

Race, Space, and Surveillance: Understanding the Relationship between Criminal Justice Contact and Institutional Involvement

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Abstract

Ethnographies of young men of color offer competing theories regarding how individuals react to criminal justice contact. System avoidance theory suggests that black and Latino men in segregated neighborhoods avoid formal institutions because of fear of surveillance, while Rios contends that they frame their criminal justice contact as a racial injustice and become activists. Using data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Adolescent to Adult Health, this study tests these hypotheses. Findings indicate that system avoidance is not specific to men of color, as the original theory posits; criminal justice contact is associated with avoidance for all men in the sample. In contrast, active engagement is partially racialized; men of color with criminal justice contact are more likely to volunteer than white men, but low-level contact is associated with activism for all men. Furthermore, there is little evidence that reactions to criminal justice contact vary by place.

Keywords

mass incarceration, neighborhoods, race/ethnicity, surveillance

Beginning in the mid-1970s, the American penal system expanded at an unprecedented rate (Wakefield and Uggen 2010). As a result, 1 in 35 adults is currently under some form of correctional supervision nationwide (Glaze and Kaeble 2014). This state surveillance is concentrated among racial and ethnic minorities, particularly low-skill black and Latino men; approximately 58.9 percent of black men without a high school diploma born in the late 1960s will be incarcerated by their early 30s compared with 11.2 percent of similarly situated whites (Pettit and Western 2004). Consequently, poor communities of color bear the brunt of contemporary criminal justice practices. For instance, some neighborhoods experience police stops at a rate of 500 per 1,000 residents (Lerman and Weaver 2014). Moreover, hypersurveillance extends beyond crime control agents; Rios (2011) documented how schools, parents, and community members and organizations all police youth of color in a powerful, interconnected web along with police and probation officers, forming a “youth control complex.” Indeed, research finds that such practices have reshaped daily life in poor communities of color (Clear 2007; Goffman 2009, 2014; Rios 2011).

Although few would dispute that youth of color are criminalized and hypersurveilled from a young age, questions

remain regarding how criminal justice contact shapes later interactions with formal institutions. Recent literature presents two possibilities: strategic avoidance of institutions because of fear of repercussions (Brayne 2014; Goffman 2009, 2014) or active community involvement because of heightened political consciousness (Rios 2011). In this study we empirically examine these issues using data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health). We build on prior work suggesting that individuals with criminal justice contact avoid surveilling institutions (Brayne 2014), by focusing on how race and neighborhoods influence system avoidance, both of which are central in Goffman’s original formulation for understanding who is “on the run” and avoiding formal institutions. Rios’s theory, although it posits the opposite form of institutional involvement (critical engagement), is premised on the same connection between race and place. Thus we construct a more complete test of Goffman’s theory alongside Rios’s,

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the latter of which has not been assessed quantitatively to date. More specifically, we examine associations between criminal justice contact, race/ethnicity, neighborhood context, and involvement in social institutions, both surveilling and nonsurveilling.

Avoidance, Activism, or Both?

Avoidance-based Arguments

On the basis of years of ethnographic research in a Philadelphia neighborhood, Alice Goffman (2009, 2014) argued that communities of color have been reshaped and restructured by hypersurveillance. According to Goffman, individuals in these neighborhoods create tactics to avoid state surveillance out of fear of criminal justice repercussions (for a critique, see Sharpe 2014). Perhaps the most common strategy is straightforward avoidance of any place where individuals might encounter the police or be found by police (Goffman 2009, 2014). One of the most striking parts of *On the Run* is Goffman's (2014:viii–ix) account of a respondent's (Alex) refusal to go to the hospital after being mugged and pistol whipped out of fear that the police would run his name and arrest him for violating the terms of his probation. Similarly, Chuck (another respondent) missed the birth of his second child because he claimed to know of three men (including Alex) who had been arrested on the delivery room floor. According to Goffman (though disputed, see Forman 2014 and Lubet 2015), it is common practice for police to check hospital visitor lists for individuals with outstanding warrants.

Goffman also documented how formal employment, for example, left her respondents at risk for increased criminal justice surveillance, which soured other respondents away from formal institutions. For instance, Mike was arrested while working at Taco Bell because the police knew where to find him; Chuck was arrested while working at McDonald's by chance when officers were called because of a fight between customers. In a similar vein, Reggie, another respondent, argued that the potential exposure to surveillance prevented him from using banks and renting an apartment.

Brayne (2014) termed these actions by Goffman's subjects "system avoidance" and found support for a relationship between criminal justice contact and institutional avoidance using Add Health. Individuals with criminal justice contact, even individuals who had only been stopped but not arrested by police, reported fewer interactions with formal institutions, including the labor market, schools, banks, and health care. Although that study advanced our understanding of mass surveillance and its implications, it did not focus on men, the primary targets of police hypersurveillance, nor did it examine how race and the neighborhood, key aspects of Goffman's theory, influence system avoidance.

According to Goffman (2009, 2014), the culture of institutional avoidance described above relies on specific aspects of poor, urban, predominantly nonwhite neighborhoods that

are not widely available elsewhere. Historically, these communities were largely ignored by law enforcement, but the past few decades brought increased surveillance. For instance, Goffman (2009) reported that the number of patrol officers increased by 69 percent in Philadelphia from 1960 to 2000 (from 2.76 to 4.66 officers per 1,000 residents). It is this new hypersurveillance, according to Goffman, that created a structural basis for a culture of avoidance. Others, however, argue that same hypersurveillance can lead to a culture of active engagement in opposition to the surveillance state.

An Engagement-based Argument

In *Punished*, Victor Rios (2011) reported a seemingly opposite reaction to police encounters among similarly situated Latino and black respondents in Oakland compared with Goffman. Like Goffman (2009, 2014), Rios uncovered the pervasive surveillance of young men of color in a poor urban neighborhood. However, in contrast to Goffman's strategic avoidance thesis, Rios argued that interactions with the system produce heightened political consciousness. This resonates with previous research documenting racialized surveillance and blacks' antisurveillance reactions throughout U.S. history (Browne 2015). According to Rios, criminal justice contact among youth of color may increase interactions with formal institutions. In other words, where Goffman identified a cultural response to policing in which individuals avoid surveillance by avoiding formal institutions, Rios identified an alternative response to that same policing: political involvement, which can lead to more surveillance.

More specifically, Rios (2011) argued that although some individuals internalize criminal justice labels, others resist and "generate action that seeks to change the very system that oppresses them" (p. 103). Approximately 23 percent of Rios's respondents became actively engaged in protests against police brutality and mass incarceration. As one respondent (Smoky Man) explained, "I fight 'cause all the stuff they [the police] been doing . . . so this is payback, man. Anything I saw and been through with the cops, you can't tell me it's a good cop" (p. 122). Moreover, these young men remained involved in meetings and marches protesting the system four years later in Rios's follow-up, even though public protests are one of, if not the, single most formally surveilled public sites (Della Porta and Reiter 1998).

Indeed, the risk for encountering surveillance at protests is particularly high for people of color; research has found that protests attended by blacks are more likely to draw a police presence than white protest events (Davenport, Soule, and Armstrong 2011). Furthermore, police are more likely to arrest and use force at black protests than white (Davenport et al. 2011). Although Rios's (2011) respondents identified with the injustices they protested, they did not know the victims in most cases. In light of this involvement, Rios characterized punitive social control as paradoxical: although it

constrains disadvantaged populations, it also functions as a “catalyst for the next wave of massive social movements from below” (p. 123), a wave that exposes itself to heightened police surveillance.

The Neighborhood Context of Surveillance

Theories of avoidance and engagement both emphasize the neighborhood context of hypersurveillance. Goffman argued that the rise of state surveillance in these communities provides residents with the option to avoid contact with surveilling institutions *because* of alternatives unique to such communities. Goffman described a variety of “off the books” services in hypersurveilled communities that cater to young men of color wishing to avoid surveillance (Venkatesh 2006). For instance, when Alex refused to go to the emergency room for serious injuries, a cousin with some medical knowledge treated his wounds and stitched up his face. Other services available include fake driver licenses, Social Security cards, birth certificates, car insurance, and vehicle registrations (Goffman 2014:42). False documents and under-the-table medical services allow young men to avoid surveillance, particularly those on probation, parole, or with criminal histories. Another common strategy, Goffman reported, is to pay people with legitimate identities to put possessions in their names such as cars, apartment leases, or cell phone contracts.

In short, underground economies and avoidance practices arise to meet demands stemming from contemporary surveillance practices, but only in communities with high levels of surveillance, which tend to be poor communities of color (Sampson and Loeffler 2011). In communities with low levels of surveillance, there would be little demand for or knowledge of such services. As such, blacks and Latinos with criminal records, particularly those from hypersurveilled predominantly black and Latino neighborhoods, should report more institutional avoidance compared with whites with similar levels of police contact.

Rios’s (2011) active engagement thesis is also premised on the hypersurveillance of predominantly brown communities. For Rios, living in a segregated community provides young men of color with a racial consciousness to draw on to understand their criminal justice experience. In contrast, young men of color who live in less segregated communities and encounter police will not have the same cultural resources to draw from and thus are unlikely to respond by becoming actively involved in changing the system (for a similar argument about young men’s racialized frames for understanding educational inequality, see Kuriloff and Reichert 2003).

Rios and Goffman are not the first to connect neighborhood context with involvement. For example, Dina Rose and Todd Clear (1998) suggested that the spatial concentration of incarceration reduces social capital and destabilizes communities of color (see also Clear 2007; Morenoff and

Harding 2014). More broadly, racial segregation and economic inequality combine to concentrate social problems in communities of color. In addition to high levels of crime, poverty, and infant mortality, these disadvantaged neighborhoods exhibit high rates of unemployment and school drop-out (Massey and Denton 1993; Sampson 2013). In a related vein, Stuart, Armenta, and Osborne (2015:239) argued that “new legal control practices . . . center on the physical expulsion and banishment of marginal groups from both private and public spaces” in ways that criminalize not just individuals, but rather marginal groups and communities. In short, structural factors may reduce involvement in communities of color, irrespective of whether residents have had contact with the criminal justice system.

In addition to structural factors, recent work found evidence of a broader cultural response to hypersurveillance than Goffman’s and Rios’s theories. In particular, Stuart’s (2016) ethnographic research in Los Angeles demonstrated that individuals at a heightened risk of police surveillance learn to become “copwise” to avoid police in ways that may limit social interactions. In fact, “anonymity” in a hypersurveilled community may become a particularly desirable status that could lead to distancing from surveilling institutions (Oeur 2016). If anonymity is desirable for all young men of color in a neighborhood regardless of one’s criminal record, we should expect that system avoidance is related to the social status of one’s community as much or more than one’s criminal justice contact.

In sum, existing work suggests that criminal justice contact and individuals’ involvement in social institutions fundamentally differs by race and place. According to Goffman (2014:52), the hypersurveillance of people of color and the culture of “dipping and dodging” is unique to impoverished communities of color. Rios (2011) also suggested that the subcultural responses that lead to heightened activism and consciousness are available only to black and Latino young men living in communities of color. However, these theories diverge in terms of how racial and ethnic minorities react to criminal justice contact. Rios reported racialized countersurveillance in the form of increased community involvement, whereas Goffman (2009, 2014) and Brayne (2014) found evidence of system avoidance. Nevertheless, Rios’s countersurveillance and Goffman’s system avoidance are not necessarily in direct opposition. Individuals may avoid formal institutions but still engage in local activism, deciding that the heightened risk for surveillance in those specific situations may be worth taking. Yet no research to date examines these possibilities side by side. Moreover, the role of neighborhood context remains unclear, particularly given research suggesting that both structural and cultural mechanisms result in less engagement among residents of hypersurveilled communities regardless of criminal justice status. In the present study, we take up these issues.

The Present Study

Given the hypotheses put forth by Goffman and Rios, we examine the relationship between criminal justice contact and institutional involvement. Following Brayne (2014), we divide formal institutions into two groups: those associated with surveillance and surveillance-free institutions. As in Brayne's work, health care, labor, education, and banking constitute the former group, while the latter consists of church involvement and volunteerism. According to Brayne, individuals performing system avoidance will avoid institutions associated with surveillance, whereas involvement in surveillance-free institutions should not be affected. We also add activism, a form of involvement central to testing Rios's theory. As Rios and others note, activism is unique because it may actually lead to increased surveillance (Davenport et al. 2011; Della Porta and Reiter 1998). Moreover, we investigate these associations in conjunction with neighborhood context, which also affects involvement.

We advance existing work in four ways. First, we directly test Goffman's (2009, 2014) theory of "fugitive communities"; we assess whether men of color with criminal justice contact in communities of color and/or high-crime neighborhoods are more likely to avoid surveilling institutions. Although Goffman's respondents reported a hypersurveillance that is nonracial in act (e.g., police checking hospital visitor logs), it is racialized because of the disproportionate concentration of criminal justice contact among men of color and these young men's ability to avoid it by using resources available only via underground economies. Similarly, Rios presented evidence that his ethnographic respondents framed criminal justice contact via racialized inequalities, so our second contribution is to investigate Rios's (2011) active institutional engagement thesis, which highlights that men of color with criminal justice contact in communities of color may actually be *more* involved. This has not been assessed with quantitative data. More specifically, we assess whether criminal justice contact is associated with volunteerism and political activism and whether these relationships are unique to men of color with criminal justice contact living in communities of color.

Third, in addition to testing how young men of color in hypersurveilled communities are involved, we examine how neighborhood context is associated with involvement. Thus we investigate whether it is criminal justice contact per se that is associated with avoidance or engagement or whether residents of predominantly minority communities are overall less involved. Fourth, we focus on the targets of hypersurveillance, black and Latino men, and compare their reactions with those of whites, resulting in a more accurate test of Goffman's (2009, 2013) ethnographic sample and institutional avoidance thesis. Neither Rios's nor Goffman's ethnographic samples include a comparison with white experiences with criminal justice institutions, and Brayne's (2014) test of system avoidance adjusted for race but did not focus on it. In sum, our primary objective is to provide a more thorough test of

system avoidance alongside active engagement by focusing on how race/ethnicity and neighborhood context influence the relationship between criminal justice contact and various forms of institutional involvement.

The study proceeds as follows. First, we examine the relationship between criminal justice contact and a variety of surveilling and nonsurveilling institutions, including activism, for men net of race/ethnicity and neighborhood context. We then introduce a series of interaction terms to test how criminal justice contact, race/ethnicity, and neighborhood context combined are associated with institutional involvement. To better understand these associations, we report predicted probabilities of avoiding or engaging off our full models.

Data and Variables

Following previous work (Brayne 2014), our data come from the National Longitudinal Survey of Adolescent to Adult Health.¹ Add Health is a nationally representative sample of adolescents enrolled in grades 7 through 12 during the 1994–1995 school year. A two-stage stratified design was used to select the sample of 80 high schools and 52 middle schools in the United States. Systematic sampling methods were used to ensure that the sample represents U.S. schools across key indicators such as region and school size. Consistent with Brayne (2014), our study analyzes information from waves I and III. Approximately 77 percent of wave I respondents participated in wave III. At wave I, respondents were aged 11 to 21 years, with data for wave III collected 6 years later, when respondents were aged 18 to 28 years. Data on criminal justice contact and institutional involvement come from wave III.² Control variables are drawn from waves I and III to adjust for background factors associated with both criminal justice contact and institutional involvement in adolescence as well as factors associated with institutional contact in young adulthood.

To facilitate comparisons and properly test system avoidance and active engagement, we limit our analyses to men as well as non-Hispanic whites and persons of color. After these restrictions and listwise deletion, the analytic sample consists of 4,826 men.³ The sample was adjusted for Add Health's stratified sampling design to obtain unbiased estimators and

¹In addition to Add Health, Brayne (2014) used data from the 1997 National Longitudinal Survey of Youth as a robustness check. We do not use that survey, because it does not contain information on neighborhood context.

²Although our analyses are cross-sectional in nature and thus cannot identify a causal order, our analyses are identical to Brayne's (2014) main analyses (with the addition of neighborhood measures), which were robust to tests of causal ordering using the 1997 National Longitudinal Survey of Youth.

³Results using multiply imputed data were substantively similar to those using listwise deletion (results available on request).

Table 1. Variable Descriptions, Coding, and Descriptive Statistics.

Variable Name	Description	% or Mean	SD
Dependent variables			
Medical care	Received medical care when needed in past 12 months; 0 = no, 1 = yes	76.75%	
Employment or enrollment	Currently working 10 hours or more a week for pay or enrolled; 0 = no, 1 = yes	84.94%	
Checking account	Have a checking account; 0 = no, 1 = yes	70.37%	
Church involvement	Participated in activities through place of worship in past 12 months; 0 = never, 1 = yes	22.92%	
Volunteerism	Performed unpaid volunteer or community service work in the past 12 months; 0 = no, 1 = yes	27.29%	
Activism	Contacted government official regarding political/community issues or attended a rally or march in the past 12 months; 0 = no, 1 = yes	5.78%	
Criminal justice contact			
Stopped	Ever stopped or detained by the police (excluding minor traffic violations); 0 = no, 1 = yes	11.31%	
Arrested, convicted, or incarcerated	Ever been arrested or taken into custody by the police, convicted or pled guilty, sentenced to jail or prison; 0 = no, 1 = yes	19.00%	
Neighborhood characteristics			
Community of color	More than 1 SD above the mean of black/Latino residents; 0 = no, 1 = yes	14.82%	
Disadvantaged	More than 1 SD above the mean of three standardized items: tract proportion in poverty, tract proportion female headed households, tract proportion unemployed	9.97%	
High crime	More than 1 SD above the mean of total adult arrests; 0 = no, 1 = yes	13.88%	
Urban	More than 50% of tract is urban; 0 = no, 1 = yes	72.71%	
Sociodemographics			
Black or Latino	0 = non-Hispanic white; 1 = yes	35.76%	
Age (years)	Age at wave III	21.98	1.74
Nativity	0 = born outside the U.S., 1 = born in the U.S.	96.29%	
High school diploma/GED	0 = no, 1 = yes	74.47%	
Associate's degree	0 = no, 1 = yes	6.42%	
Bachelor's degree	0 = no, 1 = yes	8.99%	
Parent attainment	0 = never went to school, 1 = eighth grade or less; 2 = more than eighth grade, but did not graduate; 3 = business, trade, or vocational school instead of high school; 4 = GED; 5 = high school graduate; 6 = some college, but did not graduate; 7 = graduated from college/university; 8 = professional training beyond college or university; variable takes higher of mother's or father's education	6.25	2.19
Household size	Number in household	2.19	1.59
Reside with parents	0 = no, 1 = yes	43.41%	
Interaction terms			
Black/Latino × Stopped ^a	—	4.29%	
Black/Latino × Arrested, Convicted, Incarcerated ^b	—	6.78%	
Black/Latino × High Crime ^c	—	5.10%	
Stopped × Community of Color	—	1.72%	
Stopped × High Crime	—	1.55%	
Arrested, Convicted, Incarcerated × Community of Color	—	2.76%	
Arrested, Convicted, Incarcerated × High Crime	—	2.30%	
Ties to conventional institutions			
Enrolled	0 = no, 1 = yes	73.06%	
Employed	0 = no, 1 = yes	33.30%	

(continued)

Table 1. (continued)

Variable Name	Description	% or Mean	SD
Married	0 = no, 1 = yes	14.21%	
Religiosity	To what extent are you a religious person; 1 = slightly, 2 = moderately, 3 = very religious	1.32	.92
Health and health care access			
Physical health	Self-rated health; 1 = poor, 2 = fair, 3 = good 4 = very good, 5 = excellent	4.10	.83
Insurance	0 = no, 1 = yes	73.15%	
Behaviors			
Theft over \$50	Stole something worth more than \$50 in past 12 months	4.54%	
Theft under \$50	Stole something worth less than \$50 in past 12 months	10.57%	
Damaged property	Deliberately damaged property that didn't belong to you in past 12 months; 0 = no, 1 = yes	13.47%	
Carried gun	Carried a handgun at school or work in past 12 months; 0 = no, 1 = yes	2.51%	
Pulled weapon	Pulled a knife or gun on someone in the past 12 months; 0 = no, 1 = yes	2.32%	
Stabbed	Someone stabbed you in the past 12 months; 0 = no, 1 = yes	1.14%	
Used methamphetamine	Used crystal meth in the past year; 0 = no, 1 = yes	3.81%	
Used cocaine	Used any kind of cocaine in the past year; 0 = no, 1 = yes	8.52%	
Sold drugs	Sold marijuana or other drugs in the past 12 months; 0 = no, 1 = yes	12.43%	
Gang membership	Belonged to a named gang in the past 12 months; 0 = no, 1 = yes	15.64%	
Impulsivity	Three-item scale: like to take risks, lose control of myself, like fewer rules and regulations; 1 = not true, 2 = a little, 3 = somewhat, 4 = pretty, 5 = very true	2.82	.89

Note: N = 4,826 men.

^a Among whites, 7.02 percent were stopped.

^b Among whites, 12.23 percent were arrested, convicted, or incarcerated.

^c Among whites, 8.79 percent live in a high-crime neighborhood.

accurate standard errors. Question wording and descriptive statistics for all variables included in the analysis appear in Table 1.

Dependent Variables

Our dependent variables are identical to Brayne's, with the addition of activism. Health care use is measured using respondent reports of whether they received medical care when needed in the past 12 months. Respondents either currently working for more than 10 hours a week for pay or enrolled in school capture involvement in the labor market and educational institutions while having a checking account captures financial institutional involvement. Church involvement is measured by whether respondents took part in special activities through their place of worship in the past 12 months, including Bible classes, retreats, youth groups, or choir. Respondents' reports of whether they performed unpaid volunteer or community service work in the past 12 months measure volunteerism. Activism is measured by combining two indicators: whether individuals (1) contacted a government official regarding political or community issues or (2) attended a political rally or march within the past 12 months. Overall, respondents are fairly involved in these institutions. For example, 76.75 percent of the sample receives medical care when needed,

and the majority is active in either the labor market or educational institutions. Not surprisingly, respondents are less involved in the more communal forms; approximately 27.29 percent of the sample volunteer and 5.78 percent engage in activism.

We have three types of focal independent variables: criminal justice contact, race/ethnicity, and neighborhood context. Below each is described before explaining the interaction terms created from them.

Criminal Justice Contact Measures

In wave III, respondents were asked whether they were ever stopped or detained by the police (excluding minor traffic violations), arrested or taken into police custody, convicted or pleaded guilty, and sentenced to jail or prison. To ensure appropriate sample sizes for the interaction terms, we use this information to construct two mutually exclusive indicators: whether respondents were (1) stopped and (2) arrested, convicted, or incarcerated.

Race/Ethnicity

Self-reported race and ethnicity are used to construct a dummy indicator where 1 = black or Latino and 0 = non-Hispanic white.

Neighborhood Characteristics

We use census tract and Uniform Crime Report data from wave III to measure neighborhood racial composition, neighborhood disadvantage, neighborhood crime, and urbanity. Communities of color are defined by tracts that are more than 1 standard deviation above the mean of black or Latino residents (>60 percent black/Latino). Disadvantage is measured by neighborhoods more than 1 standard deviation above the mean of three standardized indicators: proportion in poverty, proportion of female-headed households, and proportion unemployed among individuals aged 16 and older. Similarly, high crime is captured by neighborhoods that are more than 1 standard deviation above the mean of the total number of adult arrests. Urbanity denotes if more than 50 percent of a tract falls inside an urban area.

Interaction Terms

To capture the full range of potential relationships between race, place, and criminal justice contact, we use a series of interaction terms. We examine race/ethnicity and criminal justice contact, creating terms for (1) men of color who were stopped and (2) men of color who were arrested, convicted, or incarcerated. We also include an interaction for race/ethnicity and place, specifically, (3) men of color who live in a high-crime neighborhood. We do not include an interaction for race/ethnicity by community of color because of collinearity ($r = .90$). To capture the relationship between criminal justice contact and place, we include interactions for (4) men who were stopped and reside in a community of color; (5) men who were stopped and live in a high-crime neighborhood; (6) men who were arrested, convicted, or incarcerated and live in a community of color; and (7) men who were arrested, convicted, or incarcerated and live in a high-crime neighborhood. We do not include three-way interactions among race/ethnicity, criminal justice contact, and place, because too few whites in our sample experience criminal justice contact *and* live in either communities of color or high-crime neighborhoods. Thus, hypersurveillance is, as Wacquant (2010) asserted about hyperincarceration, a uniquely black and Latino experience of poverty.

Control Variables

To separate the relationships between criminal justice contact, race/ethnicity, neighborhoods, and institutional involvement, we statistically adjust for a series of potentially important confounders. Our control variables match Brayne's (2014) with one exception: we swap out military status for an indicator for marital status, a more common form of institutional attachment in this sample. Regarding demographic and background characteristics beyond race/ethnicity, we adjust for respondents' age, nativity, parent attainment,

respondent attainment, and household characteristics. As Table 1 shows, respondents are nearly 22 years of age on average, and almost three quarters have obtained a high school diploma or GED.

Because individuals with strong ties to conventional others are generally less likely to experience contact with the criminal justice system, we include a range of bonds in our analysis. These include enrollment, employment, marital status, and religiosity. We also adjust for 10 indicators of criminal behavior that cover a wide range of activities as well as impulsivity (see Table 1). Because health and health care resources influence the likelihood of receiving medical care, we include indicators for physical health and whether respondents have health insurance in our analyses.

Results

Our first logistic regression model assesses the relationship between criminal justice contact and whether respondents received necessary health care in the past 12 months. The results, which appear in model 1 in Table 2, suggest that respondents with criminal justice contact are more likely to avoid medical care than those with no criminal justice contact; the odds that individuals who were stopped receive medical care are 27.91 percent lower than for those with no criminal justice contact ($e^{-.327} = .721$), and the odds of those who were arrested, convicted, or incarcerated are 22.89 percent lower ($e^{-.260} = .771$) compared with those without criminal justice contact. Race/ethnicity is not associated with receiving medical care, and nor are neighborhood characteristics, with the exception of living in a community of color. Residing in a predominantly nonwhite neighborhood is associated with an increase in the likelihood of receiving necessary care. Nonetheless, Goffman's theory suggests that it is men of color with criminal justice contact who avoid medical care, specifically in neighborhoods of color or high-crime neighborhoods, thus we next include interaction terms to capture these relationships.⁴

Model 2 shows these results and presents the most direct test of the example provided by Alex of avoiding the hospital because of his criminal justice contact (Goffman 2009, 2014). In support, the results indicate that men who were stopped and live in a community of color as well as men who were arrested, convicted, or incarcerated and live in a community of color are less likely to receive medical care when they need it. The other interactions are not associated with

⁴In supplementary analyses, we excluded the neighborhood context variables from our baseline models in Table 2 in case they were mediating the relationships of interest. For none of the dependent variables is there substantive evidence of mediation. Results are available on request.

Table 2. Surveilling Institutions, Criminal Justice Contact, Race/Ethnicity, and Neighborhood Characteristics.

	Medical Care		Employment or Enrollment		Banking	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Criminal justice contact						
Stopped	-.327** (.113)	-.402** (.133)	-.012 (.135)	-.265 (.180)	.310* (.129)	.301 (.156)
Arrested, convicted, or incarcerated	-.260** (.085)	-.314** (.120)	-.203 (.121)	-.254 (.173)	-.325** (.103)	-.312* (.142)
Race/ethnicity						
Black or Latino	-.06 (.076)	-.200* (.099)	-.527*** (.119)	-.507** (.165)	-.584*** (.111)	-.591*** (.122)
Neighborhood characteristics						
Community of color	.295** (.111)	.584*** (.162)	-.113 (.162)	-.204 (.190)	-.236* (.104)	-.209 (.109)
Disadvantaged	-.003 (.104)	-.010 (.109)	-.409** (.143)	-.350* (.147)	-.464*** (.123)	-.439*** (.124)
High crime	.022 (.117)	-.108 (.138)	.053 (.134)	.634* (.252)	-.159 (.106)	.012 (.162)
Urban	-.131 (.086)	-.135 (.086)	.158 (.110)	.150 (.109)	.398*** (.097)	.400*** (.096)
Interaction terms						
Black/Latino × Stopped	—	.451 (.264)	—	.491 (.327)	—	.335 (.245)
Black/Latino × Arrested, Convicted, Incarcerated	—	.311 (.215)	—	.117 (.289)	—	-.011 (.227)
Black/Latino × High Crime	—	.104 (.180)	—	-.819** (.271)	—	-.192 (.220)
Stopped × Community of Color	—	-.865** (.329)	—	.288 (.393)	—	-.142 (.317)
Stopped × High Crime	—	.219 (.328)	—	-.309 (.406)	—	-.812* (.341)
Arrested, Convicted, or Incarcerated × Community of Color	—	-.732* (.325)	—	.342 (.285)	—	-.088 (.302)
Arrested, Convicted, or Incarcerated × High Crime	—	.353 (.247)	—	-.582 (.343)	—	-.013 (.349)
Other sociodemographics						
Age	-.065*** (.020)	-.068*** (.020)	-.006 (.029)	-.005 (.029)	.056* (.027)	.057* (.027)
Nativity	.176 (.181)	.181 (.183)	-1.248*** (.342)	-1.256*** (.340)	-.271 (.208)	-.259 (.209)
High school diploma/GED	.086 (.114)	.086 (.114)	.523*** (.134)	.521*** (.138)	.865*** (.109)	.861*** (.110)
Associate's degree	.019 (.178)	.033 (.178)	1.320*** (.255)	1.309*** (.255)	1.698*** (.201)	1.693*** (.203)
Bachelor's degree	.347* (.173)	.373* (.173)	.452* (.224)	.428 (.226)	2.530*** (.272)	2.544*** (.276)
Parent attainment	.005 (.018)	.003 (.018)	.100*** (.024)	.105*** (.025)	.101*** (.025)	.102*** (.025)
Household size	.004 (.022)	.005 (.022)	.075* (.033)	.073* (.034)	-.008 (.024)	-.009 (.024)
Resides with parents	.104 (.076)	.103 (.077)	-.555*** (.102)	-.567*** (.104)	-.540*** (.082)	-.549*** (.082)
Ties to conventional institutions						
Employed	-.111 (.079)	-.106 (.079)	—	—	.632*** (.091)	.625*** (.092)
Enrolled	.086 (.098)	.094 (.097)	—	—	.554*** (.086)	.556*** (.086)
Married	.053 (.114)	.062 (.114)	.161 (.148)	.146 (.150)	.589*** (.133)	.582*** (.133)
Religious	-.069 (.047)	-.071 (.047)	-.001 (.047)	.007 (.047)	.038 (.041)	.040 (.041)
Health and health care access						
Physical health	.369*** (.037)	.373*** (.038)	.179*** (.051)	.174*** (.052)	.149*** (.045)	.147*** (.045)
Insurance	.571*** (.081)	.569*** (.080)	.999*** (.102)	1.005*** (.102)	.647*** (.080)	.652*** (.081)
Behaviors						
Theft over \$50	.248 (.183)	.242 (.184)	-.373* (.186)	-.372* (.185)	-.154 (.194)	-.155 (.194)
Theft under \$50	-.243* (.118)	-.240* (.120)	.184 (.137)	.191 (.137)	.217 (.141)	.213 (.142)
Damaged property	-.454*** (.099)	-.459*** (.099)	-.025 (.136)	-.013 (.134)	.241* (.116)	.254* (.115)
Carried gun	.158 (.243)	.158 (.233)	-.307 (.238)	-.318 (.237)	.608** (.235)	.609* (.239)
Pulled weapon	-.252 (.241)	-.265 (.236)	-.065 (.279)	-.072 (.276)	-.699** (.265)	-.713** (.263)
Stabbed	-.404 (.385)	-.384 (.392)	-.117 (.390)	-.099 (.394)	.204 (.352)	.220 (.346)
Used methamphetamine	.135 (.176)	.148 (.177)	-.214 (.233)	-.211 (.234)	-.298 (.186)	-.302 (.188)
Used cocaine	-.093 (.134)	-.092 (.136)	-.135 (.169)	-.119 (.170)	-.185 (.150)	-.176 (.151)
Sold drugs	-.131 (.109)	-.124 (.111)	-.212 (.147)	-.199 (.146)	-.119 (.128)	-.107 (.129)
Gang membership	-.202* (.084)	-.202* (.086)	-.052 (.107)	-.080 (.107)	-.166 (.086)	-.159 (.087)
Impulsivity	-.130*** (.039)	-.131*** (.038)	-.052 (.046)	-.053 (.045)	-.099* (.051)	-.100* (.050)
Constant	1.222* (.503)	1.307** (.510)	1.154 (.785)	1.124 (.759)	-2.702*** (.637)	-2.737*** (.641)

Note: $N = 4,826$ men; values are b coefficients and standard errors (in parentheses).

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

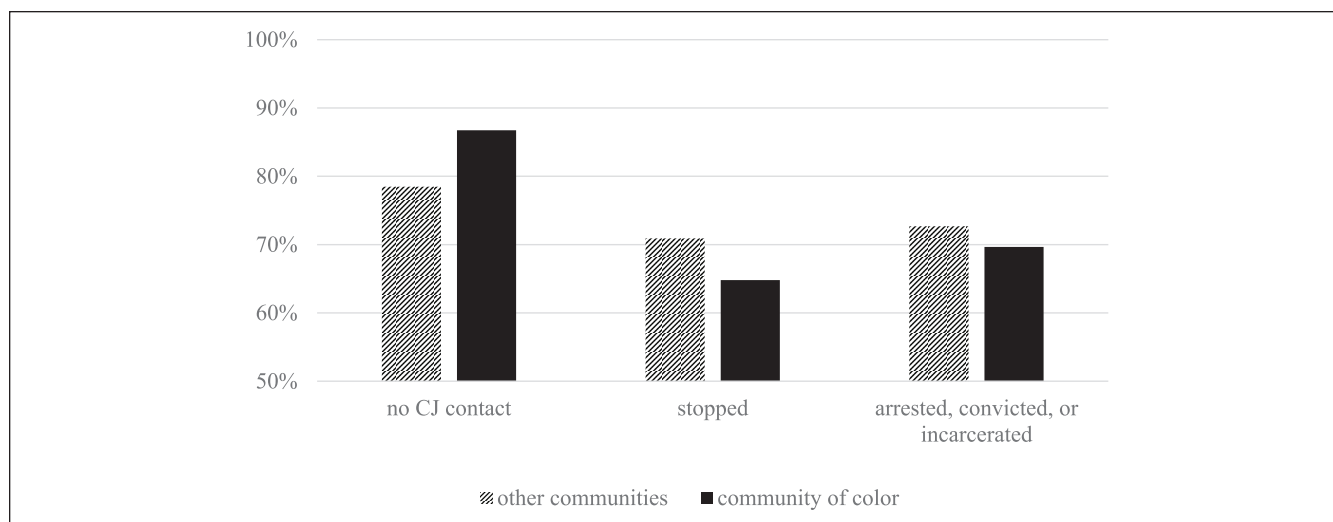


Figure 1. Predicted probabilities for receiving medical care by criminal justice contact and neighborhood context.

medical care. Although these results provide preliminary support for Goffman's theory of avoidance, a significant interaction does not necessarily indicate that substantive differences exist across the indicators of interest (in this case, criminal justice contact and neighborhood context). Thus, we use predicted probabilities, based on model 2, to assess the magnitude of the interactions.

Figure 1 compares the predicted probability that a respondent receives medical care by his level of criminal justice contact and whether he lives in a community of color or not. All other variables are held at their means. The results provide mixed support for system avoidance. In support, men with criminal justice contact have lower predicted probabilities of receiving medical care than men with no contact. For instance, men who have been stopped in a community of color have a 64.81 percent probability of receiving care compared with men with no contact in a similar neighborhood, who have a probability of 86.73 percent.

On the other hand, there is little difference across neighborhood type in Figure 1. Living in a segregated community lowers the probability of receiving medical care only by 3.03 percent to 8.25 percent. For example, the probability of receiving medical care for men who have been arrested, convicted, or incarcerated and do not live in a community of color is 72.69 percent, compared with 69.66 percent for those with the same level of criminal justice contact but live in a segregated neighborhood. In short, the results in Figure 1 provide partial support for Goffman's theory. Individuals with criminal justice contact indeed have lower likelihoods of receiving necessary care, but there is little support for the idea that living in a "fugitive community" promotes system avoidance. We now turn to our next set of analytic models examining another surveilling institution: employment or school enrollment.

The work and school results, which appear in Table 2, models 3 and 4, show no relationship between criminal justice contact and these institutions using the $p < .05$ significance level.⁵ In contrast to medical care, men of color are less likely to be employed or enrolled than white men, as are residents of disadvantaged neighborhoods. When we include the interaction terms in model 4, the interaction between race/ethnicity and living in a high crime neighborhood is significant ($-.819, p < .01$). In partial support of the spatial component of system avoidance theory, residence in a high-crime neighborhood is associated with lower rates of employment and enrollment for black and Latino men. To facilitate understanding of how race/ethnicity and neighborhood crime rates combine, we estimate predicted probabilities using the results in model 4.

Figure 2 shows these four predicted probabilities. Here we see that neighborhood in fact is not substantively associated employment or enrollment for black and Latino men but rather for whites. White men have higher probabilities of being employed or enrolled than men of color, particularly in high-crime neighborhoods. For example, men of color in lower crime neighborhoods have an 83.67 percent probability of being employed or enrolled, compared with 89.48 percent of white men in similar neighborhoods. Meanwhile, men of color in a high-crime neighborhood have an 80.99 percent probability of working or attending school compared with 94.10 percent of white men in comparable areas. In other words, race trumps neighborhood; there is less than a 5 percent difference between neighborhood

⁵Men who have been arrested, convicted, or incarcerated have 18.35 percent lower odds ($e^{-.203} = .816$) of being employed or enrolled at the $p < .10$ level. Although weak, this formal contact association is consistent with Brayne's findings.

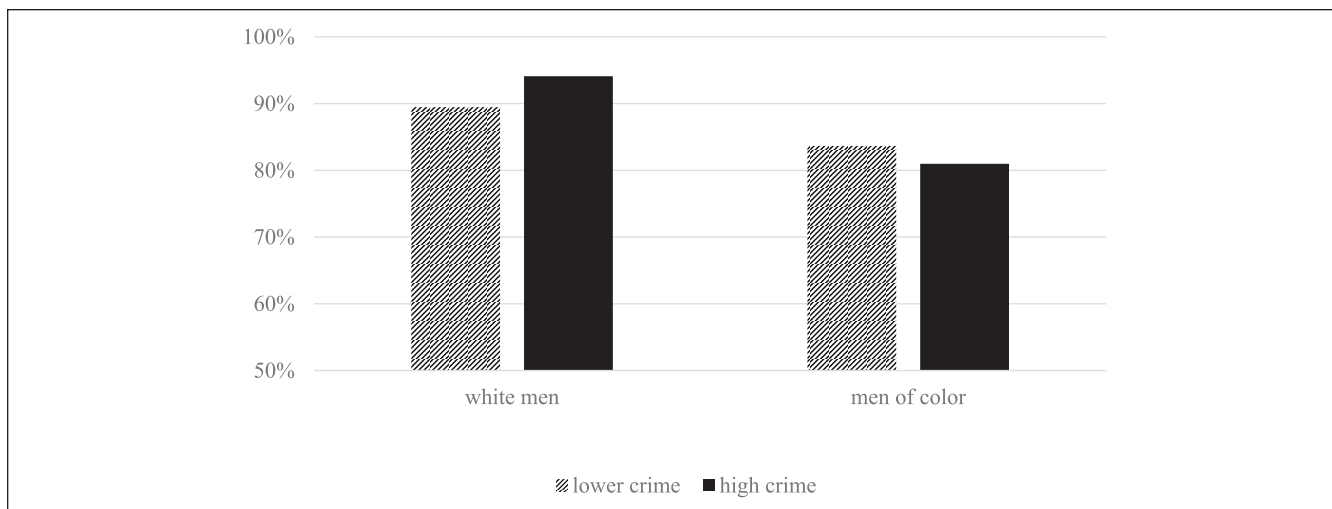


Figure 2. Predicted probabilities for employment and enrollment by race/ethnicity and neighborhood context.

type in the likelihood of being employed or in school, whereas the race gap is bigger, between 5.81 percent and 13.11 percent. Although perhaps initially counterintuitive, whites' higher likelihood of being employed or enrolled in high-crime areas is likely due to whites' higher rates of college enrollment as well as college location; white men may temporarily live in high-crime neighborhoods while attending college. Most important for testing system avoidance, and counter to the findings for medical care, although neighborhood context and race are associated with system avoidance, criminal justice contact does not interact with race or place, as the theory predicts.

The results for our third surveilling institution, banking, appear in models 5 and 6 of Table 2. Here, we see preliminary support for system avoidance; being arrested, convicted, or incarcerated is negatively associated with having a checking account. Yet being stopped is positively associated with banking. This divergence is consistent with research on the debilitating economic consequences of criminal justice interactions including court fees and fines (Harris, Evans, and Beckett 2010): stopped individuals are usually not subject to such fees and fines. As with employment and enrollment, men of color are less likely to have a checking account. Turning to neighborhood context, living in a community of color as well as a disadvantaged neighborhood has a negative association with banking, as previous research on the unequal access and use of financial institutions predicts (Wherry 2012; Wherry, Seefeldt, and Alvarez 2014). In contrast, living in an urban neighborhood is positively associated.

When the interactions are included (model 6), the results indicate that being stopped in a high-crime neighborhood is negatively associated with banking. That is, stops in high-crime neighborhoods function differently than stops overall in terms of banking. This may be because "broken windows"

policing, in which stops can result in summons and fines, is commonly used in high-crime neighborhoods. For example, in New York City, broken windows resulted in more than 1.2 million open warrants (Kirkland 2015). Therefore, individuals stopped in high-crime neighborhoods may refrain from having a bank account for fear of having their accounts garnished. Figure 3 shows the predicted probabilities on the basis of this interaction.

Notably, there are no meaningful neighborhood differences in Figure 3 among men with no criminal justice contact and men who have been arrested, convicted, or incarcerated. Put differently, residents of high-crime neighborhoods are generally no less likely to use banks than residents of low-crime neighborhoods. In contrast, there is a large neighborhood gap among men who have been stopped (15.14 percent). The likelihood of having a checking account for stopped individuals in a high-crime neighborhood is 66.23 percent, compared with 81.37 percent for men in lower crime communities. This lends support for system avoidance: men with summons or fines may avoid banks. However, the original theory focuses on individuals who fear arrest and/or jail time, and there is no difference in the likelihood of banking for individuals with these more serious forms of contact.

So far, our results provide mixed support for system avoidance. Individuals with formal criminal justice contact are consistently more likely to avoid health care, banks, and, to a lesser extent, work and school. Yet these associations are not unique to men of color in predominantly minority neighborhoods, as theorized (Goffman 2009, 2014). In the next portion of the analysis, we test Rios's (2011) alternative hypothesis: that criminal justice contact fuels community involvement. Notably, because community involvement does not provide daily necessities and is not part of a bureaucratic process of tracking and surveilling, the system

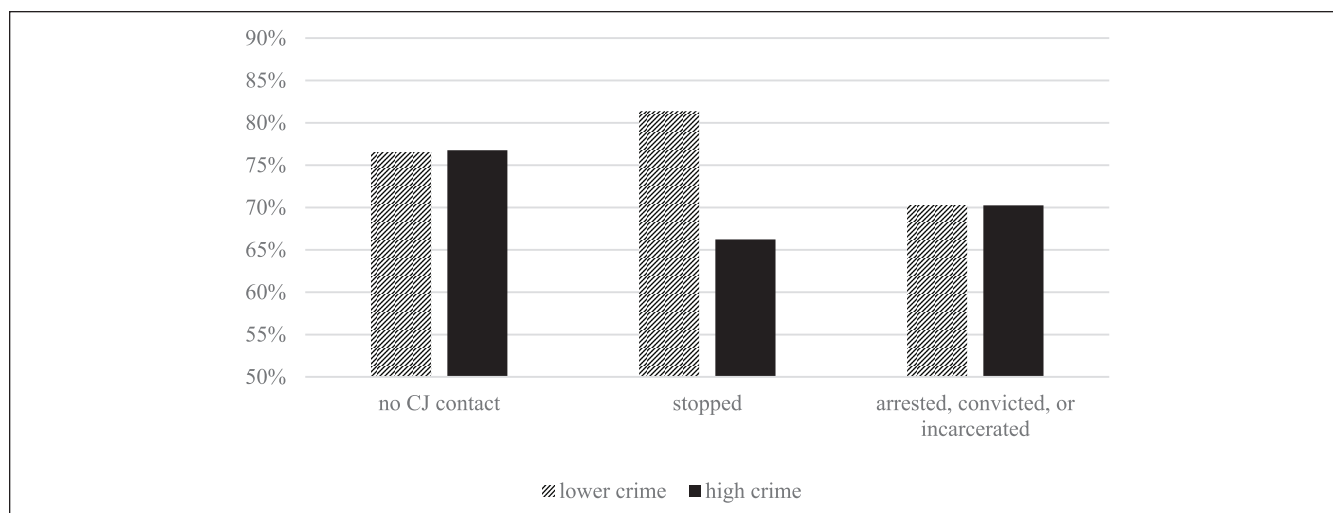


Figure 3. Predicted probabilities for banking by criminal justice contact and neighborhood context.

avoidance thesis asserts that individuals will not avoid such institutions like churches or volunteering (Brayne 2014). However, we also examine political activism, which may do the opposite. Activism can lead to targeted surveillance by police during protests or planning meetings (Della Porta and Reiter 1998).

Table 3 displays the results for these associations. Beginning with religious organizational involvement in model 7, these results do not support system avoidance, which argues that criminal justice contact should not be associated with involvement in such nonsurveilling institutions. Instead, the findings provide some evidence for a stigma-based explanation because being marked, that is, arrested, convicted, or incarcerated, is negatively associated with involvement in activities associated with one's place of worship (Braman 2004; Pager 2003). Men with formal criminal justice contact have 20.42 percent lower odds of being involved ($e^{-.228} = .796$). In line with previous work, men of color are more likely to be involved in their church than whites (Chatters et al. 2009). Regarding neighborhood context, urbanicity exhibits a negative relationship with religious involvement. The interactions are not associated with religious involvement (model 8), so we turn to our second nonsurveilling institution, volunteering.

In models 9 and 10 in Table 3, we present results for associations between criminal justice contact and volunteering. As Brayne (2014) predicted, individuals with criminal justice contact do not avoid volunteerism. Although men of color are no more or less likely to volunteer on average, the results show a strong negative relationship between living in a community of color and volunteering. Model 10, which includes the interactions, reveals that, consistent with Rios's theory of active engagement, men of color who have been arrested, convicted, or incarcerated have 60.7 percent higher odds of volunteering ($e^{.475} = 1.607$) than

white men with no contact. However, this is not specific to men with contact living in primarily minority or high-crime neighborhoods.

To further explore these findings, Figure 4 shows predicted probabilities for volunteering. In line with Rios's theory, men of color with criminal justice contact are more likely to volunteer than white men with contact. The racial gap is largest for individuals with formal contact; men of color who have been arrested, convicted, or incarcerated have a 30.94 percent probability of volunteering, compared with 25.71 percent for white men. Thus, although the criminal justice contact–volunteering association is racialized, it is not neighborhood dependent.

The final two models in Table 3 show the results of the most direct test of Rios's hypothesis: the relationship between criminal justice contact and political activism. The results reveal that minor interactions with the criminal justice system, specifically stops, are positively associated with activism. Young men who have been stopped by the police have 81.41 percent higher odds of attending a rally or march or contacting a government official ($e^{.596} = 1.814$) than men with no criminal justice contact. The results also indicate that, as with volunteering, men of color are on average less likely to engage in activism than white men. In contrast, residents of high-crime neighborhoods, who likely experience hypersurveillance, are *more* likely to contact a politician or attend a community meeting than residents of lower crime areas. The same applies to residents of urban areas. Thus we turn to model 12, which displays the results with interactions included. Despite direct relationships between being stopped and living in a high-crime area, these factors do not interact to predict activism, nor do any of the other theoretically relevant constructs. Therefore we find no support for Rios's racialized, place-based activism claim. Instead, the premise that criminal justice contact can serve

Table 3. Nonsurveillance Institutions, Criminal Justice Contact, Race/Ethnicity, Neighborhood Characteristics, and Activism.

	Church Involvement		Volunteerism		Activism	
	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10	Model 11	Model 12
Criminal justice contact						
Stopped	.023 (.110)	-.005 (.166)	.160 (.118)	.046 (.141)	.596*** (.156)	.499** (.188)
Arrested, convicted, or incarcerated	-.228* (.115)	-.209 (.165)	.121 (.083)	.021 (.108)	.068 (.190)	-.021 (.227)
Race/ethnicity						
Black or Latino	.463*** (.103)	.440*** (.107)	-.078 (.099)	-.217 (.114)	-.566*** (.165)	-.716** (.236)
Neighborhood characteristics						
Community of color	.173 (.124)	.221 (.154)	-.428*** (.127)	-.397** (.147)	-.389 (.246)	-.309 (.320)
Disadvantaged	-.067 (.128)	-.044 (.130)	-.108 (.139)	-.112 (.140)	-.092 (.274)	-.085 (.274)
High crime	.202 (.149)	.347 (.232)	-.042 (.089)	-.059 (.114)	.493** (.181)	.555* (.229)
Urban	-.225* (.106)	-.231* (.107)	.041 (.087)	.043 (.088)	.737*** (.210)	.718*** (.209)
Interaction terms						
Black/Latino × Stopped	—	.191 (.272)	—	.253 (.240)	—	.366 (.441)
Black/Latino × Arrested, Convicted, Incarcerated	—	.148 (.266)	—	.475** (.168)	—	.644 (.471)
Black/Latino × High Crime	—	-.170 (.297)	—	.135 (.215)	—	-.203 (.388)
Stopped × Community of Color	—	-.197 (.381)	—	.354 (.286)	—	-.377 (.767)
Stopped × High Crime	—	-.126 (.322)	—	-.126 (.327)	—	.205 (.392)
Arrested, Convicted, or Incarcerated × Community of Color	—	-.132 (.302)	—	-.426 (.319)	—	-.019 (.719)
Arrested, Convicted, or Incarcerated × High Crime	—	-.446 (.374)	—	-.063 (.220)	—	-.425 (.596)
Other sociodemographics						
Age	-.107*** (.025)	-.107*** (.025)	-.090*** (.024)	-.089*** (.024)	-.048 (.045)	-.052 (.046)
Nativity	-.361 (.215)	-.360 (.212)	.215 (.208)	.206 (.211)	-.320 (.352)	-.344 (.357)
High school diploma/GED	.300 (.167)	.297 (.167)	.573*** (.176)	.584*** (.174)	.194 (.309)	.217 (.318)
Associate's degree	.446* (.216)	.450* (.217)	.713** (.221)	.728*** (.219)	.491 (.380)	.524 (.390)
Bachelor's degree	.710*** (.217)	.704*** (.219)	1.469*** (.203)	1.481*** (.201)	1.162** (.375)	1.185** (.384)
Parent attainment	.063** (.022)	.063** (.022)	.055*** (.016)	.056*** (.016)	.157*** (.033)	.158*** (.033)
Household size	.004 (.027)	.004 (.027)	.017 (.025)	.020 (.026)	.027 (.049)	.027 (.049)
Resides with parents	.022 (.072)	.017 (.074)	-.214** (.071)	-.222** (.071)	-.170 (.145)	-.177 (.143)
Ties to conventional institutions						
Employed	-.096 (.093)	-.099 (.093)	-.137 (.084)	-.139 (.084)	-.072 (.137)	-.069 (.138)
Enrolled	.246** (.082)	.242** (.082)	.809*** (.078)	.812*** (.078)	.970*** (.169)	.961*** (.172)
Married	.304** (.112)	.297** (.111)	.038 (.101)	.033 (.101)	-.095 (.285)	-.101 (.286)
Religious	.963*** (.056)	.963*** (.057)	.273*** (.044)	.275*** (.044)	.163* (.064)	.164** (.063)
Health and health care access						
Physical health	.134** (.049)	.134** (.049)	.162*** (.047)	.161*** (.047)	-.047 (.069)	-.047 (.070)
Insurance	.090 (.100)	.092 (.099)	.179 (.094)	.186* (.094)	-.031 (.168)	-.020 (.170)
Behaviors						
Theft over \$50	.562** (.184)	.569** (.185)	-.025 (.172)	-.032 (.174)	.185 (.338)	.219 (.338)
Theft under \$50	-.220 (.139)	-.217 (.140)	.206 (.122)	.217 (.123)	-.078 (.231)	-.067 (.235)
Damaged property	.093 (.122)	.096 (.123)	.088 (.107)	.092 (.106)	.184 (.178)	.182 (.179)
Carried gun	-.166 (.260)	-.172 (.260)	.396 (.209)	.401 (.208)	.998** (.365)	.991** (.367)
Pulled weapon	.166 (.259)	.165 (.259)	.406 (.217)	.384 (.218)	.238 (.424)	.210 (.423)
Stabbed	.121 (.407)	.148 (.404)	-.160 (.350)	-.153 (.362)	-.579 (.695)	-.589 (.684)
Used methamphetamine	.091 (.231)	.094 (.234)	-.121 (.218)	-.110 (.221)	-.444 (.391)	-.433 (.392)
Used cocaine	-.093 (.168)	-.096 (.171)	.108 (.145)	.118 (.145)	.377 (.242)	.388 (.241)
Sold drugs	-.261 (.150)	-.258 (.153)	-.309* (.130)	-.311* (.132)	-.241 (.218)	-.250 (.219)
Gang membership	-.064 (.111)	-.075 (.114)	-.018 (.092)	-.032 (.092)	-.187 (.196)	-.229 (.194)
Impulsivity	.001 (.047)	.001 (.047)	-.020 (.042)	-.020 (.042)	.005 (.066)	.005 (.066)
Constant	-1.460* (.698)	-1.472* (.694)	-1.484* (.638)	-1.477* (.632)	-3.828** (1.204)	-3.692** (1.230)

Note: $N = 4,826$ men; values are b coefficients and standard errors in parentheses.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

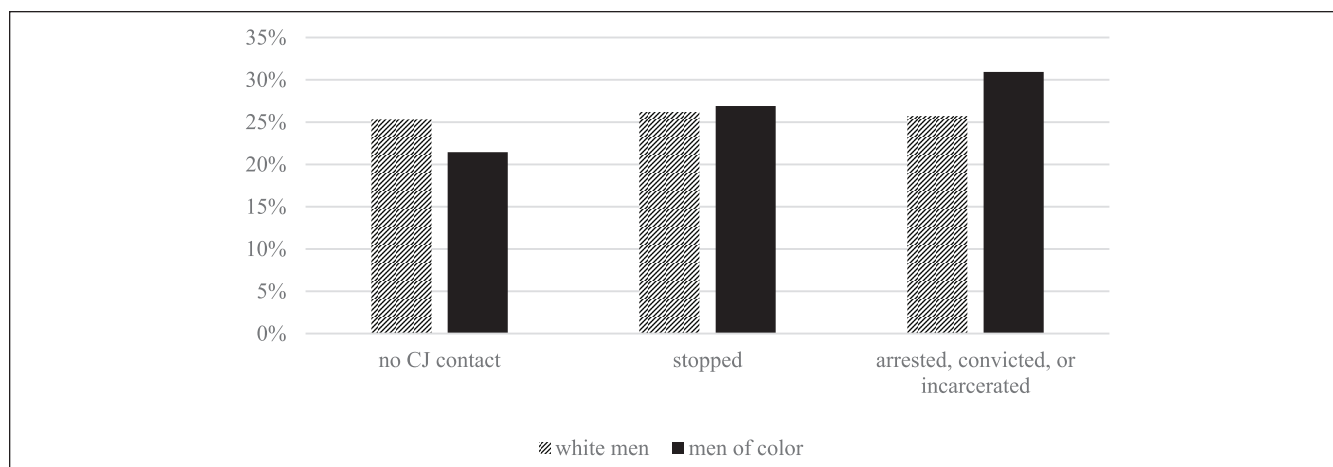


Figure 4. Predicted probabilities for volunteerism by criminal justice contact and race/ethnicity.

as a call to action extends to white men too. Individuals who have been stopped may view their experience as particularly unjust and, across race, be motivated to seek change. Alternatively, being an activist may increase the likelihood of police interactions.

Discussion

A burgeoning literature documents the multifaceted consequences of modern criminal justice practices (Comfort 2007; Wakefield and Uggen 2010). A part of that literature argues that criminal justice contact hampers future interactions between men of color in hypersurveilled communities and formal institutions via surveillance avoidance, while another focuses on the association between criminal justice contact, legal cynicism, and increased activism. In both theories, criminal justice contact shapes future behaviors, yet exactly how it does so remained unclear. We thus examined the influence of race and neighborhood context in an attempt to better understand the proposed mechanisms. The results advance the literature in three ways.

First, although we find evidence of system avoidance, we find little support that such strategies are unique to men of color or to men of color in segregated, high-crime communities. Although the concept of fugitive communities is helpful in highlighting the localized and unequal impact of hypersurveillance, our findings show that neighborhood context and race/ethnicity matter little for system avoidance. Instead, the concentration of men with criminal justice contact in communities of color may produce greater avoidance on average, and therefore researchers studying these places were the first to identify system avoidance.

Second, in line with Rios's (2011) theory of active involvement, we find that low-level criminal justice contact is associated with activism. Importantly, this relationship exists for both respondents of color and whites, suggesting

that, like system avoidance, this theory should be expanded to include white behavior. Furthermore, that only low-level interaction is associated with activism suggests two possibilities. In line with prior work, the politically engaged may be more likely to be targeted for surveillance, and/or individuals who were only stopped may be particularly aggrieved (Della Porta and Reiter 1998). Regardless of why stopped individuals are more likely to engage in activism, this may be an unintended consequence of the expansion of policing in recent decades. Such practices may have produced a growing political backlash, most recently in the form of the Black Lives Matter movement. Yet volunteerism, another form of engagement, is racialized; men of color with formal criminal justice contact are more likely to volunteer. Still, place does not influence the likelihood of volunteering, as Rios suggests. Taken together, we find that criminal justice contact is associated with both avoidance and engagement across place and race/ethnicity. Race/ethnicity and neighborhood context are indeed associated with involvement, just not consistently through criminal justice contact.

Third, and more generally, our findings speak to the scope of modern surveillance. Browne (2015) argues that blacks have long been surveilled, from plantation owners' implementing innovative accounting and management systems to keep track of black slaves (Rosenthal 2013) to contemporary reports that leading Black Lives Matter activists are tracked by Homeland Security using social media accounts and live-time tracking on Google Maps (Joseph 2015). In response, black Americans throughout history have adjusted their behaviors and routines accordingly. In contrast, surveillance is newer to whites. Although people of color continue to be targeted, surveillance in the era of big data may be the most pervasive to date, and our results suggest that this worries whites too.

Moreover, modern surveillance has far-reaching consequences. For example, research shows that increases in criminal justice contact are associated with symptoms of anxiety

and trauma (Geller et al. 2014). Other studies find that young men struggle to maintain family relationships while under the purview of the criminal justice system and that their children are more likely to grow up in poverty (Nurse 2002; Edin, Nelson, and Paranal 2004; Wakefield and Wildeman 2014). Frustration with “the system” is another common theme in this literature (Goffman 2014; Kirk and Papachristos 2011; Rios 2011).

Overall, because there is a large number of people of color with criminal justice contact in neighborhoods where surveillance is ubiquitous and hypervisible, these segregated neighborhoods are where scholarship first recognized system avoidance and critical engagement. Although race does not predict who becomes an activist after being stopped, for example, race does predict who gets stopped (Gelman, Fagan, and Kiss 2007). Because of the far greater rate of police stops of black and Latino men, especially in hypersurveilled neighborhoods, that universal reaction leads to more black and Latino activism compared with white activism on the subject. Similarly, because the universal reaction to criminal justice contact is surveillance avoidance, it appears that such a reaction is unique to “fugitive communities.” Instead, segregated neighborhoods generally have lower institutional engagement because of a long history of neglect by formal institutions (Massey and Denton 1993; Wherry 2012; Wherry et al. 2014), not because residents’ reactions to criminal justice contact are shaped by their race or neighborhood.

Despite these contributions, much work remains to be done, thus we close with some recommendations for future research. Although the Add Health data have been frequently used to examine consequences of incarceration and specifically system avoidance (Brayne 2014; Porter 2014; Siennick, Stewart, and Staff 2014), the survey questions regarding criminal justice contact prevent a time ordered analysis to test causal claims. Although earlier work demonstrated the robustness of the relationships between criminal justice contact and institutional involvement (Brayne 2014), future research should further examine these associations net of prior involvement to better understand the mechanisms. For example, although Goffman argued that criminal justice contact results in avoidance, system avoidance could alternatively be a viable post hoc explanation for that decision rather than a cause of that behavior. Indeed, Goffman noted this possibility when discussing a respondent’s avoidance of his child’s school activities (Mike). Goffman (2009:352) suspected that Mike, at least in part, used system avoidance to cover for his lack of money to pay his child’s school fees. In other words, surveillance was a convenient excuse for why Mike did not attend his child’s school function. Additional data, including interviews, will help illuminate the mechanisms influencing the observed negative correlation between criminal justice contact and institutional involvement. As surveillance grows more ubiquitous and automated, it is

crucial that scholarship examine the intended and unintended consequences of the rise of cross-institutional surveillance (Brayne 2017; Tufekci 2015).

Although more research is necessary, the fact that system avoidance is not a racialized response to criminal justice contact at the individual or at the community level has policy implications. A long line of policy and research has argued, implicitly or explicitly, that people of color and whites culturally respond differently to criminal justice contact (Coates 2015). However, although racial minorities are far more likely to experience negative criminal justice contact, they are not more likely to react via institutional avoidance compared with whites. Although racial minorities experienced surveillance first and most aggressively (Browne 2015), contemporary criminal justice surveillance and subsequent avoidance is often more universal. To minimize institutional avoidance, policy makers should not make the mistake of pathologizing nonwhite responses to criminal justice contact and instead focus on efforts to reduce and destigmatize criminal justice contact for all. For example, placing expirations on criminal records or increasing expungement opportunities may be fruitful avenues to pursue, especially because approximately seven years after an offense, a person’s likelihood of committing a new offense approximates that of the general population’s (Kurlychek, Brame, and Bushway 2006).

Although we confirm prior research on system avoidance, we caution that the substantive size of these associations is not large. We believe this finding is a good example of the need for social science to focus on estimated effect sizes as well as, if not more than, statistical significance (Wasserstein and Lazar 2016). Although this finding in no means invalidates the theory or the importance of decoupling criminal justice contact from institutions that serve public needs such as hospitals and employment, it does show that reducing mass incarceration and its many deleterious effects on racial equality is only one piece of a larger puzzle.

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