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INSTITUTIONS, RACE, AND NEW JERSEY CITIES:

THE TRAGEDY OF BLACK YOUTH

By

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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This analysis provides a view of homicide prevention by exploring how institutional domains create dangerous conditions of living for young black men that leave them marginalized and on the sidelines of access to high-quality education, opportunities within a legal economy, and the hope of a self-sustaining life.

This research uses a case study framework to explore the persistently high prevalence of homicides of young black men and associated prevention mechanisms in inner cities in New Jersey. The cases selected center on three of New Jersey's twelve most populated cities: Camden, Newark, and Trenton. Within each case there are two basic units of analysis; these are a set of institutional domains within each of those cities, and the population of fifteen- to twenty-four-year-old black men. The domains of interest are (a) the administration of criminal justice, (b) educational systems, (c) nonprofit agencies, and (d) public health agencies. Descriptive statistics for each of the three case study cities compared to national rates are used to inform the qualitative components, which include in-person interviews and archival analyses.

Policies and recommendations are proposed with the clear purpose of changing the conditions in the lives of young black men ages fifteen to twenty-four years to reduce their marginalization from communities of people who have different Leading Causes of Death (LCOD) and are free from the need to participate in illegal economies. The recommendations are designed to move the discourse on conditions of young black men from one of discussing the victim and perpetrator, the individuals, to one of removing the dangerous and unhealthy conditions in which young black men live and die.

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Chapter 1. The Beginning

Introduction

On October 4th, 2011, Kenneth Fussell, 24 years old, was shot to death on the steps of his Camden apartment. According to the opinion rendered by the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit¹ Kenneth was thought to have been the perpetrator of a homicide that occurred the evening before at a drug dealer's 'drug set'² on the corner of Atlantic and Norris Street in Camden, New Jersey. The drug dealer, Raymond Morales, had offered \$10,000 to Jevon Lewis, who, in turn, contracted with Ahmad Judge and Jamar Bacon to kill Kenneth Fussell. Jevon Lewis and Ahmad Judge were given life sentences, Jamar Bacon and Raymond Morales had lesser sentences and Kenneth Fussell is dead³.

Juan Rivera-Velez, a Camden native and associate of Raymond Morales, killed Miguel Batisto of Camden in 1996. Rivera-Velez was sentenced to two terms of life imprisonment and Miguel Batisto is dead leaving a three-year old daughter behind⁴.

¹ No. 09-2248 UNITED STATES OF AMERICA v. AHMED JUDGE, a/k/a EDY; a/k/a BLEEK Ahmed Judge, Appellant On Appeal from the United States District Court for the District of New Jersey D.C. Criminal No. 06-cr-00076-002 (Honorable Joseph E. Irena Last accessed September 15, 2017.

² 'Drug Set's are areas known to those seeking to purchase drugs as the places where drugs are available.

³ Camden hit man sentenced to 17 years in prison

<https://www.justice.gov/archive/usao/nj/Press/files/pdffiles/2009/rive1119%20rel.pdf>, UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE THIRD CIRCUIT No. 09-2248 UNITED STATES OF AMERICA v. AHMED JUDGE, a/k/a EDY; a/k/a BLEEK Ahmed, <http://www2.ca3.uscourts.gov/opinarch/092248np.pdf> Last accessed September 15, 2017.

⁴Camden Man Convicted of Committing Murder, Attempted Murder of a Witness and Cocaine Distribution Conspiracy http://www.nj.com/camden/index.ssf/2010/03/camden_hit_man_sentenced_to_17.html, <http://birthmoviesdeath.com/2010/10/21/the-real-life-two-face-goes-to-jail>, Last accessed September 15, 2017

Two of the above seven people are dead and the other five incarcerated but all are denied productive lives. This research uses homicide as the catalyst to search for and examine the narrative of young men in urban cities in New Jersey experiencing death by violence. As the research unfolds, it becomes more apparent that the narrative becomes more layered and external situations in their environment play deadly but enabling roles. Homicides are the tip of a fragile and unsupported iceberg; for this work, it is an open door.

What are the most important public health challenges facing the United States today? And what are our institutions doing to meet those challenges?

In December of each year since 2013, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) have issued their top public health challenges for the year just ending. The news releases highlight successes in the past year and make recommendations for future steps to reduce the incidence of these designated public health problems. These problems had the highest severity and the broadest reach of population health risk regardless of age and ethnicity. In its news release for 2014, the CDC's top five challenges for that year were: (1) Ebola response, (2) Antibiotic resistance, (3) Enterovirus D-68 (EV-D68), (4) Middle Eastern Respiratory Syndrome (MERS-CoV), and (5) the HIV/AIDS pandemic.⁵ The CDC labeled 2014 "mission critical" due to the

⁵ The CDC definition for the five public health issues in 2014: (1) Ebola virus disease (EVD) is a rare and deadly viral illness that is reportable to the National Notifiable Disease Surveillance System (NNDSS) in all U.S. states and territories. Early recognition of EVD is critical for infection control. Health-care providers should be alert for and evaluate any patients suspected of having EVD. (2) Antibiotic/antimicrobial resistance is the ability of microbes to resist the effects of drugs—that is, the germs are not killed, and their growth is not stopped. (3) Enterovirus D68 (EV-D68) is one of more than 100 non-polio enteroviruses. This virus was first identified in California in 1962. (4) Middle East Respiratory Syndrome (MERS) is an illness caused by a virus (more specifically, a coronavirus) called Middle East Respiratory

resources and time spent responding to the Ebola crisis and the feared widespread consequences of this infectious disease. Skipping a year to 2016, the CDC released its top challenges with the Zika virus and protecting pregnant women in the top spot, followed by antibiotic resistance, the prevention of cancer, advancing global security, and preventing death from tobacco products.⁶

Another publicized list documents the Leading Causes of Death (“LCODs”) for all Americans. For 2014, the top five leading causes of death were heart disease, cancer, chronic lower respiratory disease, unintentional accidents, and stroke.⁷ Approximately

Syndrome Coronavirus (MERS-CoV). Most MERS patients developed severe acute respiratory illness with symptoms of fever, cough, and shortness of breath. About three to four out of every ten patients reported with MERS have died. (5) HIV/AIDS IV infection is classified as stage 3 (AIDS) when the immune system of a person infected with HIV becomes severely compromised (measured by CD4 cell count) and/or the person becomes ill with an opportunistic infection. In the absence of treatment, AIDS usually develops eight to ten years after initial HIV infection; with early HIV diagnosis and treatment, this may be delayed by many years.

⁶The CDC definition for the five public health issues in 2016: (1) Zika for pregnant women. Using the case definition for Zika virus infection, congenital, confirmed—it describes a neonate who does not meet clinical criteria for a congenital disease case; but the neonate has laboratory evidence of recent ZIKV or flavivirus infection by: ZIKV detection by culture, viral antigen, or viral RNA in fetal tissue, umbilical cord blood, or amniotic fluid; or neonatal serum, CSF, or urine collected within two days of birth; or positive ZIKV IgM antibody test of umbilical cord blood, neonatal serum, or CSF collected within two days of birth with positive ZIKV neutralizing antibody titers and negative neutralizing antibody titers against dengue or other flaviviruses endemic to the region where exposure occurred. (2) Antibiotic/antimicrobial resistance is the ability of microbes to resist the effects of drugs—that is, the germs are not killed, and their growth is not stopped. (3) Cancer case definition—incident invasive cancers at all sites with the exception of basal cell and squamous cell carcinoma of the skin; incident *in situ* cancers at all sites with the exception of carcinoma *in situ* of the cervix, uteri, or any intraepithelial neoplasia (cervical intraepithelial neoplasia [CIN], prostate intraepithelial neoplasia [PIN], etc.); incident benign and borderline central nervous system tumors. (4) Global Health Security—CDC, along with other international organizations, nations, and civil society developed an agenda to accelerate progress toward a world safe and secure from infectious disease threats; to promote global health security as an international priority; and to establish capacity to prevent, detect, and rapidly respond to biological threats, whether natural, intentional, or accidental. (5) Preventing death from tobacco with the major causes of excess mortality among smokers are diseases that are related to smoking, including cancer and respiratory and vascular disease.

⁷ These LCODs are described by ICD-10 Codes, a system used by physicians and other healthcare providers to classify and code all diagnoses, symptoms, and procedures recorded in conjunction with hospital care in the United States. The top five LCODs are coded as follows: (1) Diseases of the Heart are coded by ICD 100-109 Acute Rheumatic Fever, I11-I13 Hypertension, and I20-I51 Ischemic Heart Disease; (2) Cancer C00-

half of all deaths are caused by heart disease and cancers, chronic diseases, and other LCODs such as chronic lower respiratory disease and stroke are also chronic, meaning that quality of life and life expectancy can improve through preventive means against these diseases (Johnson et al. 2014). Americans' lives have improved and life expectancy is rising overall, due partially through health promoting behaviors including healthy diet, physical activity, avoidance of tobacco, and other types of risk reduction promoted by the CDC through advice and programs. Cardiovascular disease and smoking were CDC's public issues #8 and #9 respectively in 2014 even though they contributed to the #1 and #2 LCODs for that year. There is not a one-to-one match for the CDC's top public health issues to the LCODs; nevertheless, in terms of preventive programs, there is focus on those two LCODs.

The above LCODs are aggregated for all races, genders, and age; however, they change once the aggregation is removed. In examining the LCOD data by age, race, and gender, a different order for the top ten LCODs emerges. For Non-Hispanic white males of all ages, the top five causes of death are heart disease, malignant neoplasms, unintentional accidents, chronic lower respiratory disease, and cerebrovascular disease. For Non-Hispanic black males of all ages, the fifth ranking cause of death is assault (homicide). Still on the national scale and adding age groups into the mix, the rankings again shift. For Non-Hispanic white males aged fifteen to nineteen years, the top five

C97, malignant neoplasms; (3) Chronic Lower Respiratory Disease—J40-J47 Diseases of the Respiratory; (4) Unintentional Accidents V01-X59 accidents and X85-X86 no description; and (5) Stroke-Cerebrovascular Diseases, hemorrhage, cerebral infarction, occlusion and stenosis of precerebral arteries not resulting in cerebral infarction.

causes of death are unintentional accidents, intentional self-harm, malignant neoplasms, homicide⁸, and heart disease. For the same race and gender at twenty to twenty-four years, homicide moves to the third rank. Another shift occurs for Non-Hispanic black male ages fifteen to nineteen years and twenty to twenty-four years (disease and ranking are similar). Homicide becomes the number one cause of death followed by unintentional accidents, intentional self-harm, heart disease, and malignant neoplasms. For this study, homicide is defined as the Federal Bureau of Investigation on its website does; “the willful (nonnegligent) killing of one human being by another”.⁹

Categorizing by age, race, and gender in the examination of the leading causes of death reveals a very different perception of the focus of the national public health agency. This different picture is the trigger for this research, since homicides, a leading cause of death for a younger black male population, has not instigated the preventive programs such as those for older Americans in weight loss, physical activity, and tobacco cessation. The absence of research on and preventive programs for a LCOD for young black American males gives a pessimistic outlook on health improvement for this population.

Research Questions

The original question for this research focused on finding effective homicide prevention programs for young black men, hereafter, abbreviated black youth, from

⁸ These statistics do not include justifiable homicides. Although this research does not address justifiable homicides, there is difficulty of determinations of justifiability. According to Marc Weiner of Rutgers University the “the pragmatics of data analyses prevent using that component of this LCOD and that on that basis”. Notes from dissertation defense on September 7, 2017.

⁹ Crime in the United State 2013 https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2013/crime-in-the-u.s.-2013/violent-crime/murder-topic-page/murdermain_final Last accessed July 20, 2017.

fifteen to twenty-four years of age through efforts within institutional domains¹⁰ such as criminal justice, education, nonprofit (includes religious) institutions, and public health agencies. The term “effective” was deliberately used, as the mere presence of programs can be static and ineffective. The evidence for the efficacy of programs would be demonstrated by the reduction or elimination of homicides and recorded as such. As an extension of this question on presence of effective programs, the role of domains and their stakeholders was probed for critical operating principles catalyzing their decisions and execution of their decisions. Finally, what were the social implications of understanding homicide prevention as the responsibility of any one (or more) of these domains?

As the research progressed, the answer to the first question about the presence of programs emerged through interviews, literature, and public information on the agenda of domains. Finding little to no effective activity in the prevention of homicides for young black men ages fifteen to twenty-four years, although there is an abundance of “treatment” of the consequences in the criminal justice system, the research turned to an inquiry on reasons behind the lack of preventive programs. Why is there an absence of programs for a cause of death that is persistent and affects a young population with many years ahead of them?

This research develops a perspective on the lack of effective prevention programs for homicides that is based on an analysis of institutional domains and factors

¹⁰ Defined by author as a specified association of practice with a stated purpose and characterized by an organizational structure.

influencing the domains. These factors range from the economic development patterns within case cities to the illegal economy as a means of survival to historical and existing habits of racial bias. This analysis provides a new view of homicide prevention by exploring how institutional forces are created, expanded, and preserved to create certain conditions of living for young black men that leave them marginalized and on the sidelines of access to high-quality education, opportunities within a legal economy, and the hope of a self-sustaining life.

Institutional Domains

The genesis behind using institutional domains as vehicles from which to search for homicide prevention programs was the fact that homicide data already resided in agencies or institutions focused on health of the population—the public health agencies. It then became reasonable to add other domains affecting the population in this study. One agency or organization cannot provide the answers to the questions above. Organizations with the existing capacity to impact lives either through education or social service (nonprofit agencies including the religious ones), or through encounters with the criminal justice system were added to public health agencies for context as well as contrast with each other in their preconceptions and programs associated with fifteen to twenty-four-year-old black men. The domain of the media was included at the early stage of the research but proved too large a (perceived) influence by the respondents to provide the appropriate analysis; however, comments indicated respondents felt that newspapers, radio, and other sources of news marginalized and stereotyped young black men. These comments reinforce the perceptions of young black men in urban areas and is one of the conditions of life for this population.

Organizations are skillful at influencing, expanding, or inhibiting the choices people have, the resources available to aid in those choices, and the factors in the community and workplace that affect the health of their lives. Young black men in urban areas are potential consumers, customers, clients, and patients of these organizations and as a population experience a higher likelihood of death through violence. The organizations chosen for this study are societal groups that could have a major impact on the prevention of homicide. There are four organizations: criminal justice, education, nonprofit agencies, and the public health agencies. An additional "organization" was frequently mentioned, that of the economic development actions of city government. I give it special attention as it is a hidden driver in the city's agenda and intersects with the programs and agendas of other organizations.

Case Cities

The scope of this work was confined to three cities in the state of New Jersey: Camden, Newark, and Trenton. Each of them has sustained a steady or increasing homicide rate for the past twenty-five years as reported from Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) issued by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). The rate per 100,000 population for Camden has increased to 86.3 in 2012 from 48.0 in 1993. For Newark, the rate for 1993 was 35.6 and it was 34.4 in 2012. In Trenton, the rate in 1993 was 12.4 and in 2012 was 28.1.

Analysis

The basis of this analysis is twofold: (1) the exposure of the lack of effective preventive programs for homicides in Camden, Newark, and Trenton; and (2) a consideration of the external factors dominating the cities that overlook or avoid the

conditions of the population within the cities. This exposure and the influence of external factors in turn uncovers the marginalization of this population of young black men by examining their conditions such as the steady rate of homicides, the level of poverty, the availability of legal employment, the association of homicides to the illegal drug economy, and the high school graduation rates. Alongside these conditions are a different set comprised of the economic development activity within the cities and young black men's access to this activity. The double burden of urban conditions and inaccessible entry to better economic conditions cripple the ability of young black men to have meaningful, sustainable lives.

The empirical heart of the analysis resides in an examination of four critical elements: (1) differentials in demographic features of the communities in Camden, Newark, and Trenton; (2) homicide data normalized by population in each city since 1989, demonstrating the persistence of this cause of death; (3) educational data for the schools in each of the cities; and (4) demographic data on neighboring towns to the three case cities. The burden of this study's hypothesis is to demonstrate not simply that the conditions of urban life for young black men are difficult and terrifying at times; it is also to expose the conditions that are marginalizing and isolating citizens combined with the fact that there are no effective preventive programs for the reduction or elimination of homicides of young black men. This leads to the hypothesis of this study that young black men in Camden, Newark, and Trenton live in conditions that are present as a function of actions and inactions from institutional domains and economic development

in their cities leading to marginalization of this group. Essentially, young black men are disempowered.

Description of Chapters

Chapter 3 introduces the methodology used for this research, a complementary case study approach. The use of a case study method complemented by descriptive data necessitates a complementary technique for investigation and analysis of effective homicide prevention programs; however, there is more to it than mere combination. The method behind this research can best be defined as a serial, case-based approach beginning with descriptive statistics, showing the persistent presence of homicides and lack of prevention programs for young black men ages fifteen to twenty-four years. The study segues to the more dominant approach: the qualitative method. The complementary quality of case studies supported by descriptive data results in deeper understanding of the research. In order to better understand the persistent frequency of the homicide data in Camden, Newark, and Trenton over a period of twenty-four years, a qualitative study of interviews with participants in the above-named institutional domains in the case cities was necessary. The respondents' perceptions of the efficacy of prevention methods as well as their ideas about the unique factors within their city of residence or employment uncovered their own experiences in the domains and cities. Insights from the interviews were bolstered by another element in the qualitative approach: documentary and archival research.

Data from the descriptive data, the qualitative, and the documentary/archival methods build upon each other, providing substantiation and depth to the hypothesis. Sequencing the methods and interpreting the data from each enables connections

between the findings, adding depth and explanatory power. In this work, the steadiness of homicides as a leading cause of death for young black men led to the search for preventive mechanisms for homicides in institutional domains. Insights gathered from respondents in these domains led to documentary/archival work on specific structural elements present in the case cities. In other words, the original question of why homicide rates remained so persistent began the chain of research events expanding to the use of different methods to learn why. That chain is the series of sequential acts followed by the explanatory, interpretive arm of the research.

Chapter 3 reviews the literature by domain and the factors affecting the community through the domains. In several of the domains, there was extensive literature both historical and current and in others, little was available in academic writing or media-driven journalism. For instance, the criminal justice domain with its three components of law enforcement, courts, and correctional systems has been examined extensively. The amount of research on this domain outweighs that of the other domains. The educational domain is another with a great deal of research, but the choices narrow once the search includes “education and the prevention of homicide” as is the case in the nonprofit domain, which yielded less published research material. The public health literature is extensive from a historical perspective, but less so on programmatic evaluations or research on the prevention of homicides¹¹.

¹¹ In 1996, Congress inserted an amendment prohibiting research or advocacy on gun control essentially prohibiting any public health research on violence involving firearms. “Gun violence research: History of the federal funding freeze” <http://www.apa.org/science/about/psa/2013/02/gun-violence.aspx> Last accessed September 16, 2017.

As the research progressed, search terms beyond the original ones of “homicide,” “prevention,” and “black male youth” (to name a few) needed to be added. Topics such as marginalization, urban conditions, charter school growth, systems, racial isolation, and real estate development became more relevant. It also became important to understand the context in which the black population of these cities lived, their educational prospects, and the role of the economy in racially divided geographies. Thus, this review includes literature on race beginning with slavery, the economy, and education in the public and incarcerated spaces. The economy of illegal drugs with market numbers, growth potential, geography of distribution, and factors unique to New Jersey that enabled a thriving business for the drug dealers is necessary for context. There is a brief introduction on the gun market and barriers to gun control such as lobbying by the National Rifle Association (NRA) with a pivot to the topic of violence as “normalized” in the young, black male communities. Guns are very accessible in these communities, making them the first choice for violent enforcement of territorial protection and as indicators of adulthood in the community of young black men. The review concludes with a discussion on organizations, institutions, and systems because the domains are either organizations, institutions, or systems. There are also sub-systems interacting with the macro system above them and the organization below. Here, the literature on organizations and institutions focuses on the “outcomes” and “actions” of sub-systems and systems and their connection.

Chapters 4 and 5 are the heart of the work and present the details of the descriptive statistics and qualitative research. Chapter 4 begins with a contrast of LCODs

and approved budget allocations for the CDC to understand the priorities of the national public health agency. It goes on to review the homicide data for each city normalized by population for the last twenty-five years. The demographics of the case cities are presented as are the descriptions of the cities' economies, real estate markets, and domains. Important to the discussion is the historical view of cities as a function of their communities—contemporary events are directly influenced by past events. Equally important is available data from the domains on the communities and the New Jersey Board of Education published data on enrollment, percentage of disabled students, number of English Language Learners (ELL), race and ethnicity, dropout and graduation rates to paint the picture of the quality of the education in a certain town or city. Chapter 4 includes a perspective on the marginalization of Camden, Newark, and Trenton by contrasting the demographics of the case cities to that of the neighboring towns. Marginalization is a relational term and it is difficult to argue there are marginalized populations unless it is shown that one community or population is “worse off” than another by standard measures of income and poverty, and, for purposes of this study, the number of homicides.

In Chapter 5, the experiences and opinions of respondents from the four institutional domains in the three cities are presented, resulting in two components that inform and provide evidence of a system of connections among the domains. First, interviews with domain and community members generated information not found in the websites of public health or education or the criminal justice system or the nonprofits. This information triggered the second component of this chapter, a parallel

examination, based on respondents' comments, of critical events and policies affecting the residents of these cities.

In Camden, the comments from a respondent from a nonprofit provoked the search for documents on police residency requirements and the history behind the law allowing police to live outside their place of work. Another respondent from Camden, a community at-large member, corroborated the views of many other respondents on the association between the drug trade and homicides and complicated the discussion of the reasons for homicides in this business. In addition to protecting territory and developing and maintaining a reputation, homicides occur between gangs when one gang is perceived as having more than their "fair share" of the market. In a further example, a respondent from Newark offhandedly commented on the connection between real estate development and charter school growth. It is comments like these that guide the second component of searching for policies and programs affecting the city residents.

These two components have led to the identification of multiple connecting structures, which have less to do with the research question and more to do with the conditions perpetuating homicides of young black men. This chapter weaves the interview responses from domain and community members with the macro transactions of players many times removed from the victims and perpetrators of homicides. Economic dominance with resulting marginalization will be discussed first, followed by an outline of the efforts of the criminal justice domain to isolate residents, and the

chapter will conclude with the respondents' perceptions of the media coverage of poor urban areas.

Chapters 6 and 7 discuss the findings with an eye toward the limitations of this research and policy or program recommendations. In Chapter 6, the importance of this work to those communities where young black men live and those institutional domains whose stated objectives are to protect, serve, heal, and educate is examined along with the relevance of the studied literature. The chapter concludes with a summary of the collected material and the limitations of the study. Policies and programs are proposed in Chapter 7 despite knowing the barriers that will be erected against each of them. There are three policy recommendations far reaching in their intent but also the most critical to the reduction of homicides for this population. They address inattention in the public health domain, focus on community inclusion on economic development planning, and tax credit, abatement, and business subsidy reform. The four program recommendations target specific situations and are more granular in their approach seeking a shorter time frame for implementation and success for this population. These policy and program recommendations are targeted at changing the conditions in the lives of young black men ages fifteen to twenty-four years to reduce their marginalization from communities of people who have different LCODs, have access to public health programs designed to reduce their LCOD, and are free from the need to participate in illegal economies. The implementation of these recommendations would take immense political changes and a complete shift in how those in power weigh the

value of young black men as active, engaging, and deliberate members of the community.

Dynamics

This research develops three particular dynamics to provide an approach to understanding the lack of effective preventive programs for homicides in the young, black population. Data from the CDC about LCODs, the percentage differential of homicides between black, Hispanic, and white young men, budget allocations combined with educational data from the New Jersey Board of Education (NJBOE), the demographic data of the cities and their neighbors complement and strengthen the hypothesis that young black men in Camden, Newark, and Trenton live in conditions that are a function of actions and inactions from institutional domains and economic development in their cities. The interview data and the leads elicited from those conversations give street-level credibility to reported figures. The three dynamics contain in some form this information through listening, connecting, and searching the data of domains.

The first dynamic of “economic development growth through government policy,” refers to how municipal, state, and federal policy has enabled real estate investors and other economic stakeholders to accumulate wealth within the context of developing market rate mixed-use properties in Newark and institutional building and corporate facilities relocation from other locations in the state of New Jersey to Camden. Investors have targeted properties in distressed urban areas to access capital

from the state and federal government through tax abatement and credit programs. Promises of hiring local residents for the construction of these projects have not been fulfilled. The “public-private” business models of the companies have not yet been publicized. This concept of “economic dominance through government policy” contributes to the continuation of marginalization of the residents of these distressed areas.

The second dynamic has to do with the cities and the elements in each city allowing economic opportunities to mature. This concept has to do with a mixture of powerful political machines and leaders, institutional entities such as hospitals and universities, and strong municipal governance. This “triad of leverage” can be seen in Camden and Newark through the influence of political bosses with municipal leaders and decision makers at the institutions. Without all three elements actively working in partnership in these cities, the economic development would be insignificant, as appears to be in the situation of Trenton. Trenton has no strong institutional base of hospitals and universities for expansion of services, nor does it attract the political forces present in North and South Jersey to capitalize on any opportunities for growth. I argue that this “triad of leverage” structures the context within which it has been possible to acquire vacant land formerly used by other industries, secure contracts, and generate wealth for nonresidents. I also assert that it exposes the priority of economic development in these cities leaving low-income, minority populations with few opportunities for participation in the development outcome.

The third dynamic of “disposability” has to do with the inattention from the public health domain on the LCOD for young black men and their lack of legal employment opportunities. The lack of effective prevention programs from the public health domain is a glaring concern needing attention from multiple sources. Another issue and one of the most consistent themes to emerge in interviews conducted with respondents in all domains as well as in the community at large was that the availability of legal employment for young black men was close to zero, thus forcing them to support themselves and their families through the illegal drug trade. The interviews revealed that entry into this illegal trade activated homicides for a variety of reasons: (1) to establish and reinforce a reputation important to establish credibility within the group in order to gain footing in the hierarchy, (2) to ensure a competitive marketplace, (3) to protect territory, or (4) to pass a gang initiation test. This expectation of killing marginalizes young black men to a relentlessly risky and subordinate position within the illegal economy. They are disposable as I believe the cumulative effects of forcing young black men to enter the illegal drug economy knowing the lethality of this work keeps young black men at the bottom of society’s economic hierarchy. Society also turns a collective back on the risks this group of employees face.

Conclusion

Generally speaking, all three cities have high levels of poverty: (1) in Camden, 39.6 percent of the population is in poverty, (2) 29.7 percent of the population in Newark, and (3) 28.3 percent in Trenton. The United States and New Jersey have

poverty levels at 13.5 percent and 10.8 percent respectively.¹² These rates have remained steady for the past five years; however, economic development has successfully occurred in two of the three cities. The irony is that while businesses have opened facilities in Camden and Newark, approximately one-third of the population is still poor. All three cities have levels of homicide¹³ exceeding most other cities in New Jersey¹⁴: (1) Camden 57 homicides in 2013, (2) 112 homicides in Newark, and (3) 37 homicides in Trenton.

This research's underlying goal is to establish a way to view the marginalization and conditions of living for young black men that will serve as a guide to remove the impediments to the development of effective homicide prevention programs. I contend that choosing not to make homicide a public health priority and develop effective programs for prevention risks heightened conflict and deadly violence.

¹² United States Census Bureau.

<https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/US,trentoncitynewjersey,newarkcitynewjersey,NJ,camden citynewjersey/PST045216> accessed July 18, 2017

¹³ This data refers to all ages and races

¹⁴ Only three other cities in New Jersey reported homicides higher than ten in 2013. Paterson had eighteen, Irvington seventeen, and Jersey City twenty. All other towns and/or cities had fewer than ten homicides and the majority reported zero.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

Introduction

This research seeks to understand the presence of effective prevention programs for homicides, the leading cause of death (LCOD) for young black men aged fifteen to twenty-four years, through efforts of the societal institutional domains of criminal justice, education, the nonprofit sector, and public health. Each of these domains has the capacity to have an impact on the level of homicides, although in different ways. The administration of criminal justice has the ability to arrest, convict, and incarcerate. The educational system prepares youth for participation in careers and civic life. The nonprofit sector addresses community issues that may not be completely addressed by other means. Those issues could include health, education, and civic engagement, just to name a few. The public health agencies work to minimize the hazards associated with the health of the population. Within all these domains there is a capacity to address homicide prevention. It is that capacity, in the form of methods or programs, that formed the genesis of this research. Thus, the question: Are there currently in these cities effective methods or programs to prevent or reduce the occurrence of homicide? The short answer is no, but the longer answer has several layers and dynamic connections between the institutions and the external environment leading to the dominant hypothesis of this study: young black men in Camden, Newark, and Trenton live in conditions that are present as a function of actions and inactions from institutional domains and economic development in their cities leading to marginalization of this group.

There is a great deal of economic development activity in Camden and Newark, each with a different context; (1) institutional growth as in hospitals and schools along with corporate facility relocation, and (2) development of market rate, mixed-use buildings in Newark. Economic development is at a lower level in Trenton. Adjacent to the economic development is the illegal drug economy operated through an entrenched infrastructure of very low income black and Latino residents. Workers in the illegal drug economy are excluded from legal work as a result of their felon status, excluded from legal work as a result of their educational level, and excluded from legal work as a result of hiring biases. These are the marginalized residents most closely linked with homicides. The priority of these economies—real estate development and illegal drugs—and their connections to their corresponding institutions work as a system contributing to the marginalization of the poor, black community from the larger populace.

This review sequentially explores in order to grasp the effects of activity within the domains of criminal justice, education, nonprofit, and public health organizations on the dominant hypothesis, that is, the conditions that are present as a function of actions and inactions from institutional domains and economic development and subsequent marginalization of this group. However, single domains rarely act in isolation; this research then seeks to examine the interrelationships among these domains.

Following the literature review on the domains, I will reach further into those worlds, to study the mechanisms and enablers that contribute to the dominance of the economic system. The importance and impact of race on shaping and sustaining the

illegal and legal economies are critical to include. The drug economy will be reviewed with an eye toward its ability to easily recruit and maintain a stable workforce as a result of the lack of work in a legal economy. Guns, an enabling mechanism in the drug economy, will be discussed in its role as regulatory power for workers to maintain their territories and wages.

A study of the literature on systems will be critical as domains and factors are linked in support of the economic development. What are the components of these particular systems that sustain certain structures, the hierarchy and the links to the domains?

As the hypothesis suggests that conditions in the cities lead to a marginalization of young black men, the relevant literature on the dual concepts of marginalization and the conditions that urban residents experience are examined. This is a broad topic; therefore, the review will be confined to literature on the experiences of the black population based on a historical perspective along with a contemporary view.

The intention of the review is to understand the range of opinions on the above described elements, to discern the different points of view, and the author's reasons for the differences. This then will broaden and deepen the analysis of the findings of this research.

Method of Review

The review is organized by domain, followed by a look at the factors that affect the community and are linked to one or more domains. In several of the domains, there was extensive literature both historical and current and in others, little was available in academic writing or media-driven journalism. For instance, the criminal justice domain

with its three components has been examined extensively and the amount of research on this topic outweighs that of the other domains. The educational domain is another with a great deal of research, but the choices narrow once the search includes “education and the prevention of homicide.” However, the nonprofit domain, which includes religious organizations and agencies with antiviolence as their focus, revealed fewer published research materials. The public health literature is extensive from a historical perspective, but less so on programmatic evaluations or research on the prevention of homicides. As the research progressed, search terms beyond the original ones of “homicide,” “prevention,” “violence,” and “black male youth” (to name a few) needed to be added topics such as the isolation of minority populations, the growth of charter schools, and real estate development became more important. It also became important to understand the context of the black population of these cities, their educational prospects, and the role of the economy in racially divided geographies. Thus, this review includes literature on race beginning with slaves, the economy, and education in the public and incarcerated spaces. The economy of illegal drugs with market numbers, growth potential, geography of distribution, and factors unique to New Jersey that enabled a thriving business for the drug dealers is necessary for context. There is a brief introduction on the gun market and barriers to gun control such as the National Rifle Association (NRA) with a pivot to the topic of violence as “normalized” in the young, black male communities. Guns are very accessible in these communities, making them the choice for violent enforcement of territorial protection and as indicators of adulthood in the community of young black men. The review

concludes with a discussion on organizations, institutions, and systems because the domains are either organizations, institutions, or systems. There are also sub-systems interacting with the system above them and the organization below. Here, the literature on organizations and institutions focuses on the “outcomes” and “actions” of those two entities. The system review primarily uses a de-jargonized version of a system structure in order to peel away the mask of computer language to bring in the practical nature of systems. The following list briefly describes the approach to the search for the applicable literature:

1. Criminal Justice: Search on homicide prevention and criminal justice with a narrowing to law enforcement, courts, history, legislation, race, drugs.
2. Education: Search on prevention of youth homicide, educational systems in juvenile justice, violence and homicide prevention, curriculum, charter schools, public schools.
3. Nonprofits: Search on the formation of nonprofits as a function of prevention, as a function of state, funding sources for nonprofits, nonprofits’ strategies on violence prevention. Nonprofits include religious institutions, although there is very little literature on the religious domain regarding prevention.
4. Public Health: History of federal, state, and local agencies, current mission, and prevention of violence or violent behavior was examined.
5. Race: The approach was on its historical presence in building an economy, and racial bias in the criminal justice and educational systems.

6. Drugs: The review is confined to the “ground” operation of the drug trade without a review on the global drug trade.
7. Guns: The literature on the function of guns in communities that normalize the use of these weapons.
8. Organizations, Institutions, and Systems: The critical piece in this portion of the review is the relationship between the domains and the impact of those relationships on a particular domain or on young black males.
9. Marginalization: Review of black residents within urban areas and their conditions of living.

Criminal Justice

Literature on crime and criminal justice generally discusses why crime occurs and how the answers can affect the efficiency of the criminal justice system (Athens 1992; Rhodes 1999; Whitman 2003). There is also a great deal of literature on crime as the precursor to the activities of the criminal justice system. However, these are two separate spaces; the difference between the study of crime and the study of the criminal justice system is that scholars in the crime field examine law-breaking and harmful behavior and those who study criminal justice look at phenomena of crime control such as the behavior of the law enforcement arm, the courts and their decisions in prosecution, and trends in criminal justice such as the rise in the use of the private sector to administer crime control (Ferrell, Hayward, and Young 2008; Garland 2001).

The focus here is on the criminal justice system or “apparatus,” the term Peter Kraska and John Brent in *Theorizing Criminal Justice* prefer as it is more inclusive of the determinants of the end result of criminal justice. These determinants are not only the

internal actors—the law enforcement, the courts, and the correction systems—but also the legislative bodies, the public groups advocating for victim’s rights (Pompelio 2009), political interest groups, and the media (Kraska and Brent 2011). This section, therefore, is divided into five parts, and this division has to do with the method Kraska and Brent used. The categories collectively capture the components of the criminal justice apparatus.

1. Rational and Legal Orientation
2. Crime Control versus Due Process
3. Politics of Crime
4. Social Construction of Crime and Crime Control
5. Oppression through Criminal Justice

Rational and Legal Orientation

One of the most enduring and influential theories of criminal justice is that of rationalism, in which the problem is understood through deductive reasoning. This is illustrated in the criminal justice world by the rule of law, through which the safety of citizens is protected by legal means in punishment of crime. Citizens who cause harm to others will be punished according to the severity of the crime. This theory uses legal and evidentiary reasons for punishment and does not accept that other factors such as race, gender, ethnicity, or politics play a role in either the crime or the punishment (Beccaria, Kraska, and Brent 1990). The evidence alone links proof of the crime through a discovery process within certain procedural bounds (Bex 1992; Rescher 1977; Simon 1982). While this theory is not currently the most influential, it does have a strong foundation and continued use in the applied justice community.

Crime Control versus Due Process

Herbert L. Packer, a distinguished law professor at Stanford University, wrote a seminal book, *The Limits of Criminal Sanction* (1968), on the two models of the criminal process. The first model is crime control and the second is due process. It is similar to the rationalism theory in its endurance and its focus on a safe and free society but different with the addition of the due process model. Due process means that value is placed on the presumption of innocence and the freedom of citizens from unjust or wrongful acts of intrusion from the state. David E. Duffee (1990), a criminal justice theorist, compares the two models. Duffee recognizes the social control in both models; however, there is a distinct difference regarding the notion of presumption. In the crime control model, there is a presumption of guilt, thereby assuming guilt as the outcome of

the investigation. The due process model assumes innocence, and directs its procedures seemingly without presumption of the outcome (Duffee 1990; Packer 1964). Critics of Packer's models cite the absence of other factors and agencies; both models reflect the agency of law enforcement and the courts without considering factors such as the corrections system, the juvenile justice arena, and the sociopolitical environment (not exclusive) (Duffee 1990; Kraska 1997).

Politics of Crime

As criminal justice activity is predicated on the interaction of the law, those who enforce it, and the public, there are inevitably divergent interests at play, resulting in giving the system a political dimension that is difficult to ignore. For this work, three key components are the focus: the ideology of national politics, the input of interest-based groups, and the use of micro-political influences.

In her groundbreaking book, *The New Jim Crow*, Michelle Alexander (2012) writes that "the seeds of the new system of control" of racial hierarchy were planted well before the end of the civil rights movement (40). In fact, governors and law enforcement officials in the South used the protest activities of those fighting for civil rights to imply a "breakdown of law and order" (40). In parallel with this repurposing of protest tactics, the FBI was reporting spikes in crime, which the media sensationalized at the expense of black men who coincidentally were experiencing rising rates of unemployment.¹⁵ A third parallel were the riots in cities such as Newark, Philadelphia,

¹⁵ Alexander explains that the rising unemployment rates occurred at the same time of the increase in numbers of fifteen-to-twenty-four year old black men. The economic and demographic factors contributing to the higher numbers of crime were not examined in the media.

and Rochester, giving rise to the notion of “civil rights for blacks led to rampant crime” (42). These events moved the early¹⁶ image of blacks as criminal to one grounded in and from the media reality. This appealed to the poor, white, working population in the South that was already opposed to integration of any public space and “eventually became the foundation of the conservative agenda on crime” (44). This is where I feel a gender analysis of black men could contribute to our understanding of homicide; an intersectional analysis is needed to explain the incarceration of men, not women.

Katherine Beckett and Theodore Sasson (2003), in *The Politics of Injustice*, posit that ideology in the 1960s and 1970s gave rise to the discussion on “law and order” and “street crime” as a means to move the needle from social welfare to social control. A conservative national politician, Barry Goldwater, made law and order a hallmark of his campaign for president in 1964. The fact that he lost by a large margin did not mean that the populace rejected the law-and-order frame; on the contrary, some scholars believe that Goldwater’s rallying cry against President Lyndon Johnson’s War on Poverty aided in the assault on the welfare laws and initiated the expansion of the penal system. Beckett and Sasson write: “In short, the construction of the crime issue as a consequence of excessive permissiveness has been extraordinarily useful to conservative opponents of civil rights and the welfare state” (47). There is no evidence that the general public was concerned (at that time) about rising crime; they were more concerned about civil rights and the Vietnam War. The ideology from the right pushed the idea of social control through law and order (Barkan and Cohn 1994; Bennett and

¹⁶Alexander is referring to a time period prior to 1964, the year of the Rochester riot.

Tuchfarber 1975). Vanessa Barker (2009), in *The Politics of Imprisonment*, asserts that there are unresolved conflicts as a result of the legislative gains in the mid-1960's and early 1970's in civil and women's rights and these conflicts "would animate politics for the next thirty years" (27). Barker goes on to say:

What has emerged from this set of conflicts has been the rise of a rights-based politics, a variant of the democratic process and a style of politics that has tended to sharpen social divisions rather than level social inequalities. Already by the mid-1970's, the intensification of the criminal law and penal sanctioning began to remake American democracy into a much less generous and more coercive political order (27).

That conflict invoking rights often caused the contestants' attitudes to devolve into strident and immovable ideological positions is nothing new; moreover, the criminal justice system has the advantage, presumptively, of always being on "the right side" of a conflict, by "protecting and serving," in the name of the public's safety. These dynamics facilitate mere plausibility's becoming certainty without proof, conditional belief's hardening into an unwavering conviction and untouchable dogma, and, perhaps most importantly, undermines the assumption/presumption of innocence¹⁷ as a procedural legal mechanism. Villains abound and evil has one trajectory— into prison.

¹⁷ Marc Weiner of Rutgers University cautions the use of "the presumption of innocence" as it is merely a rule of evidence, not a substantive rule of law. It only indicates "who goes first at trial, or, what the neutral starting point for the trial is. It is only once the jury is empaneled that the "presumption of innocence" kicks in, so that the prosecutor has to go first to overcome that procedural presumption.

There are countless numbers of interest groups but quantity is not the important factor here; rather, it is the level of influence a group exerts on policymakers to enact specific legislation. In *Politics and the Administration of Justice*, George Cole (1973) writes about the variety and impact of myriad interests in criminal justice proceedings; for instance, victims' rights, the rights of the defendants, and the protection of private and public property. Cole writes, "Decisions result from the influence of the political power of decision makers and the relative strength of competing elites" (137). National interest groups such as the NRA, the Second Amendment Foundation, and the ACLU are known for their lobbying power to influence key congressional members in order to affect national legislation. Interest groups can have completely different beliefs about crime; justice in a city means something very different from justice in a suburban enclave, just as it is different to a police officer in Camden, NJ, versus one in Annandale, NJ. Elite community members are influential with their opinions on how justice is served as are those employed in one of the three criminal justice functions. It is difficult if not impossible to have a unified response to a system that responds to the political environment of the time and the competing interests within that environment.

The third element, the micro-political influences, contains similarities to the interest groups; the difference lies in the source of the implementation. Stuart Scheingold (1984, 2010) asserts that micro-political influence affects arrests, determines the manner of policing, and constitutes the agenda of the local courts. He also thinks the local media is a part of that action, inciting and sustaining local fears about suspected occurrences and people.

Social Construction of Crime and Crime Control

In addition to the politically constructed reality of criminal justice, there is the socially constructed reality in the criminal justice theories. This social construction theory is relatively new and not fully accepted, let alone adopted. Kraska and Brent (2011) point out that it may be too abstract, with not enough data behind it and “lies in opposition, for the most part, to rational/legal or systems thinking” (157). The idea of a socially constructed theory on the criminal justice system absorbs the rationalist way of thinking but surrounds it with the concept that the reality of an alleged criminal is not predetermined; rather, it is socially constructed. There are a multitude of theorists from Howard Becker (1963), who was said to have started the criminologists thinking about the development of certain “illegal” behaviors and the reaction of the criminal justice system to them to sociologist Herbert Blumer (1969), an early proponent of social construction, to Nicole Rafter (1990) who argues that this approach investigates the production of the facts of a crime and relationships among the law, the public perception of a crime, and the criminal act. This particular brand of investigation explores and exposes the origin of the crime through multiple lenses including the relationships just mentioned, but also the historical circumstances and events beyond the crime itself. For instance, how did the applicable law (for the crime) come to be and who/what were the drivers behind this law? Rafter (1990) is concerned “less with offenders and their control than with the processes through which offenders and mechanism of control are produced” (168).

Adding to and strengthening the theory of the social construction of crime and crime control are the “myths” of crime, myths propagated through ideology, political

maneuvers, and media-to-public perception. As an example, Victor E. Kappeler and Gary W. Potter (2005) in *The Mythology of Crime and Criminal Justice* write, “Politicians, most police officers, and many vocal citizens allege that criminals escape the severe punishments they deserve. If judges would impose tougher sentences, then we could deter some violent crimes and incapacitate those who choose to ignore the laws” (313). There are other beliefs about the legal system that “reveal a great deal about the values held by society” (285).

One key factor determining the fate of an accused from arrest through pretrial detention through plea bargaining and court and possibly prison is money. Kappeler and Potter (2005) write, “Those who can commit sophisticated crimes, pay high-priced attorneys, and afford private treatment and counseling will find justice with a merciful and caring face. Those who cannot will find long sentences and prison their punishment for being poor” (285).¹⁸ Michelle Alexander (2012) argues that the widespread offering and acceptance of a plea in lieu of a full trial has skyrocketed “simply because the punishment for the minor, nonviolent offense with which [the accused] have been charged is so unbelievably severe” (87). In a book review, Bernard Goldberg and Howard Silverstein expand the perception of harsher punishment upon conviction through a trial. The book, *Plea Bargaining: The Experiences of Prosecutors, Judges, and Defense Attorneys* by Milton Heumann, a political science professor emeritus from Rutgers University, makes the case that the high volume of cases is not behind the practice, as was traditionally thought. Rather, it is the consequences to the defense attorney if

¹⁸ This finding is corroborated in the interviews I conducted.

he/she were to press for trial. Goldberg and Silverstein review the four consequences from the perspective of a defense attorney: (1) there could be court-imposed sanctions if the defense attorney presses for a trial; (2) state files may be closed to defense attorneys if they persist in their discovery efforts; (3) the prosecutor may eventually refuse to bargain; and (4) there could be much harsher sentences with a conviction from the trial. These factors move experienced defense attorneys to begin with a plea bargain rather than move for trial immediately (Goldberg and Silverstein 1979).

Social mechanisms highlight the individual and distract from the prevention approach to crime, which requires an analysis of broader social problems such as organized crime in the illegal economies, the rush to incarcerate low-income, young, black males, and the corruption of urban law enforcement. As counterintuitive as it may seem, the crime control element of the criminal justice system makes decisions not based on deterring crime or even preventing it but on perpetuating a cyclical pattern of inmates. Herbert Goldstein (1979), an expert in problem-oriented policing, was frustrated with law enforcement because he thought its focus should be on controlling crime through prevention programs, youth-oriented jobs programs, or other means designed to reduce the rate of crime. Instead the focus was the technology of artillery and efficient ways of recording or monitoring or apprehending. It was on the methods of doing the job which do not target the objective of problem-orienting policing, rather it targets the efficiencies, the means of getting the job done. Once the efficiency of a system is the priority, the human values of justice, rights, and equality drift away in the

pursuit of gross profit (Dvorin and Simmons 1972; Garland 2001; Kappeler and Miller 2006; Manning 1992).

Oppression Through Criminal Justice

As an aid to the pursuit of profit and a dismissal of human rights, Loic Wacquant (2000), an urban sociologist immersed in study of the prison system, writes that “slavery, Jim Crow, and the ghetto have this in common, that they were all instruments for the conjoint extraction of labor and social ostracizing of an outside group deemed unassimilable by virtue of the indelible threefold stigma it carries” (271). In other words, the oppression of the black community has been a steady state of affairs from slavery to Jim Crow to the current state of mass incarceration and, as I maintain, to a state of non-citizenship and non-employability. These all are what Wacquant calls the “institutions of forced confinement” (2000, 275). Oppression as a theory of the criminal justice system is not from the perspective of the criminal. Although it happens to the individual, oppression is from the perspective of the state and how it administers criminal law; its (in)ability to prevent criminal behavior, violent or otherwise; its role as an oppressive “apparatus” through the use of excessive power and authority. According to Wacquant, oppression concentrates its effects using race, class, and gender as criteria for targets, especially low-income people and people of color. As this research shows, it is the black lower class that suffers the consequences and the stigmatization most acutely, severely, and frequently. David Garland (2001) in *The Culture of Control* asserts that the word “stigma has taken on a renewed value in the punishment of offenders” (181). Not only does stigma work to oppress and punish an alleged offender for the crime, it also takes oppression one step further by alerting the community to the danger of the offender’s

presence once s/he is released from prison. It is not only the sex registries that carry the danger of community alert, it is also the community service workers as labeled by the courts contributing to the continual oppression of the criminal (Garland 2001). Every minor offence, every act of disorderly conduct—particularly if committed by poor people in public spaces—is now regarded as detrimental to the quality of life.

Education

Americans have a strong belief in the power of education; it's an equalizer, it levels the playing field, it opens doors to a better future, and it lifts people out of poverty. Perhaps it does all that, but the question for this study is: Does education have a role in preventing homicides for young black men aged fifteen to twenty-four years? In reading the literature on the prevention of violence as a function of education in New Jersey and, more specifically, in the case cities of Camden, Newark, and Trenton, three categories emerge: one supporting a reduction in crime as a function of education, one contradicting it within the context of the juvenile justice system, and one explaining the struggles of mainstream or public education including the funding models.

In 2003, the Alliance for Excellent Education reported that high school dropouts are 3.5 times more likely to be arrested than those who have completed high school. However, the question is one of cause; can high school (and college) graduation prevent crime? Theoretically, there are several arguments that support the idea of reduced crime with increase in education. A high school diploma increases the chance of gaining legitimate employment, which in turn raises the opportunity costs of illegal work (Gould et al. 2002; Machin and Meghir 2000); the higher the education level, the more costly the individual loss if incarcerated, in terms of lost employment time and lost wages

(Lochner and Moretti 2004). A higher level of education may increase an individual's risk aversion level toward crime. Education level may also increase the level of patience and the ability to take a longer view.

These theories have few instances of empirical validation due to endogeneity problems. Lochner and Moretti (2004) used compulsory attendance laws along with individual data on incarceration and cohort level on arrests to demonstrate empirically that "schooling significantly reduces criminal activity. This finding is robust to different identification strategies and measures of criminal activity" (183). They also find that there are social returns even larger than private returns. They write that "a 1% increase in the high school completion rate of all men ages 20–60 would save the United States as much as \$1.4 billion per year in reduced costs from crime incurred by victims and society at large" (184). This work is corroborated by a study from Natsuaki, Ge, and Wenk (2007) examining the trajectories of criminal behavior from childhood to adulthood, and while the "main effect of completion of high school education did not reach statistical significance, [they] found a significant interaction between educational attainment and age at first arrest on a non-linear slope of crime trajectories" (441). What this meant for the authors was that high school education slowed down the rate of crimes committed by an individual and completing high school was a turning point. The solution from Lochner and Moretti (2004) is to develop programs and policies to reduce the dropout rate. This work is telling in that these scholars have reported that education on its own is instrumental in reducing crime; it plays a positive role.

A Bureau of Justice Statistics Special Report by Caroline Harlow (2003) identified some factors in play in the decision to drop out of school: “Over a third of jail inmates and a sixth of the general population said the main reason they quit school was because of academic problems, behavior problems, or lost interest. About a fifth of jail inmates and two-fifths of the general population gave economic reasons for leaving school, primarily going to work, joining the military, or needing money” (3). The *Issue Brief* (August 2006) from the Alliance for Excellent Education recommended national, state, and local level programs along with interventions within the schools to bring students up to grade level and to create school environments that support high quality of teaching and learning environments.

Limbos et al. (2007) studied the effectiveness of interventions in schools in preventing violence with the goal of understanding the factors for success and failure of programs. They found that there were many different characterizations of the intervention programs leading to diverse and sometimes negative interpretations of effectiveness. The execution of these programs along with the reporting style needs to be consistent and needs credible scientific approaches in order to translate the research outcomes into practices for intervention development, execution, and evaluation (Limbos et al. 2007). Effectiveness was not demonstrated in a “scientifically rigorous manner,” leaving doubt in their minds about reliability (Limbos et al. 2007; see also Knox, Sege, Hoffman, and Novick 2005).

There is also a “mechanical” reduction of violence; the use of metal detectors in schools comes up as a solution each time a mass shooting occurs. However, they are not

used in the majority of schools; it is typically urban schools with a history of violence that have the metal detectors (Hankin, Hertz, and Simon 2011). In a literature review studying the impact of metal detectors on the rate of school violence, similar limitations on definitive conclusions arose, because the use of cross-sectional data made it difficult to separate other factors such as security guards, closed circuit monitoring, and educational programs from the impact of metal detectors (Hankin, Hertz, and Simon 2011). The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Program (1999) offered programs ranging from behavioral consultation for schools to schoolwide mentoring to situational crime prevention to mandatory sentencing laws for crimes involving firearms that show “promise” in reducing the number of serious violent juvenile (SVJ) offenders. Despite the “promise,” the absence of a reduction in dropout rates was noticeable and telling (OJJDP, 1999).

Education in Juvenile Detention Facilities.

Youth remanded to the juvenile justice system in New Jersey go through several stages, beginning with a signed delinquent complaint. The complaint is filed and a series of processes occur to decide on the severity of the offense, which determines the fate of the youth—incarceration, a residential program, probation, community service, or fines. This review focuses on the education of incarcerated juveniles residing in a secure care facility New Jersey that provides wraparound care including education, programs, counseling, and medical services (Anglin, ND, Working Paper #1).

According to a report put out by the Southern Education Foundation, *Just Learning* (2014), there is no standard of education for incarcerated youth. States have the freedom to choose the governance of the education, whether it is the state’s

education agency, a juvenile justice agency, a social services agency, a correctional agency, or the correctional school districts.¹⁹ It is very difficult to obtain accurate data on current level of educational attainment for remanded youth because that information is not recorded by any system that educates juveniles. What is known is the high numbers of youth in custody nationwide with overlapping educational issues: 30 percent have a diagnosis of learning disability, 25 percent have repeated a grade, 61 percent have been expelled or suspended, 13 percent have dropped out of school, 48 percent are below their grade, and 21 percent are neither enrolled nor graduated. These are not stand-alone categories as many of them are subsets of overlap.²⁰ There is a lack of data and perhaps a lack of “needing” to report as “standard public reporting and common rubrics of educational assessment do not apply” (Southern Education Foundation 2014, 14).

The Juvenile Justice office of the USDOJ has regular reporting or surveys about other conditions in detention facilities but no reporting on schools, educational services, or student learning. In an interview with Molly Knefel of *The Nation*, Jessica Feierman, the attorney at the Juvenile Law Center in Philadelphia, says that “a lot of kids go into juvenile-justice facilities and that’s the end of their education. . . . There is a huge degree of variability as to what happens to a young person, depending on what state they’re in or even what part of the state they’re in” (Knefel, 2015, 23). Education for youth in secure detention centers is highly dysfunctional because of lack of reporting,

¹⁹ The Juvenile Justice Agency oversees New Jersey incarcerated youth.

²⁰ The percentages for the issues add up to 198 percent because of the overlaps of issues.

lack of curriculum standards, and poor physical infrastructure, with some centers devoid of classrooms, libraries, and appropriate books. Teacher training is an issue, especially training for the special needs of students in detention. Still, accountability is nonexistent for violations of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLBA), leaving little to no motivation for states to correct the issues and provide a proper education to young inmates (Thiele, Bullis, Yovanoff, and Havel 2004; Twomey 2008). In April 2006, Thomas Blomberg *et al* writes in “Corrections Today”²¹ that “the law (NCLBA) mandates that the schools meet the same standards required of elementary and secondary public schools”. However, attempts to show efficacy of any system is very limited as there are no data to use as a starting point to measure improvement, thus handicapping future and targeted reforms. The denial of education to youth in places originally intended to be rehabilitative centers is appalling. It has been empirically shown that education is the one variable that affects the ability to be hired and/or to go on to higher education. By ignoring the inadequacy of education in juvenile facilities, the state is deliberately ignoring a human right. Why this happens may be a result of the business side of education.

Education as a Business

Educational policy in New Jersey (and in certain urban areas across the country) in the last fifteen years has been a story of commercialization. The key feature and goal of this type of educational focus has been the maximizing of industry-driven educational tools, such that the educational industry continues its trajectory of positive net growth

²¹ *Corrections Today* is a member publication for the American Correctional Association. www.aca.org

and profit-building capacity. In Camden and Newark, there is evidence of successful education-as-business. Anthony Picciano and Joel Spring (2013), in *The Great American Education-Industrial Complex*, think the pivotal point in education came through technology, as more and more computer applications became available to score tests, provide online teaching in the classroom, and assess teachers to highlight their levels of accountability through test scores. They feel this technological capability moved public education toward an assembly-line type of learning and away from the “affective” side of learning. Those who design and sell the technology tout it as a money-saving effort and a more efficient way of teaching.

Technology also pits the “public” kind of teaching against the more efficient “private (commercial)” type of teaching, bringing the wave of charter schools.²² Politics, business, and education intersect. Arne Duncan, the former U.S. secretary of education appointed by President Barack Obama, was instrumental in the adoption of technology in schools. Karen Cator, a former director of Apple’s advocacy efforts in education, went to the Department of Education as well and serves on the board of an educational for-profit lobbying board, the Software and Information Industry Association. There are two key stakeholders in the technology of education; (1) the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, and (2) Pearson, the giant textbook company. Pearson founded the Pearson Foundation to promote its products to the government and the Gates Foundation partially funds the Pearson Foundation to promote the use of Microsoft technology.

²² Although there are many types of charter schools including but not limited to hybrids, private, religious, this section refers to a public charter.

Closer to home, David Giambusso and Jessica Calefati of *The Star Ledger* on October 27, 2011 report there is the never-ending public situation in Newark, of Christopher Cerf, Corey Booker, and Mark Zuckerberg of Facebook, which was presented as an model of the connections between private businesses, foundations, and the state; the implementer (Cerf) was and is embedded with both private industry and state appointments as the commissioner.²³ It is federal monies that are the attraction for private industry. Taxpayer dollars are attractive targets for educators who have the technology, the marketing, and the connections to persuade city governments to adopt charter schools and abandon faltering public schools. Technology development with the ability to continually iterate, stakeholders who move between private industry and government, and the invisible hand of the market are the key drivers in the education-industrial complex (Picciano 2013).

What does this have to do with prevention of homicides? Charter schools have to “show” success to continue receiving funding through federal and private sources and, therefore, must have students with the ability to succeed and *not* have behavioral problems or learning disabilities requiring special education. Disparities arise naturally because of this in cities such as Newark and Camden, where the students are extremely

²³ Christopher Cerf has been associated with private education and companies promoting charter schools since teaching for a private school in Cincinnati in 1978, general counsel and eventually the President and Chief Operating Officer for Edison Education in 1997, CEO of Sangari Global Education, Deputy Chancellor for New York Public School District in 2006 ,appointed as New Jersey’s Education Commissioner in 2010 by Governor Chris Christie, and Newark Public School District Superintendent in 2011. Controversies have surrounded him with the funding of Edison Education by the Florida Pension Fund owned by Liberty Partners enabling Cerf to hold an equity position, a conflict of interest in his NYC role and his close connections with promoting charter schools in urban areas such as Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York City, and Newark.

poor and have a higher rate of difficulties. These students are left to the district schools that have few resources and, as a consequence, few chances of success getting their graduates into colleges.

Education is one of the cores of basic human development. In theory and intention it is the greatest of equalizers except for those who need more attention and time in the classroom: the incarcerated, the disabled, and the poor youth of urban areas. There are internally and externally placed barriers in front of those youth making it very difficult to achieve a high school diploma. The juvenile justice system has little accomplishment to show for any level of education, and the district schools are occupied with keeping up with the testing needs of the state and the competitive pressures from charter schools' proliferation. It is a system that persists in keeping youth in poverty and isolation.

Nonprofits

Newark's Operation Ceasefire, Newark Anti-Violence Coalition, Cure4Camden, Trenton Anti-Violence Reduction Strategy, the Boston Gun Project's "Operation Ceasefire," Chicago Ceasefire, formerly known as CureViolence, are all agencies intent on reducing homicides and violence in the cities of their name. These nonprofits highlight their presence on the front lines of the violence and their ability to work with youth who are involved or thinking about getting involved in criminal activity. There is not a great deal of literature on these groups beyond newspaper reports highlighting an event or a partnership with some state official. There is also no evidence that these programs reduce homicides or violent activity.

In addition to the lack of scholarly articles on the evidence of homicide reduction from antiviolence agencies is the lack of research on the role of nonprofits in activities previously the purview of government agencies. For instance, nonprofit agencies have long been involved in areas of environmental protection, human rights, and human needs such as housing, food aid, and health. Nicolas Guilhot (2012) in *The Democracy Makers* discusses the development of nonprofit agencies as a function of national interest. His point of reference is human rights organizations but this narrative is analogous to the human services agencies of today where nonprofit groups use federal and state dollars to deliver services once provided by the government. When Guilhot writes, “they (non-profit groups) lend themselves to being instrumentalized by particular interests and national security objectives” (20), he could have been speaking about most nonprofits, and in particular those receiving funding from local or state funders, as these donors in the form of funding agencies have criteria and expect deliverables in exchange for funding. In the case of the three cities in this study, human services nonprofits do the work of a security agency by making the city safe for business or tourism or other economic-related activity. Human rights agencies opened their doors with embedded values from existing political institutions because they are funded by the government either through contracts or grants with specific rules on governing, distribution of funds, and implementation.

There are nonprofits composed of academic and criminal justice partnerships targeting the reduction of gun violence. David Kennedy, a professor at John Jay College

of Criminal Justice, was at Harvard when he initiated the Boston Ceasefire Program in conjunction with the Boston police. In his book the *Boston Gun Project's Ceasefire Program*, he writes that "the core of the problem, the key to the way out, lies in the community, in communities. . . . To truly change things, these communities must change the way they see each other, treat each other, act with and upon each other" (2011, 16). Kennedy believes in the good intentions of the law enforcement community; it is just that they have given up on the poor communities where the homicides are the highest. He thinks they need to figure out the method of working with communities. The "resetting [of] community standards, undoing toxic norms and narratives, fixing legitimacy, is real, very real, change. The more that understanding spreads, the more the work makes sense" (272). Kennedy thinks that a partnership between the very poor black residents of the neighborhoods with high crime, the law enforcement arm of Boston, the faith component of the neighborhood, and Harvard researchers would reduce gun violence. It happened that there was a reduction in gun violence at the time of implementation and the Ceasefire Program founders took the initial credit. However, a spike in gun violence occurred over the next four years, essentially erasing the decline. Deborah Prithrow-Stith in "Strengthening the Collaboration Between Public Health and Criminal Justice" cited limitations to CeaseFire types of programs due to the reactive nature of these interventions and the reliance on individual blame and punishment. Since CeaseFire did not address the external risk factors such as the socioeconomic and environmental factors in Boston at that time, it was not going to work (Prithrow-Stith 2004).

In Newark, another nonprofit, a hybrid version of the Boston Gun Project Ceasefire and Chicago's Operation Ceasefire, was formed, called Newark's Operation Ceasefire. It was a reaction to the increasing number of murders in 2003 and 2004. A group of researchers at Rutgers University Behavioral Center led by Doug Boyle looked at the results of Newark's Operation Ceasefire and evaluated it by conducting three different time series analyses of gunshot wounds in the targeted zones of the city of Newark. They were looking for changes pre and post the program in these targeted zones and using trauma center data on gunshot wounds. They concluded that the Operation Ceasefire "did not result in a statistically significant change in the rate of GSW (gunshot wounds) in the CF Zone" (118). As this was another reactive program, there was little to suggest that there would be sustainable reduction in the violence.

Included in the domain of nonprofits, the religious domain has now become a sub-domain with little to no literature on the prevention of homicides through interventions or programs developed and implemented by religious professionals. In February of 2016, *The New Yorker* profiled the Reverend Dr. Michael L. Pfleger, a Catholic priest who lives and practices his faith in the Auburn-Gresham neighborhood of Chicago. He is known as a man of moral authority not only within his black church but within the larger community of Chicago. Critics charge him with showboating as he knows political celebrities well, such as former President Obama and Mayor Rahm Emanuel, whom he endorsed for his second term even though Fr. Pfleger has publicly criticized the mayor for the delayed release of the video depicting the police killing of Laquan McDonald. Evan Osnos writes: "Rather than call for Emanuel's resignation,

Pfleger is asking for something that he regards as more precious: jobs and development projects in African-American areas in Chicago” (Osnos 2016, 39), a more relevant narrative regarding the homicides in urban areas and the religious component in the non-profit domain.

Of all the domains in this study, the nonprofit agencies addressing a “cure” for violence were the only ones with the intent to reduce gun violence; and, with the municipal governments holding and distributing the funds for their programs, there is scant evidence of efficacy. Each of the cities in this research has had some sort of antiviolence movement in the last three to five years and each of these cities is maintaining similar levels of homicides for the past three to five years. The literature on the effect of the religious domain is scant with most of it focused on the care given to victims and communities after a homicide.

Public Health

Similar to the reviews for criminal justice, education, and the nonprofits, the public health review is specific in the search for the preventive role of public health organizations with regard to homicides and violence. The underlying rationale for this segment of the literature review is the need to detect themes within the public health literature on violence/homicides in order to produce a coherent picture of the active role of public health agencies. Therefore, the themes presented here are:

1. The framing of public health
2. Public health organizational structures
3. Politicizing public health and subsequent tensions

Public Health Framing

The framing of public health has a variety of styles. In this section, I draw on the work of Constance Nathanson (1996), Nancy Krieger (2011), and Kenneth Dodge (2008). Dodge uses Sheena Iyengar's 1991 study to illustrate the way media report crime and how the public accepts the way media depict African American males and crime. Dodge and Iyengar maintain that media use episodic rather than thematic reporting on crime within the African American community. This episodic approach leads the viewer to absorb the perception (as fact) that it is individual African American males who are the issue. If the crime was reported as "thematic," then the audience would be inclined to think that there is a cultural or historical aspect to crime.

An example of another case of media framing of public health issues is the one of smoking. Nathanson writes, "It is hard to overstate the importance for smoking behavior change in the United States of the rhetorical shift from smokers' health to nonsmokers' rights. The hazards of smoking were relocated from the individuals' risky behavior to the behavior of his smoking neighbor; risk-taking was no longer a matter of 'choice' but of victimization" (2007, 74). In Nathanson's opinion, authority in public health should reside with scientific experts; however, in real life, their power through expertise is limited and a function of a variety of contingencies. These contingencies could be the current political ideology, the ability of the knowledge brokers to frame persuasively, and, as always, timing of the events (Nathanson 2007).

In a more theoretical example, Nancy Krieger (2008), a social epidemiologist, argues that the terms "distal and proximal" need to be discarded and exchanged "with explicit

language about levels, pathways, and power” (48). Her view is that these terms became “catchalls” to either express or, sometimes more importantly, contest conclusions of public health investigations. For instance, she believes that the way people’s lives are affected by their social, political, and economic environment within their society is not easily divorced from political economy or political ecology. Krieger writes, “Driving health inequities are how power—both power over and power to do, including constraints on and possibilities for exercising each type—structures people’s engagement with the world and their exposure to material and psychosocial health hazards” (2008, 50). The distal and proximal terminology masks the true public health problem because the proximal and distal are conjoined; there is no spatial divide.

This framing or misframing does not occur only in the United States; Canadian researchers also see this issue. Akwatu Khenti, a researcher at the Office of Transformative Health, writes that the “persistent rate of violence among young Black men has elicited a fair amount of criminological analyses but little public health research” (2011, 12). He goes on to say that one report, the McMurtry and Curling report, was “notable for its exceptional status” (2011, 12) and would be a victory if ‘readers’ would understand the issue of high homicide rates for black Canadians as a function of racial discrimination.

These examples illustrate the different roles of a particular frame: Dodge and Iyengar’s example of African American men and criminal acts keeps the idea of black individual crime alive; Nathanson’s example of the victimization by second-hand smoke

enables credibility; and Krieger exposes how formerly popular terms masked a more complicated health situation and deemphasized the importance of a solution.

Public Health Organizational Structures

Organizational structure and continuity of leadership matter especially when the agency is responsible for core public health functions for populations. In the United States there is no single uniform organizational structure defining the public health agencies across a state or the nation. Instead there is a mixture of system types—central, decentralized, or sharing. Add that to differences in administrative and educational credentials and governance on national, state, and municipal levels, because public health commissioners and directors of national agencies (such as the CDC) are politically appointed positions with the charge of adherence to the current political leader.

On the national level, there are three agencies responsible for the public health of Americans; (1) CDC, (2) National Institutes of Health (NIH), and (3) United States Public Health Services Commissioned Corps (USPHS CC). An understanding of the goals of each organization, their reporting chain, funding sources and connections between them is critical to discern the priorities of these national agencies especially with regard to the prevention of violence. Moving to the state and municipal levels with similar scrutiny, public health agencies in the State of New Jersey and the cities of Camden, Newark, and Trenton will complete the picture.

CDC's core mission is to protect American citizens from health, safety, and security threats originating domestically or in other countries by working with affected communities to find and implement solutions for the largest health and disability issues.

Organizationally, CDC has a total of eight Centers, Institutes, and Offices each with a different concentration²⁴ with the Director of the CDC reporting to the United States Department of Health and Human Services (HHS). Underneath the Office of Non-communicable Diseases, Injury, and Environmental Health is the National Center for Injury Prevention and Control where there are three divisions; (1) Division of Unintentional Injury Prevention, (2) Division of Violence Prevention, and (3) Division of Analysis, Research, and Practice Integration. The Youth Violence topic appears under the Division of Violence Prevention in teams focused on Research and Evaluation, Prevention Practice and Translation.

The NIH is primarily a fundamental biomedical research organization focused on the application of knowledge gained from the study of living systems to “enhance health, lengthen life, and reduce illness and disability”.²⁵ This agency also reports to HHS. There are twenty-seven different Institutes and Centers within NIH with the top funding going to those Institutes and Centers focused on Clinical Research, Genetics, Cancers, Neuropathy. Homicides and Legal Interventions received zero dollars in 2011 budget.²⁶

Founded in 1798 as an agency to stop the spread of potential disease from sailors returning from foreign assignments and immigrants, the USPHS CC is one of the seven uniformed services whose mission as a commissioned corps of health

²⁴ The eight Institutes/Centers/Offices are The Center for Global Health, The National Institute for Occupational Health and Safety, Office of Public Health Preparedness and Response, Office for State, Tribal, Local and Territorial Support, Office of Public Health Scientific Services, Office of Noncommunicable Diseases, Injury, and Environmental Health, and Office of Infectious Diseases.

²⁵ www.nih.gov last accessed July 14, 2017.

²⁶ FY 2010 Actual. <https://web.archive.org/web/20110813062352/http://report.nih.gov/rcdc/categories/>

professionals is to “protect, promote, and advance the health and safety of the nation”.²⁷ Reporting to the Office of the Surgeon General (OSG), one of the major objectives is to provide leadership and service to federal and state public health agencies at the national and global levels. Eight out of twenty-six leadership positions in CDC are occupied by members of the Commissioned Corps.²⁸ In addition to leadership roles in federal agencies in HHS and non HHS agencies, members of the USPHS assist in disaster situations and serve in communities of distress. Huang et al describes the priorities of the scientists in the USPHS²⁹ as Injury and Violence Free Living concentrating on transportation safety, community and streetscape design, fall prevention, workplace safety, violence prevention, and education of individuals and families to prevent injuries and violence” (Huang et al 2017).

CDC and NIH receive their funding from Congress who authorizes activities and appropriations with the conditions that agencies receiving these funds on either a federal or state level must adhere to the Congressional purpose for the funds, cannot obligate the funds prior to passage, cannot exceed the timeframe or requested amounts. The USPHS CC receives their funding as allocated dollars for their personnel deployed to other federal agencies.³⁰ For instance, CDC must receive approval from

²⁷ www.NSPHS.gov last accessed July 14, 2017.

²⁸ Anne Schuchat, MD, USPHS is the Principal Deputy Director reporting directly to the Director of the CDC, Brenda Fitzgerald, MD. Dr. Schuchat is responsible for seven major units of the CDC. (<http://www.cdc.gov>)

²⁹ The USPHS employs approximately 6700 people many of which are assigned to one of eleven professional categories. The Scientist Category 11 has seven priorities one of which is Injury and Violence Free Living.

³⁰ Explanation of CDC budget approval process from power point at https://www.cdc.gov/stltpublichealth/docs/finance/public_health_financing-6-17-13.pdf last accessed July 14, 2017.

Congress for budget allocations for programs assigned to USPHS CC scientists. In the Commissioned Officers Fact Sheet for the USPHS CC, the path of funding is clear; “The Office of the Surgeon General (OSG) currently receives funding from the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Health (OASH). OSG does not have its own budget. Management of the Commissioned Corps is funded by the Service and Supply Fund and a per capita charge to each of the HHS Operating Divisions or agencies where PHS officers work”. The budgets for each of the three federal public health agencies are very different in that NIH receives approval for two to three times the budget approved for CDC while the USPHS CC has no budget and relies on the HHS Service and Supply Fund.³¹

When it comes to funds for violence prevention, the CDC and NIH have different levels of funding as well. Of direct relevance to this study, in the US Congress, specifically, the House of Representatives, Jay Dickey (R-AR) inserted wording into the 1996 Omnibus Consolidated Appropriation Bill for Fiscal Year 1997 that “none of the funds made available for injury prevention and control at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention may be used to advocate or promote gun control.” Although this did not explicitly disallow CDC researchers from studying gun violence, it did instill a fear of damage to career advancement and loss of funding for the agency. To ensure that no funding was used for gun violence research, a powerful gun lobby group, the National Rifle Association (NRA), instigated removal of the monies (\$2.6 million) earmarked for this research from CDC’s 1997 budget and its allocation to another group for the study

³¹ In 2015, the CDC received \$11.8 billion from Congress while the NIH operated with \$30.4 billion. <https://www.hhs.gov/about/budget/fy2015/budget-in-brief/cdc/index.html>, last accessed July 14, 2017.

of traumatic brain injury (Kellerman 2012). Over the years the NRA continued to advocate defunding monies for research at the CDC on gun violence as a public health issue. In 2011, Congress again prohibited the use of funds for gun violence research through language in the Consolidated Appropriations Act of 2012, legislation that provided funding for the NIH. In January of 2013, President Obama released his plan for the reduction of gun violence and pushed for the end of the ban on this type of research, asking for studies examining the causes and prevention of gun violence. In 2015, however, Congress extended the ban on gun violence research. Although Congress has deemed since 2012 that no NIH funds can be used “to advocate or promote gun control,” NIH in 2013 announced a funding opportunity for research examining violence, in particular firearm violence³². The NIH announced in a news release on September 27, 2014, that they “developed this call for proposals in response to the Presidential memorandum in January 2013 directing science agencies within the US Department of Health and Human Services to fund research into the causes of firearm violence and ways to prevent it.”³³ (<http://1.usa.gov/1Xe5B24>) The NIH has funded two that specifically address firearms. One was awarded to the UC Davis Violence Prevention Institute headed by Dr. Garen Wintemute and other is under the leadership of Rina Eiden, PhD, a substance abuse researcher at the University of Buffalo. On the other hand, the CDC remains in the data collection mode evidenced by the

³² Notice of Legislative Mandates in Effect for FY2012

<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/notice-files/NOT-OD-12-034.html> last accessed July 14, 2017.

³³ NIH calls for research projects examining violence <http://1.usa.gov/1Xe5B24>) last accessed July 14, 2017.

creation in 2002 of the National Violent Death Reporting System (NVDRS), which covers all types of violent deaths, including homicides and suicides committed with firearms. Researchers such as Stephen Teret, JD, co-director of the Center for Law and the Public's Health at the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg Schools of Public Health comment "That's about as benign as you can get. It's not only about guns, it's about violence, and it's just data collection". Wintemute said, "most of us see it as not research in itself". Reasons for the difference in CDC and NIH funding decisions vary; (1) the thinking that the larger budget of NIH is a protective mechanism from Congressional pushback, (2) the NIH has less oversight due to their fundamental work as opposed to the applied and implementation work of CDC potentially bringing proposals of gun control policies, and (3) CDC would have to reallocate monies from other programs to fund violence prevention and they are not willing to do that (Kohrman, Masters 2016, Rudin 2016).

Similar conditions for the use of federal funds apply to the public health agencies at a state level. In Fiscal Year, 2016, the CDC awarded the State of New Jersey \$72, 910, 932 for specific programs detailing specific amounts for programs with the highest awards with HIV/AIDS, Public Preparedness and Immunization programs.³⁴ The fiscal 2016 budget includes over \$20 million in State and federal funds for women's services and domestic violence. More specifically to the issue of homicide reduction, the

³⁴ FY2016 CDC program funding for New Jersey: HIV/AIDS, Viral Hepatitis, STI and TB Prevention \$25,213,699 34.6%, Public Health Preparedness and Response \$14,691,760 20.2%, CDC-Wide Activities and Program Support \$7,546,093 10.3%, Immunization and Respiratory Diseases \$8,247,597 11.3%, https://wwwn.cdc.gov/FundingProfilesApp/Report_Docs/PDFDocs/Rpt2016/New-Jersey-2016-CDC-Grants-Profile-Report.pdf

initiative under Healthy New Jersey 2020,³⁵ a data collection system has been implemented, the New Jersey Violent Death Reporting System (NJVDRS) and is maintained through a cooperative agreement with the CDC and is housed in the NJDOH Center for Health Statistics (CHS). The NJVDRS is a violence surveillance system that links data from death certificates, medical examiners, and police reports to create a rich dataset that is timelier than traditional death certificate data alone. NJVDRS data have been used by NJDOH, other State Departments, local health and community groups, and researchers at academic institutions in New Jersey to support intervention and prevention programs, grant proposals, and state and collaborative initiatives to reduce the number of deaths due to violence. Leider et al from the Johns Hopkins School of Public Health writes that “ State health agencies (SHAs) lead in setting state and local public health agendas, maintain large health databases, fund many local public health programs, and implement communicable disease control and public health regulation” (2015 336-344).

Using the above information on organizational structure and budget allocation as a backdrop to the public health services on a federal and state level, it is possible to anticipate the tension between public health leaders, budget approvers, and providers specifically in cities such as Camden, Newark, and Trenton to deliver on severe public health issues such as reducing homicides. The collection of deaths is permissible, however, public health recommendations on the control or removal of the means of

³⁵ Healthy New Jersey 2020 is the State's Health Improvement for the decade modeled after the federal Healthy People 2020 initiative. <http://www.state.nj.us/health/chs/hnj2020/environment/violence/>

homicides is not allowed. The case of the NRA inserting their influence on the ability of the CDC to research violence is a clear example of the tension between political systems and public agencies. There is the constant need for trade-offs between the political realities, the needs of the agency, and the needs of the community to address critical population health issues. The next section highlights additional points of tension within public health institutions.

Another point of tension for public health institutions has been a shift in resources for preventive strategies from the public health sector to medical professionals in the preventive clinical services. In 1984, the United States Preventive Services Task Force (USPSTF)³⁶ was created to provide evidence-based proposals for clinical preventive services such as screenings, counseling services, and preventive medications. According to Barbara Starfield and her colleagues at Johns Hopkins University, “This [shift] reflects the emergence of the concept of ‘preventive medicine,’ particularly in the United States” (2008, 580). Starfield et al. claim this caused a “dismantling of the public health infrastructure” (582) with parallel increases in the breadth of clinical/medical services indicating lower resources against a lower priority health approach; prevention vs treatment. It is important to note that the clinical/medical industry is not dependent on public dollars the way public health agencies are. Even though prevention dollars are less available in the clinical/medical world than treatment dollars,

³⁶ The USPSTF was created in 1984 to provide recommendations based on independent, expert volunteers skilled in prevention and evidence based medicine.
<https://www.uspreventiveservicestaskforce.org/Page/Name/about-the-uspstf>

there is still more money through the medical industry to pursue the goal of prevention than there is in the public sector. However, that does not mean that there would be funding for gun violence prevention in either sector due to the political nature of funding for NIH and the CDC and the low priority of gun violence prevention in the clinical/medical industry. In addition, the work necessary to prevent homicides is far more complex than the work necessary to prevent most physical medical conditions, as there are structural externalities in the communities of those experiencing homicides creating a complex set of issues.

Data collection and analysis used to support public health research on causes of death generates political tension between competing medical disciplines. As mentioned above, there are several methods of data collection used by municipal and state agencies, which have the potential to raise reliability issues. In addition, there are different types of investigators who identify the cause and context of death. Coroners, forensic pathologists, physicians, or non-forensic pathologists are among the specialists in the “applicable” pool for this work. Naturally, the expectation is that the data are valid and reliable in order for the criminal justice system to accurately investigate deaths and develop prevention strategies (Crume, DiGuseppi, Byers, Sirotnak, and Garrett 2002; Levene and Bacon 2004; Platt et al. 1988; Rockett 2010). In collecting credible evidence about the manner and type of death, coroner inquests would “be advantageous to all by strategically relocating some suspicious deaths within the public sphere and freeing the expert eye from the stifling weight of being solely responsible for ‘brokering death’” (Bugeja et al. 2012; Neuilly 2013; Timmermans 2005, 2006). Adding

to this validity and reliability issue is an “overbearing” criminal justice focus of the field (McGowan and Vlens 2010) along with the assertion from Melanie-Angela Neuilly of a “lack of public health training of medico-legal practitioners” (2013, 343). The two major areas of tension arise from the need from the public health agencies to get reliable and credible data while the medico-legal practitioners such as coroners partner with those in the criminal justice system.

Politicizing Public Health

Interest groups have been instrumental in erecting formidable barriers to public health research. Already described above, the NRA has actively supported legislation to defund and delay funding for the study of critical issues regarding gun control and safety (Brown 2010; Nathanson 1996). Here politics directed by a powerful interest group had the upper hand in restricting public health work on a leading cause of death (Jamieson 2013). In a different direction, interest groups including commercial entities have been instrumental in developing diseases not previously known as such. Prior to 2005, the CDC did not list obesity as a disease with epidemic proportions, however, with the advent of the Body Measurement Index (BMI) and the intense emphasis placed on image, CDC developed programs linked to reducing body fat and increasing physical activity and continues to be concerned about obesity as a disease. The emergence of self-management through commercial diets, gyms, and pharmaceutical aids for weight loss aided in the development of obesity as a public health concern (Jutel 2011, Rosenberg 2002). Influence from weight loss groups extended far beyond the effect of the pharmaceutical industry resulting in “significant lobbying and product promotion based on the disease label” (Jutel 2011). A great deal of scholarship has been attached

to the social creation of diseases using insights from the clinic, normative healthy' trends, political connections, and negotiations among parties who have a stake in the outcome (Aronowitz 1998, Roberts 2011, Tesh 1994, Wailoo eds 2010).

The Separation of Data from Meaning and the Rhetoric of Risk Factors

Sylvia Tesh (1994) writes that "science, because it disaggregates the job and leaves out meaning, necessarily fails to represent it completely." (129). She was referring to the air traffic controller situation where they (controllers) used the concept of stress as the 'more scientific' approach to representing their grievances on issues related to shifts, supervisors, and insistence on speed. This approach when used in Congressional hearings resulted in the Federal Aviation Agency declaring that the stress present before the strike was a function of tense relationships between the management and the controller's union thus recommending the hiring of non-union controllers. Tesh argues that using a stress discourse removes and distances the experiences of ordinary people in a tense and highly anxious work environments. In other words, stress discourse sanitizes the experience. Tesh goes on to say that the use of scientific discourse "elevates the possessors of the technical language, exacerbating the division among classes" (119). The health of the controller population was delegitimized by the politics of the FAA in their ability to use stress in an expansive but unintended (for the controllers) manner.

In a slightly different scenario where the term 'risk factors' provided a new framework for encompassing uncertainty in cardiovascular disease, Robert Aronowitz (1998) writes that the term did so "by providing an overarching, consoling, meaning-giving frame work. Risk factors provided a reassuring explanatory framework because

they gave some sense of who was at greatest risk and what one might do to decrease risk” (125). The term also carries a great deal of ambiguity making it attractive to rhetorical use by addressing multiple causes of death or illness. The broad meaning of the term has also led to a “productive framework that has permitted a great deal of epidemiological and clinical research and has led to dramatic shifts in clinical and public health practices” allowing a catch basin of sorts (Aronwitz 1998 144).

What does this have to do with homicides in New Jersey? This work looks at the homicide data which when normalized over the population is not nearly as large as the LCOD data for Cerebrovascular disease or cancers. However, when the data are disaggregated and the view of the rates point out the population in danger and their location of urban areas, the data becomes meaningful. This LCOD has to do with youth, meaning there are potentially a greater number of years to live than those who, on average, present with symptoms of cardiac distress. This LCOD further points out that the youth in the greatest danger reside in urban areas where conditions are dangerous and life-threatening, deepening the meaning of homicide data for this population. However, once the meaning is removed and homicide data are contrasted with stroke data as a LCOD, the distance between the two LCOD's is great. The removal of meaning from data gives a distance to those in power who can affect the issue.

In the case of risk factors and homicides, the phrase has been extended to this LCOD and used in programs marketed at the reduction of homicides. Take the example

of CureViolence³⁷ in Chicago where Dr. Gary Slutkin, an epidemiologist, uses risk factors as a way of marketing a program to reduce violence by targeting those individuals most vulnerable to the perpetuation of violence or with the high amount of risk factors.³⁸ The concept of identifying the risk factors has caught the attention of the mayor of Camden in their program, Cure4Camden, and an older program in Newark, OperationCeasefire. The risk factor concept rationalizes the use of these programs even though little to no evidence of reduction has been identified.³⁹

Race

The role of the economy has emerged as a pivotal hub in this study. Racial and class isolation has also emerged as an issue through this research, because it serves as a mechanism for economic growth for developers of urban landscapes and drug traders. As such, the topic of race is instrumental in this study; without it, the foundation of “how” and “why” Newark and Camden and (to a lesser extent) Trenton are fertile ground for charter school growth will be shaky; the question of why there is a plentiful supply of resources for the drug trade would remain a superficial and rhetorical one; the arc of violence in these cities and in the drug trade and the need for a federal monitor at the Newark Police Department would not exist.

This section is divided into three parts; the first focuses on the historical role of slavery in economic growth of the United States. This focus on history lends continuity to the situation at hand. The second part discusses the embedded and implicit use of

³⁷ A program first called CeaseFire was designed by Dr. Gary Slutkin and has been replicated with some differences in method in cities across the country.

³⁸ CureViolence website. <http://cureviolence.org> last accessed July 14, 2017.

³⁹ Dr. Doug Boyle, a Rutgers scientist, studied the effect of Operation Ceasefire Newark by looking at gunshot wound admissions and found no significant reductions in GSW as a result of Ceasefire activities.

racial bias whether it is centered on arrests, sentencing, or jury selection. The third part examines the role of race in the educational system.

Slavery as a Growth Driver of Capitalism

Historically, slavery has played an outsized role in the growth of American capitalism. Sven Beckert and Seth Rockman point out in *Slavery's Capitalism* that the expansion of the Americas was due to slavery; it played a “central, even decisive, role—first in the Caribbean and Latin America, and then in North America—tightly connected to the world-altering Industrial Revolution” (2016, 3). Cotton plantations were the nation’s first big businesses and their success came on the backs of the slaves who cleared forests, planted and picked cotton, and designed new and more efficient methods of planting and harvesting cotton and tobacco. Perhaps more importantly, the ownership of slaves was the catalyst for inventions beyond fieldwork. These included disciplinary technologies. As Edward Baptist (2016) describes, it was the explosive noise of the heavy plaited whip landing on a human back, the forced separation of families resulting in fissures in natural alliances, the placement of the fastest slave at the head of the cotton line leaving the slower slaves to be beaten that increased productivity. Workers were forced to watch violence, even death, of slaves who could not keep up. Lest you think that these tactics were not innovative for productivity, the sensory nature of the sound of the landing of the whip, the smell of another human’s unnatural speed, and the sound of the bullet produced ever increasing pounds of cotton. In a phrase, this was tortured productivity. Baptist writes, “In 1801, 28 pounds per day per picker was the average in the South Carolina camps for which we have records. In 1846, the hands on a Mississippi labor camp averaged 341 pounds per day on a good day, and in the next

decade averages climbed higher still” (2016, 42).⁴⁰ Human whipping machines and calculated spectacles of violence by overseers were the accepted technology to produce higher and higher daily weights of cotton.

It wasn’t only the productivity gains from slaves that drove the positive growth of the American economy; there were other means of monetizing the bodies of slaves to expand the prosperity of the plantation and the nation. Bonnie Martin explains how the slave owners would leverage their assets of slaves to produce capital for other enterprises. She writes, “Whether to establish the sixteenth-century sugar centers in the Caribbean and Brazil or to finance the nineteenth-century cotton boom in Louisiana, slaves were used to support the loans necessary to raise development capital for colonial expansion” (Martin 2016 108). This financial leveraging was especially attractive for plantation owners if the assets were highly productive slaves, as those were valuable commodities and in great demand—two features of a fungible asset. Martin has examined more than 10,000 loans in Virginia, South Carolina, and Louisiana where slaves were used as collateral to raise money for local economic development. Although an abhorrent practice, what this local leveraging accomplished was a protection of the local economy, enabling the landowning class to rely less on national and international credit and more on community credit (Martin 2016).

These two examples demonstrate the economic growth capabilities of slaves either through violence to improve productivity or through the financial tools of leveraging valuable commodities. Of course, financial tools used on a local level were

⁴⁰ This average poundage was prior to the invention of the cotton gin.

replicated globally using the products of the slave labor. Kathryn Boodry points out that financiers in London, “saw promising investment opportunities in the United States” (2016, 165). Cotton brokers were not only in New York and New Orleans but also in London and Liverpool, where their foray into the cotton market was instructive for their subsequent entries into other American markets such as gold and land.

In addition to the cotton market, other industries flourished as a result of a different but new type of slavery, that of the creation of forced labor.⁴¹ Douglas A. Blackmon writes that “the Confederate government, almost from the moment of its creation, set out to spur additional capacity to make arms, particularly in Alabama, where a nascent iron and coal industry was already emerging and little fighting was likely to occur” (2009, 19). This industry used a “highly evolved system of seizing, breeding, wholesaling, and retailing slaves” (44) to power foundries such as the Shelby Iron Works in Alabama, which supplied the Confederates with cannons, gun metal, and other war equipment. Black men, formerly slaves, and now freed as a result of the war would be charged with either something they did not do or with trumped-up charges such as use of obscene language and then fined or thrown in prison. Either way, the now-captive black men would enter the world of forced labor ostensibly to repay their fine. Devon Douglas-Bowers of The Hampton Institute describes convict leasing as another form of enslavement when he writes “black convicts were no longer slaves to individual masters, but rather they were enslaved to the companies which they were

⁴¹ Meredith Turshen of Rutgers University asserts that the creation of forced labor implemented through the judicial system relates to the current situation of mass incarceration.

leased out to”.⁴² The convicts were leased out to private contractors such as railway contractors, mining companies and those who farm large plantations. These companies assume charge of the convicts, work them as cheap labor and pay the states a handsome revenue for their labor.

In the opinion of industrialists in Alabama in 1862, this forced collection of black men was the “key to the economic development of Alabama and the South” (51) because Southern white men and only Southern white men knew how to “manage” the blacks. They believed that free Negroes were inferior and did not have the capability to think or earn on their own. In my opinion, young black men in Camden, Newark, and Trenton experience a similar form of enslavement as they are forced to turn to the illegal drug economy to earn their living.

After 1865 when the Civil War ended, men like John T. Milner, an engineer turned industrialist who operated mines in the Birmingham area, not only believed in the inferiority theory, he acted on the concept by seizing “the opportunity presented by convict leasing to reclaim slavery from the destruction of the Civil War” (52). The economic market turned from cotton to other industries: resin-to-turpentine production in the Florida pines, timber removal in Alabama, railroad building in North Carolina and Georgia, and perhaps, the most brutal of them all, coal extraction in Alabama. These industries supported Milner’s preference for continuing the racially divided labor force

⁴² Slavery By Another Name: The Convict Lease System. [www.
http://www.hamptoninstitution.org/convictleasesystem.html#.WW-EGojys2x](http://www.hamptoninstitution.org/convictleasesystem.html#.WW-EGojys2x). accessed July 19, 2017.

composed of primarily black workers, formerly slaves and generally convicts. For Southern business owners, it was more than just the economic opportunity; it was the preferred method for white business leaders to continue and perpetuate racial segregation after the Civil War. It was also a demonstration of the South's ability to challenge the "citadel of northern capitalism" (Blackmon 2009, 95). Pennsylvania was home to some of the largest iron and steel mills and was ahead of its time in developing technologies for processing these metals. By the end of 1889, Pratt Coal and Iron Mines of Alabama had been purchased by the Tennessee Coal, Iron, and Railroad Company (TCI), adding nine new coal mines and work camps filled with black convicts. As difficult as it is to believe, TCI won the contract to lease all state [Alabama] convicts for the next quarter century (Blackmon 2009). The fact that there were competing bids for workers from the state prisons across the South is telling in that Southern business leaders presented a united front in preferring convict labor to either ex-slaves or available white workers in the region. They still endorsed and sought out methods of keeping the model of slavery alive for economic reasons, making them more competitive with Northern industrialists.

The work environment was brutal for the workers in the coal mining industry, exposing them to dangerous conditions underground and squalid living conditions aboveground. Hundreds died from explosions in the mines, rock avalanches,⁴³ and disease. As in the cotton fields, men were routinely whipped. Blackmon writes, "Accounts of men or women lashed until skin literally fell from their backs were not

⁴³ Another term for avalanches is cave-ins.

uncommon” (2009, 97). Those who tried to run were brutally recaptured and forced to wear iron cuffs or a steel ring around their necks to prohibit further attempts at running away. While there is similarity in the brutal treatment of the slaves on the cotton plantations and the convicts in the coal industry, there are two clear distinctions concerning the value of a convict versus the value of a slave in the cotton field. First, slave productivity from cotton picking increased as a function of either the threat of the lash or the brutal contact of the lash. In the coalmines, workers were viewed as disposable property with no financial penalty for loss, unlike field slaves, who were expensive commodities after abolition. In other words, as TCI already owned the recurring contract for new workers from the state prison there were no worries about supply. Additionally, TCI could not use the workers as financial leverage as cotton plantations owners so often did because they were not “owned” by TCI, another reason for brutal behavior from company overseers. There would be no accountability and, more importantly to companies like TCI, no economic loss.

The Use of the Law in Economic Development

The law is frequently used as an instrument of economic development. Scholars such as Alfred Brophy (2016) argue that “law” supported the institution and utility of slavery in the expansion of the economy. Brophy argues that the law organized master-slave relationships in such a way as to benefit slaveholders’ claim that their slaves were their property. Indeed, there was a robust body of contract law protecting the rights of sellers and buyers of slaves, in addition to a well-functioning credit market providing mortgages on slaves. Brophy’s term, “proslavery instrumentalism,” describes a legal system that bound the protection of human property tighter and tighter at the time the abolitionist movement was attempting to unlock slavery’s chains. The arguments in the legislatures of Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia centered on the rights of the slave owners, not the rights of the owned. The focus on the protection of property rights was justified as promoting an active and growing political economy. In other words, the law reflected the value of the market (Brophy 2016, 276).

In the post–Civil War era, the legal system continued to protect industrialists via enforcement of the practices of peonage or of “leasing” convicts from state prisons. The leasing of convicts involved the renting of inmates to private firms in return for a fee to the state. Sven Beckert (2014) writes that political power, which subsumed legal enforcement, converted American former planters into the leaders of the cotton industry. For instance, the three-fifths clause in the Constitution, by which a slave was counted as three-fifths of a person for congressional apportionment and tax purposes,

ensured continued support for slavery even though the outcome of the Civil War abolished slavery.

In 1883, the US Supreme Court ruled that the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was unconstitutional (five consolidated cases, reported at 109 U.S. 3). Essentially, the Supreme Court gave the states carte blanche to do as they liked with the “constitutional requirement of equal treatment of citizens” (Blackmon 2009, 93). This was appealing as white southerners gained federal power by making ex-slaves whole persons because apportionment of representatives was made on the basis of the total population now increased by two-fifths.⁴⁴ This sweeping effort to undermine the Civil War amendments led to the codification of racial divisions in such a way that any level of a “charge” would be acceptable to a sheriff or judge. This, in turn, resulted in the widespread apprehension of freed black men, embellishing a minor charge or concocting a charge out of thin air, and, invariably, conviction in the local, county, or state court. To close the economic loop, and as noted above, the convicted men would frequently be rented to private firms by the penal authorities as forced labor for Southern industries. Blackmon writes, “The application of laws written to criminalize black life was even more transparent in the prisoners convicted of misdemeanors in the county courts” (2009, 99). Sheriffs, deputies, and court officials were incentivized through the fines levied on convicts, leading to more and more false charges that the black people caught in the web could not refute (Blackmon 2009).

⁴⁴ Explanatory comment by Meredith Turshen, July 12, 2017.

These, and similar practices, continue to present day. De-industrialization in markets resulting in the loss of traditional manufacturing jobs in urban areas formerly available to unskilled laborers such as African Americans migrating to the North centered on automation or cheaper labor in other countries have disproportionately affected young black men and people of color, who are more likely to be targeted by law enforcement for minor infractions than white people (Alexander 2012, Garland 2001). Manning Marable comments that “without criminal records, how else could the masses of poor Blacks be segregated in the modern labor force?” (2007, 29), while Karen Parker highlights the economic marginalization of urban blacks as a “function of spatial and industrial changes in the political economy” (2008, 59). These comments mirror the observations from this study in the case cities of Camden, Newark, and Trenton that the law, as enforced and administered, upholds these macroeconomic industrial changes through a continuation of property right protection that marginalizes the poor, black community.

The Criminal Justice System

There is a vast literature on race and the criminal justice system. Rather than a comprehensive review, my focus is on three features of the criminal justice system; (1) racial breakdown of people in the criminal justice system, (2) the use of Big Data to aid judges in sentencing has a less favorable impact on people of color, and (3) jury selection.

(1) The number of people of color caught in the criminal justice system. Michelle Alexander clarifies what it means to “engaged” with the criminal justice system, writing that “most people who are under correctional control today are not in prison . . . of the nearly 7.3

million people currently under correctional control, only 1.6 million are in prison” (2012, 101). Most of the rest, who are on probation or parole, were apprehended for nonviolent offenses, typically drug offenses; they are, however, “branded” as criminals, which ensures a second-class citizenship status. Ironically, this diminished citizenship status most manifests in the way it diminishes the capacity of former offenders to find gainful, much less upwardly mobile, employment. Alexander goes on to conclude that “people of color are convicted of drug offenses at rates out of all proportion to their drug crimes, a fact that has greatly contributed to the emergence of a vast new racial undercaste” (2012, 102).

Law enforcement’s stop-and-search “discretion” also helps to generate racial disparities, a fact exacerbated by the difficulty of mounting a racial bias challenge to the resulting criminal charge. Alexander writes, “This simple design has helped to produce one of the most extraordinary systems of racialized social control the world has ever seen” (2012, 103). Scholars such as Karen Parker (2008), Carmichael (2005), Jacobs and Carmichael (2002), and Myers (1990) agree that as the black population increases in a specific area, “the dominant group will increasingly perceive blacks as a threat to their political power and will thus intensify social control to maintain their dominant position” (Parker 2008, 98). Parker goes on to observe that between 1998 and 2003 the rise in the disproportional level of incarcerated people of color in the United States does not tell the entire story, although the “dramatic rise in the black male incarceration rate is the most notable trend,” implying there is an “application of formal social control toward black males, relative to other groups” (2008, 98).

What is the impact of these social controls for the minority population? Some of the more notable effects include severe restrictions in citizen and personal rights;

enhanced difficulty in entering the formal labor market; restrictions of civil rights (no voting rights for felons); and, in some states, the limitation of parental rights. In many cases, educational scholarships are closed, public housing and social entitlements are not available or have unreasonable thresholds and bans for eligibility, and firearm restrictions are likely (Bucklar and Travis 2003; Burton, Cullen, and Travis 1987; Holzer, Offner, and Sorenson 2005; Uggen and Manza 2002; Western and Pettit 2005; Wheelock 2005).

(2) The Use of Big Data. Another form of social control can be found through the application of technology in an administrative form. Cathy O’Neill (2016) describes the impact of technology, specifically computerized risk models that contain algorithms with prejudicial assumptions for the administration of criminal justice. One of the models, the LSI-R (Level of Service Inventory–Revised), contains questions for prisoners intended to aid the judge in determining the likelihood of recidivism. O’Neill writes that “it’s easy to imagine how inmates from a privileged background would answer one way and those from tough inner-city streets another” (2016, 25). If the model yields a high-risk score for the prisoner, there is likely to be a longer time in prison “surrounded by fellow criminals—which raises the likelihood that he will return to prison” (2016, 27). Racial disparity in sentencing is evident for nonviolent, as well as violent, crimes; for example, in Louisiana, the ACLU found that blacks were twenty-three times more likely than whites to be sentenced to life without parole (LWOP), thirty-three times more likely in Illinois, and eighteen times more likely in Georgia. The report reads, “Blacks are sentenced to life without parole for nonviolent offenses at rates that suggest unequal

treatment and that cannot be explained by white and Black defendants' differential involvement in crime alone."

(3) Jury Selection. One of the five protections the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution affords to criminal defendants is the right to an impartial jury. However, the selection of the jury is historically a selection based on race, particularly when the defendant is a person of color. David Cole (1999) points out the not initially apparent nuance that there is "unbridled discretion" (102) due to the secret nature of the proceedings, which affords minimal, if any, public accountability. Cole also writes that the "selection [of] trial juries through 'peremptory challenges'⁴⁵ as the last setting in which the Court openly tolerated racial discrimination, which it expressly *permitted* until 1986" (102). The combination of "unbridled discretion" and weak enforcement mechanisms of nondiscrimination has led to a preponderance of the typical "mostly white" jury. Cole describes the ease of racial discrimination at each step of jury selection, beginning with the *voir dire* process through which potential jurors are selected from panels gathered from voter registration lists and driver's license lists—both of which generally underrepresent the black community (Cole 1999, 104). Moreover, and especially in urban areas, those who are employed are less likely to respond to jury summons as they are unsure that the law protecting time off to serve on a jury will protect them along with loss of wages if an hourly worker.

⁴⁵ The definition of peremptory from *Black's Law Dictionary*; "Imperative; absolute; not admitting of question, delay, or reconsideration. Positive; final; decisive; not admitting of any alternative. Self-determined ; arbitrary; not requiring any cause to be shown. <http://thelawdictionary.org/peremptory/>.

These three areas—the high rate of apprehension of people of color, the embedded racial bias in computerized risk models predicting the likelihood of recidivism, and the imposition of mostly or all white juries—together act as a powerful author for the lives of young black men. These areas of disempowerment are not unique to Camden, Newark, and Trenton; rather, they are present in cities across the United States where there is a majority-minority population.

Race and Education

The impact of education on youth has been discussed previously in this review; however, the union of race and education has a more insidious and longer-lasting effect. It bears repeating that completing high school was a turning point for lowering the rate of criminal convictions (Lochner and Moretti 2004; Natsuaki, Ge, and Wenk 2007). Including the factor of race in the effect of high school completion casts a different light on the quality of education for black Americans. Similar to the review of the growth of American capitalism, the history of the education systems for the freed slaves is reviewed, as it provides context for the state of education in the cities under study.

History of Education for the Freed Slaves. James D. Anderson describes the path of the educational systems for the illiterate slaves. He asserts that the design of instruction for slaves and freed persons of color began before the “northern benevolent societies entered the South in 1862, before President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, and before Congress created the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands in 1865” (1988, 7). These educational institutions, generally known as the freedmen’s school movement, many in Virginia, South Carolina, Louisiana,

and Georgia, focused on the communal values of the slaves in their environment and was not reliant on federal dollars or Northern benevolence.

In 1866, officials from the Freedmen's Bureau and the Board of Education took control of these schools and closed them, citing financial costs to the bureau. The recovery from this catastrophic closure was to develop a "parallel system of free schools" (Anderson 1988, 10) for black children. In 1867 there were sixty-five private schools in New Orleans with an enrollment of 1,527 students. These private but free schools were financially supported by the collective efforts of ex-slaves of the area and aid from the North was resisted. Anderson writes, "The ex-slaves' educational movement became a test of their capacity to restructure their lives, to establish their freedom. Although they appreciated northern support, they resisted infringements that threatened to undermine their own initiative and self-reliance" (12). One of the major forces behind the idea of communally grounded education for ex-slaves was the view that literacy and formal education were the keys to liberation.

A counterforce to the development of black education were the planters of the time, still dominant despite the loss of the war and the financial burden of Reconstruction. They delayed the creation of industrial jobs requiring education for the agricultural worker, typically poor ex-slaves, and did not share the Northern inclination for tax-based, public education. Massachusetts was the first state, in 1852, to pass the first compulsory public education law and Mississippi in 1911 was the last state in the

country to pass this law.⁴⁶ Rather than accepting education as the answer to Southern labor problems, they turned their focus to black child labor as a solution. The planters were obdurate in their opposition to education for ex-slaves and “between 1869 and 1877, the planter-dominated white South regained control of the state governments” (Anderson 1988, 23). Planter opposition was especially flagrant in Louisiana where white teachers were condemned and turned out of school buildings and their living quarters by planters and their representatives (Anderson 1988).

John Majewski (2016) explains the tension between education and slavery in the years preceding the Civil War, by looking at one fertile, economically successful area in the South. The Limestone South, named for its rich, limestone soils, occupied portions of three states: the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia, the Bluegrass Region in Kentucky, and the Nashville Basin in Tennessee. This region “supported dense, prosperous agricultural populations with their accompanying commerce, industry, and cities” (2016, 279), illustrating that slavery could support a diverse economy. The leaders of these areas refused to endorse or actively support public education for their residents, putting this region at a disadvantage in technical capability when contrasted with Northern and Midwestern industrial and agricultural centers. Majewski writes, “Even though the Limestone South supported a diverse economy, the lack of innovation and invention posed a barrier to growth.” (280).

⁴⁶ American Public Education: An Origin Story. <http://www.educationnews.org/education-policy-and-politics/american-public-education-an-origin-story/> accessed July 19, 2017.

Another force fundamentally affecting the educational opportunities for the freed black population was the “Hampton Model.” James D. Anderson writes about the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute was founded on the ideals of Samuel Chapman Armstrong, a Yankee; together with Booker T. Washington, a former slave, they “developed a pedagogy and ideology designed to avoid . . . confrontations and to maintain within the South a social consensus that did not challenge traditional inequalities of wealth and power” (Anderson 1988, 33). This idea of a training school for manual laborers collided with the educational aspirations of the public and free schools developed by ex-slaves, resulting in two systems in tension until well into the 1920s, when Hampton and the Tuskegee Institute (founded by Booker T. Washington) reformed the curricula to include industrial education. The eventual dominance of the Hampton/Tuskegee model over the educational system based on the social and cultural values of the ex-slaves was primarily due to their focus on training teachers to disseminate their model as well as the support of Northern and Southern white educational reformers for the “most appropriate form of education to assist in bringing racial peace, political stability, and material prosperity to the American South” (Anderson 1988, 34).

Financial support for the Hampton model of vocational education came from foundations such as the Northern-based Phelps-Stokes Fund initiated by Caroline Phelps Stokes, a member of a wealthy New York family. In 1909 the Phelps-Stokes Fund donated approximately \$1 million to the education of poor whites, Native Americans, and blacks in the United States and Africa (McGill-Peterson 1971, 152). Stokes and other

educational reformers encouraged the teaching of steady work habits, manual labor, and Christian morals. Essentially, this type of education provided “instruction suitable for adjusting blacks to a subordinate social role in the emergent New South” (Anderson 1988, 36) and bolstered the conservative, Southern reconstructionists who “supported new forms of external control over blacks, including disfranchisement, segregation, and civil inequality” (ibid.). Armstrong’s vocational strategy removed blacks from political life through industrial training for menial jobs, not leadership roles, and pushed them to the lowest levels of employment, resulting in the reinforcement of Southern racial hierarchy. His approach and his determination to spread his model throughout the South set the stage for the struggles over black education in the early 1900s (Anderson 1988).

Opposition came from black educators, one of whom was Carter Godwin Woodson, a son of slaves and a Harvard-educated historian who corroborates the historical perspective of James Anderson. Woodson (1933) lauded the spirit of the early Southern Negro educators who wished to found schools for slaves and ex-slaves in the mid-1800s in accordance with their needs and communal values. He held the view that the education of the Negro after emancipation was a product of a misapplied philanthropy that gave the freed slaves only a rudimentary education, provided by the people who were their oppressors but now saw themselves in the role of victim. He writes, “From this class [whites], the freedmen could not expect much sympathy or cooperation in the effort to prepare themselves to figure as citizens of a modern republic” (1933, 13). The curriculum was designed by white people with expectations

very different than those of the emancipated Negro. It was an education with no grounding in the lives of the blacks nor did it have the effect of helping them to advance in society. The content of the curriculum was focused on “life as they [whites] hoped to make it” (1933, 14). In Woodson’s mind, “real” education was not designed simply to pass on information; rather, education should engage students in their environment, past and present, in order to avoid the social prescription of the predominantly white educators. He writes, “Real education means to inspire people to live more abundantly, to learn to begin with life as they find it and make it better, but the instruction so far given Negroes in colleges and universities has worked to the contrary” (1933, 22). There were two types of education offered: an industrial education intended to provide ex-slaves with knowledge of a trade, but in reality provided very little practical preparation as they were forced to learn on old equipment using older techniques. This irrelevant education led to low level of employment of Negroes in the skilled jobs. According to Woodson, classical education, the second type, was also irrelevant because of where the Negro stood in the societal pecking order. “Advanced knowledge of science, mathematics, and languages, . . . has not been much more useful except for mental discipline because of the dearth of opportunity to apply such knowledge among people who were largely common laborers in towns or peons on the plantations” (1933, 15).

Much of the literature on early education for ex-slaves is centered in the Southern experience. However, the Great Migration from the South to the industrial North (1916–1970) forced leaders in the North to consider the need for education, as their workforce was rapidly changing. In Ohio, there were no officially designated

separate institutions for black and white students; individual school districts permitted segregation. The Hillsboro, Ohio, school district had local laws in the 1950s that required separate schools for blacks and whites. In Boston, Massachusetts, black parents advocated for separate facilities due to the harassment and exclusionary treatment their children received from white teachers. A private school for black students emerged as a solution; however, not all blacks were able to participate. A father of a young girl sued for admission of his daughter to a public school. The school committee responded that the color of his daughter's skin was a problem for admission and the application was refused. Information on such incidents relating to the *Brown v Board of Education* case of 1954 are archived in the Brown Foundation in Houston, Texas.

In 1967, blacks in Plainfield, New Jersey, by virtue of their residence (the "black belt" in the West End) attended schools in their neighborhood with few to no whites in their classrooms. One of these, Washington Elementary School, was "a school that ranked at the bottom of Plainfield's schools by almost every measure; it was one of the oldest buildings in the school district and had the lowest per-pupil expenditure, the highest teacher turnover, and poor test scores in reading and math" (Sugrue and Goodman 2007). These poor test scores resulted in educational inequality for these students (1962) and "compounded economic inequality for black Plainfielders; they averaged two to three years less education than the whites" (Sugrue and Goodman 2007, 574). The educational-to-economic inequality of black youth is not confined to one region of the country; rather, it is pervasive.

Graziella Bertocchi and Arcangelo Dimico (2010) studied the impact of slavery on inequality using three avenues of transmission: land inequality, racial discrimination, and human capital. This review will focus on the third as the authors used educational achievement to represent human capital between the years of 1940 and 2000 by state level. This research studies education in Camden, Newark, and Trenton. What Bertocchi and Dimico found was that the states or regions with higher percentages of slaves had a higher educational racial gap, and that gap was linked to income inequality: “We show that the driver of income inequality is racial inequality, which is in turn linked to slavery through its impact on the racial gap on education” (2010 26). Even though the data illustrate a higher quality of education in the North versus the South, Northern black children were still not afforded similar educational experiences to those of white children in the North. Although segregation has been superficially discussed above, I bring it up in the next section with additional context and a current view of New Jersey.

Segregation and Education. In the interviews and literature for this research, the word “segregation” was frequently heard and seen. In the interviews, a long-time resident of Camden stated that the city is segregated by education and economic opportunity (KF CAM 93)⁴⁷. In Trenton, another respondent felt that economic power was the segregative tool (JH NEW 62). In the literature, Derrick A. Bell (1995) describes the affected stakeholders in the decision of the Supreme Court in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*. Returning American black veterans needed reassurance that their fight for freedom abroad would carry over at home. The international community, specifically, peoples of Third World countries, needed to be convinced that communism was not preferable to American democratic ideals. There were the whites who felt that the barrier to the South’s economic rise was segregation. For all of these people, *Brown* was a welcome and necessary break from the history of slavery.

However, when the Supreme Court ruled on segregation, poor whites rose up in anger, fearing a loss of control over their public schools and other public amenities. Bell writes that “they (black people) relied, as had generations before them, on the expectation that white elites would maintain lower-class whites in a societal status superior to that designated for the blacks. In fact, there is evidence that segregated schools and facilities were initially established by legislatures at the insistence of the white working class” (1995, 23). Segregated schools are a fact of life even today in America.

⁴⁷ The initials are the identifiers of the respondents in the interview portion of this work and the numbers refer to the page of the transcription.

Studies such as the *Coleman Report*, funded through the federal government in 1966 as a mandate from the Civil Rights Act of 1964, described deleterious effects of re-segregation. This report studied children in segregated and integrated environments and asserted that disadvantaged children do much better when they are learning in integrated environments. Such conclusions led to several experiments including forced busing intended to bring equity to the racial make-up of the classroom. Forced busing precipitated a violent backlash in many urban communities and has been largely abandoned.

In 2006, this report was reanalyzed with current statistical methods by one of Coleman's students, Geoffrey Borman, who found that the school environment matters much more than the family support or the educational level of the parents. The achievement gap narrows dramatically when the environment is integrated. Borman writes that being African American in a predominantly African American school lowers the quality of the education. Jeffrey Chang (2016) turns the conversation around, discussing white segregation in suburban public schools. "The average white student attends a public school that is 75 percent white. That fact mirrors another: the average white lives in a neighborhood that is 77 percent white—a rate of racial isolation that is at least twice that of all other racial groups" (Chang 2016, 71). The schools with a predominantly black or Latino population have fewer math, science, and college prep courses, and have higher rates of suspensions and expulsions.

Closer to home, *The Civil Rights Project*, a study of the segregation of New Jersey's schools by the nonpartisan research center at UCLA, found severe double

segregation by both race and poverty. “The typical black student and typical Latino student attend schools with a share of low-income students that is more than three times higher than the share of low-income students in the school of a typical white student” (Flaxman et al. 2013, 8). This is a result of residential patterns of urbanization and suburbanization in the state, where minority students reside in urban areas and white students are in the suburbs. Housing policy supports and is the foundation for segregated communities.

Drugs

This study investigated programs for the prevention of homicide in three cities where there is a great deal of illegal drug trade; according to the interviews conducted through this research as well as historical and contemporaneous news reports, the connection of drugs with homicides has been well established. However, for purposes of understanding the full story, the market needs to be studied. The drug trade is large, complex, and very profitable for much of its supply chain and while writers such as Tom Wainwright (2016) believes that the cartels are like big-box stores and play the role of monopolistic buyers leaving the suppliers, in this case, the growers of the coca or cannabis plants, to struggle to make their money. The local subsidiaries on the ground in Newark or Camden or Trenton know their market very well and they also know the network they need to develop locally. “Corrupt connections with local law enforcement, a crucial condition for success, are more easily forged by local operators” (Wainwright 2016, 137). Whatever the metaphor for the business model, this market is not only large but enticingly profitable; one reason for that its illegality, which is why many of the cartel leaders are reluctant to support legalization of drugs (Wainwright 2016).

In 2014, the RAND Corporation prepared a report about the spending habits of American drug users for the Office of National Drug Control Police. They found that Americans spend approximately \$100 billion annually on cocaine (including crack), heroin, marijuana, and methamphetamine (RAND, 2012). Of course reporting revenue for any illegal good or service will contain inaccuracies, but suffice it to say the market for illegal drugs is large (Lemahieu and Me, 2015).⁴⁸ Between 2000 and 2010, the heaviest drug consumption in the US has shifted from cocaine in 2000 to marijuana in 2010. Again, we must be cautious about reports of this trend as drug users typically do not desire to report their illegal activities (RAND 2012). But two items are certain: the American market is large and casual users outweigh problem-users (addicts) by twelve times (Monbiot 2009).

Certain factors are particular to New Jersey's drug trade: the state's geographic location and ethnic communities, the drug laws, and "diversionary" activity. First, the location of New Jersey enables global and regional drug traffickers to use two of New Jersey's most densely populated cities (Camden and Newark) as transshipment and distribution centers. New Jersey has a very well-developed transportation infrastructure with major hubs for trains, aircraft, ferries, trucks, and package delivery services; proximity to the ports of two major cities (Newark, NJ and Philadelphia, PA) enables illegal trafficking through well-established access points; also, ethnic enclaves (Puerto

⁴⁸ Jean-Luc Lemahieu, Director of the Division for Policy Analysis and Public Affairs, and Angela Me, Chief of the Research and Trend Analysis Branch were the supervisors for the World Drug Report, 2015. There were many others contributors to the report. See https://www.unodc.org/documents/wdr2015/World_Drug_Report_2015.pdf last accessed July 19, 2017.

Rican, Dominican, Colombian) in New Jersey have access to drug routes in their home countries, facilitating access to pick-up points at US and intermediate ports in the Caribbean. The George Washington Bridge leading into Paterson and Newark makes the transport of cocaine and heroin relatively simple for buyers and dealers in those cities. Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, and Colombians typically work on the transport leg from ports outside the United States to New York City, with the retail operations under African Americans and Dominicans who typically control product expansion through dilution (colloquially known as “cutting”) and further in-state distribution from locations in Camden, Elizabeth, Irvington, Jersey City, Newark, and Trenton. Cocaine (crack and powdered) and heroin, now a more pure substance, are problematic to the population as well as to law enforcement because they are linked to violent crime. Marijuana is produced and distributed in the rural farmland in the western part of the state, but less is known about its distribution channels (National Drug Intelligence Center 2004).

Prior to the enactment of the Comprehensive Drug Reform Act of 1987, judges in New Jersey had the freedom to sentence drug offenders as they felt appropriate, based on the discretion of the judge. The CDRA of 1987 changed that by “the imposition of stern, consistent punishment for all drug offenders, in particular those who sell drugs to school children, distribute drugs in the area of schools grounds, or use children to distribute drugs”(NJ Division of Criminal Justice 1987). Governor Tom Kean’s motive in 1982 for promoting the CDRA was a new drug, “the highly addictive ‘crack’” (Kean 1987). Kean appointed a task force to develop a program to combat crack cocaine. They developed one that attacked the supply and the demand by imposing lengthy, punitive

penalties on those who would sell to children or sell or buy drugs near school grounds; they turned the City of Camden, because of the number and distribution of school properties, into one large “drug-free zone”. In fact, in most urban areas (as opposed to suburban areas) the geographic density of schools made that meant buyers and users in cities received the maximum mandatory sentences for possessing drugs near a school. These measures resulted in prison overcrowding, setting the stage for the drug courts (Hunter, Douard, Green, Bembry 2012), which began in the mid-1990s in New Jersey as pilot courts in Camden, Essex, Union, and Passaic counties.

Court-supervised treatment, or the provision of a structure that links supervision (by the courts) and treatment (by an approved rehabilitation site) as an alternative to prison, is the core of the idea behind drug courts. These courts were a response to the enormous felony drug caseloads, the permanent backload of the courts, and the overfilled prisons caused by the new drug laws, specifically, the mandatory sentencing for drug offences. Critics of this concept will tell you it is not enlightened reform but savings that are at the core of the drug courts. If there were concern over the harsh treatment of a young person with 50 grams of marijuana, it would seem that laws such as CDRA with its mandatory sentences could be modified. Instead, the drug courts were enacted. Mike Riggs of *The Reason*,⁴⁹ thinks that is why those who favor drug courts have not pushed instead for change in the drug laws and only work to reduce the costs of courts and prison. Drug courts do not help minor offenders avoid the risk of losing

⁴⁹ The Reason is a monthly print journal covering news, politics, and culture. It has an online presence through www.reason.com. Last accessed July 19, 2017.

their rights; they are still charged with the crime, relinquish all rights to a trial or to contesting the circumstances of the arrest, and as a consequence incur the debilitating stigma of “guilt” on a drug charge. A drug court conviction still attaches the badge of ex-offender to a young person, and combined with the unequal enforcement of drug laws in urban versus suburban areas, you have race- and class-stratified attendance at drug court.

Guns

In 2015, the National Instant Criminal Background Information System (NICBIS) processed 23,141,970 requests for new firearm (handgun and long gun) permits. It was a banner year for the industry, and Black Friday (Nov 27, 2015) holds the record for requests since the inception of checking (the Brady Law) with 185,000 requests for permits on that day. These figures are likely to be underreported as they do not include secondary markets such as gun shows and purchases online at the “Craigslis” for weapons, “Armslist.” The Brady Law applies to only 40 percent of total gun sales, as reported by the *New York Times* (December 13, 2015). High sales years such as 2015 are influenced by events such as the San Bernadino mass shootings on December 2, 2015, when people rush to purchase guns. Political events also influence sales, evidenced by the reaction when President Obama proposed regulation through executive order in the latter half of 2015; purchases went up then as well. American gun manufacturers’ stock went up when Wall Street expected a Hillary Clinton win in late 2016; gun sales went up then because buyers thought sales might be more tightly regulated under the new administration (Charles Schwab, Reuters November 2016). In my opinion, much of this reported data and known influences can be summed up by

saying that the gun market is large and profitable and the attendant regulations are politicized. But the connection between legally purchased guns and the homicides of young black men is weak.

What is more critical for this research is the normalization of gun violence (lethal and nonlethal) for black young men. It is not news that the drug trade and guns are connected. The crime pattern is known to police chiefs in major cities (Marwick 1992). Pittsburgh's outgoing police Chief Cameron McLay categorizes retaliation, drugs, and robbery as typical motivational components in crime patterns; however, behind those motives are enduring characteristics contributing to the normalization of violence. A study exploring the links between street crime and violence "suggests that one of the origins of adolescent involvement in crime is families in which fathers use violence against their children. This violence may normalize subsequent victimization by others outside of one's family, and together, these experiences may decrease adolescents' sensitivity to risk and danger" (Hagan 2013). It would be instructive to trace this normalization back through the generations of the families of young black men to explore the possibility that violence may be an expected condition of black life. As mentioned in previous sections of this review, violence has been used on blacks since their arrival in the American colonies and the expectation and, yes, normalization of violence has evolved into the current situation, which some see as separate from the drug trade. Dr. Herbert Kleber of Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons sees "increased levels of violence and many of these violent episodes have nothing at all to do with drugs" (quoted in Marwick 1992, p. 2996. Elijah Anderson

(1999) explains the peripheral, normalized use of guns as a function of easier access to weapons at a young age and with lower risk of police response. “Today kids fourteen and younger have guns, or they know how and where to get them. In the inner-city community, one can often hear gunshots in the distance but no sirens afterward” (1999, 119). Anderson goes on to say that guns have other meanings beyond retaliation or territorial control; rather, “Guns can have personality and status attached to them; they even have records” (119). They are also “equalizers” (110) and “regulators” (134) of income levels, as guns can be used as threats to obtain money. Methods of retaliation, territorial control, protection, equalizing, regulation: these are the mechanics of why a young black man in Pittsburgh or Newark or Camden might have a gun, but the casualness of carrying one and accepting the risk of injury or even death speaks to a more socialized and embedded feature of life for these young men. It speaks of the normalized and expected nature of race and violence.

Organizations, Institutions, and Systems

In part, this is a study on organizations, institutions, or domains as they are the platforms from which the question of effective homicide prevention emerged. Thomas Lawrence, Roy Suddaby, and Bernard Leca believe there is a growing awareness in the academic field of organizational studies that “institutions” are products of human interaction motivated by “both idiosyncratic personal interests and agendas for institutional change or preservation” (2009, 6) and operate on multiple levels including society, organizations, and individual actors. If institutions are products of human interactions it follows that they are a form of social structure with social rules (Hodgson 2006). According to G. M. Hodgson (2006) institutions “make up the stuff of social life”

(2) and he defines institutions “as systems of established and prevalent social rules that structure social interactions” (2). Putting aside the words “institutions and systems” for a moment and moving to the task of defining organizations, these are, in Hodgson’s thinking, “special institutions that involve: (a) criteria to establish their boundaries and to distinguish their members from nonmembers, (b) principles of sovereignty concerning who is in charge, and (c) chains of command delineating responsibilities within the organization” (5). Given this definition and thinking about the domains of this study, can it be said that the criminal justice domain, for example, is an institution with its components of law enforcement, courts, and corrections as organizations? Or, is public health an institution with various agencies such as CDC and individual state health departments as the organizations? Before answering those questions, it will be critical to understand why institutions are in place. Douglass North (1990) points to uncertainty in a complex environment as the driver of institutional existence. Using his example of economic transactions and exchanges on a historical level, one can see that as the size and scope of exchange increased, the “more complex the kinds of agreements that have to be made, and so the more difficult to do” (1990, 34). Knowing that this is a gross oversimplification, it is possible that uncertainty has historically been one of the motivating factors in the development of the institution of criminal justice. This discussion on institutions now turns to a discussion on systems, the overarching network that can explain outcomes by exposing problems within the system.

Donella Meadows, a systems analyst, thinks of systems as having three kinds of things: elements, interconnections, and a purpose. She emphasizes that all three are

“essential. All interact. All have their roles” (2008, 17). However, there is one crucial component, one that determines change in direction of the system even if the elements and interconnections remain the same. It is the purpose of the system, and the one that is least noticed. “A change in purpose changes a system profoundly, even if every element and interconnection remain the same” (2008, 17). This change in purpose can only have an effect if there are accompanying changes in leverage points— nodes within systems where a change can lead to a large shift in behavior.

Domains are institutions as well as systems as they have elements, interconnections, and a purpose. The elements are people, policies, and programs. There are interconnections within an institution and between institutions. For instance, there are relationships between the arresting officer and prosecutor in the criminal justice system as well as connections between the schools and the police department exemplified in the D.A.R.E. program.⁵⁰ There are goals in each of the domains: public safety in criminal justice, the transfer of knowledge in the educational system, the promotion of population health in the public health system, and the rendering of a service to the public in the nonprofit sector.

Domains are institutions with clear rules, hierarchies with defined responsibilities, and boundaries delineating members and nonmembers. “Institutions are ‘systems’ of established and embedded social rules that structure social interaction” (Hodgson 2006, 18). Using Meadows’s definition, an institution is a set of elements or parts that is

⁵⁰ The D.A.R.E. program was the Drug Abuse Resistance Education originating in L.A. in 1983 in response to increases in drug use on campuses.

coherently organized and interconnected in a pattern or structure that produces a characteristic set of behaviors, often classified as its “function” or “purpose” (2008, 188). Combining these ideas, institutions are organized establishments connected in patterns or structures with fixed rules to arrange social interaction known as behaviors.

Marginalization

The marginalization of black Americans has been studied by scholars in multiple disciplines; economists study racial differences by looking at income and wealth as functions of disparate class and human capital—age, education, and experience; historians study the concept by looking at historical processes contributing to the construction of racial difference and marginalization; and sociologists study marginalization by understanding the social context where it occurs. They point out differences in subgroups of the population by studying the unique and diverse social circumstances that blacks and whites face, including the generational aspect of poverty in the black community. This review uses all views and will focus on the sociological and economic perspectives. The impact of historical processes on black Americans has been addressed in the section on race.

Melvin Oliver and Thomas Shapiro develop three concepts intended to explain racial differentials in a community.⁵¹ They are; (1) the “racialization of state policy and refers to how state policy has impaired the ability of many black Americans to accumulate wealth” (1995, 4); (2) the low level of entrepreneurship among blacks due to state and local policies; and (3) “the sedimentation of racial inequality” (1995, 4)

⁵¹ Oliver and Shapiro do not specifically develop their concepts for the urban black community but assert that these concepts apply to all blacks in the United States.

describing the level of black Americans in the economic hierarchy. Historically, low wages, substandard education, and segregation affected generations of black Americans from slavery well into the middle of the twentieth century. The first concept is instrumental in continuation of the second two concepts and it is in the third, the “sedimentation of racial inequality,” where marginalization is most apparent. Black Americans began at the bottom of the plantation hierarchy during slavery, an inequality reinforced during the Jim Crow years and through segregation that occurred well into the twentieth century. The effect of these sequential suppressions has been to keep Black Americans on the lowest rung, inheriting and passing poverty from one generation to the next, “sedimenting” inequality into the social structure (Alexander 2012; Blackmon 2009; Oliver and Shapiro 1995; Riphagen and Linde 2008).

The inheritance of generational poverty is not only a function of low income and few assets, but also a function of the inability of black Americans to have “individual and family access to life chances” (Oliver and Shapiro 1995, 2). Economic marginalization has been a fact of life for black Americans since the beginning of slavery. They have long been situated in social contexts where the accumulation of wealth does not exist. For instance, in comparing the three case cities, Camden, Newark, and Trenton, versus their immediate neighbors, the rate of homeownership generally indicates a level of wealth. Each city exhibits at least half the rate of homeownership of their neighbors, indicating a severe deficiency in resources that contribute to wealth generation.⁵² Here

⁵² Homeownership makes up the largest part of wealth generation for middle-class families, especially for those families who purchased homes in the 1950s and 1960s and watched their home value increase

marginalization is both economic and social, as Black Americans have been segregated by housing and by neighborhood. Another economic element contributing to marginalization is the inability of blacks to compete in an open market as they seek their market among themselves as a function of their limited access to capital and their inability to tap into more lucrative and extensive mainstream white markets thereby limiting their capacity to generate revenue to their neighbors and relatives. This practice has kept black businesses small and black business development at a lower level (Oliver and Shapiro 1995).

Marginalization of the urban poor, more specifically, black Americans, is a function of state and federal policies beginning with the advent of slavery. Slavery denied black Americans economic rights and although there were state-to-state variations, the net effect was marginalization. Contrast the situation of black Americans with that of poor whites as far back as the 1800s where “no matter how poor whites were, they had the right—if they were males, that is—if not the ability, to buy land, enter into contracts, own businesses, and develop wealth assets that could build equity and economic self-sufficiency” (Oliver and Shapiro 1995, 37). At the time of Reconstruction, “the federal government no longer made any effort to enforce federal civil legislation” (Alexander 2012, 31), thus enabling the Ku Klux Klan to marginalize the black community through violence (Alexander 2012; Blackmon 2009). In the late 1970s, the concept of poverty and its resulting marginalization of black communities was not

dramatically. Blacks cannot participate in that growth of wealth due to segregation of education, good jobs, and mortgage decisions.

related to structural economic conditions; rather, it was related to culture, specifically, black culture (Alexander 2012). Street crime, illegal drug trade, and welfare cheating were cultures pinned to blacks as was the willingness to commit violent acts in urban areas. Politicians such as President Richard Nixon campaigned on a law-and-order platform targeting black and Puerto Rican communities as the source of the increase in urban crime. (Alexander 2012)⁵³.

Social and economic marginalization has been omnipresent for Black Americans. Development of assets for families expands their choices, horizons, and opportunities while lack of assets—economic or social—limits them. Socially, the unequal distribution of wealth and resources for blacks versus whites means that blacks must spend a greater amount of effort on fewer opportunities with diminished returns.

Conclusion

This review could have been a list of domains with their goals and strategies or an archived view of homicides through the lens of the five domains; that, however, would have been a purely descriptive recitation of opinions and perspectives that, on their own, lack the context and substance of the full narrative of forces behind the lack of action to combat the homicidal deaths of young black men. To understand the whole problem, a systemic approach is needed, even by going so far as to view the system as if it were composed of multiple pyramids (domains plus race, drugs, and guns) tightly linked at the bottom with one component rising above the others: economic development.

⁵³ The reference to Puerto Ricans has to do with Richard Nixon's comment on one of his advertisements when he said "It's all about those damn Negro-Puerto Rican groups out there." (Alexander 2012, 47).

While the dominance of economic development is one of the central theses of this study, it is not the only discovery that bears noting. Economic development is a cornerstone in all three cities with forces and structures from multiple industries and institutions⁵⁴—real estate investing, development, and investment banking—at different levels of the system creating the focus on economic growth. These forces are the unseen but active connections between the pyramids supported by the state as well as historical events, which shaped and sustain the tallest pyramid.

The use of charter schools in a real estate development project in Newark illustrates these connections in this study. Teacher's Village, a complex of retail shops, charter schools, tutoring centers, and apartments for the teachers, is an external manifestation of the dominance of economic development. It uses the link between education and housing to appeal to the public and as a distraction from the real goal of profitability.

Another example is the link between the education system and the corrections arm of the criminal justice domain. A youth entering a juvenile justice detention center that has little to no oversight and attention from educational professionals is released with little useful knowledge for successful reentry. A historical link between the economy of the mines in Alabama in the mid-to-late 1800s and early 1900s and the drug trade in today's economy illustrates the exploitation of black men in both: convicts (in the mines) and ex-offenders (in the drug trade). This use of black men, who have been

⁵⁴ Here, institutions is a broad term that includes the domains under study but also the unions, the investment banking sector, and corporate entities in pharmaceuticals, technological, automotive (list not exhaustive).

marginalized and dehumanized by the courts, has been a sustaining thread throughout this work.

Another example of connection comes from the nonprofit domain. The origination of the agencies to reduce violence in urban areas whether Chicago, Boston, Newark, Trenton, or Camden comes from the education domain, as in David Kennedy's Boston Gun Project, or from a public health domain, as in the development of Chicago's Cure for Violence. But both are acted out in the nonprofit arena.

Connections between domains are sometimes not obvious, as exemplified by the one between Big Data and the courts, where recidivism models are preloaded with assumptions about residence, prior convictions, friends with prior convictions, and first involvement with police, questions by their very nature designed to segregate poor, urban, black people from the more privileged white suburbanites.

These connections shape and sustain the shared foundation of these imagined pyramids, especially the dominant one of economic development. In the beginning of this research, I studied the numbers of homicides over a period of years for each city and quickly realized that quantity was not the measure or the story of most importance. Numbers may have a story to tell if the correlation between numbers of police officers in a particular city and homicides can be (or was) proven to be causal or even associative; however, there is another, more complex story, which includes the history of American economic growth across different industries with its reliance on slaves and black ex-offenders. History has a way of repeating itself, as demonstrated by the use of young black men in the illegal economies or the use of poor black children in the charter

school machine in Newark and Camden. It is as Sven Beckert writes, “the constant shifting recombination of various systems of labor, and various compositions of capital and polities” (2014, 440).

Chapter 3. Research Methodology

Introduction

This research uses qualitative methodology within a case study framework to explore the persistently high prevalence of homicides of young black men and associated prevention mechanisms in inner cities in New Jersey. The cases selected center on three of New Jersey's twelve most populated cities: Camden, Newark, and Trenton. Within each case there are two basic units of analysis; described more fully below, these are a set of institutional domains within each of those cities, and the population of fifteen- to twenty-four-year-old black men as engaged by and within each institutional domain. The domains of interest are (a) the administration of criminal justice, (b) educational systems, (c) nonprofit agencies, and (d) public health agencies. The research protocol presents, first, descriptive homicide statistics for each of the three case study cities compared to national rates and, second, an efficacy ranking of homicide prevention by each of the institutional domains. These data are used to inform the qualitative components, which include in-person interviews⁵⁵ and archival analyses.

Complementary Case Study

The use of descriptive statistics and qualitative methods necessitates a complementary technique for investigation and analysis of the presence of effective homicide prevention programs; however, there is more to it than mere combination. This complementary technique can best be defined as a "sequential, interpretive, case-based" approach beginning with the descriptive component showing the persistent

⁵⁵ These interviews did not include young black men and confined itself to members of the institutional domains and community with deep knowledge of the cities and history. . The research question examines the perspectives of the domains and their role in the conditions of the lives of young black men rendering interviews with young black men unnecessary.

presence of homicides and lack of prevention programs for young black men ages fifteen to twenty-four years through publicly sourced data.⁵⁶ The descriptive statistics segues to the more dominant approach: the qualitative method. The complementary quality of the two methods results in deeper understanding of the quantitative findings. In order to better understand the quantitative steadiness of the homicide data in Camden, Newark, and Trenton over a period of twenty-four years, a qualitative study of interviews of participants in the above-named institutional domains in the case cities was necessary⁵⁷. The respondents' perception of efficacy of prevention methods as well as their ideas about the unique factors within their city uncovered both their own experiences in the domains and cities as well as their thoughts on the conditions of their domain and city. Insights from the interviews were bolstered by another element in the qualitative approach: documentary and archival research. Responses from the interviews on specific factors within an institutional domain and/or city triggered further inquiry outside the interview form.

Data from the descriptive statistics, the qualitative, and the documentary/archival methods build upon each other, providing substantiation and depth to the hypothesis. Sequencing the methods and interpreting the data from each

⁵⁶ Public data sources include: Uniform Crime Report, FBI, <https://ucr.fbi.gov/>. last accessed July 19, 2017. CDC. 10 Leading Causes of Death by Age Group—2014. https://www.cdc.gov/injury/wisqars/pdf/leading_causes_of_death_by_age_group_2014-a.pdf. last accessed July 19, 2017.

U.S. Bureau Quick Facts for Camden, Newark, Trenton, East Orange, Irvington, Kearney, Maplewood, South Orange, Ewing, Hamilton, West Windsor, Haddonfield, Cherry Hill, Pennsauken, New Jersey, United States. www.census.gov https://www.cdc.gov/injury/wisqars/pdf/leading_causes_of_death_by_age_group_2014-a.pdf. last accessed July 19, 2017.

⁵⁷ For the interview portion of this study, Institutional Review Board (IRB) Protocol 16-614M, Expedited Category 6,7 approval was granted on February 5, 2015 and will expire on May 21, 2018.

enabled me to make connections between the findings, adding depth and explanatory power (Creswell 2014). In this work, the steadiness of homicides as a leading cause of death for young black men led to the search for preventive mechanisms for homicides in institutional domains. Insights gathered from respondents in these domains led to documentary/archival work on specific structural elements present in the case cities. In other words, the original question of why homicide rates remained so persistent began the chain of research events expanding to the use of different methods to learn why. That chain is the series of sequential acts followed by the explanatory, interpretive arm of the research.

The following sections contain detailed descriptions of the quantitative method, the qualitative method including a discussion on the case cities, the institutional domains, the selection and recruitment of the participants, the questionnaire, the interviews and analysis, and the determination of quotations for the analysis. A description of the documents and archival records follow and the chapter ends with a conclusion and references.

Collection of Descriptive Data

The descriptive statistical data used for this study came from three sources, each having a different function. The first source is the basis of the research question while the second source supports the selection of the case cities and the third aids in the hypothesis development. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) Health Equity—Men’s Health is the primary source for Leading Cause of Death (LCOD) national

data reporting numbers of incidents, age, race, Hispanic, Latino, a origin⁵⁸, and year.

Reporting years are 2004, 2009, and 2014. Data on homicide as the LCOD from this site were the impetus for this study, as homicides were among the top five leading causes of death for young black men from 2004 through 2014.

The second source of data is the Uniform Crime Report (UCR)⁵⁹, a national report of crime statistics, maintained by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) since 1930. Within this report, there are four publications of data from over 18,000 city, university/college, county, state, tribal, and federal law enforcement agencies. The publication used for this study was the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS). Homicide data by city (Camden, Newark, and Trenton) by year (1989 through 2012) are graphically presented using natural logarithm reduction to normalize the shape of the data. In order to see the distribution of the data and the trajectory of homicides within the cities over a long period of time, a transformation of the data was necessary⁶⁰. Essentially, the log transformation was used to better understand the persistence of homicides over time. Is it really persistent in these three cities and are there trend lines? These data support the choice of Camden, Newark, and Trenton as the case cities as they are among the cities with the highest number of homicides in New Jersey.

⁵⁸ According to the CDC, the white, black, American Indian/Alaska Indian, Asia/Pacific Island group include persons of both Hispanic and non-Hispanic origin. Persons of Hispanic origin may be of any race. As the data are collected, they are separate and wholly overlapping categories.

⁵⁹ The data reported in this study does not include justifiable homicides, police killings of civilians. See FN #8.

⁶⁰ Explanation provided by <http://fmwww.bc.edu/repec/bocode/t/transint.html>. Last accessed September 16, 2017.

The third source of data was the respondents' answers to the interview questions on the effectiveness of various domains in preventing homicides. However, not all respondents were willing to provide a ranking of the domains; other respondents added domains; others cited one domain as the only responsible one; and still others cited their own domain as the most effective. Given this variety of answers, the rankings are not used inferentially, the original intention; rather, they are used to probe the respondents on their perceptions of the presence of effectiveness of each domain in preventing homicides for young black men, ages fifteen to twenty-four years.

The three sources of information complement each other by pointing out the persistent presence of homicides, a LCOD for young black men ages fifteen to twenty-four years in three New Jersey cities.

Qualitative Method

The qualitative elements of this study are: (a) the case study method; (b) the institutional domains; (c) the basis for choosing the case cities; (d) the interviews (selection and recruitment of respondents; questionnaire); (e) analysis of interviews; (f) overall analysis.

Case Study

It is important to be clear about what is meant by a "case" as there are multiple categories of cases (leading to several definitions). There are the well-known, traditional cases: clinical and legal, all of them applied, communicable cases used to transmit a practice or a skill from one person to another (North 1990) and bounded by a problem or a question. These types of case are what we generally think of when we hear the term "cases." However, case studies have been used historically in other disciplines and

specifically, in the social sciences from history to psychology to social work and economics. Cases have also been known as “categories,” “data categories, theoretical categories, historically specific categories, substantive categories, and so on” (Ragin and Becker 1992, 217) for purposes of understanding identity, explaining complex situations, or controlling the boundaries of a question or problem (Harper 1992; White 1992, 2005). Broadly defined, case studies are intrinsic studies targeting complex social phenomenon and allowing “investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events—such as life cycles, organizational and managerial processes, neighborhood change, international relations, and the maturation of industries” (Yin 2003, 2).

Advantages of the case study method. This research began by asking the question about the presence and effectiveness of preventive mechanisms for homicide through institutional domains for young, black males, ages fifteen to twenty-four. The lack of effective preventive mechanisms represented a pivotal turn in the research, moving it to a more layered and complex understanding of the intrinsic conditions in Camden, Newark, and Trenton impacting the development of prevention programs. In other words, what are those conditions enabling a persistent prevalence of homicides? An analysis of the conditions that young black men aged fifteen to twenty-four years share became necessary, still using the institutional domains as one of the units of analysis. However, the analysis was shifted to the frame of organizational conditions and incentives of the institutional domains along with alternative methods of earning a living such as participation in the illegal drug economy. An additional framework is the

conditions in the case cities of Camden, Newark, and Trenton explicitly linking them to institutional domains affecting the population under study.

There are three reasons a case method was chosen for this work, (a) context, (b) relational capability, and (c) fluidity.

(a) Context. According to Robert Yin (2005), a case study would be used “because you deliberately wanted to cover contextual conditions—believing that they will be highly pertinent to your phenomenon of study” (13). In this research, creating a context by examining perceptions from the different institutional domains on homicide prevention programs increases the level of complexity and degree of entanglement, while at the same time, it reveals connections between the domains and external forces contributing to the persistent prevalence of homicides. A contextual view of the units of analysis exposes conditions on different levels; by city as in “what is different” in each city and by agenda and action of each institutional domain within each city. The perspective from each city of each domain exposes differences or similarities aiding in the understanding of homicides among black males.

(b) Revealing Relationships Across Context. Searching for the presence of homicide prevention activities within institutional domains presumes a relational condition between a domain and actors involved in homicides. The relation becomes apparent when two actors occupy different positions within a social space with either mutual dependence or opposition. Case studies incorporate the ability to explore relationships deeply through interviews or other techniques. Facts reported to the CDC or the FBI do not tell the entire story of the presence of prevention programs as there is

no understanding of the relationship between reported numbers of those affected by homicides (perpetrator or victim) and the educational system or criminal justice domain. Are the actors in Camden turning to the illegal economy as a result of their inability to find and retain a job in the legal economy? Is that inability because of their educational level and aptitude? And, then, does the logic of the illegal economy force the use of homicide to regulate activities within the drug trade?

The relationship between actors involved in a homicide and the educational system may first appear tenuous but a deeper understanding (through interviews) of conditions in these cities reveals tighter connections between educational and economic domains and homicides. Or, what about the neighborhood conditions in one city versus those in the adjacent city or town? What effect does different neighborhood conditions have on the population of young black men in Camden versus Haddonfield? As the hypothesis of this work claims marginalization of residents as a result of conditions within the cities, only a holistic method investigating meaningful characteristics of real-life events would lead the researcher to discover connections and relationships within and between the cities, the institutional domains, and the population under study.

(c) Fluidity. Cases are also fluid or dynamic in that the study can begin as one thing and later prove to be a study of something quite different. This study reveals the dynamic nature of these cases as the initial question of the effectiveness of homicide prevention programs, upon answering, changed into a more complex question of what makes it so.

Limitations of a case study method. There are two limitations of the case study method generating conflict among social scientists. At times, case studies have been regarded as “generally underappreciated” (Gerring 2007, 8), even though the method has been widely used as a precursor to empirical studies in the social science discipline. It is the “precursor” that is problematic, as it implicitly questions the value or the usefulness of a case beyond an exploratory or pilot study. Critics are quick to point out that they do not mean that cases cannot be used for exploratory purposes (Baxter and Eyles 1997; Yin 2003); for example, in this study an early discovery of the lack and/or ineffectiveness of preventive programs for homicides led to another more suitable set of questions for the research. This study emphasizes that a case can be used for explanatory, descriptive, and applied purposes. Other scholars argue that the case method can stand in as the basis for the major component of the research: the empirical piece. The perspective from Charles C. Ragin and Howard S. Becker (1992) is that “every study is a case study because it is an analysis of social phenomena specific to time and place” (2). Yin (2003) writes that “despite the stereotype of case studies as a weak method, case studies continue to be used extensively as in urban planning, public administration, public policy, management science, social work, and education” (xiii). Their value and usefulness lies in the diversity and flexibility of use—beyond the pilot and exploratory phases, cases are extremely valuable where the situation is explained through “operational links needing to be traced over time” (Yin 2005, 6). In this research there are examples of external-to-institutional-domains in economic phenomena specific to time and place in two of the cities, Newark and Camden, but going beyond city

boundaries. In Newark, the building of Teacher's Village (TV) was aided by the implementation of tax credits on federal and state levels making investment in that city much more attractive. The tax credit program was highly operational and the tracing of its origin illustrated the tendency of state and federal agencies to encourage economic growth in distressed urban areas. In Camden, different programs were in play with a different context. Newark's real estate development was focused on a market rate, mixed use context while Camden's development focused on the building and/or renovating schools, hospitals, low-income and senior homes. Corporate relocation has also been a target. One set of boundaries are spatial, city limits that enable the search for evidence to be confined, but the origin of the activities may be externally based, as in the application of federal and state programs in the form of tax credits, abatement, and business subsidies. These insights did not arise in the preliminary phases of this work, emerging only during and after the interviews. The idea that the case is a pilot for the project and thus directional for research strategy does not apply to this study.

The second limitation is generalizability, a concern of scientists who do not believe that conclusions based on a case or a small number of cases can generalize across a larger population. This study does not attempt to do that. Case studies have a variety of sub-generalizing functions; for instance, they "are generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes" (Yin 2003, 10). They can represent certain types of environments such as small towns with a certain demographic and industrial characteristics. Or, case studies allow the researcher to study the "particular"

intrinsically such that connections can be discovered between domains, cities, and populations.

There is a worry about producing invalid conclusions if a case cannot be generalized. Lee Peter Ruddin (2006) cautions scientists against blurring inferences received from statistical work with conclusions from case study methodology. In case studies, a pattern is discovered or a construction slowly comes to the fore providing context for the research question specifically because there is an opportunity for more variables to be present, more nodes of connection to capture the reality of the situation. Patterns and constructions coming from a single case may not on the surface be immediately generalizable to the universe and it is important to make two key points here. First, generalizations may be possible from case studies “through reformulations of the case” (Ragin and Becker 1992, 126). New cases can challenge or re-specify already determined causal processes. Early work on Nigeria in the late 1940’s and early 1950’s showed the country to be politically integrative but thirty years later the same country is seen to be in chaos exacerbated by class differences (Coleman 1958, Lubeck 1986). The second point is that it may not be necessary or desirable to generalize too broadly. In Ruddin’s thinking, “cases generate precisely . . . concrete, practical, and context-dependent knowledge” (2006, 801). This study of homicides in three cities provides three different contexts with different levers of manipulation and is dependent upon the dominant players in each city. Results may be similar but the context and the “means” are different in each city. The cities can be used as analogies but not necessarily as generalizations as Lilla Vicsek points out when she discusses the “kind of a

generalisation...based on a particular observed case about another specific case, or they(researchers) want to generalise from a small set of cases” (2010, 128). This idea of generalization, called transferability, has the potential for applicability in this study for a specific domain present in the three case cities or the cities themselves. Do cities such as Paterson, Jersey City, or Somerville exhibit similar characteristics to Camden, a case city for this research? Or, using the population of young black men ages fifteen to twenty-four, are there similar and relevant attributes in young black men in Elizabeth, NJ found by this study in Newark, NJ? Essentially, “cases are those bundles of reality to which analogies apply” (Ragin and Becker 1992, 134).

Summing up, the case study method is the method of choice in this research because it is a study of the particular behavior of institutional domains as that behavior relates to the development of certain conditions in each case city.

Institutional Domain Selection

The selected domains for this study are societal institutions, hence the phrase “institutional domain,” with the intent and capability of impacting populations. The criminal justice domain is comprised of law enforcement, the courts, and the correctional system. The educational domain influences this population as a function of its proximity to and influence on youth. The nonprofits are the third domain and include agencies that work with the community where homicides may be prevalent as well as religious communities. The fourth institutional domain is public health on a municipal, country, and state level. It is considered another critical domain as it contributes research and development of preventive programs. Each of these institutional domains represents possible nodes of prevention for homicides.

Case City Choices

For most studies where there is a spatial component there are multiple geometries from which to choose. The spatial frame depends crucially on what is being studied and any known influencing factors within the frame (Harvey 2004). In choosing the cities for this research, two factors played critical roles, one more than the other. The level of homicides in the city was the obvious starting point as it is the core of this work. In 2014, the level of homicides varied widely throughout the state from zero in many towns and counties to ninety-three in Newark.⁶¹ In addition to the statewide variation in homicide levels, the second key factor was a spatial frame on a regional level, as aggregate information at the state level does not capture regional nuances. The governance of many institutional domains in this study are determined by specific municipality laws and regulations, housing and zoning codes, school finances and policies, tax rates, policing, and infrastructure maintenance, leading populations to sort themselves out by municipality by choosing specific school systems or being limited by housing availability and pricing (Alba and Logan 1993; Fischer 2004; James 1989). As New Jersey is divided into three regions, north, central, and south, the choice of cities rested within those regions. Using an annual homicide number of at least ten as an arbitrary marker, seven cities—Elizabeth, Irvington, Jersey City, Newark, Paterson, Trenton, and Camden—met the threshold. Knowing that seven cities were too burdensome to study, the regional location of each city was used as the deciding factor

⁶¹ Data from 2014 Uniform Crime Report – Federal Bureau of Investigation. https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2014/crime-in-the-u.s.-2014/tables/table-80/table-80-by-state/Table_80_Full_time_Law_Enforcement_Employees_New_Jersey_by_Metropolitan_Nonmetropolitan_Counties_2014.xls.

in choosing Camden from the south, Newark from the north, and Trenton from the central region of the state.

Participant Selection, Recruiting, and Sample Size

The selection of the potential interview respondents was a function of secondary research from documents associated with the institutional domains along with specific selection criteria; these included websites, brochures, and conference notices. Domain websites with organizational detail were the first line of searching and the selection criteria were composed of (1) links to either programmatic or mandated (as in public health, criminal justice, and nonprofit agencies) attention to the prevention and/or treatment of homicides; (2) connection to the population under study through the educational system, nonprofit agencies including religious organizations or other community groups, and the criminal justice system; and (3) a current, operational role in the domain in one of the case cities with knowledge of the domain and of the city of interest. Other forms of secondary research were conference notices on applicable topics and city council meetings. Most respondents were connected to the cities through residency, employment, or both, and all of them demonstrated knowledge of the issues of the study. A small number of respondents meeting the above criteria upon interviewing did not have the applicable knowledge.⁶² Their responses were not included in the analysis.

⁶² Three respondents met the criteria on paper or in a phone call and during the interview displayed a lack of current knowledge on the topic of homicide or homicide prevention for this population.

In recruiting potential respondents for interviews, a hierarchical system was used. The director or supervisor in a particular organization would be the first point of contact, followed by the next in line. Program officers, executive directors, school principals, and lead team members, for example, were petitioned for interviews. In some cases, these leaders requested someone in their organization to participate. In the case of the criminal justice domain, specifically law enforcement, a formal request was filed with the police departments of the respective cities citing the purpose of the study. Calls were made to the Metro Camden County Police, the Newark Police Department, and the City of Trenton Police Department with no acknowledgement from the three departments. This type of response could have several meanings such as a lack of staffing for research interviews, a disregard for public questioning or even a standard practice of 'no interviews'. While conclusions cannot be made without hearing the reasons from the departments, this lack of response forces a researcher to rely on public data as well as input from those respondents who have interacted with representatives from the criminal justice domain. Those representatives from the criminal justice domain who agreed to interviews included a crime analyst from Camden, a retired Newark Police Department officer from the Robbery Division, a retired East Orange Police Department officer, and a retired Victims' Advocacy coordinator for the Camden City Municipal Courts.

In addition to the organizational approach, an informal method was used to determine key members of the community for potential interviews. This involved the above-mentioned city council and community meetings where there was broad

participation from most domains and the researcher could observe the interaction between residents, city leaders, and those requesting an action or permission from city leaders. Decision makers and affected community members were present at these forums, enabling a primary source experience without the filters of a website or a conference protocol. These forums included, as examples, public city council meetings; “call-in” gatherings with city youth, law enforcement officials, ex-offenders, and implementers of violence prevention programs; and community and update meetings on the federal monitoring of the Newark Police Department. Although identification of potential participants was one of the goals for the author’s attendance at these events, understanding community issues and observing interaction between the residents and the leaders of the meetings became more important. Additional recruitment was through chain sampling or snowball recruiting using referrals from study participants. Since there was likely to be a relationship between the referred and the referee, the referred was more likely to agree to an interview and more likely to know the domain, city, and the population under study. This is a method of recruitment useful for studies where specific characteristics are necessary and may be difficult to identify (Hennink, Hutter, and Bailey 2013).

There were four (referred) respondents who were residents of many years in their community and intimately familiar with a wide range of events impacting their city beyond the framework of domains. The content of those interviews yielded a richness of information that subsequently triggered additional research into externalities affecting

the cities in this study. Despite their non-affiliation with a specific domain, these respondents were added to the sample.

The sample size for this study was not limited, as saturation of information was the goal for the interviews and dictated the sample size, meaning similarity in responses from respondents. In domains such as the nonprofit, saturation was achieved due to a larger number of accommodating respondents. However, saturation was not possible in the public health and criminal justice domains as the number of respondents was very low despite multiple requests for interviews⁶³.

All respondents signed the Informed Consent Form along with the Audio/Visual Addendum Consent Form.

Questionnaire

The questionnaire for the interviews provided a guide to understanding the respondents' views on the efficacy of any homicide preventive mechanisms in the institutional domains, their views on media objectivity on the reporting of homicides⁶⁴, an explanation of their rankings on any efficacy or lack of it in homicide preventive mechanisms, the factors unique to their city contributing to homicides, and linkages between domains as a function of homicide prevention. The questionnaire and request for an interview are both located in Appendix B.

⁶³ The development of reliability for in-depth semi-structured interviews requires two or more coders who understand and can interpret the answers and capture the nuances of those answers. This study did not use additional coders and cannot claim that level of reliability.

⁶⁴ In the research proposal, questions on the media were intended to help understand and then analyze the role of the media in homicide prevention. However, as this topic became too large for the study, the focus for these questions was only on the respondents' views of media reporting on homicides within their city. The chapter on interview analysis addresses their impressions.

Interviews

Interviews are conducted to “collect a diversity of meaning, opinion, and experiences” (Hay 2005, 80) from respondents in their own words. This last phrase, “in their own words,” is the articulation of the unique experiences or impressions of the respondents regarding homicide prevention mechanisms in their particular domain and city. As this study contains different domains with different capabilities to prevent homicides, the meaning of “homicide prevention” will vary among respondents and is very dependent upon their domain and their position within that domain. For instance, within the nonprofit domain, an executive director will respond in a macro-manner and one congruent with the stated mission and vision of the agency, while the employee implementing the program will have a completely different perspective. Both are engaged in preventing homicides albeit in different roles. It is in the act of interviewing that these differences of meaning, experience, and opinion manifest themselves. For the interviewer, there is the available space to probe on specific topics and for the respondent to take the time to think about the answer. The decision to use an interview versus another vehicle had to do with the belief that face-to-face encounters yield richer research and opportunities for a deeper discussion, especially on traumatic topics such as homicides. Complex behaviors demonstrated by weeping, insistence through loud tones, and body language indicated their intensity on the topic; they ranged from the emotional answers of a nun who initiated and sustained annual vigils for victims of homicides for many years to matter-of-fact answers from a former gang leader who firmly believed that the vigils did more good than harm in his neighborhood. Such responses could not be observed or heard without the benefit of a face-to-face

interview. The illumination of behaviors and motivations of a retired police officer was enhanced by probing comments such as “tell me more” or “why do you think that,” enabling deeper potential understanding of the reasons for a particular opinion.

There are three major forms of interview: structured, unstructured, and semi-structured. This study used the semi-structured format with a mix of open and closed questions. The question order was common for all respondents but there were enough open-ended questions to allow the respondent to speak more deeply about a topic or direct attention to a tangential matter. This gives respondents the flexibility to add perspective if they choose to elaborate on a topic. This flexibility enables insights into respondents’ opinions, community developments, and external impact not previously apparent.

The questions in the interview guide were organized to first develop a rapport with the respondents with straightforward, factual questions, and then followed by the serious questions on their thinking about homicide prevention in the domains of their city. The early questions asked about their role and number of years in the particular domain site, their previous employment, current residence, location of their birth and childhood, and the level and location of their education.

Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed. Note-taking was also done to facilitate probing follow-up questions.

Analysis of the Interviews

The coding of the interview transcripts had two goals: (1) the reduction or abstraction of the transcripts to a manageable form to support analysis; and (2) the creation of an organizing structure that had the capability of detecting themes from the

transcripts. Both these goals are intended to yield a meaningful analysis of the data. The methods literature recommended a variety of analytic techniques for coding semi-structured interview responses, from simple, categorical techniques such as developing superficial labels to methods intended to determine reliability of coded data.

This study used a combination of techniques starting with superficial coding followed by an interpretive coding scheme capturing themes in the responses, also known as manifest (superficial) and latent (thematic) coding. The manifest content analysis assesses the surface content of the transcripts and the latent content analysis searches for meaning or themes within the interviews (Dunn 2005). These two coding techniques were used to pull the common themes from the responses but did not yield the deeper analysis required for a more complete understanding of the problem of homicide prevention. Therefore, using a system suggested by J. Corbin and A. Strauss (1999), the founders of grounded theory, the themes from the interpretive coding were parsed into three, more specific types of themes: (1) conditions; (2) interactions among the actors (domains and actors within domains); and (3) consequences. Corbin and Strauss also suggest a fourth theme, strategies and tactics; however, those are difficult to extract from interviews and only appear in the relationship of response content to externalities where the strategies and tactics are exhibited. These four coding schemes enabled a micro view of the data by determining the surface and common theme content and added the macro view of domains and cities by examining the conditions of the respondents, domains, and cities along with interactions between domains and reported consequences. Without both views, it is difficult to accomplish the goals of

coding and provide coherent interpretation of mass data generated by the interviews in this study.

The manifest content analysis revealed common words and phrases from the questions and their sequence in the interview questionnaire. For instance, the categories of domain; gender; ethnicity; current position; education; experience; places of birth, raising, and current residence (BRL); affected section of population (ASP); media source and position (MediaS, MediaP); ranking, reason, unique factors, domain separation, and other were analyzed with each respondent's information reviewed for common words and phrases. Those words and phrases that came up most often were drugs, guns, jobs, poverty, police, gangs, blacks, and Hispanics. This superficial coding led to the next phase of latent content analysis where the eight words were used repetitively different phrases. Guns, drugs, jobs, poverty, gangs, and police were words found multiple times along with the phrases "drug trade," "drugs and guns," "police and community," and "no jobs". The continual presence of these words and phrases highlighted the common themes of "drugs and guns," "poverty," "lack of jobs," "gangs," and "police and community" for this population in these cities.

Phrases from the manifest analysis triggered a deeper look at the conditions surrounding the use of or need for "drugs and guns" and the job market for young black men in Camden, Newark, and Trenton, for example. The interview content was then reread using the lens of the function of guns (leading to homicide) in an illegal drug trade. Some respondents mentioned the use of guns as a deterrent to others infringing on territories or as a regulating device to thwart future infringement. Still others

mentioned a glamor factor associated with guns. A drug/gang leader described the messaging of gunshots; some shots deliberately do not hit their target by a wide margin indicating merely a warning to the target, while multiple shots reaching their target indicate revenge or another unspecified reason. The illegality of the drug and gun market makes reliable data hard to come by, but comments from the interviews provided clues for searching documents on drug usage, sourcing, revenues, and retail sources. This use of weapons as a regulatory mechanism becomes a condition of the lives of drug traders.

Under the theme of “no jobs” the failure of the economic development arm of city government to create equal access to employment becomes visible. Using Newark as the model, economic development agencies of the city’s administration have made an active effort to revitalize specific neighborhoods of the city with new businesses and new jobs owned and staffed by city residents. However, the construction jobs in the large economic development projects do not fit the circumstances and backgrounds of young black male residents of the city due to training and union constraints. And once construction is completed, the intended occupants of the new/renovated building generally do not hire this population as too many young black men are, according to a respondent, associated with a drug record and ineligible for employment. Here again, there are conditions and interactions between domains (education and law enforcement) dictating the conditions leading to marginalization of this group. The inability to gain entrance to either temporary construction work or permanent work in

the intended use of the building sets young black men aside and motivates the need for policy or program development.

These two examples illustrate the combinatorial method of the coding for this study where the sequential activity of determining the manifest content followed by the latent content triggered a rereading of the transcripts under the lens of conditions, interactions, and consequences. The multiple readings of the data under different lenses pushed the author into the search for external factors.

Common words and phrases from the coding determined the selection of the quotes used in the analysis of the interviews, Chapter 5. The frequency of “no jobs” or “gangs and drugs” or “police” represented the general sense and range of opinion from the respondents.

Documents and Archival Records

Documents and records from the Internet and archives were used to understand the background, mission, and vision of the domains in reference to homicides including victims and perpetrators; to determine potential respondents; and to follow the line of inquiry from a respondent’s comment on a domain⁶⁵. Demographics of the case cities and the neighboring towns were sourced from the United States Census Bureau, educational data on the case city high schools were from the New Jersey Board of Education website, and the homicide data were available from the UCR issued by the FBI. Additionally, the website of the Newark Police Department recorded all homicides (and other crimes) by precinct and date.

⁶⁵ Newspaper articles were the most common documents sourced from archives. The *Courier Post*, the *Star-Ledger*, and the *Newark Evening News* were the three papers used.

Although public websites for most of the institutional domains contain information on their mission, vision, and activities, the nonprofit domain is unique in that their websites typically provide information used to learn linkages to other entities within their city. By studying their funding model—origin of funds, disbursement mechanisms, destination/restriction of funds, and changes from previous years—insights to the agency’s activities and priorities can be discerned. Some sources for nonprofit agencies have donor-imposed restrictions on funding, limiting the use of funds for a specific population or issue. Understanding these restrictions aids in understanding the priorities⁶⁶. All this allows a deeper understanding of the proportion of agency resources spent on the programs for preventing homicides versus other programs. Other methods of understanding the priorities of an agency or firm come from the background and/or associations of agency board members. An example of board members and their associations is the principal of Ron Beit Group (RBG), Ron Beit, a real estate investor in New York City. Beit is the regional (NY/NJ) chair of Teach for America (TFA), which primarily works in urban areas of New Jersey, specifically, Newark, as this study will discuss. Tutors and teachers from TFA will be housed in Teacher’s Village, Newark housing developed by RBG. Additional documents were city council or other agency meeting agendas, minutes, reports, newspaper articles, blog posts, and websites. City meeting agendas and minutes describe the topics of interest to the committee as well as the public and although personal observation was fruitful, the minutes were useful surrogates to understand decisions on development and public

⁶⁶ Restriction on funds is difficult to determine along with the designation of those funds.

comments. State and city department minutes were studied as decisions on state and city programs were made about developers and other economic players. Ron Beit's Teacher's Village project was discussed at the New Jersey Economic Development Agency where the decisions on increases in tax abatements and credits were made. Blog posts from educational professionals discussing the spread of charter schools in Newark and Camden were used for their analysis on the mechanisms of charter school growth and state aid to public school. The "insider" knowledge of indicators of the enrollment of low-income students such as the numbers of free lunch or free or reduced lunch recipients helped to understand the economic makeup of students in charter schools.

Newspaper articles contained information on chronology of events behind city decisions such as the replacement of the Camden City police with the Camden County police force or pointed out key players in education, political leadership of the cities, and law enforcement activities within the cities. Reports from nonprofit and governmental agencies detailed program evaluations pertaining to drug courts, charter school development in Newark and Camden, and school segregation across the state of New Jersey. These represent examples, not the entire set of documents studied for this research. Budgets were read to determine particular strategies for a city. That is the intent of budgets; they uncover the priorities of the city. In Camden, budgets indicated the constant presence of contractors and lawyers as line items from 2011 to 2016. This information triggered the search for the backgrounds of specific contractors and lawyers to learn of their specialties and locations where bids were won. Federal and state bills

and acts were studied to determine their use in the economic development capabilities of each city.

Archival evidence was comprised of newspaper reports on homicides, city budgets, federal and state legislative bills, federal and state data collections, federal and state agency reports with data, and maps of cities and neighborhoods. The newspapers, the *Star-Ledger*, *Newark Evening News*, and *Courier Post* were searched to uncover the associations of homicide victims and perpetrators.

Limitations of the Study

The original intent of the study was to determine the presence of effective prevention practices for homicides of young, black men, ages nineteen to twenty-four years. As that question was answered early in the research, the focus of research turned toward understanding the reason(s) behind the inattention from the institutional domains to a cause of death that is persistent and affects a young population with many years before them. This turn accentuated inevitable limitations of the study and two areas where research could be augmented, both related to the interviews.

(1) The respondents for each of the four institutional domains were not identical in number, and there were unequal numbers of respondents in each city. Responses from two critical domains were lower than the other two. For instance, seven respondents were from criminal justice, nine from education, thirty-three from the nonprofits, three from the public health sector and five from the community at large. The issue with this unevenness of respondents is a greater reliance on those domains

with higher responses, which could, if unchecked, render the findings from a particular city or domain disproportionately dominant.

(2) Corroboration of a respondent's answers was, at times, difficult, especially when their actions were illegal. A statement about gun running from Trenton to Camden using a Nike shoebox for storing guns to avoid police attention is, on one hand, plausible but could also be construed as a facile construction, requiring validation. Some of these responses carried a level of likelihood but needed corroboration for confidence in the answer.

Conclusion

By using a sequential, interpretive, case-based approach for this study, it is possible to capture the myriad connections that appear as a result of creating a contextual picture with comparative situations. The units of analysis—institutional domains and young black men ages fifteen to twenty-four years—move from Camden to Newark to Trenton providing a foundation (or vehicle) from which to study the differences between the cities and the impact of external developments on both the city and the population.

Chapter 4. Case and Domain Background

Introduction

This chapter discusses the foundation of this study in five sections: (1) quantitative national and local data on rankings of causes of death, particularly homicides, and public health budgets; (2) demographics and histories of the case cities of Camden, Newark, and Trenton; (3) comparative demographics of neighboring cities; (4) description of the institutional domains of criminal justice, education, nonprofits, and public health, and (5) representative facts associating homicides with the illegal drug trade. I begin with a review of the original research question and its evolution from one studying for homicide prevention programs to a wider understanding of the conditions perpetuating homicides in Camden, Newark, and Trenton.

The steadiness of the homicide rates in each case city from 1989 through 2013 indicates the inability and/or the inadequacy of programs in the four domains to prevent this leading cause of death (LCOD) for young black men. On a national level, the Centers for Disease Control's public health programs do not address the prevention of homicides even though they are a LCOD for a specific, younger age range in urban areas. The public health facilities in the cities address chronic disease issues such as diabetes and asthma, and they work to establish access to treatment for the elderly, but have no programming for homicide prevention. Violence prevention programs in the nonprofit domain do not produce evidence of reducing or mitigating the homicide rate. And in the education domain, certain public high schools in Camden, Newark, and Trenton exhibit high dropout rates, a higher percentage of the use of alternate methods for obtaining a high school diploma, and low levels of postsecondary education, producing potentially

unskilled workers for deindustrialized markets. The demographics of the towns bordering the case cities exhibit very different levels of poverty, numbers of college graduates, disabled residents, homeowners, and workforce participants than those of the case cities.

Homicides remain a LCOD for young black men ages fifteen to twenty-four years on a national and city level. CDC data from the National Vital Statistics System (NVSS) show homicides ranked as the third LCOD for *all* deaths. Still on the national level, when we look at LCOD broken down by age, gender, and race/ethnicity, we find the number one cause of death for young black men (fifteen to twenty-four years) across the country is homicide for years 2002 through 2014⁶⁷. As LCODs have long been catalysts for public health professionals to initiate assessments and research on causes and risk factors for a particular LCOD, the budget or operating plan for CDC programs is then examined to understand the presence and priority of research attention to homicides. Another level of budgetary examination occurs through the Congress as they are the approving body for this budget further solidifying the priorities of CDC attention.

At the state level, New Jersey, homicide is the number one cause of death young black men, as it is on the national level, and is the second LCOD for young Hispanic men. Judging from approved financial allocations to programs, the 2014 budgets for the state and the NJ Department of Human and Health Services focus on access to healthcare for the elderly and the uninsured, cancer screening, improvements in care and housing for

⁶⁷ Homicide may have been the LCOD prior to 2000, but the data at the CDC are not granular enough prior to 2000 to reveal that.

the disabled, and drug addiction⁶⁸. Here, as at the national level, there is no specific mention of allocation of financial resources addressing the LCOD, homicide, for fifteen- to twenty-four-year old black men.

In the case cities, data on homicides were collected from the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reporting (FBI UCR) by case city from 1989 through 2013 for all ages⁶⁹. While there are fluctuations in homicides for each city, no declining trend for any of the three cities was apparent. This indicates either a lack of or inadequate methods for prevention of homicides.

The quantitative section ends with a discussion on the rankings of efficacy for homicide prevention by the interview respondents. Rankings were collected from the interviews where the respondents were asked to order the efficacy of prevention programs in the city they lived or worked based on their knowledge of the population affected by homicides and their work in the domains of criminal justice, education, nonprofits, and public health.

The descriptions of Camden, Newark, and Trenton follow the quantitative section and include demographics, a brief history and geography of each city, the governance structure, and the current economic engine of the cities. All three cities were once busy manufacturing centers with jobs that employed both skilled and unskilled labor. Camden had the canneries; Newark, the leather factories; and Trenton produced rubber and ceramics for the country. All three cities deindustrialized after

⁶⁸ Information from Gov. Chris Christie's FY 2014 budget address was used.

⁶⁹ The last year for all three cities reporting their data is 2013.

World War II through the late 1980s, leaving factory workers with little marketability for their skills in other industries. The demographics of each city reflect the consequences of few jobs for unskilled or semi-skilled labor. Specifically, the poverty rate is far higher and the per capita income is far lower than the state and country. Economic development in each city plays a critical role in the lives of the residents; as an example, there are generous tax incentives for corporations such as Subaru, Holtec, and American Water to operate in Camden, attracting professionals from the suburbs or Philadelphia but leaving Camden residents with little opportunity for unskilled jobs, as there are no production facilities for these companies. Those who develop in Newark also enjoy generous tax incentives. Trenton is the exception in receiving very little interest from companies.

As this research points to the conditions that marginalize communities, a demographic comparison of the case cities with their neighboring towns is necessary to contextualize each city. Marginalization, a relational concept, asks the question whether residents in Camden, Newark, and Trenton are worse off than residents in neighboring towns. Parameters of income, percentage living in poverty, population density, education level, homeownership, and racial origin are applied to the comparison.

The institutional domains are next discussed, focusing on the element of the domain most closely related to homicides. For instance, in the criminal justice domain, the law enforcement arm is described for each city, as police officers are early responders to the scene of a homicide and are generally familiar with the residents of their precinct. Also discussed are the differences between the cities' police

departments. In Newark, the Police Department is under a federal monitor for a variety of unconstitutional practices; the Camden City Police are now the Camden County Police Force; and the Trenton Police Department is rebuilding from 2011 when one-third of the force was laid off for budgetary reasons. The educational domain includes metrics from the New Jersey Department of Education (NJ DOE) for high schools in Camden, Newark, and Trenton, as fifteen- to eighteen- (and sometimes nineteen-) year-old black men are in these institutions. The dropout rate, the graduation rate, the method of gaining a diploma, and the college enrollment rate are examined for district high schools in the cities. No charter schools are examined as they do not report the same data to NJ DOE. In the nonprofit domain, there are agencies that address the prevention of homicide through several models; some use a form of public health model to reduce gun violence, others use models targeting guns such as the Boston Gun Project, and others use a hybrid of these models. Camden and Trenton have active programs funded through a variety of sources from the federal and state criminal justice agencies. Newark's Operation CeaseFire, initiated in 2005, has been discontinued. Citizen groups currently organize rallies to bring awareness of Newark's homicides to the residents. For the public health domain, the priorities of the public health office responsible for each city will be reviewed. Governance is slightly different in each city; responsibility for Camden's public health programs is under Camden County Department of Health and Human Services; the City of Newark is responsible for the public health offices and programs; and the City of Trenton uses collaborations with hospitals and Federally Qualified Health Care (FQHC) facilities to administer its public health responsibilities.

The descriptive section ends with a discussion on the association between illegal drugs and illegal guns as they are used side by side in the underground economy. High profitability coupled with a high risk for personal safety for vulnerable employees are motivators for protection of territory and lives. Guns provide personal, reputational, and territorial protection (Katz 2013). A representative sample of young men arrested for possession of an illegal weapon along with a controlled drug substance is shown in Table 11, demonstrating the association between drugs and guns in the three case cities.

Research Question

This work began with a search for programs for preventing homicides of young black men ages fifteen to twenty-four years in three New Jersey cities: Camden, Newark, and Trenton. The question was framed within the boundaries of the institutional domains of criminal justice, education, nonprofits, and public health.

National Homicide Data

In 2014, homicide was not on the list of the top ten LCOD for all ages, races, ethnicities, and genders in the United States. See Table 1 for the list of 2014 LCODs. However, aggregated LCODs do not have the capability to direct targeted programmatic responses due to the variety of causes of deaths within the general population. It is in the subgroups of populations where the rankings of LCOD change, thus directing a more targeted research response. As an example of this, Melonie Heron of the CDC writes, “Pregnancy, childbirth and the puerperium was ranked ninth for women aged 35–39, but it was not ranked in the top 10 for women aged 35–44” (5). Each age group for women experiences a difference in the relative importance of pregnancy and childbirth, resulting in different LCOD by age. This is also true of homicide. Looking at the

population group of black men, the first LCOD of death for black youth aged ten to fourteen is unintentional injuries; the next three age ranges, fifteen to nineteen, twenty to twenty-four, and twenty-five to thirty-four, list homicide as the first LCOD, followed by heart disease as the top LCOD for black men aged thirty-five to forty-four.

Table 1. Ten Leading Causes of Deaths for All Ages, Both Sexes, All Races, 2014. .

| Rank | Cause of Death | Number of Deaths | Percentage |
|------|----------------------------------------------|------------------|------------|
| 1 | Diseases of the heart | 614,348 | 23.4 |
| 2 | Malignant neoplasm | 591,700 | 22.5 |
| 3 | Chronic lower respiratory disease | 147,101 | 5.6 |
| 4 | Unintentional injury | 135,928 | 5.2 |
| 5 | Cerebrovascular disease | 133,103 | 5.1 |
| 6 | Alzheimer's disease | 93,541 | 3.6 |
| 7 | Diabetes mellitus | 76,488 | 2.9 |
| 8 | Influenza and pneumonia | 55,227 | 2.1 |
| 9 | Nephritis, nephrotic syndrome, and nephrosis | 48,146 | 1.8 |
| 10 | Suicide | 42,826 | 1.6 |

https://www.cdc.gov/injury/wisqars/pdf/leading_causes_of_death_by_age_group_2014-a.pdf.

https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/dvs/lcw9_2014.pdf

It bears repeating that although death by homicide does not make the top ten list of LCOD's for the entire United States, I use homicides as a trigger to peer into the world of those who carry the burden of it as their LCOD – young black men.

This enables me to attempt to understand their living conditions, dangerous on the best of days, and to tease out the reasons for this persistent LCOD.

Rankings of the LCOD change over time; for example, from 2004 through 2012, cancer was the first LCOD for white males aged ten to fourteen years. In 2013 and 2014, the top LCOD for that age range was suicide. However, for black men aged fifteen to thirty-four, the LCOD of homicide has consistently remained the dominant one. In the period between 2004 and 2014, homicide was one of the top five LCODs for all men ages fifteen to thirty-four and was the number one LCOD for black men in that age range for the entire period, followed by Hispanic men and then white men. See Table 2.

Table 2. Ranking of Homicides for Males by Race/Ethnicity and Age Range Rank of homicide for each age range (15–19, 20–24, 25–34 yrs) race/ethnicity from 2004 to 2014.

| Race/Ethnicity | 2004 | 2009 | 2011 | 2014 |
|----------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| All males | 2, 2, 3 | 2, 2, 3 | 2, 3, 3 | 3, 3, 3 |
| Black | 1, 1, 1 | 1, 1, 1 | 1, 1, 1 | 1, 1, 1 |
| Hispanic | 2, 2, 2 | 2, 2, 2 | 2, 2, 2 | 2, 2, 2 |
| White | 3, 3, 3 | 3, 3, 5 | 3, 3, 5 | 3, 3, 5 |

Source: <https://www.cdc.gov/men/lcod/index.htm>

While ranking order shows differences, it is more compelling to see homicide rates for different race/ethnicities. Table 3, using the same age ranges as Table 2, shows that black men die at a rate five to six times greater than white men and one and one-half to two times greater than Hispanic men. According to CDC information, this

disparity of LCOD rates between ethnicities has been consistent throughout reported years.

Table 3. Differences in Percentage of Homicide LCOD by Race/Ethnicities and Age Group; 15–19yrs, 20–24yrs, 25–34yrs. Percentage of homicide for each age range (15–19, 20–24, 25–34) by race/ethnicity from 2004 through 2014.

| Race/Ethnicity | 2004 | 2009 | 2011 | 2014 |
|----------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| Black | 45.3, 48.4, 32.4% | 50.4, 49.2, 32.8% | 50.0, 49.2, 34.2% | 48.3, 47.5, 31.0% |
| Hispanic | 26.8, 25.1, 18.6% | 29.7, 23.9, 15.4% | 25.0, 20.9, 14.9% | 20.3, 17.8, 12.6 % |
| White | 9.1, 9.7, 7.3% | 10.9, 8.9, 0% | 9.2, 7.8, 5.7% | 7.6, 7.1, --% |

Source: <https://www.cdc.gov/men/lcod/index.htm>.

Given the ranking of the homicide LCODs for men and particularly of black men between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four, it is reasonable to expect the development of preventive programs within a national public health organization such as the CDC. One method of understanding the CDC's decisions on program priority is to study the approved budgets. These budgets or operating plans have to be approved by Congress, legitimizing the proposed priority programs, and were thus reviewed to determine spending allocations against preventive programs⁷⁰. Table 4 describes the programs with allocations in descending order of monetary levels. Injury Prevention, the section

⁷⁰ As not all operating budgets were reported in similar format, only the years having similar format were used here.

where homicide would reside, was not in the top five but is listed to lend context to the priorities of the CDC.

Table 4. Approved (Enacted) Allocation from CDC Fiscal Year Operating Plans

| Budget Activity, Description | FY2011 Enacted⁷¹ | FY 2014 Operating Plan Final | FY 2016 Operating Plan Final |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Public Health Preparedness and Response ⁷² | \$1.4bn | \$1.4bn | \$1.4bn |
| Chronic Disease and Health Promotion ⁷³ | \$1.1bn | \$1.2bn | \$1.2bn |
| HIV/AIDS, Viral Hepatitis, STI and TB Prevention | \$1.1bn | \$1.1bn | \$1.1bn |
| Immunization and Respiratory Diseases | \$748mn | \$782.9mn | \$790mn |
| Emerging and Zoonotic Infectious Diseases ⁷⁴ | \$304.2mn | \$392.0mn | \$582mn |
| Global Health (includes Ebola Funding PL 113-164) ⁷⁵ | \$340mn | \$413.4mn | \$427mn |

⁷¹ The FY2011 Operating Budget was not available as a stand-alone document and was found in the FY2013 Operating Budget as already enacted. These numbers were used.

⁷² Public Health Preparedness and Response includes State and Local Preparedness and Response Capability, Public Health Emergency Preparedness Cooperative Agreement, Academic Centers for Public Health Preparedness, All Other State and Local Capacity, and CDC Preparedness and Response Capability.

⁷³ Chronic Disease and Health Promotion includes Tobacco Studies, Nutrition, Physical Activity and Obesity, School, Health & Community Health Promotion, Alzheimer's Disease, Inflammatory Breast Cancer, Interstitial Cystitis, Excessive Alcohol Use, Chronic Kidney & Heart Disease & Stroke, Diabetes, Cancer Prevention and Control & Registries, Safe Motherhood/Infant Health, Arthritis and Other Chronic Diseases, Racial and Ethnic Approach to Community High Obesity.

⁷⁴ Emerging Zoonotic Infectious Diseases include Vector-borne Diseases, Lyme Disease, Prion Disease, Chronic Fatigue Syndrome, Emerging Infectious Diseases, and Food Safety Advanced Molecular Detection.

⁷⁵ Global Health includes Global HIV/AIDS Program& Immunization Program, Polio Eradication, Measles and Other Vaccine Preventable Diseases, Global Disease Detection and Emergency Response, Parasitic Diseases and Malaria, Global Public Health Capacity Development, and National Public Health Institutes.

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| Injury Prevention and Control (Youth Violence Prevention) ⁷⁶ | \$144mn(\$19.7mn) Rank #9 of spending | \$150mn (\$15mn) Rank #8 of spending | \$236mn (\$15mn) Ranked #8 of spending |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|

Source: <https://www.cdc.gov/budget/documents/fy2011/fy-2011-operating-plan-table.pdf>,
<https://www.cdc.gov/budget/documents/fy2014/fy-2014-cdc-operating-plan.pdf>,
https://www.cdc.gov/budget/documents/fy2016/fy-2016-cdc-operating-plan_1.pdf

As an example, a review of the allocated dollars for 2014 against LCODs for that year indicates that the top LCODs for young black men were not addressed through the operating plans of the CDC. Injuries were addressed in two areas; (1) unintentional injuries under the line item of Injury Prevention and Control (ranked #8 in spending levels) involving Traumatic Brain Injury (TBI), and (2) injuries related to Elderly Falls. The amount of money assigned to those programs was \$8.6 million in 2014. There is also a Youth Violence Prevention Program with funding of \$15 million. These programs include preschool enrichment programs, social-emotional learning approaches, classroom-based programs such as Good Behavior Game (GBG), and Steps to Respect (STR). Mentoring, protective community programs, and trauma-focused therapies are also suggested in this prevention program as potential solutions to violence⁷⁷.

The programs with the largest budget amounts are related to building the infrastructure for Public Health Preparedness and Response Capabilities followed by funding for Chronic Diseases covering cancers, heart disease, strokes, and Alzheimer's disease, most of which affect Americans in their later years. Homicides generally occur

⁷⁶Injury Prevention and Control includes Intentional Injury, Domestic Violence and Sexual Violence, Child Maltreatment, Youth Violence Prevention, Domestic Violence Community Projects, Rape Prevention, National Violent Death Reporting System, Unintentional Injury, Traumatic Brain Injury (TBI) & Elderly Falls, Injury Prevention Activities, and Injury Control Research Centers.

⁷⁷ No mention of these programs was made among the respondents nor any information on efficacy found in the literature.

in the earlier years of life from adolescence through young adulthood. The low priority of programmatic dollars for homicide, unintentional injuries, and suicides is unexplained, but one of the reasons could be the ban on research for gun control. Most homicides and suicides involve firearms. In 1997, the Dickey Amendment effectively disallowed the CDC to conduct research on injuries or deaths as a result of firearms; \$2.6 million was removed from the bill and was later put back in to fund TBI research. Since that time and in spite of additional calls from the Obama Administration to fund gun research as a public health issue, the CDC has not restored funds for studying injuries from firearms beyond the surveillance programs⁷⁸.

City Homicide Data

The ranking and relative differences in homicide rates by race along with the budgetary priorities for the CDC were triggers for this research and provided direction for the work on a state and city level. Homicide numbers from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reporting (FBI UCR) for Camden, Newark, and Trenton, were examined and Figures 1, 2, and 3⁷⁹ illustrate the consistency of homicide deaths from 1989 through 2013.

⁷⁸ A potential respondent for this study was a former researcher from the CDC heading up the Injury Prevention Center; however, she refused to speak for this study citing fear of losing contracts. The directors of the CDC Injury Prevention Center were planning on developing gun control programs; however, Congress prohibited the CDC from using monies to fund that program.

⁷⁹ The graph for Camden and Newark is a moving average trend line with log scale graph to obtain the best fit for the available data. Moving average trend lines do not have R^2 or the other statistics. The graph for Trenton used an exponential, log scale graph, which does generate the statistics. Author generated graphs.

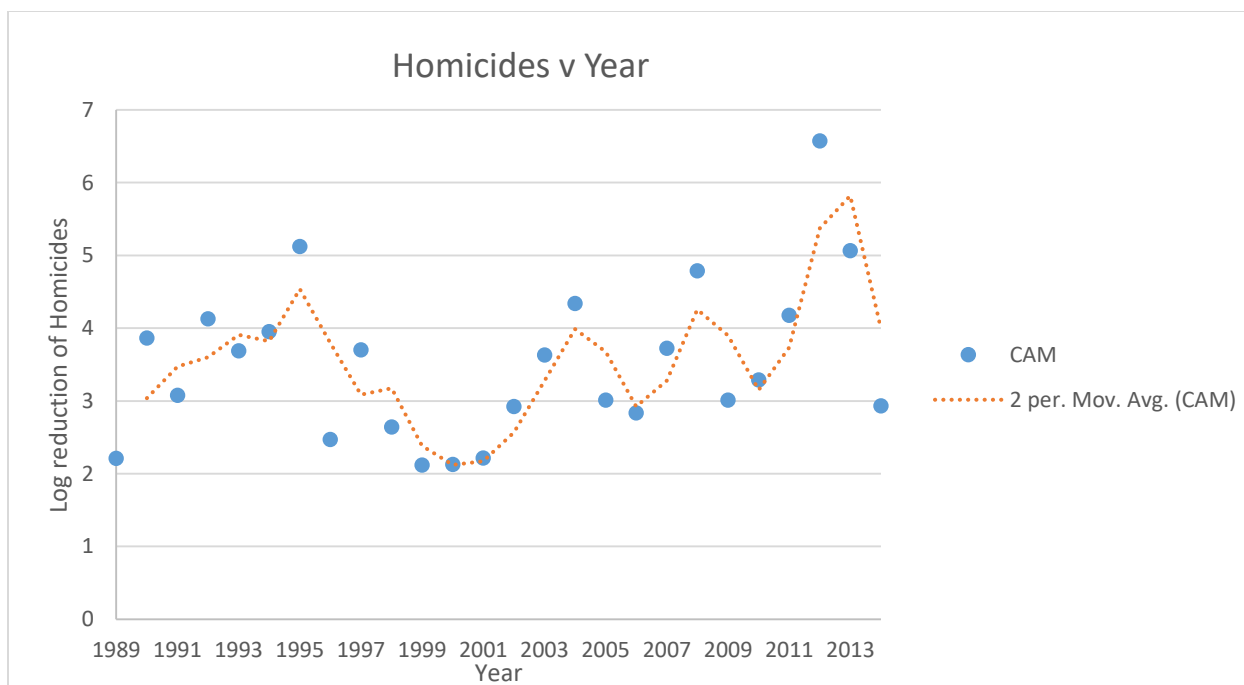


Figure 1. Number of Homicides (All Ages) for Years 1989 through 2013 in Camden, NJ Source: FBI UCR

In 1999 and 2000, homicides were at their lowest point in Camden; in 2011, sixty-seven homicides were reported, the highest since 1989. Ranges such as these are a function of several factors and it is difficult to determine clear reasons for changes in yearly homicide numbers. One respondent believes the presence of state police in the city in 1996 was the reason for lower homicides. “Whitman brought in the state police for six months in ’96 and then had to take them out because of the shore season” (KF CAM 91)⁸⁰. From January to May of 1996, the New Jersey State Police coordinated a task force named the Camden City Initiative, a multi-agency effort to reduce crime in the city. There were twenty-eight homicides in 1996 compared to fifty-eight in 1995 and forty-two in 1997. Studies have shown that increased police presence reduces the likelihood of crime. Aaron Chalfin and Justin McCrary from the University of California

⁸⁰ KF refers to the respondent’s initials and 91 refers to the page number of the transcript.

at Berkeley found that the presence of police had more effect on violent crimes than on property crimes, noting that an additional dollar spend on policing would reduce \$1.60 in victimization costs. On the other hand, in 2011, Governor Chris Christie dispatched troopers from the NJ State Police to help reduce the homicide numbers with little effect. There were forty-seven reported homicides in 2011 in Camden, indicating that additional factors were influencing the homicide number. Camden's graph shows that homicides in this city have a wide range with steady occurrences.

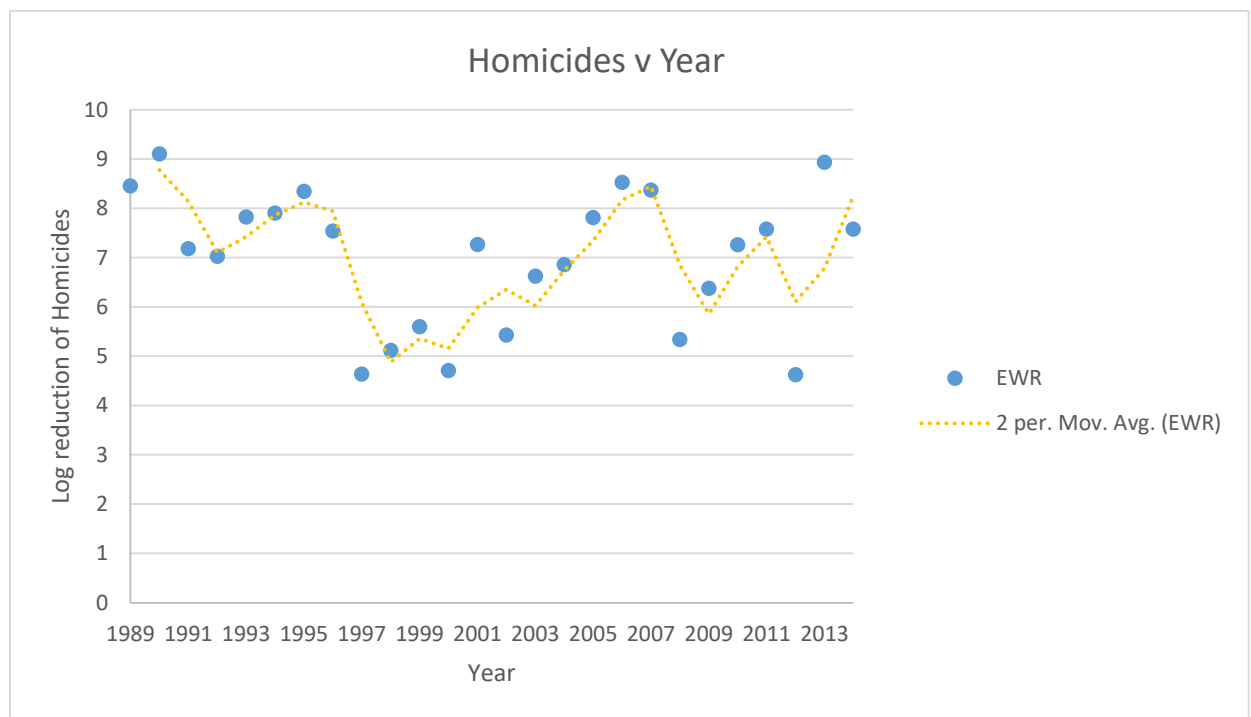


Figure 2. Number of Homicides for Years 1989 through 2013 in Newark, NJ. Source: FBI UCR.

In Newark, as in Camden, the range of annual numbers of homicides is wide; however, there is a steadiness to the volume of homicides for this city. The lowest number for homicides was in 1997 and 2000 with fifty-eight and fifty-nine murders respectively. According to the *New York Times* of January 4, 1998, the drop in 1997 was a function of increased numbers of police officers on the street and the ending of a turf

war between gangs. Other factors could be present and influential; migration of gangs to other parts of the state or to neighboring New York City leave Newark less likely to experience high numbers of homicides or under-reporting of the numbers. It is very difficult to have a clear reason for homicide reduction or increase. As in Camden, the steadiness of homicide occurrences is clear.

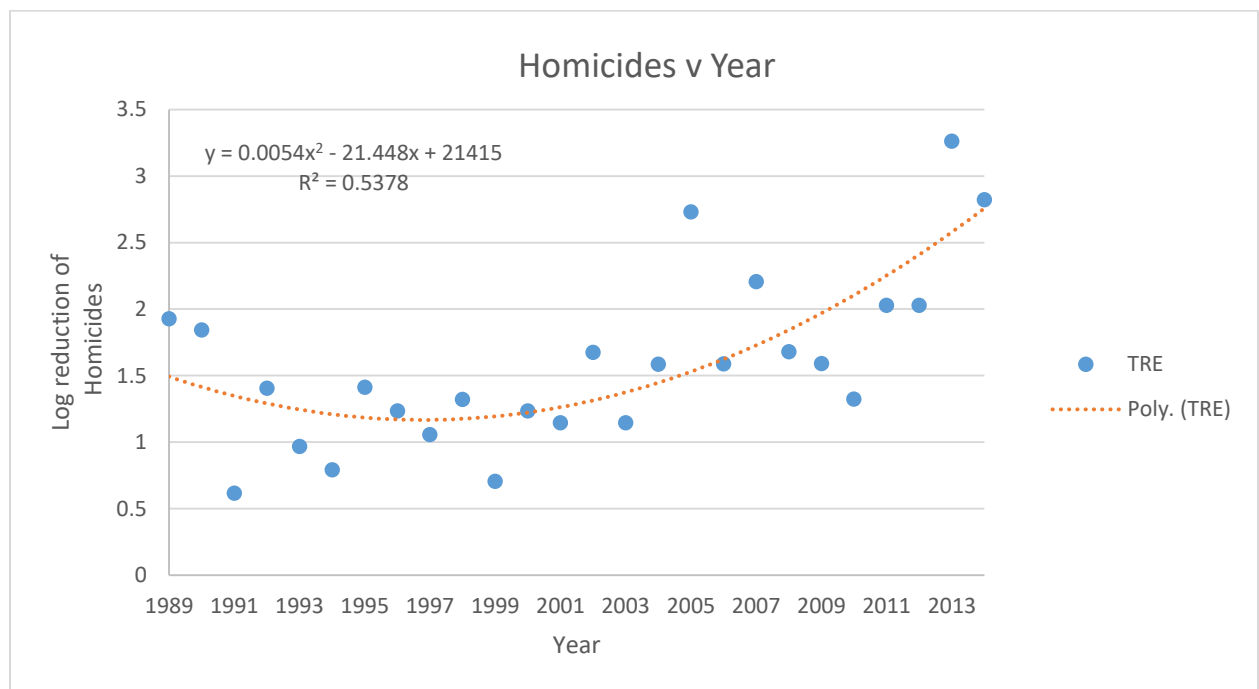


Figure 3. Number of Homicides for Years 1989 through 2013 in Trenton, NJ. Source: FBI UCR.

In Trenton, there is both a steady state of homicides and a positive slope in the later years, indicating a rise in the number of homicides. According to Alex Zdan reporting to NJ.com on September 16, 2011, one-third of the police force was laid off due to budget deficit (NJ.com). The graph indicates a rising trend before 2011; however, the number of homicides increased at a higher rate post 2011. The loss of 33 percent of

police on the street may be a large enough change to explain the positive slope of the line.

In the interview portion of the research respondents were asked a series of questions to determine their knowledge of and relation to the topic—prevention of homicides for young black men, ages fifteen to twenty-four years. Included in the questionnaire was a section asking the respondents to rank on a scale of 1 to 5 (1= most effective, 5 = least effective) the effectiveness of programs for prevention of homicides in different domains. For instance, did the respondent view the criminal justice domain as the most effective in preventing the number of homicides in the city they were living or working in? Answers ranged from "none" of these institutions prevent homicides to "all of them." Some respondents did not rank the domains, saying they were unable to gauge the effectiveness of an unfamiliar domain. There is an inherent weakness in this set of data for three reasons: (1) respondent(s) felt the available choices were not correct; however, they ranked the given choices based on what they thought the domains should be doing⁸¹, (2) the respondents in the nonprofit domain were more likely than respondents in other domains to rank their own domain as the one with the highest likelihood of preventing homicides even though they could not explain how their agency prevented homicides; and (3) respondents in one domain did not know enough about the other domains to make decisions on efficacy. Although the rankings did not

⁸¹ The question on ranking was targeted to the current effectiveness of the domains in preventing homicides. In many interviews, the respondents did both current and 'ideal' meaning what they thought the domains ought to be doing for homicide prevention. Some respondents did not think the choices were appropriate but ranked them anyway. As they stated that the choices were not appropriate, their rankings have little meaning for this work.

advance this study, the question activated the respondents' thoughts on the unique factors in their particular city and there is usefulness in the 'ranking portion' of the research as the respondents articulated the reasons behind their particular choices of domain as effective or ineffective. These reasons are discussed in the Interview Analysis chapter.

Descriptive Section
Case Cities

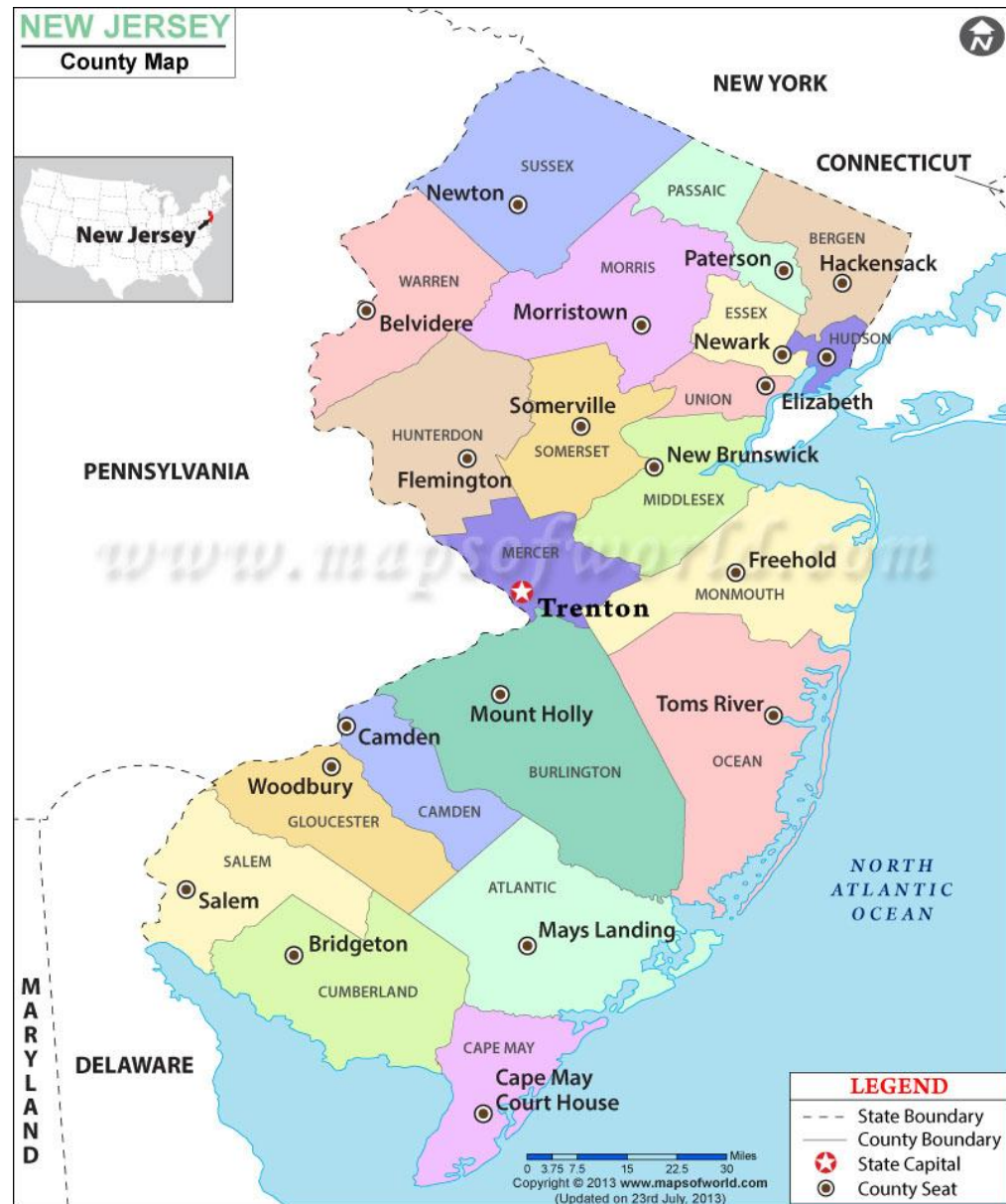


Figure 4. Map of New Jersey. Source: <https://www.mapsofworld.com/usa/states/new-jersey/newjersey-county-map.html>

Demographics of Case Cities versus New Jersey and the United States.

Table 5.2015 Demographics of Case Cities, New Jersey, and the U.S.

| Topics | Camden City | Newark | Trenton | New Jersey | United States |
|------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|-----------|---------|---------------|------------------|
| Population 2015 | 76,119 | 281,944 | 84,225 | 8,944,459 | 323,127,513 |
| Persons <18yrs (%) | 31.0 | 25.6 | 25.1 | 22.3 | 22.9 |
| Persons 19-24 yrs (%) ⁸² | 18.3 | 16.2 | 14.9 | 12.9 | 14.1 |
| Males 19-24yrs (%) | 19.0 | 16.7 | 15.1 | 13.6 | 14.7 |
| White alone Not Hispanic or Latino (%) ⁸³ | 4.9 | 11.6 | 13.5 | 72.6 | 77.1 |
| Black/AA alone (% of pop) | 48.1 | 52.4 | 52.0 | 14.8 | 13.3 |
| Hispanic or Latino (%) | 47.0 | 33.8 | 33.7 | 19.7 | 17.6 |
| Foreign born (%) | 29.0 | 29.0 | 24.3 | 21.7 | 13.2 |
| Owner occupied housing'15 (%) | 38.9 | 21.7 | 37.5 | 64.5 | 63.9 |
| HS/college grad (%) | 67.6/8.0 | 72.3/13.3 | 71/11 | 86.6/36.8 | 86.7/29.8 |

⁸² These percentages are calculated by adding the two age ranges of 15–19 and 20–24 and dividing the sum by the total population. The same calculation applies to the male category.

⁸³ Using the defined “White alone, not Hispanic or Latino” from Census 2010. These are individuals who responded “No, not Spanish/Hispanic/Latino” and who reported “White” as their only entry in the race question.

| | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------------------|---------|----------|----------|----------|--------------|
| No health insurance (%) | 19 | 26.9 | 23.5 | 10.0 | 10.5 |
| Living with a disability, < 65 yrs, (%) 2011-2015 | 13.8 | 14.5 | 11.3 | 6.6 | 8.6 |
| Median household income '11-'15, \$ | 25,042 | 33,139 | 34,257 | 72,093 | 53,889 |
| Persons in poverty (%) | 39.9 | 29.7 | 28.3 | 10.8 | 13.5 |
| Pop/mi ² '10 | 8,669.9 | 11,458.2 | 11,102.6 | 1,195.5 | 87.4 |
| Land area, mi ² | 8.92 | 24.19 | 7.65 | 7,345.22 | 3,531,905.43 |

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Quick Facts.

In examining the case cities versus the state and country, several items are notable:

- a. All three cities have greater or close to a quarter of their population born outside the United States, which is higher than the average within New Jersey and close to double that of the United States. This is indicative of non-native English speakers as well as acculturated in other regions of the world.
- b. Residents of Newark are less likely than Camden, Trenton, New Jersey, and the United States to own a home. While all three cities have a high level of renters as their residents, Newark has over seventy-five percent rental community. Owning a home is a predictor of wealth or, at least, a

predictor of the ability of a family to pass on assets to their children for the creation of opportunities.

- c. Educational levels are much lower in all three cities versus New Jersey and the country. A high school diploma⁸⁴ is a condition for most employment and its lack indicates the presence of a large population of unskilled labor.
- d. The availability of health insurance for New Jerseyans is close to the availability for Americans across the country; however, the urban areas of Camden, Newark, and Trenton have a different situation in that between 19 and 26 percent of the residents of these cities have no health insurance. That directly translates to poor health outcomes, delayed medical treatment, and lack of preventive care.
- e. Residents of all case cities have twice to slightly more residents with disabilities under the age of sixty-five.
- f. Poverty rates in Camden, Newark, and Trenton are 2.8 to 3 times higher than rates for New Jersey and slightly less for the United States, and median income per capita is half of the median income for the state and country.
- g. All three cities are minority-majority cities relative to New Jersey and the country, where the opposite is true. That these cities are not

⁸⁴ Unsure if foreign born students have a high school diploma from other countries.

representative of the state or country demonstrates the trend of concentrating high densities of low-income minorities in urban areas.

- h. All three cities have a higher density than New Jersey or the country.

Newark has ten times the population per square mile than New Jersey as a whole with Trenton and Camden slightly lower.

Of the three cities in this study, Camden is the poorest with the lowest level of education, has a larger majority of minorities, and slightly higher number of young people. Newark is the most densely populated with a larger number of disabled residents under the age of sixty-five and the lowest per capita use of HSSA. Trenton is similar to Newark with the exception of having the lowest number of disabled residents under sixty-five.

The following descriptions of the cities highlight factors important to the study: the early industry and economy of each city; the migration of people to and from the cities; and the current state of economic development. Currently, these cities are poor, densely populated, majority-minority cities with lower educational levels and a higher number of disabled people under the age of sixty-five than the state and country. These facts are the conditions of living for residents of Camden, Newark, and Trenton, contributing to their marginalization.

Camden



Figure 5. Map of Camden. Source: Camden Redevelopment Agency.

Camden, a city of 76,115 people in 2015, described as “a plantation” by one of the respondents (KF CAM 93C)⁸⁵, is one of the oldest colonial settlements in the United States with roots in both the agrarian and industrial traditions, each with distinct communities. After the Civil War and through the mid 1900s, Camden became an industrial powerhouse with some of the largest textile, chemical, shipbuilding, steel pen,

⁸⁵ Initials refer to the respondents identifying code – their initials. The number refers to the transcription page.

food processing, and electrical industries in the United States. Its location between two rivers, the Delaware and the Cooper, was ideal for receiving raw materials and shipping finished products to global ports. Located in northwestern Camden County and directly across from Philadelphia, Camden City (hereafter referred to as Camden), it is one of thirty-seven municipalities in the county. Camden is bounded by the Delaware River to the east, Pennsauken Township to the north, Merchantville and Collingswood to the west, and Gloucester City to the south. It has four distinct communities—North Camden, East Camden, South Camden, and Fairview, located at the southern end of the city.

Camden's industrial base grew through several large companies: food-processing giant Campbell Soup; recording innovator Victor Talking Machine Company (RCA); the country's first steel pen manufacturer, Esterbrook Pens; the powerful New York Shipbuilding Corporation; and approximately 150 other corporations. Industrialization brought immigrants from southern, southeastern, and eastern Europe, predominantly Catholic or Jewish Poles, Russians, and Italians, changing the county and city's ethnic and religious character and cultural homogeneity. Anglo-American Protestants, long the dominant group in Camden, worked to integrate the newcomers, who had formed working middle-class communities and developed businesses supporting the growth of industry. Infrastructure for the communities and industries developed in the city. Banks, schools, churches, and community centers sprang up in neighborhoods to accommodate the influx of residents. The number of ferries, at the time the most efficient form of transportation between Camden and Philadelphia, grew as they carried more and more

workers between Camden and Philadelphia (livecamden.org Last accessed March 31, 2017).

The Depression of the 1930s impacted Camden and exposed the flaws of unrestrained development and political corruption. Industrial growth slowed partially due to the city's natural boundaries of the river to the west and deep tidal creeks to the south. In 1926 transportation modes other than ferries, such as the Philadelphia–Camden bridge, enabled automobiles to get to the suburbs of Camden, which were just beginning to attract buyers. World War II brought the industrial jobs back to the city for a short period of time, and the production facilities along the riverfront and the shipyards were again busy. Workers were recruited from nontraditional sources—females, blacks, and Hispanics—and low-income housing made its appearance, changing the traditional concept of middle-class neighborhoods. Post–WW II, the female and minority workers were laid off in favor of the returning men, and industries such as shipbuilding cut back on production with some of them closing their doors. The prewar issues of housing shortages, inadequate schools, and outdated transportation systems returned (livecamden.org, phildelphiaencyclopedia.org).

It was during this period of 1945 through the mid 1970s that the demographics of Camden began to change. White families moved from Camden to the suburbs: Haddonfield, Collingswood, and Cherry Hill, all neighboring towns. Camden's population was 89 percent white in 1940, 78 percent in 1950, and, in 2015, 4.9 percent. Three reasons contributed to this “flight” to the suburbs. The first was transportation—ferries were completely discontinued with the opening of the Delaware River Bridge (now the

Ben Franklin Bridge), encouraging automobile owners to travel to and through Camden quickly, and Route 30 (Admiral Wilson Blvd.) and Route 130 (Crescent Blvd.) were built, the first route designed to speed drivers through the city and the second to bypass the city.⁸⁶ The automobile and highway construction altered Camden's economy and landscape, especially along the Cooper River corridor. Secondly, homes were built in the suburbs to accommodate returning (white) soldiers from World War II, who used the GI Bill to obtain mortgages. One respondent mentioned, "Blacks could get the loans but the towns (Cherry Hill, Haddonfield) would not sell. A lot of white GIs used their loans to move to the suburbs" (KF CAM 93B).

Third, industries located in the suburbs had more sophisticated technologies, attracting a high level of skilled workers to those areas, which, in turn, led to the development of office centers, shopping malls, and industrial parks in the suburbs. Blacks in Camden were



Figure 6. Vacant housing on Princess Street, Camden New Jersey. Photo by author.

shut out of this migration and forced to remain in Camden. Expansion of the transportation infrastructure, real estate "redlining," and the movement of high-skilled jobs to suburban office parks trapped black Camden residents in their neighborhoods.

⁸⁶ Originally, Route 30 was intended to be a tree-lined parkway with pleasant views of the river, Camden High School, and city- and county-owned parks. However, state officials changed their minds and sold the property adjacent to the boulevard to private interests rather than turn it over to the city for parks (Shinn and Cook 2014, 75–90).

Vacant and dilapidated homes spotted the neighborhood as seen in Figure 6 where the Department of Public Works, (DPW) reclaims these homes. However, in the early 2000s, Camden entered a period of reinvention by revitalizing the Delaware River waterfront to attract both visitors to sites such as the Aquarium and a minor league baseball stadium and new residents to renovated living spaces. City officials and business leaders developed partnerships to provide living and working spaces capitalizing on the educational and medical centers in the area. Today Camden is referred to as an "eds and meds" city with Rutgers University, Rowan University, Cooper Health Center, and Our Lady of Lourdes Hospital as the major employers in the city. Most of those employed at educational and medical facilities live outside the city. Camden went back to attracting Philadelphians priced out of housing in that city.

The government of Camden is a mayor-council structure with seven elected council members; four represent the wards in the city and three are at-large members. Economic revitalization remains a high priority for Camden's government and political stakeholders and is reflected in the Master Plan developed in 2002. This plan has been revised several times to maintain the city's designation as a Redevelopment or Title II (Grants for Public Works and Economic Development) area eligible to receive funds from the Economic Development Administration (EDA), a bureau within the U.S. Department of Commerce. Camden's economic development strategy capitalizes on its transportation infrastructure, waterfront access, and regional recreation; its proximity to Philadelphia and the New Jersey Shore; and the visitor-oriented land uses such as the aquarium. Several organizations control the planning for development in Camden. The

Coopers Ferry Development Association plans the Camden waterfront and the downtown district. The Camden Redevelopment Agency (CRA) is working on redeveloping properties to complete the eds/meds strategy—Camden’s anchoring institution of Cooper University Healthcare and Rutgers University Camden along with charter schools in the Cooper Landing Plaza area. The Economic Recovery Board of Camden, a subsidiary of the New Jersey Economic Development Authority, focuses on funding the revitalization through the use of public/private funds for new economic ventures. This has caused serious issues for residents as historic buildings have been repurposed or razed to provide new buildings for either the hospital or new educational facilities. In the Cramer Hill neighborhood, the CRA created over 4,000 housing units displacing over 1,000 long-term residents. In North Camden, the site Riverfront Prison property is still under consideration for new, residential properties targeted at Philadelphia residents who are looking for upscale but more affordable living. This economic redevelopment has caused tension between long-term residents (some are respondents to this dissertation research) who are seeking jobs and better education for Camden and those who control the redevelopment of certain sections of the city.

Newark

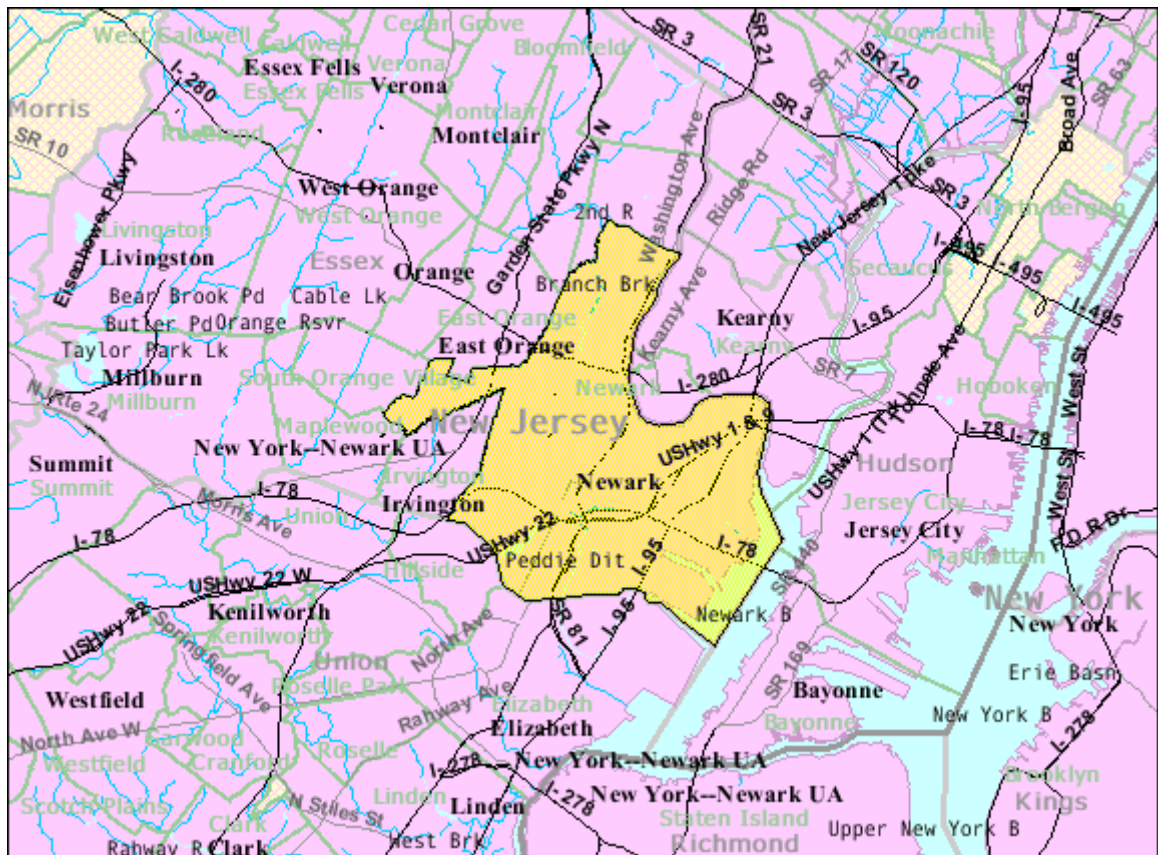


Figure 7. Map of Newark and surrounding towns. Source: Census Bureau map of Newark, NJ

Newark, New Jersey's largest city in the New York Metropolitan Area, was founded in 1666 as a Puritan experiment, a theocracy, when settlers from New Haven, Connecticut, wanted stricter observance of Puritan ideals. The city remained a quiet, religious village for the next century but as the transportation infrastructure in the area developed in the 1800s, Newark's position across from New York City and between the Delaware and Hudson Rivers made it a hub for industrial development and shipping. Newark's population grew in the early 1800s from 4,500 to 71,941 just before the Civil War, primarily due to the success of manufacturers producing leather and other goods sold to

Southerners.⁸⁷ After the Civil War years, the population, comprised of immigrants from Italy, Ireland, and Germany, quickly grew again through further industrialization of the leather business, followed by shipbuilding, metal plating, and insurance. Prudential Financial remains an anchoring institution of the city. Brad Tuttle (2009) asserts that no other American city was so closely associated with manufacturing; Newark ranked third in the United States for overall industrial output, despite its comparatively small population, going from selling products to Southerners to selling them to the U.S. government during the Civil War to postwar selling to multiple American and international cities. Industrial production kept pace and increased during World War I. African Americans from the South came to the North for jobs in this period, working as longshoremen or unskilled laborers in steel, textile, and cigarette factories. Unlike the European immigrants who moved up through the ranks, black workers found only unskilled labor because employers set a ceiling at that level (Tuttle 2005, 105). “As of 1930, more than two dozen unions officially banned African Americans from their membership. Other unions found creative, *Catch-22*-style methods to exclude blacks. Joining the union was possible, they’d say, so long as one had completed the proper apprenticeship courses—only African Americans weren’t accepted in such courses” (ibid.). Retaining jobs was also difficult for black workers; between 1930 and 1940, the number of employed black men dropped from 13,308 to 7,990 (Tuttle 2005). The Great Depression was hard on Newark, reducing employment by 25 percent between

⁸⁷ The sale of goods to the South earned Newark the nickname of “Southern Workshop” and, more importantly, was a cause for tension in Newark during the Civil War. Some manufacturers in Newark such as William Wright openly sympathized with the Confederate cause (Tuttle 2005).

November and December of 1930, closing approximately 26,355 businesses, and liquidating \$856 million of bank deposits (Tuttle 2005, 104). Thirty percent of the Newark workforce was jobless by the end of the 1930, leaving the city unprepared to cope with the resultant poverty. According to Tuttle and others (Mumford 2007), corruption among city leaders was rife in this period.⁸⁸ World War II spurred Newark's factories and shipyard back into action, and during the peak of the war, nearly twenty thousand laborers were hired. Newark Airport became the gateway for Europe-bound aircraft loaded with gasoline and other cargo. After the war, jobs declined but the workers stayed despite housing shortages and poor social service infrastructure (Tuttle 2005, 117).

The prosperity during World War II proved to be a mirage for Newark; migration of the wealthier, white citizens had already begun in the late 1920s due to the expanding transportation options and the affordability of automobiles, reducing the city's ability to receive the steady tax revenue it needed. Industrial jobs were in decline and residents formerly relying on unskilled employment had nowhere to turn. Housing shortages and poor conditions in the existing housing stock became huge issues for Newark residents and urban-renewal projects became popular in Newark in the late 1940s and 1950s. The Federal Housing Act of 1949 provided funds to developers to build low-income housing and Newark's leaders and urban planners seized the opportunity to

⁸⁸ Leaders were appointed because they were friends of commissioners or family members and would sell necessary items such as coal to the city during the Depression Mayor Meyer C. Ellenstein and his commissioners were accused of 134 illegal acts involving fraudulent land sales in the late 1930's and early 1940's.

replace their slums with housing projects. Large housing projects were built to accommodate the need for low-rental units as mortgage companies redlined Newark properties, which resulted in uninsurable properties cascading to devalued properties (Hillier 2003). This accelerated the white, middle-class retreat to the suburbs where mortgages were available to white buyers.

Another turning point for Newark: in 1967, the riot following the brutal beating of John Smith, a forty-three-year-old black man, by two members of the Newark Police Department resulted in enduring hostilities between the authorities, who viewed black residents as ignorant and lawless and “therefore needed to be controlled” (Tuttle 2005, 170), and the black community, who were convinced that the authorities were “corrupt racists who eagerly dealt out vigilant justice and suppressed people of color” (Tuttle 2005, 170). Further white migration occurred as a result of the riots and the subsequent political power struggle between the white leaders of the city and the black leaders of the burgeoning black movement.⁸⁹ Newark became a majority-minority city with its first black mayor, Kenneth Gibson, elected in 1970. White flight was a function of transportation expansion, the loss of industrial jobs in the city, the decision to use federal funds for high-density housing projects, and the hostilities between black and white residents manifested by the riots of 1967.

In the colonial period, the city was governed by a town form of government where all voting residents defined as white males meet to decide on policies and the

⁸⁹ It was at this time that LeRoi Jones (Amiri Baraka) became prominent in Newark and called for a transfer of power to African American residents.

personnel to enact the policies. In 1954, it moved to a mayor-council form with members from each of the five wards, North, West, Central, South, and East, and four at-large members.

Currently, Newark's economy relies on the transportation, education, entertainment, and service industries. Newark Liberty International Airport is one of the busiest in the nation and Port Newark holds the distinction of being the first container port in the country. Rutgers University, New Jersey Institute of Technology, Seton Hall University, Essex County Community College, and Bloomberg University all reside in the city, and service industries such as Prudential Financial Inc., and Public Service Electric & Gas Company (PSE&G) have long been anchors in the city. In the last two decades of the twentieth century, Newark focused its economic redevelopment through art, music, and cultural venues to attract visitors and residents. The 2007 opening of the Prudential Center, an 18,500-seat entertainment and sports arena, was the cornerstone of this development. Economic development continues with the Brick City Development Corporation (BCDC) as the primary economic development engine for Newark, focusing on four areas: (1) attracting and retaining businesses to the city; (2) developing small businesses using \$18 million of capital loan disbursement to eligible small business owners; (3) offering site selection, gap financing, and aid in permitting and approvals; and (4) the marketing of Newark's new image through Greater Newark Convention and Visitors Bureau. Other economic development entities such as the Newark Regional Business Partnership and the Newark Workforce Investment Board work to attract real estate developers to the city for projects such as the Teacher's Village in downtown

Newark and the development of One Theatre Square, a twenty-two-story mixed-use building across from New Jersey Performing Arts Center (NJPAC). These projects rely on Newark's proximity to transit hubs to attract new residents who are looking for more affordable housing than in New York City but need convenient access to New York, as well as tax credits made possible by building within a mile of a major transit facility.



Figure 9. Men playing chess at Military Park, Newark, NJ. 6.16.16 Photo: Author



Figure 8. Sign on door on Halsey St., Newark. Near redevelopment project of Teacher's Village. 6.6.16 Photo: Author

Trenton



Figure 10. Map of Trenton, New Jersey. Source: Northeast USA Road map

For two months in 1794, Trenton, New Jersey, was the capital of the United States. It

became New Jersey's state capital in 1790 and the county seat of Mercer County.

Trenton borders on Hamilton, Ewing, and Lawrence Townships and the Delaware River

on its west border, and, unlike Camden and Newark, has no major metropolis as a

neighbor. Trenton displays the slogan of “*Trenton Makes, The World Takes*” over the bridge that spans the Delaware River, as the city was once a large manufacturing city for rubber, iron, ceramics, wire rope, and cigars.

Famous for building iron trusses for the capitol



Figure 11. Iconic Image of Trenton’s Slogan over Delaware River. Photo is from author.

buildings in Washington,

D.C., and the wire cables for the suspension bridges in New York City, Trenton was a diverse industrial hub. The transportation infrastructure of bridges, canals, and railroads brought in raw materials from the west and then transported finished goods to the cities east and south of Trenton. Similar to Camden and Newark, manufacturing industry declined due to lower labor costs in Asia for wire cables, automation, and the changing preference in consumer taste for pottery. Today Trenton’s industry is the administration of the state of New Jersey with multiple state and county offices and workers commuting into Trenton from neighboring towns.

The governing structure is similar to that of Camden and Newark with a mayor-council form. There are seven council members, four representing the districts and three at-large members.

Trenton’s focus is on rebuilding its neighborhoods and downtown areas to reverse the recent increases in foreclosures and vacant properties, drops in home prices, and declining home ownership as more of the city’s properties are bought by investors. While the city would like to have large economic projects leveraging the

riverfront and transportation hub as a point of access to Philadelphia and New York City, the issue of public safety remains critical for Trenton's government and residents. Violent crime is still present in many neighborhoods. The city budget reflects that priority in monies going toward the police, firefighters, and the demolition of vacant properties. In 2015, the city was awarded by the federal government a SAFER grant of \$14.1 million⁹⁰, and the 2017 budget continues to allocate spending for the police department with headquarters renovations and introducing police bodycams.

All three cities have experienced deindustrialization without replacement economic structures for residents. Economic redevelopment has flourished in Camden and Newark while Trenton struggles with public safety issues and housing issues in vacant properties and declining property values. All three cities have commuters from surrounding towns use their cities as workplaces without the benefit of taxes for rebuilding.

Demographics of the Neighboring Towns to Case Cities

Marginalization, a relative term, is used to compare one item to another; for instance, are the residents of Camden worse off than those in another city or town?⁹¹

Commonly seen are statements on the marginalization of X relative to Y meaning "X is

⁹⁰ The SAFER grant is a Staffing for Adequate Fire and Emergency Response grant to rebuild the fire department of Trenton. This is the third SAFER grant, the first one being awarded in 2010 and the second in 2012. Trenton's Fire Department has a total operating budget of \$23.5 million and is comprised of seven firehouses, seven engine companies, three ladder companies, and a heavy rescue company. The department's personnel include the fire and emergency services director, a deputy chief, 10 battalion chiefs, 44 captains, and 170 firefighters.

⁹¹ There is another way to look at marginalization as a comparison that has to do with the level of marginalization. For instance, does Camden have less of something than Collingswood? This study looks at Camden as being different, worse or better off than the neighbors.

worse off relative to Y,” where “worse off” can itself be measured in a number of ways. For purposes of this work, income for one person can be much less than another or the amount of social services a resident in one city uses can be much higher than a resident in a neighboring city. The tables below show selected demographics for Camden, Newark, and Trenton and their neighboring cities or towns.⁹² In the case of Camden, Trenton, and their neighbors, there are clear differences in the selected demographic topics, but Newark and two of its neighbors show less of a difference. The following table contains those demographics, indicating economic viability, educational capabilities, poverty, and percentage of home ownership.

Table 6. Demographics of Camden and Neighbors.

| Topics | Camden | Collingswood | Gloucester | Haddon | Pennsauken |
|---------------------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| Per capita income, past 12 mos, \$, '11–'15 | 13,412 | 36,555 | 31,236 | 38,682 | 26,690 |
| Persons in poverty, % | 39.6 | 5.8 | 8.7 | 4.5 | 20.7 |
| White, Black, Hisp, Asian, % | 4.9/48.1/ 47.0/0 | 77.5/9.1/ 9.7/2.2 | 73.2/16.2/ 5.6/3.7 | 90.0/1.5/ 4.0/2.7 | 38.0/26.9/ 26.9/7.7 |
| Pop/mi ² | 8669.9 | 7639.0 | 2812.9 | 5473.4 | 3438.9 |

⁹² Selected demographics were based on evidence of income, participation in the work force, education, home ownership, and market value of home. These demographics can show inequity between cities or regions.

| | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|--------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| High school grad, %, '11-'15 | 67.6 | 93.3 | 91.7 | 95.3 | 84.2 |
| Bachelor's degree/higher, %, '11-'15 | 8.0 | 44.0 | 27.8 | 40.5 | 19.9 |
| In civilian labor force, %, 16 yrs+ | 56.8 | 71.7 | 70.2 | 70.4 | 68.4 |
| Owner-occupied housing rate, %, '11-'15 | 38.9 | 57.0 | 74.3 | 70.1 | 78.9 |
| Median value of owner-occupied housing units, \$, '11-'15 | 84,600 | 244,700 | 201,400 | 237,400 | 164,300 |
| Homicides ⁹³ | 57 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |

Source: <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/US/PST045216> <https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2013/crime-in-the-u.s.-2013/cius-home>

The differences in the demographics between Collingswood, Haddon Township, Gloucester, and Pennsauken indicate that Camden is "worse off" than its neighbors, with a high concentration of persons in poverty, low numbers of college-educated residents, and a low rate of homeownership. Using the population density multiplied by

⁹³ Absolute value of homicides in 2013.

the poverty rate,⁹⁴ Camden has 4.9 times the number of people in poverty per square mile in Pennsauken to 14.2 times the number of people in poverty per square mile in Gloucester.⁹⁵ A high percentage of the young people in Camden, 32.4 percent, do not graduate from high school. Pennsauken comes the closest to that with 15.8 percent of its young people with no high school diploma. More dramatic is the difference between college graduates in Camden versus the rest of the towns. Pennsauken at the low end has 2.5 times the number of college graduates than Camden does. Collingswood, at the high end, has 5.5 times more college graduates than Camden. The participation of people in the workplace in towns neighboring Camden is higher, meaning that nearly half (43.2%) the adults in Camden are neither working nor looking for a job, where 28.3 percent of the adults in Collingswood are not working or looking for work. The state average is 34.1 percent, approximately 10 points lower than Camden. Home ownership in Camden is close to two times lower than all its neighbors except Collingswood, with 57 percent of its residents owning homes compared to 38.9 percent homeownership in Camden. This percentage has been persistently low despite median values of homes less than \$100,000 in Camden⁹⁶. (Median home value in New Jersey is \$315,900.) Racially, Camden has the largest percentage of minorities at 95.1 percent black and Hispanic residents, followed by Pennsauken at 53.8 percent for the same minorities. Haddon Township is 90.1 percent white; Collingswood has a 77.5 percent white population;

⁹⁴ Population density is calculated by dividing the total population or housing units by the land areas within a geographic entity. I am calculating poverty density by multiplying the population density by the percent poverty.

⁹⁵ In terms of poor people/mi², Gloucester comes in at 244, followed by Haddon Township at 246, Collingswood at 443, and 711 in Pennsauken.

⁹⁶ The median value of homes is averages over four years—2011 to 2015.

Gloucester is 73.1 percent white, Pennsauken 38.0 percent, and Camden has 4.9 percent white residents. The state is 59.3 percent white. This next Table 6 illustrates the difference between Trenton and its neighboring towns.

Table 7. Demographics of Trenton and Neighbors.

| Topics | Trenton | Hamilton | Ewing | Lawrence Township | West Windsor Township | Borden town |
|---------------------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| Per capita income, past 12 mos, \$, '11-'15 | 16,914 | 33,149 | 32,104 | 39,569 | 65,653 | 37,091 |
| Persons in poverty, % | 28.3 | 7.0 | 11.3 | 6.0 | 3.5 | 4.6 |
| White, Black, Hisp, Asian% | 13.5/52/3 3.7/1.2 | 78.4/11.8 10.9/3.3 | 63.1/27.6 7.6/4.3 | 69.7/10.87. 5/14.1 | 54.9/3.74.5 /37.7 | 74.4/10 .76.0/1 0.6 |
| Pop/mi ² | 11,102 | 2240.2 | 2346.2 | 1534.8 | 1062.6 | 1224.9 |
| High school grad, %, '11-'15 | 71.0 | 89.4 | 90.4 | 93.4 | 96.9 | 95.0 |
| Bachelor's degree/higher, %, '11-'15 | 11.0 | 27.7 | 33.1 | 52.1 | 80.5 | 37.0 |

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| In civilian labor force, %, 16 yrs+ | 61.1 | 68.1 | 62.5 | 67.9 | 67.7 | 68.7 |
| Owner-occupied housing rate, %, '11–'15 | 37.5 | 72.7 | 70.9 | 68.4 | 74.3 | 78.7 |
| Median value of owner-occupied housing units, \$, '11–'15 | 107,200 | 247,900 | 221,200 | 285,000 | 572,900 | 266,600 |
| Homicides ⁹⁷ | 37 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

Source: <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/US/PST045216>
<https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2013/crime-in-the-u.s.-2013/cius-home>

Trenton, with a poverty density of 2,642.2, is surrounded by communities with very low poverty densities. West Windsor Township claims the lowest poverty density at 37.19; Bordentown is next at 56.35, followed by Lawrence at 92.1, Hamilton at 156.8, and Ewing at a poverty density of 265.12. Trenton is “worse off” than its neighbors as they have 71 times the density of poverty than that of West Windsor Township and 10 times that of Ewing, the town with the second highest poverty density. In educational level, 29 percent of Trenton’s youth do not graduate from high school and 11 percent of the population in Trenton is college educated. Contrast that with West Windsor Township, where 3.1 percent of the students do not graduate from high school and 80.5

⁹⁷ Absolute value of homicides in 2013.

percent of the population in the township have college degrees. Hamilton students are closer to Trenton's rates with 89.4 percent high school graduation rate; 27.7 percent of the population are college educated. In Trenton, 37.5 percent of the homes are owner-occupied with a median value of \$107,000. Lawrence follows Trenton with 68.4 percent owner-occupied homes and a median value of \$285,000. West Windsor Township had the highest median value of a home at \$572,900 with a 74.3 percent owner-occupied rate, while Bordentown had the highest level of owner-occupant status at 78.7 percent with a median value of \$266,600 for homes in their town. Of the six towns, Trenton has the highest level of minorities at 86.97 percent (52% Black, 33% Hispanic, 1.2% Asian) followed by West Windsor Township at 45.9 percent (3.7% Black, 4.5% Hispanic, 37.7% Asian). Hamilton has the lowest level of minorities at 26.0 percent (11.8% Black, 10.9% Hispanic, and 3.3% Asian).

Table 8. Demographics of Newark and Neighbors – Tier 1⁹⁸

| Topics | Newark | Harrison | Irvington | East Orange | Elizabeth | Belleville | Kearny | Hillside |
|---------------------------------------------|--------|----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|------------|--------|----------|
| Per capita income, past 12 mos, \$, '11–'15 | 16,791 | 26,684 | 19,465 | 21,656 | 18,826 | 28,881 | 26,067 | 25,620 |
| Persons in poverty, % | 29.7 | 13.8 | 23.7 | 21.1 | 19.0 | 9.9 | 19.3 | 11.5 |

⁹⁸ Two of the towns, Irvington and East Orange, have similar poverty levels, postsecondary educational levels, and racial composition to that of Newark. For this reason, the towns of Maplewood, East Orange, and South Orange directly adjoining Irvington and East Orange will be shown separately and labeled as Tier 2.

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| White, Black, Hispanic, Asian% | 11.6/52.4 33.8/1.6 | 35.4/2.2 44.2/16.3 | 2.6/85.4 10.6/0.9 | 2.2/88.5 7.9/0.7 | 18.2/21.1 1 59.5/2.1 | 38.6/9.1 39.3/12.0 | 48.7/5.4 39.9/4.4 | 25.1/53.2 17.6/2.7 |
| Pop/mi ² | 11,458.2 | 11,321.7 | 18,417.0 | 16,378.7 | 10,144.1 | 10,756.3 | 4636.4 | 7783.3 |
| High school grad, %, '11-'15 | 72.3 | 77.9 | 81.8 | 85.4 | 72.8 | 86.2 | 83.3 | 86.2 |
| Bachelor's degree/higher, %, '11-'15 | 13.3 | 32.0 | 13.3 | 17.2 | 11.6 | 26.6 | 22.5 | 20.6 |
| In civilian labor force, %, 16 yrs+ | 63.2 | 69.3 | 71.8 | 66.7 | 69.8 | 71.1 | 68.5 | 67.2 |
| Owner-occupied housing rate, %, '11-'15 | 21.7 | 29.3 | 32.4 | 26.1 | 25.4 | 51.8 | 46.1 | 65.7 |
| Median value of owner-occupied housing units, \$, '11-'15 | 223,400 | 306,900 | 191,800 | 212,800 | 263,600 | 276,900 | 307,100 | 236,900 |
| Homicides ⁹⁹ | 112 | 0 | 17 | 6 | 7 | 0 | 1 | 1 |

Source: <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/US/PST045216>.
<https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2013/crime-in-the-u.s.-2013/cius-home>

Newark, with a poverty density of 3,403.1, is not "worse off" in terms of income than all its neighbors; Irvington and East Orange on Newark's western border have

⁹⁹ Absolute value of homicides in 2013.

larger poverty densities than Newark at 4,364.8 and 3,455.8 respectively.¹⁰⁰ Kearny to the north has the lowest poverty density rate, 556.4.¹⁰¹ High school graduation rates for Newark at 72.3 percent are similar to most of its neighbors, with Elizabeth and Harrison at 72.8 percent and 77.9 percent respectively. All other towns record a low to mid 80 percent range for graduation rate. Residents in Harrison, Belleville, Kearny, and Hillside have twice to slightly less than twice the number of college degrees relative to Newark, Irvington, East Orange, and Elizabeth. Newark residents have the lowest rate of home ownership of all the neighboring towns with median value of homes hovering above and below that of the median value of Newark at \$223,400. Newark's residents appear to be slightly "worse off" than some of its neighbors such as Harrison, Elizabeth, Kearny, and Hillside, but similar to East Orange and Irvington in poverty density and number of residents with college degrees.

Newark can be viewed as being in the center of a circle surrounded by two rings; the first ring with Tier 1 towns demographically described above, and the second ring containing Maplewood and South and West Orange, neighbors to East Orange and Irvington. The demographics for the second ring are described in Table 8.

¹⁰⁰ It is necessary to know the demographics of those towns that border East Orange and Irvington, which will be shown in Table 8. Demographics of Newark and Neighbors, Tier 2.

¹⁰¹ Hillside is 856.2, Belleville at 1,064.8, Harrison at 1,562.3, Elizabeth at 1,927.4.

Table 9. Demographics of Newark and Neighbors, Tier 2¹⁰²

| Topics | Newark | Irvington | East Orange | Maplewood | South Orange | West Orange |
|--------------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| Per capita income, past 12 mos, \$,'11-'15 | 16,791 | 19,465 | 21,656 | 53,226 | 51,135 | 43,598 |
| Persons in poverty, % | 29.7 | 23.7 | 21.1 | 5.1 | 10.6 | 5.6 |
| White, Black, Hisp, Asian, % | 11.6/52.4 33.8/1.6 | 2.6/85.4 10.6/0.9 | 2.2/88.5 7.9/0.7 | 52.7/35.3 6.7/3.0 | 57.0/28.7 6.1/5.2 | 47.9/26.6 16.2/8.0 |
| Pop/mi ² | 11,458.2 | 18,417.0 | 16,378.7 | 6156.0 | 5673.0 | 3835.9 |
| High school grad, %, '11-'15 | 72.3 | 81.8 | 85.4 | 94.3 | 94.8 | 91.3 |
| Bachelor's degree/higher, %, '11-'15 | 13.3 | 13.3 | 17.2 | 60.6 | 68.5 | 48.4 |
| In civilian labor force, %, 16 yrs+ | 63.2 | 71.8 | 66.7 | 72.1 | 60.9 | 68.3 |
| Owner-occupied housing rate, %, '11-'15 | 21.7 | 32.4 | 26.1 | 76.9 | 68.5 | 67.9 |
| Median value of owner-occupied | 223,400 | 191,800 | 212,800 | 471,100 | 502,000 | 353,500 |

¹⁰² Maplewood abuts Irvington; South and West Orange abut Newark and East Orange.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|-----|----|---|---|---|---|
| housing units, \$, '11-'15 | | | | | | |
| Homicides ¹⁰³ | 112 | 17 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 1 |

Source: <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/US/PST045216>
<https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2013/crime-in-the-u.s.-2013/cius-home>

Newark, Irvington, and East Orange are all 'worse off' in income level, college education, and home ownership than Maplewood, South and West Orange with a poverty density in Irvington 20 times greater than that of Irvington. South Orange with a poverty density of 601.3 is the closest to Newark, Irvington while West Orange has the lowest density rate of the three.¹⁰⁴ High school graduation rates are considerably higher in the Tier 2 towns than in Tier 1 and college degrees are more than three times apparent in Maplewood, South and West Orange than in Newark, Irvington, and East Orange. In Maplewood, 76.9 percent of residents own their homes versus 21.4 percent of residents in Newark even with median values twice the value of that of Newark, Irvington, and East Orange. Racial differences are evident with West Orange having the lowest percentage of the three (Maplewood, South and West Orange) at 47.9 percent and Maplewood at 57.7 percent white. Newark, Irvington, and East Orange show 11.6 percent, 2.2 percent, and 2.6 percent respectively for the white population. Marginalization for Newark is complicated by the poverty in Irvington and East Orange whose residents are worse off than Maplewood and the other Oranges. When homicide rates are examined, Newark is 'worse off' than Irvington and East Orange. On one level

¹⁰³ Absolute value of homicides in 2013.

¹⁰⁴ Poverty density for Maplewood = 313.9, South Orange = 601.3, and West Orange = 214.8.

all three urban areas, Newark, Irvington, and East Orange, are marginalized through their poverty levels, but Newark is further marginalized by violence.

Are the residents of Camden, Newark, and Trenton marginalized? Using the perspective of percentage of residents in poverty and population density of the city, Camden is the poorest, followed by Newark and then Trenton. This indicates a concentration of poverty in these cities not present in their neighboring towns. Evidence of lower poverty densities, more college-educated residents, and higher rates of home ownership in towns adjacent to Camden and Trenton point to the concentration of disadvantage and the isolation of Camden and Trenton residents from educational and economic opportunities. There is marginalization in these cities. Newark, along with Irvington and East Orange, also experience marginalization, although it is less severe in Irvington and East Orange but still worse off than Hillside, Harrison, and Kearny.

Institutional Domains

Criminal Justice

This domain has three components; law enforcement, the courts, and the correction system. As the population in this study had their initial encounters with law enforcement and later with the second and third components, this section discusses the law enforcement departments of the case cities. Generally, law enforcement does not prevent homicide. They are called to the scene of a crime either during or after the incident to reconstruct and investigate the event and to determine the cause and the perpetrator, thereby rendering a preventive action moot. Two critical consequences arise as a result of the mode and timing of law enforcement action; (1) the context of

the crime is confined to one period of time, that which immediately follows the homicide. The police must rely on witnesses or their own knowledge of the parties involved. This will likely compromise the evidence and create a different narrative of the situation. (2) Treatment of a condition will not reduce the occurrence of the condition, It maintains the condition.

In 2013, the police force in Camden City was laid off and the County of Camden's police force began protecting Camden City. Several explanations were given in the literature and by this study's respondents, but this work does not subscribe to any one in particular. Many of them are plausible but not in the scope of the study.¹⁰⁵ According to the FBI Uniform Crime Reports in 2014, there were 391 police officers in the Camden County Police Department with all the officers reporting to Camden City. The two main offices in Camden are both near Cooper Plaza where the hospital is located and major waterfront activity takes place. Other police units are present in the city; for example, NJ Transit Police has offices in Camden as there is a busy train line on the river, and Rutgers University–Camden has its own police, which, according to one respondent, will not respond to calls from anyone other than a student. Rowan University has a security team, and a private security firm, Allied Universal (formerly Allied Barton), is a visible presence in the area surrounding City Hall. The NJ State Police are responsible for the Camden Aquarium as it is a state facility but operated by a for-profit company, Herschend Family Entertainment Corporation.

¹⁰⁵ Several financial reasons are given for the move from using the city police to the county especially since many of the police officers from the city were rehired by the county at reduced salaries and benefits. Union issues were also cited by respondents, but no evidence was found of that motive.

In 2014, there were 1,014 officers (FBI UCR) in the Newark Police Department with five precincts, a metro division, and a special operations division. The department is currently under Federal Monitor for constitutional violations regarding stop-and-arrest procedures, excessive use of force, and theft by officers. More detail is available in the interview analysis chapter. Additional police units not attached to the city's payroll are Rutgers University–Newark police, New Jersey Institute of Technology (NJIT) police, Seton Hall University police, and NJ Transit and the Port Authority police for the airport, rail, and marine terminals.

Trenton's Police Department had 224 police officers in 2014 (FBI UCR), a 39 percent reduction from the 2009 police force number of 372. The rebuilding of the police department has included an in-city recruiting effort along with a community policing model that partners with nonprofit agencies such as Trenton Anti-Violence Strategy to reduce the level of homicides in the city. There are two recently reopened precinct stations—East and West—along with the main police station. Several sub-stations are in the process of opening.

Education

As a segment of the young men studied in this work are in high school, the target for interviews and research were the high schools in the three cities. The high schools were in the public district system rather than the charter system for two reasons: (1) There were no responses from requests for interviews at the charter or private schools; and (2) the data on charter schools are not in the New Jersey Department of Education (NJDOE). Table 10 contains certain metrics for the public high schools in Camden, Newark, and Trenton specific to graduation and postgraduation capabilities.

Several items of note:

- a. As demonstrated previously in this chapter, all three case cities are poor.

Students in all listed high schools exhibit high poverty levels as determined by eligibility for free or reduced lunch programs. Camden has the highest level of poor high school students in line with that city's highest level of poverty of the three.

- b. Using an arbitrary threshold of less than 50 percent for postsecondary enrollment rates, seven out of eighteen schools had less than 50 percent of their students go to either a two-year or four-year college. Two out of four district high schools in Camden are in that category along with three of the eleven Newark district schools and two of the three district schools in Trenton. This statistic questions the employment possibilities for these young people if jobs for unskilled residents are not available.

- c. With a threshold of less than 40 percent for an Other pathway for graduation, students who were not passing the High School Proficiency Assessment (HSPA) or other proficiency tests at the schools with low rates of postsecondary school enrollment used the process of appeals to graduate from high school¹⁰⁶.

Daylight/Twilight High School in Trenton used this method of graduation for 81.8 percent of their seniors. According to their website, this school is for those

¹⁰⁶ Guidelines for graduating students through an appeals process has evolved over the years and 2014–2015 was the last year of reporting on the performance reports. In 2010–2011, students could graduate based on a teacher's recommendations, test scores (even if not passing), graded class work, school transcripts, and other evidence of academic achievement.

students who have not done well in traditional schools and Daylight/Twilight is their “last, best hope” for academic achievement. Barringer Arts and Barringer S.T.E.A.M. in Newark used this option for 70.9 percent and 77.8 percent of their seniors in the 2014–2015 academic year. Barringer is the oldest public high school in Newark and was recently divided into two schools; Barringer Arts targeting arts, literature, and psychology and Barringer S.T.E.A.M. focusing on science, technology, engineering, arts, and math, using the academy model similar to Newark’s Central High School.

- d. Only three schools, University High School, Technology High School, and Science Park High School, all in Newark, were equal to or above the New Jersey average for postsecondary school enrollment. These schools offer selective admission to students based on test scores and recommendations.

Poverty, language, disabilities, dilapidated school buildings, and poor teachers are commonly cited as the reasons for these poor metrics. However, not all the high schools are in poor condition; Camden City High School has recently been awarded \$50 million for renovations targeted for completion in 2020. Central High School in Newark was moved in August of 2008 from an old, poorly maintained building on Martin Luther King Boulevard to a brand-new facility on 18th Street.

In 1995, the state of New Jersey took control of the Newark Public School System and in 2013, the state took control of the Camden district schools. Trenton is not under state control and is the only city in this study with decision-making power by a local school board. The local school boards for Camden and Newark are advisory with no

decision-making capabilities for personnel, curriculum, or budgets. However, it is possible that Newark’s district school system may return to local control for the academic year 2017–2018 if the Quality Single Accounting Continuum (Q-SAC) report is positive.

Table 10. Description of Metrics¹⁰⁷ for High Schools¹⁰⁸ in Camden, Newark, and Trenton, 2014–2015.

| School | Enrollment | Disabled, poor, ELL, (%) ¹⁰⁹ | Race/ethnicity B/H/W, % | Dropout rate, % ¹¹⁰ | Graduation rate, %, 2014 ¹¹¹ | Graduation pathways, exempt, HSPA, other, % ¹¹² | College enrollment, % ¹¹³ |
|--------|------------|-----------------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
|--------|------------|-----------------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|

¹⁰⁷ Not all metrics from NJ DOE Performance Reports were chosen, just those demonstrating whether students stayed through graduation, method of and length of time to graduation, and college enrollment.

¹⁰⁸ High schools in the public school district are discussed. This type of data is not available for charter schools.

¹⁰⁹ To be identified as student with a disability, the student must be receiving special education services and be enrolled in a special education program. If a student is identified as economically disadvantaged they must qualify for the federal free and reduced lunch program. Limited English Proficiency students are those who are participating in an English Language Learner (ELL) program at the school. Note that these categories are not mutually exclusive—a student may be included in more than one special population. <https://rc.doe.state.nj.us/ReferenceGuide/ReferenceGuide.pdf>.

¹¹⁰ The dropout rate is calculated by dividing the number of students who are classified as dropouts by total school enrollment. Students who exit school for other reasons are not included in this percentage. <https://rc.doe.state.nj.us/ReferenceGuide/ReferenceGuide.pdf>.

¹¹¹ The graduation rate is calculated according to the ESEA Cohort methodology required by the United States Department of Education.

¹¹² Percentage of high school graduates who graduated by passing both sections of the HSPA, those who were exempt from passing the HSPA, or those who demonstrated proficiency through an alternative pathway such as through the Alternative High School Assessment, achievement of the “Just Proficient Mean,” or a portfolio appeal process. This process consists of completing a level of competency (usually two grade levels) in Math, Mathematical Reasoning and Problem Solving (modeling), Literature, Information, and Writing (scored by the PARCC rubric).

¹¹³ Data from the National Student Clearinghouse comprised of postsecondary enrollment rates of a cohort of graduates at this high school who graduated sixteen months prior. This rate represents both two- and four-year colleges and does not include students who enroll in postsecondary institutions outside of the United States.

| Camden | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------|-------------------|--------------------|------|----|------------------|----|
| Camden City | 695 | 40, 88.1, 0.3 | 70.1, 29.1, 0.6 | 9.4 | 63 | 35.9, 17.1, 47.0 | 30 |
| Woodrow Wilson | 905 | 30, 85.5, 20.6 | 29.7, 69.2, 0.2 | 5.5 | 47 | 13.4, 21.4, 65.3 | 42 |
| Brimm Medical Arts | 213 | 3, 89.2, 0.5 | 67.6, 29.6, 0.0 | 0.5 | 98 | 2, 78, 20 | 74 |
| Creative Arts, MV Academy | 370 | 12, 86, 0.8 | 74.3, 24.6, 0.5 | 0.3 | 94 | 19, 49.6, 31.4 | 67 |
| Newark | | | | | | | |
| Arts HS | 684 | 8, 73.1, 0 | 57.6, 34.4, 7.9 | 1 | | 5.1, 81.1, 13.8 | 77 |
| Barringer Arts HS | 537 | 24, 77, 16.4 | 30, 68.2, 1. 5 | 12.8 | | 9.4, 19.8, 70.9 | 46 |
| Barringer Academy of S.T.E.A.M. | 606 | 20, 72.6, 19.3 | 29.2, 70, 0.7 | 3.1 | 81 | 4, 18.1, 77.8 | - |
| Central HS | 766 | 28, 83.3, 8.6 | 87.2, 12, 0.4 | 2.0 | | 10, 39.6, 50.4 | 58 |
| East Side | 1,628 | 15, 78.4, 19.7 | 14, 55.2, 24.3 | 1.6 | | 8, 61.6, 30.3 | 54 |

| | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|-------|---------------|----------------|-----|----|------------------|------|
| EWR Vocational | 395 | 33, 83.5, 0.3 | 91.4, 8.4, 0.3 | 8.1 | | 19.1, 31.9, 48.9 | 59 |
| Malcolm X Shabazz | 662 | 25, 78.4, 0.2 | 89, 10, 0.2 | 4.5 | | 13.6, 36.1, 50.3 | 41 |
| Science Park High | 800 | 4, 74, 0.1 | 28, 47, 20 | 0 | | 1.3, 96.8, 1.9 | 84 |
| Technology High | 594 | 10, 85, 0.3 | 26, 61, 9 | | | 2.0, 92.6, 5.4 | 81 |
| University High | 557 | 9, 77.7, 0.5 | 80, 17, 1.4 | | | 0.8, 87.4, 11.8 | 91 |
| Weequahic | 483 | 25, 85, 0.6 | 93.2, 5.6, 2 | 6.2 | 66 | 16.1, 40.9, 43.1 | 39 |
| Trenton | | | | | | | |
| Daylight/Twilight HS | 469 | 17, 68, 18 | 57, 40, 1.5 | 43 | 29 | 3.6, 14.5, 81.8 | 22 |
| Trenton Central | 1,554 | 19, 86, 0.4 | 53, 45, 2 | 1.5 | 80 | 12.6, 42.4, 45 | 46 |
| Trenton Central W | 684 | 15, 79, 29 | 59, 38.5, 1 | 2.8 | 84 | 12.2, 48.0, 40.0 | 66 |
| New Jersey | | | | 2 | 78 | | 78.5 |

Source: <http://www.nj.gov/education/pr/1415/>

Nonprofits

This domain includes the nonprofit agencies targeting reduction in homicide and

aggravated assault, other agencies with strong ties to youth, and religious organizations.

In each of the case cities, antiviolence programs were adopted using methods borrowed from police strategies or public health models¹¹⁴. For instance, David Kennedy's Operation Ceasefire: Boston Gun Project uses the concept that combines the city's (in this case, Boston's) law enforcement with the Alcohol, Tobacco & Firearms (ATF) agency to target traffickers of illegal firearms, intending to use Ceasefire to deter or slow gang violence (Kennedy 2011). They used "streetworkers," ex-offenders associated with homicide, drugs, and gangs, to recruit gang members in the city and convince them to put down their guns. Drug dealers could continue to sell illegal drugs but could not use guns; in other words, this program was single deterrent, meaning that the possession of an illegal weapon, not illegal drugs, was the only catalyst for punishment.

Reinforcement of this concept came from the law enforcement arm, which applied pressure on those in the illegal drug trade by warning of the consequences if anyone was caught with a gun. The program decouples weapons possession from controlled drug possession. The premise was the removal of the guns from the illegal drug trade made the streets safer because fatal and nonfatal shootings would decline. The other model used by antiviolence agencies came out of Chicago's CeaseFire (now named CureViolence) program where violence "interrupters" would establish a relationship with perceived gang members, mediate conflicts between gangs, and offer nonviolent alternatives to gang members after a violent episode. This model was developed by Gary Slutkin, an epidemiologist who looked at homicides as a public health issue by

¹¹⁴ In Newark, Operation CeaseFire was initiated in 2005 and discontinued later—date of discontinuation is unclear.

targeting the risk factors in gang communities. The case cities in this study used a hybrid of these two models.

Camden's Cure4Camden is based on the Chicago model, targeting the reduction of street violence by stopping the killings as well as modifying the conditions that enable homicides. Community awareness of gun violence is one of the active elements for determent and partnerships between faith-based organizations, residents, and business owners are in development. Monies for this program are provided by the U.S. Department of Justice and the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, accessed from the mayor's office and implemented by the nonprofit agency, Center for Family Success.

Newark's antiviolenace programs currently focus on weekly rallies led by the Newark Anti-Violence Coalition. In 2005, the city used Operation Ceasefire Newark, implemented by the Police Institute, a university-based organization with a long history of collaboration with local faith leaders, law enforcement, social service and treatment providers to address violence in the Greater Newark area. This program was a combination of Boston's CeaseFire program and Chicago's public health model now called CureViolence and, as mentioned in the literature review, found to result in no significant difference between the area with CeaseFire personnel and the non-treated area.

Under the auspices of Trenton Health Team, a group initiated by the City of Trenton's public health officer, James Brownlee, the issue of public safety received attention through the formation of the Trenton Violence Strategy. This program is

funded by the New Jersey Attorney General's office and in collaboration with the College of New Jersey (TCNJ) and other nonprofit agencies in the city. The goal of this antiviolence strategy is to change the behavior of a targeted population identified by the Trenton Police Department. The department has assigned one community police officer to this effort. Wrap-around services are offered to members of the targeted populations to provide training, life skills, and other types of aid as an alternative to a criminal career. The program utilizes "call-ins" where students from the College of New Jersey administer surveys to the attendees, an ex-offender speaks to them about the value of avoiding prison, and, at the end of the call-in meeting, a group of detectives and state attorneys come in and let the attendees know the severity of the consequences of getting caught with a weapon. This program has been in effect for four years with no evidence of homicide reduction.

Other nonprofits in these cities provide much needed health care screenings for diabetes, HIV/AIDS, asthma, and other chronic diseases. Mentoring through Big Brother/Big Sister agencies is present in each city. National organizations such as the ACLU, AFSC, and NAACP are active, providing legal advice and representation, raising awareness on citizen issues around housing, and providing reentry services in all three cities.

According to Churchfinder.com there are 95 churches in Camden, 160 in Newark, and 160 in Trenton.¹¹⁵ From the small, one-room buildings next to liquor stores to the

¹¹⁵ All church numbers are approximate as new ones are established quickly and may not make the churchfinder.com list or are missed because they are house churches.

large cathedrals, the leaders of these institutions are drawn into the discussion of safety. In Newark, the faith leaders were involved in Newark Operation Ceasefire, and Camden's Monsignor Michael Doyle of the Sacred Heart Church partners with law enforcement and other business leaders to reduce violence in the city. Sr. Helen Cole of the Order of St. Joseph founded the nonprofit agency Guadalupe Family Services, offering clinical and social services to families in distress. Sr. Helen, a licensed clinical social worker and a grief counselor, has led an annual memorial service for all victims of homicides at the Camden's Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception since 1995. In Trenton, the Rev. Darryl Armstrong of Shiloh Baptist is a stalwart voice on the problem of homicides in the city and partners with local city leaders focused on improving public safety in Trenton. All these figures provide a comforting, visible, and valuable presence to the families of the victims of homicide but have had little success in reducing the number of deaths.

Public Health

Camden City public health is under the auspices of the Camden County Public Health office in Blackwood, NJ. Its top ten essential public health priorities have to do with monitoring, informing, and enforcing laws that protect health; linking residents to asthmatic reduction programs; and evaluating and researching innovative services. On the list of services are four major programs: Alcohol and Substance Abuse, Communicable Disease, Public Health Nursing, and Health Education/Promotion. In the details of these programs, there is no mention of prevention programs for homicides. In the city itself, there are nine offices of CAMcare Health Corporation, a Federally Qualified Health Center (FQHC), funded by the U.S. Department of Human and Health

Services, the New Jersey Department of Health and Senior Services, and the Camden County Public Health Office. These centers provide family care and maternity and pediatric care along with other primary care needs. Project Hope, Inc., another FQHC, has two offices in Camden.

The Department of Health and Wellness is under Newark's city governance and offers comprehensive family care and dental care through the Mary Eliza Mahoney Health Centers (a FQHC). Other units in this department are Environmental Health, Divisions of Medical Service, Surveillance and Prevention¹¹⁶, and a Health Planning unit with an HIV/AIDS clinic. The Greater Newark Health Team is a coalition of health care providers and other stakeholders from large health care centers—Essex County hospitals, New Jersey Institute of Technology, Prudential Insurance and Horizon Health.

The City of Trenton was in a difficult position when approximately half of the public health employees were laid off in 2013 due to lack of city funds. The health officer of the City of Trenton, James Brownlee, began to form a network of medical collaboration among St. Francis Medical Center (SFMC), Capital Health (CH), and the City of Trenton Department of Health and Human Services. From this network, the Trenton Health Team (THT) was developed. This coalition of health services within Trenton focuses on five elements: (1) access to primary care; (2) improving care coordination and management of that care; (3) operating a Health Information Exchange between agencies; (4) engaging with communities to increase their knowledge of medical

¹¹⁶ The Surveillance and Prevention group in Newark's public health office monitors disease trends and develops and maintains a public health system to improve the city's ability to address the health issues of the residents through prevention and early intervention activities.

services; and (5) functioning as an Account Care Organization responsible for the health of all Medicaid beneficiaries in the six zip codes of Trenton.

Issues involving gun violence are off the table according to one of the few public health respondents in the interviews (GP). GP feels gun control is too politicized and could prevent some of their other initiatives from moving forward. It may also be why only three of the fifty-five respondents were from the public health domain. In this community, public safety and gun control are viewed as the responsibility of law enforcement. Multiple calls to the Camden County Public Health Office and the Department of Health and Wellness in Newark were not returned.

Drugs, Guns, and Homicides

In June of 1996, Christopher Rivas of Camden, NJ, was shot and killed. Less than two weeks later, Rivas's cousin, Andrew Robledo, was killed. Both were members of a drug gang, the Organization, in East Camden, two of the sixteen people found dead after being associated with the alleged gang, (*Courier Post* 3.2.1991). Dan Werb, an epidemiologist at the University of British Columbia, writes, "Violence is increasingly being understood as a means used by individuals and groups to gain or maintain market share of the lucrative illicit drug trade" (Werb et al. d2010). Adding to this is a comment by a respondent from Newark: "Guys on the street will use guns for reputation to make a statement, or if you mess with someone, they will shoot you" (JC 74).

Table 11. Representation of Illegal Drug Possession and Firearm Possession.¹¹⁷

| Name, Age (if available), City | Status | Charge |
|-------------------------------------------|---------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Tusha Latham, 31, Newark | Indicted | CDS Possession, Firearm, Murder |
| Mario Gayles, 32, East Orange | Indicted | 7.3.13, felony murder, aggravated manslaughter, robbery offenses, 6.6.05 Pleaded guilty to reckless manslaughter Prior convictions on drug offenses |
| Jonathan Tajeda, 23, Newark | | 4.5.15, murder, attempted |
| Eric Santiago, 26, Newark | Convicted | 2 nd degree reckless manslaughter, previous charges of CDS and firearms possession, |
| Devon Samuel, 31, Trenton | Charged | CDS and firearm possession |
| Ishmael Abdullah, Trenton | Charged | CDS and firearm possession |
| Christopher Proctor, 22, Newark | Charged | CDS and firearm possession |
| Karah Moore, Camden | Prison | CDS and firearm possession, murder |
| Jevon Lewis, Camden | Prison | CDS and firearm possession, murder |

¹¹⁷ This table is a sample representation of the association with homicides and possessions of a controlled substance. There are many others similar to this.

| | | |
|--------------------------|--------|------------------------------------|
| Ahmad Judge, Camden | Prison | CDS and firearm possession, murder |
| Rivera Valez, - , Camden | Prison | CDS and firearm possession, murder |

Source: For Tusha Latham and Johnathan Tajeda;

http://www.nj.com/essex/index.ssf/2015/07/12_charged_in_connection_to_recent_essex_county_ho.html last accessed September 15, 2017. For Rivera Valez:

<https://www.justice.gov/archive/usao/nj/Press/files/pdf/2009/rive1119%20rel.pdf>; For Eric Santiago; http://www.nj.com/essex/index.ssf/2016/02/3_men_plead_not_guilty_in_beating_death_of_college.html; for Devon Samuel; <http://www.trentonian.com/article/TT/20161207/NEWS/161209845>, for Ishmael Abdullah; http://www.nj.com/mercer/index.ssf/2017/08/6th_guilty_plea_in_federal_heroin_dealing_case_is.html, for Jevon Lewis and Ahmad Judge, <https://archives.fbi.gov/archives/philadelphia/press-releases/2009/ph062609a.htm>; for Karah Moore, http://www.nj.com/camden/index.ssf/2010/03/camden_hit_man_sentenced_to_17.html; for Christopher Proctor, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-nj/pr/member-trenton-drug-trafficking-organization-admits-heroin-conspiracy-unlawful-possession>

Whether violence is used to maintain market share, build a dealer's reputation, exact revenge, or preemptively strike on those who might testify against a powerful drug lord (as was the alleged reason for Rivas's death), the association between drugs and guns in Camden, Newark, and Trenton has been established.

Conclusion

These institutional domains do not work to prevent homicides for young black men ages fifteen to twenty-four years. The longevity and consistency of homicide rates in each of the cities confirm these statements. These domains and cities have contributed to the conditions which give rise to homicides. On a national public health level, a LCOD for a young population has inspired no research in the three case cities beyond monitoring the rates. There is no community-wide assessment, no research on risk factors, no epidemiological analysis, no development or confirmation of hypotheses on the basis of which prevention programs might be designed. Instead, a gun lobby politically prohibits the CDC from studying the causes of homicides and providing recommendations to control firearm violence. The law enforcement arm of the criminal justice domain investigates after the occurrence of a death; the nonprofit agencies with antiviolence

programs continue to operate without evidence or evaluation of program efficacy and ignore the social conditions in the environment in which they hope to intervene. The cities entice businesses with tax incentives and federal credits without insisting through contracts that they must have training programs and that a certain percentage of their employees must be residents of the city. Levels of poverty continue because jobs in the cities from these new businesses go to commuters or require skills beyond the capability of the educational system to provide. Any leftover jobs are either part time or pay so poorly that a living wage can be obtained only in the illegal marketplace.

Chapter 5. The Domains Speak

Introduction

Behind the research question—the effectiveness of programs to prevent homicides in poor urban centers like Camden, Newark, and Trenton, the areas under study—are critical events and policies that marginalize and disempower the population of young black men. Two components of the study inform and provide evidence of a system of connections among four institutional domains; (1) interviews with workers in the domains of criminal justice, the educational system, non-profit agencies, and the public health community, and (2) a parallel study of critical events and policies affecting the residents of these cities, triggered by respondents' comments. These two components have led to the identification of those structures, which have less to do with the research question and more to do with the conditions perpetuating homicides of young black men.

As discussed in Chapter 4, Case and Domain Background, the steadiness of homicides in the three case cities since 1989 indicates a lack of or inability to develop prevention programs for homicide; thus the research turned to the examination of the conditions or forces within the case cities perpetuating the incidence of homicides. These conditions are not serial but have connecting nodes enabling and sustaining economic development dominated by partnerships of private–public enterprise in the education industry, corporation relocation based on government incentives, and the renovation and construction of low income housing.¹¹⁸ This economic dominance does

¹¹⁸ Although respondents in Camden discussed low-income housing as uniquely located in urban areas, affordable housing is not addressed in this study even though jobs and housing are key factors in the

not happen in a vacuum nor does it happen without consequences—intended or not. Systemic functions at the state level and at the municipal level in Camden, Newark, Trenton operate to marginalize poor, minority residents. The criminal justice domain serves as a controlling instrument within the cities through actions by law enforcement and the courts. Additionally, the media,¹¹⁹ in its coverage of homicides, trivializes and routinizes the occurrences of death and consequent devastation to families of these cities, while devoting front-page coverage and community-wide sorrow to the rare homicide in the suburbs. In the public health domain, homicides as a LCOD for young black men have lacked budgetary attention and respondents in all three cities have attested to the inattention from their public health agencies.

This chapter weaves the interview responses from domain and community members with the macro transactions of players many times removed from the victims and perpetrators of homicides. Economic dominance with resulting marginalization will be discussed first, followed by an outline of the efforts of the criminal justice domain to isolate residents, and the chapter will conclude with the perceptions of the media coverage of poor urban areas from the respondents.

isolation of poor minorities in each of the three cities. Low income housing in Camden is built for the public through behind the scenes partnerships with powerful business leaders in South Jersey.

¹¹⁹ Initially, the media was considered to be instrumental in studying the perceptions of homicides for the respondent. As interviews progressed, the relevance of the answers re the original research goal became questionable and was not going to be included in the analysis. However, as the research question evolved into a query into conditions and marginalization, the answers to the media questions contributed to the concept of marginalized of young black men and the topic was included to reinforce the conditions of these young men. Therefore, their answers are included.

Economic Marginalization

The lack of jobs for inner-city residents in Camden, Newark, and Trenton was a common topic for many of the respondents in this study when they were asked about unique factors within their cities affecting young black men. They mentioned there were few if any entry-level jobs or internships, or even apprenticeships. A respondent from Trenton who works with the youth of the city asserted there are “no jobs, so everyone is trying to get any job. No apprenticeships, no internships in Trenton. Circle Steel, US Steel, GM, etc. are all gone, just the State of New Jersey as the employer” (RF TRE 13). These initials refer to the respondent while the numbers indicate the page number of the transcriptions. In Newark, a high school teacher commented, “these youngsters, once they graduate, 90 percent of them wind up in the street. There are no jobs for them.” A reentry counselor in Newark reiterates the hopelessness when she says, “These youngsters are not going to college and the chance of them getting any fulfilling work is zero” (BK NEW 26). Overhearing this, one of her volunteers, a former prisoner and current resident of Newark, expanded on her comment, saying, “We do not control economy in our own communities. Corporations have the resources. Rebuilding Newark is only happening because big business is doing that and do not extend to outer communities like mine”¹²⁰ and later went on to say that “education is about money and control” (O NEW 23). In Camden, a community member and activist who grew up in the city explains that “jobs are all in the suburbs and they don’t want our boys there” (MSR CAM 136).

¹²⁰ “Outer communities” refers to neighborhoods in Newark outside of the downtown district but still in Newark.

These comments on the lack of jobs for young black men, the redirection of educational resources to charter schools, and the rebuilding of downtown Newark while neglecting the neighborhoods spurred a closer look into the state of education in Camden, Newark, and Trenton and its links to corporations and the opportunities for favorable business subsidies. In turn, these links led to the discovery of key game changers without which economic development in Newark and Camden would not flourish. These game changers are financial programs and instruments initiated at the federal and state level that act as incentives for capital investment in poor urban areas, state control of school districts that silences once active local school boards, and political sponsorship of critical bills providing access for greater development in Camden and Newark. The game changer for New Jersey has been a change in legislation in 2013 changing the business tax laws explained in detail in the next section. The key recipient of this changed law has been Camden, less so Newark, and very little to Trenton. It is the intersection of state-controlled educational systems and incentivized financial instruments for investors and developers offered by the federal and state governments that ensure the dominance of capital growth. These conditions enable realization of the priorities of real estate investors and developers, politicians and political bosses, and investors. These are also the conditions leading to a redistribution of educational resources, a reduction of the availability of jobs with possibility of upward movement, and the sustaining of jobs in the illegal economy. The next section will focus on development and redevelopment activities in Camden and Newark using the state of education and students as vehicles for economic growth (wealth and power). Each of

these cities uses a different means for growing wealth. There is a more in depth discussion on the business subsidies available to Camden as the New Jersey Economic Opportunity Act of 2013 (A3680) bill described below contains more favorable conditions for those businesses willing to relocate to Camden, therefore, a more thorough discussion on the reason for the differences is necessary.

Economic Incentives from the State for the State of New Jersey but Mostly Camden
In 2013, Governor Chris Christie and the Democrat controlled Senate and Assembly cooperated to enact the New Jersey Economic Opportunity Act of 2013 (A3680), expanding the limits of economic incentives from the state to developers and corporations and enlarging the geographic areas for qualification. This bill added more resources to the existing business subsidy program, folded the existing five programs¹²¹ into two; (1) the Economic Redevelopment and Growth Grant, which will focus on creating jobs, and (2) the Grow New Jersey Assistance Program intended to keep jobs in the state. These two programs with their incentives recast the business tax subsidy programs of New Jersey by easing the requirements for corporations to participate and lowering the minimum thresholds for job creation numbers and the size of investments. The bill also offered additional incentives for the state's four poorest cities: Camden, Trenton, Passaic and Paterson and, more specifically, favored new projects in South Jersey. Legislator Donald Norcross (D-Camden), the senate co-sponsor, claimed that northern New Jersey businesses benefited from the long-time corporate infrastructure

¹²¹ The five programs were Business Retention and Relocation Assistance Grant Program (BRRAG)(P.L.2010 c.23), the Business Employment Incentive Program (BEIP) (P.L. 1996 c.25(C.34:1B-112), the Urban Transit Hub Tax Credit Program, Invest NJ Business Grant Program (P.L. 2008 c.112(C.34:1B-237),and the Municipal Rehabilitation and Economic Recovery Act (P.L. 2002 c.43(C.52:27BBB-1 et al)

and lower numbers of rural residents while cities like Camden do not have that advantage. A respondent from Camden, a long-time resident, remarked that “The voting power is in the North and southern Jersey needed [Governor Chris] Christie and [George] Norcross to push this bill for Camden.” (KF CAM 93C). The benefit assigned to Camden was a lowering of the job requirement numbers and a lower investment; a minimum of seven jobs with an investment of 33 percent less than typically required. An additional concession for Camden centered on the Net Positive Benefit (NPB)¹²² Jon Whiten of The New Jersey Policy Perspective writes that “The idea was that as one the nation’s most distressed cities – and certainly the most distressed in New Jersey – that Camden needed an extraordinarily large government lever to get private investment flowing into the city.” While the NPB for all areas in New Jersey except Camden was at a 110 percent of the requested tax credit amount over a period of twenty years, Camden’s bar was 100 percent of the requested tax credit amount over a period of thirty-five years. Again, the respondent says, “those incentives had to be lower, [George] Norcross forced those through his brother in the Senate, otherwise, businesses would never come to Camden” (KF CAM 93C). As there were different qualifications applied to Camden, the outcome of the attention to that city will be reviewed in the next section.

Jobs in Camden

¹²² The Net Positive Benefit is the benefit realized by the company and the state or community where the project is implemented. Factors in the NPB model usually include project costs including expenses and capital investment, direct and indirect impact on long term basis, job creation/retention and community improvement. The NPB as calculated by the New Jersey Economic Development Authority (NJEDA) considers benefits of a proposed project to be; (1) job creation/retention, (2) economic activity as a result of the project, and (3) earnings.

Jon Whiten of The New Jersey Policy Perspective¹²³ reviewed the job creation and retention for Camden as a result of the influx of development in the city since December 2013. The NJ EDA has awarded seventeen companies incentives valued at \$1.1 billion for Camden with a requirement of keeping 3,897 jobs for those incentives. Thirty-six percent of those jobs are ‘created jobs’ while the remainder are existing positions within the state in neighboring towns to Camden. Although desirable, the employers are not required to fill positions with local residents. Take Holtec International as an example, an energy company moving its’ pilot and test lab facilities from Marlton to Camden. They received a \$260 million tax break for this move and declared the company would have up to 3,000 employees in five years of opening and pledged to hire and train local residents. NJEDA does not require the hiring of local residents to receive the tax credits and as KF tells the story; “There is no mandate to give locals jobs under contracts that are under state law, the EDA, or other state ordinance, and there is no affirmative action for these jobs. The state would have to mandate just like we have a local ordinance here in Camden but only applies to projects applied to city tax dollars and they [Camden] do(es) not have money. It is bankrupt.” (KF CAM 93E). Additionally, the functions at the Camden Holtec site are technical in nature requiring a specific education for this work. Many residents do not have that education specificity. Again, KF, “There are no entry level jobs” (KF CAM 93E).

¹²³ <https://www.njpp.org/budget/tax-breaks-or-bust-new-jerseys-misguided-approach-to-economic-development-in-camden>, July 18, 2017

In April (2017), Donald Norcross (D-Camden) talked about the success of the programs for Camden regarding jobs when he said “ The Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics just released employment figures and the Camden metro area had the highest percentage of job growth in the nation last year. We see that growth all around us in Camden City”.¹²⁴ The employment figures related to the ‘metro’ area of Camden, not the city of Camden. The Camden metro area Congressman Norcross was referring to includes Burlington, Gloucester, and Camden counties, not the city of Camden. The number of jobs added in Camden City between February 2016 and February 2017 was 502 jobs with an unemployment rate of 9.1%. Contrast that with the addition of 18,900 jobs for metro Camden area with an unemployment rate of 4.8% (Whiten 2017). The jobs from these new businesses are not sourced locally notwithstanding the lag time as a result of building. A respondent working at CamConnect¹²⁵ agrees with the sentiment saying, “There are thirty thousand jobs (with these new companies) and only five thousand are filled by the city residents.” (JW 37). Another respondent from Camden, activist for education and jobs tells me that “they [businesses] never come into the neighborhoods or schools and talk about those jobs. We don’t even know who they are.” (MSR CAM 135). A respondent from a non-profit had a different perspective on the lack of jobs for local residents, specifically, young black men when he said, “employers like hospitals, universities and the new businesses are not going to hire drug

¹²⁴<https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/columnists/2017/04/28/congressman-donald-norcross-camden-really-rising/307413001/> Last accessed June 10, 2017

¹²⁵ CamConnect is a member-supported organization that helps Camden residents and stakeholders understand local issues and make informed decisions through access to data. We provide services such as data analysis, research, GIS mapping, creating reports, technical assistance, program evaluation, survey design, data management, and an online public document library. From Camconnect.org

charged people unless it is housekeeping.”(JaC CAM 10). These divergent views on the presence and access of jobs are corroborated by the numbers of job growth between February 2016 and February 2017 . Given poor job growth for residents despite preferential treatment for companies moving to Camden, who is behind the Camden revitalization?

According to respondents from Camden and other cities the main driver is George Norcross III, the Democratic Party leader in South Jersey, insurance executive, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Cooper Health System and Cooper University Hospital, a member of the board for Holtec International, and former owner of the Philadelphia Inquirer. Norcross is a principal in Conner Strong & Buckelew, one of the largest property and casualty insurance, risk management and employee benefit brokerage firms in the country with numerous public contracts across New Jersey.^{126 127} One respondent from Camden remarks that “[George] Norcross is a South Jersey boss and supported [Governor] Christie by virtue of not supporting [former Governor] Corzine. Norcross is in power since 1989 and everyone from South Jersey is elected because of George Norcross” (KF CAM 89). The Guardian in 2015 offers an opinion that there a Christie/Norcross alliance is a result of Governor Christie’s first term win writing “Many of the tax breaks involve projects connected to Norcross, the Democratic power

¹²⁶ Connor, Strong, and Buckelew along with The Michaels Organization, a Cherry Hill-based housing developer that has done work in Camden, and Marlton-based supply firm NFI have been approved by the NJEDA for \$245 million in tax incentives. Named the Camden Tower, it is expected the three companies will relocate their sites and employees to Camden in late 2019. <https://re-nj.com/eda-approves-245m-tax-credit-for-new-camden-office-tower/> July 10, 2017.

¹²⁷ <https://holtecinternational.com/company/leadership/board-of-directors/george-e-norcross/> Last accessed July 1, 2017.

broker, whose tacit support for Christie is widely viewed as vital to his 2009 victory over the then governor Jon Corzine” (2015). Norcross has created a web of connections to developers, politicians, and other influential stakeholders that allows him to, as another respondent says, “Norcross can create a level of predictability that he can tell the state senator to give up her seat to be a mayor so his brother can be the state senator¹²⁸” (JeH NEW 60). KF on that ability to change seats for politicians, “[George] Norcross’ power comes from his control of the PACs (Political Action Committee). The money he gets from the PAC, he can fund the campaigns of state legislators, his brother’s, municipal legislators, the mayor and four council members were funded by his PAC. He put them in office and he will keep them there, and when a contributor like Ingaham wants to build in Camden he calls [George] Norcross for the bid and he [GN] will award the contract. [George] Norcross is not doing it for a good reason, he is doing that to perpetuate his political power. He [GN] wants to control the politicians.” (KF CAM 93D). In addition to managing the necessary levers for the entrance of companies into Camden, George Norcross is also influential in the charter school growth in Camden discussed in the next section on charter schools.

Charter School Growth in Newark and Camden

In 1995, the New Jersey State Department of Education officials took control of the public schools in Newark and rendered the Newark Board of Education defunct¹²⁹. The reason: the Newark Public School District had been unable to meet the state

¹²⁸ The state senator who gave up her seat was Dana Redd, current Mayor of Camden. Donald Norcross, brother of George Norcross took her seat.

¹²⁹ As background, Jersey City schools were the first to be taken over by the state in 1989 and Patterson followed in 1991.

education department's standards for school district certification. Low test scores, high dropout rates, and questionable use of public funds were cited as some of the reasons for the state takeover¹³⁰. In 2013, the State Board of Education voted to take over the public schools of Camden, the lowest performing school district in the state at that time¹³¹. Again, the Camden Board of Education became effectively defunct with no ability to make hiring or budgetary decisions.

It is no coincidence that there are more charter schools in the cities where the public school districts are under state control. The Board of Education for each district has voting power on major changes to school structures such as to the creation of a charter school. But with a board in name only, decisions are made on the state level with local control an artifact. School Advisory Boards are established, which have no decision-making capabilities, or, as one Newark School Board Advisory member, former teacher, and long-time Newark resident said, "[The] board has no power, no knowledge of what is left in the district. [The former] internal structure has been decimated. Been a secret society and run by people unknown to the board" (TBR NEW 68). This movement

¹³⁰Governors in New Jersey since Richard J. Hughes (1962-1970) have been pushing for state takeover of the public schools in Newark. Some think the riots of 1967 acted as a trigger. Mayors and superintendents resisted but finally in 1995, the superintendent acquiesced. Matthew Reilly and Lisa Paterson, "State Takes Control of Newark Schools, *Star-Ledger*, July 13, 1995.

¹³¹ Respondents in Trenton did not dwell on the area of economic development and there was less information on Trenton's economic development in archives and current websites. Camden and Newark have inherent qualities making them more attractive to investors. For instance, a real estate development mentioned (author discussion) that there is one very important requirement in the decision to invest in a site: density of purchasing population. Can people get to the site over and over again? Repetitive visits either through residence, shopping, transit hubs, or schools are key features to study when selecting a site. Trenton has few of those factors as it is a city where state employees come in from surrounding areas to situated buildings and rarely go outside for lunch or shopping. One of the respondents who worked in the State Department of Health building mentioned that there was no desire to go outside and walk around Trenton.

of power from a local to a state Board of Education enabled Governor Christie to approve new charter schools and expand them in subsequent years. In Camden, a long-term resident corroborated that sentiment when he said, “Education is in play for profits in Newark and Camden. Urgency is because Christie has one more year” (KF CAM 93).

Shifting focus to the cities with the exception of Trenton¹³², the discussion on Camden has more to do with who goes to the charter schools while in Newark, the discussion centers on the leveraging of charter school growth for investment purposes.

¹³² No public charter schools in Trenton.

Charter Schools in Camden. There is a school in Camden named the KIPP Cooper Norcross Academy, a Renaissance school, currently the preferred type of charter school in Camden. This school, named by and for George Norcross is the first Renaissance school in Camden, known as a “hybrid” charter where local control is still present. The Urban Hope Act, passed in 2012, enables charter school companies to apply to the city to build and open new schools. Funding for these schools is at a higher amount per student than traditional charters, 95 percent versus the 90 percent allotted to traditional charters, and therefore gives incentive to build new facilities. This is a key point as a Camden long-time resident explained: “Under the original charter school law, [charter school operators] had to provide their own facilities. They had to fund the building or rental of their facility. They did not get state funding for the facilities. Along comes Donald Norcross (D-Camden) and he proposes the Urban Hope Act which suggests 95 percent funding per student to a Renaissance and the district school pays for their building with our tax dollars” (KF CAM 93C). A primary supporter of the Urban Hope Act was Senator Norcross’s brother, George Norcross, A respondent well versed in the economic development of the state commented that “Camden has a lot of investment being made because of perceived stability, which has nothing to do with elected officials and more with Norcross’s ability to create predictability and outcomes of elections in that area. [The] danger of investing in third world country is control or lack of [it] in institutions. Camden is viewed by private investors as an unpredictable environment. If Norcross is out of the equation, the predictability and institutional arrangement are up for grabs. . . . He enjoys the social engineering and believes that

Camden can be engineered differently, but role of people in [the] city is less important than [the role of] those who can make the decision [about] who will bring in investment” (JH NEW 61). In 2015, the state’s first Renaissance School, the KIPP Cooper Norcross Academy, was opened in the Cooper complex on Lanning Street in Camden and since that time, according to The Inquirer Daily News on September 1, 2016, an additional eight renaissance schools have opened¹³³.

This research does not comment on the goodness of charter schools as a concept, rather, on the outcome of the selection process in Camden’s charter schools. On the whole, the Renaissance and other charter schools in Camden have similar performance to the district schools in Camden¹³⁴, but the Renaissance schools do not have the full offering of grades so the performance verdict may not be reliable nor fully matched against district schools. Given that caveat, respondents from Camden who are involved and/or follow the education system in Camden are vocal in their attitudes towards charters, “they [the superintendent’s office] are unfair, they let the district school on the first two floors go without air-conditioning and the top two with the charter schools have the AC.” (VN, MSR CAM 137).¹³⁵ These respondents along with a frequently quoted respondent maintain that another issue is more pervasive and less public, that of the segregation of poor vs less poor children in Camden. They view the selection process of students for the charter schools in Camden as unfair “the charter

¹³³ New Norcross fund would direct millions to Camden's Renaissance' schools 9.1.16 http://www.philly.com/philly/education/20160901_New_fund_would_direct_millions_to_Camden_s_Renaissance_schools.html Last accessed September 16, 2017.

¹³⁴ <https://camdenenrollment.schoolmint.net/school-chooser/search>

¹³⁵ See <http://www.bluejersey.com/2017/06/should-families-really-have-to-choose-healthy-schools/> for comment on Bonsall Elementary school in Camden.

schools are the new segregation, the new Plessy v. Ferguson. It is no longer black versus white. [It is] segregation among minorities, between [kids who have] parental support and kids who do not have it. Parents who cannot support their kids may not have been educated or they were criminal or couldn't get a job. That kid with the single mom who can't get to PTA meetings—that kid has to go to public school. They are so poor they have no support” (KF CAM 93D). He is referring to the treatment of poor people regardless of ethnicity in Camden and the lack of family support for student and school responsibilities due to work loads, inattention to the students or other reasons. The respondent went on to say that “this is common in Camden, a continuation of the age-old segregation. A lot of it is not racial it has to do with economics” (KF CAM 93D). The 2010 Census reports that 39.9 percent of the population in Camden lives in poverty.

In the *Jersey Jazzman* blog written by a New Jersey public school teacher, Mark Weber, noted that the LEAP charter school in Camden has a very different student body population than the district schools in Camden do—4 percent of the student body in LEAP has Limited English Proficiency (LEP) while the district has 9 percent LEP. Students who qualify for Free Lunch (FL) are a proxy for those who are in the lower socioeconomic band, and Charisse Gulosino from the University of Massachusetts Boston and Chad d'Entremont of Teachers College, Columbia University (2011) found that charter schools in New Jersey enrolled “fewer free and reduced lunch (63%) and special education (7.7%) students than their districts of residence (70% and 15.6%). As a function of location, charter schools in New Jersey overrepresented black students (68%) compared to their districts of residence (50%) and under-represent white,

Hispanic, and Asian students. These findings suggest that New Jersey charter schools located in high-need school districts with presumably strong demand for increased school choice, do not necessarily serve the full spectrum of students, especially those who are at the lowest income levels and most disadvantaged. Greg Flaxman and his colleagues of the Civil Rights Project found that charter schools have not been able to reduce school segregation in New Jersey, a state with a history of student isolation by race and income. The following discussion will focus on real estate investment and charter school growth strategies to advantageous outcome for both entities. Even with segregation, it is not clear yet whether or not charter schools disrupt public education to the point where students in charter schools in Camden and other urban cities in New Jersey have results equal to or better than students in high achieving schools in key areas such as proficiency levels, graduation rates, and college enrollment.

Newark and Real Estate Investment through Charter Schools

When asked about the unique factors in Newark, a respondent from the non-profit domain commented on the role of real estate developers and their concern for public safety in Newark: “Success of my business will not be determined by the declining role of homicides. The question will not be asked [by developers] and is not an issue. Developers will come [to the city] and build because it is temporary. They leave when the building is done.” (JH NEW 62). Developers are attracted to Newark for the possibilities it offers through new-to-Newark residents, leveraging of educational facilities, and tax incentives. He went on to comment; “Ron Beit is investing in Newark, good guy doing good work” (JH NEW 62). In 2009, a limited liability company was formed to own and manage an eight-building, five-block project in the historic Halsey

Street neighborhood of Newark called the Teacher’s Village (TV), a mixed-use complex. The majority owner of TV is Ron Beit of RBH Group, a NYC- and-Newark-based real estate investment firm that has owned commercial property in Newark for many years. The project built on vacant or former parking lots includes three charter schools, 70,000 square feet of retail space, and 204 apartments intended for educators—teachers and tutors. Tax abatements and credits were instrumental in the funding of this project. Again, JH on factors driving development in Newark; “[the] ultimate decision [on city development] is on banks and corporations whether or not there will be [a] major development in community. If there is no high-end industrial user, then it is problematic. Tax abatements in redevelopment areas have more to do with tax credit” (JH NEW 63). Close to half of the funding¹³⁶ was sourced from two programs: a federal program—the New Markets Tax Credit Coalition (NMTC)—and state legislation—the Urban Transit Hub Tax Credit Act (UTHTC).¹³⁷ The NMTC was first introduced in 2000 within the Community Renewal Tax Relief Act of 2000 (PL 106-554) and designed to stimulate investment and economic growth in low-income urban neighborhoods that did not have the capital necessary to create, grow, and support the local economies. Eligibility for the NMTC involves developing within census tracts where the individual poverty rate is at least 20 percent or where median family income does not exceed 80 percent of the area’s median income. Approximately \$60 million came from this coalition. The second source, contributing close to \$40 million, was a NJ state bill first

¹³⁶ NJEDA Meeting Minutes

¹³⁷ RBH applied for the Urban Transit Hub Tax Credit Act prior to the 2013 NJ Economic Recovery Act.

introduced in 2011, the Urban Transit Hub Tax Credit Act (UTHTC) (S3033/A4306), intended to spur capital investment in areas within one mile of transit centers. Projects for the UTHTC must be in nine eligible NJ cities (Camden, Newark, and Trenton among them) and must be within one half mile (or one mile for Camden) of a New Jersey Transit, PATH, PATCO, or light rail station. The remainder of the money came from School Qualified Construction Bonds, Goldman Sachs, Prudential Insurance Company, and land and equity from the developer. However, the NMTC and the UTHTC are enticing catalysts to capital investors.

The Urban Hope Act, New Market Tax Credits, Urban Transit Hub Tax Credits, and the state takeover of school districts are all enabling factors in the growth of charter schools and the construction on one particular project, Teacher's Village. With the comments of 'no jobs' for young black men, the question of jobs for these projects (both Newark and Camden) arises.

Construction Trade

The TV project on Halsey Street in Newark was expected to bring in 500 construction jobs, but it was not known and unlikely that the local residents secured the construction jobs even though temporary.¹³⁸ The number of construction jobs in Camden is less publicized but with the redevelopment along the waterfront, the new schools underway, and new facilities being built by companies such as Holtec¹³⁹, it is

¹³⁸ As of July of 2017, it is unknown if any of the jobs, construction or teaching, went to local residents.

¹³⁹ Holtec, an energy company is moving from Marlton, NJ, to Camden, NJ (17 miles between the two towns) and has many critics questioning the reasons why Holtec would move such a short distance. Some say it is the tax incentives such as credits and others say it is political. Employees have been hired with approximately 67 from Camden County and 11 from the city. More local residents had been expected to be hired. Holtec will be on the site of the former New York Shipyard in South Camden and will house two

expected there will be at least 500 jobs. There were also jobs in renovating Camden's low income housing stock as well as new complexes in the planning stages. One renovation in particular, the Broadway Townhouse project was awarded to a Pennsylvania developer, Roizman Development, Inc., who owes more than \$6 million of state government loans to the state of New Jersey for previous work and has yet to make good on their promise to sell homes the firm owns in Camden to tenants for one dollar. Despite that, Roizman Development has a \$57 million deal to renovate 175 homes funded by federal tax credits, a federal loan, and a \$26 million state construction loan and state tax credits approved up to \$13.4 million over a ten year period. Construction jobs will be under the prevailing wage rule and unlikely to include young black men or minority contractors from Camden.

Any of these projects that are federally funded stipulate the payment of "prevailing wage." Under the Davis-Bacon and Related Acts (DBRA),¹⁴⁰ construction

large manufacturing plants, the corporate engineering centers, a systems testing facility without nuclear fuel, non-destructive testing labs, training facilities, and corporate apartments.

¹⁴⁰ The U.S. Department of Labor defines and explains the DBRA in this way: "The Davis-Bacon and Related Acts apply to contractors and subcontractors performing on federally funded or assisted contracts in excess of \$2,000 for the construction, alteration, or repair (including painting and decorating) of public buildings or public works. Davis-Bacon Act and Related Act contractors and subcontractors must pay their laborers and mechanics employed under the contract no less than the locally prevailing wages and fringe benefits for corresponding work on similar projects in the area. The Davis-Bacon Act directs the Department of Labor to determine such locally prevailing wage rates. The Davis-Bacon Act applies to contractors and subcontractors performing work on federal or District of Columbia contracts. The Davis-Bacon Act prevailing wage provisions apply to the 'Related Acts,' under which federal agencies assist construction projects through grants, loans, loan guarantees, and insurance."

<https://www.dol.gov/whd/govcontracts/dbra.htm>. While contractors and subcontractors are highlighted, the consensus from personal discussions with real estate developers is that construction trade unions must be the contractors and all decision-makers of the crew. "They [developers] would like to hire non-unionized workers, specifically, Hispanics or workers recently from countries in South America, as they prefer little publicity and will work longer hours for lower pay, but the trade unions still hold the power" (personal conversation with George Jacobs of Jacobs Development) . A law firm, Wage Advocates, describe the prevailing wage requirements as ones that "stand to preserve (often explicitly) the work unions have done in negotiating higher wages for employees. Since collective bargaining agreements are

projects over the value of \$2,000 assisted by federal funds (tax credits apply) must pay workers the prevailing wage. The original premise of the prevailing wage clause was to protect the local laborer, standardize the wage for construction workers within a state, and remove price from decision-making to let the quality of the work speak for itself. It was also said that the DBRA was established to prevent black workers from undercutting wages when competing with white workers. The calculation of the wage is predicated on wage data in a specific region as well on union-negotiated contracts. The construction projects in Newark and Camden partially funded through federal funds must comply with the Davis-Bacon Act even if there is a municipal mandate for giving local residents a portion of the jobs. According to a respondent in Camden, the developers “don’t have to comply with our local ordinance. There is no mandate to give locals jobs under contracts that are under state law and there is no affirmative action for these jobs” (KF CAM 93E). He went on to say that “[developers] don’t bring it [entry level jobs] through the union [because there is] the apprentice and the journeyman practice. Because they give preference to their relatives, first they got sons, nephews” (KF CAM 93E) and relatives do not live in Camden or Newark or Trenton. Sons and

often taken into account when determining the prevailing wage, it’s usually comparable to what union workers make. That means union shops can usually compete on government projects, rather than losing out to contractors who pay their workers less than the union rate” (<http://wageadvocates.com/>). There is some resistance to the DBRA as it was passed with the “specific intent of preventing non-unionized black and immigrant laborers from competing with unionized white workers for scarce jobs during the Great Depression. And the devastating discriminatory effects persist, as minorities tend to be vastly underrepresented in highly unionized skilled trades and over-represented in the pool of unskilled workers who would have greater access to work if the prevailing wage laws were abolished” In 1993, The Institute for Justice sued on behalf of minority owned contractors arguing that BDRA was unconstitutional, in 2002, the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia ruled against the contractors. <http://ij.org/case/brazier-construction-co-inc-v-reich/>

relatives complete the needed roster for work leaving local residents without opportunities.

Construction unions have a history of racist practices and while it is not the intent of this work to discuss the past, the New Jersey Department of Labor and Workforce Development, Division of Economic and Demographic Research (10/14), reports that the construction workforce is “much less diverse than all industries” (NJDOL). In the construction trade, whites make up 78.0 percent of the workforce with blacks at 6.2 percent. Again, a long-time Camden resident comments that “Iron workers, pipe fitters have been predominantly white unions for years. Most of the black workers are with the laborers union because there is where most everything is mechanized. [The black workers began their work prior to automation and lost their jobs as a result of automation.] Eliminated a lot. Had to shut down the laborers union [in Camden] office because there wasn’t enough work to keep it open” (KF CAM 93E). Historical practices of racism in construction unions, compliance with prevailing wage for federally funded projects, and lack of mandate within cities for local hiring with or without affirmative action add to the network of conditions of marginalization.¹⁴¹

The Illegal Economy

If jobs in construction are closed to black youth, where do they turn? A minister, who is a racial integrationist counselor and fair housing employee in South Jersey,

¹⁴¹According to the 2010 Census, blacks made up 48.07 percent of the population in Camden and 52.4 percent in Newark with approximately 64.8 percent of the population between the ages of 18 and 65 years in Newark and 61.4 percent between those same ages in Camden. The number of men available for work, assuming that they are able bodied between the ages of 18 and 65, is approximately 90,715 males in Newark and 22, 714 males in Camden. This does not include the Hispanic male population, which is similar in size to black men.

commented on the economy to which many in the population under this research are forced to turn: “Drug trade, this is the only way to survive. If that is gone, then you have all-out chaos. I hate to say that but that is the economy” (ED CAM 117). From ministers to former drug dealers and runners to attorneys who represented drug “offenders,” all see the illegal drug economy as the last resort, the only way to make a living, the push into a survival mode as inevitable as it was feared and distasteful. There was nothing else for the very poor population in Camden or Newark or Trenton. There were no legal jobs for them and the drug trade is a thriving business. A former Newark resident and gun runner said, “People committing these crimes feel that they are in the very closed process and have no way of getting out of it. They make money any way they can” (JC NEW 73). The closed process has to do with the difficulty of obtaining a legitimate job that pays a living wage and has the opportunity of mobility. Another Newark resident who attended a magnet high school in that city and went on to Georgetown University had this to say: “A lot of people get caught up in adverse realities like drug dealing very early because they do not have other opportunities” (RD NEW 18). This perception of distasteful fatalism is combined with realism from respondents who have worked with this population, defending them in court or educating them. An attorney said, “I represented someone who was dealing drugs. [He can be] working at Burger King for \$9 per hour or can deal drugs for \$10k per week. I deal with the drug dealers and it is easy money for them” (JW TRE 44).

However, these sellers of illegal substances would not be in business were it not for the demand. The RAND Corporation reports data from 2000 to 2010.

“For each drug, the study estimated the number of users, expenditures, and consumption. Data from the RAND organization show that drug users in the United States spend on the order of \$100 billion annually on all four drugs; cocaine (including crack), marijuana, heroin, and methamphetamine (in 2010 dollars). This figure has been stable over the decade, but there have been important shifts in the drugs being purchased.”

http://www.rand.org/pubs/research_briefs/RB9770.html, March 15, 2017

Aside from changes in drug preference, it is safe to say that the United States is the single largest market for illegal drugs, with diversity in the buying group. A retired police officer from Newark said that “pharmacists come to Newark to buy drugs—perhaps couldn’t steal from their own pharmacies.” (JS NEW 53). Pharmacists combined with professionals from cities adjacent to Camden and Newark fuel an already strong demand. And steady volume is not the only attractive feature of this market: although the goods are sourced from a limited number of countries making entry difficult, profits are one of highest of any industry; there are no regulations concerning composition (purity), pricing, or monopolies; and the customers are regenerative due to the nature of the product. This regenerative factor is important, as a former drug runner pointed out: “Drugs is self-renewing—the more you sell, the more they use” (JC NEW 74). “That is why there is crime and nothing is being done about the drug traffic” (KF CAM 93D). For this respondent, a reduction in drug trafficking in Camden is critical in order to reduce violent crime in this city.

The combination of a high-profit, unregulated, regenerative industry with conscripted employees who are already marginalized because of an exclusionary legal economy is a capitalist's dream come true. Even with catastrophic physical and economic losses from raids, the demand for drugs is constant over time. The dealers will migrate to another site with different employees and the highly profitable business will continue. In Camden, a long-time community member understands that there is a "marginalization of groups of people who are getting killed. They are involved in the drug traffic" (KF CAM 93E). The killings represent a protection of territory as well as an unspoken need to modulate the competitive activity. A community activist who grew up in Camden remarks that "killings will happen if one dealer is getting too much money, too much business" (MSR CAM 135). As with any unregulated industry, there are many issues but this one carries severe physical and emotional risks especially for the youth selling and running on the street, and even though the attorney who has defended dealers says, "They understand the consequences" (JW TRE 44), that does not preclude the relentless stress and trauma placed on youth. This is the insidious outcome of marginalization. Therefore, the question becomes, when young black men are forced to turn to the illegal economy for employment, what can they expect from law enforcement and the courts?

Criminal Justice—Law Enforcement and the Courts

Of the three cities in this study, Camden and Newark represent the most visible examples of how law enforcement has marginalized certain residents. In Camden, respondents in the interviews pointed out in emotional ways the imbalance of police treatment to black residents, while Newark residents have experienced heavy-handed

control at the hands of the police intended to protect them. In Trenton, responses were minimal as impact of the law enforcement reduction in 2011 is still evident¹⁴², leaving Camden and Newark as the focus of this section. Three themes emerged from the interviews:

1. The exodus of police officers from the cities in which they work, removing the incentive of protection where the officers live;
2. surveillance of neighborhoods through technology and targeted location of sub-stations;
3. disparity in occurrences of stops, searches, and frisks of black residents in Newark; and the high number of pedestrian stops of black Newark residents without reasonable suspicion of criminal intent, and the pattern of arrests without probable cause in Newark's narcotics division.

Residency for Police Officers in New Jersey

In August of 2012, Dana Redd, the Mayor of the City of Camden announced a city-wide layoff of police in the city and moved them under the county police department re-naming them as the Camden Metro Police force. A long-time Camden resident comments, "Once the cops went to the county, there was no need to give preference to residents. The concerns of resident/officers will be more vested if they live in the community. Their concern is where they live" (KF CAM 90). According to KF, police officers have a greater personal stake and are more vigilant when they and their families live in the city they patrol. They have a sense of identity with the communities

¹⁴² In 2011, the City of Trenton laid off one third of the police force.

they serve as they maintain order and safety. The same respondent goes on to say that the attitudes of the police have changed, “mainly because you have police officers who have no commitment or stake in the cities. That [it] is just another job. Our police officers are the same as the suburbanites who work an eight-hour job at Cooper Hospital or Lourdes Hospital and then go back to their families to their communities. If they lived in Camden, they would be protecting” (KF CAM 92). The distancing of the police from the community they have sworn to serve and protect has doubled through legislation in 1972 and city and state government decisions in 2012.

Prior to 1972, police officers across the state were required to reside in their place of work in order to encourage and sustain “mutual feelings of respect and commitment”(JS-EWR 63) by living and working in the same community. Police officers felt their constitutional rights were infringed by removing their choice of residence, and in 1972, the New Jersey Supreme Court and the Legislature agreed with them and revised the residency requirements for police officers, allowing officers to be hired and promoted from outside their city of employment (L.1971, c.443, L.1972, c.3)¹⁴³.

In Newark, a respondent and retired police officer commented on the lack of trust between residents and their police officers when he said, “Police are not

¹⁴³ In 1971 and 1972 the NJ Legislature changed its commitment to municipal residency requirements for police officers (not teachers at this time) by adopting L. 1971, c. 443 and L. 1972, c. 3, both effective in February 1972. The first of these deleted the local residency condition for initial appointment previously required by N.J.S.A. 40A:14-122 and the continued residency requirement previously required by N.J.S.A. 40A:14-128. The essential scheme of the 1972 legislation was to maintain the 1971 decision to eliminate residency as a requirement for both appointment and continued service. The Legislature did respond in a limited manner to the municipal perception of the desirability of service on the local police force by residents. The nature of this response was the creation of an appointment and promotional preference for residents having the identical qualifications as non- residential officers. This ‘promotion’ preference is still questionable in its enforcement.

integrated into the community as they were before. They know nothing about the community. This means that the police officers are not trusted because they do not care. There is a] lack of police presence because of no commitment. It is not the quantity, it is the time spent in the communities” (JS 53). He echoes the respondent from Camden when he says, “Thirty years ago, the police officers may have lived in the area of Newark and they did not spend too much time out of the area because they lived there. There was and still is a church, St. Lucy’s, in the North Ward. The guys would come back to St. Lucy’s and hang out, play handball or basketball in the PAL programs” (JS NEW 53). In his mind, there was no separation within the community between residents and police officers. They played together. In Camden, the twice-removed police force, once by legislation and the second by political decision, artificially places barriers between city residents and their protectors, creating distrust and fear on both sides. This manufactured removal of protection marginalizes neighborhoods where it is most needed.

Surveillance

According to the website of The National Institute of Justice, the research agency for the U.S. Department of Justice, surveillance technology is a critical part of public safety. Surveillance “can mean looking for illicit things concealed on or in people or in the surrounding environment. Surveillance means watching spaces, people, activities and movement for unlawful activities” ¹⁴⁴. However, there is a negative effect from on the community from constant surveillance from law enforcement in the form of

¹⁴⁴The National Institute of Justice, Surveillance Technology;
<https://www.nij.gov/topics/technology/detection-surveillance/Pages/welcome.aspx>

violating the expression of free speech as well as the erosion of trust. The ACLU writes that “The increasing use of surveillance technologies by local police in cities across America, especially against communities of color and other unjustly targeted and politically unpopular groups, is creating oppressive and stigmatizing environments in which every community member is treated like a prospective criminal”.¹⁴⁵ However, cameras continue to be installed on neighborhood lights and other structures on street corners known for illegal activities.

Surveillance technology, consisting of audio and visual sensors, was installed on light poles in Camden’s neighborhoods and was intended to deter drug dealers and inform police officers of exact locations of gunshots. A crane-like device, the SkyPatrol, has the ability to survey five blocks at a time and zoom in on occupants of cars to determine their activities. Patrol cars have state-of-the-art scanners reading license plates for possible issues. Data from all these devices streams into the Camden County Police Department’s main office where police officers and data analysts continually monitor the city’s activities from a distance. A local resident and part-time chaplain explains that now “the police sit at the borders to catch people and surveillance cameras are everywhere,” allowing robots to inform the human police officers of the activities in the neighborhood.

¹⁴⁵ Community Control Over Police Surveillance: <https://www.aclu.org/issues/privacy-technology/surveillance-technologies/community-control-over-police-surveillance>. Last accessed September 17, 2017

Investigation of the Newark Police Department

In May of 2011, the federal Department of Justice (DOJ) initiated an investigation into the Newark Police Department (NPD) in response to multiple allegations of civil rights abuse, namely unwarranted high levels of stops, frisks, and searches, especially of black residents. A young resident of Newark characterized the situation in this way: “When they [residents] have a record—the police department targets them. They say that police come around their neighborhood and throw them up against a gate” (RD NEW 19). The DOJ found that the Newark police officers had a tendency to make “thousands of stops of individuals who were described merely as ‘milling,’ ‘loitering,’ or ‘wandering’ without any indication of reasonable suspicion of criminal activity¹⁴⁶.” A black female teacher in Newark corroborated the lack of reasonable suspicion, saying, “I was outside waiting for my boyfriend to bring me dinner when he [a police officer] pulled up to my door the cops pulled up and asked him [boyfriend] to move the car. [He] wasn’t doing anything wrong but the white cops wanted the car to be moved” (JS NEW 73). The DOJ report indicates that race is a factor in the decision to make stops, frisks, and searches when it writes that “black individuals in Newark have been 2.5 times more likely on average to be subjected to a pedestrian stop by an NPD officer than white individuals” (2011 20)¹⁴⁷. Decisions on who to stop appear to be based on race despite the racial demography of the area. In the 3rd Precinct of Newark, where the black population comprises 22 percent of the total population, black people have been

¹⁴⁶ U.S. Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division, U.S. Attorney’s Office District of New Jersey, Investigation of the Newark Police Department, July 22, 2014. www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/crt/legacy/2014/07/22/newark_findings_7-22-14.pdf

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, 20.

stopped 5.5 times more than their white counterparts. In the 4th Precinct, where blacks comprise 85 percent of the population, 95 percent of the recorded stops by the NPD have happened to black people (DOJ report). Another respondent, an older black man who has worked in several of New Jersey's cities, commented, "I was profiled all the time and then [Governor Christie] Whitman stopped the profiling. They [police] still do it to the young guys, [but] not me so much because of my age. They mess with the younger kids because they [can]" (BD TRE 125).

Drug Courts

A respondent from Newark describes drugs courts as expansions, "Drug courts expand the arm of the system and put more people under social control. The police are using these places to monitor the neighborhoods" (BK NEW 26).¹⁴⁸ Dedicated drug courts, a response to high numbers of repeat offenders on low-level drug offenses, comprise a therapeutic, judicial solution for targeting reductions in drug use through court-mandated and supervised treatments.¹⁴⁹ However, critics maintain that drug courts have made the criminal justice system more punitive toward addiction and exacerbate already existing racial disparities. There may be an additional reason; for instance, the DOJ in the same investigation of the NPD found that "NPD narcotics-

¹⁴⁸ Interestingly, pilot drug courts in New Jersey were in Camden and Essex County and have since expanded throughout the state.

¹⁴⁹ P.L. 2012, c. 23, was signed into law by Gov. Chris Christie on July 19, 2012, to expand the existing voluntary Drug Court to compel additional drug offenders into the program with the promise of intervening in the lives of an additional population of offenders, those who are initially resistant to addressing their substance abuse problem through the voluntary Drug Court admission process. As outlined in Section III: Drug Court Expansion Projects, the "Special Probation" statute was amended, effective 7/1/13, to require admission to the Drug Court program of otherwise eligible offenders regardless of whether they made a voluntary application. The "Special Probation" statute, N.J.S.A. 2C: 35-14, was amended and two sections added N.J.S.A. 2C:35-14-1 and N.J.S.A. 2C:35-14-2.

related arrest reports reflect a strikingly high number of instances in which officers did not have to conduct a search to find the narcotics that provided the probable cause for arrests¹⁵⁰ (DOJ 15). In other words, it could be that the police officers are very familiar with the residents of certain neighborhoods and use their knowledge and authority to encourage “suspects either voluntarily and immediately offered or discarded an otherwise concealed CDS (controlled dangerous substance) to the police upon mere announcement of recognition of police presence” (DOJ 15). These arrests prevalent in the Narcotics Division of the Newark Police Department are questionable in their accuracy as the arrest reports do not show evidence of a search for the narcotics, which is the basis for probable cause.

Public Health Domain

This next section devoted to the public health domain has the lowest number of respondents despite multiple unreturned calls to Newark and Camden’s public health agency.¹⁵¹ The public health official for Trenton did respond and was helpful in further recruitment. Despite the lack of attention to homicides from the public health domain, it is instructive to hear what respondents across domains and cities had to say about the effectiveness of the Public Health domain.

Comments from respondents fell into one of four categories; (1) lack of awareness of a Public Health presence in their particular city, (2) incompetence of Public

¹⁵⁰ The United States Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division. U.S. Attorney’s District Office of New Jersey. Investigation of the Newark Police Department, 2014.
www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/crt/legacy/2014/07/22/newark_findings_7-22-14.pdf

¹⁵¹ City of Newark Department of Health and Community Wellness
<https://www.newarknj.gov/departments/healthcommunitywellness> Camden County Public health officer;
<http://www.camdencounty.com/service/health-human-services/county-health-officer/>

health, (3) lack of resources in the Public Health offices in their city, and (4) medical treatment replaced the need for Public Health. A respondent from Newark felt that the “public health people had potential but don’t know if there are any here” (BK NEW 260) and a minister in Camden “never heard of public health here, maybe you (author) mean public assistance” (DK CAM 3). Some were not sure where Public Health could fit in as a retired teacher from Newark mentioned “never thought about it and wonder where they would work” (TBR NEW 72). Incompetence was expressed bluntly “Public Health in Newark sucks” (JH NEW 62) and a police commander in Camden was less blunt but clear when he said “I do not see the value of Public Health as I do not see any of their contributions in this city.” (EI CAM 105). Another respondent from Trenton said “there is poor Public Health in Trenton. No resources. Trenton refused the needle exchange program. Just stigma and fear of doing it.” (SG TRE 95). Many respondents especially those from Public Health commented on the lack of resources for Public Health and their need to partner with outside organizations for their work. In Trenton, a respondent mentioned that when he came to Trenton, they were out of compliance with no licensed health officer in place. He tells me that “the State called and asked me to work in Trenton as I know the state statutes that drive health and human services. The previous administration laid off one third of the Public Health workers and now I have to figure out how to deliver to the community.” (BJ NEW 33). A Public Health scientist working for New Jersey’s State Department of Health and Human Services remarks “there is a trend to reduce the number of state employees and reduce head count. I feel like they hobble me so I cannot do my work and they [politicians] can prove

that I really cannot. But people continue to get laid off.” (BJ TRE 108). An executive director of a non-profit in Camden felt that health care for the public was “Cooper and Public Health people were not reaching out because there was a good alternative.” (EM CAM 30). Aside from the categories, a lawyer from Newark felt that mental health services were critical for young black men and said “a significant portion of this population [young black men in Newark] have experienced inordinate levels of trauma as well as other deficits in their upbringing. Having sufficient basic health and nutritional met is key. These can be met through Public Health.” (DT NEW 83). Lack of presence, resources, competencies, and alternative care through medical treatment are not reasons for the inattention to homicides from the Public Health domain. Direction comes from the State who takes its direction from the federal agencies as a portion of their (State) budget is federal funds. Other chapters have outlined the inattention at a federal level that persists and is manifest at a local, municipal level.

The media, while not a domain, enriched this research by a perception that the public viewed homicides differently depending upon the location of the homicides. These comments are about the perceptions of respondents and less about what is happening in their domain or their line of work.

The Role of Media in Marginalization

Moving from the granular situation of what happens in a domain to a more macro image of homicides through the media, respondents were asked questions on the

perception of the role of media in the reporting of homicides.¹⁵² While many of the respondents felt the media was objective or had no bias, other respondents felt very strongly about the lack of and variability in reporting on homicides in their cities. The perception was that the media marginalized them, made the deaths in their city a routine matter and not worthy of attention. A former drug dealer raised and still living in Newark had this to say: “The media can make who they want to make look good and bad. The news is not objective because they do not go in depth to what happened. Newark is crazy, ‘off the hook’ and they make it routine” (SM NEW); or, in Camden, “Homicides have been underreported, not a big deal, a blurb; if happened in Collingswood or Haddonfield [nearby towns] there would be a ton of news” (JC, BC CAM 10). Other respondents also saw a difference in attention paid to the fewer homicides in the suburbs and those in Newark, Camden, or Trenton. A vice principal and native of Newark reported, “The media plays a role, as I feel the news outlets are obsessed with violence. The reporting is very subjective as the news plays up a murder which happens in Short Hills and gives it an excessive amount of coverage while the murders in Newark are treated as more routine. There are transient populations in Newark especially in the South, Central, and West areas. In the East, there are more affluent families and homicides are treated in a more special manner” (NG NEW 4). Some went further and looked at the lack of attention with racial imbalance perspective. A young black man who had grown up in Newark and returned after college

¹⁵² Early in the research, the media was under consideration as a domain. It has since been determined to be too large and complicated to be included, but respondents commented on the role of the media in their cities. I include these comments as another condition within the cities.

had this to say: “I have a big problem in reporting crime in nj.com. They monotonize homicide in Newark. No humanizing the person who got shot. When there is crime outside of Newark, the newspapers do everything they can to connect the murder with someone outside of the suburbs and the cities. When the perpetrator is not from Newark, then there is humanizing. I think this is out-and-out racism” (RD NEW 17). Or, a retired police officer from Newark said, ““Most of the reporting has not been objective because Newark is a majority-minority city and there have been some efforts to paint a negative picture of Newark. Different mayor, all the building, and you cannot publicize [this issue of public safety to] the kind of people Newark wants to attract. The person who own news stations in Newark had something to do with the change in attitude” (JS NEW 52). A Trentonian who worked in Newark and had strong connections to the urban areas in New Jersey shared his insights around a “choice” of the media to drive the narrative of a black man. He said, “Media does make a difference in how the homicides are being treated. [It] trivializes the death to a ‘game’ level. The press doesn’t report all violence equally. [That] has to do with sensationalism, our male-dominated society, the notion of masking the ideas of high violence on women. Media does the same thing to crimes by blacks that police do to blacks. To protect our images of realities in various communities” (JH NEW 61). He then goes on to say, “If I am privileged and do not like the narrative, then it can be changed. Compare procedural justice between Gray in Baltimore and Sheridan in Camden¹⁵³. It is both race and class. Class drives or at least

¹⁵³ The respondent is referring to Freddie Gray, a young black man in Baltimore who died of neck injuries after his arrest by the Baltimore Police. Charges were eventually dropped against the officers involved in the arrest. Reporting by Kevin Rector of the Baltimore Sun, July, 2016. The Sheridan case involved the

enables the outcome. But race plays a role” (JH NEW 61). The insight here is the ability of the narrative to change and a dependence on who is the object of reporting. Freddie Gray, a young black man in an urban area was later depicted through the media to have a history of clashes with law enforcement¹⁵⁴ while John and Joyce Sheridan, a white couple, politically active Republicans in New Jersey with John at the helm of Cooper Hospital in Camden at the time of his death.

It is interesting that most of these respondents were native to the cities they were talking about, black men and/or women, and close to the community. Other respondents not residing in Camden, Newark, or Trenton had little to say about the objectivity of the media on reporting homicides or there were no comments. Also interesting to note was the comment from a reporter from *Bloomberg News* living in Trenton when asked about objectivity in homicide reporting. Her answer was short with a high level of complexity on the media system: “It is all about the news-worthiness” (EY TRE 88).

Conclusion

The leading cause of death for young black men—homicide—is a product of a complicated web of processes both active and inactive leading to a set of conditions resulting in a marginalized population. Not only is development, both institutional and market-based real estate, a factor in the marginalization, but also the embedded systems within the development process such as union practices, types of jobs moving

deaths of John and Joyce Sheridan in 2014. The cause of deaths was first determined to be murder-suicide and was reversed after a high profile effort by the three sons of the Sheridan’s. Cause of death is now undetermined.

¹⁵⁴ The Baltimore Sun, CNN, and Fox News all published or summarized the arrest records of Freddie Gray.

into the cities. The lack of legal jobs and the forced turn to the illegal drug economy indicates the presence of dangerous conditions for young black men, in fact, the choice of a career predicts the high-risk level for them. The investment in institutional development in Camden and market-based building in Newark has been developed, implemented, and sustained through the work of state and federal legislatures to create attractive monetary instruments to entice real estate investors and developers. Add to this web the inattention from institutional domains; the lack of public health programs, the treatment perspective of law enforcement that precludes a preventive approach, the focus of the public educational system on the activities of charter schools, and the superficial programming from non-profit agencies. The combination of these factors serves to isolate young black men leaving little capacity for mobility.

Chapter 6. Discussion

Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of this work in seven sections; (1) the goals of the work and their evolution during the course of research, (2) the importance of this work to those communities where this population lives and to those institutional domains whose stated objectives are to protect, serve, heal, and educate, (3) the purpose of each chapter, (4) discussion of the institutional domains and their contribution to the conditions of young black men (5) discussion of economic development and the financial instruments, (6) the illegal drug economy, and (7) the marginalization of young black men and policy implications.

Goal of the Research

The goal of this dissertation was to search for programs intended to effectively prevent or reduce homicides, a leading cause of death (LCOD) for young black men aged fifteen to twenty-four years. Four institutional domains were studied: (a) criminal justice, (b) education, (c) nonprofits, and (d) public health. Three cities—Camden, Newark, and Trenton—were used as case studies; interviews, along with research on the cities and domains, demographics, and statistics on number of homicides since 1989, support the conclusion that effective preventive programs are absent. This conclusion evolved into a subsequent goal of the research, one of understanding the conditions that perpetuate the persistence of homicides for this population. How is it that young black men in these three cities face a catastrophic cause of death that no other subpopulation endures?

The conditions present in these cities are poverty, little to no opportunity for quality education, few sustainable jobs, and the prevalence of an illegal economy, which force young black men to be marginalized and isolated within the city boundaries, placing them in an environment where the use of deadly force is common and persistent. This steadiness of homicide rates is aided by the inattention from the public health domain creating another condition of their lives by its very absence. Surrounding these conditions are external forces such as economic development within Camden and Newark supported by public and private financial incentives. On top of and in addition to these conditions, the perception from the media maintains a fear (or stigma) of young black men outside their cities handicapping them for inclusion of societal benefits. This leads to the hypothesis of this study that young black men in Camden, Newark, and Trenton live in conditions that are present as a function of actions and inactions from institutional domains and economic development in their cities.

There is a steady participation of young black men in the illegal drug economy because legal work with sustainable wages is not available to these men in Camden, Newark, and Trenton. Their default employment is in the illegal drug trade, a dangerous occupation where homicides are regulatory and reputational events, one providing income to these young men at a cost that is detrimental to them and their families.

Economic redevelopment is a priority in all three cities operating at different degrees of activity. Economic redevelopment is most active in Camden with preferential business subsidies for institutional building investment and relocation of corporations and in Newark with public-private investment in market rate residential buildings.

Trenton has a much lower level of economic development. Mentioned in the introductory chapter, a triad of leverage is apparent in Camden and Newark and less so in Trenton as a mixture of powerful political machines and leaders, institutional entities such as hospitals and universities, and strong municipal governance. Political bosses are active and influential in Camden and Newark; Trenton does not have a culture of bossism. Trenton does not have major universities or academic institutions as Camden and Newark do.¹⁵⁵ Additionally, both Camden and Newark are adjacent to large cities, Philadelphia and New York City, respectively. This adjacency gives the advantage to Camden and Newark through movement of people between cities for purposes of residence and employment. This list is not exhaustive and there are probably additional reasons for the higher level of economic redevelopment activity in Camden and Newark; however, the mentioned reasons appear to be those most influential on the communities.

Importance of This Work

The yearly data for homicides as a leading cause of death indicates a generational pervasiveness for the population in this study, casting a racially marginalized shadow on the future of equality in these cities.¹⁵⁶ These murdered men are young and their unrealized contributions have been fatally obstructed, and so are

¹⁵⁵ Thomas Edison University in Trenton has a large number of online courses and although there are on-site courses, most students use the online capability. Mercer County Community College has a satellite campus in Trenton but its main campus is in West Windsor. Princeton University and the College of New Jersey are near Trenton but do not influence the economy of the city.. Camden and Newark have at least two universities in their cities, pulling in students from the state and neighboring states.

¹⁵⁶ This is not to say that racial marginalization occurs only in Camden, Newark, and Trenton.

the contributions from the next generation of male children in these cities.¹⁵⁷

Institutional avoidance of this LCOD for this population extends into the future by refusing to pay attention to the conditions of young black men and generations.

The preference of economic development in urban areas near areas of high visitor or commuter rate such as the New Jersey Performing Arts Center or the Newark Penn Station for employees of Prudential over livable conditions for young black men, including viable education and suitable employment, indicates the presence of a bias, an inequality reinforcing the current conditions for this population and ensuring enduring segregation.

Young black men are engaged in dangerous careers with no regulations and no recourse to legal protection. This is segregation at its worst: the element of "disposability" is at play. The question becomes, are the lives of young black males disposable from the perspective of the criminal justice system, the educational system, and economic policy design? Their employment in a dangerous, life-threatening trade—a condition of their lives—illustrates disposability. This research is critical because of the constant but rarely acknowledged fact, that this cause of death is persistent because the affected population has no viable employment option beyond the illegal drug trade and institutional domains are avoiding the conditions and, in doing so, failing to reverse subsequent marginalization that make homicides possible and prevalent.

Chapter Descriptions

¹⁵⁷ The future percentage of homicides for males younger than nineteen in these cities can be estimated on current percentage of homicides from the LCOD data from CDC. See Background chapter for the numbers.

Each chapter progressively advances the hypothesis that young black men in Camden, Newark, and Trenton live in conditions that are present as a function of actions and inactions from institutional domains and economic development in their cities. Chapter 1 introduces the research question of the presence of effective prevention programs for homicides and illustrates the granularity of the homicide numbers by looking at sub-groups of the population. The evolution of the question from one of searching for the presence of programs to a search for the conditions in the institutional domains and cities that perpetuate homicides for this population was described along with the reasons for the choices of institutional domains and cities. Three concepts derived from the interview responses and the descriptive statistics were outlined; (1) economic development growth through government policy, (2) the disposability of young black men due to their participation in the illegal drug economy, and (3) a 'triad of leverage', a mixture of powerful political machines and leaders, institutional entities such as hospitals and universities, and strong municipal governance.

Chapter 2 reviews the literature on homicides and prevention from the perspectives of the domains, race, and the drug economy. It is safe to say that most of the sub-topics did not uncover research on targeted programs that effectively prevented homicides leaving this research to tease out the presence of programs and their efficacy in reduction of homicides.

Chapter 3 describes the methodology for this research, a comparative case study research using the institutional domains and the population of young black men as the units of analysis. A critical component of this work was the interviews with members of

the domains in the case cities, both components of equal importance; (1) being in the cities, and (2) speaking with representatives of the domains. The ability to travel through all three cities and observe the physical conditions of housing and access to schools, recreational parks, and stores enriched the discussions with the respondents. The data gathered on homicide trends in these cities and demographics supplemented the study.

Chapter 4, Background, identifies homicides as the LCOD on a national and state level with homicide data from 1989 indicating a consistency in each of the cities. This steady state of homicides signals the absence of effective policies designed to reduce this cause of death. The chapter also matched the priorities of the national public health agency with the leading causes of death through a view of the approved budgets for three distinct years. The prevention of violence has minimal dollars signaling again an avoidance of funding programs to reduce this cause of death. This chapter also describes the demographics of the residents of Camden, Newark, and Trenton as having high rates of poverty, low median incomes, low homeownership rates, and ethnicity breakdown with blacks at the higher end of the spectrum. As conditions for young black men are the core of the hypothesis, this chapter describes the relationship between residents of neighboring towns to these cities in terms of poverty, graduation rates, homeownership, ethnicity, and homicide rates. A view of the differences between the cities and their neighbors indicates that Camden, Newark, and Trenton residents are 'worse off' than their neighbor in most regards. Newark has similar characteristics to those of East Orange and Irvington except for homicide numbers perhaps indicating a

beginning of residential moves from Newark to East Orange and Irvington as a function of Newark's effort to attract new residents for their market rate residential buildings.

Chapter 5, *The Domains Speak*, analyzes the interviews concentrating on the hypothesis as the criteria for quotation use. There were discarded interviews due to irrelevance on topic and preference for discussing other subjects. However, most of the interviews in each city are represented in their view of the uniqueness of their city of work or residence. Some respondents such as KF in Camden or JH in Newark have several quotations throughout this work as they closely followed the activities of city government, major political players, economic developments, and trends in crime as functions of governance changes in the cities. They were steeped in the history of the city they inhabited by work or residence and understood the influences upon the residents. The use of quotes was based on knowledge of the domain as the domain activities related to the city and the population under study. This was determined by depth of subject knowledge in their answers. For instance, an interim Executive Director of a non-profit in Camden discussed the lack of efficacy of a program in the schools when their call to a school principal was not returned. Or, a professor at The College of New Jersey described the low quality of Trenton High Schools for the same reason; no call back to the professor. Responses for those interviews were carefully vetted for credibility and subject knowledge. The discussion turns now to the domains and their effect on the conditions of young black men.

An Examination of the Institutional Domains

The institutional domains will be discussed in terms of their effect on the conditions of young black men. As the hypothesis suggests, the actions and inactions of

the domains are direct contributors to the persistent presence of homicides creating conditions in the cities that are dangerous and untenable. An examination of each domain will include that. The most consistent theme to emerge from the literature was that there was no clear path for homicide prevention within the total population and little research clearly referenced the specific population of young black men ages fifteen to twenty-four years.

Criminal Justice

In the criminal justice domain, specifically, law enforcement, homicides are treated, not prevented as police officers are present after the occurrence in an investigative mode. Respondents from Newark along with the Department of Justice report on findings from the Newark Police Department behavior towards black residents point towards disparaging treatment including profiling, undocumented arrests, and theft of possessions of arrested residents. Camden respondents commented on the profiling and transfer of city police force to a county jurisdiction. The literature review discusses the works of Howard Becker (1963), Herbert Blumer (1969) and Nicole Rafter (1990) as they develop a socially constructed theory of the criminal justice system that absorbs the rationalist way of thinking but surrounds it with the concept that the reality of an alleged criminal is socially constructed and argues that a socially constructed approach investigates the production of the facts of a crime and relationships among the law, the public perception of a crime, and the criminal act. This research adheres to that theory as the Newark Police Department did construct their brand of facts on black residents, arresting the indiscriminately while keeping the possessions of the person arrested. The profiling of black residents in the cities is socially constructed and this

research adds another component not found in the literature reviewed for this work, that of distance. The Camden governing body, along with Governor Christie, pulled the city police from city governance and moved it to county governance. Surveillance cameras were added¹⁵⁸ and the mix of police officers was changed to reflect the transfer. This action further¹⁵⁹ distances the residents of Camden from a domain intended to protect and serve families of Camden. This action, intended or not, creates an adversarial condition for Camden residents, leaving them without a feeling of community from the police.

Young black men are especially vulnerable to law enforcement attention. “Until I was fourteen, I never had any trouble. When you became a man, then the trouble began and they [police] put you up against the wall” (WD 120). A sixty-eight-year-old black respondent was describing his early encounters with the police as routine. Now, “they [police] still do it to the young guys, not me so much because of my age. They are afraid I might know someone to report the incident” (WD 120). This respondent works in Trenton but travels the state looking for employers who are willing to hire ex-offenders from Trenton State Prison. He easily recognizes the unjustified police stops of young black men in Newark, East Orange, and Hamilton and understands this is a condition for many of the young black men who come to him for employment. In Trenton, a parole officer mentioned the “isolation of the urban poor” especially the “types of guys you see in this room” (LW 70). The room referred to was the Trenton

¹⁵⁸ Nothing new about police departments using surveillance cameras and Camden is not the first.

¹⁵⁹ The word ‘further’ is used here as the police are already distanced by virtue of the residency requirement leaving police officers living in the surrounding towns to Camden.

Violence Reduction Strategy (TVRS) “call-in” meeting held at a church in Trenton where students, faculty from the College of New Jersey, State of New Jersey attorneys, and detectives from the City of Trenton Police Department and the Attorney General’s office met with young black and brown men who had been seen with people who have already been arrested or were sought by the police.¹⁶⁰ The police and the assistant Attorney General expected that these young men would commit a crime if they hadn’t done so already.

A black law professor at Rutgers University in Newark told me that young black men have to grow up to “look like you’re ready. They grow up despised. There is a history of being denied as a human being, history that begins with the ability to put people in chains and put [them] on a ship. Just rip off their lives through slavery and after the civil rights, their humanity is still ripped. Common conditions” (DT 84). This respondent believes that the “hood” cannot be changed; there is a “tangle of homicides, tangle of guns and drugs” (DT 84). DT believes that the conditions for young black men in Newark are so embedded as a result of their father or grandfather in the illegal drug economy and the generational use of violence. This comment illustrates a singular view, however tangled, of the conditions of young black men in Newark enabling this respondent, a black educator of the law, to create his own distance from the conditions of young men in Newark. DT doesn’t comment on the educational quality of all public

¹⁶⁰ These meetings are where the young men “call in” to the TVRS team to learn about social services and opportunities for jobs, and to hear what the State AG’s attorneys tell them about the consequences of possessing weapons. The agenda for the meeting was planned in advance with the TVRS team and the NJAG and Trenton Police Department personnel. There was a prescribed order to the speakers.

schools in the city; open or selective enrollment, nor does he comment on the inability of these young men to enter the construction trades. His remarks reflect a desire to come close and untangle the 'hood'. The same is true of the parole officer in Trenton and the TVRS recruiters for their 'call-in' meetings.

Education

In the educational domain, a great deal of research was available on topics other than "education and the prevention of homicide." However, the emerging theme (without data) from the interviews was the concentration of public school district educators on meeting new standards and preserving budgets that were constantly being shared with charter schools in building renovations, hampering resources necessary for district schools. Therefore, public school district teacher focus was on the immediate task of insuring their students passed standardized tests and had the capability of passing to the next level. The attention on the charter schools from the political and investment community left the topic of homicide and violence prevention unattended from an educator's platform.

Non-Profit

This discussion on the non-profit domain addresses non-profit agencies with programs dedicated to anti-violence. In Camden and Trenton the programs were in part funded by state or federal monies and administered by a non-profit agency.¹⁶¹ Literature on this domain had few publications on homicide prevention except one showing little to no efficacy in violence reduction related to Operation CeaseFire in

¹⁶¹ As Newark's Operation CeaseFire has ended, the sources of funding are not available. The new program for Newark; Newark Anti-violence Coalition primarily conducts rallies with no known funding sources.

Newark.¹⁶² Discussed below are two distinct thoughts as a result of observations of the actors in these groups as much as the interviews and literature readings. Each thought contributes to an understanding of the continuation of the conditions of living for young black men and perhaps the further embedding those conditions as a way of life for this population.

The Cure4Camden program modeled after the Chicago program, CureViolence, founded by an epidemiologist, Dr. Gary Slutkin, uses tenets from public health¹⁶³ such as the identification of risk factors in individuals as did the Trenton program, the Trenton Violence Reduction Strategy (TVRS). The term, 'risk factor', as pointed out in the literature on Public Health, is an approach that, according to Dr. Robert Aronowitz, in the public health literature review, is ill-defined and a broad framework for understanding disease. When anti-violence programs use the rhetoric of identifying 'risk factors' in individuals they use it superficially as they do not specifically link by action or evidence the reduction of violence as a function of eliminating a specific risk factor. Risk factors are legitimized in their contribution to the processes or conditions of a disease but the Cureviolence model does that in a rhetorical manner as it does not offer specific processes that contribute to the 'disease'. The rhetoric of public health terminology masks the conditions present in communities with high homicide rates but presents to the larger community¹⁶⁴ a potential solution to the issue of public safety giving the appearance of action and, possibly, solutions.

¹⁶³ Risk factors are used in both medical and public health applications.

¹⁶⁴ The larger community could be funders, the state, new residents to the city and new businesses.

The second thought has to do with the individual as the target. The agency lead for Cure4Camden works closely with the chief of police for the Camden County Police, Chief J. S. Thomson, and the mayor of Camden, Dana Redd. Trenton's funding for TVRS is from the NJ Attorney General's office and is administered by TCNJ. The young men are identified by the Trenton Police, lectured by the Attorney General of the region (State AG if available), high-ranking detectives from the city/region, and a former ex-offender about the value of social services versus a criminal life. These mechanisms are the levers operating the conditions that reinforce the expectation that individuals within a certain group will be targeted as potential criminals. Antiviolence programs such as Cure4Camden and TVRS begin with the assumption that the issue is a result of the individual and not of the conditions of his life. These programs assume in their 'rounding up' of potential or current offenders that an individual is making the decision to sell cocaine on the corner of Kaighn and Princess Streets rather than work in the labs at Holtec International. Those decisions are not decisions made by individuals as there are multiple, intersecting acts in an individual's life that place them in disordered relationships and systems that determine a trajectory. These programs with their public health rhetoric and their thinking that the individual is the cause of the homicide problem are meant to appeal to those who need public safety to remain elected or to entice businesses into the area. These programs are maintaining the conditions they claim to change; and, without full evaluation of these program by evidence of reduction as a function of the program, I believe that they need to be terminated and efforts and money placed back in the city or in other proven efforts such as public health.

Public Health

The public health literature is extensive from a historical perspective, but less so for programmatic evaluations or research on the prevention of homicides. This discussion focuses less on the gap in the literature and more on the gap between the functions of the public health agencies and homicide reduction efforts. Respondents commented on the lack of awareness or the level of competency on public health agencies on a municipal level. Information on public health from the state and federal levels indicate that the states follow the lead of the national organization, specifically, the CDC. The function of data collection is the agreed upon function for the research of violence in CDC and, as the states depend on federal funding, it is also the task of the state to collect data. The issue with a collection of data is not the integrity or type of information; rather, it is the lack of meaning attached to the number of homicides that becomes a LCOD for a young population. Sylvia Tesh (1994) points out that the limitation of data is when social conditions and relationships are ignored in the analysis of data, the search for trends, and in the desire to make a graph fit a particular shape. The public health agencies on a federal and state level create multiple tables containing causes of death on aggregated and disaggregated levels. This work is critical as a starting point; however, the public health agencies avoid the meaning behind the data except to point out the disparity present in the health of minority populations. The social and historical conditions of the young population who owns the number one spot for death by homicides are ignored thereby cheating them of preventive policies such as those developed for older populations suffering from heart disease or cancers. The absence of any indication to develop a clear policy indicates an agency (federal and

state) that acquiesces to political power at the expense of young black men. At the very minimum, it seems to me, policy makers at the legislative level must resist inclusion of restriction on violence research endorse by interest groups such as the National Rifle Association (NRA). Research must go beyond a data collection phase to apply meaning to the data.

This domain was the least responsive of all the domains despite repeated requests to the public health officers of Camden and Newark. Trenton's public health officer did respond and his comments centered on the lack of resources and his resourcefulness in partnering with medical facilities to form a health coalition for Trenton. The fact that both emails and phone calls to the Camden and Newark public health offices established the reason for the interview request with no call-backs indicates an avoidance of the topic of homicide prevention programs.

An Examination of Non-Institutional Actions

This section examines the impact of non-institutionalized contributions to the conditions of young black men. These three; (1) economic developers (2) the illegal drug economy, and (3) the media¹⁶⁵ emerged from the interviews as instrumental in the continuity of conditions in Camden, Newark, and Trenton.

The role of economic development in the cities was dominant in two of the case cities, Camden and Newark. In Trenton, the municipal leaders looked for ways to rebuild the city but did not have the same unique elements that existed within or near Camden and Newark. Airport and public transit facilities with access to major cities, universities,

¹⁶⁵ The media was originally thought to be a domain but size and complexity removed it from the four domains under study.

state controlled education boards, powerful political leaders, and tailored business subsidies¹⁶⁶ blended to present unusual opportunities for investors in Camden and Newark while Trenton struggles to attract investors to their neighborhoods. Camden and Newark have different contexts behind the economic development with the majority of Newark's development on market-rate residential development¹⁶⁷ and Camden is building or renovating institutions such as charter schools and low-income or senior housing followed by the relocation of corporations to the city. However, both cities have the triad of powerful political leaders, strong institutional entities, and capable municipal governance.

In Chapter 5, comments from respondents in Camden referred to George Norcross III as the political power in South Jersey and pointed to his influence in the revitalization of the city of Camden and his influence in political appointees such as Mayor Dana Redd in Camden. Camden's building has been centered on institutions, either building new ones such as his Renaissance hybrid charter schools or expanding the facilities and reputation evidenced by his work in Cooper Hospital and Cooper Medical School of Rowan University. The focus is now on the relocation of corporations to Camden such as Campbell's Soup, Subaru, and Holtec International¹⁶⁸ all of which are either completed or in the final stages of construction. These companies have been encouraged by attractive business subsidies designed for Camden and legislated by Donald Norcross (D-Camden), a brother to George Norcross, III. Respondents in Camden

¹⁶⁶ The tailored business subsidies refer to Camden.

¹⁶⁷ Teacher's Village is a market rate residential building with charter schools.

¹⁶⁸ They are listed in Chapter 5.

are particularly sure of the influence from George Norcross III on the passing of the legislation as his insurance brokerage firm could gain profitable business with institutions and businesses; however, there is no proof of that allegation. This triad of factors is critical to the success of Camden's revitalization.

In Newark's case, the context is market-rate residential buildings. Teacher's Village, One Theatre Square, Riverview, and 24 Jones are all market-rate with some advertised as luxury apartments are now part of Newark's landscape. The triad of factors in this city are similar to those in Camden with more weight on institutional entities such as the universities, the theatre district, and charter school growth. Private investment from Goldman Sachs, Prudential and public investment using federal and state tax credits along with business subsidies enable the developers to move forward.

What does the presence or lack of a triad have to do with conditions for young black men in these three cities?

In Newark, market rate housing is too high for young black men in poverty as the apartments in TV and One Riverview are not intended for those residents of Newark with an average annual income per capita of \$16,791 (US Census). They cannot afford rents of \$1,400 per month for a studio to \$2,450 per month for a two-bedroom apartment.¹⁶⁹ Tenants for One Riverview are likely to be students from Rutgers/Newark or New Jersey Institute of Technology, professionals looking to live or work in Newark, and New Yorkers priced out of the City; also, tenants for TV are teachers for the three charter schools in the complex as well as tutors for the students of these schools. Emily

¹⁶⁹ Apartment leases at One Riverview and TV are in the \$1400 to \$2450 range.

Nonko, a reporter from *The New York Post* writes on March 2, 2017 that Newark is “a place that is slowly attracting new residents — and has room to grow, too, unlike so many jam-packed neighborhoods in NYC’s five boroughs and even towns like Jersey City and Hoboken”. The developer for One Riverview, Wasseem Boraie, told Tom DePoto of *The Star Ledger* on September 27, 2013 that “[we were told that] the only thing that works in Newark is affordable housing and government-sponsored projects. We didn’t believe that. The more we got into the city, the more we believed that high-quality retail, high-quality residential is more than possible in Newark”. Real estate investors are anticipating an influx of young professionals priced out of the New York City housing market and choosing to live in a secured building such as Riverview or even TV with easy access to New York City due to proximity to Penn Station Newark. These factors allow developers to price according to their target audience, the young professional market, thus segregating them from city residents by income and age. A millennial respondent who lives and works in Newark thinks that “development is slowly inching towards here as New York City becomes completely not feasible for people making less than six figures” (RD 18). But there is a price to pay for the current residents; a widening of the income gap and an entrenchment of segregated neighborhoods, a current condition in the city. The same respondent continued: “Segregation is very real in this city; the big-time developers are playing a role” (RD 18). As Newark absorbs more residents looking for relief from New York City rents but still work in the City and current residents, specifically, young black men continue to be shut out of jobs, the incomes between the two populations will grow. This becomes a quandary for policy makers on federal and

state levels to decide where to place bets; on the top earners in redistribution efforts or on the earners on the bottom.

In Camden, the same issue applies for jobs in the construction sector and, possibly, employment in the newly located businesses. Young black men are not likely to be employed in either situation. In addition to the tailored business subsidies, the city and its residents are paying the price for the developments. Payment In Lieu of Taxes (PILOT) payments have been steady incentives to many of the businesses in Camden, new and existing. These payments, negotiated between the city and the company, produce lower city tax revenues than an annual tax. As representative examples, Subaru uses them, as does Campbell's Soup. A resident/respondent said, "Campbell's has a PILOT payment, the city council determines the payment." (KF CAM 93G). When asked how the idea of these payments for companies like Subaru are initiated and agreed to, he responded, "George Norcross puts the city council in place and funded their campaigns so they agree to these PILOTS" (KF CAM 93G). The private objectives of those with the bargaining strength to influence large-scale redevelopment decisions put Camden in an untenable financial position of relying on state aid for running the city.

The lack of a triad in Trenton is could be more beneficial to the residents, not just young black men. Without strong governance in this city, it lacks the full complement of resources for critical city departments such as police and public health workers. Without any institutional presence except commuters to the state offices, little economic development will be attracted to this city.

Tax Credit Programs and Their Critics

Tax credit programs have their critics and raise several points on their use; (1) the Government Accountability Office (GAO) found that investors using NMTCs use other sources of credits, as RBH Group has done by using the School Qualified Construction Bond and the Urban Hub Transit Tax Credit. The GAO's concern centered on the lack of transparency of the higher-than-market rates of return for investors as a result of the use of multiple credits. (2) The U.S. Treasury Department is concerned that multiple sources of federal funds will lead to duplication of subsidies for a developer and the capability is currently not present to detect that duplication. A GAO survey of Community Development Entities (CDEs) showed that approximately sixty-two percent of NMTC projects received government assistance from multiple sources. (3) It is not possible to determine the reported data on equity in low-income communities as the data after seven years are not reliable.

Essentially these tax credits have two fundamental drawbacks for the public interest; (1) there is no clear and standard oversight of their use insuring that the credits are appropriately used for the project specified in the application, and (2) they are subsidized by additional tax credits conceivably enabling a higher market return on bundled credits versus individual credits giving the developer more profit than was expected from the federal government.¹⁷⁰ The concern is that tax credits for investment in poor communities may appear to be a social investment by private companies for the

¹⁷⁰ In other areas, this is called stacking where multiple credits are used with the worry that more is given than actually needed. Here the bundling or stacking yields a higher profit for the developer than the lender intended.

promotion of jobs, community reinvestment, and better education opportunities; however, the return may favor the developer more than the low income community in financial reward.

Creative and accessible financial instruments, charter school growth with the requisite need for teachers and tutors, amenable partners in government, and powerful political bosses -- each contributes to the economic development and subsequent growth of Newark and Camden. Each of these components is necessary for economic growth as together they form an actionable system to develop and attract growth for the cities of Newark and Camden. Trenton exemplifies the absence of this triad and lacks the context of Newark in their market rate mixed use properties or institutional development of Camden. With or without this triad, conditions in all cities continue to contribute to the marginalization of young black men who have been excluded from the redevelopment efforts. The next section discusses the conditions of employment for inner city minority youth.

The Illegal Drug Economy

In Chapter 3, the need to sell illegal drugs as a way of making a living was discussed, although this is a minor theme of the dissertation. What is argued here is that violence, especially homicide, is a surrogate for regulating the illegal drug trade and the competition along with protecting their place of business. In other words, how do the dealers protect their territory or their “corner” such that others do not enter their space? How do dealers prevent one dealer or one gang from monopolizing the market? In the legal economy, there are regulations for and rules of commerce prohibiting monopolistic tendencies, with multiple methods available to legal enterprises to remain protected and competitive. In the illegal economy, there are few methods available with the exception of the threat and the use of lethal force.¹⁷¹ With few exceptions guns are used to regulate the illegal drug trade, prevent monopolization of trade, and protect those in the illegal drug trade on the streets of Camden, Newark, and Trenton.

The U.S. Department of Justice has long reported on this; in 1994 they issued the *Fact Sheet: Drug-Related Crime* where they report that “trafficking in illicit drugs tends to be associated with the commission of violent crimes. Reasons for the relationship of drug trafficking to violence include: competition for drug markets and customers, disputes and rip-offs among individuals involved in the illegal drug market.”¹⁷²

Protection of the ability to earn a living does not generally result in bodily harm or

¹⁷¹ Weapons here can mean firearms or knives. Both have been described as the murder weapon in prosecutor’s press releases and the arrest reports. However, firearms are dominant.

¹⁷² The authors of this report qualify the drug/crime relationship, saying it is difficult to “specify” because there are generally more factors involved than just one. My argument has to do with homicides as a protective and regulatory mechanism.

death; however, in the illegal drug markets, it is the most available and accepted method.

Some scholars argue that the killing occurs because of poor family support, ease of killing, mental instability (Anderson 1999), others, including this author, argue that the cumulative impact of the conditions to which young black men are exposed on a daily basis places them in situations where their sense of economic security and autonomy is threatened and their fallback position in an illegal work environment is the use of weapons.

Marginalization

Stepping back from the examination of the actions and inactions within the domains, the instruments for economic development in the cities, the conditions within the cities, and the choice of illegal employment for young black men, the question becomes one of marginalization. Is this population 'worse off' because of the economic development, the actions of domains, the conditions of their life and their employment? The answer is unequivocally yes and is occurring through process and outcome where process refers to whether young black men are able to gain employment in the construction of the new residential buildings in Newark or the corporations moving into Camden. Are they able to be employed at Holtec International? It is unlikely that their education will prepare them for a position at Holtec International, and construction unions as demonstrated in Chapter 4, Background, have unspoken racial biases. The outcome of marginalization can be demonstrated along demographic lines between the populations of these cities and their neighboring cities with disparities in income level, homeownership, high school graduation rates, and college enrollment. Here, the

marginalization also occurs from origins not related to economic development as in discriminatory practices in hiring and mortgage lending.¹⁷³ Another outcome of marginalization originates in the blocking by the NRA of research on injuries and deaths by gun violence and embedded into CDC practice as an area to avoid. Although not readily apparent as a marginalization of young black men, it is difficult to find another group who has maintained death by gun violence as their Leading Cause of Death.

If policies addressing the conditions of young black men in poor, urban areas do not also examine the processes and outcomes of marginalization for this population then policies, however well-intentioned, will not adequately reduce the LCOD for this group of young men. Provided an examination of marginalization happens, there is an opportunity to address these conditions through policy by a three-pronged approach. First, as the hypothesis of this work targets the inattention from the public health domain, I believe that policy makers must directly address the lack of public health programs for the prevention of homicides. Second, the context of economic development in urban areas must be preemptively examined to eliminate exclusion of local residential participation in all aspects of local development including community planning, training, and employment. Third, the technical design of state and federal instruments to attract new businesses into distressed areas has to insure that residents of those areas receive the benefits and development entities are not advantaged at the expense of local residents and businesses. These will be explored in the next chapter.

¹⁷³ Racial biases in mortgage lending is not a topic of this work but the marginalization of black families rests on historic lending practices and needs to be included as a factor.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

Introduction

When this work was first proposed, the search for effective homicide prevention programs using the units of analysis of institutional domains and the population of young black men ages 15 to 24 years seemed like a study that would yield a simple, coherent set of answers. The only search necessary would be to find which of the institutional domains—criminal justice, education, nonprofits, and public health—had the most effective solution. However, the domains did not provide solutions. No matter what programs existed or did not exist, homicide remained the leading cause of death for young black men and the rates of homicides in each of the case cities—Newark, Camden, and Trenton— had positive and negative slopes, but overall remained steady. The exception is Trenton, which has been trending upward in the last three to four years. The search for the reason behind the lack of prevention programs became more complex. Examining the demographic data and interview responses merged toward a common theme, namely the living conditions that poor, young black men face in Camden, Newark, and Trenton; studying those conditions became the more useful approach for understanding the unchanging level of homicides and why prevention programs were either not used or not effective. This work does not attempt to answer comprehensively the question of why there is no prevention. Rather, it leads to the hypothesis of this study that young black men in Camden, Newark, and Trenton live in conditions that are present as a function of actions and inactions from institutional domains and economic development in their cities; when combined, these conditions

marginalize young black men and perpetuate the scourge of homicide deaths in that population.

In this chapter, policies and recommendations are proposed with the clear purpose of changing the conditions in the lives of young black men ages fifteen to twenty-four years to reduce their marginalization from communities of people who have different LCODs and are free from the need to participate in illegal economies. The recommendations are designed to move the discourse on conditions of young black men from one of discussing the victim and perpetrator, the individuals, to one of removing the dangerous and unhealthy conditions in which young black men live and die. The recommendations are also designed to move the conversation from a focus on individuals and individual behavior to the domains, both institutional and non-institutional. For example, the approach used by the non-profits in their anti-violence strategies targets the individual, possession of weapons, and the promise of a better life. The recommendations below originate from a structural perspective capitalizing on institutional domains as they are different social and political entities to design and implement change. The idea of using a structural perspective as a framework for policy development and implementation considers modifications to the social, political, and economic environment at local levels as in urban areas where there is the greatest need and homicide rates are higher than surrounding towns (Tesh 1994, Rosen 1993, Lieberman, et al.,2013).

The first three policy recommendations are far reaching in their intent but also the most critical to the reduction of homicides for this population. They address

inattention in the public health domain, attempt to insure community inclusion on economic development planning through compulsory measures, and reform the tax credits, abatements and business subsidies programs to eliminate duplicity and insure the communities are receiving as many benefits as the developers. A number of policy implications follow from a focus on; (1) applied research in public health, (2) insuring community involvement and agreement on development projects, and (3) the reform of tax credit programs. In particular, homicide reduction programs will be instituted in urban public health agencies targeted at the population most afflicted. Young black men should not be placed in dangerous conditions where the risk of injury and fatality is high. Existing programs targeting at involving the community in development projects should be reexamined with regard to their current implementation and accountability. Community Benefit Agreements (CBAs), signed contracts between developers and the community should be reexamined with regard to their current participation and implementation within the community¹⁷⁴. Residents living in distressed areas should not be forced to accept development plans they have not seen or may not have understood. Economic incentives such as the New Market Tax Credit and other abatement and business subsidy programs ought to be redefined to make it possible for the public and those who review the incentive programs to distinguish the benefits of each incentive program if a particular company is using multiple incentives. A move from credits to grants with measures insuring transparency and accountability to the

¹⁷⁴ CBA's are signed agreements between residents of a neighborhood and the developers of a project in the resident's neighborhood. These agreements contain the benefits of the projects to the residents and the support from the residents for the development.

public would move in the direction of assuring the residents of the affected neighborhood that they will receive the intended benefits of the projects such as local hiring.

The four recommendations following these three are more programmatic and target specific situations observed throughout the time of interviewing and spending time at city council meetings and small establishments. Despite their lack of universality, these last four recommendations are granular in their approach and seek a shorter time frame for implementation and success for this population.

Policy Recommendations

Public Health Recommendation

In New Jersey, the public health approach to the reduction of homicides has been missing, leaving young black men in urban areas in dangerous situations. The analysis of this dissertation and subsequent public health policy recommendation presents an opportunity to develop and implement programs that would add longevity to and enhance the lives of young black men. I am recommending a three-pronged approach to this policy recommendation:

The first one is that a public health policy begin with full community involvement including young black men of the community, concerned community residents, local, regional, state, and federal government resources and must incorporate the perspectives of all domains that touch the public; criminal justice, education, labor, housing, political entities and the larger health care community. This brings as many different voices into the conversation perhaps uncovering causes of tension in the

community, potential solutions, and a willingness to continue the participation in the policy development work.

Second, there needs to be a commitment in finances and human resources over a specific period of time from political leaders with decision-making powers. As demands from interest groups such as the NRA to defund gun violence research tends to intimidate politicians and civil servants, a commitment in finances and human resources implies protection from outside interference.¹⁷⁵ Without such a commitment, programs intended to solve complex problems such as this one will wither.

Third, policies to reduce homicides for a population should include the following:

- a. Broad-based solutions to detrimental economic and social conditions including poverty, racism, and barriers to employment. These elements should be addressed at all levels and with all groups with the aim of developing a framework for understanding conditions of young black men in urban areas and the reasons for their marginalization.
- b. Studies should identify diverse prevention efforts globally with all types of violence and should include mechanisms to share information about these prevention efforts with all domains; feedback is needed to determine the acceptance of prevention programs.
- c. Insure that programs have valid monitoring and evaluation components to provide evidence of progress.

¹⁷⁵ Turshen suggestion on wording.

- d. Studies should use an operational research framework that values immediate action through experiments. The more time is taken to use pilots or analog, the more delayed the implementation causing the death rate to continue to rise.

A public health policy designed by all key stakeholders with full financial and resource commitment could make the difference between continuing and perhaps increasing the rate of homicides in urban areas and enhancing the lives of young black men. Such a policy would enable more young black men to turn from the illegal drug economy where homicides have association to opportunities in the legal economy.

Economic Development and Community Inclusion Policy Recommendation

In all three cities, there is a level of economic development activity whether it has the context of institutions or corporate relocation as is the case in Camden or market-rate mixed use building in Newark or very little of any kind in Trenton. In the case of those cities where there is a high level of development and especially where current residents will be affected by new schools or the influx of new residents for affluent apartments, the planning stages of these developments must include the current community residents. Community Benefit Agreements (CBAs) are in use in the State of New Jersey and generally invoked for projects over \$100,000. This policy recommendation is suggesting three items:

- a. A reduction in the amount of money that would trigger a CBA as smaller community projects may be less than \$100,000. The recommended level is \$50,000.

- b. An assurance that the community understands the proposed project, has agreed to the plan and is aware of known outcomes. This assurance should include advertised meetings for public comment, door to door canvassing for neighborhood opinion, and information sharing in natural gatherings of the neighborhood such as churches or senior centers. These meetings shall include representatives from the developer, the city government, and neighborhood residents. The assurance shall contain the results of these meetings and discussions followed by a document detailing the agreement with approval signatures of designated community members (not City Council members) with a period of time necessary for them to review their agreement with community members in a public forum.
- c. A hiring agreement between the project developer or business owner and the community that benefits both parties.¹⁷⁶
- d. In addition to the CBAs, the state and municipal leaders shall endorse and legislate ordinances and policies that establish baseline CBA's for all future development projects thus incorporating community benefits into the planning process.

¹⁷⁶ This is not new – cities such as San Diego have done this successfully. See CBA BallPark Village <http://www.forworkingfamilies.org/sites/pwf/files/documents/Ballpark%20CBA.pdf> Accessed July 18, 2017.

A CBA with full disclosure to the public and agreement between the developer and the neighborhood residents could make the difference between a development project with few amenities for the neighborhood and one where families could possibly have jobs, access to services not previously available to them, and enable families to live in an economically viable neighborhood. The agreement mechanism and the hiring portion of this recommendation are the highlights as young black men in these neighborhoods may have the opportunity to apply and gain legal employment.

Design and Accountability Mechanisms for Tax Credits

The technical design of tax credits, abatement, and business subsidies available should be reviewed to ensure that the communities absorbing the development are not being disadvantaged. The New Market Tax Credit (NMTC) established in 2000 under the Community Development Financial Institutions (CDFI) Fund within the United States Treasury Department stipulates that development be placed in a distressed, low-income area where hiring of local residents could occur and the services can be made available to previously underserved neighborhoods. Therefore, it is critical to enact a policy ensuring that residents of those areas receive the benefits and that development entities are not advantaged at the expense of local residents and businesses.

The issue with the NMTC was outlined in Chapter 6, Discussion. This policy recommendation expands the criticism of the simultaneous use of multiple funding sources, which make it difficult to determine duplicative sources of funding and inhibits transparency. The Government Accountability Office (GAO) recommended in March of

2017 to replace the credits with grants and add methods to measure the efficacy of the program. The GAO also made the case that grants better enabled the federal subsidy to reach low-income businesses. This proposal was not acted upon; in fact, the Consolidated Appropriations Act of 2016 extended the NMTC through 2019 (PL 114-113) and did not replace the credits with grants.

In view of this failure, the following actions are recommended:

- a. Existing local advocacy groups knowledgeable on the mechanics of tax credits lobby the federal politicians of their districts to either remove the NMTC from the bill or to replace the credits with grants as the GAO has recommended.
- b. Request individual accounting by tax credit programs for any entity entitled to and using the tax credit programs on a state or federal level.
- c. This reform should be retroactive up to twelve months from start of project.

This reform would enable transparency of the use of federal tax credits towards development projects in distressed areas. Such a policy could limit the duplicative use of credits by developers allowing the federal government to award developments in distressed areas previously not under consideration for development.

These suggested policies are intended to reduce homicides of young black men through community based reforms, increased transparency in federal or state government based economic incentives programs. The movement of young black men from dangerous, risk-laden, illegal employment towards legal and sustainable jobs is the goal of these policy recommendations as the policies work to change the conditions of

the communities where young black men lives. However, there are barriers that may work against the implementation of these policies and I turn to them now.

The implementation of these recommendations would require immense political changes and a complete shift in how those in power weigh the value of young black men as active, engaging, and deliberate members of the community. Deborah Stone (2002)¹⁷⁷ discusses the types of policies more likely to lead to political mobilization using certain characteristics of the effects as predictors. For instance, diffusion effects whether attached to costs or benefits tend to inhibit political mobilization for the policy. Concentrated effects on costs or benefits attracts mobilization. There are four possible pairs of outcomes with four different outcomes depending upon the recipient of the benefits and how strong they (recipients) are in mobilizing their interests. Typically, concentrated benefits matched with diffused costs will likely have the advantage as the concentrated benefit group will mobilize while a larger group with smaller costs affecting their purses will likely not mobilize. However, creating a public health policy benefiting young black men as the concentrated group and asking the general, diffused population to pay for the policy, however small the amount, will generate political grumbling at the very least and likely encounter vocal and possibly hostile mobilization of some form. The racial component combined with the poverty of this group carries two levels of stigma that will need substantial political support from others in the general population to move these recommendations into policy. In the second and

¹⁷⁷ Although Stone discusses the cost/benefit effects, the work is not new. She borrows from James Q. Wilson who developed the scheme of relating political mobilization to the concentrated or diffused effects of policy implementation.

third policy recommendations, which affect those who reside in distressed communities, there is a greater chance of mobilization from the group, still concentrated, receiving the benefits. However, the cost is still diffuse with the general population. This group is more than young black men, it is likely to be the entire community; black, Hispanic, female, male, young, and old. Their interests encompass the entire community; schools, businesses, churches, and recreation centers increasing the likelihood of mobilization. It will still be difficult but not as politically difficult as the public health recommendation. These reactions have to be factored into the planning of the policy from the beginning of the work.

Program Recommendations

The next four recommendations are less about policy and more about programs within the cities. The first two proposals are collaborative centering on two domains; (1) education, and (2) criminal justice, specifically, law enforcement. Both proposals use the concept of “active internship” meaning that a company mentor is assigned and the intern takes on entry-level projects planned to contribute to a stated company goal. Two reports will be issued at the end of the internship; one will have the mentors’ feedback with a decision to hire or not to hire with accompanying reasons, and the second will have the feedback report from the intern with learnings and willingness to be hired. The first proposal suggests a partnership among all high schools in the three cities¹⁷⁸ and the business community in the area.¹⁷⁹ The second proposes collaboration

¹⁷⁸ As this study looks at Camden, Newark, and Trenton, the policies are tailored to their conditions. Although they may apply to high schools elsewhere, this is not assumed here.

¹⁷⁹ The area includes the cities themselves and those industries which are in a normal range for commuting, generally considered to be fifty miles or less.

between the law enforcement system of the city and all high schools in the city. The third recommendation has to do with residency requirements for law enforcement. The fourth suggests a program targeted at black entrepreneurial activity with a geographic scope beyond the city of residence.

Education and Business

High school graduation rates for schools in Camden, Newark, and Trenton ranged from 29 percent to 84 percent¹⁸⁰ and college enrollment ranged from 30 percent to 91 percent. Although these are aggregate numbers, graduation rates and college enrollment are top priorities for school administrations, which are charged with ensuring that young people have the skills necessary for college or for entering the labor market. Policy makers need to put sufficient money into education and make sure it is targeted to the most marginalized so that all children are learning. This proposal focuses on a population that may not aspire to college enrollment and instead seeks skills adapted to labor markets. Upon graduation from high school, they need to find legal jobs that provide decent wages and career longevity. Therefore, the education system needs to go beyond providing basic skills and instill skills transferable to actual jobs. But that alone will not motivate industries to hire these young people. Industry needs to be vested in a partnership with the educational system.

I recommend the provision of technical training to high school students in partnership with companies in the area. This should be done within the public high schools with the provision of paid internships/apprenticeships upon graduation for

¹⁸⁰ The upper and lower range happen to be in the same city; all the graduation rates can be found in Chapter 4.

those who have successfully participated. Camden, for example, has no technical schools except for one for training nurses' aides.¹⁸¹ This is useful for the medical facilities in the area; however, other industries have built facilities in the city. Holtec, Inc., an energy company with a broad range of products and services, has a new campus in South Camden comprised of two manufacturing plants, corporate engineering headquarters, and test labs for research work taking place at the University of Pennsylvania campus in Philadelphia. All three departments could, at some point, hire entry-level planners or designers, manufacturing operators, or skilled lab technicians. This facility is a prime candidate for partnering with the schools to serve their needs through a program that offers company-targeted training to local youth. The program would select high school juniors and seniors who have the inclination and motivation to participate as interns while in high school and match them with appropriately skilled mentors to guide them through hands-on projects at the company. The goal would be learning marketable skills and possible employment after graduation¹⁸². Similar programs are appropriate for students and companies in Newark and Trenton, although each of these cities has industry-education partnerships of some kind.¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ Broadway Vocational Technical School; Approved Nurses' Aide training.

¹⁸² I deliberately did not indicate skills in the physical sciences, as jobs in the manufacturing facility do not necessarily rely on a fundamental knowledge of science. Rather, the reliance is on processing meaning that no formulation of a compound is done leaving the technician to repeat the given 'recipe' using compounding, mixing, and finishing techniques which must be taught by the company engaged in the manufacturing. The test labs also rely on processing of the early stages of work done at the company research centers. Both areas require adherence to protocols and a basic knowledge of outcome of reactions.

¹⁸³ Trenton has access to Mercer Community College where the Mercer County One-Stop Small Business Center has a Science and Technology Incubator for technical entrepreneurs. <http://www.city-data.com/us-cities/The-Northeast/Trenton-Economy.html>. Newark has the Science High School and Central High School which already partner with industry. The author was one of those partners.

This program recommendation targets the legal employment arena for their partnership in providing young black men with alternative employment. The technical aspect of these internships has great appeal to those who are prone to the ‘making’ of products ¹⁸⁴and could have another consequence for educators in Camden, spurring additional methods and content of teaching that fosters attention from young black men.

Education and Law Enforcement

There are multiple programs focusing on improving interactions between law enforcement and the community. For example, each of the case cities has at least one: (1) Camden’s Policing Project, (2) Operation Conversation in Newark, and (3) the Explorers in Trenton. On a state level, there is a bill in the NJ legislature, Bill A1114, that mandates teaching youth, starting in kindergarten and ending at Grade 12, how to interact with a police officer. When this bill was first introduced, the focus was on teaching youth how to obey an officer and what the role of the officer was. The bill states that the school district must provide instructions “on interacting with law enforcement in a manner marked by mutual cooperation and respect as part of the implementation of the Core Curriculum Content Standards in Social Studies, beginning with the 2015–2016 school year. The instruction must provide students with information on: the role and responsibilities of a law enforcement official in providing for public safety; and an individual’s responsibilities to comply with a directive from a

¹⁸⁴ I am not saying that young black men are only interested in the ‘making’ of items, they may also be interested in a myriad of other disciplines; marketing, sales, and supply chain operations. However, the Holtec site in Camden is based on research and engineering limiting other choices.

law enforcement official.” The wording in this statement did not pass the Assembly and a subsequent amendment promoted language about the rights of an individual. This bill is an effort to bring awareness to youth about the responsibilities of law enforcement¹⁸⁵.

This policy recommendation aims to take a step beyond a law teaching youth how to obey the police. I recommend offering paid criminal justice internships and apprenticeships to graduates of the city’s public high schools¹⁸⁶ upon their successful completion of appropriate law enforcement classes. The internships would be offered during the junior and senior year of high school and the apprenticeship would follow graduation. The intern would be mentored by a criminal justice professional in the area of the system where the intern is interested. This could be an officer on the street or one in the detective division or in crime analysis. As in the industry internship model above, the intern would be given a department project that advances the objectives of the department and shall report the findings and make their (intern) recommendations. This report will be accompanied by a similar one by the criminal justice mentor with their feedback and recommendations for development of the interns. This program would be available only in the city of the student’s residence with the condition continued residency once the status of police officer has been achieved. The students would be selected based on similar characteristics as the technical internship program—namely, inclination and motivation.

¹⁸⁵ As of this writing, Assembly Bill A1114 has passed the NJ Assembly and is headed to the Senate. The implementation date is now school year 2018–2019.

¹⁸⁶ Private and parochial school students may opt into the program.

This program recommendation targets the inclusion of young black men into the criminal justice system in their city in order to provide a voice from not only the city but also a voice intimately involved in the conditions of the city. The intent is to reduce the homicides of the city, with the inclusion of an intern programs of young black men will provide a choice of legal employment but also a chance to make changes within the criminal justice system by adding their perspectives on the conditions of the city.

Law Enforcement Residency Requirements

In 1972, the New Jersey Supreme Court upheld legislation waiving the residency requirements for police officers. In 2015, Bill No. 4265, intended to reinstitute residency requirements for police and firefighters, was vetoed by Governor Chris Christie because he asserted it would limit the pool of applicants and increase the burden on existing personnel¹⁸⁷. There is an unofficial doctrine known as the “stake in the community” doctrine that supports a residency requirement for police officers on the grounds they will be the anchors in the community. They will be the sports coaches, neighborhood association leaders, school board members, or other community leaders. The theory is that police officers who live in the community they work in will be vested in the public safety and overall welfare of the residents. The “stake in the community” idea resonates loudly with residents in cities where the police are not required to reside where they work; in addition, there is an economic benefit to the city when police officers live in the communities where they work. The presence of middle-class

¹⁸⁷ASSEMBLY BILL NO. 4265(Second Reprint) – Governor Christie vetoed this bill for the second time date to prevent unwarranted restrictions on public servants which could expose them to undue hardship or unsafe conditions.

residents like police officers living in the city generates tax revenues. In Camden, Newark, and Trenton, those revenues are sorely needed. The other side of the argument, according to respondents in the study and others, is that police residence requirements handicap the city's ability to recruit high-quality police officers. Promising applicants generally do not want to live in a city where public safety is an issue.

I recommend instituting police residency requirements for five years with preference to residents who meet minimum qualifications with the opportunity for their continuing education and promotion. Salaries of officers need to be commensurate with the level of public safety need in the towns similar to increased salaries for expatriates in difficult living environments.

These recommendations for programs of internships and police residency requirements have to do with reducing the distance of the group subjected to the threat of homicides with opportunities for them such as a technical or a criminal justice internship. The suggested internship programs also enable young black to experience rather than just listen to people tell them about the opportunities. They will experience what it is like to work in a laboratory or a chemical plant or what it feels like to patrol the street with another police officer. The residency requirement for police officers also reduces the distance between young black men and police. A reduced distance between a company and residents or between police and the residents enables young black men to experience what others outside of their cities experience without a presence of programs. These opportunities will affect the homicide numbers if young black men whose only opportunity might have been illegal drug sales now have the

chance to be hired into industry or the criminal justice system. The rates will also reduce if families of city police live in the city, there will be a different level and urgency of protection as police officers in Camden or Newark or Trenton will have a strong self-interest of protection because Camden or Newark or Trenton is their home.

Entrepreneurial Activity

Small black-owned retail and service establishments within in majority-minority cities are in unnecessarily restrictive and narrow economic markets as they generally sell to one target market (their own) leaving black entrepreneurs out of the more dynamic parts of the economy.¹⁸⁸ The key to growth of lower-income black communities such as those in the case cities is to break out of enterprises targeted for their own community and move into the wider economic mainstream. Economic growth in the United States has generally been catalyzed by industrial and technological breakthroughs with the winners either those who have mastered technologies with rapid market acceptance or those who recognize and anticipate the next wave of technology. Industries such as information processing, optical communication transformation, Internet transparency, network autonomy and security, environmental technology transfer, reimagined energy sources,¹⁸⁹ and innovative manufacturing¹⁹⁰ are the next areas of economic growth. Black entrepreneurs who might be young black men formerly involved in illegal drug

¹⁸⁸ This is true of any market owned by and carrying products or providing services targeted at a particular ethnicity.

¹⁸⁹ This includes wind, solar, natural gas, fossil fuels, and some coal. Energy exporting is projected to start in the 2020s. Relevance?

¹⁹⁰ Manufacturing in the United States is fueled by computer-controlled equipment, robotics, large aeronautical equipment, and high-tech environmental controls. Relevance?

sales in urban areas might consider tapping into these industries to extend and broaden their customer base and expand revenues.

This recommendation suggests a partnership with universities and entrepreneurial black groups to fund necessary research and provide business support at free or reduced fees to stimulate fledgling businesses. This recommendation is especially relevant to Camden with the move of Holtec International to that city. This is a growing energy company, and small start-ups complementing or challenging their existing technologies would have the ability to embed themselves in the growth economy.¹⁹¹ Centers such as Mercer County One-Stop Small Business Center provide technical advice and assistance in understanding finance options in the form of loans and grants for county residents to nurture ideas. There are also grant awarding programs from the Science & Technology Incubator at the state (NJ) level for Camden.

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These recommendations in the form of policies or programs have impact on the three levels of government. On a municipal level, the cities would support these initiatives financially while offsetting expenditures through cuts in other areas or

¹⁹¹ Saying this is easier than doing it, however. RUCamden, Rowan, and UPenn could be the driving forces behind such a recommendation with research and support. UPenn is already conducting much of the research for Holtec.

¹⁹² The state of New Jersey provides incubator type grant awarding programs to Camden residents through Rowan University but it is unclear of the recipients or programs.
<http://www.state.nj.us/scitech/techinc/contacts.html>

increases in taxes or other forms of revenue. State and federal funding through credit or grant programs are another source of funds. Private enterprise has successfully used these sorts of programs; therefore similar approaches can be employed.

One of the claims of this research hypothesizes that homicides are a function of the conditions that young black men experience. To address these fundamental issues of conditions, these policy and program recommendations work to include the community residents with decision makers from governmental leaders to real estate developers to criminal justice providers to local industry leaders to expose young black men and their families to new, legal opportunities intended to move these young people away from the necessity of exposure to dangerous conditions. Policies that provide transparency in government-initiated economic incentives and inclusion of city residents in areas of development are suggested to insure that incentives are appropriately used and development planning has support from all stakeholders. They are also intended to provide young black men with preventive public health programs for their LCOD. As demonstrated throughout this work, public health programs on a federal and state level have prevention programs for other LCOD's and the recommendation in this work seeks to equalize the offerings. These policies affect the conditions of young black men through health prevention programs, transparency in federal and state economic incentives, inclusion into what is built in their neighborhood, and legal employment opportunities. These changes will redirect young black men away from illegal employment where homicide is an inherent risk.

The Need for Additional Research

Additional research is necessary to complete the picture of dangerous conditions and subsequent marginalization of residents of distressed urban areas. It will also confirm or complicate the major and minor hypotheses of this dissertation. As I collected information and read documents, papers, and books, the notion of applied or operational research became more important. Collected research without parallel experimentation delays prevention of homicides and it is urgent that any additional research contains actionable ideas even if the implementation details are not fully vetted. What is important that all voices are heard in the planning stages and programs are implemented. Changes are possible throughout all stages of execution; however, a death cannot be reversed.

Although there are unresolved areas in my research, I have established a framework to provide direction(s) for further study. Using the institutional domains as the starting point, I propose the following research areas:

Domains

The domain of public health was one of the more unresponsive and although its programs are public and should be transparent, the reasons for decisions about specific programs are not well known. The public health domain is the one that could carry out a more rigorous analysis of LCOD issues to expose additional determinants of health like the marginalization of young black men and focus attention where it belongs, on the prevention of homicide. A tracing of the decision-making process for this domain could reveal more opposition to the study of violence than that of a well-known organization

like the National Rifle Association; after all the ban on gun violence research has been in place for approximately twenty-one years, despite a request from the Obama Administration to insert funding into the budget for this type of research.

Lead Poisoning in Housing

One respondent discussed the public health issue of the effect of lead poisoning in children. In an interview,¹⁹³ a chief operating officer at a nonprofit in Trenton offered the following explanation. He believes that lead in the paint in older homes of New Jersey cities is damaging children, resulting in violent behavior later in life. His team has mapped the areas where violence has occurred and older homes where perpetrators live, and there is considerable overlap. There is currently no cure for a child who has been poisoned by lead and the effects are significant; cognitive behavior is impaired, behavior is changed, and health is impaired in a myriad of ways¹⁹⁴. In eleven New Jersey cities, the Elevated Blood Lead Levels ¹⁹⁵(EBLLS) of tested children are higher than in children tested in Flint, Michigan. Children in Atlantic City, Irvington, and East Orange have two times the EBLLs of Flint children (Isles 2016). Researchers in the United States and Australia found strong links between childhood lead exposure and rates of aggressive crime and other criminal behavior (Reyes 2012; Taylor et al. 2016; Wright 2012). Is this yet another condition of the urban community that contributes to

¹⁹³ This interview was done in early June of 2017 and was conducted too late to include in the interview analysis but does bear additional study and follow-up.

¹⁹⁴ Ripple Effects of Childhood Lead Poisoning. <http://www.lead-safeillinois.org/facts/ripple-effects.asp>. Last accessed July 20, 2017.

¹⁹⁵ Testing done by the NJ Department of Health <http://www.state.nj.us/health/childhoodlead/documents/reports/childhoodlead2015.pdf> accessed September 15, 2017.

homicide, and is exposure to lead a symptom and a condition of the official treatment¹⁹⁶ of low-income neighborhoods? This is a topic worth studying in tandem with other conditions that leave the neighborhood in disrepair and community members unknowingly living in potentially dangerous areas. In the criminal justice domain, the courts play a role that is not fully understood; race and age of perpetrators appear to be instrumental in decision-making by prosecutors and judges. The juvenile justice system and the flexibility within its guidelines on “waive-ups”¹⁹⁷ were topics for the respondents and require a separate body of research. Written rules and laws appear to have wide areas of flexibility and the criteria when exercising that flexibility are not well understood. The role of educators in the juvenile justice system is not transparent in methods and outcomes and research is needed about those two elements. There is evidence for improved legal job potential as a result of increased education thereby reducing the need to seek work in the illegal drug economy where homicides are a part of doing business.

In the educational domain an area for research would be a study targeting the perspectives of teachers and students on the conditions of living in each of these cities. A community resident and respondent in Camden felt that segregation occurred as a result of the charter school growth in Camden.¹⁹⁸ Educators felt that not all of their

¹⁹⁶ CDC and New Jersey Public Health Services Branch, Division of Family Health Services have researched and provided programs to reduce lead. As a start, see http://www.nj.gov/health/legal/documents/notice-of-rule-proposal/8_51a_proposal.pdf. Last accessed July 20, 2017.

¹⁹⁷ Waive ups refer to the process of trying a juvenile in adult court.

¹⁹⁸ The responses of KF of Camden were discussed in the interview chapter. KF felt that the charter school’s method of choosing students created this segregation. However, it is not the only form of segregation in the city of Camden.

students had food security. Other respondents saw a connection between educational weaknesses, lack of jobs, drugs, and homicides. In Newark, teachers and coaches felt that the lack of jobs for their students was the cause of homicides and other violent behavior. Also mentioned were the issues of fear of the police and the allure of money from illegal drug sales. These statements converge to highlight the need for more research on the conditions of the students' lives with input from both teachers and the students themselves.¹⁹⁹ The key question would be how to understand the unspoken norms of life for the student, particularly young, black male students. What are those rules and norms that a young person must obey to navigate growing up in Camden, Newark, or Trenton? With similar questions for teachers who interact on a daily basis with students, the differences and agreements in the answers could be detected. And a set of corrective measures adopted to deal with them?

In the nonprofit domain, motives for addressing issues are not always clear. This domain provided many respondents for the study but when requested little evidence was produced to back up interview material. This domain is reliant on individual donors; municipal, state, and federal monies; and corporate money. Each of these funding sources creates obligations through their particular agendas, which control of the purse strings enables them to impose.

Comparative work on the sources of funding and the agendas of funders in each city will provide a narrative that may reveal the intention of external actors and internal

¹⁹⁹ Chapter 6, "Discussion," lists the "lack of the voice of young black men" as a limitation. This reference to needing to hear from the students gets at their life in school, at home, and in their free time wherever that may be.

government leaders. The combination of that information with evidence of program efficacy may result in substantive theory building; perhaps more importantly, with an awareness of the influence of funders' agendas on programs, there will subsequent changes in the methods of designing and developing programs affecting marginalized populations.

Research on Violence Against Women

While this study focused on young black men, the interviews along with conversations with people I met outside of interviews raised the subject of aggravated assault and injury to women.²⁰⁰ In addition to voices outside of interviews, female respondents were worried about the silence on issues that women face, especially young women connected with young black men who participate in the illegal drug trade. It is time that similar work to this be initiated to learn of the conditions of young women. I think there may be different conditions for them but just as dangerous. In the year 2015, the leading LCOD for black women ages one to thirty-four was unintentional injury. For black female babies between the ages of one and four, the number one LCOD is homicide and the same is true of young women between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four. For white women, the leading LCOD of death is unintentional injury between the ages of one and forty-four. Homicide is ranked at number four for female children between the ages of one and nine and then again between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four. These deaths require an urgent examination through the lens of not only institutional domains but their relationships in their communities.

²⁰⁰ 10 Leading Causes of Death, United States 2015, Black, Non-Hispanic, Females <https://webappa.cdc.gov/cgi-bin/broker.exe> accessed July 17, 2017

Concluding Thoughts

Violence, not only homicide, is a fact of life in Camden, Newark, and Trenton.

The data have demonstrated a steadiness and persistence of homicides. The same can be said of aggravated assault, which has been a constant presence in these communities for many years. Yet prevention programs are missing, as is attention from every institutional domain. There are programs with labels alluding to a possibility for violence reduction, but they are illusory titles with little resemblance to reality or the fact that violence is a permanent presence in low-income, black communities; it is a function of actions and inactions from institutional domains and economic development in their cities that, when combined, marginalize young black men.

Any viable strategy for improving conditions and enhancing life for marginalized young black men should include financial, human and long term human commitment from all the stakeholders mentioned above. Marginalization of sub groups of population will be minimized if there is participation. Involving the public health domain is critical as professionals in that domain have the tools and the flexibility to properly apply the data received from stakeholders. Economic development plans need to be shared amongst the affected community members, again, to address conditions in distressed neighborhoods which matter most to the residents. The unmet need in communities must be discerned and acknowledged by decisions makers of development planning. Reforms in economic incentives are critical for transparency not only for the community but also those in government who award the incentives. If duplication is erased, additional grants can be applied to other communities. Programs, intended to be in operation in a short timeframe, will engage young black men in opportunities they

may find fascinating, but without the experience of engagement, they will never know the thrill of seeing their work put to good use and they will never know the satisfaction of working with the community in the criminal justice system. It is hoped that their perspectives in this area will encourage lasting change in the attitudes of members of law enforcement who participate with young black men daily. Protection of the community where the family resides is powerful motivation to insure the entire community is well protected, a motivator for requiring police residency. However, these jobs should have compensation equitable to the danger police officers find themselves in and the cities should recognize and act upon that fact. Black entrepreneurs are well positioned in their willingness to take risk to move beyond the small retail or service business to the trends moving the economy. Government loans, consultancies through agencies, and technical partners will serve an important role for these entrepreneurs. On the other hand, black entrepreneurs will serve a modeling role for young black men and may generate new businesses led by the youth.

Finally, research has to continue not only in a monitoring mode for implemented policies and programs but also for a deeper understanding at all factors driving the reluctance of public health officials to study gun violence. Years have passed since the first defunding and the continuation of this situation gives rise to the need to understand the conditions of this seemingly non-reversible decision. Young black men have a narrative that will round out this research and it is imperative to get their voices heard as they are in the midst of making a living illegally, not after they return from or

on their way back to prison.²⁰¹ Young black women, too, have a narrative needing a voice as their conditions leading to homicide are likely to be different. It is just unknown until they speak. Elevated blood lead levels does have research behind it and prevention programs in place. However, the link between the levels and violent behavior is not completely understood. Could this be one more condition in the lives of young black men and women? This is a long term study but one that the education and public health domain have much to gain by partnering and following a cohort of children through adulthood. Reducing the causes of homicide and violent behavior will take extraordinary persistence with dedicated financial and human resources. However, the ability to increase longevity for a young population creates unknown possibilities.

This marginalization or isolation, which keeps groups of young black men segregated in these urban communities, is reminiscent of the chain gang in Toni Morrison's novel *Beloved*. In it she tells her readers that each morning in Georgia forty-six black men would wake to a rifle shot, stand in line in a trench, thread a chain through the loop of each man's leg iron, and then go to work. Is this what young black men in Camden, Newark, and Trenton face each morning?

²⁰¹ Of the few voices from black men I had the opportunity to listen to – they were released from long term sentences or on their way back.

Appendix A: Domain Ranking

These rankings were collected from the set of questions in the interview questionnaire and while the results were not reliable, the respondents' views on the cities and the domains were more useful for uncovering their opinions on the effectiveness of institutional domains.

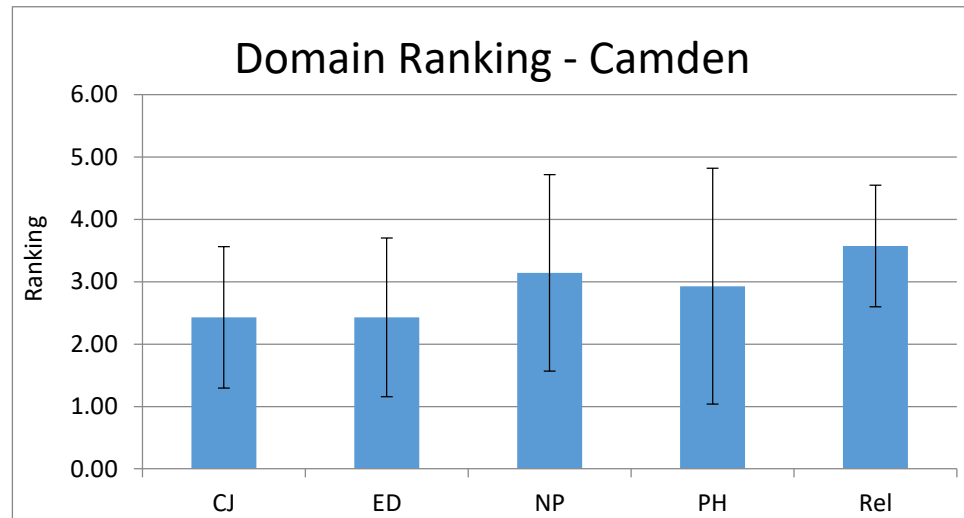


Figure 12. Effectiveness Rankings of Domains for Prevention of Homicide, Camden.

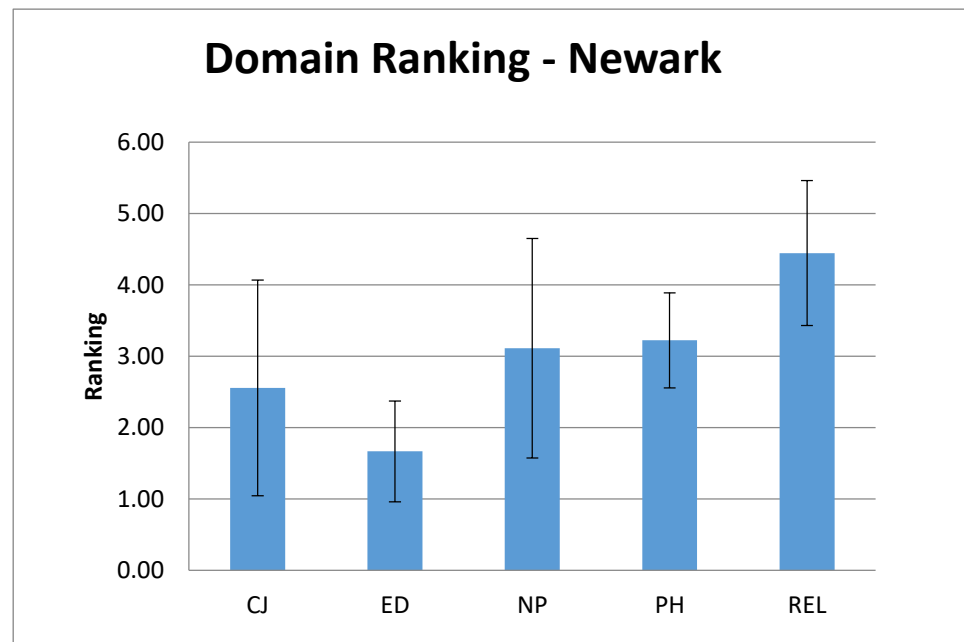


Figure 13. Effectiveness Rankings of Domains for Prevention of Homicide, Newark.

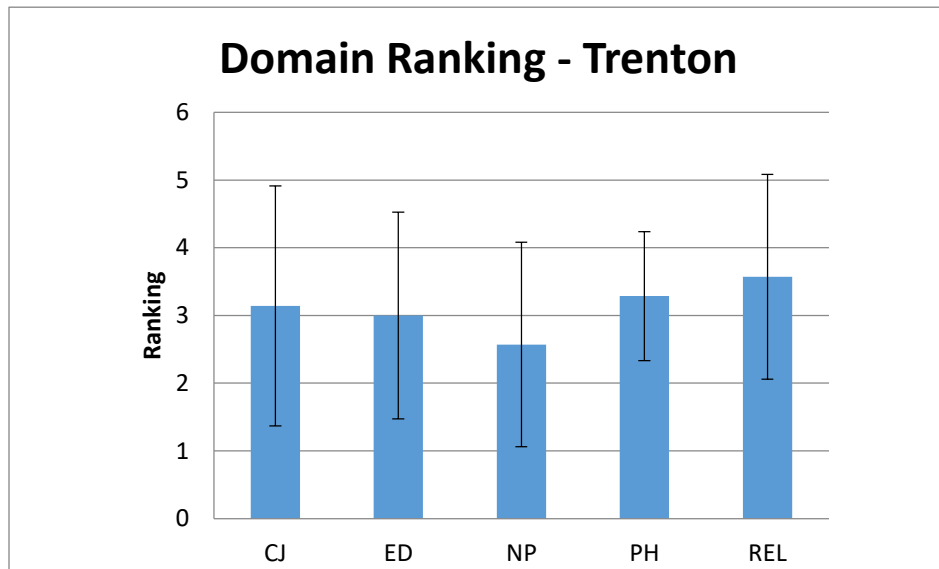


Figure 14. Effectiveness Rankings of Domains for Prevention of Homicide, Trenton.

Appendix B: Sample Request for an Interview and Questionnaire

Sample Request for an Interview

Captain Iandoli,

My name is Maggie D'Aversa and I was recently talking to Jonathan Latko, an engaged resident of Camden who recommended you as someone to talk to concerning research I am doing under the auspices of Rutgers University (New Brunswick). But, first, let me explain what I do. I am in the middle of the research phase of my dissertation which studies the prevention of homicides and, more specifically, the location or 'domain' of that prevention. For this, I study five areas or domains are education, criminal justice (where homicides are currently addressed), public health, the religious community and the non-profit sector. It is a case study research with the cases as cities; Camden, Newark and Trenton with the proposal and questionnaire approved through Rutgers University IRB.

I think your perspective and experience will add to this work and if you are willing and available, I would love to speak with you at your convenience. I can and will arrange my schedule to match yours and, of course, I will go to your location.

Looking forward to hearing from you,

Maggie D'Aversa
Rutgers University, Bloustein School of Planning and Public Policy
PhD Candidate ABD
908 894 2060

Questionnaire

Homicides and Prevention

Date _____

Name _____

Title _____

Organization _____

Years in Position/Organization _____

Thank you for your time this am/pm. I am _____ and am studying how different entities address the issue of homicides. This interview is designed to help me understand your thinking about those involved in preventing homicides.

Background:

Let's begin with some background. Please tell me your responsibilities here at

And about how long have you had this role?

What about previously? Did you previously have other responsibilities here at [name the organization]?

Did you hold any other positions prior to coming to work here at [organization name?]. Please tell me about them.

And, just to wrap up the background section, where were you born and raised?
 Where do you live now?
 And, where did you go to school? Probe for type & # of degrees

Affected Segment of Population:

Now, this next set of questions is about the subject matter of my research, homicides. So, first, please tell, to your best understanding, who is most affected by homicides murders?
 On what do you base that assessment?
 Do you regularly interact with this group?
 If yes, ask how and why; if not, ask why not?

Media

From which media outlet do you generally get your news?
 If newspaper, which one?
 How often do you notice articles on murders?
 Do you read those articles?
 If so, ask: How do you react to those articles?
 In your opinion, what role has the media played in the topic of murders?
 Do you believe that most of the reporting you've seen on murders has been objective?
 Probe for explanation.
 Responsibility for prevention of murders within Criminal Justice, Education, Non-Profit, Public Health, Religious domains
 Which of these areas do you think is currently changing the number of murders?
 Public Health _____
 Non-Profit _____
 Education _____
 Criminal Justice _____
 Religious _____

Why did you choose that particular area(s)?
 Probe: What prohibits or encourages each of the areas to participate in addressing the number of murders?
 Which of the above areas do you think has the POTENTIAL to change the number of murders?
 Why do you say that?

How do you view your role in the prevention or reduction of murders?

Factors

What are those factors in this city that exacerbate homicides?
 How long have they been present?
 Do the factors change over time?
 How would you explain those changes?

In your opinion, what specifically does someone in the health field have which helps or hinders the number of murders?
 Do you believe these unique factors are not present in other areas such as criminal justice, education, religious or civic?

Why those?

Separation between Domains:

In this section, I am wondering if you think those in the (_____public health, educational, civic, religious) could help in preventing the occurrence of murders?

Why or why not?

Do you currently work with any of them?

Which ones?

How often?

Is it effective and how?

That wraps up my questions for today. Do you have any further comments on this topic?

Thank you very much.

Appendix C - Respondents by Name, City, Date of Interview, and Domain

Domains – Criminal Justice – CJ, Education – E, Non-Profit – NO, Public Health – PH, Other - O

Abdul at call in. Interview by author.. Audio Recording. Trenton, NJ. 4.26.16 NP (could not use, audio was mixed with background noise)

Baskerville-Richardson, Toni. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Newark, NJ 7.28.15 E

Billet, Mary Grace. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Trenton, NJ, 4.29.15 NP

Brownlee, James. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Trenton, NJ 5.19.15 PH

Burkett, Gillian. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Camden, NJ, 4.23.15 CJ

Burkett, Linda. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Camden, NJ, 4.6.15 CJ

Cody, Kim. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Trenton, NJ 3.6.15 NP

Colangelo, Brian. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Camden, NJ 3.26.15 NP

Comstock, James. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Camden, NJ, 3.26.15 NP

Crombie, John. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Newark, NJ, 8.24.15 O (Former Newark resident)

Cure4Camden team (4 members). Interview by author. Audio Recording. Camden, NJ 8.18.15 NP

Davidson, Martha. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Trenton, NJ 8.6.15 NP

Davis, DeLacy. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Newark, NJ 10.24.16 CJ

Davis, Rashawn. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Newark, NJ 5.8.15 NP

Davis, William. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Trenton, NJ 9.20.16 NP

Devenney, Emily. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Camden, NJ 6/28.17 and 7/5/17 NP

Dobson, Eric. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Camden, NJ 6.20.16 NP

Dunning, Susan. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Trenton, NJ 3.6.15 NP

Fall, Ibrahim. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Newark, NJ, 2.12.15 E

Fioretti, Rob. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Trenton, NJ 4.2.15 NP

Francis, Kelly. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Camden, NJ 2.8.16 NP

Francis, Kelly. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Camden, NJ 2.8.17 NP

Gibson, Sandy. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Trenton, NJ, 10.1.15 E

Gifted, Naseed. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Newark, NJ 2.24.15 E

Godwin Clark, Vesta. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Newark, NJ, 2.26.15 NP

Harris, Jerry. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Newark, NJ, 6.25.15 NP

Ilandoli, Ed. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Camden, NJ 5.11.16 CJ

Jacobs, George. Personal Conversation. Audio Recording. Clifton, NJ 1.26.17

Jacquemin, Bretta. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Trenton, NJ, 6.6.16 PH

John Hart. Audio Recording. Trenton, NJ. 7/1/17. PH

Jones, Thomas. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Whitehouse, NJ, 9.24.15 NP

Kerniss, Bonnie. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Newark, NJ 5.8.15 NP

King, David. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Camden, NJ 2.21.15 NP

Latko, Jonathan. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Camden, 4.4.16 O (community member)

Maronski, Barbara. Interview (part II) by author. Audio Recording. Camden, NJ 8.18.15 NP (Cure4Camden coordinator for Center for Family Success)

Maronski, Barbara. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Camden, NJ 6.3.15 NP

McCray, Shawn. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Newark, NJ, 6.1.15 E (former gang member of Zoo Crew, Newark)

McLeod, Erica. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Camden, NJ, 5.18.15 NP

McNally, Kevin. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Trenton, NJ, 4.29.15 PH (did not use as no knowledge of cities or presence of public health in those cities. Retired.)

Mo'nique Singleton-Ragsdale. Audio Recording. Camden, NJ 6/28/17 and 7/5/17 NP

Neil, Vida. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Camden, NJ 6/28/17 and 7/5/17 O (community activist)

Nurin, Tara. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Camden, NJ 4.4.16 O (Reporter)

Ojore. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Newark, NJ 5.1.15 NP

Paulson, Greg. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Trenton, NJ 7.22.15 NP

Perez, Natasha. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Trenton NJ 8.6.15 NP

Riordan, Kevin. Personal Conversation. Newark, NJ. 12.15.16 O (real estate professor, RU/Newark)

Sass-Rubin, Julia. Interview by author. Audio Recording. New Brunswick, NJ. 4.26.16 E (did not use as no information on cities)

Smith, Jasimine. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Newark, NJ 5.8.15 E

Smith, John. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Newark, NJ 6.1.15 CJ E

Sr. Helen. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Camden, NJ 4.23.15 NP

Stevens, Margaret. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Newark, NJ 6.25.15 E (did not use as comments directed at Big Pharma as the reason for homicides with no input on cities)

Stout, Bruce. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Camden & Trenton NJ 4.26.16 E CJ

Trout, David. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Newark, NJ 9.26.15 E

Van Dornik, Randy. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Newark, NJ 11.22.15 NP (did not use as no input on cities even though he was a minister living and working in the community – preached to the author)

Wheeling, Josh. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Camden, NJ 5.18.15 NP

Williers, Michelle. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Newark, NJ 4.8.15 NP

Wronko, James. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Trenton/Bridgewater, NJ 4.23.15 CJ

Young, Elise. Interview by author. Audio Recording. Trenton, NJ 1.25.16 O (reporter)

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