

PERFORMANCE ENHANCING DRUGS: HOW PASSIVE ETHNOCENTRIC DOMICILISM CONTRIBUTES TO POLICE VIOLENCE IN URBAN GHETTOS

Andrew Martin[†]

The Majority of them...are black in color and have flat noses and woolly hair. As for their spirit, they are entirely savage and display the nature of a wild beast...and are as far removed as possible from human kindness to one another; and speaking as they do with a shrill voice and cultivating none of the practices of civilized life as these are found among the rest of mankind, they present a striking contrast when considered in light of our own customs.

—Diodorus Siculus, Greek Historian

Cumming [sic] district is a disgusting, rat and rodent infested mess. If he spent more time in Baltimore, maybe he could help clean up this very dangerous and disgusting place.

—Donald J. Trump

When you guys put somebody in the car and you're protecting their head, you know, the way you put their hand over, like, don't hit their head and they've just killed somebody. Don't hit their head. I said, you can take the hand away, okay?

—Donald J. Trump

The Endurance of Ethnocentrism

One need only to look to the words of the President to understand the plausibility of domicile as an influence on police violence. In July of 2019, President Trump tweeted about Baltimore, describing it as a “rat and rodent infested mess,” and very “dangerous and disgusting place” (Kimball, 2020). Trump has also held a number of police and military rallies, at which he has praised law enforcement for the work they do, particularly arresting criminals. In July of 2017, Trump urged

the police to “please don’t be too nice” when handling individuals that they’ve arrested, advising them not to protect their heads when lowering them into police vehicles (Swanson, 2020). It was this same lack of police care that led to the death of Freddie Gray. Degenerated infrastructure can certainly exacerbate these instances of police violence.

But while pairing Trump’s degrading comments about Baltimore with his encouragement of police violence is cause for concern, this is far from new. Negative stereotypes and stigma surrounding majority black, urban neighborhoods have persisted within the lexicon of the United States’ sociocultural view for generations. Consistently, areas with higher numbers of minorities are the same areas in which police presence and action is most prevalent (Elegan and Nolan, 2016). This presence stems not only from media portrayals of what life in such neighborhoods entails, but also from the deeply engrained sociocultural frames with which we view the individuals that live in those neighborhoods. Historically, the attempt to render Black people and people of color the ‘other’ is by no means new, and has taken on a variety of forms. One of its most prevalent forms used to accomplish this has been ethnocentrism, as seen with Diodorus Siculus’ descriptions of Ethiopians as lacking the practices of civilized life. This description was based solely on the basis of their difference from Western, particularly Greek, culture (George, 1958, p. 63). In the example provided above, Diodorus defines black bodies based on their difference from Western culture and aesthetics, writing that they presented a striking contrast from the rest of the world, “in light of our [Europeans] culture”. The phrase “in light of our own customs” is essential to recognizing the function of this quote in relation to the European worldview, as it implicitly assumes the validity of Western customs and culture, and further associates those that stray from the European standard with primitivity. For the sake of clarity, Ethnocentrism in this article is to be defined as the critical evaluation of another culture via the norms of one’s own. Further, culture thus refers to the values and norms of a specified group. The understanding of modern racism provided by

[†] J.D. 2024, The Ohio State University Moritz College of Law; B.A. 2021, Gettysburg College. The author would like to thank...

Cornel West in his “A Genealogy of Modern Racism” illuminates that such ethnocentrism eventually undergirded the developments in the early Western sciences of phrenology, which compared the skulls and facial makeup of Black and White individuals. These findings were later extended to reflect that a beautiful body and soul were inseparable, with White bodies occupying the ‘beautiful’ end of that crafted spectrum (West, 2003, p. 58). Here, ethnocentrism was among the first steps in producing a primitive view of black bodies. The ethnocentricity of this view comes in what West terms the ‘Normative Gaze,’ by which Europeans could compare observations and establish not only physical-proportional norms, but also cultural evaluations related to moderation and harmony. West notably points to the observations made by German Renaissance scientist Paracelsus, who believed that Black and primitive peoples had an origin that was different from Europeans.

This same logic would be later used to justify the enslavement of black bodies, as the Catholic church condoned the enslavement of Black bodies, creating the image of the “black savage” that would permeate deeply the Western view of black individuals. Repeatedly, the image of the “black savage” has arisen in connection to not only the actions of some Black individuals, but the ways of Black culture and life, continuing into the contemporary world. Former president Richard Nixon is on record as saying that Black people live like dogs (Audio Gallery | Richard Nixon Museum and Library, 2020). Similar rhetoric was employed by president Ronald Reagan who, when following the United Nation’s vote to recognize the People’s Republic of China in 1971, attacked representatives of African countries, saying, “To see those, those monkeys from those African countries—damn them, they’re still uncomfortable wearing shoes!” (Naftali, 2019). Such quotes from former leaders of the United States emphasize the chasm that has existed between White citizens and their Black counterparts. For Calvin John Smiley and David Fakunle, it is this image of savagery that has contributed to much of violence perpetrated on Black bodies. In *From “brute” to “thug”: the demonization and criminalization of unarmed Black male victims in America*, Smiley and Fakunle argue that the image of the “black brute”, originating in racist accounts of black individuals, has since been translated into the image of the Black thug, and has ultimately resulted in the demonization of black

individuals in media narratives (Smiley and Fakunle, 2017). Beginning with the ethnocentric view of African life and culture as primitive and continuing to the unfavorable view of African Americans as criminals, this sociocultural chasm has prevailed despite views to the contrary.

As time has progressed, the number of those who believe that we live in a post-racial society has increased, and color-blind rhetoric has no doubt taken root in modern American discourse. Michelle Alexander’s *The New Jim Crow* addresses this rhetoric, exposing the explicit systems in place that invalidate discussions of racial oppression in America: “Forms of race discrimination that were open and notorious for centuries were transformed in the 1960s and 1970s into something un-American – an affront to our newly conceived ethic of colorblindness” (Alexander, 2012, p. 48) As Alexander points to, the explicit discussion of racism as an existing form of oppression is extensively avoided within formal political discourse. There has now emerged a willingness to dismiss racism as being in the past, the increasing assumption being that the ability for upward mobility is not impacted by race. The average citizen and politician alike would cringe at overt racism, and yet, racist institutions, black oppression, and police-related deaths persist. Like Alexander, a wide array of political thinkers have effectively captured the explicitly racist nature of the United States’ political institutions, as well as the racist dispositions of those behind them: Reagan and Nixon are both examples of such explicit performances of racism, which can be viewed in combination with the oppressive systems that they promoted: the War on Drugs. Even more so, the work of Smiley and Fakunle specifically capture the translation of early ethnocentrism into personas that are projected onto the Black individuals so commonly the victims of police violence. However, the works of Alexander, Smiley and Fakunle are limited in their address of what are active forms of racism under the guise of colorblind rhetoric. Both mass incarceration and the demonization of Black individuals in media narratives have occurred under this same sentiment. I argue here that in addition to the active barriers leading to the oppression of Black people – namely their murder and high rate of arrest at the hands of police officers – there are also passive biases that contribute to said oppression. Much of the implicit racial biases that exist today have their roots in ethnocentrism,

centered around the view of black bodies as alien to one's culture and society – the other. More explicitly, such implicit biases come out in the form of police work, and often result in harm to black individuals.

As I have outlined above, ethnocentrism has been a central feature of the Western and American view since before the inception of the United States, and following its development. It would contribute little to our understanding of how racism functions in the relationship between black urbanites and police officers to simply illuminate the already identified fact that subconscious biases function in our everyday interactions. Rather, I suggest that in addition to these widely unacknowledged sociocultural biases regarding race on both an individual and collective basis, such passive biases also function in relation to domicile. That is, where an individual lives might enable a police officer's willingness to employ force, a mode of behavior that is influenced by what I will hereon refer to as passive ethnocentric domicilism (PED). PED, although an elusive subject operating on the subterranean level of our consciousness, can be best explained as a subconscious bias against urbanites that stems from a history of ethnocentrism, and is itself predicated on ethnocentrism.

It should be reiterated that the chasm created by early manifestations of ethnocentrism has not been closed, but widened and maintained; post-racial understandings of the world have merely altered how such ethnocentrism is manifests itself in the world that surrounds us. Repeated generations of ethnocentric sociocultural values have deeply engrained that chasm between White and Black Americans, to the extent that PED has worked alongside the most overt forms of racism to only widen it. Thus, urban neighborhoods – particularly those lacking in the proper infrastructure – are consistently associated with Black primitivity and crime. Such associations function to create not only an unfavorable view of Black individuals, but also a seeming inability to recognize Black urbanites as fellow citizens. Moreover, I will argue that neoconservative and neoliberal rhetoric condemning Black protest and criticizing Black neighborhoods, juxtaposed with

the call for increased police presence and use of force, contributes to and affirms the biases present in PED, and further encourages police use of force in urban neighborhoods.¹

This consideration of PED will thus depend on an exploration of the active modes of racism in order to better understand the passive as its product. In the remainder of this article, I illustrate how the American dream functions as a way of further entrenching PED. I will then turn to research on issues of urban neglect and social infrastructure in order to better illustrate how these phenomena contribute to negative, primitive views of black urbanites, transposing Rob Nixon's vernacular and official landscapes as a way of grasping state PED action. I will apply these principles to the city of Baltimore, Maryland, which has been confronted extensively not only with issues of police violence, but also with a serious presence of neglected and destroyed infrastructure. Baltimore's lack of quality infrastructure in many of its neighborhoods sets the scene for passive biases to become active. The argument that will hereon be presented is thus as follows: the passive presence of ethnocentric domicilism in American society is a contributing factor to police violence in black, underprivileged urban neighborhoods throughout the United States, namely Baltimore, Maryland. This PED has the potential to play a pivotal role in police encounters in impoverished urban neighborhoods because urban neglect and deteriorated infrastructure have contributed to seemingly unlivable conditions, the result of which is a critical white eye cast upon black urbanites from the distant suburbs, as the contrasting realities of the suburbs and urban ghettos is mutually ungraspable for those who live in them. What emerges out of this exploration of PED is thus the importance in improving infrastructure as an essential means of combating police violence in America, as well as a theoretical understanding of domicile as a major source of our most basic assumptions about the groups that tend to live there, and therefore as having a "performance enhancing" effect on police violence in urban neighborhoods. To alter the assumptions that arise out of this work will require altering the landscape out of which they arise.

1. For the sake of clarity, the use of the terms 'force' and 'violence' when used to refer to police behavior will be synonymous, denoting not only brute violence that

results in the physical harm and death of Black individuals on a regular basis, but also physical arrest and detention of individuals.

The “Dream” As the Distinction

The realities of the impoverished Black urbanite and the child of white suburbia are seemingly two different worlds. The white child of suburbia tells dad about the broken window, and by the end of the day the window is fixed. The child climbs warmly into bed. The Black urbanite wraps herself tighter under her blanket in hopes that soon the Housing Authority might send someone to fix the drafty, broken window that is letting in the cold of Winter. The suburban child walks their dog to the park; the Black urbanite plays on the cracked, crumbling sidewalks outside the abandoned building next door. The suburban child greets the officer with a smile; the black urbanite goes inside, for fear that gunshots might soon break out. In one reality, a phone call fixes the broken window. The presence of a police officer is a comforting feeling. In the other, there is no guarantee that the broken window will be fixed, and the intimidating presence of a police officer triggers anxiety and unwarranted paranoia. And yet while these two very different and equally contingent realities exist for children of two different backgrounds, the former will go about life as normal. The latter will be under the critical sociocultural eye, associated with negative stereotypes and stigma because of the place they live. The provided hypothetical is only one example of the drastic differences in domicile that exist between urbanites and suburbanites. Ta-Nehisi Coates’ *Between the World and Me* captures the difference in reality here described, noting that the possibility of a suburban reality is not possible for many, if not most, Black Americans:

I have seen that dream all my life. It is perfect houses with nice lawns. It is Memorial Day cookouts, block associations, and driveways...And for so long I have wanted to escape into the dream, to fold my country over my head like a blanket. But this has never been an option because the dream rests on our backs, the bedding made from our bodies (Coates, 2015, pp. 10-11).

Coates herein makes a strong distinction between white and black realities, but also importantly highlights the fact that the Dream—the American Dream—is not a possibility because it is built on the backs of black Americans.

Although the purpose of Coates’ assertion in this statement is to point to the institutions of oppression that have placed black lives in

precarious positions, it also lends well to a discussion of the role of how infrastructure contributes to passive ethnocentric domicilism. In applying Coates’ statement that the Dream rests on the backs of Black individuals to PED, it is most important to recognize that the Dream has always been defined as much by what it is not as what it is. What the American Dream is, is the ability to earn the life one desires through hard work: the house with the picket fence, the happy family (a father, mother, son and daughter), and the dog can all be attained through one’s ability to work hard, according to the American Dream. Thus, what it is not is broken windows, cracked sidewalks, and condemned buildings. It is not those that can’t afford to fix these issues, whether they are working full-time to support their family, or those neglected by the housing authority. It thus implies that those living in these conditions simply are not doing enough to solve the problem, and further, through an ethnocentric lens, that they are primitive.

While the realities of the wealthy suburbanite and the impoverished urbanite are drastically different, these two different realities inevitably collide, during which neglect and carelessness is cast upon impoverished neighborhoods. Every Fall, college students from around the country descend on their respective colleges and universities, many of which are situated in urban settings. The majority of college students come from the suburbs (Cox, 2019), and most of them are white Americans. Nationally, over 50 percent of college students were white in 2018, more than double the percentage of any other group (US Census, 2018). In Philadelphia’s Temple University, this trend follows: 54 percent of students at Temple are white (Temple University, 2019). Thus, Temple is a majority white university situated in the center of a majority black city. The neighborhoods of the University’s off campus housing are littered with trash debris, broken down furniture and belongings, causing Philadelphia’s urban neighborhoods to appear even worse than they are. However, this blatant negligence on the part of college students is not reflected on themselves in the public eye, but rather the city’s citizens.

Stimulants: State-influenced Primitivity

Coates captures the implications of what has contributed to the creation of these starkly different realities that have made the American Dream one that inherently excludes Black individuals from the narrative—and much of it has to do with domicile.

Coates makes visible the harmful role of 20th century home buyers' contracts and redlining in establishing the 'housing chasm' that can be so easily observed in American neighborhoods today. Using Chicago's North Lawndale neighborhoods as his example, Coates illustrates that housing contract sellers, who intimidated white homeowners into selling their houses for cheap, tricked black home buyers into buying houses for values far more expensive than their value, and conned them out of their home and money with unaffordable fees and stipulations that often led to the forfeiting of their housing deposits as well as their eviction (Coates, 2017, pp. 167-170). The government response that was implemented was the creation of the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) which was supposed to provide private mortgages, but this effort also widened the housing chasm. The use of redlining by the FHA to implement insured mortgages meant that neighborhoods were rated according to a variety of factors that included their racial demographics: neighborhoods that were whiter received more eligibility, those that were blacker were more likely to be ineligible. Coates thus notes that as contract sellers became richer, North Lawndale turned into a ghetto.

For example, Coates directs our attention to the fact that Cook County Juvenile Temporary Detention Center lies adjacent to North Lawndale (Coates, 2017, p.172). This is an essential juxtaposition to make in understanding how PED appears to have been manifested in North Lawndale. It was and has remained an impoverished area of Chicago, and that poverty is reflected in its infrastructure. Google searches consisting solely of the words "North Lawndale" will render images of a neighborhood comprised of broken windows and boarded doorways (Schalliol, 2012). When the connection between the location of such Detention Centers and neighborhoods like the one here described are drawn, PED is more easily grasped. To strengthen this point further, recalling Alexander's colorblind rhetoric is pertinent here. Throughout much of the 20th century, racism in the form of Jim Crow, contract selling, and white flight were more blatant, meaning that passive ethnocentric domicilism did not exist to the same extent that it exists today. As the shift from explicit to implicit racism has taken place in the transition to the 21st century, PED has become the place for ethnocentrism, and therefore racism

to lay dormant. Active forms of racism turned to critiques of black culture and life that were behind the guise of the colorblind, moving toward one that recognized deteriorated infrastructure as a result of primitive lifestyles and a failure of lower class black Americans to work themselves out of poverty. Here, contract selling and redlining were among those forces that implemented a distinction between white and black, suburban and urban lifestyles that we see in the contemporary world (Coates, 2017, p. 173).

The sources that have been the primary cause of these starkly different worlds are endless. Redlining, vacant housing, urban planning, and white flight among numerous others. However, once the violent reality of Black individuals in deteriorated urban spaces was normalized, there have been additional factors that have acted not only to preserve this reality, but also to re-manifest ethnocentrism in the form that it has been herein referred—passive ethnocentric domicilism. William Connolly's *Facing the Planetary* dedicates a small portion of its discussion to the topic of urban neglect, noting that on repeated occasions, poor urban communities are those that have and will continue to bear the brunt of the impact borne by the eco crisis, and remain unsolved by urban neglect. Using Flint, Michigan as his example, Connolly indicates a dismal record of eco damage in urban neighborhoods (Connolly, 2017, pp. 152-153). The failure to address these issues has often been the result of a failure to properly acknowledge their cause. While it cannot be asserted that climate change is the direct cause of any one natural disaster, it is adequately supported that climate change can and has made such natural disasters more prevalent (Slettebak, 2012, p. 164). With this knowledge, it is also evident that those in poor urban neighborhoods are more likely to be on the losing end of these disasters. In the case of Flint, the prolonged neglect of a serious response by the Government in Flint eventually meant that it was too late to solve the issue simply. Rather, the toxic water in Flint remains toxic, and its people suffer. It is these same forms of neglect that can also leave Black individuals living in and among destroyed infrastructure. This example of neglect toward a majority minority community is evidence of PED in that it serves as a means for those outside of Flint to articulate who is supposed to matter, and who does not.

To better articulate how state action or neglect—such as that in Flint, redlining in North Lawndale, and the examples that will follow—function to enable PED, an extension of Rob Nixon’s distinction between a vernacular and official landscape is pertinent here. In *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor*, Nixon writes that a vernacular landscape “is shaped by the affective, historically textured maps that communities have devised over generations...integral to the socioenvironmental dynamics of the community...” (Nixon, 2011, p. 17). In contrast, Nixon defines an official landscape as those landscapes that are governmental, oblivious to vernacular landscapes and extraction driven (Nixon, 2011, p. 17). While Nixon’s discussion in the context of his book is primarily the environmentalism of the poor in the global south, the United States is too a place that is comprised of both official and vernacular landscapes. However, the degenerated infrastructure of many of our urban neighborhoods and ghettos can make it increasingly difficult to establish a vernacular landscape. When, as Nixon notes, official landscapes are imposed on these vernacular landscapes, the former acts oblivious to the status of the latter. The convenient location of North Lawndale’s juvenile prison is a prime example. In the age of Mass Incarceration and the prison industrial complex, the location of such a detention center *is* extraction driven. In the peace of suburbia such a vernacular landscape is able to exist, and therefore the lack of a vernacular landscape elsewhere can seem foreign. It is differences such as these that undergird PED.

Lester Spence’s *Knocking the Hustle: Against the Neoliberal Turn in Black Politics* considers the impact of neoliberal ideals and tactics on urban spaces, and points us toward Connolly’s point, which is that urbanites are too often left to deal with the repercussions of natural disasters and the like. Maintaining the theme of eco disaster, Spence’s discussion of the neoliberalist response to Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans more importantly sheds light on PED indirectly. He explains that following Katrina, political elites opted to attempt to gut public housing in exchange for subcontracting projects to private companies, the result of which was a greater amount of poverty and debt for New Orleans. This poverty and debt were further exacerbated by the portrayal of New Orleans following Katrina:

As New Orleans and Detroit’s population became (and was increasingly depicted as) poorer and blacker, the attitudes of whites became more and more antagonistic...When Katrina hit New Orleans, and when Detroit’s fiscal straits became clear, the last thing people wanted to think about was the potential that government could actually solve the problems the cities faced (Spence, 2015, 48).

Here, Spence valuably emphasizes the shift in attitude toward New Orleans as it became both poorer and blacker: no doubt, the emphasis of such a distinction allows us to grasp the possibility that an ethnocentric chasm could have been widened here. Following Katrina, New Orleans, a city historically plagued by largely segregated housing, had an opportunity to bridge the gap between Black and white residents. However, as the privately contracted rebuilding came and went, such segregation in housing has only seemed to grow, in combination with income inequality (McLendon, 2014). This can largely be owed to federal and state-run programs like the Road Home program, which based grants on the pre-storm value of the home (Perry, 2014). This meant that the inequality in housing that existed beforehand would be maintained. Additionally, tourism efforts have taken the effect of mitigating the opportunity for upward mobility by New Orleans citizens, and promoting narratives with negative assumptions about Black individuals (Thomas, 2009, 749).

It is no wonder then, that the deeply entrenched ethnocentric chasm would remain in New Orleans in the form of wealth, but also in that of domicile. Spence’s point that critical attitudes toward New Orleans both internally and externally became more prevalent is suggestive of why blacks in urban New Orleans might be more prone to police violence. During the era of Hurricane Katrina there were numerous instances of police violence, including shootings of innocent individuals walking across Danziger Bridge in New Orleans (Burnett, 2016). Here, the victims of this police violence were *without* domicile – that is, they had lost it. In the wake of destruction following the hurricane, it can be speculated that police officers felt enabled to employ violence, but I argue that the destructed infrastructure played a significant role in the officer’s perception of their action. On the same token, officers may be more prone to

authorize the use of force in urban areas with poor infrastructure.

While the eco crisis and its influence on domicile in the case of New Orleans is a valuable example of one-way passive ethnocentric domicilism might function, my focus here is not to dwell on those urban issues caused by the eco crisis—but rather to discuss the larger implications of urban neglect, and how its impact on infrastructure can contribute to police violence in urban neighborhoods. Spence's discussion of black people in urban spaces is not limited only to spaces like New Orleans torn apart by natural disasters. He also acknowledges that the common response to urban issues is policing, despite their ability to be solved otherwise. Focusing on how then mayor Michael Nutter approached issues of black crime, Spence juxtaposes the fact that poor Philadelphia neighborhoods were in need of budget assistance – specifically Parks and Recreation, as well as neighborhood construction – with what his actual answer was, which was greater policing both in the form of volunteers and trained and armed officers (Spence, 2015, 39). Here, Spence clarifies that even a Black mayor could wrongly address the issues of his own people with greater policing. Thus, it is more plausible to now suggest that Black elites, in addition to white suburbanites and elites, are susceptible to the influences of passive ethnocentric domicilism as well. Black citizens that have gone on to live outside of America's impoverished neighborhoods or may not have grown up in the context of urban poverty can be desensitized to the forces of oppression creating impoverished conditions, and are therefore plagued by PED to the same extent as others. However, black citizens that have escaped poverty do not indicate a lack of "blackness," in that they very likely still care for their black community, but the context of their success renders them blind to the sources of oppression that they succeeded in avoiding particularly those sources of infrastructural inequality.

PED traffics on a subterranean institutional level, on the very edge of our perception of it. In many major cities of America, downtown areas are gentrified and kept attractive to visitors, while impoverished ghettos line its outskirts. The same is the presence of PED in the mind. Spence writes that, "because the issue is primarily one of twofold black irresponsibility—the black children were being irresponsible in embarrassing the race, black

parents were being irresponsible in raising those children—he explicitly speaks to and punishes black communities" (Spence, 2015, 44). In this example, Spence shows that Black crime is reflected back on the entirety of the Black population in Philadelphia, creating an image of irresponsibility when compared with the "acceptable" form of behavior that is inherently understood to be white behavior. This distinction in behavior is indeed ethnocentric, and the increase in policing in Philadelphia can be understood as a product of that.

Philadelphia's slashing to their budgets in social infrastructure and construction is herein detrimental to the infrastructure of Philadelphia neighborhoods and those that live there, but too opens a window for ethnocentrism to grow. Because infrastructure and neighborhoods are invariably tied up in the critiques of black life and behavior, attempting to accommodate such issues as community crime and the like with increased surveillance and policing closes the opportunity for true community cohesion, and that for passive ethnocentric domicilism to turn active, particularly in police duty, becomes a reality. Such an idea is represented in Eric Klinenberg's *Palaces for the People*, in which explores the impacts of infrastructure on social cohesion and crime in urban spaces. In it, Klinenberg suggests that maintaining well-developed infrastructure that both facilitates community engagement and social cohesion could mitigate crime in such spaces. Using the St. Louis Pruitt-Igo housing project that lasted from the 1950s to the 1970s as his example, Klinenberg zooms in on the distinction that existed between private and public spaces, highlighting the fact that most semi-private and private spaces were kept clean and organized, while those that were meant to be for public use – garbage, laundry and communal areas – were heavily vandalized and littered with trash (Klinenberg, 2018, pp. 55-66). The Pruitt-Igo complex was further characterized by high instances of violent crime and drug dealing in the area, but these issues did not exist within the nearly demographically identical Carr Square Village that neighbored Pruitt-Igo. The difference that Klinenberg emphasized was that of infrastructure, notably the difference in availability in private spaces, as well as green spaces. The neighborhood that received the greater investment ended up with the greater social cohesion, and fewer instances of crime.

Social Infrastructure through a New Frame

Klinenberg's discussion of infrastructure suggests that the significance of improved infrastructure is a reduction in crime perpetrated by those living in the area: "crime control measures are unlikely to work if they are designed to target individual offenders. Instead, crime is best managed, 'through the manipulation of the environments in which crimes occur.'" In addition to the validity of this assertion, improvements in social infrastructure can be extended the opposite direction as it relates to police officers. Rather than mitigate the perpetration of crimes by neighborhood criminals, a strong, improved form of infrastructure that is highly invested in might also mitigate the potential of police violence in these neighborhoods. If a lack of strongly managed and maintained infrastructure could allow for greater instances of crime, it follows that such a lack of adequate infrastructure could lay the grounds for increased police violence: a crime equal to any of those perpetrated by neighborhood criminals. As it relates to passive ethnocentric domicilism, greater investments in improved infrastructure that benefit and facilitate greater community cohesion might work to close the chasm discussed earlier. If police personnel are operating in neighborhoods not so different from their own, they would be less likely to employ force on urban neighborhoods, as they are more likely to see a world to which they can relate, and less likely to understand these neighborhoods and those that live there as being fundamentally different from themselves.

As aforementioned, PED has the effect of rendering others as something less than the self, owing to the fact that stark differences in infrastructure influence and alter our assumptions and perceptions about who lives there, and the kind of people that live there. It is this effect that makes regularized performances of police violence plausible. It is now clear how passive ethnocentric domicilism has risen, and how it is maintained in our current standards of rhetoric. What remains unclarified is the specificity of how passive ethnocentric domicilism functions to allow for police violence to occur in impoverished urban neighborhoods. In other words, how PED results in the rendering of an image of the other that is less than the self—less than human. Judith Butler's conceptualization of *Frames of Warfare* effectively parallels the impacts of PED. In her *Frames of Warfare*, Butler argues that we view the world

through politically saturated ontological standpoints that determine those lives that are grievable losses and those that are not (Butler, 2009, p. 13). For Butler, this is primarily a concern in warfare, in which those who are made to be perceived as a threat to life are therefore not grievable losses, as with Guantanamo Bay and Abu Ghraib. Applied to passive ethnocentric domicilism, Butler's point is still valid. Our frames of recognizability—through which we are able to determine those lives that are worth grieving—are politically saturated, in that those who live in impoverished urban neighborhoods are taken to be in those conditions as a result of their backward living. Moreover, media narratives associate impoverished urban neighborhoods with danger, or a threat to life. Viewed in this way, impoverished urban neighborhoods are a perceived threat by both ordinary citizens and police officers alike. Therefore, as police personnel operate in these neighborhoods, they do not understand those living there to be precarious and grievable lives like their own, but rather, seek to neutralize what they see as a threat.

The normative component of Butler's argument calls for a new bodily ontology that more widely recognizes the human body as being socially constructed and influenced by various contingencies that can impact one's precarity (Butler, 2009, p. 32). Part of fighting the influences of PED will too entail expanding frames of recognizability in order to understand the socially constructed nature of much of the urban infrastructural realities that exist today. My point in highlighting Butler's normative component, however, is to serve as a way of understanding just how far our reality is from this goal. The impacts of PED provide evidence of the maldistribution of precariousness, and we can see and understand this maldistribution in the examples provided above. The degrading view of the other that is characteristic of PED no doubt contributes to many of the detrimental actions of minority communities that stem from assumptions about which lives are grievable and precarious, and those that are not. While one end the spectrum—that which is ideal—is comprised of expanded frames of recognizeability through which impoverished black urbanites are grievable losses, there is another (the one that contains our reality) that does not view black people to be grievable losses at all. Sylvia Wynter's "No Humans Involved: An Open Letter

to My Colleagues” addresses the epistemological viewpoints that have contributed to a view of black people as lower in the hierarchy of humanness (Wynter, 1994, p. 43). The essay’s primary example is the Los Angeles public officials’ use of the acronym N.H.I. (No Humans Involved) to refer to jobless black males living in impoverished urban neighborhoods. Wynter’s argument more broadly centers around the use of this acronym as being a result of our episteme that arranges black individuals behind white individuals evolutionarily. But while her argument is not aimed directly at the issue of domicile, she captures the essence of what is necessary to understand how PED functions:

it is only on the basis of the classificatory logic of our present Humanities and Social Sciences...that we can be induced to see all those outside our present “sancitized universe of obligation,” whether as racial or as jobless or as Other, as having been placed in their inferiorized status, *not* by our culture-specific institutional mechanisms but rather by the extra-human ordering of bio-evolutionary natural selection (Wynter, 1994, 67).

Wynter’s proposal provides insight in that it places emphasis on the distorted view of our current episteme in comparison to what reality is. Our understanding of inferiorized status is one that places emphasis on the bio-evolutionary, meaning that, as Wynter suggests, one can be seen as more or less human through this lens, and it is attributed to something natural. However, reality tells us that it is not a product of natural selection, but is rather that of our own institutional mechanisms that function to create and maintain disparate conditions for two groups, and then critique their conditions as the result of their own lifestyle and behavior instead those sources that actually created them.

In relation to PED, the distortion is predicated on an idea analogous to bio-evolutionary natural selection, which is whether how someone lives is primitive or acceptable. This is gauged in this context through the infrastructure of urban neighborhoods. Thus, the reality, as I have shown already, is that our culture-specific institutional mechanisms, as Wynter puts them, have created and maintained a difference in infrastructural quality, as well as a difference in what it means to live in the suburbs versus poor urban neighborhoods. It is the presence of acronyms such

as N.H.I. that provide a window for us to better understand the racial-cultural view of black male urbanites without jobs.

As much as any other place in the United States, Baltimore is a place strongly impacted by PED. On repeated occasions Baltimore has fallen victim to the lethal impacts of our culture-specific institutions that have relegated black people to an inferiorized status characterized by poor infrastructure. The chasm between black urbanites and white suburbanites is wide as ever. When these worlds collide in the form of police work, it is to the detriment of Baltimore’s poorest, blackest, citizens. These people also occupy the city’s worst infrastructure. Baltimore is therefore key in understanding how the presence of poor urban infrastructure and their neglect in light of other issues works to sustain PED and therefore influence the prevalence of police violence in these neighborhoods.

Baltimore:

Infrastructural Ruins, Inferiorized Citizenry

Like Chicago’s North Lawndale, Baltimore was also impacted by redlining during the 20th century. In 1910, a Baltimore ordinance segregated black and white neighborhoods, making it illegal for black people to live in a white neighborhood (Kuthy, 2017). With the establishment of the Federal Housing Authority in 1934 (Coates, 2017, p. 170), the segregated nature of Baltimore neighborhoods was primed for the harsh impacts of redlining. Again, like North Lawndale, Baltimore’s black neighborhoods were deemed areas that were not desirable for insured mortgages by the FHA. This failure to attain mortgages and bring in home ownership later transitioned into a lack of investment in those areas, and their continued poverty and neglect (Coates, 2017, pp. 170-171). The contrasting realities that exist within Baltimore can here be partially attributed to the impacts of redlining in creating a segregated Baltimore: strong infrastructure and development in some neighborhoods, and weak infrastructure and development in others.

It is this difference in milieu that has allowed PED to become so entrenched in Baltimore. With the advent and implementation of police body cameras, many have hope that police violence in Baltimore will cease to be. This cannot be the case in contexts where police are operating among those they tend to view so differently from themselves. PED functions within our most basic cultural

assumptions and expectations about who plays what role. When we imagine where a “thug” or a “criminal” lives, the image conjured within our minds is never suburban. Instead, the image is generally urban, and not simply urban, but urban ghettos. Redlining is among the forces that helped to deeply entrench PED and create these assumptions. Coates’ point that “the Dream rests on our backs” is here illustrated by the fact that white suburban realities exist because of the subjugation of black neighborhoods to institutional barriers like Redlining. The American Dream is thus simultaneously the black Nightmare. The physical dimensions of PED are thus manifested in Baltimore’s racially segregated and infrastructurally distinct neighborhoods.

However, while redlining created the disparate realities between West Baltimore and those highly invested in areas, there are continued racialized barriers meant to keep these populations both separate and distinct. Baltimore has experienced severe housing blight with 16,000 vacant properties (American Banker, 2019). As with redlining, the development is taking place outside of the most impoverished parts of Baltimore: the broken-down infrastructure that led to much of the vacant housing remains unaddressed. It is this same urban blight that is a major contributor to a variety of other issues faced in impoverished Baltimore neighborhoods: unemployment, low property values, crime, and health issues, among others. In the American Banker podcast “Nobody’s Home,” John Heltman argues that the word “housing blight,” used to refer to the issue of vacant housing in places like Baltimore, connotes a place that is diseased and needs to be cleansed. Heltman goes on to refute this term by highlighting that real people with real concerns live there. His indication of what the word connotes is important nonetheless because it provides insight to the view of impoverished communities, particularly relating to housing and infrastructure in this example. Here Wynter’s point on the N.H.I. acronym as a means of dehumanizing black jobless males can be transposed. Acronyms such as that are invariably tied up with the issue of infrastructure. Similar, demeaning assumptions are made about the black and jobless as are made about those who occupy urban ghettos. With deteriorated infrastructure, those metrics laid out above that so largely influence the acceptability of the black citizen are also influenced. PED is not only influenced by

other issues of race, but it is also the enzyme that can catalyze violent interactions between the police and citizens.

The demographics of Baltimore police resemble the trend that would be ideal for PED to flourish. In Baltimore City, only 28% of the population is white, and 63% are African Americans (Wood, 2019). In Baltimore’s police force, however, 45% are white, compared with the 40% of black officers in Baltimore City (Wood, 2019). As a county-wide issue the number of white police officers increases to 80% (Wood, 2019). This is essential in illustrating the image of what policing in Baltimore looks like. While all people are susceptible to and influenced by PED in their daily interactions, distinctions in race exacerbate its effects, owing to the long history of ethnocentrism that has been invariably tied up with race. Here we see that in Baltimore it is most common for white officers to police black neighborhoods. In further fleshing out the point that Baltimore’s police force is a contributing factor to the plausibility of PED, it is perhaps more important to note that under 20 percent of all Baltimore City police officers actually live in Baltimore City (King, 2015). As is suggested by PED, those who plagued by PED occupy a world different from the black urbanite. Based on these facts, Baltimore City’s white police officers do occupy a world different than the urban individuals that it is their job to constantly surveil and police. They do not go to sleep in neighborhoods that are beaten down to the point that many buildings are uninhabitable. They do not have to worry about the places that their kids play. They are not desensitized to the sounds of gun shots through the night. As Baltimore’s white suburban officers work in Baltimore’s ghettos, they do so engrained with the cultural ethnocentric influences that have told them in repeated forms that those who live there are primitive. Their lack of a job, the color of their skin, and the look of their infrastructure. It is the visual appearance of a neighborhood, excluding its racial composition and those who are unemployed, that triggers negative, dehumanizing assumptions about those who live there. Thus, PED is an influencer in Baltimore under these circumstances because it is equally possible that a police officer sees worn down domicile and infrastructure before they see the brown-skinned individuals that live there.

When a mostly white police force from the suburbs is employed to operate in a city with

neighborhoods that look like they are from a dystopian novel—empty window frames, greenery growing through the cracks in the sidewalks, abandoned properties, and broken steps—it is natural for concern to arise surrounding whether or not those police officers have a proper view or understanding of the individuals they are supposed to “serve” on a daily basis. This concern however can be exacerbated by policing policies that enable officers to operate under their own discretion in policing. In other words, policing policy that leaves the work and decisions to the discretion of the officers is what allows PED to influence police-citizen interactions in places like Baltimore city. When PED is an influencing factor in the mode of evaluating police work, the passive goes active, and on many occasions has resulted in the loss of black life. Baltimore is no stranger to such policies as stop and frisk. The number of individuals stopped under what is considered a Terry Stop (the searching of an individual on the basis of suspicious behavior) is annually in the tens of thousands in Baltimore (Fenton, 2013).

In his “Human without Image: Deleuzian Critique beyond the Neighbourhood Effect,” Chas. Phillips transposes Deleuze’s Image of Thought into what he refers to as the Image of the Human. Where Deleuze’s Image of Thought refers to an understanding of thought and rationality as a conceptualization of a rigidly organized world, Phillips’ Image of the Human similarly categorizes the human (and thus varying levels of humanness) as “static being rather than a dynamic becoming” (Phillips, 2019, p. 154). Phillips extends his Image of the Human to critique aggressive policing policies, arguing that such an Image has resulted in the repeated disparate distribution of policing in different neighborhoods like Baltimore. Such an Image of the Human is part of what constitutes the passiveness of PED. It is this Image of the Human, this rigidity through which we are socialized to understand what is more and what is less human, that entrenches Ethnocentrism—and therefore ethnocentric domicilism—as something largely unnoticed from behind the American worldview. Thus, when the supreme court held in *Terry v. Ohio* that the stopping, questioning, and frisking of an individual is justified “where a police officer observes unusual conduct which leads him reasonably to conclude in light of his experience that criminal activity may be afoot and that the persons with whom he is dealing may be armed and

presently dangerous,” (U.S. Supreme Court, 1967) PED is left to run wild. As Phillips gives attention to, it is this Image of the Human, in combination with Deleuze’s Image of Thought, that produces a statistics heavy understanding of policing that pays attention only to raw numbers and largely ignores many of the outliers that constitute reality. Resultingly, aggressive policing policies work only to enable the function of PED. In the context of PED stop and frisk policies are properly understood as an affirmation of the projection of subconscious and conscious biases by our police officers.

With the understanding of PED that has been here provided, the dangers of media personalities and public voices should too be more easily graspable. When President Donald Trump refers to Baltimore as a “rat and rodent infested mess,” and a “very dangerous and disgusting place,” he reinforces and proliferates the passive ethnocentric biases that are entrenched within our subconscious views of the world. Within Trump’s words is an implicit connection made between what a place looks like, and the kind of people that live there. What does that place look like? It is disgusting: broken down and deteriorated buildings and houses. These are important elements in what paints such an image of who lives there: criminals, about which we make immediate assumptions of race and creed. What actually makes parts of impoverished Baltimore “disgusting” is the lack of investment, and the continuation of redlining practices around housing that has contributed to housing blight. What makes it a dangerous place is the presence of a foreign police force who can project their ethnocentric worldviews in impoverished neighborhoods, using excessive force and routinely escaping consequences. Together, these two forces not only create the image of Baltimore that many outsiders see, but also sets the stage for a police-citizen warzone wherein their domicile works to their detriment. Therefore, when Trump encourages police officers to use excessive force at a police rally and later turns around and labels an entire district a dangerous and disgusting place, he is drawing the map of the warzone. Police descend on cities from the suburbs, cause destruction, and return home to the peace of suburbia. Even with the addition of police cameras in places like Baltimore, police killing persist – on camera. This persistence of police violence therefore has less to do with the ability to prove

police violence, and more to do with the ways that we allow for the projection of biases onto marginalized groups.

Leveling the Playing Field:

Transcending PED

The entirety of this journal article has been dedicated to exploring how PED impacts black populations in urban ghettos. This is because ethnocentrism has been invariably tied up with race since its inception, and therefore PED impacts black people more directly than any other race. I want to now take a brief moment to emphasize that while PED has the most detrimental impact on black populations, people of other racial and ethnic backgrounds can too be subjected to harshness of PED. This is because even when those living in urban ghettos might be of the same race, they still occupy a reality that is in sharp contrast with that of any suburban police officer. They too are still subjected to the cultural criticisms of what it might mean to be impoverished and jobless. And just as with black people, infrastructure is the window through which the general population and police officers will look to make these assumptions. Let me now point out that the racial distinction in what exacerbates the influence of PED is important, as white people will not find themselves branded under an N.H.I. acronym because of where they live and their job status. In an urban ghetto, they too are not the ones who are most likely to be subject to a sudden stop and frisk for their behavior. Further, urban ghettos are overwhelmingly occupied by black individuals. The color of their skin is bound up with the place that they live. Nonetheless, the benefit of eradicating PED is one that will be felt of individuals of all racial and ethnic backgrounds in the United States.

Transcending PED cannot be accomplished through any singular solution. It will require a multi-pronged approach that seeks to transform the way we understand those who live in impoverished neighborhoods, as well as dismantle those systems that encourage aggressive policing in these neighborhoods. The normative component necessary to defeat PED thus involves some policy-oriented goals, but a sociocultural disease such as PED operates largely outside the bounds of formal politics. First, as Klinenberg and others have suggested before, greater investment in urban planning and the infrastructure of urban neighborhoods is a key feature in creating social cohesion in these neighborhoods, but such an

investment would too work to close the ethnocentric chasm between suburban whites and urban blacks. When infrastructure in these neighborhoods is better, there is less for the critical eye of PED to critique. We can facilitate the elimination of the critique by removing the subject of those critiques. Inversely, bolstering support for greater investment in infrastructure will require a proper understanding of what PED is and why infrastructural investment is therefore a life-saving one. Therefore, we must secondly debunk baseless critiques of urban ghettos as a reflection of the people that live there by properly illuminating the structural cause of these conditions. Bringing the level of analysis to that of PED properly equips us with the tools we need to see through the fable that says poor urbanites are inferior. The reversal of this dogma can be accomplished in a variety of ways: education on redlining and housing blight in schools, the dissemination of personal anecdotes via social media, and groups whose aim is dedicated toward informing the general population of how these sets of conditions have come to be and how they are maintained are just a few of a rather large number of potential solutions. Each of these approaches can be key contributors in the recognition of PED. It is the passiveness of PED that makes it such an elusive target, and therefore it requires an active search for those misunderstood facts that lead us to wrongly perceive the reality of others.

Thirdly, we have to address those aggressive policing policies such as stop and frisk that both reflect PED in police work, and allow for it to permeate police practices and interactions more deeply. It is our failure to collectively recognize the presence of biased views like PED that make practices like stop and frisk attractive. When we are oblivious to these biases, it is easy to operate with an Image of Thought that considers police work to be one carried out by supremely rational and unbiased servants of the public good. This is clearly not the case, and recognizing it as such corresponds to abandoning those practices that would hold up this flawed assumption. The fourth and most broad normative approach to mitigating the influence of PED, I will borrow from Jairus Grove's *Savage Ecology*. In it, Grove emphasizes the use of creativity in the face of global issues such as climate change: "This is how experimentation can proceed, with a sense of texture and malleability that says to go slowly, generously, but still experimentally, with

care and attention, pursuing an attunement for what passes” (Grove, 2019, 280). Here, Grove is highlighting the inevitability of the continuation of time and the eventual human demise that is to come, and arguing that in the face of this inevitable demise we should employ a creative sense of malleability that allows us to better address such issues as climate change. In my application of this idea to PED, I would argue that creative malleability should be used to alter issues of infrastructure, sociocultural norms, and police practices. It is innovation that is at the helm of solving those issues that are seemingly ever-changing. The solution to the larger issues of our world today lie in what we do not yet know.

In his “Black Lives Matter and the Limits of Formal Black Politics, Minkah Makalani writes, “If we ever do burn this motherfucker down we would rightly be concerned with what we might build in its place...But burning this motherfucker down at least offers the possibility insisted on by the insights of the oppressed into the limits of modern rule” (Makalani, 2017, 548). The current political establishment may not ever be enough to eliminate the influences of PED and the disparities that it stems from. How we go about solving such an elusive issue largely remains at the ends of our own ability to imagine them. This means that we must be anti-traditional in our pursuit of the solutions we seek. The potential addresses of PED laid out above are not linear. They all have the potential to influence and be influenced by each other: they already do. For too long PED has been the Performance Enhancing Drug that enables police violence in urban ghettos. We must change the landscape to change the world.

References

- Alexander, M., 2012. *The New Jim Crow*. New York: The New Press, pp. 48-58.
- American Banker, 2019. “Do You Hear Me?": How Blight Is Hurting America. [podcast] Nobody's Home. <https://www.americanbanker.com/nobodyshome>.
- Burnett, J., 2020. NPR Choice Page. [online] Npr.org. <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=6063982>.
- Coates, T., 2015. *Between The World And Me*. New York: Penguin Random House LLC.
- Coates, T., 2017. *We Were Eight Years In Power*. New York: Penguin Random House LLC, pp.163-208.
- Connolly, W., 2017. *Facing The Planetary: Entangled Humanism And The Politics Of Swarming*. Durham: Duke University Press, pp.152-174.
- Cox, W., 2019. College Graduates Concentrated In Suburbs, Highest Educational Attainment In Cbds, Newgeography. <https://www.newgeography.com/content/006265-college-graduates-concentrated-suburbs-highest-educational-attainment-cbds>.
- Eligon, J. and Nolan, K., 2016. When Police Don't Live In The City They Serve. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/19/us/when-police-dont-live-in-the-city-they-serve.html>.
- Fenton, J., 2013. Baltimore Sun. [Baltimoresun.com](http://baltimoresun.com). Available at: <https://www.baltimoresun.com/news/crime/bs-md-ci-baltimore-stop-and-frisk-20130830-story.html>.
- George, K. “The Civilized West Looks at Primitive Africa: 1400-1800 a Study in Ethnocentrism”, *The University of Chicago Press Journals*, 49(1), pp. 62-65.
- Grove, J., 2020. *Savage Ecology: War And Geopolitics At The End Of The World*. Durham: Duke University Press, pp.228-280.
- King, R., 2015. Most Baltimore Police Officers Live Outside The City. FiveThirtyEight. <https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/most-baltimore-police-officers-live-outside-the-city/>.
- Kimball, S., 2020. Trump Calls Baltimore A ‘Disgusting, Rat And Rodent Infested Mess’ In Attack On Rep. Elijah Cummings. CNBC. <https://www.cnbc.com/2019/07/27/trump-calls-baltimore-a-disgusting-rat-and-rodent-infested-mess-in-attack-on-rep-elijah-cummings.html>.
- Klinenberg, E., 2018. Palaces For The People: How Social Infrastructure Can Help Fight Inequality, Polarization, And The Decline Of Civic Life. pp.55-96.
- Kuthy, D. 2017. Redlining and Greenlining: Olivia Robinson Investigates Root Causes of Racial Inequity. *Art Education*, 70(1), pp. 50-57
- Makalani, M., 2017, “Black Lives Matter and the Limits of Formal Black Politics,” *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 116(3), pp. 529-548
- McLendon, R., 2014. “New Orleans’ Tourism Industry Booms but Income Inequality Remains Entrenched”. Nola.com. https://www.nola.com/news/politics/article_54d6dd9d-fb87-58eb-8ae2-dc2bf3eb1bea.html.

- Naftali, T., 2019. Ronald Reagan's Long-Hidden Racist Conversation With Richard Nixon. [online] *The Atlantic*. <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/07/ronald-reagan-s-racist-conversation-richard-nixon/595102/>.
- Nixon, R., 2011. *Slow Violence And The Environmentalism Of The Poor*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, pp.17-24.
- Nixonlibrary.gov. 2020. Audio Gallery | Richard Nixon Museum And Library. <https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/audio-gallery>.
- Perry, J., 2010. "The Road Home" Is A Road To Nowhere For Black New Orleanians. [online] Planners Network. <https://www.plannersnetwork.org/2010/10/the-road-home-is-a-road-to-nowhere-for-black-new-orleanians/>.
- Phillips, C., 2020. Human without Image: Deleuzian Critique beyond the Neighbourhood Effect. *Deleuze and Guattari Studies*, 14(1), pp.152-176.
- Schalliol, D., 2012. "Barber Shop Show Preview: North Lawndale Rising". *Chicagonow.com*. <http://www.chicagonow.com/chicago-muckrakers/2012/05/barber-shop-show-preview-north-lawndale-rising/>.
- Slettebak, R., 2012. Don't Blame the Weather! Climate-related Natural Disasters and Civil Conflict. *Journal of Peace Research*, 49(1), pp.162-174.
- Smiley, C. and Fakunle, D., 2017. From "Brute" to "Thug:" the Demonization and Criminalization of Unarmed Black Male Victims in America. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 26(3-4).
- Spence, L., 2015. *Knocking The Hustle: Against The Neoliberal Turn In Black Politics*. Punctum Books, pp.27-52.
- Swanson, K., 2020. Trump Tells Cops They Should Rough People Up More During Arrests. *Vox*. <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2017/7/28/16059536/trump-cops-speech-gang-violence-long-island>.
- Temple.edu. 2019. Temple University At A Glance: 2018-2019. <https://www.temple.edu/ira/documents/data-analysis/at-a-glance/Temple-At-a-Glance-2018-2019.pdf>.
- Thomas, L., 2009. "Roots Run Deep Here": The Construction of Black New Orleans in Post-Katrina Tourism Narratives. *American Quarterly*, 61(3), pp.749-755. 2020.
- U.S. Census Bureau, 2018. More Than 76 Million Students Enrolled In U.S. Schools. The United States Census Bureau. <https://www.census.gov/newsroom/press-releases/2018/school-enrollment.html>.
- U.S. Supreme Court, 1967. *Terry v. Ohio*. 392 US (1) West, Cornel, *Prophesy Deliverance!*, "A Genealogy of Modern Racism", *Westminster John Knox Press*, pp. 51-62 (Accessed: 10 February, 2020).
- Wynter, S., 1994. Wynter's "No Humans Involved: An Open Letter to My Colleagues". *Forum N.H.I.*, 1(1), pp.42-71.