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Radicalizing safety: A critical narrative analysis to abolish the police

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Abstract

The dominant narrative in much of the world is that public safety is provided by policing, evidenced by supportive rhetoric from institutional forces including politicians, media, and large budget allocations in all levels of government. Alongside a long history of police violence, especially against Black, Brown, poor, and other marginalized people, many social movements reject the idea that policing provides safety and seek other methods for community wellness. The present study utilizes critical narrative analysis (CNA) to describe how marginalized residents of a small city in Iowa construct their understanding of personal and community safety. Their stories and the dialectic exchange during interviews illustrated several counternarratives and moments of conscientization for participants and researchers where safety was deconstructed and understood outside the power of recycled institutional narratives. Participants rejected popular notions of safety such as police, and instead embraced safety through robust relationships, community resources, and forms of self-knowledge such as mental health. We analyzed their interviews as efforts to be humanly

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recognized within violent white supremacist structures, and their stories help to radicalize popular messages about safety. We highlight their world-making abilities as they craft their own networks of community and safety outside of the state and police.

INTRODUCTION

The 2020 police murders of Breonna Taylor, Tony McDade, George Floyd, and many other Black[1] people added attention and energy to global struggles for liberation. With police violence becoming more visible in popular media, the call for police abolition has also gained energy (Kaba, 2021). Despite this momentum, calls to "defund the police" are still somewhat unpopular (Michaels, 2021; Taylor, 2020), which is likely the result of many factors, including the successful political promotion of fear of crime (Gilmore, 2007), the dominant social narratives that inspire fear of the "other" (Freire, 1970; Kendi, 2016), and narratives that legitimize armed police as the protectors of the masses (Davis, 2005; Vitale, 2017). Finding the factors that truly contribute to personal and community safety is a more complex question that requires imagination and a critical investigation.

Since dominant narratives are largely shaped by social forces such as whiteness and wealth that represent dominant institutions, the present study seeks to understand more about how safety is constructed by Black and Brown people who are not financially secure. While safety has been discussed in various spheres within psychology such as occupational psychology and psychological safety, far less has been said in the psychological literature about broader constructions of personal and communal safety. By employing critical narrative analysis (CNA) to this investigation, we attempt to radicalize the construction and understanding of safety and ultimately propose new conceptions of safety that can be utilized by social and political systems interested in updating their methods of achieving public safety.

Dominant narratives

Master narratives or dominant narratives were first introduced by French philosopher Jean-Francois Lyotard (1984) and are popular scripts that control how some social processes are enacted (Stanley, 2007). These dominant narratives universalize complex dialogues and portray them in a black and white binary, which ultimately supports the maintenance of dominant groups and the ideologies that benefit them. Critical race theorists argue that marginalized people have less access to the narrative process and their interests are mostly left out of dominant narratives (Wing & Rifkin, 2001). Lyotard (1984) used the term "differend" to describe how marginalized people's opinions and narratives about a specific subject are excluded when their experience is seen as too far outside the master narrative. This can be extremely harmful to members of marginalized groups since dominant narratives play powerful roles in how resources are distributed (Delgado

[1] This paper capitalizes racial markers like Black and Brown but will leave white uncapitalized as a means of linguistic pushback to whiteness and the power it oppressively exercises in language, psychology, academia, and beyond.

& Stefancic, 2017). Cultural beliefs are also cemented in this way, such as what types of people are seen as criminal threats (Delgado, 1994; Gilmore, 2007), personality stereotypes of different races (View et al., 2018), what types of social movements are allowed (Davis, 2016; Kendi, 2016), which forms of political protest are socially accepted (Osterweil, 2020), the legitimacy of police (Vitale, 2017), and much more. Other research suggests that dominant social narratives are invoked as a way to escape racial discomfort and rationalize racial inequities (Drustrup et al., 2022). Finally, even much of academia fails to challenge dominant narratives and their oppressive implications, as some research that seeks to center counternarratives has been regarded as biased when they do not compare those counternarratives to dominant (i.e., white) experiences (Stanley, 2007). Brazilian pedagogist Paolo Freire (1970) wrote that groups who repeat the narratives of the powerful can never be truly free or democratic. While dominant narratives operate universally to influence our understanding of every social concept, an especially important idea amidst today's social backdrop of state violence and protests is personal and communal safety.

Safety

Perceived safety from a psychological lens is a complex topic that spans several areas of human life, but most notably, the social and familial realms (Eller & Frey, 2019). Maslow's (1943) seminal work on humans' hierarchy of needs places "safety" as the second most fundamental element of human needs, only after physiological needs such as food and water, thus reflecting the essentiality of humans' feelings of safety. Scholars posit that all basic human needs are a part of forming a sense of safety (Eller & Frey, 2019), so components of basic needs such as autonomy (Deci & Ryan, 1985), fairness, and meaningfulness (Eller & Frey, 2019) are all essential components of perceiving safety. Importantly, social connectedness is at the heart of perceived safety, while a sense of disconnectedness not only leads to feeling unsafe, but also can be connected to one's desire to harm others (Warburton et al., 2006).

Psychological safety is defined by how comfortable and free one feels to be themselves (Edmondson, 1999). While this is a useful term for many situations, it may be limited to the psychological and self-expressive realms, wherein one makes decisions about how they reveal themselves. Other areas of psychology are greatly lacking in their understanding of how people construct and understand their sense of safety. Winder (2020) critiques the prevalent cultural construction around safety—that most people construct their understanding of safety individualistically and in relation to interpersonal dynamics. However, they argue that a more robust and long-term safety can only be achieved by imagining safety as a collective and shared experience built on mutual aid and interdependence, both for creating safety from harm, and for intercommunal accountability when harms do occur (Winder, 2020).

The Oakland Power Projects (Critical Resistance, 2015) undertook qualitative research to understand how residents in Oakland constructed their understanding of safety. Very few residents noted that calling the police made them feel safer, and when it did, this was only true when the officer responding was a trusted friend or family member. Participants noted that their feelings of safety hinge on being around others—especially from knowing and being known by their neighbors. They also concluded that infrastructure was important to people's feelings of safety, such as streetlights and adequate transportation. Finally, participants noted that access to resources around health and wellness, including mental health care and food security, were important to feelings of safety (Critical Resistance, 2015). These questions get closer to a more holistic understanding of safety that is currently lacking in psychology literature.

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Safety's dominant narrative

Sociology, history, and criminology research suggest that policing has widely been accepted by popular society as the dominant narrative to explain how public safety can be achieved (Chazkel et al., 2020; Harcourt, 2001; Nuño, 2013; Seigel, 2017; Wilson, 2000). These dominant narratives are installed by appealing to U.S. ideals such as equality using colorblind language and the appearance of neutrality (Kendi, 2016). The dominant narrative of the police as provider of safety is further entrenched by institutional rhetoric of risk, security, and fear of the other (Davis, 2005; Freire, 1970; Kendi, 2016; Vitale, 2017). While used throughout U.S. history, this institutional rhetoric was brought to popularity via the "law and order" rhetoric of the late 20th century (Wacquant, 2009). Despite the well documented connection between policing and the racist and classist social hierarchies they uphold in the U.S., as well as the ineffectiveness of policing in preventing and solving crime (especially for Black, Brown, and poor people), most people in the U.S. continue to believe in the colorblind rhetoric that police exist to protect and serve all people (Chazkel et al., 2020; Goldberg, 2019; Seigel, 2017). This phenomenon is likely representative of the public ideology and individual minds that have been colonized by powerful institutional discourse (Davis, 2005; Gilmore, 2007; Souto-Manning, 2014).

Drastic disparities in national and local police budgets help to understand this discourse. The newly developed Carceral Resource Index (CRI) shows that nearly all large U.S. cities spend more on carceral systems than on health and supportive services combined, and the strongest prioritization of carceral systems occurs in cities where the proportion of low-income Black residents approaches or exceeds that of high-income white residents (Skaathun et al., 2022). Even in the small city where our study took place, the police budget was over 50% larger than any other city department in their general fund. Gilmore (2007) describes this pattern as society's desire to use prisons and policing as a catch-all for social questions and problems. This accelerated hand-in-hand with the neoliberal turn in the latter half of the 20th century where a politically manufactured fear of the other led to social services being defunded and replaced with an ever-expanding carceral state (Munshi & Willse, 2017).

Radicalizing[2] safety

Despite the popular belief and dominant narrative that public safety is provided by police, copious research suggests otherwise, especially for the safety of people from minoritized groups. Throughout U.S. history, policing has always been disproportionately applied to people of Color in order to monitor and control their lives and squash potential uprisings in ways that preserve the existing class and race-based hierarchies (Jones-Brown, 2007; Kendi, 2016; Seigel, 2017). Scholars have shown how postwar liberalism across the political spectrum drove policy such as increased police budgets, tough-on-crime politics, and community policing that regulated the behavior of poor people and communities of Color under the pretense of "security" (Hinton, 2017; Murakawa, 2014; Schrader, 2019).

Policing in the U.S. has also always been a means to protect ruling class capital interests, particularly at the expense of Black, Brown, poor, queer, and people with disabilities (Osterweil, 2020; Vitale, 2017). Some of the first professionalized police forces were formed in the 18th century to

[2] We utilize the term "radicalizing" in conjunction with Angela Davis (1989) who points out that the etymological meaning of "radical" is "root." Thus, seeking a radical approach is an attempt to understand a concept at its core.

surveil enslaved Black people and capture escapees (i.e., white capital, in those times). In the early 19th century, burgeoning Northern industrial cities like Boston and Philadelphia imported London's new model of police to squash worker's movements and labor union uprisings (including many of the country's new immigrants) that threatened ruling class capital. During and after Jim Crow, Northerners feared the migration of Black people (who they viewed as criminal and inferior), and responded by increasing police power to keep Black people from disrupting racial capitalism's status quo (Vitale, 2017)—a trend that we see continue in today's abolition movements, evidenced in the way police use violence to protect businesses and property primarily owned by whites.

Recent changes in police strategy and increased funding have resulted in a deeper cementing of racist and classist social hierarchies via increased surveillance and use of weapons against residents (Gamal, 2016). Further, policing culture often instills a "warrior mentality" where officers are taught an "us versus them" mentality against the communities they police (Balko, 2013; Maher, 2021; Vitale, 2017). Van de Veer et al. (2012) found that police presence did not change residents' sense of safety and can even increase fear. Other studies showed that Black civilians report significantly higher rates of fear of police than whites, as well as less safety for adults (Brunson & Miller, 2006; Schuck et al., 2008) and youth (Fine et al., 2003; Nordberg et al., 2016). Further, fear increases significantly in areas that are targeted for the popular "broken windows" style policing (Hinkle & Weisburd, 2008). The fear of police that many people have, especially people of Color, is supported by both statistical facts of the increased likelihood of unarmed people of Color to be killed by police (Vitale, 2017; Wertz et al., 2020) as well as academic studies that show police officers are more likely to shoot unarmed Black targets than white ones (Correll et al., 2007; Eberhardt et al., 2004; Peruche & Plant, 2010), and use less force against white suspects (Kahn et al., 2016). In one study, the dehumanization process engaged in by police predicted the use of force against Black children (Goff et al., 2014).

While policing is always racialized, we cannot consider the broad range of violence without also centering gender, sexuality, documentation status, and ability type. Research suggests that other overlapping and intersectional experiences of suffering exist, such as policing against members of the LGBTQ+ community (Mallory et al., 2015; Owen et al., 2018; Sklansky, 2008), the broad web of state-sanctioned violence against the immigrant community (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2019; Sun & Wu, 2018), policing against people with disabilities (Brink et al., 2011; Perry & Carter-Long, 2016), policing against people with mental health concerns (Saleh et al., 2018; Watson et al., 2004), and police-perpetrated sexual violence, which is highly gendered (Barker, 2020; Fine et al., 2003; Ritchie, 2017; Stinson et al., 2015). It is clear that the dominant U.S. narrative about safety differs greatly from the lived experience of the most marginalized in the country.

Abolitionism

Abolition is the philosophical antithesis and antagonist of the carceral logics endorsed by U.S. society. Carceral logics are beliefs rooted in punishment where those who are deemed transgressors by society's most powerful people are punished via policing and incarceration (Ziyad, 2021). Angela Davis refers to this as a model of "retributive justice" where people follow their "impulse towards vengeance" and believe that justice is equal to revenge (i.e., when someone breaks a rule, they must suffer in equal proportion to the rule they broke) (Dream Defenders, 2020). Further, carceral logics encourage a society to export its social concerns and problems to the state such that those who are deemed "unfit" are removed from society in various ways (Ziyad, 2021). Instead of removing the transgressor from society and relying on punishment and revenge, abolitionism

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encourages a society to learn to rely on each other for healing and accountability (Kaba, 2021). This is often accomplished via closer relationships with one's neighbors and consensual systems of accountability (as opposed to the present legal system, which is forced upon people). Further, instead of seeing a transgression as an individual failure, abolitionism looks at the role of social and political forces in the creation of conditions that lead to social problems (Kaba, 2021), not unlike how Martin Luther King Jr. (1967) described the existence of individuals in poverty as a political choice made by the powerful.

While popular U.S. rhetoric attempts to reduce abolitionism to simply eliminating police or prisons, abolition is both a negative and a positive project. Kaba (2021) describes it succinctly: "We don't just want to close police departments, we want to make them obsolete" (p. 16). This is to say that abolitionists seek not just to eliminate the harmful carceral systems of policing and jails, but they seek to create new systems of safety and wellbeing that render the popular idea of police unnecessary. Kaba and other abolitionists throughout the centuries have argued that it is not simply the violence of police and prisons that actively harm the most vulnerable in a society, but simultaneously restrict access to the life-affirming institutions that people need to thrive, such as education, health care, and social freedom. Kaba (2021) asks, "What would the country look like if it had billions of extra dollars to spend on housing, food, and education for all?" (p. 17). Du Bois (1935) described how slavery was never truly abolished without the construction of new economic, educational, legal, and other means for formerly enslaved people to fashion prosperous new lives. Truly democratic institutions that grant full agency and power to oppressed people were needed to materially change the conditions of oppression: thus, his term "abolition-democracy." This two-sided understanding of the abolition of carceral logics thrives today in abolitionist circles.

Ziyad (2021) describes how policing and prisons quite literally steal away the opportunity for true accountability by removing the transgressor from society, thus stealing the chance to learn from the transgression and work to provide reparations to and with the person(s) who were harmed. Without access to what helps people learn and grow—quality healthcare, education, relationships with loved ones, etc.—the goals of prisons (and the police who bring people there) have far more to do with revenge and suffering than with positive attempts at "correction." Because of this, abolitionists often seek out their own methods of accountability outside the state via efforts like transformative justice (Kaba & Hassan, 2019). Further, abolitionists often embrace anarcho-communist principles by rejecting the belief that state agencies will ever decide to equitably distribute resources (Goldman, 1911; Gilmore, 2007; Kropotkin, 1907) and instead take charge of their own resource distribution via mutual aid networks (Spade, 2020), social service provision (Kivel, 2017), and political organization outside of U.S.-sponsored electoral politics (Jackson, 1972; Kaba, 2021). Ziyad summarizes the project and ideology of abolition:

> Abolition doesn't propose that once prisons are gone, all society's ills will disappear. It proposes that illness is meant to be treated in the first place, not locked away. It proposes that we commit to finding ways to treat our ills now, together, no matter how impossible or dangerous or childish the world might make it seem. (Ziyad, 2021, p. 267)

The present study

The present study seeks to add to the literature an empirical base of the relational, psychological, and emotional experiences that provide personal and community safety for Black, Brown, and financially insecure people. While a brief section of the psychology literature discusses

perceptions of safety, it is not robustly developed and does not use a critical lens to deconstruct the ways that inequitable power structures affect different groups' sense of safety. Dominant social narratives suggest that police are the providers of personal and community safety, but this is widely doubted by critical research, activists, and the lived experience of people with restricted access to social power. This study's three primary research questions are: (a) What do Black, Brown, and financially insecure narrators' stories about safety tell us? (b) What is necessary for Black, Brown, and financially insecure people to feel both personally and communally safe? (c) Do systems of power and dominant narratives play a role in Black, Brown, and financially insecure narrators' construction of personal and community safety?

METHODS

Critical narrative analysis (CNA) is a way to combine and synergize two qualitative methodologies, critical discourse analysis (CDA) and narrative analysis. Although power is omnipresent in our lives and interwoven within all interactions and institutions that we experience (Foucault, 1977), the meaning and effects of power are largely mystified by dominant discourses, which allow them to remain unchallenged and oppressive (Frederiksen et al., 2015). Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is both a theory and a method that seeks to understand the relationship between language and power (Fairclough, 2010) by looking at a broader social problem instead of proposing a specific research question (Fairclough, 2003). CDA also seeks to de-mystify, investigate, and often problematize the ideological foundations of dominant discourses that have been normalized in a society (Teo, 2000). Since the present study is interested in dominant narratives and the ways they are shaped by systems of power, CDA is a useful organizing theory and methodology for the study.

The oldest and most natural form of exploring and understanding the lived human experience is via storytelling (Jonassen & Hernandez-Serrano, 2002). Stories are not just a primary way that we learn about the people and world around us, but scholars insist that without constructing our own stories, we can never truly know our own selves (McAdams, 1993). Thanks to the radical work and tradition of Black and Brown people, stories have become more widely accepted as important sites of academic research (Archibald et al., 2019). Narrative research offers the opportunity for marginalized voices to be heard and centered in ways that are often not afforded in popular society, including the academy (Archibald et al., 2019). Narrative analysis focuses on the relationships and flow between events and experiences in a narration, while acknowledging that the narrator has multiple selves that are co-constructing meaning through the process of storytelling (Josselson, 2011). There exists a great respect in narrative research not just for the story and its content, but for the storyteller and the "how" and "why" of the ways their stories are told (Taylor, 2013). The stories we produce are also inevitably political since we are constantly influenced by our social milieu and frequently define ourselves within and around political and social forces (De Fina, 2016).

Both narrative analysis and CDA have potential pitfalls if not approached with sufficient intentionality. Narrative analyses offer rich descriptions of lived experiences but may lack context if not combined with a critical analysis of the systems of power that have helped shape the narrative. Much can be learned about a person's experience based on how they do or do not recycle dominant institutional discourses and CDA is one method to ensure that systems of social power are consistently attended to in qualitative analysis. However, as Souto-Manning (2005, 2014) points out, adding a richer micro-level narrative to questions of power provides possible synergies that

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may allow the macro-level analysis of CDA to reach its ultimate goal of affecting social change in the lives of individuals. Souto-Manning (2014) writes: "CNA proposes that when individuals make sense of their experiences through narratives, they bring together the micro (personal) and the macro (social or institutional) situations in place" (p.163). Therefore, uniting CDA and narrative analysis to form critical narrative analysis (CNA) allows researchers to investigate "how people create their selves in constant social interactions at both a personal level and at an institutional level" (Souto-Manning, 2005, p. 101). Souto-Manning's (2005) creation of CNA calls for a balanced attention to linguistic analysis and complex social issues of power. This is a key point in how CNA differs from traditional qualitative methodologies. By intentionally searching participant narratives for ideas related to power, CNA challenges the ways that power has influenced, or is influenced by, the narratives of the people involved in research. Further, CNA doesn't simply utilize researcher expertise to qualitatively code responses. Through member checking and follow-up interviews, CNA relies on the dialectical exchange to increase conscientization[3], which aligns with Freirean pedagogical practices of horizontal knowledge creation (Freire, 1970; Souto-Manning, 2014).

CNA seeks to gain critical meta-awareness and conscientization around the ways that people understand their lived experiences, thus leading to social action and tangible change (Souto-Manning, 2005, 2014). CNA posits that because powerful institutions often craft and control popular narratives that function to maintain an oppressive social order, people in both powerful and minoritized social groups can become "discursively colonized" (Souto-Manning, 2014, p. 166). Thus, part of the analysis in CNA is to identify recycled institutional discourses[4] and use Freirean processes of conscientization to demystify the narrator's construction of social realities (Souto-Manning, 2005, 2014). In order to capture the depth of meaning that comes from narratives about a complex human experience like safety, and to simultaneously understand how that meaning has interacted with dominant narratives, the present study will use CNA as its theoretical and methodological lens.

Participants

Since the ideological mystification within recycled institutional discourses results in the oppression of people with less access to social power (Prilleltensky, 2008), centering the narratives of Black, Brown, and less financially secure people is essential to conscientization (Freire, 1970). The small city where the research took place has long battled over more radical political stances. The population is often perceived as fairly liberal, including a long period of protests of the Vietnam War and a series of riots after the Kent State shootings. The present research took place soon after the Summer 2020 uprisings related to Black Lives Matter and police violence across the world. As part of the local resistance movements in this city, several thousands of protesters participated and

[3] "Conscientization" is roughly translated from the Portuguese "conscientização" and refers to "learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" (Freire, 1970, p. 35). This is another way to describe critical thinking, utilized in dialogue with others, to demystify and fight against the true social, political, and economic forces that cause human suffering.

[4] In tandem with the research on dominant narratives cited above, we utilized the following definition of "recycled institutional discourse" throughout our project: *Popularly held and circulated messages (often seen in media, government, education, or other powerful ideological distribution networks) that describe the relationship between people, rules, resources, and systems/structures of power—those entities which have the ability to influence thinking and meet or obstruct needs without people's consent (Billon, 2018; Gilmore, 2007; Prilleltensky, 2008).*

TABLE 1 Participant information.

Name	Gender (Pronouns)	Other identifiers (participant free response)
Malik	Male (he/him)	African, Malian, African American, Black
Aliyah	Female (she/her)	Black, African American
Sama	Non-binary (they/them)	Moorish American, Primal Indigenous religion
Limhi	Trans woman (she/them)	Mexican, Honduran, Native American, lesbian
Sumaya	Female (she/her)	Black, Hijabi Muslim
Omar	Male (he/him)	Latinx, queer
Amina	Female (she/her)	Black, African, Sudanese, mother

shut down local streets and a major highway. One highly publicized event occurred when local municipal and University police shot tear gas and pepper bullets into a crowd of a few hundred protestors standing still on the street. The next night, several thousand local protesters marched in the streets. These events kickstarted a long-term reconsideration of safety and how it is achieved, which at the time of this writing, is ongoing today between the people of this small city and its governing bodies.

Purposeful and snowball sampling, which have been utilized in other CNA research (Souto-Manning, 2019; Souto-Manning & Cheruvu, 2016), are widely used in qualitative research when collecting data that is likely to be deep and nuanced (Patton, 2015). The research team chose a local community leader to help recruit participants due to a well-established level of trust with the second team member and his decades-long experience working with marginalized folks in the city where the research took place. After interested participants were contacted by the local community leader who introduced the research to them, participants were then sent an IRB-approved recruitment letter with more details about the study including potential risks and benefits of being involved. Potential participants were encouraged to e-mail or call with additional questions or concerns before scheduling a first interview. Recruitment criteria included self-identification as Black or Brown and a family income of less than half the median level for the area (U.S. Census Bureau, 2018). After two rounds of recruitment, seven total participants were interviewed. Pseudonyms, gender, pronouns, and self-selected identifiers can be found in Table 1. Ages ranged from 18 to 59 and the median age was 29.

Data collection

Data collection in CNA typically involves multiple rounds of semi-structured in-depth interviews where the heart of "in-depth interviewing is an interest in understanding the lived experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience" (Seidman, 2013, p. 9). Open-ended questions in earlier interviews elucidate rich narrative data, and subsequent interviews embrace Freirean processes of collaborative knowledge construction and conscientization through the dialectic exchange (Souto-Manning, 2005; Souto-Manning & Cheruvu, 2016; Souto-Manning & Ray, 2007). These subsequent interviews in CNA are utilized to better understand and discursively analyze—alongside research participants—how recycled institutional discourses show up in their narratives.

The data collection process included two rounds of interviews for each participant. Two members of the research team were present for each interview, and the two researchers present changed

on a rotating basis to achieve equal time in the interviewer role. One week before the scheduled interview, participants were prompted via email that they would be asked two general questions as part of the semi-structured interview: (1) "What does safety mean to you? What do you think of when you think of safety? What do you need in order to feel safe?" and (2) "Tell us a story about a time when you felt unsafe. Please give us details about who was there, what happened, what you felt like, and what eventually changed about the situation to return a sense of safety?"

Follow-up questions were used to illicit further information. After the research team met to analyze the first interview, participants were sent an e-mail with several pieces of information: (1) a list of themes and an explanation of each that was taken from the data, (2) a list of 5–7 follow-up questions, (3) information about member checking[5] and an invitation for the participant to spend time thinking about the research team's analysis and information about how to prepare to discuss these during the forthcoming interview. Each participant contributed about two hours of interview data and a total of 234 pages of interviews were analyzed.

Both the first and second interviews were completed synchronously while participants were given information about what the interview would include in an asynchronous form via e-mail about a week before the interview. We utilized this process in accordance with past CNA research to attempt a balance of the advantages and disadvantages of each (Souto-Manning, 2019; Souto-Manning & Cheruvu, 2016). Asynchronous prompting before interviews for participants offers several advantages: affording additional comfort with the research process so participants are not caught off-guard by questions or the study's purpose; affording plenty of time to think about the stories they'd like to offer; allowing more time to critically engage with and agree/disagree with the research team's interpretations; and more. Possible disadvantages include limiting the personal interaction and dialectical possibility of change, especially during the second member checking process which was the only one done via e-mail. We believe synchronous interviews afforded many advantages: improved possibility for rapport building, which was especially important given the sensitive nature of our topic; ability to read non-verbal cues and to respond to them in real-time; and an enhanced opportunity for the power of dialectical change. A disadvantage of synchronous interviewing includes possible pressure of impression management to conform to the unintentionally expressed biases of the research team.

Researchers' background, experience, and biases

Our primary research team consisted of four individuals: one cisgender white male graduate student (the principal investigator), one cisgender Black female graduate student, one cisgender Asian female graduate student, and one cisgender Muslim female faculty member. The research team held several conversations about the possible pitfalls of a white person from a background of social power leading a study investigating dynamics involving race and class. The research team agreed that whiteness is a primary tool through which racism is reproduced and maintained at several levels throughout society (i.e., individual, institutional, historical, and cultural). We also discussed how whiteness limits white people's ability to accurately see and understand the world (Matias, 2016), and returned to this discussion regularly during data analysis and writing to ensure the accuracy of the white researcher's contributions. We also agreed that this simple

[5] Member checking is a validation technique used to enhance the credibility and accuracy of qualitative research findings. It involves returning the study's results or interpretations back to the participants to verify the accuracy and authenticity of the researchers' analyses.

acknowledgment of the violence of whiteness not only echoes vacuously in the world where power relationships get played out, but it also runs the risk of positioning white people, and in our case the first author, as actors for racial justice when they commit to acknowledgement without a concurrent severance of one's attachment to white dominance (Ikuta, 2022). This includes, as Ikuta (2022, p. 455) quotes Baldwin, "the loss of all that gave one an identity, the end of safety." Upon completion of the study, the researchers reflected on two aspects: whether this relinquishment of white dominance happened over the course of the research project within our team, and what future actions were needed to ensure the endpoint of this research is not simply writing, but action that undercuts "white advantages in housing, education, and the legal system" (Ikuta, 2022, p. 455). This will be addressed further in the Implications section.

Since two of the interviewers identified as police abolitionists prior to the study, the research team focused on perspective management in data collection throughout the study (Levitt et al., 2017). The team used checks and oversights from the third and fourth team members as well as three other faculty members to improve perspective management during the study. Because of the potential biases of at least two of the researchers, as well as dominant discourses about safety, researcher questions and prompts strictly did not reference the police. Follow-up questions about police were only utilized when the participant was first to reference police in relation to their personal idea of safety, and any interview follow-up about police was left open-ended to minimize researcher influence (e.g., "You mentioned you felt unsafe during that traffic stop with police. What would you have needed instead to feel more safe?") (Josselson, 2013).

Data analysis

Data analysis in CNA follows various patterns depending on the goal of the study including elucidating counternarratives (Souto-Manning, 2019; Souto-Manning & Cheruvu, 2016), challenging recycled institutional narratives (Souto-Manning, 2013), and utilizing discourse to problematize and initiate conscientization, which can be expressed through agentic action taking or critical re-telling of dominant narratives that challenge and shift power (Souto-Manning & Ray, 2007). To maximize research integrity, we checked our methods and research goals with the original CNA author (M. Souto-Manning, personal communication, August 31, 2020) and ultimately decided to combine several features of past CNA work to help answer our research questions. Our analytic framework consisted of three levels of data illustration: (1) The narrative themes that were expressed by participants and identified by researchers as counternarratives, (2) the recycled institutional discourses that were most likely to be held throughout both interviews, and (3) the recycled institutional discourses that were addressed dialectically and evolved into counternarratives over the course of the interviews.

Each team member read and listened to each transcript twice and completed reflective memos and theme-coding[6] for the data. This included using bracketing in accordance with Giorgi (2009)[7] to identify past knowledge and experience that might influence interpretation of the data. The research team listened to and analyzed first round interviews individually, then discussed them

[6] A deidentified example of a reflective memo/coding note can be accessed via the Open Materials Badge of this manuscript.

[7] Bracketing is a technique utilized in qualitative research for over 100 years that attempts to identify the researchers' past experiences and beliefs in order to limit their influence over the phenomenological process and interpretation of interview data.

later as a group before agreeing on final themes. The team then identified each theme as either a counternarrative, recycled institutional discourse, or a moment of conscientization. During this process, the team relied on past CDA research and theory to help guide us in identifying what is and is not a dominant discourse (i.e., which could then be recycled in our participant narratives): visibility of an idea in institutions, media, repetition and pervasiveness, power/social relationships, presence of alternative discourses, etc. (Fairclough, 2010). For example, institutions (e.g., media, politicians, schools) regularly and repeatedly endorse the message that if someone is feeling unsafe, they should call 911 because they are likely to be helped by a medical professional, police officer, or other state agent. When our research team heard several participants narrate a personal experience that was the opposite of this messaging, we interpreted these as counternarratives because of the following: they were opposite of the messaging of institutions, were not repeated and pervasive in popular discourse (i.e., represented an alternative discourse), and reflected a power relationship where the most powerful actor (e.g., the medical professional) is not automatically bestowed with presumptions of morality, rightness, public good, etc.

Follow-up questions were then crafted to send to the participant for member checking and preparation for their second interview. Follow-up questions typically focused on either (1) counternarratives where the research team reflected the participant response and asked for more information/depth or, (2) recycled institutional discourses where the research team reflected the participant's answer against the backdrop of the extant dominant discourse in society[8]. Member checking was utilized after each interview to stay faithful to the methodology (Souto-Manning, 2019) and to the Freirean potential of CNA (Souto-Manning, 2005, 2014). Research team analysis and member checking followed a similar process after the second interview. In this way, themes were collected inductively from participant interviews, and the labeling of these themes was done deductively. The participant-approved version of each theme is included in the final analysis in Table 2.

RESULTS

In each line of Table 2, the team detailed the ways the theme was expressed as a recycled institutional discourse, a counternarrative, or as an expression of Freirean conscientization in accordance with past CNA research (Souto-Manning, 2013; Souto-Manning & Cheruvu, 2016; Souto-Manning & Ray, 2007). These labels are not discrete and often overlapped. Because there were eighteen different themes taken from the data, they will not be discussed individually, but instead grouped together in similar sections. The first section, "Mental health, relationships, & community" is a set of counternarratives that encapsulate the themes that were endorsed by all seven participants. These counternarratives situate emotional, relational, and psychological health as the most important factors to safety. The second section that emerged from the data, "Policing & power contraindicate safety," is a set of counternarratives that directly challenge the recycled institutional discourse within U.S. society that police and other agents of the state lead to safety. The third section will describe the ways that several participants discussed safety through the lens of a "humanization" process, whereby they claimed a sense of self and psychological wholeness through their thoughts, feelings, and behaviors that achieved safety for them in the face of white supremacy. The fourth section will cover the recycled institutional discourses that we saw

[8] The full list of interview questions, participant themes, and follow-up questions can be accessed via the Open Materials Badge of this manuscript.

TABLE 2 Themes.

Themes	Endorsed by (out of seven)	Label
Safety = solid mental health, good therapy, & self-actualization	All seven	CN
Safety = close, vulnerable, & reliable relationships	All seven	CN
Safety = connection with & trust in community	All seven	CN/CZ
Policing and power contraindicate safety	Aliyah, Amina, Limhi, Omar, Sama, Sumaya	CN/CZ
Solution = work with peers instead of "professionals"/agents of the state	Amina, Limhi, Malik, Omar, Sama, Sumaya	CN/CZ
Safety = physical safety, housing, health care, food	Limhi, Omar, Sama, Sumaya	CN
Safety = being around similar others / non-white people	Amina, Limhi, Malik, Sumaya	CN
Safety = the safety of others, generativity	Aliyah, Amina, Limhi, Malik	CN/CZ
Safety = financial security	Aliyah, Limhi, Sama, Sumaya	CN
Solution = Work harder/be better	Aliyah, Malik, Sama	RID
Safety = being around family roots, sense of belonging	Limhi, Malik, Sama	CN
Police assume a priori crimes	Amina, Omar, Sumaya	CN
Never expected to live a long life	Limhi, Malik, Omar	
Solution = people being more educated/trained	Aliyah, Sama, Sumaya	RID
Safety = hope	Limhi, Omar	CN
Surveillance = less safety	Omar, Sumaya	CN
Safety = world without guns	Limhi, Omar	
Safety = owning a gun for protection	Amina, Sama	

Note: CN, counternarrative; CZ, conscientization; RID, recycled institutional discourse.

from participants. Some of these recycled institutional discourses were challenged through the dialectic exchange of the two interviews, and ultimately led to moments of conscientization—our fifth and final section. These themes represent when participants utilized the dialectical exchange to come to a higher understanding about complex topics related to safety. This conscientization process was two-way in that the authors also came to higher and more complex understandings through the dialectic, as is necessary in Freirean knowledge-creation practices.

Mental health, relationships, and community

When prompted to explore their personal understanding of safety, all participants noted (usually, with their first response) the centrality of mental health, family, relationships, and a sense of community. Many participants also brought up psychological safety. They discussed the primary goal of many forms of psychotherapy—to know oneself more fully—as a primary mechanism for them to feel secure within themselves. Aliyah, Limhi, and Malik pointed to psychotherapy as important turning points for their own wellbeing throughout their lives. Others discussed the importance of being themselves and living authentically. Similarly, several discussed the need to be vulnerable with trusted people in their life, including Malik who needed accountability to feel secure in his relationships: "I don't feel safe if I'm around people that don't have the courage to

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stand up to me." This focus on psychological safety was interesting given that three of the four research team members are psychotherapists (unbeknownst to the participants) and that most participants reflected that the interviews felt therapeutic in that they explored difficult stories in their past, found greater consciousness about them, and ultimately felt positive emotions such as relief at the end of the interviews. Three participants even reflected positively that the interviews "felt like a therapy session," which points to the value of narration and dialectic consciousness-raising—a key function of CNA.

The self-actualization of our participants seemed to be foundational to their understandings of safety. Limhi is a multiracial and multicultural trans lesbian woman who has spent much of her life negotiating her identities with family members and neighbors from different cultural backgrounds. Before starting college, her mom told her she loved and supported her, but that she couldn't protect her anymore, and asked her if she "could tone it down just a little bit." Limhi knew her mother loved her and said it because she was aware of the violence Black and Brown trans women often face, but Limhi also knew the centrality of self-actualization to her well-being as she discussed her personal mantra of "hot girl summer." She acknowledged Megan Thee Stallion and other queer and Black womxn who helped her form her view of the world:

> With hot girl summer, it's this idea of being sexually empowered and free…just being able to be myself and to stand up for myself to speak my mind.…if I'm constantly watering myself down and not having a hot girl summer…I'm just sacrificing things constantly and not making decisions that are best for me and my community.

Others shared Limhi's need for self-actualization. Sumaya reflected on her sense of being constantly surveilled by local police, and the energy it takes "telling yourself, 'I need to behave,'" simply because police see her Black skin and hijab. "You have to [ask], am I doing everything right? You constantly question yourself…Are they going to find any reason to come at me? It makes you feel uncomfortable because they're looking for something and you could be their next target." Aliyah summarized many responses by saying, "when I think of safety—[it's] comfort in the sense of feeling free to say and be authentically yourself without the worry of any judgment or harm because of the way that you are." While many participants discussed "psychological safety" in one form or another, it became clear over several interviews that beyond this is the centrality of freedom to express oneself and live one's life as they truly are.

Strong relationships, family connections, and a sense of cultural roots were also central to participants' construction of safety—something Yosso (2005) describes as "familial capital." Malik remembered his trip to his family's ancestral tribe in Mali where he lived for several weeks without electricity. Walking alone between villages at night on the unlit dirt roads, he recalled feeling safer than he ever had in the United States. It was the relational strength of his family and neighborhoods that brought him safety above and beyond the material or legal manifestations of safety that were the primary focus of his life in the U.S.

For Amina, it was a strong community response that brought her safety after her family was the target of a hate crime in a white neighborhood: "It makes me safe, the people in my neighborhood will watch my house you know?.…So anybody around me makes me safe, not the police at all." As a mother and an immigrant, Amina takes it upon herself to protect her own and all other immigrant children in her community: "The cops they targeted them kids…I saw the cop stop them Congo kids or Sudanese kids, I have to slow down and see what's going on…you feel like all those kids is your kids." For other folks, a sense of community also meant the idea of shared experience and shared struggle, so those who experienced life together brought greater peace and

wellbeing, or relational "comfort food" as Sama called it. Omar described how his undocumented community was there for him after ICE unjustly deported his father:

> A lot of my friends, their parents or cousins had been in contact with law enforcement, their family member is in jail, they're already deported…What it really took was a lot of community members coming together and saying, "Hey, we've been here before, we're gonna help you."

Limhi summarizes this concept clearly for us when she said, "That made me realize the impact of having that in your life and that stability….that was my mom's family, friends, and people on the street—making sure we're OK." Amina discussed how her community of immigrant women utilized their shared experiences navigating difficult social systems as skill building opportunities, something Yosso (2005) describes as "navigational capital": "We just help each other you know? If somebody's got a problem, we just call each other and say 'Hey, do you have experience? Know what to do?'… sometimes it works, sometimes not….we got to get experience from each other." The research team identified all responses in this section as counternarratives. Political discourse, municipal budgets, media messages, and more all proport the idea that safety is about protecting from external threats, which was not supported by our participants' narratives.

Policing and power contraindicate safety

Despite interviewers not asking about or mentioning police, every participant conjured associations and stories about police when asked about safety, and six were negatively related to safety. There was, however, a broad range of associations between policing and safety. On one hand, Malik mentioned police only once, as he recalled helping to break up a fight while a police officer passed by, uninterested. On the other end of the spectrum, Sama used approximately 85% of their interview time to discuss police as threats to their and their family's safety—showcasing the pre-existing counternarratives held in their family regarding police and safety. When participants were prompted to tell their story related to safety, four of the seven participants told a story where police were the subject and active cause of their unsafety. Not only did police not contribute a positive sense of safety to any of the participants, they actively worked against it for six of the seven participants (including four who immediately identified police as the *cause* of unsafety during their chosen narrative). The effect of this negative correlation with safety was compounded by four participants who discussed safety from the perspective of financial security, which is limited when police "devour public funds," as Angela Davis (p. 88, 2003) writes, as municipalities spend exorbitant amounts of tax dollars on policing and surveillance.

During Sumaya's first narrative about her story of unsafety, she talked about being harassed for wearing hijab. When asked what eventually restored her sense of safety, she noted it was family and friends, and she knew she couldn't call police. Our team asked her a follow up question: "You talked about how difficult it was to trust the police…what did the police mean to you and what do they mean to the broader community that you live in?" Sumaya responded,

> Police means danger to me. And I believe it also means the same thing for people in my community…the fact that you're scared to call the people who are put in place to protect you just speaks loud for itself…you don't want to call the police because it just means creating more danger.

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Sumaya also noted how the feeling of constant surveillance feels like emotional and psychological violence to her and her loved ones, while Limhi and Sama's recent run-ins with police led to their belief that police are incapable of being reformed into something helpful for Black, Brown, poor, and queer people.

Amina, Omar, and Sumaya endorsed the idea that police assume a priori crimes when dealing with Black and Brown people. Amina was furious when a cop illegally detained her underage son after there was a gunshot in the area. She told us how police surrounded him, took his phone, didn't allow him to call his parents, and told him he was legally required to answer their questions. She had to use her connections with a city councilor to "prove to them" that her "son is good," otherwise their assumption of guilt could have led to a far worse outcome: "Police…are the real killer of our kids." Preoccupations about police assuming a priori crimes are supported by both theoretical and empirical researchers (Gilmore, 2007; Kaba, 2021; Vitale, 2017) who argue that the racist logics at the core of policing will inevitably lead to disparate outcomes organized by race.

While the majority of our participants focused on harm at the hands of police, four people implicated other systems of power, such as doctors and schools. As her primary narrative of unsafety, Aliyah talked about a time when she was arrested and the paramedics and doctors treated her harshly, condescendingly, and with disdain. Sama spoke about miscarrying in the hospital, alone in the bathroom, because doctors didn't take her pain seriously—a complaint that is well-founded in the literature on medical and obstetric racism (Davis, 2018). Amina saw similar types of racism and unsafety across powerful systems: "No trust is sad, you know? You can't trust the police. You can't trust the counselor in school. You can't trust your doctor…maybe your professional help other people, but not me." Three participants made comments about life being fleeting and their expectation that they would die at an early age. Limhi talked about how she always lives with the expectation that her life could end at any moment because of the racist and anti-trans systems in her life:

> I'm a queer trans person…we don't know if our lives are going to be lost, quite literally…it wasn't made for us to be safe…we can try to navigate safety…but in the end, it's really hard to say that we could ever truly be safe. Just because we know it's the systems in place are actively made to destroy your family.

Korryn Gaines and humanization in the face of white supremacy

> Do what must be done, discover your humanity and your love in revolution (Jackson, 1972, p. xviii).

As we asked questions about safety, our participants frequently discussed the various ways they survived experiences of unsafety through positive expressions of psychological safety—by expressing themselves more fully, creating more life-affirming spaces for themselves, and reclaiming their humanity. We found that stories about unsafety were universally about the attempted dehumanization that Black and Brown people experience in a white supremacist world, and the deeply human instinct to protect and express that humanity in myriad ways, a similar finding to other narrative and PAR-focused research on policing (Payne et al., 2017).

In analyzing our participants' drive to express their humanity, we borrow heavily from Hari Ziyad's (2021) analysis of the murder of Korryn Gaines by police in August 2016. Alone with her 5-

year old son in her apartment, her son was hit by a non-fatal bullet while Korryn was shot to death after refusing to open her apartment door for police. A few months before, she declined to give up her car to be impounded after a traffic stop. Ziyad (2021) holds space for these acts of resistance as a young Black woman refusing to submit to a system that is hellbent on the destruction of her and her son. We lean on Ziyad's (2021) analysis to see how Korryn's resistance was psychologically healthy and a natural expression of authenticity in the face of an occupying white supremacist colonial force—an expression that was echoed in many ways by our participants.

Sama frequently discussed their safety as related to control, and having a firearm is one way they claim control. After Sama's first interview, the research team considered the many narratives Sama shared about owning a gun and the first author, a white male, wondered if they were expressing a recycled institutional narrative in the U.S. that guns help provide safety. To explore this, the team asked Sama, "what kind of safety does [your] gun bring you?" Sama offered depth in their response that helped our team form this theme as a counternarrative:

> This is a question that my husband asked me while we're sitting on our porch, he said, "if police officers pulled up on our house right now, jumped out of the car and pointed a firearm at you, what would you do?" My first instinct would…be to take cover and make sure that everything was safe for [my daughter]. And then my second reaction would be to ask why they have their firearms drawn, and what the issue was. And then if worse came to worse, then I would proceed to use my firearm to get out of the situation and create distance between myself and the officers…So it's more about having some type of plan outside of just hoping and praying and wishing that somebody will have the common decency to not open fire on me and my family....America does not see Black people as people. And that's been for the existence of America…So I can't leave my fate in someone else's hands. My firearm is so that I have the control to know what my future holds.

During the following research team meeting, the first author held the assumption that using a firearm against a police officer would be certain death, and therefore, a questionable response. Another team member, a Black female, brought up the story of Korryn Gaines and the purpose of her resistance despite the physical harm she knew it would cause her. Ziyad (2021) illustrates the meaning of her resistance and the fallacy of her existence ending:

> In one of the videos Korryn posted to Instagram of an earlier run-in with police, she detailed how embracing this type of refusal pushes beyond the colonial concept of a linear existence that ends with death, pushes beyond this colonized world I was stolen away from my childhood into, where death is an inextricable feature of Black life, exclaiming, "I'll live on forever, my n***a!" (p. 23).

Sama's narrative of resistance is similar to Korryn's. Frantz Fanon (1963) teaches that violence is loving when it is anticolonial violence, and research suggests adapting to oppression is dehumanizing (Jemal, 2017). Upon further study by the research team, it became clear that for both Korryn and Sama, the focus of the narrative was not whether they lived or died. What mattered was to claim their humanity in the face of anti-Black systems hellbent on their dehumanization—that living under the attempted dehumanization of white supremacy was not as important as living more wholly, regardless of the physical risk. Ziyad (2021) reflects on Korryn's decision to refuse the police's definition of her life, even if it took her physical life: "Refusing the carceral logic of

those who pour the gasoline is more important than living by that logic" (p. 247). Sama was clear that they would be ready to fight for their humanity, if necessary. It was the preparedness and the act of violence itself that would be humanizing—that would provide true safety—for Sama and their family. In this case, it was the first author who moved from recycled institutional discourse (i.e., non-violence is always better) into conscientization through the dialectical exchange.

Our participants' experience of police was aligned with research noted above that police not only dehumanize, but are incapable of anything else because of their inequitable access to power, their monopoly on violence (Goldberg, 2019), and their fulfillment of their primary purpose throughout history: protecting racial capitalism (Osterweil, 2020). If this is the case, then the counternarratives offered by Korryn and Sama make perfect sense. These narratives encourage us to reject the notions of safety that avoid physical unsafety at the expense of spiritual and psychological health, self-actualization, and a holistic experience of humanness. In these narratives, we learn that life requires active resistance against the forces that strip us of who we are. Ziyad (2021) summarizes this idea:

> But when Korryn spoke of "living on forever," she offered another way to do Black life. It would force us to acknowledge all the ways we are already constantly dying when we'd rather lean on avoidance. It might even actually spur the most material versions of these deaths. But the only life where Black people can ever be truly whole must be found in refusing carceral thinking, behaviors, and institutions. (p. 248)

Recycled institutional discourses

While the majority of our participant narratives fell in the counternarrative category, we also observed several ideas that we categorized as recycled institutional discourses because of the ways they reflected ideological messages distributed and protected by powerful institutions. For example, Malik believed strongly in his need to be a "model Black citizen" for all other Black men. With this belief, he carried a great weight on his shoulders:

> My dad worked two full-time jobs…my mom worked a full-time job and another part-time. I've seen people do it…so who's to say I can't do it and more? … Like, "alright, I made it against all these odds. I'm doing all this work to make it easier for you, so you know that you can put in the work…and elevate even quicker."

Aliyah told several stories about the suffering of others even amidst the abuse she suffered, while simultaneously struggling to connect with her own pain and loss. Even after discussing her story of mistreatment by police and medical professionals, she cried as she remembered the people in court who couldn't afford a lawyer: "I felt so guilty, and even now talking about it I'm like, getting teared up. I felt very guilty that I could afford a lawyer. And a lot of people there couldn't." As we asked questions about her personal experience, she quickly brought the focus back to others—something the interview team thought represented the "strong Black woman" narrative where others' needs are always placed before the needs of Black women.

Both Aliyah and Malik carried on their backs the responsibility for all Black people, and the authors agreed this was a manifestation of several tropes that exist in Western culture about Black people which are rooted in the history of the racist "uplift suasion" ideology (Kendi, 2016). The forces of uplift suasion began in the late 18th century United States, principally as expressions

of Northern racism when white leaders, politicians, and writers began lifting up 'extraordinary' Black people as examples to whom they claimed other Black people could aspire. This racist idea carries the assumption that white people could be persuaded away from their racist beliefs if only Black people were better behaved, and this ignores the fundamental white supremacist structures at play in this place and time.

Although Aliyah and Malik may have repeated these ideas in some form in their narrative, it is important to note that these are not simply recycled institutional discourses, but they are also responses to racist discourse. Just as the underlying ideology from the 18th century is clearly racist and false, so too are its modern manifestations (i.e., even if Malik were to work extremely hard, this would not protect him from the anti-Black systems in the United States). Even in the city where the research took place, there are racist historical examples of "model minorities" who, regardless of their actions, were still discarded when racial capitalism demanded it (Otjen, 2016). Given the presence of these racist forces that show up in dominant discourses, people like Aliyah and Malik are tasked with surviving white supremacy. Survival mechanisms likely include impulses such as aspiring to be great or opening one's heart to the pain of other Black women. So, while these narratives may be recycled from powerful institutions, they are also means to survive those same institutions.

Conscientization

There were several examples of recycled institutional discourses shifting into expressions of conscientization through the dialectic exchange. The popular Western notion of individualism was seen several times during interviews. Aliyah, Sama, and Sumaya proposed various solutions to their safety concerns that were individualistic in nature, such as better police training. The interview team identified these beliefs as recycled institutional narratives given how widely police training is offered as a solution by powerful institutions including both major political parties, a wide range of media outlets, police departments and police unions, etc. The interview team gently challenged these ideas in various ways. Sama talked about police needing better training and between interviews, they were given this follow-up question:

> You also mentioned how your parents made you read scholars like Malcolm X and Angela Davis when you were a small child. Angela Davis has previously argued that police can't be reformed…As you are someone who admires her work, how do you think you would respond to Angela Davis's take on this?

Sama responded, "I say go off sis. She ain't wrong. She's totally right…I don't think they can be reformed…this conversation has helped me to really think about what it is that I believe, and think about how life has affected me." Our team's questions, combined with Sama experiencing a "racist police stop" in between their first and second interviews, was enough to move Sama towards conscientization about their understanding of whether policing can be reformed. It seemed that a simple rephrasing and re-organization of previously endorsed beliefs—a therapeutic reflection—was enough for Sama to challenge and resist their own recycled institutional discourse. The belief that police cannot be reformed was a counternarrative that was also shared by Amina, Limhi, and Omar.

All participants referenced, in one form or another, collectiveness and mutuality as they constructed their sense of safety. Several people indicated how present social systems have not simply

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failed, but have not been designed for them in the first place. To address these systems of harm, five participants (Malik, Sama, Limhi, Omar, Amina) noted how they have created their own microsystems to provide safety and wellness via group chats, mutual aid networks, collective knowledge construction, and proactive safety measures. During our follow-up questions, we wondered how they made sense of these peer support resources in comparison to "professional" support systems. For example, Amina reflected that even if she had the financial resources to "hire a professional," she'd prefer to receive help from a peer, as they are more likely to have similar experiences to her: "I'd rather have the non-professional one. [They] give me the truth." Omar responded similarly when he said, "100% I'd go through the person in the community who doesn't have that formal experience but knows me. They'd have more care for me… they have to live with me." We knew this was a moment of conscientization for Omar when he later reflected:

> The nurturing nature of my community—I didn't really realize just how special that is until I talked about it, and just how important it is for people to know each other....And that's a really big reason of why I feel safe in the first place is because I know I have that informal support that I can rely on. So, I'm glad I thought about it more, you know, through these questions, through talking with you guys.

Like Omar noted explicitly, we noticed how people expressed the ways they were thinking about our topics during the interviews. Consistent with past CNA research (Souto-Manning, 2013, 2014), we attempted to look beyond the content of the narratives and include the way language was constructed to offer us more about the internal processes of the participants. Through this lens, we saw how the power of the dialectical exchange, and the ways participants and researchers reflected about their exchange, led to greater consciousness about the truth of the experiences and phenomena being explored, that is, conscientization. During the second meeting, Samaya used phrases like, "Doing this whole interview made me think about that incident that happened." As she reflected on a story from 10 years prior where a friend was angry at her for calling the police when someone was in danger, she came to a new realization of why he didn't want to involve authorities. Limhi referenced an e-mail the interview team sent before the second interview with the follow-up questions:

> And it has kind of changed my relationship with Latina women and after seeing your email, kind of doing some reflecting....my sense of safety has always been within these women. But now it's really not that and so I'm trying to refigure all of that.

It was clear that the dialectical exchange brought the participants and researchers to a higher understanding of the complex topics being discussed. Being aligned and close to each other's lived experience opened the door to new understandings.

DISCUSSION

This study's three primary research questions are: (a) What do Black, Brown, and financially insecure narrators' stories about safety tell us? (b) What is necessary for Black, Brown, and financially insecure people to feel both personally and communally safe? (c) Do systems of power and dominant narratives play a role in Black, Brown, and financially insecure narrators' construction of personal and community safety? Given the themes and results discussed above, we will

now expand on three different topics to tie together the narrative themes, abolitionist theory, and conclusions about what is needed for future systems of safety to meet the needs of every human. The analysis will discuss several ideas that can extend our understanding of safety for the good of public knowledge, practice, and policy, especially as it relates to the primary focus of our participants' stories: police. We will compare these participant examples of counternarratives and conscientization to existing recycled institutional discourses in popular U.S. society.

Inside out (not outside in)

We can summarize many of the counternarrative themes above as a rejection of the popular politics of fear that are so common in U.S. society. Ziyad (2021) relies on the term "carceral dissonance," or the idea that the more we internalize the carceral logics of punitiveness, fearing others and otherness, and leaning on the state to solve our problems, the more distant we become from our true nature. Carceral dissonance makes us more hollow, suspicious, and disconnected from others as well as our true selves. It stops us from building the relational and practical skills necessary to rely on each other for wellness, which ultimately hypnotizes us into believing that the state will meet our needs, so long as we conform to their customs. The vast funding disparity between carceral systems and health systems in almost every municipality highlights how common and widespread is the idea that safety comes from protecting oneself from the feared "other" on the outside.

All of our participants, each in their own unique way, offered counternarratives to this recycled institutional discourse. The counternarratives from our participants highlighted their desire for public money to go towards food, health care, transportation, schools, and more to nurture the emotional, relational, and psychological health of the people in their communities. Their narratives centered on things like psychological safety, self-knowledge, vulnerable and honest relationships with loved ones, and being in close contact with neighbors. For participants, the construction of a safe world started on the inside—within self and within relationships. Safety had little or nothing to do with being "protected" or geographically removed from "the other," as is true in recycled institutional discourses (e.g. media news stories and politicians highlighting stories about "dangerous" neighborhoods of Color). In fact, most of our participants stated that this disconnection from the politicized and feared "other" makes them less safe. Aliyah helped our research team form this theme as she exhibited conscientization while telling a story about her wish to talk with and help, instead of calling the police, when a drunk neighbor urinated in her back yard. Many of our participants imagined safety via solidifying their individual and collective internal state, instead of protecting or isolating from the external.

Radical chains radicalize safety

> A class must be formed which has *radical chains*, a class in civil society which is not a class of civil society, a class which is the dissolution of all classes, a sphere of society which has a universal character because its sufferings are universal, and which does not claim a *particular redress* because the wrong which is done to it is not a *particular wrong* but *wrong in general*…This dissolution of society, as a particular class, is the *proletariat* (Marx & Engels, 1978, p. 64).

The themes above invite a new way to think about achieving safety that policymakers and organizers in the United States would benefit from incorporating. In Marx's first written mention of the proletariat, he argued the only way the individual would achieve self-realization was through radical revolution—the dissolution of the present organization of classed society and the formation of horizontal networks where people with shared struggle would cooperatively manage their own means of production and their own society. Despite our narratives being rich with stories of struggle, they were equally rich with solutions—some imagined and some already in practice. Gilmore (2007) explains how individuals and families with less access to social and political power have always "developed alternative modes of social reproduction given their utter abandonment by capital" (p. 74). It is this organizing activity that allows people to capture social power and "take charge of resources and turn them to life-enhancing use" (p. 245). Yosso (2005) describes this type of horizontal resource distribution as "social capital" within the historical legacy of *mutualista* societies where oppressed peoples fill the voids left by the abandonment and violence of capitalist state systems.

When our participants acknowledged that they either had no access to, or felt unhelped by, traditional "professionals," we asked them to expand on this. Through counternarratives or conscientization processes, it became clear that they not only preferred to utilize non-professional neighbors and friends who shared their struggle, but they achieved better results this way as well. Omar led our team on the creation of this thematic analysis as he introduced his community's system of navigating the constant surveillance and violence of ICE and other policing. When his father was unjustly jailed and deported, he and his mother went to his neighbors who had experienced similar traumas in the past, and they provided the guidance and education that Omar's family needed to survive. Amina and her community of African immigrants and mothers had similar strategies. Despite not being professionals, they frequently call each other and utilize their group chat to see if anyone in their neighborhood network has experience dealing with legal, social, or political problems. Despite being "imperfect" or "unprofessional," they develop a skill building process by relying on each other to solve problems instead of exporting them to the state or other "professionals." Their preference for close connection and horizontal networks of resource distribution suggest that our participants have already done a great deal of work to ward off the carceral dissonance that teaches the fear of the "other." This organization of responsibility, accountability, and authority shared by our participants represents a new way to solve problems, build skills, and achieve safety. These people built their own structures of support and safety with no authority figures to wield inequitable power. They also nurtured each other's growth by tackling problems themselves and relying on people with similar life experiences and equal social power to find solutions.

Between themes and theory

Despite being the dominant narrative for safety in the U.S., policing is the opposite of the horizontal organization of well-being and security described by our participants, and seemed to be detrimental to the safety of our participants in at least two ways: (1) The consistent idea that the police not only don't help in times of need, but are often the direct cause of unsafety, and (2) Policing reduces the opportunity to nourish the communal problem-solving skills we would otherwise build if we didn't export our problems to the state and other "professionals." Without policing, we would learn to be more involved in each other's lives, more accountable to each other, and better problem solvers.

There are communities around the world who thrive with different structures for security unlike U.S. policing. From Palestine (Winder, 2020) to areas of Brazil and South Korea (Chazkel et al., 2020), to wealthy white U.S. suburbs (Kaba, 2021), communities that practice self-reliance with less or no punitive policing tend to thrive. "Autodefensas" in Oaxaca and Cherán in Mexico, and La Paz in Bolivia, are examples of neighborhood/civilian security forces modeled on indigenous traditions of community policing and mutual aid (Maher, 2021). Arguably the most important example of autonomous communities who don't rely on police are those Black, Brown, poor, queer, and people with disabilities in every region of this country existing today—including most of our participants—who do not call police for fear of safety. Kaba (2021) argues that about 50% of the people who are seriously harmed never contact police for this reason, yet these people, including our participants, have always found other ways to be accountable to and safe amongst each other.

Within the vision shared by our participants and radical communities throughout the world is that there is no hope for a "safer" policing in the U.S. because of the inherent power differentials between police and the people (Dream Defenders, 2020). As discussed above, several participants noted that this type of horizontality is impossible with police. These participant analyses aligned with scholars and experts who have critiqued the impossibility of a more egalitarian policing since policing relies on the unconsented and unrealized agreement that police should provide public safety in exchange for a monopoly on violence, that is, only police are legally allowed to carry out violence (Goldberg, 2019). Abolitionist thinkers have critiqued this hypocrisy for centuries because, as Angela Davis (2020) describes, "Safety, safeguarded by violence, is not really safety." Emma Goldman avowed similar ideology in 1911: "Order derived through submission and maintained by terror is not much of a safe guaranty" (p. 44). Beyond the hypocrisy of violence protecting social safety, police are almost universally immune from accountability for violence at their discretion while the rest of society is stripped of all tools of violence, including liberatory ones like those imagined by Sama and Korryn Gaines. Our participants were most interested in forming safety through horizontal relationships—something that is impossible given the monopoly on violence wielded by U.S. police.

Of course, the recycled institutional discourse is not to conceptualize safety from a radical perspective, but instead to simply reform the police. Amidst calls for police reform is what Angela Davis calls a lack of "historical consciousness" because the chorus of reform proposals—better training, diversifying police forces, stricter laws, better oversight, etc.—have already been tried for decades (Cobbina & Vitale, 2021; Dream Defenders, 2020; Maher, 2021). Further, it is not as if these reforms have failed. As Davis points out, these reforms have been entirely successful at their darker designs—to placate politicians, media, and other people with proximity to social power while sustaining the institution's ability to continue its project of violence and the protection of racial capitalism. Reform, as Dylan Rodriguez (2020) writes, is "to adjust isolated aspects of its operation in order to protect that system from total collapse—even as they consistently produce asymmetrical misery, suffering, premature death, and violent life conditions for certain people and places." George Jackson (1972) writes:

> We will never have a complete definition of fascism, because it is in constant motion, showing a new face to fit any particular set of problems that arise to threaten the predominance of the traditionalist, capitalist, ruling class. But if one were forced for the sake of clarity to define it in a word simple enough for all to understand, that word would be "reform" (p.118).

Media and politicians from both major U.S. political parties regurgitate the same decades-old calls for reform, all of which scholars have showed do not improve the lives of people, and instead make things worse by reinscribing the legitimacy of the system (Foucault, 1977; Gilmore, 2007; Hinton, 2017; Kaba, 2021; Murakawa, 2014; Schrader, 2019). If it is the powerful institutions, masquerading as neutral, that are at the root of the unending cycle of oppression, as Foucault (1977) argues, then Dylan Rodriguez's and George Jackson's definitions of reform must be utilized in concert: police reform is an attempt to legitimize the militarized municipal armies that preserve the current racist and classist hierarchies—the type of social domination that is foundational to fascist political activity. While most of the U.S. believes in these recycled institutional discourses about reform in the face of decades of catastrophic results—a kind of pseudo-religion, according to Rodriguez—our study's participants resisted this "liberal counterinsurgency" (2020, para. 19) by calling for the radical chains within a neighborhood that ask people to rely on each other instead of exporting their needs for safety to the state. This necessary praxis offered by our participants is in contrast to Fanon's (1963) warning about continued symbolic reformism:

> Without this struggle, without this praxis there is nothing but a carnival parade and a lot of hot air. All that is left is a slight readaptation, a few reforms at the top, a flag, and down at the bottom a shapeless, writhing mass, still mired in the Dark Ages (p. 96).

The conceptualizations of safety emerging from this research invite a rejection of the reformist approaches that are popular in powerful Western rhetoric in favor of the community-based and connection-driven solutions enacted by our participants.

LIMITATIONS

Although the interview team was careful and highly attentive to not lead participant narratives, including never mentioning police except in follow-up questions that reflected a participant's prior statements, the narratives took on an abolitionist stance. As noted above, two of the four researchers self-identified as police and prison abolitionists prior to the research project starting. It would be interesting to see how these interview themes might be replicated by another interview team whose members don't hold abolitionist politics. Further, there were power differentials between the interview team and the participants. Even though some participants were older, and the interview team attempted to foster an egalitarian environment, it remains possible that some participants engaged in impression management during interviews. This is especially possible during challenging questions between the first and second interviews where participants heard the interview team's analysis and follow-up questions.

To address this concern, we would like to discuss some examples that came from the research. The research team sat down to identify an example of possible impression management that came from the research and the same example came to mind for three of us. Sama was asked a particularly challenging/direct question in their second interview. They had previously stated they thought more police training could solve many issues with the oppressiveness of police, which the team identified as a recycled institutional discourse because of its pervasive presence in messages from powerful institutions. We addressed this by asking them, "Angela Davis has previously argued that police can't be reformed—she believes the legal system has to be completely uprooted and started again from scratch…as you are someone who admires her work, how do you think

you would respond to Angela Davis's take on this?" Sama responded fairly quickly by agreeing with Dr. Davis, and thus, our challenge. A few moments later, they talked about how our conversation had helped them change their perspective on some things. While this certainly could have been true, our research team was curious about why they didn't mention their change of perspective earlier in the response. Upon reflection, our research team was mixed on whether we were too direct in the way we asked this question. We attempted to question the recycled institutional discourse while allowing Sama to express their truest sentiment, but we may have been too leading with our question.

On the other hand, we also had several examples of when impression management was unlikely, and it truly was the dialectical exchange that led to growth and change. Omar stated, "I didn't really realize just how special [community] is until I talked about it…So I'm glad I thought about it more, you know, through these questions, through talking with you guys." CNA also analyzes language on the micro-level by looking at whether the speaker uses agentic change-focused language (Souto-Manning, 2014), and here we can see Omar taking an agentive first-person perspective of insight and positive change by using "I" statements related to growth. This suggests that the change occurring through the dialectic was intrinsically driven. Another example is that one of the major themes above ("Korryn Gaines & Humanization in the Face of White Supremacy") was developed after the research team began by seeing some responses as recycled institutional discourses. After second interviews and explication, Sama showed us that members of our team had been the ones recycling institutional discourses, and this theme instead became a major counternarrative. The participants clearly drove the change and growth of consciousness with this theme.

We believe this is an ongoing consideration in CNA research where we attempt to balance the influence of powerful outside social and political forces with the (hopefully positive) influence of a dialectical exchange between participants and researchers. CNA as a methodology straddles a line between wanting the dialectical exchange to influence and change everyone involved, while simultaneously not wanting the power differentials inherent in research to be the primary driver of the changes that happen. If the researchers' opinions and experiences take over the participant narratives, then one could argue that this is no better than when a powerful institutional discourse seeps into a person's individual narrative. By leaning into this challenge, we learned that reducing hierarchies as much as possible and truly listening to the core of our participants' messages, unblemished by our past experiences, was most likely to lead to our own growth and the greatest truth as a whole group (i.e., research team and participants together).

Continuing with other limitations to this study, while we believe we were able to include a diverse range of narratives, we still only had two male-identified people in our study. Davis (2003) highlights the many ways that criminality, and thus aspects of safety and policing, are gendered. These different experiences of policing include the ways that different genders enact resilience against racist policing (Payne et al., 2017), as well as the largely denied widespread presence of sexual violence and harassment committed by police, mostly against female-identified and young people (Barker, 2020; Fine et al., 2003; Ritchie, 2017; Stinson et al., 2015). Our analysis didn't find any gendered patterns, possibly because of a low number of male-identified participants. We hope future studies can look more closely at the specific gendered factors that would lead to a radicalized understanding of safety. As noted above, since policing is also organized by sexuality, immigration status, disability status, and beyond, future research might critically examine many other variables to help radicalize safety.

Sama and Limhi helped our team see that the project has its inherent limitations as we tried to operationalize safety in concrete ways. For Sama, owning a weapon and knowing their rights

made them both safer and less safe at the same time—one of several contradictions and complications they found in our conversations. Limhi told us, "I don't want to say safety doesn't exist…but there's just no way that [Black, Brown, and queer people] can ever truly be safe." Many of our questions were limited by their attempt to understand a highly complex phenomenon that is racial, cultural, historical, gendered, etc. in ways that could be explained through words. Future research should be creative with new ways to explore such complex phenomena beyond the critical narrative analysis used in this project. CNA attempts to tackle highly complex human experiences via storytelling and social critique. For purposes of illustrative research, we have offered explanations for these experiences, but are unlikely to have captured the depth and ambiguity of our participants' true nature. While we strive to do right by our participants, we maintain no fantasy that we have perfectly captured the beauty, complexity, and ambiguity of their lived experiences.

On one hand, this project ended up being far more about police than our research team expected and we had to do a great deal of new research and writing on policing to reflect this. On another hand, these interviews were all conducted within a year of the summer of 2020, where abolitionist activity was highly visible in the small city in Eastern Iowa where the study took place. While only Limhi noted that she had heard of and been involved with the local abolitionist group's activism, it is likely that other participants had heard of the ongoing politics of resistance in the city. While we don't believe these limitations change the accuracy of our findings, the results may have been different in a different place or time.

Implications

Below, we discuss implications of the current study for clinicians, researchers, and policymakers who utilize a critical psychology lens. Clinicians can begin with self-critique around the ways they have contributed to positive or negative experiences of safety. Psychotherapists must be aware of their history, which despite good intentions, includes an uninterrupted stretch of elitism and maintenance of the status quo—a social order that has been violent and harmful towards those with less access to social power (Prilleltensky, 2008). This has included the utilization of police in psychotherapy practices (Drustrup et al., 2023), support for the military (Değirmencioğlu., 2010), therapists' contribution to the non-profit industrial complex that attempts to "manage" suffering instead of eliminating it (Kivel, 2017), and much more. The overwhelmingly negative experience of policing in this study further supports the need for clinicians to stop utilizing police in safety planning (Drustrup et al., 2023).

For researchers, the present study suggests there is much more to be learned about the ways various social structures contribute to the feeling of dehumanization that our participants discussed. Several social systems that white and wealthy people largely assume are for public good—police, schools, hospitals, etc.—were seen as sites of great harm and dehumanization by our participants. Sama and Aliyah had stories that focused on the unsafety of health care providers while Limhi, Omar, and Amina told stories about oppressive experiences in their schools. While the research on systemic racism within these sites is not new, the specific experience of dehumanization was central to our participants' narratives and deserves further attention. These results also invite more research on the efficacy of the non-professional and horizontal support systems that our participants created within their neighborhoods—the "social capital" and *mutualista* networks discussed by Yasso (2005). After feeling abandoned and harmed by formal professional and state-sponsored social support systems, our participants created their own ways to care

for each other, and ultimately preferred their horizontal neighborhood-based support systems. More community-based and participatory action research (PAR) in these spaces could support community wellness and move the field of psychology forward. Finally, historians and other social scientists should continue the task of highlighting and antagonizing the centuries-long tradition of powerful institutions promoting discourse of the feared "other." This discourse is the fuel behind the legitimization of police, prisons, individualism, social disconnection, and general distrust, which function to discredit radical ideologies and prevent the horizontal distribution of resources. Research and public messaging that communicates this clearly would be a step in the right direction.

This study offers guidance for policy that would increase feelings of safety for the most marginalized in U.S. society. It was clear that less—and possibly no—police was a fundamental requirement for most of our participants. The things they did need for safety were also clear: basic needs, psychological health, and strong communities. These are the precise ingredients laid out by decades of abolitionists who want to defund and abolish the carceral state in favor of life-affirming institutions (Kaba, 2021). Research and surveys have found that while very few people support the "defund the police" slogan, the majority of people support the ideas, strategies, and policies within the "defund" movement (Michaels, 2021). This reflects the power of the recycled institutional discourses from media and politicians that demonize and discredit radical movements. Most people don't like the sound of police abolition because of what they have heard from powerful people and systems who fight hard to protect the status quo, yet these same people largely support the underlying strategies and ideologies. This suggests that abolitionism is possibly far more popular than recycled institutional discourses tell us, and that anyone interested in radical social change—from psychologists and other social scientists to organizers and working-class people—actually have a strong ideological foundation to work from when seeking change that improves the safety of all people. As Ikuta (2022) points out, the work of abolition and radicalizing safety is likely to be painful and create tangible loss for white people and others with access to social power. But to go beyond mere acknowledgment means engaging in various forms of political action that undercut the power and assumed superiority of our present institutions. Our research team discussed the ways that white people, including one of our research team members, and those with access to social power should consider these research results and take the lead from our participants and others in their community who organize to divert funding away from sites of power such as policing and towards housing, health, and education systems that center Black, Brown, and financially insecure people. Investing time and money in the community-focused work mentioned above including mutual aid can be good starting points. Sacrificing personal time and comfort as active opponents to these systems is necessary and might include political organizing and activism against local sites of power. Another example might include supporting young organizers of Color and showing up to City Council meetings to organize in support of their issues.

Finally, the results of this study can guide policy within psychology. During the annual convention in August of 2022, the American Psychological Association (APA) Council adopted an official stance to support several types of police reform aimed at reducing excessive use of force (APA, 2022). The APA's decision to focus their reform proposals through an individualist lens (i.e., use of force) instead of a systemic lens like that of many of our participants (i.e., dehumanization resulting from power imbalance) highlights the misalignment of their approach with their stated goal to: "dismantle racism within law enforcement" (p.2). A more effective approach would include a critical analysis of the history of policing and police reform, one that would show that their reform proposals have already been tried for decades and have only expanded the power and violence of the carceral state.

CONCLUSIONS

This study offers empirical narrative data interwoven with critical theory to illustrate precisely what is needed, in presence and in absence, for the safety of Black, Brown, and financially insecure people. Participants were consistent in several main points: (1) Police lead to less safety, not more, and are often the primary cause of our participants' unsafety; (2) While the collective mental and relational health of our participants and their community were essential, a deeper understanding of this illustrated their need to feel humanized—something that cannot happen under the monopolized violence of carceral systems like policing in U.S. society; and (3) Solutions were not abstract and imaginary—they were already in practice and focused on sharing knowledge, accountability, and helping resources with neighbors and loved ones who they have shared experiences with. Our participants have demonstrated what a radicalized understanding of safety looks like: collective and decentralized instead of individualized and "professional," empathic and humanizing instead of punitive, and promoting of wellness instead of separation from feared "others."

We have challenged popular notions of safety such as policing and have discussed why these beliefs about safety remain despite their harmfulness to marginalized people. Recycled institutional discourses about safety create a carceral dissonance for most people in U.S. society, leading to disconnection from self and others, as well as a preference for punitive responses to social problems. We hope that organizers, politicians, social scientists, and working-class people everywhere can utilize this information to build long-term, horizontal, and radical movements that are antagonistic towards the state, carceral logics, and racial capitalism. Collectively we can challenge recycled institutional discourses and embrace the radicalized safety offered by our participants. This has the power to bring true safety to all people via the mental and relational health that comes from abolishing the dehumanizing institutions of the state.

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DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

The data that support the findings of this study are available on request from the corresponding author. The data are not publicly available due to privacy or ethical restrictions. Data samples for this project are provided at https://osf.io/u2zjd/.

OPEN RESEARCH BADGES

This article has earned Open Materials badge. Materialsis available at https://osf.io/u2zjd/.

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