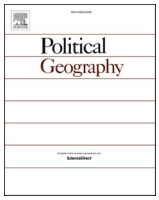
Political Geography 131 (2026) 103634



Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

Political Geography

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/polgeo



Full Length Article



Abolition and the everyday life of Sacramento's carceral housing crisis

Mia Karisa Dawson

University of Maryland, Baltimore County, Department of Geography and Environmental Systems, 1000 Hilltop Circle, Baltimore, MD, 21250, USA

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:
Abolition geography
Carceral geography
Homelessness
Policing
Incarceration
Community organizing

ABSTRACT

Sacramento is home to an extensive system of prisons and policing and to a severe housing crisis. It is also home to a coalition of abolitionist organizations fighting to end incarceration and housing precarity. For these organizations, incarceration and housing precarity are approached simultaneously as they impact the same people, benefit the same capital interests, and produce overlapping conditions of life inside and outside of prison. In this paper, I conceptualize this situation as a *carceral housing crisis*. I identify the everyday mechanisms that drove this crisis through interviews with people experiencing homelessness, incarceration, and probation. I then contextualize these mechanisms with practices developed by abolitionist organizers in Sacramento to intervene. In doing so, I consider how abolitionist ideals are made material through local practices of non-capitalism and non-coercion.

1. Introduction

How do you solve a housing crisis without housing? For Sacramento's city and county governments, the overwhelming answer has been police and prisons. Policing, incarceration, and housing are at the forefront of local politics. These issues converge in Sacramento in a way that is quintessential to California and is representative of a nationwide situation. In California, factors including drastic income inequality, astronomic rental prices, a housing shortage, and political opposition to high-density housing have left tens of thousands without shelter, accounting for roughly 25% of homeless individuals in the United States (U.S.) (Colburn & Aldern, 2022; Dougherty, 2020; Kendall, 2025; Tanner, 2021; Thorman et al., 2025).[1] Simultaneously, California has one of the most pervasive and costly systems of courts, prisons, and policing in the U.S. This makes the state a center of mass incarceration within a nation-state that is itself a center of mass incarceration worldwide (Prison Policy Institute, 2025a; The Urban Institute, 2023; Vera Institute, 2023).

The deep connection between incarceration and homelessness in U.S. cities— in California and beyond— has been well established. Qualitative research has shown that recently incarcerated people face unique difficulties in finding housing (Endicott, 2019; Hayat, 2022) and quantitative research has shown that those exiting prisons are drastically more likely to experience homelessness (Couloute, 2018). In a formative work connecting housing and incarceration, Gowan (2002) identified "a homelessness-incarceration nexus" in the lives of those who cycled through jails, prisons, and life on the streets of San Francisco. Sacramento in the 2020s, where this paper will focus, is exemplary of this nexus, which has deepened as the housing crisis has worsened and investments in policing have grown.

In response to such problems, geographers have been increasingly interested in prison-abolition, a struggle to end incarceration while transforming the social systems that uphold it. As geography scholars move in this direction, the call for an abolitionist approach to housing justice is growing among community organizers, legal advocates, and housing practitioners (Hayat, 2022; House & Okafor, 2020; Vilenica et al., 2022; Weber, 2024; Wooten, 2023). This creates an important opportunity for geographers to think and act with these groups. To do so, academic geographers can connect with non-academic research projects, including policy and advocacy research.

In this paper, I leverage advocacy research conducted by the California Pan-Ethnic Health Network (CPEHN) for their budget advocacy to

This article is part of a special issue entitled: Temporalities of Disruption and Refusal published in Political Geography.

This research did not receive any specific grant from funding agencies in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors.

E-mail address: mkdawson@umbc.edu.

[1] The term "unhoused" has been used increasingly by advocates to replace "homeless." This term reflects the point that those who cannot access traditional housing may consider their forms of shelter and community to be home. Further, the term homeless can be used to suggest a character trait or identity rather than reflecting a situation that individuals experience intermittently. Throughout this article, I adapt my language to match those of my interlocutors, both in interviews and in sources.

https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2026.103634
Received 6 March 2024; Received in revised form 22 July 2026; Accepted 23 July 2026
Available online 4 August 2026
0962-6298/© 2026 Elsevier Ltd. All rights are reserved, including those for text and data mining, AI training, and similar technologies.

contribute to an academic conversation. In 2021, CPEHN set out to demonstrate the social impacts of county budgeting on California's most marginalized populations, partnering with community organizations in five counties to conduct interviews and listening sessions with people who were unhoused, incarcerated, or on probation. The resulting self-published report— *People Power for Public Health* (CPEHN, 2022a)— was aimed at policymakers. In a political ecosystem in California amenable to the language of public health and motivated by "data--driven" solutions, the report would be important tool for organizers to enhance their budget advocacy.

I collaborated on this project in my capacity as an organizer with CPEHN's partner organization— Decarcerate Sacramento— which executed the research in Sacramento County, one of the five counties reflected in the report. After the interviewing campaign was completed in all counties and the report had been published, I decided alongside my organizing community to ask different questions of the archive to make an academic contribution. In doing so, following traditions of scholar-activism, I aligned my academic research with my commitments to ongoing organizing and advocacy research (Hale, 2006; Smith, 2012; Costa Vargas, 2008).

In this paper, I develop emergent ideas in carceral geography and abolition geography and connect them to issues of housing. I respond to Bloch's (2024) call for "grounded specificity … in locating how carceral spaces are produced and maintained as such," concurring that "accountability and abolition depend on locating the more-than-theoretical sources of carcerality that operate through everyday life." (Bloch, 2024, p. 1153). Using the same archive of interviews as CPEHN's (2022a) *People Power for Public Health* report, I leverage the grounded specificity of local advocacy research while de-centering policymakers as a primary audience.

Empowered by this communal effort, I identify everyday mechanisms that together produced the relationship between incarceration and housing precarity in Sacramento. With a focus on the stories of three individuals— Miguel, Jamal, and Cassandra[2]— I detail how these everyday mechanisms operated around key inflection points: arrests, incarceration, and release. These mechanisms produce and maintain a carceral geography through state coercion and predatory capitalist extraction. I conceptualize this situation as a *carceral housing crisis.*

I then examine material abolitionist responses to the carceral housing crisis, aligning them around the same inflection points of arrests, incarceration, and release. To do so, I detail organizing strategies in Sacramento— many formalized in 2022 as *the Sacramento Alternatives to Incarceration (ATI) Model*— that bring together practical responses to the crisis. Taking these interventions holistically, an abolition geography emerges as grounded and locally specific. Particularly, they illuminate how non-capitalism and non-coercion— principles central to an abolitionist project— are made material in the city.

2. Background

This project stems from my experiences as an organizer in Sacramento as I was exposed increasingly to the lethal presence of policing in the city. Beginning in 2016, I organized with the then-active Black Lives Matter-Sacramento chapter of the BLM Global Network. We worked to support the families of those who were killed by police in the city, a group that grew heartbreakingly multiple times a year. In 2019, I began to organize with Decarcerate Sacramento (DS) in efforts to halt jail expansions and reduce law enforcement budgets. In this context, I became further connected with groups that fought for housing and for improved conditions for unhoused people, as they aligned with anti-prison work in our imperative to confront the power of policing in the city.

As our campaigns brought us into the early 2020s, both rates of homelessness and police budgets had been on a steep rise in Sacramento for years. In 2021, both Sacramento County and the City of Sacramento ranked in the top ten in metrics of housing insecurity in U.S. municipalities, including unsheltered homelessness and portion of income spent on housing (Anderson, 2021; Zhu et al., 2021). In 2022, out of about 525,000 residents, more than 9000 individuals experienced unsheltered homelessness in the city on a given night, an almost 70% rise since 2019. This translated to 16,000 to 20,000 individuals experiencing homelessness within a year (Division of Social Work and the Center for Health Practice, Policy & Research at the California State University, Sacramento, 2022; Sacramento County Office of Homeless Initiatives, 2022; United States Census Bureau, 2020). This same year, the City of Sacramento approved a record high budget of approximately $224 million for the police department, while Sacramento County approved a record high budget of approximately $660 million for the sheriff's office (Lam, 2022, 2023; Lange, 2023). Corruption in the Sheriff's department further added to the resources at their disposal (McGough, 2022).

In previous years, efforts to address housing insecurity without police and prisons had been consistently blocked by powerful capital interests in the city. With a disproportionate amount of time and power to organize in local politics, homeowners and business interests were vocal about the need to address the housing crisis. Despite their laser focus on the problem of homelessness, those with access to capital opposed efforts to get poor people into housing anywhere near where they lived or conducted business. Affordable housing projects were consistently met with fierce opposition from homeowners and neighborhood associations in proposed areas (Nichols & Lam, 2022) and stalled by developers that prioritized the construction and management of more profitable, market-rate options (Hanson, 2022; Nguyen et al., 2021). Instead, these interests called for enhanced policing to respond to housing insecurity by corralling and displacing unhoused people out of their sight.

Just as California's carceral system and housing precarity reached extremes in Sacramento, our responses as abolitionist organizers and collaborators in the early 2020s were ambitious and persistent.DS was a central organization to this struggle. DS coalesced in 2019 to defeat jail expansions in the county, successfully organizing against two expansions (Decarcerate Sacramento, 2025). While fighting these expansions, we worked towards emptying and closing Sacramento County's prisons entirely. Through our work with those incarcerated and at risk, we saw that the prison system was in a close relationship with homelessness, as police preyed upon those living on the streets. As such, we witnessed a violently intertwined relationship between housing precarity and the carceral state.

3. Housing precarity, the carceral state, and the abolitionist turn

The U.S. carceral state governs through racialized violence. Beyond building and filling prisons, it maintains its capacities through discourses and practices of criminalization and vindictive justice (Simon, 2007, p. 476). The carceral state's power to imprison and police expanded drastically over the late twentieth century (Shabazz, 2015; The Sentencing Project, 2024), reflecting a population trapped within "a vast archipelago of prisons, jails, and immigrant detention centers" in numbers that were "internationally unparalleled [and] historically unprecedented" (Hernández et al., 2015, p. 18). By 2025, with a population still close to 2 million, roughly 0.6% of the adult population was incarcerated. With roots in slavery and anti-Black violence, race and criminalization are discursively linked (Jefferson, 2018; Wall, 2020), while Black people are drastically overrepresented in the incarcerated population (Prison Policy Institute, 2025b).

The concept of a carceral continuum describes reach of the carceral state beyond jails and prison. This continuum, Foucault (1995, p. 303) argues, encompasses a range from "the smallest coercions to the longest penal detention." As Hamlin and Speer (2018, p. 800) demonstrate, this concept is particularly useful for geographers "to think expansively

[2] Names have been changed to protect identities.

about carcerality while maintaining the prison itself as the apotheosis of carceral power." Particularly, the carceral continuum extends to housing in racially marginalized neighborhoods (Shabazz, 2015), and— as I will detail in this paper— to the public spaces where unhoused people live, including streets and greenspaces.

In Sacramento, probation and social services are key systems that extend the reach of carceral power beyond jails and prisons. Probation is offered as an option to reduce a sentence or avoid incarceration by accepting intensive surveillance and policing in the world outside. The probation system extends carceral power deep into people's daily lives (HRW & ACLU, 2020), often serving as a "tripwire" to re-incarceration (RIPA Board, 2024, p. 68). Alongside probation, other social services, through mechanisms that Tillman (2023) identified as "coercive benevolent techniques," replicate oversight, criminalization, pathology and punishment. Facilities and services including homeless shelters, public housing, child protective services, schools, and health care settings often use these coercive techniques (Dawson et al., 2023; Heard-Garris et al., 2022; Ivey et al., 2024; LA CAN, 2025; Meiners, 2014; Rodriguez, 2024; Wooten, 2023). These kinds of policing through social services can be particularly intensive for unhoused people (Przybylinski, 2025; Speer, 2018; Weber, 2024).

In California and the U.S. West Coast more broadly, housing precarity and carceral powers are pervasive and intertwined. Since Gowan's (2002) formative work depicting a "homelessness-incarceration nexus" in San Francisco, Speer (2018) has identified a "carceral approach to homelessness" (p. 168) that involves "exclusion, forced mobility, and confinement" (p. 161) in Fresno. In Portland, Przybylinski (2025) has shown that many unhoused people cycle through both therapeutic and disciplinary institutions, while Weber (2024) demonstrated that punitive structures extend beyond jails and prisons into social services and housing provision. Meanwhile, a system of drug laws— which are particularly harsh in California and other West Coast cities— specifically targets those marginalized by race and class (Baum, 2016; Bobo and Thompson, 2006; Provine, 2011). This makes unhoused people drastically more vulnerable to incarceration without privacy or access to aboveground employment and healthcare.

Just as geographers have increasingly linked mechanisms of housing precarity with the carceral system, many are turning to the movement for abolition to inspire our thought and action in opposition to these systems (Hamlin, 2023). Gilmore's (2017) concept of "abolition geography" has been formative. The abolition geography concept insists that just as carceral forces exert power over space, abolitionist action exerts an oppositional power that shapes space for life to thrive free of capitalist extraction and state violence.

For Gilmore (2017), abolition geography is not only a concept to be applied to understand our world. It is also "a way of studying, and of doing political organizing, and of being in the world, and of worlding ourselves." In this project, I have applied these principles to the research process through community organizing, collaborating on organizations' self-published research, and creating connections with academic conversations.

4. Methods

In 2020, after a year of working as an organizer in general campaigns, I became connected to DS's research efforts. I was invited by lead researchers to join an ongoing research project that would result in a policy report about homelessness, incarceration, and public health published by CPEHN (2022a). As a doctoral student at the time, I was asked to join because I had experience with qualitative research and access to resources for transcription and analysis.

As the project's data collection phase of interviewing and listening campaigns wrapped up in 2021, I was tasked with transcribing interviews and maintaining them in an accessible archive. This ensured that, after handing over raw audio files to CPEHN for their report, the interviews were not lost or scattered. Our organization and aligned individuals would then be empowered to ask different questions of the archive and write for different audiences. In doing so, we would continue to honor and build from the experience of our interview participants. This paper represents one such effort.

Proceeding over late 2020 and early 2021, the interview campaign was ambitious and required the collaboration of many organizers and volunteers. The logistics of the interview campaign were managed by five lead organizers with DS— Liz Blum, Jael Brooks, Courtney Hansen, Niki Jones and Mackenzie Wilson. These organizers developed an interview protocol to understand people's experiences with law enforcement, incarceration, homelessness, and social services (CPEHN, 2022b, p. 20). They led interviewing with individuals who were experiencing homelessness, incarceration, or probation at six locations. They chose these locations because they knew, based on prior organizing experience and connections, that they would be able to reach people navigating these systems.

The six interview locations included two carceral facilities and four outside locations. The carceral facilities were (1) Sacramento County Main Jail and (2) the Rio Cosumnes Correctional Center (RCCC). The four outdoor locations were (1) outside of the Sacramento County Main Jail; (2) outside of the Sacramento County Probation Department Adult Day Reporting Center; (3) a street encampment in midtown Sacramento at the intersection of X street and 16th street; and (4) Maryhouse of Loaves and Fishes, a respite center for unhoused women.

The interviews included a combination of phone and in-person conversations. Interviews with those in the Main Jail and RCCC were conducted by phone over a hotline that DS had previously established to connect incarcerated people to outside support. To initiate these interviews, letters of invitation to participate were circulated to contacts inside the institutions, and those who chose to participate called the hotline. Interviewees were compensated with commissary payments. Interviews at all outdoor locations were conducted by setting up tables and inviting people to share food, beverages, and survival gear. Organizers then explained the interview campaign, invited people to participate, and offered compensation with gift cards.

While our research team could not control who participated in the interview campaign, we successfully reached the demographics that are most impacted by homelessness and incarceration in Sacramento. In the cumulative interview locations, Black and American Indian individuals were each overrepresented by a factor of roughly four compared to the general population, consistent with other research on the racial dynamics of incarceration and homelessness in the city (Division of Social Work and the Center for Health Practice, Policy & Research at the California State University, Sacramento, 2022; Vera Institute, 2021). Furthermore, 80% of those who participated had experienced both homelessness *and* incarceration.

As an independent researcher, in this paper, I analyze 91 of these interviews. While our campaign included both group listening sessions and one-on-one interviews— reaching a total of 130 individuals— I have only analyzed one-on-one interviews. I have omitted group listening sessions due to difficulty in tracking the stories of the individuals who participated. I also omitted some interviews due to their lack of clarity or their brevity, as interruptions, distractions, or difficulties in recording were frequent.

Entrusted with the stories of 91 people, I have aspired to do their stories justice through both by identifying overarching themes and by sharing individuals' stories. To identify themes, I used a grounded theory approach in which concepts emerged inductively from the participants' stories (Corbin & Strauss, 2014). To perform this analysis, I used qualitative coding in NVivo 15. Of the stories shared in this project, I have focused on three people's illustrative experiences— Miguel, Jamal, and Cassandra. I chose these individuals' stories because together they encompassed most overall themes. I also selected them to serve as narrators because their voices compellingly captured these themes.

5. The everyday life of Sacramento's carceral housing crisis

Over the experiences of 91 participants, consistent everyday mechanisms drove a cycle between homelessness, incarceration, and probation. Arrests were a key point of inflection for those ensnared in the cycle. I found three key periods in time along the cycle: (1) *pre-arrest*, (2) *post-arrest: court processes, sentencing, and incarceration*, and (3) *post-release*. To illustrate the everyday battles associated with each of these periods, I engage with Miguel, Jamal, and Cassandra's stories. I contextualize their stories with the overall themes gleaned from interviews alongside additional context about the carceral system.

Miguel was living at the X and 16th encampment at the time of his interview. Having cycled through Sacramento's traditional criminal justice system as well as its "rehabilitative courts," he struggled with debt while living in fear of police that targeted him for his history. Having been to jail more times than he could count for an average of two weeks each, Miguel spoke to the conditions that led to his arrests and the experience of navigating the outside world after incarceration.

Jamal was interviewed in RCCC. He had been incarcerated for 9 months at the time of his interview. Serving time in prison intermittently since the late 90s, he was impacted by California's harsh sentencing measures that kept him from accessing treatment for alcohol dependency and instead punished him for related charges. Jamal spoke to his experience of incarceration over the decades and his experiences post-release after serving each sentence as he sought support from social services to change his life.

Cassandra was interviewed at the county probation office. She was on probation after being incarcerated six times and had experienced chronic homelessness. Cassandra spoke alongside her wife, Monet. At the time of the interview, they finally had stable access to housing. She spoke to the transformation that they went through as a couple once they were able to access stable housing and therapy. She credited the love and support shared between them as the factor that allowed them to break the cycle.

5.1. Pre-arrest experiences

For those living outside, the conditions for arrest and incarceration loomed large. Lacking legal access to basic needs, survival required walking along a tightrope to avoid arrest. Resources like food, water, medicine and hygiene products were secured by businesses through armed private security forces alongside traditional law enforcement.

Despite this danger, people often resorted to taking food and survival goods from corporately owned grocery stores, pharmacies, and "big-box" stores such as Safeway, Target, Walmart, CVS and Walgreens. Cassandra spoke to this necessity: "you got to commit crimes to survive out here … you're going to do whatever it takes to take care of yourself. If that means stealing out of this store, selling it on the street to somebody to get you a meal, blowing into the stores and steal [ing] food to eat, you're going to do it … that's the only choice that people have in the streets is to commit crime."

While crime was unavoidable, the law was omnipresent. In interviews, *the law* was shorthand for the police, court systems, and the laws and codes that they enforced. The law referred to a system that was both embodied and abstract, and included both the judicial system and extrajudicial interactions with police. It was a ubiquitous possibility that one could run into the law at any time and place in the city. This could then lead to abuse, fines and fees, arrest, and incarceration.

Our interviews revealed that there were recurring moments of vulnerability that often led to contacts with the law. Mental health crisis was one major cause of vulnerability. An individual acting erratically due to a mental health crisis was likely to be apprehended by law enforcement and forcibly hospitalized. Ordinances such as Sacramento's criminalization of "disturbance"— the most frequent call to police in the County (Sacramento Open Data Portal, 2023)— meant that an individual acting erratically could be charged with a crime or extra-legally abused.

Alongside mental health crises, the use and exchange of substances also created moments of vulnerability. From the public consumption of legal substances such as alcohol, to quasi-legal substances such as marijuana, to criminalized substances such as methamphetamines and opioids, life without the privacy of a house meant a vulnerability to drug laws and their selective enforcement. Furthermore, an underground survival economy based in the exchange of substances meant that drug exchange, for many, was as much a crime of survival as taking food or medicine from a store.

Beyond these two kinds of vulnerability, police found pretenses for harassment through city ordinances that governed minute details of life outside. Miguel, who had lived in an encampment in a riverside urban greenspace, spoke to this: "[the police] come down there by the river and [they] start harassing people about little ordinances that people out in houses aren't being harassed about, such as having their dogs tied up outside." He elaborated: "we have our dogs back here … but you see they've got food down there. They've got water down there. They don't look malnourished. They look happy. They look loved … why are [the police] bothering us?"

After initial contacts with law enforcement, some were harassed or abused and then left on their own. Others were taken into the County Main Jail on unclear pretenses only to be released within 24 hours. Others were arrested and booked into the court system, entering a formal process of sentencing.

5.2. Post-arrest experiences: court processes, sentencing, and incarceration

After arrest and booking, the process leading up to the first court hearing was high stakes. The quality of legal counsel and representation that an individual had access to during this period had drastic consequences. Before someone's first court appearance, if they were not offered or could not afford bail, they remained incarcerated. If charged with a crime or taking a plea deal, they would then face a prison sentence. Interactions with courts and bureaucracy continued during incarceration to determine the conditions of their release and probation. At the same time, in prison, they endured overcrowding, unsanitary conditions, and medical neglect. Some endured solitary confinement and other forms of torture (Civil Rights Litigation Clearinghouse, 2018; Disability Rights California, 2020).

Those who were impacted by housing precarity seldom had access to decent legal representation during their interactions with the court system. Without being able to afford a criminal defense lawyer, they were usually paired with public defenders who were notoriously negligent, incompetent, or indifferent. This led to mistakes or oversights that subjected people to sentences that they would have never faced with decent legal representation. In California, where particularly harsh sentencing laws have been in effect since the War on Drugs, these mistakes and oversights had drastic consequences (Provine, 2011).

Jamal's story reflected this reality. His life had changed course as the result of AB 917, or the "Three Strikes and You're Out Law." AB 917 is a sentencing measure passed in 1994 that dramatically increases the sentences of individuals who have been convicted of prior offenses, notoriously resulting in life sentences for minor crimes (California Legal Analysts Office, 1995; Stanford Law School, 2025). This law also makes it more difficult to access alternatives to incarceration after being arrested. After being convicted of driving under the influence (DUI) as a teenager in the late 90s, Jamal had taken a strike without contesting it, because he lacked sufficient the legal counsel. As he put it, "[he] didn't know [] better."

Since then, as a "second striker," every time Jamal had been sentenced for a crime, he received double the time he would have had to serve otherwise, increasing his susceptibility to housing precarity upon release. Jamal had been repeatedly fast tracked back to prison instead of treatment programs: "I suffer from DUIs [and] I haven't ever been

offered a DUI program. I'm always sent to prison. At one point in time, I wasn't even in my vehicle … I got sent to prison for [a] DUI, [for] which I did three years and seven months." Recently, after being denied unemployment benefits, Jamal had experienced homelessness and stayed with relatives.

Miguel was caught in a similar cycle. Living at the X and 16th encampment at the time of his interview, he was experiencing the consequences of participating in a rehabilitative court, colloquially known as "drug court," that places individuals who plead guilty to non-violent, drug-related charges under probation. To complete the drug court program, individuals must "establish a consistent pattern of clean drug tests" and other "proof of a stabilized lifestyle" (Sacramento County District Attorney's Office, 2025). If they fail to meet these requirements, they will be incarcerated (Sacramento County Probation, 2025).

Miguel explained that entering probation under the drug court program was a worse decision than serving time in jail. Intensified engagement with law enforcement and the need to jump over bureaucratic hurdles had put him in debt and prevented him from getting work and housing. He explained: "for [the] entire year that I was working on my drug court, I was unable to get housing. I wasn't able to get a job. I wasn't able to do anything because I was totally focused on drug court, which the law wanted me to focus on [] before I could do anything."

While presented as a humane alternative to incarceration, participation in alternative court systems similarly restricted the autonomy of those who participated, deepened their ensnarement in the carceral system, and contributed to further debt and housing instability. As the next section will detail, alternative courts feed into a system of probation that impacts a person's ability to get back on their feet after incarceration or after being charged with a crime.

Throughout these processes, various capital interests in the city profit. An industry of bail bonds takes advantage of the cash bail system where families will go into debt to secure their loved one's release from prison. Furthermore, policies that require those who enter the criminal justice system to pay "user fees" at various stages are particularly harsh in California. Individuals who are unable to pay off these forms of criminal justice debt face the possibility of re-incarceration and predatory collection tactics, creating a system that Bannon et al. (2010) describe as a modern form of debtor's prisons. These further contribute to the poverty and debt that make it difficult to succeed after release from prison.

5.3. Post-release experiences

An exit from incarceration meant coming to terms with many different forms of loss. For those who survived the experience, many exited in worse health, both physically and mentally, struggling with the trauma of what they experienced inside (Sered, 2019; Wiley, 2023). Many faced broken or damaged relationships because of their isolation and the stigma of having been inside, leading to divorces, breakups, and estrangement from relatives and children. Many lost their belongings while incarcerated, sometimes including identification documents that they would need to access housing and employment. As Cassandra described, after release, "even the little [] that you accumulated, it's gone because somebody took it over. Your tent, your life, your clothes, now you're back out here with nothing. What are you going to do? You're going to do the same thing."

Furthermore, many exited jail or prison to debt and worsened finances due to the fines, fees, and penalties that are associated with moving through the system and the need to pay for food and other commissary goods while inside. Many had difficulty accessing employment or housing that disqualify those with a criminal record. As Jamal explained, after release, "[I'd] try to get a job, but it was hard to get a job as a felon. It was hard to find a place to stay as a felon because they do background checks [and things of] that nature." His experience resonated with countless others who did not have the rights, legal support, or resources to expunge their records.

Many who exited prison entered the probation system, a form of police oversight with strict rules of conduct, intensive surveillance, and financial stressors, often offered as an option to reduce sentences. After incarceration, this system extended police powers deep into people's daily lives (HRW & ACLU, 2020), often serving as a "tripwire" to re-incarceration (RIPA Board, 2024, p. 68). Probation requirements are innumerable, and can include frequent meetings with officers, sobriety tests, proof of employment or of seeking employment, maintaining a stable address, house arrest monitored by GPS ankle monitors, and paying fines. Probation requirements could be impossible for the housing insecure to meet, especially without the resources, transportation, or access to technology that would allow them to make it to their appointments.

Beyond frequent encounters with probation officers, life under probation intensified extra-legal interactions with other police. Law enforcement agents would identify people on probation and then harass and abuse them. Miguel spoke to this experience: "[even when] I'm not disobeying any laws … [the police just say] "pull him over" … they'll run my [license] plate, and my name is on probation and so they can get there every single day to [mess] with me and take my car from me. And then I have to go and pay that much money to get it out when the car's not even worth it, but that's all I have." And for those who sought positive support from the county rather than further surveillance and punishment, it was difficult if not impossible to find. As Jamal put it: "to rely on the County for program assistance, to me, was kind of a sham. It was fraudulent to me. It never helped me at all."

Without such assistance, those seeking to change their lives after incarceration needed support from family or community. Cassandra spoke to this when expressing her profound gratitude for having accessed housing while still working on her probation requirements. Sharing a home with her wife Monet, with whom she had recently lived on the streets, she shared: "if it hadn't been for us being a team, we probably wouldn't have survived out here … we had each other, which kept us strong." Many of those interviewed did not have stable ties to friends or family, often due to the disruptions, pressures, and traumas of housing insecurity and incarceration.

In this context, abolitionist community organizers in Sacramento have built alternative support and rescue systems to break the cycle of housing insecurity and incarceration. These organizing practices align with the stages of the cycle described above. In doing so, these practices confront varied points along the carceral continuum in Sacramento.

6. Abolitionist responses to the carceral housing crisis

Over the time that DS organizers and volunteers were interviewing Miguel, Jamal, and Cassandra, and others, we were also working on organizing strategies to confront the systems that they were navigating. By apprehending state violence and coercion diffuse through the city, abolitionist organizers mapped the carceral geography of the city with the practical goal of identifying points of intervention.

To illuminate these practices, I describe an ongoing model developed by multiple organizations in an abolitionist coalition: the Sacramento Alternatives to Incarceration (ATI) model. This model reflects a set of organizing practices developed by DS, the Anti-Police Terror Project, NorCal Resist, and the Care First California Coalition, in consultation with the Los Angeles County Alternatives to Incarceration Work Group (2020). Formalized in 2022, this model aligns with the everyday mechanisms of the carceral housing crisis during the three periods described in this paper— pre-arrest, post-arrest (court processes, sentencing, and incarceration), and post-release.

6.1. Preventing arrests and creating alternative economies outside

A foundation of abolitionist organizing in Sacramento is to meet people's needs for health, sustenance, shelter and relationship to keep

people from becoming vulnerable to arrest. To reduce vulnerability to arrest, this means creating alternative economies outside of capitalist consumption to promote peoples' access to basic needs, reducing the necessity of crimes of survival and vulnerability to illness and death. Some examples of these alternative economies include mutual aid, decommodification, and gifting; unconditional access to food and water through drives; free health clinics with medical professionals sharing their time; and free legal education workshops to reduce people's susceptibility to illegal police and court practices.

A second set of practices responds to moments of susceptibility and emergency through alternative first-response systems to arrive before police. In situations like interpersonal conflicts or health crises, calls to law enforcement can escalate already tense situations, leading to brutality or arrests. To prevent this, community emergency response programs rely on rapid-response teams with skills in medicine, violence prevention, and de-escalation (Anti Police-Terror Project, 2025b). Further, harm reduction services address substance use and overdoses with healthcare while keeping people out of contact with the police (Sacramento Harm Reduction Services, 2025).

6.2. *Supporting and emancipating incarcerated people*

When arrests are not prevented, as soon as people are dropped off and booked at the Main Jail, organizers implement pre-trial interventions to ensure their connection to outside support. Raising bail funds allows people to remain in their communities before their trials. During early court appearances and sentencing processes, participatory defense projects and court-watch programs promote better outcomes by mobilizing families and larger support systems (National Participatory Defense Network, 2025; NorCal Resist, 2025). Such mobilization prevent people from falling victim to harsh sentencing measures.

When incarceration is not preempted, organizers work with those who are incarcerated to alleviate their pain and isolation and to navigate their ongoing court processes. This involves initiatives to improve incarcerated peoples' access to resources, human connection, and legal support. Improving access to resources includes sending people books and donating commissary money to buy food and hygiene products. Initiatives advocating for free phone calls and letter-writing efforts alleviate isolation. Legal support efforts include medical advocacy, legal counsel, and advocacy for access to law libraries.

6.3. *Rebuilding life after release through collectivity*

Directly before release, organizers in the ATI coalition promote people's access to supportive services and information that they will need upon exit, preparing them for this moment of severe vulnerability. Jail support teams set up tables with survival supplies, information, and access to technology for those exiting the Main Jail, serving as a positive and supportive first contact with the outside world (Anti Police-Terror Project, 2025a).

Then, organizers work to support people in re-integrating and rebuilding their lives after release. This involves free support with the legal, financial, and health burdens that can worsen in prison and support in navigating the probation system after release. Other post-release interventions include providing emergency housing, funding expungements of people's records, increasing access to documentation, and supporting access to employment and education. These aid people in avoiding the tripwires throughout the city that lead back into prison.

7. Abolition geography, local organizing, and the carceral continuum

The everyday life of the carceral housing crisis reveals a continuum of carceral power throughout Sacramento. This diffuse power is especially evident in the experience of homelessness and probation, as people struggle to avoid tripwires into incarceration. Abolitionist organizers confront carceral power everywhere that it manifests. Following Gilmore (2017), this work materializes an abolition geography in antagonistic contradiction to carceral geography.

Two uniting organizing principles create this antagonistic contradiction with the carceral state: non-capitalism and non-coercion. Promoting survival and preventing arrests through alternative economies— including mutual aid, decommodification, and gifting— are key examples of non-capitalist exchange that are employed by Sacramento organizers. Meanwhile, non-coercion is practiced through violence intervention and harm-reduction programs that refuse to demonize, criminalize, or punish people at moments when they are most vulnerable. Aiming to keep people safe and out of prison, they reflect that coercion can only intensify and reproduce violence.

The abolition of prisons in Sacramento is still aspirational, as thousands remain caged in the Main Jail and RCCC. Even as incarceration represents the extreme of the carceral continuum, abolitionist organizers refuse to leave people inside unreachable. Community mobilizations to support those in custody and those navigating court processes demonstrate that incarceration must not entail complete isolation from the world outside. Making plans for action through phone calls, letters, and visitation, both struggles and dreams are shared across prison walls.

Abolitionists insist that nowhere can the prison be entirely victorious. While living as a political prisoner, Black Panther co-founder Huey P. Newton encapsulated this imperative: *The respect and dignity of the people as they move toward their freedom are the sustaining forces that reach into and out of the prison. The walls, the bars, the guns, and the guards can never encircle or hold down the idea of the people. And the people must always carry forward the idea, which is their dignity and their beauty* (Newton, 2002, p. 155).

8. Conclusion

This project was enabled by years of organizing and community-initiated research to reach individuals in the most isolated groups in Sacramento. It has been an honor to learn from them. Engaging with stories revealed in 91 interviews, I have shown how everyday mechanisms of capitalist extraction and state coercion drove a cycle between homelessness, incarceration and probation. These experiences revolve around key high-stakes moments: arrests, sentencing, incarceration, and release.

Before arrests, crimes of survival, mental health crises, and drug laws were major factors that wove homelessness with vulnerability to arrest and incarceration. Post-arrest— throughout court processes, sentencing, and custody— discriminatory legal practices, inadequate legal representation, and trauma in prison distressed and destabilized people. Post-release, punitive measures of oversight and probation, debt and poverty, and degraded support systems further contributed to instability and housing precarity. Throughout this cycle, as people navigated systems of capitalist extraction and carceral force, they traversed a hyper-policed landscape leading in and out of incarceration.

Responding to the varied mechanisms that drive the carceral housing crisis in Sacramento, abolitionist organizers have taken equally varied actions. To prevent arrests, practices of mutual aid, legal defense, community emergency response keep people out of contact with police and prisons. After arrests, interventions in pre-trial and court processes such as community court-watch, bail funds, sentencing advocacy improve connections to community and legal outcomes. During custody, interventions maintain connections between incarcerated people and outside support networks. Upon release, organizing networks celebrate people's return while promoting access to the information, resources, and relationships necessary to survive the world outside.

These organizing strategies confront the exact mechanisms that extend carceral power throughout the everyday life of the city. They also reach into jails and prisons, insisting that incarceration— even as the extreme of the carceral continuum— must not entail complete isolation from the world outside. Instead, the pain and the burdens of those inside

are shared, as are their aspirations for freedom.

Declaration of competing interest

None.

Acknowledgement

I extend my heartfelt appreciation to the organizers and volunteers with Decarcerate Sacramento who conducted a remarkable interview campaign, to the Desireable Futures collective for their support and inspiration, and to the anonymous reviewers for their helpful feedback.

Data availability

The data that has been used is confidential.

References

Anderson, S. T. (2021). Report finds Sacramento is one of the ten worst cities nationwide for amount of income spent on housing. *Sacramento News and Review*. https://sacramento.newsreview.com/2021/05/06/report-finds-sacramento-is-one-of-the-ten-worst-cities-nationwide-for-amount-of-income-spent-on-housing. (Accessed 1 July 2025).

Anti Police-Terror Project. (2025a). *Anti police-terror project Sacramento*. https://antipoliceterrorproject.org/sacramento. (Accessed 1 July 2025).

Anti Police-Terror Project. (2025b). Mental health first Sacramento. https://www.antipoliceterrorproject.org/mh-first-sac. (Accessed 1 July 2025).

Bannon, A., Nagrecha, M., & Diller, R. (2010). *Criminal justice debt: A barrier to reentry*. https://brennancenter.org/our-work/research-reports/criminal-justice-debt-barrier-reentry. (Accessed 1 July 2025).

Baum, D. (2016). *Legalize it all: How to win the war on drugs*. Harper's Magazine. https://harpers.org/archive/2016/04/legalize-it-all/. (Accessed 1 December 2025).

Bloch, S. (2024). A legal geography of prison and other carceral spaces. *Antipode, 56*(4), 1152–1171.

Bobo, L. D., & Thompson, V. (2006). Unfair by design: The war on drugs, race, and the legitimacy of the criminal justice system. *Social Research, 73*(2), 445–472.

California Legal Analysts Office. (1995). The three strikes and you're out law. https://lao.ca.gov/analysis_1995/3strikes.html. (Accessed 1 July 2025).

Civil Rights Litigation Clearinghouse. (2018). Case: Mays v. County of Sacramento. https://clearinghouse.net/case/17074. (Accessed 1 July 2025).

Colburn, G., & Aldern, C. P. (2022). *Homelessness is a housing problem: How structural factors explain U.S. housing patterns*. Oakland: University of California Press.

Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (2014). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (4th ed.). Los Angeles: SAGE.

Costa Vargas, J. H. (2008). Activist scholarship: Limits and possibilities in times of Black genocide. In C. R. Hale (Ed.), *Engaging contradictions: Theory, politics, and methods of activist scholarship* (pp. 164–182). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Couloute, L. (2018). *Nowhere to go: Homelessness among formerly incarcerated people*. Prison Policy Initiative. Retrieved from prisonpolicy.org/reports/housing.html. (Accessed 1 July 2025).

CPEHN (California Pan Ethnic Health Network). (2022a). People power for public health. https://cpehn.org/assets/uploads/2022/08/CPEHN.PeoplePowerForPublicHealthReport-FINAL.pdf. (Accessed 1 July 2025).

CPEHN (California Pan Ethnic Health Network). (2022b). People power for public health: Sacramento. https://cpehn.org/assets/uploads/2022/08/DecarcerateSac.CompanionPiece.Sacramento.pdf. (Accessed 1 July 2025).

Dawson, M. K., Ivey, A., & Buggs, S. (2023). Relationships, resources, and political empowerment: Community violence intervention strategies that contest the logics of policing and incarceration. *Frontiers in Public Health*. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpubh.2023.1143516

Decarcerate Sacramento. (2025). Decarcerate Sacramento. https://www.decarceratesac.org/. (Accessed 1 July 2025).

Disability Rights California. (2020). Press release: Settlement approved in Sacramento county jail class action to ensure better treatment of people with disabilities and reform solitary confinement practices. https://www.disabilityrightsca.org/press-release/settlement-approved-in-sacramento-county-jail-class-action-to-ensure-better-treatment. (Accessed 1 July 2025).

Division of Social Work and the Center for Health Practice, Policy & Research at the California State University, Sacramento. (2022). Homelessness in Sacramento County: Results from the 2022 point-in-time count. https://sacramentostepsforward.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/PIT-Report-2022.pdf. (Accessed 1 July 2025).

Dougherty, C. (2020). *Golden gates: Fighting for housing in America*. New York: Penguin Press.

Endicott, M. (2019). California is letting thousands of prisoners out early. Its housing crisis is keeping them from starting over. *Mother Jones*. https://motherjones.com/crime-justice/2019/12/california-prison-reentry-housing-crisis. (Accessed 1 July 2025).

Foucault, M. (1995). *Discipline and punish trans. Alan Sheridan* (2nd ed.). New York: Vintage Books.

Gilmore, R. W. (2017). Abolition geography and the problem of innocence. In G. T. Johnson, & A. Lubin (Eds.), *Futures of Black radicalism* (pp. 225–240). London: Verso.

Gowan, T. (2002). The nexus: Homelessness and incarceration in two American cities. *Ethnography, 3*(4), 500–534.

Hale, C. R. (2006). Activist research v. Cultural critique: Indigenous land rights and the contradictions of politically engaged anthropology. *Cultural Anthropology, 21*(1), 96–120.

Hamlin, M. (2023). Geography's abolitionist turn: Notes on freedom, property, and the state. *Progress in Human Geography*.

Hamlin, M., & Speer, J. (2018). The politics of conceptualizing the carceral: A commentary on Moran et al. (2017). *Progress in Human Geography, 42*(5), 799–802.

Hanson, N. (2022). California cities have millions for affordable housing. *The difficulty is spending it*. Courthouse News Service. https://courthousenews.com/california-cities-have-millions-for-affordable-housing-the-difficulty-is-spending-it. (Accessed 1 July 2025).

Hayat, N. B. (2022). Housing the decarcerated: Covid-19, abolition & the right to housing. *California Law Review, 110*(3), 639–680.

Heard-Garris, N., Johnson, T. J., & Hardeman, R. (2022). The harmful effects of policing—from the neighborhood to the hospital. *JAMA Pediatrics, 176*, 23–25.

Hernández, K. L., Muhammad, K. G., & Thompson. (2015). Introduction: Constructing the carceral state. *Journal of American History, 102*(1), 18–24.

House, S., & Okafor, K. (2020). Under one roof: Building an abolitionist approach to housing justice. *NYU Journal of Legislation & Public Policy Quorum*. https://nyujlpp.org/quorum/house-okafor-building-abolitionist-approach-housing/. (Accessed 1 December 2025).

HRW (Human Rights Watch) & ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union). (2020). *Revoked: How probation and parole feed mass incarceration in the United States*. https://hrw.org/report/2020/07/31/revoked/how-probation-and-parole-feed-mass-incarceration-united-states. (Accessed 1 July 2025).

Ivey, A. S., Dawson, M. K., & Buggs, S. (2024). Community violence intervention & prevention strategies: Mitigating variations in school and neighborhood violence. *Theory, Research, and Action in Urban Education, 9*(1).

Jefferson, B. J. (2018). Predictable policing: Predictive crime mapping and geographies of policing and race. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers, 108*(1), 1–16.

Kendall, M. (2025). *New homelessness data: How does California compare to the rest of the country?* CalMatters. https://calmatters.org/housing/homelessness/2025/01/hud-pit-count-2024. (Accessed 1 July 2025).

LA CAN [Los Angeles Community Action Network. (2025). Carceral housing is no way to address homelessness. https://cangress.org/carceral-housing. (Accessed 1 July 2025).

Lam, K. (2022). *Sacramento city council approves more police funding in $1.4 billion budget*. Capitol Public Radio. https://capradio.org/articles/2022/06/15/sacramento-city-council-approves-more-police-funding-in-14-billion-budget. (Accessed 1 July 2025).

Lam, K. (2023). *Sacramento city council OKs budget, rejects proposal to move police funding to homeless services*. *Capital Public Radio*. https://capradio.org/articles/2023/06/14/sacramento-city-council-oks-budget-rejects-proposal-to-move-police-funding-to-homeless-services. (Accessed 1 July 2025).

Lange, A. (2023). *Sacramento County supervisors swiftly approve $8.4 billion budget. Here's what happened. The Sacramento Bee*. https://sacbee.com/news/local/article276238526.html. (Accessed 1 July 2025).

Los Angeles County Alternatives to Incarceration Work Group. (2020). *Care first*. Jails Last. https://ceo.lacounty.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/1077045_AlternativestoIncarcerationWorkGroupFinalReport.pdf. (Accessed 1 December 2025).

McGough, M. (2022). *Sacramento County sent $100M in COVID aid to sheriff's payroll. Grand jury wants new audit. Sacramento Bee*. https://sacbee.com/news/local/article258474333.html. (Accessed 1 July 2025).

Meiners, E. R. (2014). Trouble with the child in the carceral state. *Social Justice, 41*(3), 120–144.

National Participatory Defense Network. (2025). Participatory defense: A community organizing model. https://participatorydefense.org/about. (Accessed 1 December 2025).

Newton, H. (2002). Prison, where is thy victory?: January 3, 1970. In H. David, & D. Weise (Eds.), *The huey P. Newton reader* (pp. 154–156). New York: Seven Stories Press.

Nguyen, C., Carroll, J., & Nious, K. (2021). Why California can't build affordable housing. *NBC Bay Area*. https://nbcbayarea.com/investigations/why-california-cant-build-affordable-housing/2605587. (Accessed 1 July 2025).

Nichols, C., & Lam, K. (2022). Sacramento diverts homeless shelter funding to affordable housing projects. *Capitol Public Radio*. https://capradio.org/articles/2022/10/25/sacramento-diverts-homeless-shelter-funding-to-affordable-housing-projects. (Accessed 1 July 2025).

NorCal Resist. (2025). *Reports*. https://norcalresist.org/reports.html. (Accessed 1 July 2025).

Prison Policy Institute. (2025a). California profile. https://prisonpolicy.org/profiles/CA.html. (Accessed 1 July 2025).

Prison Policy Institute. (2025b). United States profile. https://prisonpolicy.org/profiles/US.html. (Accessed 1 July 2025).

Provine, D. M. (2011). Race and inequality in the War on drugs. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science, 7*, 41–60.

Przybylinski, S. (2025). The pendulum swings: Mobilizing policies to develop mass homeless encampments in the "progressive" city. *Urban Geography, 46*(4), 838–860.

Rodriguez, J. (2024). Carceral connections: The role of policing in the management of public housing in New York City. *Urban Studies, 61*(3), 513–530.

Sacramento County District Attorney's Office. (2025). Collaborative courts: Recovery treatment court. https://sacda.org/in-the-courtroom/recovery-court/. (Accessed 1 July 2025).
Sacramento County Office of Homeless Initiatives. (2022). *Sacramento county homelessness fact sheet*. https://schs.saccounty.gov/Documents/SacramentoCountyHomelessnessFactSheet.1.pdf. (Accessed 1 July 2025).
Sacramento County Probation. (2025). Collaborative courts. Retrieved from https://saccoprobation.saccounty.gov/CourtServices/pages/collaborativecourts.aspx. (Accessed 1 July 2025).
Sacramento Harm Reduction Services. (2025). *Harm reduction services*. https://hrssac.org. (Accessed 1 July 2025).
Sacramento Open Data Portal. (2023). Sacramento dispatch data 2020. https://data.cityofsacramento.org/. (Accessed 1 December 2025).
Sered, D. (2019). *Until we reckon: Violence, mass incarceration, and a road to repair*. New York: The New Press.
Shabazz, R. (2015). *Spatializing blackness: Architectures of confinement and black masculinity in Chicago*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
Simon, J. (2007). Rise of the carceral state. *Social Research, 74*(2), 471–508.
Smith, L. T. (2012). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (2nd ed.). London: Zoe Books.
Speer, J. (2018). The rise of the tent ward: Homeless camps in the era of mass incarceration. *Political Geography, 62*, 160–169.
Stanford Law School. (2025). Three strikes basics. Retrieved from https://law.stanford.edu/three-strikes-project/three-strikes-basics. (Accessed 1 July 2025).
Tanner, M. (2021). *Cato's project on poverty and inequality in California*. Cato Institute. https://cato.org/sites/cato.org/files/2021-10/California%20Project%20Final%20Report.pdf. (Accessed 1 July 2025).
The Sentencing Project. (2024). *Mass incarceration trends*. Retrieved from https://sentencingproject.org/reports/mass-incarceration-trends. (Accessed 1 July 2025).
The Urban Institute. (2023). *Criminal justice expenditures: Police, corrections, and courts*. https://urban.org/policy-centers/cross-center-initiatives/state-and-local-finance-initiative/state-and-local-backgrounders/criminal-justice-police-corrections-courts-expenditures. (Accessed 1 July 2025).
Thorman, T., Payares-Montoya, D., & Herrera, J. (2025). *Income inequality in California*. Public Policy Institute of California. https://ppic.org/publication/income-inequality-in-california. (Accessed 1 July 2025).
Tillman, K. (2023). Carceral liberalism: The coloniality and antiblackness of coercive benevolence. *Social Problems, 70*(3), 635–649.
United States Census Bureau. (2020). *QuickFacts: Sacramento city, California*. Retrieved from census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/sacramentocitycalifornia . (Accessed 1 July 2025).
Vera Institute. (2021). California: The state of incarceration, Sacramento. https://vera.org/california-state-of-incarceration/fact_sheets/Sacramento_County_fact_sheet.pdf. (Accessed 1 July 2025).
Vera Institute. (2023). California: The state of incarceration. https://vera.org/california-state-of-incarceration. (Accessed 1 July 2025).
Vilenica, A., McElroy, E., Lancione, M., & Thompson, S. (2022). Editorial: Carcerality, housing precarity, and abolition. *Radical Housing Journal, 4*(1), 1–8.
Wall, T. (2020). The police invention of humanity: Notes on the "thin blue line.". *Crime, Media, Culture, 16*(3), 319–336.
Weber, L. (2024). Maintaining Portland's "progressive dystopia": Housing, carcerality, and the real estate state. *Urban Geography, 45*(9), 1575–1595.
Wiley, H. (2023). The fight to limit solitary confinement in California prisons is set to roil Sacramento again. *The Los Angeles Times*. https://latimes.com/california/story/2023-04-20/solitary-confinement-segregated-gavin-newsom-california-prison-jail-torture-safety. (Accessed 1 December 2025).
Wooten, T. (2023). Shelter abolition and housing first: Rethinking dominant discourses on homeless management. *Polity, 55*(4), 673–683.
Zhu, L., Burinskiy, E., De La Roca, J., Green, R. K., & Boarnet, M. G. (2021). Los angeles' housing crisis and local planning responses: An evaluation of inclusionary zoning and the transit-oriented communities plan as policy solutions in Los Angeles. *Cityscape: A Journal of Policy Development and Research, 23*(1), 133–160.