


Why Efforts to Combat Crime and Victimization Demands a Multi-Discipline Approach

- ▶ Dr. Mark Foxall, Ph.D., CJM
- ▶ University of Nebraska at Omaha
- ▶ School of Criminology and Criminal Justice




W. E. B. Du Bois

- “The problem of the 20th Century is the problem of the color line.”

Pre -1900s America

- There was a time before 1900 when blacks and whites lived side by side in American cities
- Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit and Philadelphia were not segregated
- Southern cities such as Charleston, New Orleans and Savannah, black servants and laborers lived on alleys and side streets near the mansions of their white employer



Pre -1900s America

- No matter what other disadvantages urban blacks suffered in the aftermath of the Civil War they were not residentially segregated from whites
- A typical black resident of a nineteenth century northern city lived in a neighborhood that was close to 90% white

Pre -1900s America

- 1870, 80% of blacks lived in the rural south where they were exploited by a sharecropping system, which was used to replace the labor provided by slaves
- 1970, 80% of blacks lived in urban areas and almost half of them were located outside of south.
- **Between 1880 and 1920 millions of eastern and southern Europeans arrived**
 - **For them, there were opportunities for integration, economic advancement and assimilation**
- After 1920, a growing number of Mexicans migrated to the United States
- **For migrating rural blacks, cities became a trap**

Industrialization

- Integrated living and widespread interracial contact after 1900 came about as the result of the industrialization of America and the beginning of the migration of blacks from the farms to the cities
- Industrialization in the north altered the urban environment in ways that promoted segregation between social groups
 - Demand for labor could not be met by native white urbanites so employers recruited migrants of diverse origins
 - Before WWI, unskilled labor was provided by southern and eastern European migrants

European Migration

- These migrants followed friends and family who had previously arrived which then established ethnic neighborhoods
- In order to oversee industrial production, a new managerial class arose which was primarily made up of white Americans

European Migration

- Southern blacks also migrated into the northern cities in the 1870s but in relatively small numbers: 70,000 (1870s) and 80,000 (1880s)
- The number of European immigrants numbered in the millions during the 1870s and 1880s
- The number of European immigrants ebbed and flowed depending on the European demand for labor
- When European migration slowed, northern employers turned to the rural south which had a lot of available labor due to the end of slavery.

Strike Breakers

- Northern employers used black southern labor as strike breakers which created an abundance of animosity with the labor unions (**that blacks were not allowed to join**)
- European migrants were also used as strike breakers
- Union leadership would later incorporate each new wave of immigrants into the labor movement
 - **Blacks were never given this opportunity and the discrimination was severe**
 - **This was also a lost opportunity for blacks to learn a trade and pass that on to succeeding generations**

The Great Migration

- 1890s
 - 174,000 blacks left the south
- 1900-1910
 - 197,000 blacks left the south
- World War I – 1914 – Starts the beginning of the Great Migration
 - Increased the demand for U.S. industrial labor production
 - Cut off the flow of European immigration
 - Northern employers began to aggressively recruit blacks from the rural south
 - Demand for unskilled black labor in the south fell as farmers began to mechanize and moved from cotton to food crops and livestock

The Great Migration

- Between 1910 & 1920
 - 525,000 migrated north
- During the 1920s
 - 877,000 blacks migrated north
- Whites viewed the Great Migration of rural blacks with hostility and alarm
 - Poor
 - Poorly educated
- Working class whites feared the economic competition
 - They were first or second generation immigrants and scorned by “**native**” whites
 - Affirmed their own whiteness by oppressing people in a lower racial hierarchy (blacks)

Residential Segregation

- Levels of residential segregation between blacks and whites began a steady rise at the turn of the century that would last for more than 60 years
- By World War II, large enclaves of black communities existed in virtually every northern city

Residential Segregation

- The rapidly growing black population was crammed into the oldest housing stock in small neighborhoods and resulted in spatial isolation
- 1930 – Typical black Chicago resident lived in a neighborhood that was over two-thirds black
- Spatial Isolation Index (1910-1930)
 - Chicago 10% to 70%
 - Cleveland 8% to 51%
 - New York 5% to 42%
 - St Louis 13% to 47%

Residential Segregation

- Ethnic enclaves existed during this time period, but they differed from black inner-city communities in several ways
 - Polish
 - Italian
 - Jewish
- Never homogeneous and always contained a wide variety of nationalities
- Most European ethnics did not live in immigrant ghettos
 - For example, 93% of Chicago black population lived within the black ghetto

Residential Segregation, Social Isolation and Violence

- Black ghettos became a permanent feature of black residential life, whereas ethnic enclaves proved to be fleeting, transitory stage in the process of immigrant assimilation
- Whites used existing zoning laws and violence to maintain segregated black communities
 - Hundreds of blacks were killed during Red Summer in 1919
 - Houses were bombed

Neighborhood Improvement Associations

- Neighborhood Improvement Associations formed after bombings came to a crest in the 1920s
 - Real reason for formation was to prevent blacks from moving into the neighborhood
 - This was done through restrictive covenants – Blacks could not own, occupy or lease property in certain neighborhoods
 - A typical covenant lasted 20 years
 - It wasn't until 1948 that the U.S. Supreme Court (Shelley v. Kraemer) declared covenants unenforceable

The Great Depression

- The Great Depression of the 1930s
 - Northern economic conditions were bad but even worse for blacks in the south
 - 1930-1940
 - 400,000 blacks migrated north
 - Residential housing was blighted
 - No new housing construction due to the Depression and WWII

World War II

- Shortage of workers in the north created a new flood of black migration from the south
- This new wave of migration increased black isolation and removed inhabitants socially and spatially from mainstream America



Post World War II

- Suburbanization
 - White middle class flight out of the city facilitated by
 - Massive federal investments in the federal highway system
 - Electricity replaced steam power thus no need to centralized manufacturing
 - Enhanced communication negated the need for face to face communication
 - Growing reliance on truck transportation made the traffic congestion in central cities not appealing – this facilitated the relocation of heavy industry and packing houses from the city core where many blacks lived

Modernization of the South

- Wave of mechanization in the south spread through agriculture and put an end to sharecropping and demand for rural labor
 - 1950s 1.5 million blacks migrated out
 - 1960s – 1.4 million blacks migrated out

Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC)

- 1933 -Federal government launched a program to increase employment in construction and make home ownership widely available to the American public
- Provided funds for refinancing urban mortgages
- Granted low interest loans
- First government program to use long-term (15 year) self-amortizing mortgages with uniform payments

Redlining

- Redlining
 - Four categories of risk associated with loans in specific neighborhoods
 - Safe neighborhoods were coded green
 - Neighborhoods where blacks lived, even black middle class, were coded red and they never received loans (redlined)
 - This resulted in much larger and more significant disinvestment in black neighborhoods by private institutions

Public Housing - Projects

- Housing Projects
 - As the housing stock continued to decline, powerful interest groups turned to the federal government for relief
- Housing Acts of 1949 and 1954
 - Federal funds to acquire slum properties and redevelop the land
 - To qualify for federal funding, local redevelopment authorities had to guarantee an adequate supply of replacement housing – Public Housing/Urban Renewal
 - Multi-unit projects were built in or adjacent to existing black inner-city neighborhoods
 - Urban renewal destroyed more housing than it replaced



Public Housing - Projects

- Poor blacks were permanently displaced into other crowded neighborhoods
- Urban renewal accelerated white flight
- Public housing projects became highly segregated from the rest of society and characterized by extreme social isolation

Deindustrialization

- Transformation of the national (and international) economy eliminated jobs in the inner city and dramatically reduced earnings of many blue collar jobs: Packing houses and garbage haulers, e.g.
- Industrial sector of the inner city economy has eroded resulting in the elimination of industrial jobs
- Increase in low paying service sector jobs
- Evolution of an underclass



Three Measures of Economic Status

- Economic Inequality
- Wealth (Accumulated Assets)
- Unemployment

Economic Inequality

- Growing gap between rich and poor, w/out regard to race or ethnicity
- Growing gap between white America and racial/ethnic minorities
- Growth of the underclass in the past 30 years
- Median family income – Measure of economic status
 - U.S. - \$76,057
 - Nebraska - \$73,000
 - Non-Latino White - \$76,057
 - ⚡ College - \$106,600
 - Black – \$45,438 (Fairly stagnant)
 - ⚡ College - \$82,300
 - Latino - \$56,113
 - Asian - \$98,174



Economic Inequality

- Black middle class has grown considerably over the past 40 years due to the success of the Civil Rights Movement
- Black underclass has grown considerably as well – Large gap between middle class and poor underclass



Wealth (Accumulated Assets)

- White families: \$123,400
- Black families: \$54,000
- Latino families: \$57,300
- Reasons:
 - Middle class families (home ownership) are able to earn and save money to accumulate wealth
 - Wealth serves as a cushion during hard times
 - Wealth is transferred from one generation to the next

Unemployment


- Overall 3.7%
- White: 3.4%
- Blk: 6.1%
- Latino: 4.5%
- Asian: 2.9%
- Unaccounted for (9.7%)
 - Not looking
 - Part time looking for full time
 - Underground workers
- Unemployment rate is higher for teens than adults
 - White: 11.7%
 - Blk: 17.6% - Explains persistently high crime rates/high crime prone years
 - Latino: 16.7%

Poverty Status

- Poverty Status
 - Federal poverty line
 - \$12,490 (single)
 - \$25,750 (family of four)
 - U.S.: 10.5%
 - White: 7.3%
 - Blk: 18.7%
 - Latino: 15.7%
 - Asian: 7.3%

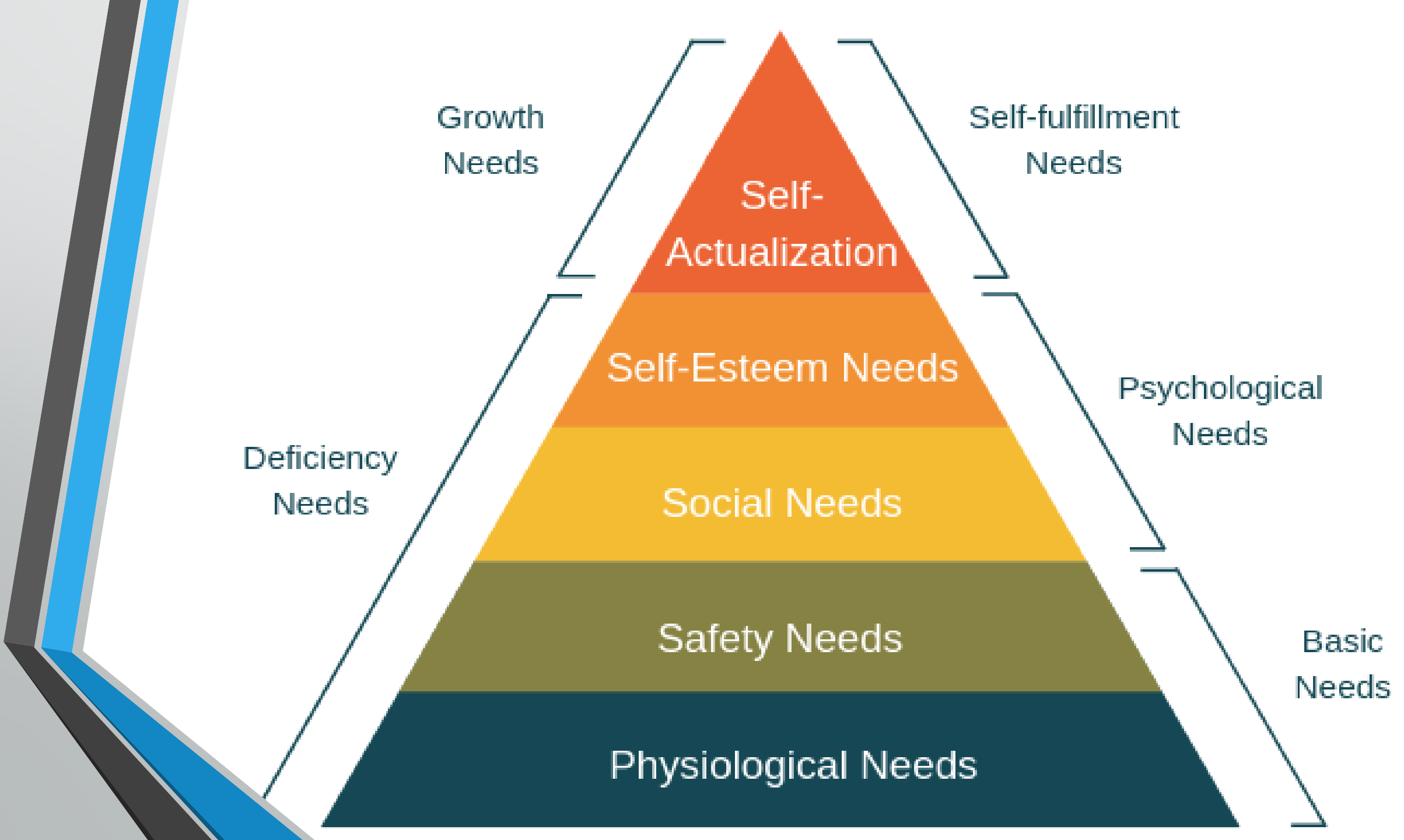
Human and Social Capital

- Human Capital are values, habits, and outlook which shape behavior
 - Family is the primary unit for transmitting human values
 - Poverty disrupts the family unit
- Social Capital: Institutions, Relationships, and Norms
 - Employment: A network that is able to offer job opportunities.
 - This type of network is lacking in many poor neighborhoods
- In impoverished neighborhoods, human and social capital are diminished
 - Maslow: Physiological, Self Esteem, Self Actualization



Concentrated Poverty & Isolation

- Concentrated Crime – Violent crime rate
 - 39.8 per 1,000 for people at or below the poverty line
 - 16.9 per 1,000 for people living in high income households
- What concentrated poverty
 - Disappearance of industrial level jobs from the inner city
 - Affirmative action and racial preferences





Concentrated Poverty & Isolation

- Perpetuation of poverty
 - Breaks down the family
 - Unable to develop social capital
 - Residential segregation contributes to the growth of the underclass
 - Concentrates crime and isolates the inhabitants

Six Stages of Neighborhood Deterioration

People begin to withdraw from one another and eventually move out

Reduction in informal social control over behavior of residents

Organizational life declines; fewer people get involved in community organizations

Delinquency and disorder goes on the rise

Commercial decline as shops and buildings are abandoned

Collapse and no sense of community



Loss of Vertical Integration

- Families moved out of low-income, inner city neighborhoods in flight to the suburbs
- Stripped neighborhoods of important stabilizing elements
 - Role models
 - Leadership
 - Organizers
 - Educators
- The middle class is composed of people who can provide the social networks that lead to good jobs
- As an area loses purchasing power, neighborhoods lose businesses