTRIBUTION OF PROBATIONERS BY ZIP CODE

Zip Code	Communities	Number of Adults (U.S. Census, 2000)	Percent Black (U.S. Census, 2000)	Percent Hispanic (U.S. Census, 2000)	Number of Adults on Probation (2008)	Approx. % of Adults on Probation
60624	East and West Garfield Park, Humboldt Park, North Lawndale	29,200	98.1%	1%	1,018	3.49%
60612	Near West Side, East Garfield Park, Humboldt Park, West Town, North Lawndale	26,359	65.6%	14%	574	2.18%
60623	North Lawndale, South Lawndale	69,175	21.2%	62.9%	1,083	1.57%
60608	Lower West Side, Near West Side, Bridgeport, McKinley Park, South Lawndale, North Lawndale	64,971	18.6%	62.7%	559	0.86%

Most of the probationers in the four zip codes studied were male (n = 2,529, 78.19%), black (n = 2,397, 74.11%), and below the age of 30 (n = 1833, 56.70%), though offenders in their 30s (n = 593, 18.34%) and 40s (n = 551, 17.04%) were not uncommon. The most common offense types resulting in probation were drug-related (n = 1,720, 53.19%), followed by property (n = 513, 15.86%), driving (n = 360, 11.13%), violent (n = 334, 10.33%), and weapons (n = 166, 5.13%) offenses. The remaining 4.35% of cases were accounted for by other offenses including sexual and administrative. (See table III)

F. Probation and Race in North Lawndale

Since each zip code encompassed divergent areas of racial composition, thus potentially muting any effect of race on probation involvement, further analysis was done by race. The results indicate significant differences along racial lines for both the prevalence of probation supervision and the crimes of conviction. Across the four zip codes, probation was most prevalent among blacks, with 2.95% of the total population under the supervision of the CCAPD—almost four times the rate of Hispanics (0.77%), and more than eight times the rate of whites (0.36%).

The majority of black probationers had been placed under supervision for drug crimes (62.33%), followed by property (15.27%) and violent (10.26%) offenses. Strikingly, Hispanic offenders were most likely to be on probation for driving-related (39.51%) offenses such as driving under the influence or operating without a license. Whites were most likely to be on probation for property offenses (34.76%). (See table IV.) It is unclear whether these stark differences are primarily attributable to differences in offending, enforcement practices, or sentencing patterns, though research supports that racial disparities in the criminal justice system tend to be most pronounced among the least serious offenses (Spohn, 2000; Zatz, 2000), suggesting that criminal justice discretion at least partially accounts for these variances.

TABLE IV
DISTRIBUTION OF OFFENSES BY RACE

<u>Cat</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Other/Mis sing Data</u>	<u>Total (Percent of Total) by offense</u>
Drugs	1494 (62.33%)	170 (26.24%)	47 (28.66)	9 (36%)	1720 (53.19%)
Property	366 (15.27%)	83 (12.81%)	57 (34.76%)	7 (28%)	513 (15.86%)
Driving	82 (3.42%)	256 (39.51%)	19 (11.59%)	3 (12%)	360 (11.13%)
Violent	246 (10.26%)	63 (9.72%)	21 (12.81%)	4 (16%)	334 (10.33%)
Weapons	114 (4.76%)	42 (6.48%)	9 (5.49%)	1 (4%)	166 (5.13%)
Other	44 (1.84%)	12 (1.85%)	2 (1.22%)	1 (4%)	59 (1.82%)
Sexual	27 (1.13%)	14 (2.16%)	4 (2.44%)	0 (0%)	45 (1.39%)
Administrative	24 (1.00%)	8 (1.24%)	5 (3.05%)	0 (0%)	37 (1.14%)
Column Totals	2397 (100%)	648 (100%)	164 (100%)	25 (100%)	3234 (100%)

G. Conclusions

North Lawndale has seen a number of transformations since first being settled in the late 1800s. The population of the community transformed from those of Western European to Jewish decent in the early 1900s, and again to a predominantly African-American population in the mid-1900s. Since that time, the racial and socioeconomic segregation of the community, dearth of

structural resources, and high level of criminal justice involvement have rendered it a classic case of Wacquant's (2008) "hyperghetto." Nonetheless, there is evidence to suggest that Lawndale may be transformed both racially and economically if gentrification efforts pick up steam. The implications of such a transformation for existing residents is not yet clear.

Lawndale's high rate of criminal justice involvement has been well-documented, but little was known about probation. The data presented in this section support that probation supervision holds a prominent place in the landscape of criminal justice entanglement among Lawndale residents. The data also reveal variations in probation by space and race, even within a fairly small geographic area. The rate of probation supervision was lowest in the zip code that overlapped heavily with a nearby Mexican community, whereas it was highest in the area overlapping with the predominantly African American communities to the north.

Probation can place significant bureaucratic and economic demands on an already stigmatized and disadvantaged population, and revocation paves as an additional pathway to prison. In an environment characterized by limited employment opportunities, placing financial demands upon probationers may actually incentivize crime or render prison a more attractive option. Alternatively, with the retrenchment of the welfare state described by Wacquant (2008), probation may be one of the few remaining public agencies that could channel resources to dispossessed and stigmatized populations. If new resources begin to appear within Lawndale, they may be harnessed to the benefit of existing residents, though they also introduce the real risk that these individuals will instead be displaced.

What is certain at this point is that efforts to improve Lawndale have been slow and complex. The community continues to be plagued by a variety of social ills, and criminal justice agencies—including the CCAPD—continue to maintain a prominent presence in the lives of its

residents. The rest of this paper presents a detailed description of the CCAPD, and explores probation officers' observations of the changing conditions of Lawndale, their perceptions of the relevance of those changes to their work with clients, and the factors that appear to shape their professional responses to gentrification.

V. PROBATION WORK IN COOK COUNTY

Probation officers in North Lawndale are faced with a complex landscape. Clients already dispossessed racially, economically, spatially, and legally, reside in a community undergoing a slow process of physical and social change. Unlike correctional officers in prisons and jails, probation officers are not tasked with managing a “total institution,” but rather with offenders who reside in an environment that is largely out of their control. In this respect, it seems inevitable that changes to the community will impact the work of probation officers. Still, the exact nature of this impact is likely to vary by department, as different agencies maintain vastly different relationships to the communities they serve. Departmental characteristics dictate the amount of time that officers spend in the field and the nature of their interactions with residents. Variations in structure, resources, relationships, and relative prioritization of law enforcement and social work duties all shape the interface of probation and community, and accordingly may shape the manner in which probation is impacted by gentrification. This section sets forth the departmental context of probation work within Lawndale by outlining the historical development and current structure of the Cook County Adult Probation Department (CCAPD) with a specific eye toward those factors which shape the nature and extent of officers’ community involvement. Chapter 6 will focus more closely upon officers’ experiences within, and impressions of, North Lawndale.

A. Historical Context of the CCAPD

Adult supervision in Cook County was initiated by the passage of the Adult Probation Act of 1911 (Houston, 1912). In its first annual report, the county’s chief probation officer characterized the department as just one of several “civilizing and moralizing agencies” with a role in combating criminality, alongside schools, churches, and other community organizations.

Indicative of a social work orientation within the department, the report suggested that other charitable organizations sometimes fell short of meeting clients' needs to the extent that "Judges, Court Officers and Probation Officers are constantly giving to the needy out of their own funds..." (Houston, 1912, p.8). Tensions were identified between the reformist aims of the department and the desire for retribution among the public and deterrence among businesses (Houston, 1912).

Perhaps because of this lack of public acceptance, the original probation law only allowed judges to grant probation for defendants without any prior convictions, and for specified property and other minor offenses (Houston, 1912). Nonetheless, probation was popular among judges in the county, who were critiqued for overstepping their bounds by granting probation in cases not legally eligible (Gault, 1915; Houston, 1922). In its first year, 1,074 individuals were sentenced to probation in Cook County, and concerns were expressed over caseload sizes that exceeded 100 per officer (Houston, 1912). Most offenders had been placed under supervision for larceny (45.3%, n = 486), disorderly conduct (23.4%, n = 251), or speeding (11.6%, n = 124), though Houston (1912) attributed the high number of larceny convictions to the practice of judges changing "burglar, robbery or other crimes...to larceny" (p. 16) so that they would qualify for probation. The vast majority of probationers were young, white (96.6%), male (89.5%), and American-born (68%), though German (6.2%) and Polish (5.8%) immigrants were not uncommon (Houston, 1912).

Houston (1912) identified the task of helping offenders find employment as "one of the most important duties of a probation officer" (Houston, 1912, p.11). His reasoning for this prioritization was two-fold. First, employment was seen as a requisite for individual reformation: "You cannot expect boys with no home, no money and no job to be honest. They

must be given a job at living wages, so that they may buy something to eat, clothes to wear and a place to sleep” (p. 8). This coincides with the perspective of employment that had dominated the early days of parole (Simon, 1997).

Second, it was offender employment that allowed full realization of probation’s fiscal potential— Houston (1912) estimated that the department had saved the county more than \$439,000 in its first year by allowing offenders to sustain their livelihood and support their families rather than incarcerating them at taxpayer expense. Rothman (1980) highlights that while states usually incur expenses for incarceration, probation is typically funded at the local level, which can pose challenges in securing adequate funding (pp. 94-95). As a result, many departments are burdened with justifying the expense of their own existence, an argument that seems most likely to be won when framed in terms of fiscal benefit.. From the beginning, then, much of the discourse surrounding probation has emphasized its promise in economic terms.

The probation department began to fall under criticism in subsequent years. Studies by the Chicago Council Committee on Crime (Merriam, 1915) and a citizens’ committee appointed by the city and its judiciary (Chicago Probation Study, 1932) echoed the department’s first annual report in regard to the fiscal and social benefits of probation, and concerns about understaffing and high caseload sizes. The citizens’ committee had an additional critique, though, attributing inadequacies within the department to the practice of hiring officers based upon political connections rather than professional qualifications (Chicago Probation Study, 1932). The chief probation officer was also accused of obtaining his position due to political connections (Rothman, 1980, p.85). In contrast to its early judicial popularity, there was also indication that probation was starting to fall out of favor with judges, with “many of them saying

that they would just as soon turn the delinquents loose upon the streets” (Chicago Probation Study, 1932, p.761).

To combat the role of politics in hiring, it was suggested that the department implement hiring exams with oversight by a citizens’ committee (Chicago Probation Study, 1932). A report published by the John Howard Administration (1972) forty years later indicated that the county-based probation systems in Illinois continued to lack standardization and professionalization, and the CCAPD was once again accused of making hiring decisions primarily based on political clout. The report indicated that “differential handling [of cases] is relatively non-existent” (p.3), and shared stories of probation officers so busy pursuing other business enterprises that researchers couldn’t locate them at the probation office, and some probationers’ office visits were described as simply reporting to the department secretary. These critiques were not entirely unique to Illinois. Many early probation departments were plagued by politically-based hiring, insufficient training, high caseloads, and lax supervision (Rothman, 1980/2002), all of which have the potential to undermine meaningful case work with probationers and responsiveness to the communities in which they reside.

B. Contemporary Professionalism of the CCAPD

Since the 1970s, a series of developments have contributed to the professionalization of the department. Partially in response to the scathing report by the John Howard Administration (1972) on the condition of probation in Illinois, the Administrative Office of the Illinois Courts (AOIC) assumed some oversight over county departments with the formation of its Probation Services Division in 1979 (Adams, Olson, & Adkins, 2002; Dighton & Aguilar, 1999). Probation departments in Illinois continue to be primarily accountable to the local judicial branch (Krauth, Linke, & LIS, Inc., 1999), but the AOIC sets statewide minimum qualifications and

mandatory training for officers (Dighton & Aguilar, 1999). In 1984, Illinois legislation further called for the adoption of a system of case classification and the creation of intensive supervision programs (Dighton & Aguilar, 1999; Olson & Hickey, 1992), a move which supported the differential handling of cases that the John Howard Association (1972) had identified as lacking.

The CCAPD has also taken internal steps toward professionalization, including through the adoption of exhaustive guidelines to standardize officer duties and the handling of technical violations in a series of Administrative Sanctions Protocols (ASPs), developed in 1997 (“Administration,” 2011). The protocols outline the steps that officers should take when offenders violate the conditions of their release, and indicate the point at which cases must be brought back before a judge. The department also has detailed policies regarding the required number of field and office contacts with offenders under different types of supervision, and other necessary conditions for certain offender caseloads.

C. Departmental Factors that Shape Client-Officer Interaction

The nature of client-officer interaction within the CCAPD varies based upon a number of factors. The contact frequency for those on standard probation is based upon the results of the Level of Service Inventory-Revised (LSI-R), a need/risk assessment tool administered by officers during each client’s intake interview. Clients deemed lowest risk report primarily by mail, and do not receive home visits from officers. Because of the low level of expected interaction, officers managing the lowest risk caseloads may have more than 200 offenders assigned to them at a given time. By contrast, standard caseload officers who supervise medium- to high-risk clients see their clients in the office weekly or monthly, spending two days each month conducting field work with a partner. Due to this higher level of contact, medium- to high-risk caseloads are kept between 120 and 150 offenders at any given time. As the number of

clients officers can visit in the field on any given day is limited, the two days spent in the field each month result in field visits with any given client approximately once every six months.

In addition to standard caseloads, for which contact frequency is determined by the results of the risk assessment, the department maintains several specialized caseloads (discussed later in this chapter) with different standards for contact. For example, all clients assigned to the mental health unit must report for office visits every two weeks and submit to a field visit every 45 days when they are first placed on probation (“Appendix,” 2006). Officers assigned to the intensive supervision probation (ISP) and gang units have much more frequent contact with each client, and therefore much smaller caseloads. ISP officers see some clients up to five times a week (three office visits and two field visits), and therefore are only assigned about 20 clients at a time. Officers in the gang unit have about 50 clients each.

D. Geographic Distribution of Cases

While it appears that the issue of high caseloads has not been addressed for any but the highest risk cases, steps have been taken to make caseloads more manageable. Potentially relevant in shaping officers’ relationship to the broader community is the assignment of cases based in part upon offender zip code. This minimizes travel time on days spent in the field, and in theory supports officers’ awareness of community resources that could be procured on clients’ behalf. One supervisor explained the benefits of this practice:

Back in the day I could be going to the suburbs and the city and all that in the day, [now it’s] streamlined, you got a zip code...the theory was you knew the neighborhood, you knew the area, and you could do it expeditiously. And I guess probably the neighborhoods too, you would know some resources and so on in those neighborhoods.

Still, the department has faced logistic barriers to maintaining the geographically-based caseloads. In order to maintain an equitable distribution of cases, officers’ caseload size is also considered when assigning new cases. For example, if the officers assigned to 60612 have an

overload of cases, new clients from that zip code are distributed among other officers in the department. Recently, an influx of driving under the influence cases from the near-west suburb of Cicero resulted in cases being distributed to officers typically responsible for other areas. Such shifts in the offender population result in officers being assigned to cases outside of their regular areas. An administrator explained that "...once one location starts to get overwhelmed, they'll transfer that zip code to another location, and then when that location gets overwhelmed, they'll transfer back." Other department reorganizations, such as its recent reabsorption of responsibility for pretrial supervision, also resulted in significant reallocations of staff that caused disruption to the geographic assignment of cases.

As a result of these frequent shifts, several officers struggled to explain their areas of responsibility. One officer stated she has "[zip codes] 44, 24, Cicero. We're getting South Side now, I don't know why." A gang officer reported: "I'm all over the place...I got suburbs, I have city, I have south side, I have west side, I gotta go up to the north side..." A standard caseload officer described her area as covering most of the city:

...we have downtown as part of our area, our area goes—well, they just changed our boundaries again, but we've got probably cases as far south now as, like I just got a case 53rd and Richmond, we've got cases as far north as probably Palmer, we go to the lakefront and probably as far west as Cicero, so we have a pretty big area.

Having such geographically dispersed areas of responsibility meant that many officers did not associate their work strongly with a given community. From a research standpoint, the benefit was that the officers interviewed for this study, with an average of 16 years of experience, could contrast what they have witnessed in Lawndale to other communities in Cook County. Particularly valuable were the experiences of five officers who worked in both Lawndale and Humboldt Park, a gentrifying Puerto Rican community slightly north of Lawndale. Practically speaking, though, the broad distribution of cases also rendered it less

likely that officers could meaningfully invest in building collaborative relationships with employers or resource providers in any given area of the city.

E. Office-Based Client Interactions

During office visits, probationers are asked to report any new arrests and changes to their address, employment or income. Offenders are also able to share recent accomplishments, or any challenges that they are facing in their work or home environments. Officers used this as an opportunity to praise offenders for progress in their education, employment or treatment, or to provide them with referrals to resources that might be helpful to them. While not all caseload officers are responsible for handling referrals for court-ordered conditions (which will be discussed shortly), many of them maintained their own record of resources to share with their clients informally. Officers most often reported learning of these resources through word-of-mouth from clients or coworkers. A standard caseload officer described:

...we have no internet access [in the office], we don't have access to information, our phones have locks on them [that disallow long-distance calls], so it really makes it difficult. I used to call 311 and ask for resources through them and depending on who answers the phone you might someone who's helpful or you might get nowhere. I find out a lot actually through word of mouth through other POs and through my probationers. If they find something that sounds pretty good, they bring me the information and then I share it with other people.

The office visit also provides an opportunity for the officer to revisit some of the conditions of probation with their client. Depending upon the offender's conditions of release, a change in employment or other special circumstances might warrant a modification of a curfew or probation fees.

The department also runs a small number of on-site treatment programs. In the course of my research, I heard about a budgeting class, parenting class, women's program, and a new cognitive intervention program. Of these, officers described the budgeting class in the greatest

depth. Clients are assigned to attend the class if they are unable to make a payment toward their probation fees for sixty days or are more than fifty percent in arrears. Officers voiced skepticism about the relevance of these budget classes for their clients. One standard caseload officer stated:

... in the best world, if there was really an effort to help, you would send them to the class, that would be fine, and they would get instruction on how to help manage their money that they don't have in most instances, but to help them to put aside some money to pay their probation fees. But the joke is if they still can't pay it, you come back every month, so you could come back for the next two years, going to the same class, hearing that same lecture over and over. And that becomes a joke. It becomes a joke to them, it becomes a joke to everybody. It's just another condition ... It's counterproductive.

Offenders cannot be revoked solely for their inability to pay probation fees (*Bearden v. Georgia*, 1983), but those who are in arrears and fail to attend the budgeting class may be revoked. For those who still haven't paid their fees at the end of their period of probation, the judge may extend their supervision.

F. Fieldwork

Most officers conduct home visits as part of their duties, typically spending two days each month conducting fieldwork. They perceived address verification as the main priority of their time in the field. Offenders sometimes provide a false address when placed on probation, and visiting offenders' homes provides an opportunity to confirm they live where they claim. An officer shared:

... Validity of the residency, a lot of times we go there and it's an empty lot or a store or something like that. And they just want to get out of jail so fast that they put anything if they don't know [their address] exactly, they'll get close.

Interviewees also recognized the potential for their fieldwork to provide them with insight into the lives of their clients through a general awareness of their living environment by giving them a sense of how well the home is maintained, with whom the offender resides, and

what types of activity take place within the community—in the words of one officer, “be really cognizant of what’s going on in the community, what type of activity is around the house, that type of thing.” They generally didn’t see these aspects of fieldwork as valued by the department, though. An administrator explained:

They’re not necessarily encouraged by me to look for community-based situations for their clients because their focus at that point is just entirely on verifying addresses. And for the most part due to the safety factors we really don’t encourage our officers to be out there.

Important to understanding whether officers may encounter community pressure to enforce offenders’ conditions more stringently in gentrifying communities, officers didn’t report spending much time interacting with anyone outside of their clients’ households while in the field. Collateral visits, in which offenders are visited at school, work, or treatment sites, were rare, as were face-to-face contacts with employers, treatment providers, or other community resources. Of the twenty-seven officers interviewed, only nine stated that they occasionally visit community agencies, and they generally described these visits as being infrequent, less common than in the past, and lacking the support of the department. They described visiting agencies “occasionally” or, in one case, “once or twice a year.” One officer had dedicated one day every couple of months to visit with agencies in the past, but described the visits as becoming less frequent. Another also described recent reductions in his interactions with agencies:

Within the past year and a half, two years, it’s been more or less phone calls and periodically going out and meet someone, but it’s more or less referrals by phone and then we just send them a letter--we don’t really get a chance to get out a whole lot.

Officers did not describe holding community meetings or otherwise regularly initiating contact with residents outside of their clients’ households.

Officers cited a number of institutional and logistic barriers to their face-to-face contact with resources in the community. Contrary to most interviewees, one administrator did identify

agency networking as “part of the probation officer’s job,” but suggested that the department had been unsuccessful “not because of lack of effort but because there are really no viable businesses in [the community].” Others stated that they did not have enough time due to the size of their caseloads, and that it simply was not perceived as a department priority relative to collecting fees and conducting address verification. As one standard caseload officer stated when asked about face-to-face contact with agencies:

The department does not like that. When we do our field visits, and I don’t know where that comes from, but if I have someone in treatment...and I want to go check in because I’m worried about their mental illness or whatever, you can go, it’s usually pretty time-consuming when you go to one of those agencies, but the department...they don’t like us to do that for some reason.

As a result, interactions with agencies were largely limited to phone or fax contact to verify that their clients were indeed receiving services.

G. Resource and Community Service Officers

Another factor limiting the interactions between most officers and community agencies may be the department’s maintenance of two specialized units responsible for resource referrals and community service placement. All court-ordered conditions for probationers assigned to a standard caseload are handled through these units; field service units, as will be discussed shortly, make their own treatment referrals but do make use of the community service unit. No community service officers were interviewed for this study, though others did share their thoughts on the community service opportunities available for clients. They reported churches and the Salvation Army as common volunteer sites, with other clients served their hours at a “Sheriff’s Work Alternative Program” (SWAP). One administrator expressed some concern for the value of some community service sites other than SWAP:

...it's useless because most of it is on the BS. They go to these sites, the folks don't have anything for them to do, they sign the sheet, put down the hours, and walk out. That's just the truth of it. People don't want to hear that, or listen to it, but that's what happens.

On SWAP, he reasoned, at least the offenders had to actually serve their hours, often cleaning alongside highways or inside buildings, or washing county cars. Officers could generally not identify community service projects targeted at improving offenders' own communities. Three officers were specifically asked about whether the department had a partnership with any organizations similar to Habitat for Humanity; none were aware of such partnerships, but all shared enthusiasm for the idea, with one IPS officer responding "I haven't seen that. I would even volunteer for that."

For court-ordered treatment, when offenders are placed on standard probation, the clerk who enters their information into the computer system passes word of the ordered conditions to the supervisors of the resource unit, who then distribute the cases among their officers for the necessary referrals to be made. A resource officer explained that appropriate agencies are chosen based on their inclusion on a court-approved list; their proximity to the home address of the offender; and the resource officer's past experiences with them. There was a preference for agencies that had been reliable in the past, while others were ruled out based on negative experiences:

I think I pulled about a dozen people out of a drug program on the west side because...they had funding problems, but then they started saying, "oh, we can't see them for five months" or something, and I had people waiting there for a couple of months for evaluations. And I just said this is absolutely unconscionable to set up something like this when they've been ordered by the court. I pulled them en masse...

A letter is sent to the offender with a referral to the identified service provider, and the resource officer follows up on each case after sixty days to evaluate the offender's progress.

The resource officer interviewed did conduct face-to-face visits with new agencies, and on a monthly basis with service providers that handle a large number of clients. Other contact took place by fax or phone. There is an effort to limit the number of agencies used, as with the number of referrals processed “you don’t have time to go to 30 agencies for drug treatment.” While the resource unit might be expected to have the closest working relationship with community agencies, this officer described frustration with department regulations that were perceived as inhibitory:

... if I have to go in the field to visit an agency, I have to do a field visit plan, you have to submit it 48 hours ahead of time, and you know I’ve got an agency across the street here, technically by agency regulations I would have to submit a field plan 48 hours in advance to walk across the street... I mean, what if I’ve got one agency, and they called me last night before I went home and they wanted me to come--I mean, why not be spontaneous about this?

The officer was similarly frustrated with having to carry a police radio in the field. This requirement was believed to be rooted in a concern for safety, though the officer questioned the usefulness of this requirement and its possible deleterious effect on interactions with service providers who may perceive the police radio to be “intimidating.”

The resource unit struggles with resources. An administrator mentioned that the unit is typically the first to be hit with budget cuts, and that it is smaller than it had been in the past. Other officers who had past or present experience working in the unit confirmed that it had experienced several changes over the years, initially organized with officers who specialized in specific types of resources, and then experiencing a significant downsizing, resurgence, and subsequent re-downsizing. One officer explained the historic structure of the resource unit:

[in the 1980s the resource unit] was split up into four different sections. We had a job unit, we had people that went out and did training and education, we had mental health, and just basically counseling, that kind of stuff. So it was split up, and we did have job leads, and drug treatment facilities, I mean we had a manual that you could just go to that

the officers would refer the client back to the resource department and then we just serviced them from there.

There appeared to be substantial frustration on the part of both caseload and resource officers regarding the relationship between the two. Some officers expressed dissatisfaction with the resource unit—in the words of one officer:

Referrals through the resource department, I don't know where the hell they get their resources. I've been very disappointed. I'll tell them not to send my probationers to certain places. It's bad enough that they have to go through the program, and having to pay for it.

Others seemed to have an unclear understanding of its role. One caseload officer believed the resource unit maintains records of, and sustains relationships with, area employers on behalf of clients, when in fact the unit does not engage in job placement. Such misunderstandings regarding the role of resource officer may be attributable to the limited contact between resource officers and caseload officers. The interviewed resource officer acknowledged:

Of course, you know we've always been stereotyped as the lazy ones and this and this and this and that, so I mean, you get used to that after so many years. ... There is very little communication between us and the regular officers and management of what we do. ... I think would be a benefit to the officers if they knew, even a two hour, during the training, the two, three days of training we have, even a two hour session where they sit and they can ask questions, they can find out this is what we do...

H. Field Service Units

The units of the CCAPD that are designated “field service units” maintain a different presence within the community. In contrast to other officers, those working the gang, intensive supervision, intensive drug supervision, sex offender, and home confinement units are armed, spend more time conducting fieldwork, and work nontraditional hours that allow them to conduct curfew checks. They also have substantially smaller caseloads than other officers, as their clients are deemed higher-risk and more frequent contact is required. The gang, intensive drug, and sex offender officers also conduct searches of offenders' homes.

The home confinement unit is the only field service unit that does not have a caseload. Home confinement officers enforce conditions of house arrest or curfew for offenders who do not fall under the purview of the other field service units. Without electronic monitoring (which the department only used in domestic violence cases where there had been a violation of an order of protection), these conditions have to be enforced by physically going to offenders' homes to verify their presence. One officer described the work as follows:

... it's just making sure they're in the house. ...we'll get like a single sheet of paper that'll say such and such, a case number, and just a general possession of a controlled substance. So we don't have any information on this guy. We don't know his history, we don't know anything.

Since the role of home confinement officers is limited to confirming that offenders are meeting conditions of home confinement, they spend the most time in the field, but are also the farthest removed from the treatment and case management aspects of probation. When one home confinement officer was asked whether clients ask him about resources, he responded:

It comes up in various times in the discussions but unfortunately with what we do there's nothing I can talk with them about because that's not what I do. I don't have access to the resources, so the only thing I can do is refer them back to the department or their officer who does do that for a living, and has access to that stuff...Unfortunately because they see us, the clients generally see us more than they see their officers, we're the person they ask the questions...

In order to maximize the number of contacts that can be made in a day, cases are divided by geographic area, but any given officer is not assigned to the same area each day. Still, these officers are in the field frequently enough that they come to be recognized:

...we've had the joke years back when you still had a lot of the projects, that are still standing, the CHA, the Horner Homes, it wouldn't be uncommon when we pulled into the parking lot that you would actually start hearing the residents start calling out the person that we were trying to see. "So and so, get down here, your officer's here." ...you get to be highly recognized.

In contrast to home confinement officers, the officers assigned to other field service units—Gang, ISP, IDP, and Sex Offender—do maintain their own caseloads. Relative to most other caseload officers, they have more frequent contact with each offender, handle their own resource referrals (rather than using the resource unit), and conduct their own curfew checks (rather than using home confinement officers). They spend a substantial amount of time in the field, though not to the extent of home confinement officers, as they are also responsible for receiving office visits from their clients. Of the field service units, only the gang and ISP units were represented among the interviewees for this study. A gang officer shared how spending more time in the field and conducting home searches resulted in a more intimate understanding of clients:

[Regular caseload officers] have too many cases. You're sitting in the office so you get a good perspective maybe psychologically. I can't tell you how many cases ...from here, where the guy was on regular and then violated and of course the guy's going to deny [being] a gang member because they think for some reason if they admit it they might be in trouble, so they'll put "denies gang membership." First time we go to their house, what do we find? Guys throwing up the gang signs—pictures, trophies, you know. "Wait a second, I thought you weren't a gang member—you told your old PO." ...we have more access to their inner lives so to speak...

Of the officers interviewed, those working with the gang unit most frequently shared stories of individual offenders, and described the most active support of their success. There was close collaboration between gang officers and their supervisors. It was not uncommon to hear stories of administrators getting directly involved on behalf of individual clients, as with the following:

...the [administrator] really wanted to help this guy, and he actually asked us, "hey, I want to get this kid to his first day of GED class." He called him, we were going to go and pick him up and give him a ride there.

One administrator described visiting an employment agency with an offender, and helping him follow up with potential employers afterward.

The gang unit maintains a formal collaboration with the Chicago Police Department, a partnership upon which the unit had been established. An officer described some of the information-sharing that takes place:

...when one of our guys gets arrested, the police can, when they take them back to the station, they can actually print out his probation work, and then there's a little form they fill out to help with the arrest, so that makes sure that the guy goes to his probation judge before he gets bonded out.

Gang officers also reported more contact with community agencies than standard caseload officers, visiting agencies to introduce themselves or to follow up on whether their offenders were compliant with treatment. They were not always satisfied with the quality of community resources available, though, a matter that will be explored in greater depth in chapter 6.

The officers interviewed from the ISP caseload varied in the extent of their interactions with community agencies. Responsible for their own resource referrals, the officers did report occasionally conducting collateral visits at job or community service sites, though other contact took place by phone calls or fax. One ISP officer reported "periodic" visits to agencies, while another officer described that: "...in the past, we've had fleeting contacts with this group or that group or the other group. Not to great ends as a general rule."

While the specifics varied, collectively the field service units spend more time conducting fieldwork than other officers. The interviewed gang and ISP officers were more likely to report visits with community agencies, a pattern that other sources indicate to hold true for the IDP and sex offender units(e.g. Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority, 2001), which were not represented in this study. While some officers did report meeting with community agencies and gang officers shared stories of personally connecting clients to resources to support their success, the only organized collaboration revealed in the interviews was the gang unit's work with the Chicago Police Department.

I. Other Areas of Specialization

The department has been progressive in developing and maintaining specialized caseloads. The department has been progressive in developing and maintaining specialized caseloads. About 88% of CCAPD clients are assigned to standard supervision, with the remaining offenders spread across several specialized units (“Department Profile,” 2006a), including the field service units. The CCAPD is home to one of the nation’s first specialized mental health units, implemented about 20 years ago (Wolff, Epperson, & Fay, 2010). Other officers specialize in domestic violence cases, or are specifically assigned to work with the county’s drug and mental health courts, where cases are managed in collaboration with judges, attorneys, and treatment providers. Many of these units were established with the support of grants from agencies such as the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority, Illinois Department of Mental Health and Developmental Disabilities, and United States Department of Justice (“Department Profile,” 2006a).

Maintaining specialized units has several benefits. First, it allows the department to develop standardized practices while still having the flexibility to tailor certain aspects of supervision to the unique risks and needs presented by different offender populations. For example, offenders assigned to the mental health unit are monitored for compliance in taking relevant medications, whereas clients on a domestic violence caseload are held accountable for participation in a group treatment program.

Second, it enables officers to “specialize” in certain offense types, which supports the development of expertise in their designated areas. Specialized probation officers tend to have more tools at their disposal to support their offenders’ compliance (Skeem, Encandela,

&EnoLouden, 2003). A mental health officer described the information-sharing within the unit regarding mental health resources in the community.

Finally, a division of cases by offense type enables stronger collaboration between officers and relevant treatment providers (e.g. Monti, 1999). For example, the mental health unit sponsors “consumer meetings” at the probation office, where representatives from agencies such as the social security office and the National Alliance on Mental Illness are invited to share information with clients. The development of the department’s sex offender unit had been prompted, in part, by the perceived benefits of increased collaboration between officers and treatment providers (Stalans, Seng, Yarnold, et. al., 2001).

My participant observation within the department did support that specialized caseload officers were more likely to engage in problem-solving and collaboration in the management of their cases. The mental health unit maintains a separate book of resources for officers’ reference, in addition to organizing optional informational meetings for their clients. The drug court has an established relationship with a local treatment organization, and in “staffing” meetings with the judge, prosecuting attorney, defense attorney, treatment provider, and probation officer, cases were considered holistically to determine the best treatment options for clients. Drug court officers described holding graduation celebrations for those who complete treatment, which was believed to be a source of pride for successful clients.

J. Department Finances

Budgetary constraints came up frequently in formal interviews and informal conversations. One administrator mentioned that recent budget cuts resulted in the layoffs of clerks and janitors, a decision that had to be made to avoid probation officer layoffs. Budget constraints resulted in frequent reorganizations, as when administrators stepped down and

replacements could not be hired. Limitations in the number of officers, coupled with shifting distributions of cases, resulted in reassignments and adjustments to officers' geographic areas of responsibility in an effort to balance caseload sizes. Budgetary issues were also cited by some as the likely cause of the dissolution of the department's "Project Safeway" locations. Project Safeway, which will be discussed in greater depth in chapter 6, was an initiative aimed at strengthening the relationship between the department and the community (Leaf, Lurigio, & Martin, 1993). The idea was to open decentralized reporting offices to facilitate offenders' reporting and increase officers' level of involvement in the communities being served, though several officers voiced their belief that a key motivation for opening these satellite offices was to accommodate growth in the department that exceeded the physical capacity of its primary office.

Some officers expressed frustration at the stress placed on the department to financially contribute to its own operation through fee collection, a goal perceived as at tension with providing service to clients. An administrator shared:

...probably the biggest complaint that I have personally and my staff have collectively regarding our role as a department...At this point we seem to be more interested in collecting probation fees than actually building a permanent, legitimate foundation on which we can have available for our clients opportunities to go to school, to go work, things of that nature.

Another officer expressed concern about the impact of the financial burden being placed on clients:

...[The department tells] us it's a co-effort to come up with moneys to help us keep a staff because of the budget shortfall...the argument is, these probationers break the law, so they have to pay this money...And the very worst scenario is if you on the streets selling drugs and have a fee requirement, then you're selling more drugs to pay for the fees.

K. Conclusions

In order to understand the impact of community change on probation work, it is necessary to understand the nature of the department's involvement with offenders and the broader community. Interviews within CCAPD officers indicated that caseload sizes and perceived departmental priorities—primarily a focus on address verification when conducting fieldwork—limited officers' time in the community, though the extent to which this was true varied by caseload type. While the department had experimented with community-based sites in the past, these sites have since been closed.

The existence of the resource, community service, and home confinement units resulted in a modified caseload system in which standard caseload officers were held accountable for making the required contacts with their clients, but disassociated from some of the enforcement and support functions of probation work. This fragmentation of responsibility, compounded with shifting areas of geographic responsibility and high caseloads, may have contributed to the perception among some officers that the department placed more value on the proper completion of paperwork and collection of fees than maintaining a high level of community involvement.

Not all officers are equally removed from the communities they serve. Interestingly, those who spend the most time in the field—home confinement officers—are also the most removed from the coordination of services for clients. The resource officers visit community agencies but face bureaucratic hurdles to maintaining a strong and frequent community presence, in addition to limited manpower within their unit. The gang officers in particular seemed to have the greatest sense of involvement in their clients' lives, though they shared stories (addressed in chapter 6) of attempting to coordinate services for their clients only to be met with ineffective or disingenuous service providers and unwilling potential employers. Those who work with other

specialized caseloads, such as the mental health unit and drug court, appear to engage in more collaboration and problem-solving than standard caseload officers, but much of their coordination takes place within the office or courtroom rather than the community.

VI. PROBATION WORK AND GENTRIFICATION IN NORTH LAWNDAL

The previous two sections of this paper examined the unique political and social history of North Lawndale and the institutional characteristics of the CCAPD as relevant to officers' interface with the community. This section explores officers' knowledge and impressions of North Lawndale and observations of gentrification. Officers were asked to describe Lawndale, recent changes within it, and what impact, if any, they expected those changes to have on their clients.

A. Sources of Knowledge about Lawndale

Officers reported that their impressions of North Lawndale had been formed almost entirely by their fieldwork; only two officers reported substantial personal ties to Lawndale. Officers' professional experiences ranged from the supervision of a handful of clients in the area to years of experience working primarily within Lawndale. As established in chapter 5, not all officers spend substantial time in the field. While all of the interviewees had some experience with Lawndale, some were less able to articulate details regarding resources, recent changes, and social patterns, as with this standard caseload officer who was uncertain about the names, exact locations, and current availability of treatment providers:

...there used to be an Agape house, I don't know if it's still around, I haven't used that in years. That's really all that's coming to mind at the moment that I can think of. That's all that--oh, there's, I don't know what it really stands for, but there's SURS, I think it's just outside of your boundary, I think they're 26th street, so just outside.

Some did report gaining a better understanding of the area and its history during their fieldwork through informal interactions with older relatives in their clients' household. Field service officers, those with personal ties, and those who had worked at the neighborhood's former community-based site were able to describe Lawndale in more detail.

Personal Ties

Only two officers held strong personal ties to Lawndale. One had family in the area, and another had spent substantial time in Lawndale during childhood. This officer reminisced about the level of social cohesion witnessed when visiting relatives in Lawndale as a child, and contrasted it to the present-day:

When I [was growing up] there's no comparison; it's almost like apples and oranges. The streets were safe, everyone got along...you knew everybody on the block, from the children to the adults. If you got out of line, your family knew. If an adult told you to do something, you didn't question that adult, because they told you what was right. You could play in the park without [wondering] "are they shooting today?"

Other officers had only a general personal awareness of Lawndale from living in the city, or in some cases having run across isolated references to Lawndale on television or in books. One officer shared:

I read this book about mobsters. I also know a lot of it was very Jewish over there...when a lot of immigrants came in from Russia they would end up on Maxwell Street and then when they moved up it was to the Lawndale area.

Officers were therefore largely reliant upon their time "in the field" for their understanding of community needs, dynamics and resources.

Field Service Units

Those in the field service units were able to speak about the community in the most detail. As they were responsible for conducting curfew checks, and therefore conducted fieldwork at all hours of the day (and night), they were able to share more information on the temporal patterns of Lawndale. For example, a home confinement officer was able to describe:

... [at night] the only activity you see out there is criminal, because there's nothing positive after 11 o'clock at night. Eight o'clock in the morning, four o'clock, you might see one or two things... And now that we drive around during the day, yeah you'll see some community centers that are open, some of the ministries will be open. ... there's a lot of stuff off of Ogden...in between Drake and Cicero there's a lot of new development going on.

They also seemed to have a better sense of community life. Whereas standard caseload officers focused on the disorder of the neighborhood, the home confinement officers provided more nuanced accounts that also included positive neighborhood activity, as with this description:

And the other thing too that's a little different, sometimes you'll see the people in the neighborhood are barbequing...they'll do it on the front [yard], like on the street, and it'll be a party, but it's like--not a block party, but that's what it seems like... it's just all kinds of stuff going on...

As they sometimes conducted home searches, gang unit officers shared descriptions about the inside of offenders' houses. The field service units also described more extensive interactions with the members of their clients' households.

Community-Based Site

Three of the officers interviewed had prior experience working at a Project Safeway location within Lawndale, and others had attended training or other events while it was in operation. "Project Safeway" refers to three community-based sites run by the CCAPD to bring probation back to its roots of community involvement (Lurigio & Martin, 1997), all of which have since closed. The first of these sites was opened in the early 1990s on South Kedzie, within Lawndale, and had remained open for about ten years. The Kedzie office was home to the department's ISP, home confinement, and intensive drug programs (Austin, 1992), and had the stated aim of combining "rigorous supervision with intensive drug treatment, education and job training, and community service" (Morison, 1992, p. 6). Based on a search of newspaper databases, this site appears to have been the most widely publicized of the three. The Sun-Times reported events such as a required health fair for probationers that included blood pressure and cholesterol screening ("Health Class," 1993) and a Back to School Jamboree ("City in Brief," 1996) hosted at the office.

While the publicity surrounding the site was largely positive, officers' accounts painted a different picture. The site had some logistic benefit to the department, as articulated by one officer:

...as far as weapons units are concerned who were housed there, it was just a great opportunity, you have all the people with guns, you've got them in one location, you have all the cars in one location, so we don't have to go in and out of 26th and California and compete with the sheriffs over there for space.

That said, the site posed logistic challenges for clients. It was not located on gang-neutral territory, which made it difficult for people from the neighboring areas of East and West Garfield to report. An officer described the situation as follows:

...it did pose a problem...you always run into the gang problem there, you're coming over to Lawndale so these guys got to cross over into this turf, so you had those types of issues...it wasn't a neutral site.

Nor was the site ideal for probation officers. Office space was limited--in the words of one officer, "kind of congested...nothing pretty, but it was workable." Another officer who had not worked at the office, but who had attended trainings there, shared a stronger description:

It was a dump. They didn't like it. A lot of shooting around there. It was a bad neighborhood. ...A lot of rats running around there. I remember people saying they would be at their desk, a rat would run by.

When asked about the interactions with community resources at the Kedzie site, one officer stated that the identification of adequate nearby resources had been one of the deciding factors in opening the site, but once the site was established the resource unit lost department support in a reorganization. This left officers "on their own to develop their own leads...it was kind of hard because you really didn't get out much to do that kind of thing." Another officer who had worked at the site shared the observation that the site had attempted to offer in-house resources, but that the effort might have been better coordinated:

...we had a [treatment provider] ... come [to the 808 office] once a week. And that lasted about 2 or 3 months, and she disappeared. And it was because no one was using her. Well, no one told everybody, “hey, there’s somebody here, use her.” The whole thing wasn’t, I don’t know if it was run right or whatever, but the communication wasn’t there...

Interviewees were unclear as to why the decision was ultimately made to close the site, though they indicated that their present office location has the benefit of more space and being located on gang-neutral territory.

The descriptions of the Lawndale-based site stood in sharp contrast to those of the other two community-based sites, which had been located in West Town--a Chicago community to the northeast of Lawndale that borders the gentrifying Humboldt Park--and the Ida B. Wells housing projects, on the south side. The West Town site was shared with the Northwestern University Settlement House Association, an organization with a long history of providing “social services, referrals, education and emergency relief” to the area (Wukas, 1991, p. 5). One officer nostalgically recalled the community resources that were readily accessible to clients at that location, explaining that the site had to be shut down due to funding despite its popularity with probationers, officers, and the Administrative Office of the Illinois Courts (AOIC):

At one point we had community service, there was GED, English as a second language, medical assistance, emergency food pantry, emergency clothes if they needed, day care for the kids, after school program for the kids [provided by the Settlement House]...that place was loaded with resources for our clients. ... No guards to pat you down, the place was totally run without security, anything like that...when our governing body AOIC used to come and visit us just to do a spot check, a site check, they would stay there for—they wanted to stay there longer than that because we had so much going on, and they were very impressed by that. And I know that some of our people tried to keep that going, but with the budget constraints they had to cut us loose.

The officer described the additional opportunities to engage clients beyond the required contacts:

...we had our own drug and alcohol groups, job readiness, things of that nature,, to help our clients. You know, whoever comes in with jobs. It was free. Just come and sit in, get

information on job placements and listings and things of that nature. ...that was just provided for anybody that wanted to come. People who weren't working, you'd let them know you should come to this class, it might help you. And it was great, we offered donuts and coffee, so it made it a little more pleasant for them to come.

The officer praised the community center associated with the site for its response to gentrification, suggesting that as the population with service needs moved, the center adjusted the placement of its programs to follow the changing boundaries of the community in need.

An officer who had worked at the Ida B. Wells site relayed a similar sense of nostalgia.

When asked whether there a different sense in terms of the relationship with clients at the community-based site compared to the current office location, the officer responded:

Absolutely. I loved it there. There was a different sense and I think what I really enjoyed about it is you have almost an intimate relationship with your clientele because you are in their community. And so all your focus is on trying to not only be a positive role model for them, but also one of encouragement.

When further asked whether clients would stop in voluntarily, he replied:

...They came in, and I developed what we call a brotherhood group for my men, where we would just sit in, because it was an area, it was gang-divided, this that and the other—we would all come in and just talk about issues. I started one with the women called sisterhood... We had one day they had a day of beauty... just to kind of help build their self-esteem in some ways. So we did a lot of things, we had Thanksgiving baskets, we had a public health forum where they could be screened for TB, dental, high blood pressure, things of that nature. ...And we were allowed to have that kind of creativity. And when you have that creativity and you have commitment and focus, you can do a lot. It doesn't always have to be about the dollars and the cents. I mean, it has to be about your commitment and what you want to achieve.

Those who had worked at the latter two sites described taking the initiative to network with agencies that might be useful to their clients, and having clients stop by the office informally.

One reported:

When we first got to that site, there wasn't much for us to do because they were still getting our caseload together, so we went out and networked our neighborhood and introduced ourselves, passed out business cards, and let them know our mission in the community, and took down names of directors and program coordinators that we could talk to personally and get our clients through their door a little easier.

It was unclear from the interviews what accounts for the differences between the Lawndale-based site and the other two Project Safeway locations.

B. Lawndale as a Disadvantaged Community

Throughout the interviews, North Lawndale was universally portrayed as deeply disadvantaged. More than 100 negative descriptors were used by officers, covering social and structural ills including abandoned buildings, liquor stores, crime, guns, drugs, single parents, loitering, unemployment and nontraditional family structures. One officer described its physical appearance:

How would I describe it? A bombed out city. Have you driven through North Lawndale? What you see most of, what do you see pretty much half of every block is boarded up, burned out homes, empty lots...

Descriptions included “shitty,” “gloomy,” and “screwed up.” One officer stated simply, “I wouldn’t want to live there.” An administrator summarized some of the ills:

It’s a very poverty-stricken neighborhood, there’s a plethora of problems that comes along with it being a poor community, very high drug usage, gang problems, single-parent moms, poor schools. Lawndale could be referred to as one of those “prison reentry communities”...

Officers noted the prominence of residents hanging out on the streets, which was perceived as a sign of social disorder: “It’s just people that have nothing to do hanging on the corners, and unfortunately in that neighborhood that’s not usually a good sign.” The number of people on the streets was interpreted as an indicator of lack of productive employment or schooling. One officer described his perception of interpersonal relationships within Lawndale:

...I mean it’s no longer that you have a relationship with anyone, it’s just an indiscriminate hookup, “oh, well she’s pregnant, this one’s pregnant, that one’s pregnant,” now you got seven or eight kids, nobody knows who’s related to whom, and there’s just this chaotic morass of humanity.

Aside from isolated improvements (described in more detail in the section addressing gentrification), only 15 references to positive aspects of North Lawndale were made across the interviews. These descriptions covered architecture, location, and the presence of good people in the community, yet were often couched with negative descriptions, as with the following:

The community is made up of a lot of good people, it doesn't get a whole lot of positive publicity and again it's because it's a very poor community, and along with being poor comes all of the social ills, the mores that come with it. A lot of crime, no jobs there, so everybody kind of just feed on each other, you feed on who is there. Location-wise, it's prime property, very prime property.

Resource Availability in Lawndale

A significant indicator of Lawndale's state of disadvantage was its dearth of quality resources. Officers described Lawndale as lacking in even the most basic resources, including grocery stores, medical clinics and day care services. One manager highlighted the longstanding nature of this situation:

...The riots took place there, was it back in 68, and they've rebuilt some of it, and unfortunately a lot of businesses that should be there aren't there. They got places for clothes, and where you can buy booze, and cigarettes, and fast food, all well and good, how about a grocery store?

Some described resources becoming increasingly sparse due to the recent economic downturn.

A drug court officer stated:

...now, with the times, just the whole economical downslide, limited resources have become more limited. Some things are opening back up, but with the state pulling out money a while ago and things of that nature, it's tough. ...they did close a couple of places, I don't recall the names, right now, that we were using and no longer could use because they didn't have the money to stay open.

Thoughts on the quality of existing resources were mixed. Some reliable agencies were identified by officers, and many shared the belief that community agencies were doing the best that they could with limited resources and sometimes unwilling clients. Still, there were several

instances of officers questioning the integrity or usefulness of existing resources. Some described “fly by night” organizations and agencies that were simply playing “numbers games”—those enrolling a large number of clients in order to qualify for grant money, with little interest in helping those clients. An IPS officer mentioned in regard to employment agencies:

A lot of the times it’s a numbers game when it comes to that, because they’ll take the placement, take the pertinent information, but you never hear of anybody really being employed.

One administrator made reference to what he deemed “poverty pimps”—religious leaders and organizations that exploit impoverished areas in order to access grant money:

[T]here’s a lot of BS out there, a lot of poverty pimps. Reverends and church and organizations, they get money to do this stuff, I refer to them as poverty pimps...they get money to run these programs and they don’t do it, they don’t follow through.

Others told stories of agencies that failed to follow up in a timely manner or were otherwise ineffective.

Resource Affordability in Lawndale

The concern about resources in Lawndale extended beyond their availability. Clients are often financially responsible for their own treatment in addition to paying supervision fees and court costs. Only some agencies work on a sliding scale to maintain accessibility to lower-income populations, and officers identified their clients’ inability to afford the expenses of probation as a point of concern. A resource officer reported having more clients recently stating that they simply can’t afford the treatment required of them, and suggested that judges may not always realize the financial burden they are placing on offenders. For example, there had been a recent increase in orders for anger management, a treatment option that tends to be more expensive to clients as providers don’t receive state subsidies. The resource officer described the situation as follows:

The problem with anger management is there does not seem to be any professional standard...it just seems to be whatever the agency slaps together and decides to call anger management. ... One agency...I deal with quite a bit for domestic violence counseling and for drug treatment, they want about 500 dollars for their anger management program... And they explained to me, they said “we get no subsidies, we have to charge this.” ...the cheapest I’ve found is \$350.

Comparative Resources

Officers contrasted the resource landscape of their Lawndale clients to that of more affluent, predominantly white parts of the city, and to surrounding disadvantaged Hispanic neighborhoods. A mental health officer observed:

Some areas have more resources than others. For example, I can say that some of my clients that live on the [predominantly white] north side of Chicago tend to have more resources, and they tend to do better with treatment as opposed to maybe some that live on the [predominantly black] south side.

Officers felt that Hispanic clients faced barriers pertaining to language, undocumented status, and expense in their access to traditional agencies, but also that they had stronger support than Lawndale residents by way of their families, informal support networks, churches and association houses. Residents from Pilsen and Humboldt Park who were able to establish themselves were described as returning to create tutoring and scholarship programs, or offer assistance with navigating the immigration process. Still, both Hispanic and black clients faced significant financial burdens in securing probation-mandated treatment. A bilingual officer shared an account of how financial difficulties play out in cases of driving under the influence:

People who probably don’t make 200 dollars in the two-week span...they have to pay 225 for the evaluation, it’s 12 dollars for the driving record, they have to go two three times to the Secretary of State just to obtain the driving record, my clients lately have had to pay an attorney to go and get their driving record, so that’s even more money, plus paying their probation fees here, court fees, and then once they actually complete the evaluation... Treatment for alcohol can be anywhere from a minimum of 250 to a maximum of 2,000 dollars. ...[One client] is like four months behind on the rent and he’s trying to finish paying here, his probation was extended three months so that he can finish paying, he can’t pay, and he’s still behind on rent...

The need for more affordable resources was a common concern, particularly in light of the additional financial burden of probation fees.

Lawndale Clients' Financial Circumstances

The economic disadvantage of Lawndale clients was central in shaping several aspects of their lives, including their ability to access useful programs. Most were identified as dependent upon mothers or girlfriends on section 8 or other forms of public assistance. A domestic violence officer described her clients' reliance on others for their place of residence: "You have a lot of girlfriends, girlfriends, boyfriends, godparents, aunts, parents, oh, you got everything, but it's always family or a significant other."

This dependence was traced to their clients' inability to secure employment in the formal economy. As one standard caseload officer reflected:

I would say I've got a couple of people that live in that area...who are independent, have their own apartment and have jobs, most of the people I've had there though are either on aid or are living with or supported by their mothers. I think I only have two people over there who actually have jobs, so everybody else is on some form of public assistance and they live with other relatives.

Offenders' unemployment was attributed to a multitude of issues. Most officers pointed to a dearth of employment opportunities and educational resources in the community, as well as the additional hurdle posed by having a criminal record. Many felt that quality educational and vocational programs alone would be insufficient to help their clients. A standard caseload officer shared:

There's a North Lawndale agency, and it provides again job training, job preparation, job search, computer, but again the probationer knows that is not leading to a job, or that is not really going anywhere...

When asked what types of resources could benefit their clients, the most common response was for education and job training programs that fed directly and reliably into some form of paid

employment. Without proper training, the presence of new employers brought by gentrification would do little to benefit Lawndale clientele--but without true promise of employment, clients have little incentive to pursue education or training, particularly when they may have completed such programs in the past only to remain unemployed.

Some officers attributed the high rate of unemployment to offenders' lack of motivation and structure. A gang officer noted:

They're up all night, well you're not going to get up in the day, you know what I mean? ...you go to their house at 1 o'clock [in the morning] and you look around and you'd think it's 6:30 at night. ...I mean, obviously you wouldn't be able to go to work at 7 o'clock [in the morning]...

At the same time, others believed there was a reverse causal direction, tracing the lack of structure to the high rate of unemployment. One bilingual officer observed the difference between her Hispanic clientele, who are at work during the day while their wives are at home with the kids, and her partner's clients in Lawndale, who "are always home, because they're all unemployed...everyone's hanging out on their stairs." She thought the lack of structure that resulted from high unemployment in turn serves to demotivate other residents, who face peer pressure to skip school or work to hang out with friends, a situation which fostered social norms that were either unsupportive of, or actively in opposition to, offenders' efforts at self-improvement. One officer noted: "Until the people in the community value education, you're going to get more status for going to prison than for completing high school."

Among the few clients described as employed, there were differences by gender and race. Men tended to work in landscaping, construction, or the service economy, while women were more likely to work as babysitters or nursing assistants. In a reversal of traditional gender roles, some officers described men as struggling more than women with obtaining employment. A standard caseload officer explained the situation as follows:

Females do better at trying to work. A lot of the males end up taking care of the kids. A lot of them probably like not to work. They get discouraged after trying to find a job with a felony on their record--Some guys, 6, 7, 8 felony arrests. Women tend to have less serious records--retail theft, battery.

An administrator also reported that “a lot of the moms and girlfriends work, more than the guys on probation.”

Many of the clients who were unable to find employment in the formal economy instead found it in the informal economy. Clients in Lawndale were reported to navigate social networks for odd jobs such as cleaning or washing dishes for local business owners in exchange for cash payment. Officers also referenced Lawndale clients who were on social security for drug or alcohol addiction or learning disabilities. Others described illegal activities such as selling Link cards (Illinois’ electronic card version of food stamps), drugs, or stolen merchandise. Hispanics were also reported to be forced into the informal economy, usually as a result of their undocumented status, but their work more closely resembled that of the formal economy--they secured day labor positions in landscaping, or in construction by standing outside of a local home improvement store, a phenomenon that one officer had also witnessed in a Polish community: “[These individuals] knowhow to do the work, but they don’t speak the language and they don’t have the social [connections]—so they just wait there, and people pick them up.”

C. Observations of Gentrification

While Lawndale was still clearly perceived as a struggling community, more than two-thirds of officers observed some signs of gentrification, primarily scattered housing redevelopments or new constructions embedded within an otherwise disadvantaged context. The description of one IPS officer was typical in this regard:

I've been in the strip mall a few years back...it's right there on Chicago Avenue right off Central Park, west of Central Park, but that's the only thing I've seen in the area. Not really any new housing or anything like that. A lot of rehab going on with some of the old buildings, but that's about it.

Officers noted recent city investments in Lawndale's infrastructure, such as a new police station and fire station, and upgrades to the area public transit stations. An IPS officer believed that some of the improvements have alleviated the extent of crime in the neighborhood:

...Over the years, a lot of the nuisance structures that created that sort of nonsense have been knocked down, so there are a lot more vacant lots, and there are less places for people to congregate. So the city seems to be working toward improving it.

Another officer observed: "You don't start putting in that type of infrastructure unless there's some plans being developed around that. You know, that stuff has crumbled for years and it's been redone."

Still, change is a slow and rarely even process. Five officers stated that the recent economic decline had slowed development in Lawndale. A home confinement officer observed:

As for the actual neighborhood being improved, it's just to me personally it's stagnated over there. A couple of the main streets maybe they've done a couple little things, but I bet you that's five percent of the community, maybe ten.

Some stated that they hadn't seen any new businesses, whereas others actually described businesses closing:

Well, I know there was that big mall, it's just north of Roosevelt, there was that—you know what I'm talking about? That stuff all closed. There was a Starbucks, the movie theater, there was a Dominicks, and then I think it was something else for a while. Pretty much all those—well, most of those stores in that mall have shut down.

The city's investments in Lawndale's infrastructure may be the strongest indicator that the area is not likely to remain the "hyperghetto" that it has long typified, though it's clear that any path toward "revitalization" will be a slow one, particularly during the economic downturn.

D. The Impact of Gentrification on Clients

When asked how they anticipated gentrification might affect their clients, the most common prediction was that they would be displaced, a phenomenon already observed among Hispanics in nearby Humboldt Park. While displacement as a result of gentrification had not yet occurred on a broad scale within Lawndale, with only one officer identifying a client who was forced to move when his apartment building was converted into condominiums, home ownership was rare, and clients' financial circumstances leave them vulnerable. At present, when clients move voluntarily, it's often within the same area:

They talk about moving, and oftentimes it's not even so much out of the area, it's to a different location. It might be even within the area. But it might be just to move to a different house, a different block. Where the, whatever's a problem doesn't exist anymore, or exists less so.

An IPS officer reported:

Guys will say "oh, I've got to do, I'm moving." "Well, where are you living now?" "1312 South Harlem." "Well, where you moving to?" "1322 South Harlem." You don't need a U-Haul for that, you just drag the stuff down the sidewalk

If gentrification takes place, such "close to home" moves would be rendered out of clients' financial reach. Officers therefore believed that clients would be pushed out of the area, only to end up in another similarly disadvantaged community. An administrator shared:

... I don't think that any gentrification has probationers or the current people living in Lawndale [in mind], they're not going to be a part of that plan. They'll be relocated to another community like Lawndale, or if you want to rename it they can call it the "New Lawndale," but it won't be right there.

There was substantial doubt that clients would be able to remain in the area as it revitalized.

E. Can the New Resources Brought by Gentrification Benefit Probationers?

Several officers voiced interest in taking advantage of gentrification to benefit their clients. Transportation issues posed an impediment to some clients in accessing employment or

resources, a matter which would presumably be addressed as more resources and employers locate within Lawndale. Nonetheless, a series of hurdles bearing little relation to physical proximity were anticipated to continue to exclude offenders from accessing viable opportunities, an acknowledgement that led to only a few officers expressing cautious optimism about the likelihood of their clients realistically benefiting from gentrification.

First, gentrification was viewed as a profit-driven phenomenon, so it was not anticipated that newcomers would be compelled to help those who lacked resources. A resource officer explained:

It's profit, that's the bottom line is their private profit. So they're not going to care about the lower income, the unemployed, they could care less, they want to move them on, get them out of there, and put in their new condos, and jack up the price.

Some officers believed that their clients might be able to secure work in restaurants or stores, but also that in most cases their criminal history and lack of qualifications would pose impediments.

Clients were also described as reluctant to move outside of their “comfort zone” in pursuit of opportunities. A standard caseload officer reported that when she has encouraged offenders to leave the neighborhood, they have responded “it's bad everywhere and at least I know people here.” Another standard caseload officer mused:

...I mean they grew up there so they're comfortable with it. They will talk about shootings that happen or little flare-up of gang wars that are going on. So I mean they talk about it but they don't seem to be really affected by it for the most part. I think it's just part of life for them.

As the area changes, it seems most likely that clients will move to remain within their existing social networks. A similar phenomenon had been observed among Hispanics, in their case as a result of language barriers and concerns about being undocumented. Asked about whether clients had been referred to a particular job agency in a few miles from their client base but outside of the boundaries of the Hispanic community, a bilingual officer stated:

... My clients are scared to go to places that they're unfamiliar with, where they speak primarily English, and also they're scared that they will be deported, that [the agency] will give the information to INS. They would rather deal with what they're familiar with, what their friends and neighbors have told them, because they're all in the same boat.

In this way, it appeared that both Hispanic and black clients were limited in their ability to navigate the city in search of resources or opportunities, and found “comfort zones” within their relatively homogeneous neighborhoods. These accounts underscore the role of social geography--not just physical geography--in shaping clients' opportunity structures. The importance of social geography was underscored by gang boundaries in Lawndale, adding hurdles in clients' ability to access probation offices and treatment, job or community service sites.

In light of the anticipated profit motives of those moving into the gentrifying area, clients' economic state of disadvantage, the many hurdles faced by clients in attaining “employability,” and the salience of not just physical, but also social geography, officers were skeptical about whether clients could realistically stay and thrive in Lawndale as it redevelops. When asked whether the department might proactively help clients overcome the barriers they would face in accessing incoming resources, officers expressed interest, but did not believe the department would be supportive of such efforts. In the words of one officer:

...that would be a really innovative idea. I don't think that we would do it, and I think if there was talk of it, I think if we did do it, it would be on a very superficial level, you know no real substance to it. I would be surprised if they would actually do that though.

As outlined in chapter 5, large and geographically dispersed caseloads, limited resources, limited officer autonomy and limited time in the field all further constrain officers' ability to network with relevant agencies or potential employers.

F. Does Gentrification Create Pressure to Enforce Conditions More Stringently?

Officers did not report feeling pressure to enforce conditions more stringently in gentrifying neighborhoods. In fact, they had little exposure to the community outside of those sharing residence with their clients, with whom they converse while conducting home visits. The officers did not report hosting or attending community meetings, nor did they describe conducting face-to-face visits with treatment providers or employers as standard practice. Officers' work was instead oriented around the written policies of the department and court orders (described by one administrator as "the gospel"). The focus on verifying compliance with court orders and special conditions severely limited officers' exposure to residents outside of their clientele, therefore buffering their exposure to direct community pressure from both long-standing and incoming residents.

Verification Culture

Among standard caseload officers, the verification-oriented nature of their duties—address verification, confirmation that offenders were attending treatment, and making sure that their clients were paying their fees or attending the budgeting class—left little room for variation in enforcement. Even if officers were suddenly exposed to community pressure to enforce more stringently, it is hard to conceive what form "tougher enforcement" might take in the current regulatory structure. Units have written policies in place to guide the enforcement of conditions and the handling of violations. As one example, IPS officers are required to bring their clients back to court when they have accumulated three technical violations; other caseloads have similar guidelines. Ironically, one IPS officer saw this as resulting in more court appearances, but less consistent punishment by the courts:

...what has happened over the past few years as far as probation structure is the discretion has pretty much been removed from the officers. I would have guys that would

have two, three, four misses, and I would let them go a little longer...trying to get them to turn around...[and tell the judge] I'm now bringing you a litany of failures, you want to do something with him. ...Now what it is, three misses, three of anything, we're back in court. Well, judges just see those over and over and over again, they get 30 of those a day, they're like, "get them out of here, don't bother me with this. ... it's not like it used to be, which is "oh, you screwed up, boom, thirty days."

Officers are also expected to file for revocation if their client has a new arrest. Verification-related tasks are conducted for all offenders and are shaped by the requirements set by department policy and court orders, leaving little room for variation in levels of enforcement. Offenders either have completed their community service or they have not; they either reported or did not.

Officer Discretion

Even where officers expressed interest in maintaining a higher level of involvement in or responsiveness to the community, they felt constrained in doing so. Officers described having their discretion and freedom limited in recent years, precluding their ability to informally network with potential employers, treatment providers, or other community residents. (See also discussion of fieldwork in chapter 5.) A resource officer described the highly regulated nature of the work environment:

There's just this profound distrust from the part of some elements of management ...and it's ridiculous. [I've worked other dangerous jobs where] I wasn't tied in by every regulation under the sun, that the employer trusted my judgment.

The resource officer shared that the department, which only makes use of monitoring technology for a small number of domestic violence offenders who have violated orders of protection, had at one point considered utilizing GPS technology to keep track of officers during their time in the field.

The extent of officer discretion does vary somewhat by caseload. For example, the work of drug court officers was still characterized by discretion, though this discretion was exercised

in a group environment—“staffing” meetings held with the defense attorney, prosecutor, drug court judge, and treatment provider in a given case. One drug court officer described the variation in responses to violation:

Most of the violations would be they use again, and we’ll refer them depending on how far it’s gotten, the relapse, we will either recommend more treatment, more meetings, we can have them come in, if necessary, every day to see the drug court officer.

Given that officer discretion varies by caseload type, one question warranting further exploration is the extent to which caseload types may be differentially distributed across the city’s population. For example, are clients in gentrifying areas more likely to be placed on ISP or gang supervision, or assigned to drug court? Information on supervision types had not been provided on the CCAPD’s report of case-level data, disallowing analysis regarding the distribution of supervision types by zip code and race.

Common Violations

Officers reported that most revocations were for new arrests or for the technical violations of failure to report, failure to complete community service, or having a positive drug test. One standard officer described common reasons for revocation as follows:

Well, they don’t come in, definitely new arrests, primarily not coming in, new arrests, it could be other conditions, like they might have community service conditions, if they don’t adhere to the community service requirement....

A mental health officer shared similar thoughts regarding common violations:

I think it varies between not reporting in person, and new arrests. And then the others that would fall behind that would be positive urine drops, they have illegal substances in their system, and non-compliance with treatment, they’re not going to their doctors, and they’re not providing verification.

Law Enforcement and Gentrification

The extent of revocations rooted in new arrests introduces a possible indirect effect of gentrification on probation. If the police enforce laws more aggressively in gentrifying areas,

under current departmental guidelines it would increase the number of cases for which probation officers are expected to file for revocation. One administrator did share a story which supported that law enforcement may be more aggressive in racially mixed areas. In the case, clients were quick to share information with the CCAPD to help solve a black-on-white rape on the Near West Side because of police pressure on the neighborhood—“we talked to guys and they’re like, “this is the guy that did it, get him out of here.” The nature of the crime had brought unwanted “heat” on the community, which the administrator implied to have come from the police department rather than the CCAPD. He believed this phenomenon to be prevalent enough to deter clients from victimizing newcomers due to the prospect of drawing law enforcement attention:

... white folk could live by the black folk, they ain’t going to mess with the white folk typically. ... the intensity of the heat that the police and law enforcement put on these guys--so typically, they commit crimes on their own folks. [*Interviewer: Do you think that’s local pressure, or what’s—*] I don’t know, I think it’s just law enforcement, certainly in this county, in the Chicago area, they know. And if you talk to the clients, they’ll tell you, we ain’t messing with those guys, we’re not messing with them, because we don’t want the heat.

Gentrification and Crime

The administrator felt that gentrification would not increase crime. Other officers were mixed on its anticipated effects, suggesting that gentrification “works both ways” in its impact on crime. A bilingual officer observed among Hispanic clients:

I would say like, these little coffee houses that go up, and the Starbucks that are popping up, you know they find employment through that... And then like I said it’s another playground for them to feed on because they see all these rich houses and they see people going to work and they know when they’re gone, so you know they’re hitting the apartments, and catching new cases for robbery and stuff like that.

Even if gentrification has no impact on crime, the possibility exists that perceptions of danger

among whites moving into gentrifying areas may be sufficient to bring on additional “heat” from law enforcement, which could in turn increase probation revocations.

Other Avenues for Community Pressure

While officers themselves did not report significant direct exposure to community pressures or priorities, there was some indication that the strong emphasis on verification (and the related paperwork) is rooted in community pressure in a more general sense. A few officers suggested that the department’s verification culture may, at least in part, be a reflection of concern about negative publicity. One IPS officer traced this concern to an incident a few years ago in which a probationer had shot a police officer who ultimately succumbed to his wounds, and the resulting investigation which revealed the case might have been better managed:

...we really want that case record perfect at any given moment. And what that’s about is for lack of a better term, is ass coverage. We want to make sure that [if there is a] Freedom of Information Act [inquiry] of this guy’s record, that there’s no holes in it, that there’s nothing in there that looks bad for us. It’s all about ass coverage.

A standard caseload officer attributed the need to stay vigilant on home visits to concern about bad publicity—“you don’t want to have a Jeffrey Dahmer on your case.” In casual conversation, an administrator bemoaned the lack of positive publicity for the department, noting that probation makes the news when a client reoffends, but not when officers’ work results in positive changes in the lives and behaviors of their clients. He suggested the field could stand to benefit from a movie about probation similar to “Backdraft” for firefighters to turn around its public image.

G. Conclusions

Officers had noted some signs of gentrification within Lawndale, but they still largely viewed it as a deeply disadvantaged community characterized by a general dearth of resources. Some were able to list positive resources within the community, but they almost universally

shared concerns regarding the lack of employment opportunities within Lawndale, a situation which was perceived to discourage offenders from participating in educational programs, weaken their sense of structure, and contribute to a thriving informal economy. Most offenders were described as heavily reliant upon others financially, typically living with a relative who was believed to be paying the rent with some form of public assistance.

Officers expressed enthusiasm for the idea of exploiting the new employment opportunities and available services that might be injected into the community as a result of gentrification, but generally anticipated that their clients would be unable to benefit due to displacement. Officers did not identify neighborhood-based pressure to enforce conditions more stringently as a result of gentrification, likely as the result of their limited interactions with the community at large. Still, there was some indication that the department's policies and practices have been shaped by the public in a more general manner through a concern for its public image. There was also some indication that revocations may be impacted if gentrification brings an increase in crime or additional attention from law enforcement. Officers were mixed on the anticipated impact of gentrification on crime.

VII. DISCUSSION

A. Introduction

The negative effects of criminal justice involvement on offenders' life chances are well-documented, and its racial dimensions so stark as to render it reminiscent of Jim Crow (e.g. Alexander, 2010; Wacquant 2000). Criminal justice involvement is highly concentrated in disadvantaged, minority urban areas, many of which are now experiencing gentrification. While probation remains the nation's largest form of correctional control, we know little about how it operates within these communities. This study explored the implications of gentrification for probation through an examination of North Lawndale. It was expected that gentrification may lead officers to encounter pressure to more stringently enforce their clients' conditions of release, or may present new opportunities for collaboration with incoming treatment agencies and employers.

Officers made clear that gentrification had not taken a strong hold in Lawndale, but shared its anticipated effects based upon their experiences in Lawndale and other gentrifying Chicago neighborhoods. Ultimately, they identified a series of social and economic barriers that they anticipated would prevent probationers from successfully connecting to new resources, and pointed to bureaucratic barriers that would preclude their efforts to intervene on their clients' behalf. Officers' limited exposure to the community also served to insulate them from direct neighborhood-based pressures to adjust their enforcement practices. Still, there was some indication that department policies and practices may have been shaped in part by general fears of negative publicity.

B. Summary of Findings

Officers in this study did not report feeling pressure to enforce conditions more stringently as a result of gentrification in Lawndale, nor the other gentrifying communities they have served. In fact, they reported few interactions with community residents outside of their clientele at all, with most fieldwork focused solely on the functions of address verification and curfew checks, and most contact with community agencies taking place by phone or fax. Officers' priorities were largely insulated from community demands, shaped instead by court-ordered conditions, offenders' results on a risk/needs assessment scale, and several internal department guidelines that regulated the handling and enforcement of conditions.

The same highly regulated atmosphere that insulated officers from external pressures also inhibited their ability to build strong networks with agencies brought by gentrification. Officers' time was structured around a "culture of verification" that prioritized monitoring clients' compliance with court-ordered conditions to the detriment of officer-driven efforts to secure community safety or provide offenders with treatment. The limited amount of time spent in the community rendered some officers unable to speak confidently about the resources within Lawndale, including uncertainty regarding the fee structures of agencies and whether specific agencies were still in operation. Most officers had broad areas of geographic responsibility that made it difficult to keep up with the changing resource landscape of any particular neighborhood.

Officers nonetheless identified ways in which gentrification was relevant to their clients' lives. The department is heavily reliant upon external agencies to support clients in the fulfillment of court-ordered conditions, and officers expressed concern over Lawndale residents' lack of access to effective, affordable agencies for drug and alcohol treatment, education, job

training, and anger management. They shared stories of their clients being exploited by “poverty pimps,” “fly by night” organizations, and agencies that were simply playing “numbers games,” enrolling clients to secure funding but failing to provide meaningful services. They contrasted this landscape to the opportunities available in more affluent areas, and were hopeful that gentrification might introduce new services that could benefit their Lawndale clientele.

Unfortunately, officers anticipated that their clients would be displaced by high rents before the benefits of gentrification could be realized. They felt that Lawndale’s tenure as a blighted community had left many residents lacking the education, training and daily structure needed to be competitive in the formal economy, which in turn left them vulnerable to displacement. Gang boundaries, transportation issues, and the stigma of a criminal record were also identified as stymieing offenders’ ability to secure employment or access new treatment providers.

C. Theoretical Implications

There are a couple of important theoretical implications that can be gathered from these findings. Examining probation and race within gentrifying areas can expand and inform our understandings of race and punishment in the contemporary United States. In this case, probation was found to vary significantly by race, not only in the prevalence of supervision but also the offense of conviction. Officers expressed a familiarity with the differing social and economic challenges faced by clients of different races. Gentrification brings some vital resources into geographic reach, but clients seem more likely to suffer displacement than to connect to those resources, and at present the CCAPD appears poorly structured to help clients overcome this likelihood. Here, it is explored how probation officers appear to be uniquely situated to help their clients if the department could adjust its bureaucratic structure, and how the

department itself would stand to benefit from doing so. The findings of this study also provide new insights into the centrality of bureaucratic factors in shaping probation work. This section expands upon these points.

Race, Class, Gentrification and Probation

Consistent with the broader correctional literature, several aspects of this study's findings underscored the significance of race. Officers drew stark contrasts among Hispanic, black, and white clients in regard to their neighborhood context, crimes of conviction, and the challenges faced in fulfilling conditions of release. Prior studies have recognized probation as part of a broader "penal dragnet" (e.g. Wacquant, 1999), but less understood are the precise mechanisms through which probation impacts the daily lives of the disadvantaged, and how these effects might vary by race. The quantitative data collected for this study indicated that most blacks were on probation for drug offenses, whereas Hispanics were more likely to be supervised for driving offenses and whites for property offenses. This is meaningful as probation carries different conditions based upon crimes of conviction, and neighborhoods of differing racial and ethnic composition were identified as variably equipped to support clients' fulfillment of conditions. Within Lawndale, there were particularly strong concerns about clients' access to affordable, effective resources, and training programs that feed directly into legitimate employment opportunities.

Officers were able to identify differences in the experiences of gentrification among their black and Hispanic clients. While both were described as susceptible to displacement, Hispanics were believed to have stronger support systems and social institutions than their black counterparts, and access to economic opportunities that more closely mirrored the formal economy. By contrast, disadvantaged black clientele were believed to have less access to

supportive institutions. The types of training and job opportunities that could help them rise above their present circumstances were lacking, resulting in the widespread belief that they would be unable to remain in Lawndale if it successfully revitalized, instead being displaced to another disadvantaged community—a “new Lawndale,” as one administrator had put it. These findings serve as an important reminder that the topic of probation and gentrification cannot be handled with a “one size fits all” approach. In each community, officers are left to navigate a unique set of social circumstances, resources, and challenges as they strive to better support their clientele.

Officers suggested that the department's focus on fee collection and the other expenses of supervision placed a significant burden on their clients. Clients are responsible for probation and court fees, treatment costs, and in some cases restitution. For disadvantaged blacks who had few options for earning an income through opportunities resembling the formal economy, the only venue for fulfilling their financial obligations may be to turn to drug dealing or other illegitimate means. Clients cannot legally be revoked for their inability to pay their fees, but those who are unwilling to engage in illicit enterprises and unable to find a legitimate job may have their probation extended and be required to attend a budgeting class that teaches them to “manage their money that they don't have.” Officers did report that they could (and often did) petition to have clients' probation fees reduced, but that this step had a nominal effect on the overall financial burden placed upon clients.

Officers' voices echoed the department's first annual report, issued nearly 100 years ago: “You cannot expect boys with no home, no money and no job to be honest” (Houston, 1912, p.8). Since that time, deindustrialization has removed a vital avenue for social mobility within the black community (Hagedorn, 1988; Wilson, 1996). Officers pointed out that their clients'

difficulty is not merely a matter of the physical absence of jobs within Lawndale. The placement of new businesses was not viewed as sufficient to help clients secure legitimate employment so long as they are plagued with weak educational backgrounds and the stigma of their criminal records. Without supporting clients' efforts to overcome their bleak employment prospects, some elements of supervision may actually be counterproductive in supporting clients' success.

The implications of this situation need to be considered not only for clients, but for the field of probation as well. Probation has long justified its own existence, in good part, in economic terms. Probation has been recognized as a less expensive alternative to prison (Houston, 1912), a mechanism for collecting fines (Bates, 1933), and a vehicle for allowing offenders to remain in the community to support their families and pay restitution (Bates, 1933). As Simon (1993) observed in regard to parole, a model predicated on employment cannot survive the current economic realities of the inner city. He observed California's parole system as adapting to this new economic situation through a shift toward risk management and a "commitment to rigorous auditing of penal power" (p.248) consistent with the broader trend of reductions in discretion within the criminal justice system.

On its face, the CCAPD has adopted all of the risk management mechanisms identified by Simon (1993), including offender classification, drug testing, and (to a much lesser extent) data systems to keep records on offenders. Unlike California's parole system, CCAPD officers did not seem to perceive their role as oriented around revocation as a central task. Rather, officer discretion has become limited to such an extent that verification tasks have become ends unto themselves. Interviewing probation officers provides a front-line view of the implications of such strong regulation. The more removed decision-making processes become from the implementation of policies, the less intimately familiar the decision-makers will be with real-life

implications. This was evidenced, for example, in one officer's observation that judges may not be familiar with the costs of various forms of treatment when ordering them as conditions of release. Probation officers have a "front row seat" to the challenges facing their clients, yet in several ways were rendered powerless to address those challenges. As has been well-documented in the policing literature, rigid bureaucratic procedures do not lend themselves to responsiveness to dynamic and localized processes. Without decentralizing control, officers are likely to remain unable to support their clients' adaptation to their changing neighborhood conditions.

There are a few details that render this situation particularly troubling. First, where clients are not successful in securing employment, the negative effects extend well beyond their personal fate. Offenders who have their supervision extended due to inability to pay place an additional burden on the caseloads and expenses of the department. Those lacking legitimate employment are also at a greater risk for several forms of criminality, increasing the risk of victimization for other residents within their communities, the costs of policing those communities, and the likelihood that the state will ultimately need to pay for incarceration. Whereas probation used to benefit offenders' families by allowing them to remain in the community to work, at present clients are more likely to be dependent upon family members for meeting their most basic needs. Supporting clients in their ability to obtain legitimate employment would be a worthwhile investment for all these reasons.

In addition, the verification culture fails to capitalize on a substantial asset of the CCAPD. Officers in this study reported strikingly positive relationships with their clients. The tensions so often present between disadvantaged minority residents and agents of criminal justice control were notably absent in the interviews. They described conversing with clients' relatives

while waiting for their clients to come to the door during home visits, and having good interactions with prior clients, including those who had been revoked. A gang officer shared stories of people writing to him from prison to say: “you know what, I’ve finally realized what you were talking about, you were right...,” and others shared instances in which past clients had approached them on the street to share news of their recent accomplishments. Such positive relationships should not be taken for granted in a city where police have historically been held in poor regard by the residents of disadvantaged communities (e.g. Skogan, 2006). What isn’t clear is whether officers would be similarly well-received when reaching out to the more affluent residents, business owners, and treatment providers brought by gentrification.

Further research needs to explore the racially disparate circumstances of probationers, and the effects of probation for individuals, families and communities. Incarceration has been described as a rite of passage among minority populations in disadvantaged locales. What is the role of probation in these same areas? Is probation simply an intermediate step on the way to prison, or does it sometimes serve to connect valuable services to a population that has been dispossessed by most state other agencies? Probationers should be interviewed to see whether they portray their relationships with probation officers as positively as the officers. Further, discussions with clients can answer other important questions to understanding probation's role in disadvantaged (but now gentrifying) communities: How does involvement with the department impact their daily lives, and affect their navigation of the resources within their community? What is their assessment of the department’s capability to support their adaptation as the neighborhood gentrifies?

Conceptualizing the Bureaucratic Hurdles to Department Responsiveness

The common discourse surrounding probation makes much of its dual association with criminal justice and social welfarism, and the relative balance and potential tensions of these two aspects of the field. This study revealed a very different tension as dominant within the CCAPD, existing not between enforcement and treatment but rather between bureaucracy and service—i.e. tensions between (1) the *bureaucratic* stress of recording offender contacts, verifying addresses, confirming the fulfillment of court-ordered conditions, and enforcing offenders' financial obligations, and (2) the department's ability to be responsive to community changes in conducting both enforcement and social work *services*. The internal bureaucratic demands placed upon officers appear to dampen their ability to be responsive to the changes brought by gentrification in regard to both their enforcement- and treatment-oriented duties.

The verification culture seemed strongest among standard caseload officers, who were expected to rely upon the resource unit to make referrals for court-ordered treatment. These officers were enthusiastic about the idea of networking with community agencies, but did not have the time nor department support to do so. They described being reliant upon word-of-mouth or flyers from coworkers to keep up-to-date on possible resources for their clients, with their time in the field dedicated to address verification. In the words of one administrator, “they’re not necessarily encouraged by me to look for community-based situations for their clients...”. Among standard caseload officers, only those who had previously been associated with one of the community-based sites or had personal knowledge of Lawndale or prior experience in one of the field service units were able to speak in detail about the community. The resource unit was able to engage in some face-to-face contact with agencies, but their interactions were also described as encumbered by the department's paperwork requirements.

The situation was different for officers in the field service units. Interestingly, the ISP and gang units were enforcement-oriented by design, and yet described more involvement in both the enforcement *and* treatment functions of probation work than standard officers. Within the CCAPD, the level of enforcement and treatment that officers could offer varied substantially by caseload type, each of which had different structures and policies. Gang officers in particular described a heavier community presence, both conducting duties such as home searches and curfew checks and proactively searching for services or employment opportunities for their clients. This may have been attributable to the amount of time these officers spend in the field, their smaller caseloads, smaller geographic areas of responsibility, or as a result of the expectation that these officers (unlike those with standard caseloads) make their own referrals rather than relying upon the resource unit.

The overwhelming of standard caseload officers' traditional probation role with day-to-day verification tasks and related paperwork was reminiscent of Hagedorn's (1995) study of social services in Milwaukee. He found that the department was largely isolated from both community and familial context, with officers' time occupied by court appearances, carrying out court orders, and doing paperwork. Hagedorn (1995) had noted that: "While most social workers want to "do the right thing," all too often their job prohibits them from doing it" (p.41). He ultimately argues that the common fixation on the debate between liberal and conservative views of social work mask the centrality of bureaucracy.

Similar to Hagedorn's (1995) study, CCAPD officers expressed a desire to do more to support their clients, but described being constrained by bureaucratic hurdles in their effort to do so. Officers described conducting searches on home computers or looking in the newspaper for treatment options and employment opportunities for their clients, as their high caseloads, heavy

burden of paperwork, lack of internet access in the department, and limited intradepartmental information-sharing all limited their efforts on the job. Most officers spent only two days each month in the field, and the pressure to conduct a certain number of address verifications impeded the possibility of spending that time conducting intensive casework or networking within the community.

This conceptualization of bureaucracy as an impediment to service represents a fundamental shift away from the traditional focus on an “enforcement versus treatment” dichotomy in probation, though the acknowledgment of the importance of bureaucracy is not new. In discussing the organization of probation offices, Edwin Cooley observed in 1933 that “a frequent and dangerous tendency of the administrator is to classify and standardize the work of his staff to such an extent that the individual worker is hampered and deterred from putting forth his best effort” (p.54). Further conceptualizing the role of bureaucracy in shaping probation can help identify areas for potential change.

Probation work might be most appropriately conceived as varying along two distinct dimensions that vary independently of one another but which are susceptible to the bureaucratic structure and policies of the agency, one ranging from “no treatment” to “full treatment” and the other from “no enforcement” to “full enforcement.” While outside forces such as neighborhood pressure, media attention, political atmosphere, and broader trends in penalty all have a role in shifting a department's level of treatment and enforcement, at least in the CCAPD the effects of these external forces are strongly mediated by departmental policies and procedures. Future discussions of probation might consider what a department offering “full treatment” or “full enforcement” might look like, the ideal extent to which departments should fulfill each of these functions, and the ideal role of bureaucracy in structuring them.

Cooley (1933) had stressed the importance of finding the "golden mean between excessive standardization and....undue individualization" (p.54). Officers' experiences in Lawndale hint at the danger to both extremes in the level of bureaucratic regulation. If officers were exposed to community demands with little regulation, there is a risk that residents with the most power (whether it be capital, or political clout, or access to the media) would have the loudest voices, placing pressure on officers to focus on enforcement with little concern for the long-term impact on probationers' success or community safety. So long as "problem populations" are only moved from one place to another—from Lawndale to “new Lawndale”—criminogenic influences remain unaddressed. On the other hand, while officers in the present bureaucratic structure of the CCAPD are largely insulated from external pressures, they are similarly hindered in their ability to respond to a dynamic environment in which their clients must function.

D. Policy Implications

This study was highly consistent with others that have emphasized the significance of under-funding within probation. The budgetary concerns of the CCAPD quite literally extend back to its inception (see Houston, 1912), and in the present day were reported to result in high caseloads, a heavy emphasis on fee collection, and difficulty maintaining the geographic assignment of cases. The department has already demonstrated its ability to “do more with less” in a strapped environment by adjusting caseloads and securing the grants in support of some of its specialized units. The department needs to continue these efforts to secure funding, but also consider how it might improve its level of responsiveness to the needs of clients and community alike in its current resource environment. Hagedorn and Schwartz (1992, cited in Hagedorn, 1995, p.148) had concluded in regard to the foster care system:

To simply increase the number of foster care workers under the present system will not decrease the foster care population. It will increase the number of foster care workers waiting in court.

In the case of the CCAPD, which does have designated court liaison officers, one might imagine that any increase in funding and reduction in caseloads, without a more fundamental shift in the priorities and functioning of the department, would simply result in more officers conducting verification tasks and the related paperwork. Resource limitations are real, but have faced the department since its inception (Houston, 1912), rendering a strategic examination of the day-to-day operation of the department more productive than calls for more funding. This section explores some specific steps that the CCAPD can take to exploit the conditions of gentrification to better serve their clients and the community at large.

Actively Partner with Agencies

It is already clear that the department cannot “go it alone” in servicing their clients. Few programs are run in-house, a situation which many officers attributed to budgetary constraints. This leaves the department heavily reliant upon community agencies to support their clients’ success, yet many officers expressed limited interactions with these treatment providers, uncertainty regarding their availability and fee structures, and concerns about the quality of services provided. While resource officers had some opportunity to visit agencies face-to-face, these interactions were limited by their workload and by bureaucratic “red tape,” and other officers felt actively discouraged from networking with community agencies during their fieldwork. The department should explore mechanisms for increasing officers’ familiarity with existing resources, including their relative quality and affordability, so that this information can be reliably passed on to the clients who could most benefit.

The present circumstances surrounding officers' time in the field contrasted to the experiences of those who had worked at the community-based sites that have since been closed. Officers at two of these sites described being better situated to network with area employers and service providers, particularly at the West Town site (which shared a building with other agencies), and more department support in making these contacts. One mechanism for supporting officers' capacity to partner with agencies would be to reinstate community-based sites. If they choose this approach, there should be a close evaluation of the factors that ultimately led to the dissolution of the department's prior community-based initiative, particularly as the accounts of the Lawndale-based site had not reflected the same kind of positive partnerships as the other two locations.

Other departments have successfully implemented community-based sites without additional funding by reallocating their existing resources (e.g. Clear & Cannon, 2002), but if there are concerns about supporting a department-wide community-based model, the CCAPD might consider targeting their efforts at communities currently facing gentrification. Such areas can be expected to contain a high concentration of at-risk clients who are facing the additional stress of possible displacement, as well as a more dynamic landscape of potential employers and treatment providers that could serve as partners in servicing clients.

Another option for strengthening the department's partnership with agencies would be to designate some officers as community liaisons, possibly as an extension to, or reworking of, the resource unit. This would provide agencies with stable contacts within the department whom they could fax or call with updated information on fees or to share information on new services. Agencies would have incentive to foster these relationships to maintain a valuable conduit to potential clients, while officers may use such partnerships as an opportunity to negotiate a sliding

scale fee structure on behalf of their clients, and to suggest new treatment or training programs that would better meet their clients' needs. These officers could maintain records on available resources for the reference of caseload officers, and periodically report to judges and administration regarding the resource landscape faced by clients so that informed decisions can be made in the handling of cases.

Increase Involvement in the Community

This study revealed that officers were largely insulated from the communities they serve, a far cry from the community justice (e.g. Clear & Karp, 1999), environmental (Cullen, Eck, & Lowenkamp, 2002), and public safety (e.g. Reinventing Probation Council, 2000) models that have recently been advocated by scholars and practitioners. The CCAPD stands to significantly benefit from increasing their interactions with the community through meetings, informal networking, and involvement in service projects. The residents of gentrifying areas are likely to have a wide range of needs and interests. Hosting meetings with residents would enable officers to become more familiar with concerns so that they might be addressed, and would also provide a valuable opportunity to learn about service providers, nonprofit organizations, individuals willing to mentor clients, or businesses willing to hire individuals with criminal records. The department might also communicate more proactively with the community at large through emails, flyers, or its website, which at present appears to be a largely untapped resource--the site indicates that the information posted on it is accurate as of 2006.

Unlike the organizational resistance often encountered in attempts to implement community-based initiatives within policing (e.g. Skogan, 2006), there is indication that CCAPD officers would be receptive to greater levels of community involvement. Many officers expressed frustration at the task-oriented nature of their job, feeling that the verification of

clients' compliance has overwhelmed their efforts to help their clients and largely insulated them from contact with the broader community. Multiple officers who had been associated with the prior community-based sites spoke wistfully about the higher level of community involvement inherent to those sites. Implementing a community-based initiative may actually boost morale while simultaneously allowing the department to better serve its clients and community.

At least one officer had perceived the department's preoccupation with paperwork as rooted in a concern about bad publicity—in other words, they wanted to make sure they had all their "i"s dotted and "t"s crossed in the event that a client draws public attention to the department through the commission of a new crime. In casual conversation, one administrator expressed the wish that probation could draw the kind of positive publicity that "Backdraft" had brought to firefighters. During the tenure of the community-based sites, local papers had run stories about its school supply and clothing drives, health screenings, and other events, indicating that a reinvestment in community-based efforts may present a valuable opportunity to boost the department's public image while simultaneously serving clients and the community.

A similar "win-win-win" could come from organizing Lawndale-based service projects for clients. Officers identified community service as a common court-ordered condition and reported that their clients sometimes struggle with completing their hours, yet they couldn't speak to opportunities which channeled their clients' efforts toward the improvement of their own neighborhoods. Using meetings with area residents to identify projects within Lawndale would allow the department to offer community service options that would support clients' fulfillment of court-ordered conditions, while also providing clients with work sites closer to home. As just one example, the department might partner with organizations such as Habitat for Humanity to provide clients with a community service option that would also contribute to

affordable housing to alleviate displacement as the neighborhood revitalizes. Upon hearing this idea, one officer was so enthusiastic as to respond that he "would even volunteer for that." This is consistent with other studies that have found probation officers more involved in the communities they serve, even after-hours, in community-based programs (e.g. Clear & Cannon, 2002).

Improve Intradepartmental Communication

Some specialized units maintained binders of treatment providers, but for the most part officers were reliant upon their own research, word-of-mouth, and flyers placed in their mailboxes by colleagues to locate providers when making informal referrals for their clients. All officers could benefit from an investment in the creation and maintenance of a centralized database of records on existing treatment providers and their respective services and fee structures, searchable (or, in hard-copy form, organized) by resource type and zip code. Ideally, this database would allow some mechanism for officers to share notes about their experiences with each agency, as well as any updated information they have about agencies opening or closing their doors, equipping the department to more efficiently stay up-to-date with changes to the resource landscape.

It appeared that there were significant misunderstandings about the role of the resource officers among standard caseload officers. The department might provide a channel of communication between these components of the organization to reduce tensions and support productivity. For example, the resource unit might issue a brief newsletter to relevant caseload officers on a regular basis (e.g. quarterly) to keep them updated on their services, or the resource and caseload officers might be brought together for periodic meetings. This would allow the resource unit to clarify its role, and both units to identify and work to resolve common concerns.

E. Additional Opportunities for Further Study

This study revealed several important details about probation in Lawndale, but also that much remains to be explored. The quantitative component to this study provided a basic context for the extent of probation supervision in Lawndale, but several key measures were not gathered. A more robust quantitative analysis would have included sentence length, case outcome, and application of specialized caseloads in analyses. So, for example, is the use of specialized caseloads geographically or racially patterned? How are revocation patterns distributed racially and spatially? As gentrification is a process that occurs over time, longitudinal data would have facilitated stronger conclusions about the impact of gentrification on the size, distribution and demographics of the probation population, and the inclusion of additional neighborhoods would have allowed for more meaningful comparative analyses. Further study is needed to build a deeper understanding of the extent and nature of probation supervision, and its implications for disadvantaged minority communities.

This study identified several specific departmental factors that served to insulate offenders' day-to-day work from the impact of gentrification, including detailed departmental policies regarding the enforcement of offenders' conditions. Largely unexamined was the manner in which the policies themselves may have been shaped by community pressures, for example as a result of negative publicity. Insight into the formation of departmental policies may be gained through interviews with a greater representation of high-level administration within the department. A closer examination of the pressures facing those who write the policies could provide a more complete illumination of the community/probation interface within Chicago.

This study provided an extensive but not exhaustive understanding of probation within Lawndale. The study would have been significantly strengthened by including probation officers from the county's social services arm, and by speaking with other stakeholders within the community—residents, probationers, business owners, and service providers—regarding their exposure to, and interactions with, probation. For example, business owners in the developing areas of the community could have been interviewed for their perspectives on the possibility of working with probationers. Most importantly, gathering the perspectives of probationers can provide a more robust understanding of how both gentrification and probation affect their daily lives.

The inclusion of officers from several units revealed significant differences in the extent and nature of their interface with the community. Ideally, officers from the community service, intensive drug probation, and sex offender units also would have been interviewed. While it was useful to have a cross-section of units represented, the study could have benefited from greater representation from each. Their practices are diverse enough to suggest that each unit could have easily served as the focus of independent study.

Given the inherently localized nature of probation, the results of this study are not generalizable. The circumstances surrounding gentrification are too localized, and the structure and culture of probation departments too variant, to assume that the insights of this study are universally applicable. Local differences in labor markets, available resources, and racial dynamics all have the potential to affect the impact of community change on probation. Building a body of descriptive studies on the relationship between probation and community can equip departments to learn from the experiences of others as more neighborhoods face gentrification.

F. Conclusions

When scholars of American punishment mention probation, it is usually as evidence that incarceration and reentry merely represent the “tip of the iceberg” (see, for example, Wacquant, 2009, p.64, 138), but rarely has probation served as the central focus of research. Scathing critiques of the drug war tend to focus on policing, prisons (e.g. Tonry, 1995), and the “prison label” (e.g. Alexander, 2010). This study supports that incarceration and reentry *are* only the tip of the iceberg, and hints at how much remains to be discovered through a closer examination of probation.

Evidence was presented of probation’s strong presence in minority urban communities, and the complex ways in which probation stands to be affected by gentrification. While North Lawndale is still in the early stages of redevelopment and the data failed to identify the anticipated effects of gentrification, the study was able to identify other ways that community context was important to probation. Officers largely anticipated that their clients would be displaced, but also that several bureaucratic hurdles would stand in the way of their efforts to support clients in adapting to--and even benefiting from--their changing social environment.

The extent of probation supervision within the nation’s hardest-hit communities, probation officers’ vantage point on challenges faced by, and demands placed on, their clients, and their maintenance of positive relationships with clients despite their status as agents of the criminal justice system, all suggest that probation is uniquely situated to make a difference in the social dynamics of the city and the lived experiences of its clients. Still, as Sheldon Glueck (1933) once cautioned, while “...probation gives promise of developing into the flower among the weeds...for it to so, it must be carefully tended...” (p.3). Probation has long been neglected in the literature and under-funded in practice. Gentrification opens the possibility of new

resources flowing into dispossessed areas, but without a proactive effort to connect those resources to the populations most at need, ghettos are likely to do little more than recreate themselves, whether across the city or behind prison walls. As the state has largely withdrawn support for social programs in favor of funding for the criminal justice system, and where tensions often run high between representatives of other components of the criminal justice system and the nation's most at-risk communities, the burden may rest with probation to properly service this population in a way that facilitates clients' social mobility and public safety.

APPENDIX A

University of Illinois at Chicago – Chicago Area Study

Consent for Participation in a Research Study- “Probation and Gentrification in North Lawndale”

Julie Globokar, a researcher with IRB certification through the University of Illinois at Chicago, is doing a research study on gentrification and probation in North Lawndale. One part of the research will entail the observation and interviewing of a maximum of 50 probation officers who have worked within North Lawndale. The purpose of the study is to gather different viewpoints on how probation operates within North Lawndale, and whether it impacts, or is impacted by, the gentrification process.

The interviews will be audio-recorded, last anywhere from 15 minutes to two hours, and be carried out in the strictest confidentiality. You may decline to be audio-recorded and still participate in the interview. The identity of research subjects will be protected from any inquiries by neighborhood residents, peers, or any other person wanting to know who has participated in this research. No participants in the study will be identified in any publications or presentations that result from this research unless you specifically request such in writing, and the researcher determines that there is little chance of risk. No one other than Julie Globokar will have access to the recordings without the consent of the person interviewed. Audio recordings will be kept in a locked cabinet until transcribed, and will be destroyed after transcription. Julie Globokar will be solely responsible for transcribing the interviews. No personal identifying information will be included on the transcription, though research subjects' contact information may be maintained on a separate document in case it is necessary to contact them at a later time.

Participants who must travel for their interviews will be compensated \$10 at the time of the interview to assist with travel expenses.

Participants in the study may become uncomfortable talking about their experiences with probationers, or the changes taking place in North Lawndale. Participation in this study is voluntary; you may refuse to participate or discontinue participation at any time without any penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. It should also be understood that the investigator has the right to stop the interview process at any time.

I acknowledge that _____ has explained to me the risks involved, the need for the research, and has offered to answer any questions which I may have concerning the procedures to be followed. I freely and voluntarily consent to participate in this study. I understand that I may keep a copy of this consent form for my own information.

(Respondent)

(Date)

(Investigator)

(Date)

If you have any questions, you may ask at the time of the interview, or contact the researcher as follows:

Julie Globokar
Criminology, Law, and Justice Dept, M/C 141
University of Illinois at Chicago
1007 W. Harrison St
Chicago, IL 60607
jglobol1@uic.edu
(815) 753-0365

You may also use the above contact information to obtain information on the results of this study.

As an alternative, you may also contact faculty sponsor John Hagedorn with your questions:

John Hagedorn, PhD
Criminology, Law, and Justice Dept, M/C 141
University of Illinois at Chicago
1007 W. Harrison St
Chicago, IL 60607
huk@uic.edu
312-996-8361

If you have questions about your rights as a research subject please contact the UIC Office for the Protection of Research Subjects at 312-996-1711 or uicirb@uic.edu.

APPENDIX B

Overview of Role

1. How long have you worked as a probation officer in Cook County?
2. Have you worked in probation for any agency other than Cook County?
3. How do you perceive your role as a probation officer? (Are you here to protect the community? Enforce laws and court orders? Help the offender?)
4. What type of contact do you have with those on your caseload? (How common are office visits? Home visits? Telephone contact?)

Caseload Information

1. What are some common crimes that you see offenders coming onto your caseload for?
2. Do you work with any specific supervision level (minimum, medium, maximum)?
3. What are some common conditions of supervision for those on your caseload?
4. What do you think those on your caseload need the most—employment training? Treatment? Close supervision?
5. What types of barriers do you perceive in regard to meeting these needs?

Community Involvement

1. Do you routinely work with/contact any community businesses or other resources (community centers, churches, job centers, etc.) in carrying out these duties?
2. In which areas of Chicago do you supervise offenders? (Your caseload is primarily from which area(s) of Chicago?)

North Lawndale

1. How would you describe North Lawndale?
2. A lot of people are discussing the “gentrification” of North Lawndale—the building of new developments and businesses, and the moving in of new residents. Have you noticed these types of changes?
 - a. What have you noticed?
 - b. Have these changes impacted your job? (Housing, employment opportunities, etc. for offenders?)
 - c. Do you see these changes as positive or negative for the neighborhood? (Explain.)

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Zukin, S. (1987). Gentrification: Culture and capital in the urban core. *American Review of Sociology*, 13, 129-147.

VITA

EDUCATION

PhD (ABD), Criminal Justice, University of Illinois at Chicago
Dissertation: Probation and Gentrification in North Lawndale (Advisor: John Hagedorn)

M.A., Criminal Justice, University of Illinois at Chicago, 2004

B.A. (Summa cum Laude), Psychology, University of Wisconsin at Whitewater, 2001

ACADEMIC POSITIONS

Assistant Professor, Kent State University, Sociology Department	08/11-present
Professor, Kaplan University, School of Criminal Justice	07/04-03/07, 09/10-present
Course Leader, School of Criminal Justice	05/05-present
Academic Chair, School of Criminal Justice	01/07-09/10
Instructor, University of Illinois at Chicago, Criminal Justice Department	01/05-12/10
Teaching Assistant, Criminal Justice Department	08/02-05/11
Teaching Assistant, Sociology Department	08/06-12/06
Visiting Assistant Professor, Northern Illinois University, Sociology Department	09/08-08/09
Adjunct Instructor, Lakeland College	06/06-12/08

COURSES TAUGHT

Law and Society: *Law and Society; Race, Class, Gender, and the Law*

Criminology: *Introduction to Criminology* (online); *Criminology II* (online); *Gender and Crime*

Criminal Justice: *Policing in America; Introduction to Criminology, Law, and Justice; The Criminal Justice System; Introduction to Criminal Justice* (online); *Associate's Capstone* (online); *Academic Strategies for the Criminal Justice Professional* (online)

Sociology: *Social Problems*

General Studies: *The Sixties; Ethics* (online)

AREAS OF SPECIALTY

Race and Corrections
Punishment and Society
Law and Society
Criminology

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

Intern, Cook County Adult Probation Department 01/09-12/09
As a graduate student, "intern" status provided access to the department as an independent researcher.

Research Assistant, University of Illinois at Chicago, Criminal Justice 01/08-05/08
 01/07-05/07
Worked with Dr. Edna Erez on topics including electronic monitoring in domestic violence cases; involvement of Palestinian women in suicide bombings; and police response to domestic violence in immigrant communities.

Worked with Dr. Mindie Lazarus-Black on a project regarding the internationalization of legal education.

PUBLICATIONS

Books:

Globokar, J.L. (2010). *Introduction to Online Learning: A Guide for Students*. Sage Publications.

Journal Articles:

Berko, A., Erez, E., & Globokar, J.L. (2010). Gender, Crime, and Terrorism: The Case of Arab/Palestinian Women in Israel. *British Journal of Criminology*, 50(4), 670-689.

Erez, E., & Globokar, J.L. (2007). Immigrant women, domestic violence, and community policing. *Law Enforcement Executive Forum*, (November), 1-15.

Book Chapters:

Erez, E., & Globokar, J. (2009). *Compounding Vulnerabilities: The Impact of Immigration Status and Circumstances on Battered Immigrant Women*. In *Immigration, Crime and Justice (Sociology of Crime Law and Deviance, Volume 13)*, Ed. Mathieu Deflem, 129-145, Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

Other Publications:

Globokar, J.L. (2008). Probation. In Parrillo, V.N. (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Social Problems*. Sage Publications.

Globokar, J.L. (2008). Labeling theory. In Parrillo, V.N. (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Social Problems*. Sage Publications.

Erez, E., & Globokar, J.L. (2008). Victim impact statements. In Renzetti, C.M., & Edleson, J.L. (Eds.) *Encyclopedia of Victimology and Crime Prevention*. Sage Publications.

PUBLICATIONS UNDER REVIEW

Lazarus-Black, M., & Globokar, J.L. (under review). Crossing Borders in Legal Education: The Apparatus of Admissions in the Creation of a New Legal Expert. *Human Organization*.

PAPER PRESENTATIONS

Globokar, J.L. (2011). *The Space in Between: Probation in Transitioning Communities*. Presentation at the Law and Society Association annual meeting, San Francisco, California.

Globokar, J.L. (2010). *Probation Work and Community Change*. Presentation at the American Society of Criminology annual meeting, San Francisco, California.

Lazarus-Black, M., & Globokar, J.L. (2010). *Making an International Lawyer: The Genealogy of a New Expertise*. Presentation at the Law and Society Association annual meeting, Chicago, Illinois.

Globokar, J.L. (2009). *Probation and Gentrification: An Exploratory Case Study*. Presentation at the American Society of Criminology annual meeting, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Lazarus-Black, M., & Globokar, J.L. (2009). *Journey to the U.S.: Foreign Lawyers in American LL.M. Programs*. Presentation at the Law and Society Association annual meeting, Denver, Colorado.

Globokar, J.L. (2008). *A Social Control Theory of Corrections: Understanding our System in Terms of "Why Not"?* Presentation at the American Society of Criminology annual meeting, St. Louis, Missouri.

Globokar, J.L. (2007). *Community Corrections: The Last Frontier*. Presentation at the American Society of Criminology annual meeting, Atlanta, Georgia.

Globokar, J.L. (2006). *Understanding Complacency: Exploring Views of our Correctional System in Terms of Race*. Presentation at the American Society of Criminology annual meeting, Los Angeles, California.

Globokar, J.L. (2006). *Crime, Race, Discourse, and Actors of the Legal System: A New Way of Understanding Race and Incarceration*. Presentation at the Midwest Law and Society Retreat, Madison, Wisconsin.

Globokar, J.L. (2005). *Expanding Notions of Stigmatization: Implications for Restorative Justice*. Presentation at the American Society of Criminology annual meeting, Toronto, Ontario.

Globokar, J.L. (2004). *Media (In)Attention to Racial Disparities in Criminal Justice: The Problem of Decontextualization*. Presentation at the American Society of Criminology annual meeting, Nashville, Tennessee.

ADDITIONAL PROJECTS

Served on the following committees at Kaplan University:

Late Policy Committee (2011)

New Faculty Orientation (2009)

Wrote a summary of findings from an international meeting of police executives on the topic of “policing gangs,” in fulfillment of a contract with the Chicago Police Department. (2010)

Created ancillary materials for Walsh, A., & Hemmens, C. (forthcoming). *Introduction to Criminology: The Essentials*. Sage Publications.

Created ancillary materials for Walsh, A., & Hemmens, C. (2011). *Introduction to Criminology: A Text/Reader (2nd ed.)*. Sage Publications.

Created ancillary materials for Stohr, M.K., Walsh, A., & Hemmens, C. (2008). *Corrections: A Text/Reader*. Sage Publications.

Created ancillary materials for Walsh, A., & Hemmens, C. (2008). *Introduction to Criminology: A Text/Reader*. Sage Publications.

Served as reviewer for Walsh, A., & Hemmens, C. (2008). *Introduction to Criminology: A Text/Reader*. Sage Publications.

Created ancillary materials for Hagan, F. (2007). *Introduction to Criminology: Theories, Methods, and Criminal Behavior (6th ed.)*. Sage Publications.

HONORS

- University of Illinois at Chicago, Criminology, Law, and Justice Program Graduate Student Publication of the Year, 2011
- Kaplan University Online Literary Festival, Showcased Book, 2011
- Sage Criminology eNewsletter, Featured Book, 2010
- Kaplan Faculty Roundtable on Best Practices, Invited Guest, 2007
- University of Wisconsin at Whitewater Dean’s List (High Honors), 7/7 semesters.
- University of Wisconsin at Whitewater Parents’ Foundation Scholarship, Recipient, 3 years.
- Vietnam Veterans of America Chapter 224 Essay Scholarship, Recipient, 3 years.
- The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi, Inductee, April 2001
- Golden Key International Honor Society, Inductee, March 2001
- Psi Chi National Honor Society in Psychology, Inductee, October 2000