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Derek Bower Allen

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FROM THE GHETTO TO THE JOINT:
A STUDY OF BLACK URBAN
SURVIVAL CRIME IN DETROIT

Volume I

By

Derek Bower Allen

A DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

FROM THE GHETTO TO THE JOINT: A STUDY OF BLACK URBAN SURVIVAL CRIME IN DETROIT

By

Derek Bower Allen

In general, this study examines factors that contribute to the issue of black economic survival in urban-industrial Detroit. Specific emphasis is focused on the role which crime plays as a survival strategy which some people choose as a supplement or alternative to mainstream employment opportunities. A key objective is to investigate such questions as why people become involved in the underground economy and what the individual trades in this occupational network are. Consequently, the role of crime in mainstream culture, particularly as it has impacted on the black experience, has been presented.

As the organizing theme, this study explores the linkages between black urban culture and those available mainstream survival strategies. An empirical examination of the structural and environmental factors provide the foundation of this study. The following areas are addressed in various detail: the concept of survival crime and theories of criminology, a cultural history of black labor, the place of crime within the cultural history of American society in general and particularly within the black

community, and finally specific examples of survival crime, individual hustles as well as hustling networks. The core of this study's research is rooted in the observations and interpretations of survival crime by the participants themselves. Questionnaires and interviews, both individual and group sessions, with inmates within the Michigan Department of Corrections were utilized to record. Through the words of these individuals, there is a melding of the empirical and anecdotal information.

Survival crime is a multifaceted issue and no single factor alone explains the scope and totality of survival crime. It is important to recognize that in the absence of a simple cause-effect relationship, a multifaceted analysis is necessary. A conclusion of this study is that explanations for survival crime include an analysis of the responsibility of society and the responsibility of individuals for their actions. Society may determine the world in which people live, but people make choices as to how they will interact within that world. In conclusion, the question is not one of the existence of survival crime, but whether participation in survival crime is inevitable.

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Any effort of this magnitude is not accomplished by someone alone, and this discourse is no exception. There are many individuals who have played a vital role in the completion of my dissertation, and I wish to acknowledge them at this time.

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in her support, emotionally, spiritually and financially. My step-father, Lee Schneider, was a constant source of encouragement and support all the while I was working to complete this degree. Without their faith in my abilities, I would not have finished. I also want to thank my father, who gave the courage and passion to question the world in which I live, and then to seek the answers why. No one survives the process of writing a dissertation alone and I want to thank the rest of my family, especially Carl, Marie, Debbie and Denise Orado, and all my friends for their support.

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LIST OF NOMENCLATURE

"Comfortable life" refers to a standard of living, or life style, where people are able to afford the basics -- food, clothing, shelter -- and those material comforts that satisfy one's psychological wants and needs. The level of wealth is not necessarily a key issue, but rather it is the quality of one's credit that is vital in allowing one to experience a comfortable life. The purchasing of those items is necessary for one's well-being, as determined by people themselves and by society at large.

The term "living wage" refers specifically to the salary which people receive. A living wage will be that amount to support oneself and/or one's family.

"Survival strategies" refers to whatever means in which people become involved that provides them with the necessities by which they can live -- survive.

"Subsistence rights" addresses the concept that people have a right to expect a certain standard of living which is commensurate with the wealth of society as a whole. It implies that given the capabilities of a society to provide opportunities to work and enjoy a comfortable life style, people come to expect to participate in the mainstream of society and partake in enjoying this wealth.

"Dead-end job" refers to low wage, menial jobs and to those jobs which do not provide for either career advancement or promotion.

"Criminal economy" contains activities which are considered to be illegal or criminal including theft, robbery, burglary, handling of stolen goods, etc.

"Informal economy" contains activities which are considered legal and socially acceptable, but are not "officially" recognized as such.

"Hidden economy" contains all unofficial activities considered illegal or extra-legal.

The "irregular economy" encompasses all economic activity not located within the mainstream labor market. While not all of the work in this sector is illegal, it is generally thought to violate the criminal codes.

"Hustling" is a slang term to describe how people make money. Though it includes activities which are legal, such as carpentry, trash hauling, etc., no taxes are paid as all transactions are conducted "under-the-table." However, when the term hustling is commonly used, it refers to illegal activities such as dealing drugs, pimping, shop lifting, etc.

"Street crimes" refers to property crimes, especially those crimes occurring in the inner cities like theft, prostitution, drug dealing, robbery, etc.

"Make-it" is a slang term used to describe the ways people earn money from which they can obtain the necessities of life.

"World" refers to the immediate environment in which people live as well as the environments in which their "work" brings them in contact.

The "industrial reserve army" is a term referring to the mass of people who are unemployed and are awaiting an opportunity to join the "ranks" of workers employed in the mainstream labor market.

"Who one knows" has two primary meanings: one refers to the class/social circles in which one or one's family is associated; the other addresses the "good ol' boy" network in which friends or friends of friends receive preferential treatment in finding work. While the mainstream claims that this society operates on the basis of meritocracy, in actuality "who someone knows" is crucial in getting started in a career or simply finding work.

"In-kind benefits" refers to monies or services which the government provides in assuring people a minimum standard of living. Examples would include unemployment insurance, welfare, social security and food stamps.

"Meaningful work" suggests that the work involved challenges an individual's skills, manual or cognitive, provides an adequate salary, allows for advancement, and is not repetitive or rote.

"Subsistence rights" refers to not only those rights which people have been granted by law or legislative action, but also those rights which people expect to have because they are U.S. citizens.

"Survival" refers to both an individual's biological needs and those psychological needs, created and reinforced in part by the mainstream culture.

The "underground economy" refers to those activities which are illegal, as a violation of the criminal code or by violating social mores -- norms. Usually this economic sector is situated in the inner-cities and has been referred to as the "ghetto economy."

"Casual workers" refers to those individuals who will work infrequently or periodically by choice only.

"Decent wages" refers to an amount of salary which enables an individual and/or his family to afford a life style of comfort, given an acceptable level of indebtedness.

"Rights" are guaranteed by law, whereas "privileges" are a result of custom and habit.

"Acceptable deviance" refers to that level of human behavior which is tolerated by the local community and/or society at large. This level varies according to various factors, such as economic and political climate.

"Semi-criminals" are individuals to whom DuBois referred because situations outside of an individual's control played a role in that individual's choice of becoming involved in crime.

"Honest johns," often a prison or criminal sub-cultural term referring to people who, no matter what life's circumstances are, would not consider being involved in an illegal act.

"Limited aspirations" suggests that while many Americans believed that their potential was only limited by their imagination and hard work, blacks realized that the color barrier (racism) would only allow them to achieve certain levels of "success" in society.

The "secondary labor market" is made of jobs which are menial, dead-end, low paying and low job security. These jobs stand in opposition to jobs in the manufacturing, industrial and construction sectors which are high pay, good job security, demanding/challenging and lead to advancement, the primary labor market.

"Penny caps" are quantities of heroin sufficient to provide one person a high. Initially penny-caps sold for one dollar.

"Running" refers to the activities of a money courier in the drug business.

"Hit Houses" are places where people can inject heroin or use other drugs and spend time while they are high.

"China White" and "Mexican Mud" are names for heroin which are taken from the color of the heroin and general location of where the drug was grown and processed.

"Hardcore junkies" simply refers to a heroin addict who has a very expensive and debilitating habit.

"Spikes" are the needles used to inject heroin.

"Skin-popping" is a term for injecting heroin to get high. However, the drug is not injected into the veins, but simply underneath one's skin. "Mainlining" means actually injecting drugs into one's veins.

"Nod-out" means to become unconscious from the use, or injection, of drugs.

"Runners" are generally those individuals who collected the money and bets from people who gambled on the numbers. Today, this term refers to anyone who collects money or delivers drugs within an organization.

"Bankers" are the people who serve as accountants for an illegal business.

"Crazy" refers to a person who may literally have a mental illness or it is figuratively used to describe a person who by action or reputation intimidates or scares others.

"Pistol-whip" means beating someone viciously with a pistol or some similar object.

"John" is an individual who frequents the services of a prostitute. It can generally applied to a customer of illegal sexual services.

"Selling slum" is a term referring to the sale of poor quality merchandise or merchandise which is a cheap imitation of a "designer" product.

"Shooting galleries" are heroin houses which sell small quantities of heroin and provide the equipment as well as place for people to take drugs.

"Short-change artists," "short players," "murphy men," "Rayfield men," and "three-card monte men" are not only names for hustlers, but they describe the hustle in which a person is involved.

A "blind pig" is an establishment which opens after bars and taverns are closed for business and operate illegally without a liquor sales license. Some blind pigs may provide entertainment or also operate gambling on the premises.

"Hot items" are stolen merchandise.

"Local guy" refers to a merchant who owns and operates a store within the neighborhood. This operation is small, often referred to as a "mom and pop" store.

"Boosting" is stealing merchandise in general, but often from a large department store such as E.L. Hudson's.

"Hanging paper" means writing checks from accounts without sufficient funds, but more often writing checks which have been stolen and are drawn from another's bank account.

"Handler" is an individual who transports money from one operation, or from a person selling drugs on the street, to a central location or the leader of an operation.

"Larceny-by-treachery" refers to "con games."

"Tried-and-true" hustles refers to those hustles which are successful and have been performed by an acquaintance or a notable individual.

"Beasting-off" is a term for robbery by intimidation or by aggravated assault. Other expressions include the term "wilding" in which a person or persons randomly commit the crimes of robbery and some kind of violence on another (i.e., aggravated assault).

"Jitney" describes the activity where a person will provide a personal service to another, such as carrying the groceries home for a person.

"Square Johns" or "Square Janes" are people who do not break the law, and as a consequence are prey for hustlers and often do not live a materially comfortable life.

"Big Ben" is a prison term which refers to a long prison sentence.

"The life" refers to the activities of hustlers and the environment in which the hustlers operate.

In prison, one's "house" is the cell in which an offender is incarcerated.

"Sho nuf hustling" refers to the criminal activities in which a person is involved.

The expression, "throwing up their hands and doing nothing," means that a person or people have given up.

"Hanging on the corner" refers to people, generally males, who congregate on a street corner to pass the time away. It is a social event, and the activities in which a person gets can be legal or illegal.

An "associate" is generally an individual with whom one hustles, commits crime, or in some cases this refers to someone's friend.

"Dog or be dogged" is an expression which is analogous to the mainstream expression describing life: "It is a dog-eat-dog world." The underlying theme is that life is a struggle and often unfair.

The "right side of life" refers to those activities of individuals which are considered legal. The opposite would be illegal activities.

"Artillery" refers to a handgun, some kind of firearm. Today this term also includes semi and fully automatic weapons.

"Gangster" describes an individual who considers himself or herself to be a criminal by trade. This individual makes their living from crime.

"Mack man" is a pimp, and thus "macking women" (and in some cases men) means having prostitutes working for the pimp.

"Stick-ups" means armed robbery, generally with a firearm.

"Slingin' dope" means selling small quantities of drugs, from marijuana to cocaine to heroin.

"Scuffling" means working hard, and can also in some cases be used in place of the word, "hustling." More often than not it suggests that the individual involved is not engaged in illegal activities.

"Running cons" means the actual playing con games on people as a hustle.

INTRODUCTION

Rich Man, Poor man,
Beggar Man Thief,
Doctor, Lawyer,
Fireman, Chief
Nursery Rhyme

Invariably, people are asked what they want to do with their lives, their career aspirations. Though the above nursery rhyme is more often remembered as American folklore, it points out that beginning at an early age, we are asked to speculate about our futures and share our dreams. Is it to get a job, go to college or enlist in the service, or pursue a career in law or medicine? Throughout life, these questions are asked of us and in turn, we ask them of ourselves.

Questions like those demand that we articulate our hopes and dreams for the future. Yet, how are our dreams conceived; what influences affect our lives? From where do we draw inspiration; who serve as our role models? For many, role models are found within our families, from our immediate environment or from "significant others"? These influences help us to dream of what our future may be.

People's futures are in part cultivated by their parents, often pursuing similar occupations or following

their recommendations. Other influences include relatives, teachers or neighbors and finally, one's environment, i.e. society. Whether it is the mainstream or a subculture, its influence is both subtle and direct; images and symbols of what the society embraces as desirable and successful influence how people make a living. No one intentionally wishes to be unsuccessful in life; in fact all that we do is to achieve that standard of success which is rooted within our dreams.

Though we all hope that our dreams come true, we are only "guaranteed" opportunities to dream and to compete. This competition is both with ourselves to reach our potentials, but also with people who share dreams, not unlike our own. If opportunities are not available, then dreams of future careers may not be fulfilled. Additionally, other road blocks exist. If an individual does not possess the required skills of a particular job or does not have the talent to acquire the necessary job skills, one's dreams may never be realized. People's expectations also may not be realistic in terms of existing job/career opportunities. While dreams can come true for some people, for others their's is but a dream deferred.

What happens to a dream deferred? What do people do when their plans about their futures become impracticable or unattainable? Though their reactions are numerous, invariably people formulate secondary, tertiary choices

or seek alternatives. (In devising alternatives, people may redefine their dreams and lower their expectations about the future. People may also pursue other options, which may be based on aesthetic or ethical standards other than what society sanctions as being acceptable. Either way, people opt to do that which they perceive as being "realistic," in order to have a "comfortable life."¹ >

Problems of how people make a living often reflect limitations in the choices that people have among existing job opportunities. Not possessing marketable job skills and not having access to available job opportunities present problems of securing employment. Limited access to job opportunities can lead to a lower quality of life and without marketable job skills, people are forced to choose among jobs that do not provide a "living wage."² Instead of choosing legitimate or socially acceptable occupations, people may opt to participate in socially or personally repugnant activities such as welfare, or in illegal activities. Either way, if people are unable to adjust their dreams or expectations to coincide with available opportunities their lives can become an American nightmare rather than an American Dream.

This study will examine the ways people make a living in American urban society in general and will specifically address the question of survival strategies

of the urban blacks. Emphasis will be placed on the role of crime as a survival strategy, with a case study centering on black workers in Detroit. [A concern is to examine why people become involved in crime. People's participation in crime can be perceived as an alternative and/or supplement to mainstream survival strategies³ such as employment or government assistance. Factors, which motivate, or "push," people to make the choice of crime, will be explored as well as those factors which influence or "pull people into participating in criminal activities. A key is to examine factors over which people exercise control and those which control their lives. In doing so, this study seeks to discern why or how crime becomes a viable survival option for people, becoming what I will call "survival crime."

Survival crime represents an option by which people make a living. For many, crime becomes a survival strategy of last resorts or it may simply be a skill, "something they do best." Crime is a way they supplement their income, a part time job -- moonlighting. Involvement in crime may represent a situation where people are desperate and have "nothing to lose" because they need money. Crime may be a means by which they can earn self-respect as well as the respect of others.⁴

In general, survival crime emerges out of the circumstances in which people live: poverty and a changing labor market influence on the type of available

survival options when traditional means for making a living change or are lost to advances in technology, plant closings or economic recessions. During these times, economic conditions become intolerable. "When people are denied the opportunity to survive and prosper they always suffer and frequently follow courses of action which should be unacceptable to us. One course of action -- not the only one -- is crime."⁵ In addition, when people's subsistence rights⁶ are violated, people adapt and resort to alternative survival strategies in order to regain their lost standard of living, regardless of their legality or illegality. Rather than work on a dead-end job,⁷ people become entangled in the other areas of economic activity,⁸ such as the irregular economy.⁹ Their participation indicates an alternative option for those who may otherwise be unemployed or who may not earn a living wage. Crime provides people an opportunity to be "employed," to make a living. It allows people to enjoy comfortable life style, a quality life.]

Often referred to as "hustling,"¹⁰ survival crime often is synonymous with what is called "street crime."¹¹ Survival crime achieves a certain end, obtaining the necessities for living, where the reality of crime in the streets can often be the reality of human suffering and personal disaster.¹² Armed robbery, robbery, theft, shoplifting, auto theft, forgery, fraud and narcotics trafficking are some examples of survival crime.

Obtaining money and/or property are the objectives of survival crime. Even during those circumstances when damage to property occurs or as a result of a struggle someone gets injured, the prime motive is "taking the money," not hurting others. Survival crime consists of "those activities whose purpose is to extract money or other valuables from persons or organizations either by physical force, calculated deception or other illicit means...."¹³

Survival crime also encompasses those activities which are illegal, but not necessarily "unacceptable" in society, inasmuch as these activities are part of the overall cultural fabric. "Those activities which involve the provision of goods and services demanded by at least some consumers in the 'market,' but are defined as unlawful for moral, medical, philosophical, psychological or similar social reasons...so-called 'victimless crimes'...are also examples of survival crime."¹⁴ Such "acceptable crimes" include numbers, gambling, bootlegging, operating "after-hour" houses and prostitution. These crimes primarily attract a "clientele" for services rendered. The intended victims of these forms of survival crime are not people themselves, but rather their pocketbooks.

[While survival crime represents this study's organizing theme, it represents neither an attempt to justify people's participation in crime nor as a theory

to explain the nature of crime or criminal behavior. Instead survival crime offers a perspective through which people's involvement in certain crimes may be observed and interpreted. The concept of "survival" is important because it separates this perspective of crime from other theories which seek to explain the cause of crime or criminal behavior. The term survival establishes parameters within which survival crime can be understood and examined.]

What is crime and what constitutes criminal acts and criminal behavior? [Are the general concepts of crime compatible with that of survival crime? Survival crime attempts to establish linkages between people's efforts to earn a living -- "make-it"¹⁵ -- and those options from which people have to choose and the social conditions in which they live. Survival crime often becomes merely a way to achieve a specific end: making a living. In opting for one survival strategy over, or as a part-time occupation to an existing job, survival crime addresses the relationship that exists between people's hopes and dreams and circumstances which define their social reality. In choosing survival crime, such a choice may represent an individual initiative by people in response to their situations]

Survival crime raises questions as to the role crime plays in the decisions of displaced workers, discouraged workers, or the unemployed as to how they make a living.

In addition, survival crime explores why crime is often perceived by some as the only or the most feasible strategy for assuring day-to-day survival. Finally, the influence which the "American Dream" has on people's decisions as to how they can make a living is assessed. As a cultural norm of endless consumerism, the "American Dream" is that societal thread which runs through the entire cloth of society, rich and poor, black and white and male and female. From the perspective of those involved in survival crime, this study explores how this phenomena impacts on people's choice as to what they choose to do to earn a living.

A study of survival crime also includes an examination of the impact of racism and the effects which unemployment and alienation have on people's choice of survival options, both real and perceived. This study explores the linkages between both environmental and structural factors that shape how people live. For example, the labor market, technology, and urbanization reflect and help define a way of life. These facets of human activity reveal the values and mores of mainstream culture, and play a part in shaping the way people interact with each other and with society's institutions.

Culture plays a vital role in determining what people choose to do to make a living by impacting on how people perceive and interpret their world.¹⁶ "In the traditional view, anthropologists have said that culture

provides human beings with a design for living, a ready-made set of solutions for human problems so that individuals in each generation do not have to begin all over again from scratch."¹⁷ Sociologist I.W. Thomas suggests that basically, it is not important whether people's perceptions of life are real or not, because ultimately, they are real in their consequences. >

CHAPTER ONE
Survival Crime -- A Perspective on the Relationship
Between Crime and Employment Opportunities

People's choices determine their lives and their choices are shaped in part by their perceptions about the world in which they live. This is due in part to the influences that history and folklore, one's family experiences and the experiences of "significant others" have on an individual's life. Different subcultures within the mainstream culture highlight the symbiotic relationship between people's attitudes and behaviors, and environmental and structural factors which impact on their choice of survival strategies, of which crime is but one.

Any analysis of crime must include an inquiry of deviance. Deviance is that individual behavior which is believed to be in violation of the social and legal norms of society, such as the right to the pursuit of happiness, the right to free speech or the sanctity of private ownership. Societal norms regulate human behavior by defining what is and what is not acceptable behavior. "A normative system is a living reality, a cluster of problem-solving individuals and groups, and its elements are subject to change as new circumstances and new opportunities alter the relationship between the system and its master ideal (a culturally defined vision of what things 'should be')." ¹⁸ Violators of the normative code do not choose to abide by, or are unable to live according to, the values and mores of the mainstream which represent the collective sentiment about

how people should behave.

Even though deviance is in part culturally defined, the laws governing human behavior (social norms) do not always reflect or recognize changes within the subcultures of society. Law must be separated from norm and from custom. "A norm is a rule, more or less overt, which expresses 'ought' aspects of relationships between human beings. Custom is a body of such norms -- including regular deviations and compromises with norms -- that is actually followed in practice much of the time. In law, there is an additional factor of justiciability to ensure "survival of a system a way of life."¹⁹ As a result, cultural changes are not readily incorporated into the functional understanding of deviance. People do not live according to clear cut and unchanging set of normative standards. As necessary, people's behaviors and attitudes adapt to changes within their environment that impacts on mainstream culture.

Culture is dynamic and as it evolves, attitudes and beliefs change, becoming increasingly tolerant or intolerant to people's behaviors and attitudes. As a result, what is thought to be deviance during one era changes accordingly. Because cultural norms are dynamic, ideas on deviance follow suit. New perceptions of deviance are often incongruous with many of the previous tenets of deviance, ensuring continued conflict between behaviors and social norms which may be cause for the

perpetuation of deviance.²⁰

Since culture is dynamic and people respond to change within their environments, conflict within the social norms will occur. Emile Durkheim observed that by their very nature, societies produce behaviors associated with deviance. "Crime is, then, necessary; it is bound up with the fundamental conditions of all social life...."²¹ While societies contain varying levels of crime, it does not necessarily follow that crime merely represents an aberration within an otherwise sound and just social arrangement.

Inasmuch as there is no consensus as to a single cause of crime, criminological theories find refuge within various and often diverse schools of thought. Many focus their attention on the responsibility of individuals for their criminal actions. Others shift the onus of blame from the individual to the social structure, mainstream culture or subculture. Other researchers have turned to the physical or biological sciences and psychology to explain the cause of crime. For example, recent research being conducted at Baltimore University has attempted to measure the testosterone levels of criminals to determine a predisposition to criminal/violent behavior.

Scientific explanations of criminal behavior have been receiving recognition and acceptance within the field of criminology again.²² These approaches to the

study of crime have incorporated biological, genetic, hereditary as well as chemical deficiency analyses in their research. It has been found that individuals with criminal histories often possess certain biological or chemical uniquenesses which serve as indicators explaining deviance. For example, a chemical imbalance may increase the likelihood of violent behavior in certain individuals.

Implications of such studies direct us to the possibility of predicting who could present a high risk of deviant behavior -- committing crime. Predictability as to who may commit crime looms as a positive and distinctive outcome of such studies. Even though scientific theories have begun to yield new revelations about causes for criminal behavior these theories do not claim to have discovered a single cause of crime.²³ Researchers recognize that other factors are involved in determining criminal behavior. Often, it is the interplay of both biological and social factors which impacts on an individual's behavior.

While scientific explanations have isolated biological, genetic or chemical deficits as being connected to criminal behavior, other theorists have directed their attention elsewhere. Some studies focus on premises which assign to each individual the responsibility for their behavior. Some researchers have concluded that crime stems from the actions and the

attitudes of people and from the relationships in which people become involved. For example, primary associations (the influence of family members, peers and other role models) impact on people's behavior. Whether through imitation, identification or association, learned behavior comes through close association with others, shared intimacy of experience.²⁴ Individuals are influenced by their relationships with other people, peers, lovers and "street heroes," and in turn people tend to conform to and adapt to the prevailing values and attitudes of the group to which one wishes to belong.

There are theories which suggest that criminal behavior is "learned," and people are born as criminals.²⁵ Learning crime involves not only the techniques of crime, but the attitudes, motives and drives encouraging involvement in crime. Crime may occur as a result of the interaction between conflicting value systems, that of the mainstream and of a subgroup. If the reference group with which one identifies embraces a set of norms and values which conflict with those of the mainstream, the likelihood for deviance is heightened. The subculture does not regulate or define people's behavior in the same manner as the mainstream.

Lower class culture, a subculture within the mainstream, is often characterized by traits such as "toughness," "trouble," "smartness," "fate," "excitement" or "autonomy." These attitudes lead to behavior within

their social milieu that are tolerated, but in the mainstream they contribute to violating the law. As a consequence, crime is often a by-product of the conflict between those competing culture systems, one by which people may live and the other which dictates how they will live.²⁶ Based upon differing norms than those reflected within the social and legal codes of the mainstream, what may be perceived as acceptable within a subculture may not be by the mainstream. For example, the cultural basis of the lower class, is believed to be inherently different than that of the middle class -- often more base and violent in terms of social interaction. These differences are thought to precipitate people's involvement in crime.

The rejection of middle class values has also been linked to deviance, i.e. crime.²⁷ Based on one's experiences with mainstream society, rejection may result in the creation or addition of norms and values to people's cultural beliefs where the disadvantaged individual can succeed, often "turning things on their head."²⁸ This response tends to be a reaction to their own failures for not being successful or a reaction directed towards their personal deficits, limitations or flaws within one's character.

The inability of people to become part of the mainstream or to attain a desired level of success and social acceptance can prompt them to reject the values

and norms of the mainstream. Thus, a lack of respect for authority, i.e. the "law," an unwillingness to conform and a lack of motivation or initiative exemplify people's alienation. The repudiation of the mainstream values can be easily rationalized. For example, it may be believed that success is not guaranteed for those who work hard and diligently. Success, or the lack of it, happens because someone is lucky or unlucky, that it was fate, or that a successful life is for "Square Johns." This helps people justify and rationalize their beliefs and actions.

Middle class culture may be rejected because its values are not applicable to all lives.²⁹ This suggests that the totality of values applicable to life in one social milieu are not compatible with values regulating social interaction in another. Conflict can occur when opposing elements of the two cultures collide and compete against one another, for example in matters concerning how people function within society, i.e. make a living. For what may be necessary to everyday survival in the streets is often deviance within the mainstream.

(The legal system is composed of statutes which embody the values and mores of mainstream culture, not of the subculture. Crime often is a by-product of people's choices which, though they violate the law, do not contradict their assessments as to the "appropriate" reactions within their world. Residence within an environment which is not fully compatible with the

prescription of life as defined by the overall value structure of the mainstream heightens the inevitability of deviance; crime is the result of a clash of differing value-belief systems.

Other theories about crime focus on the personal deficits of individuals. Several focus upon problems of self-concept.³⁰ One's self-esteem is believed to determine how one behaves. A negative self-concept or low self-esteem is believed to promulgate criminal involvement, while a positive self-concept is a safeguard against deviance. Experiences of failure, degradation and alienation tend to reinforce one's low self-esteem and this often results in the rejection of a middle class life style.

Consequences of breaking away from the mainstream can force people to choose alternative life styles, reflective of a subculture that serves as a buffer against the negative effects of low self-esteem.³¹ Arising from conflicts with conventional ties, low self-esteem in turn strengthens an individual's loyalty to the deviant subculture and thus increases the likelihood of being involved in crime. Though deviance is linked in part to subcultures, one's low self-esteem can be responsible for criminal behavior.

For others, deviance is an ascribed status acquired by "labeling" individuals as criminals or outsiders.³² This emphasizes the relationship between deviant

activities and the organized responses of society to crime, those which label, identify and control such deviations from the social and legal norms. Deviance is perceived to be "a quality conferred" through an organized social response to what is generally accepted as deviant behavior. This concept focuses on explanations of social processes and their consequences rather than defining what is and is not deviance. Concern is directed towards the interplay between social events, reactions of people to their situations, and responses of mainstream society. "(S)ocial groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labeling them as outsiders. From this point of view, deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an 'offender.' The deviant is one to whom that label has successfully been applied; deviant behavior is behavior that people so label."³³

Having been labelled as criminals by the mainstream, people act accordingly. Their behavior reflects their interpretation of how society expects them to act. For example, if someone is referred to, "labelled," as a pimp, that person's lifestyle and/or behavior will correspond to what society stereotypically perceives a pimp to be, wearing flashy clothes, driving big cars,

using drugs, or committing violence. The behavior of the criminal then becomes an act of self-fulfilling prophecy. "No more self-defeating device could be discovered than the one society has developed in dealing with the criminal. It proclaims his career in such loud and dramatic forms that both he and the community accept the judgment as a fixed description. He becomes conscious of himself, as a criminal, and the community expects him to live up to his reputation, and will not credit him if he does live up to it."³⁴

While many theories of crime are concerned with individual responsibility for crime, other studies focus on the role which society plays. These analyses explain crime as being a product of the organization and structure of society, its economic and political systems as well as the human relations within society. Some studies suggest that individuals do not possess the power of self-determination. This suggests that people's fates are not controlled by themselves, but rather by the institutions of society. Edwin Schur concluded that crime will not be reduced until basic changes in the structure and quality of American life are made because many of the problems of crime are the creation of society itself.³⁵

The operation of society's institutions is of primary importance and concern in contrast to the imperatives of individuals. Free-will or individual

choice is subsumed by and subordinate to the forces that shape the organization of society. Human behavior is predominantly a process of adaption, reaction. People do not respond proactively to the conditions in which they live, but rather they respond reactively, adjusting to the stresses and pressures which confront them as these happen. Marxist critiques tend to perceive crime as a product of class conflict in society. Due to the inequities of the economic arrangements within society, capitalism has produced social and material conditions which are intolerable for those living at the fringes.

Poverty, discrimination, and social disorganization provide fertile ground for deviance and coupled with the insatiable desires of material consumption, this can lure many into crime. On the one hand, Marxists may often suggest that crime is a choice "forced" upon people. On the other hand, the choice of crime is believed to be rooted in individual selfishness and egoistic instincts, all cultivated by the culture of capitalism. The Marxist solution implies that a structural shift to socialism would eliminate both the material conditions and culture of capitalism that produces deviance.³⁶

Still other theories focus their efforts on the relationship between people's aspirations or expectations, and the opportunities enabling them to realize their dreams.³⁷ People's expectations contain a vision of a quality of life, which they perceive as being

attainable, or which they assume they should experience, as citizens of society. Problems arise when traditional avenues for achieving success are not available or, at best, limited by increased competition. A result would be that the regulatory norms for monitoring behavior break down, a state of anomie. A state of normlessness, anomie is "...conceived as a breakdown in the cultural structure, occurring particularly when there is an acute disjunction between cultural norms and goals and the socially structured capacities of members of the group to act in accord with them."³⁸

How do individuals adapt and/or adjust to various situations by which they are confronted? Survival options are determined in part by the pressures defining everyday life. Pressures influencing people's behavior and attitudes include material acquisition, securing social status as well as inclusion in mainstream society. "Social pressure for deviance is conceived as varying with the extent of dissociation between, on the one hand, the cultural goals and institutional norms men accept as binding, and on the other, the social position or situation in which they find themselves, making it relatively difficult or easy for them to live with these goals and norms. The greater the dissociation between cultural values and the facilities provided, the greater the pressure for deviance."³⁹ Though possessing free-will to choose their life styles, people's access to job

opportunities is largely determined by the structural and cultural organization of society.

As the socially acceptable and sanctioned means for making a living become scarce or change, people adapt to their conditions. Though denied access to legitimate job opportunities or to jobs offering a living wage, desire for the good life does not disappear. Instead, alternatives, innovations are conceived, developed and selected to correct their lack of participation within the mainstream.

Furthermore, the subculture tradition helps recruit people into criminal roles and criminal environments as a means to satiate their desire for success. Given the prevalence of crime within poverty-stricken neighborhoods, it is assumed that the poor would have greater access to and knowledge of illegal ways to make a living.⁴⁰ "(People) will turn to the criminal rackets only in fairly stable and cohesive slum neighborhoods where there exist well-organized criminal patterns that are also to some extent integrated with conventional values and structures of the community."⁴¹ Criminal activities are thus often seen as more viable means for guaranteeing survival or for realizing the "American Dream"; and criminals are viewed as role models after whom the young model their behavior.⁴²

The importance of survival crime lies in the integration of issues concerning individual

responsibility with structural implications of how society's institutions are organized and operate. Though individuals bear the responsibility for their own actions, survival crime suggests that society also shares responsibility for creating conditions in which crime can flourish while promoting dreams which are out of the grasp of many. "By treating criminals as animals and misfits, as enemies of the state, we are permitted to continue avoiding some basic questions about the dehumanizing effects of our social institutions. We keep criminals out of sight, so we are never forced to recognize and deal with the psychic punishment we inflict on them."⁴³

The concept of survival crime does not contradict or reject accepted criminological theories. Rather, the concept of survival crime borrows from other theories of crime, primarily from Merton, Cloward, Schur, and Quinney. Mainstream theories of criminology focus upon the concept of deviance as an objective method for defining acceptable and unacceptable forms of human behavior. However, "such an assumption (may be) fallacious; the social reality of crime tells us that behaviors are neither criminal nor noncriminal. All behaviors are commonly social, and they become criminal when they have been officially defined as such by authorized agents of the state."⁴⁴ Survival crime focuses upon the intentions underlying people's actions and

factors contributing to such choices. In doing so, it attempts to recognize that people's actions are a product of both free-will and social influences.

The struggle for survival is a common thread through human existence. People are primarily concerned with ensuring their survival and the reproduction of life. Their lives are spent in the pursuit of obtaining the necessities to guarantee their physical survival, such as food, clothing and shelter, as well as those necessities which nourish their psychological and spiritual well-being.⁴⁵ The reproduction of life is a combination of the material and social forces in life, which are not static, but rather are dynamic, "becoming" rather than simply just "being." "Human behavior is intentional, has meaning for the actors, is goal-oriented and takes place with an awareness of behavior consequence. Because people engage in social action, a social reality is created: interacting with others, we construct a meaningful world of everyday life."⁴⁶ Yet, the conditions in which people live are not solely the product of their creation, nor are the circumstances surrounding their lives solely their creation.

In understanding society, a basic assumption is that the social and economic institutions greatly influence and shape people's behaviors. "(S)ocieties depend...on basically competitive forces of social and economic interaction and upon substantial inequalities in the

allocation of social resources."⁴⁷ Despite the impact and power of social institutions, people can and do influence their world. "Human beings are limited by the opportunities that are available to them, but not all persons perceive the opportunities in the same way nor do they all act upon the ones that are available."⁴⁸ Thus, crime is part and parcel of the social reality with respect to the job opportunities which are created by society's institutions and those survival strategies which people choose in order to make a living.

Problems such as those can increase incidents of crime and hustling represents but one form of activity. "If society cannot provide me with a chance to earn a living for myself and my family, I am going out and get it by hook or crook. I will take a gun or a club and go get what I need for my family. I will not permit my children to suffer from hunger and cold when there is plenty in the community around me. I will join a gang and prey on my community; I will be a bootlegger; by some means or other, when there is so much abundance in food and wealth around me, I will get what is necessary to support myself and family by illegal and illicit means if I cannot obtain it by some honest labor."⁴⁹ Hustling is then a viable option for the alienated, marginal and working poor of society. "The fact that these activities are often "illegal" sometimes doesn't really matter, since life out of jail often seems as bad as life inside

prison, the deterrent effect of punishment is negligible."⁵⁰

Poverty is fertile soil for deviance. The lack of access to meaningful jobs, an absence of successful mainstream role models and an absence of social justice cultivate attitudes of failure, anger, hopelessness and cynicism within many of those who live at the margins of society. "For those with these experiences of unemployment and bitter want many workers are shifted in their moral moorings; some inevitably seek to gain and make their own, what they see in abundance around them, even by illicit and unlawful means. Where work fails, other means to maintain the social, personal, and family status will be put into use. Thus demoralization in the labor market seems to be related to the incidence and increase in mercenary crime."⁵¹

The social reality of poverty indicates that marginal members of society, the working poor and underclass,⁵² are unable to gain access to mainstream channels of grievances and change. In response to their situations, people turn to alternatives -- legitimate or not -- for redemption from their social reality. "For this population, the economic conditions of life are unusually degrading. The high level of poverty crime and petty hustles cannot be separated from the problems of survival."⁵³ The problems of everyday living in poverty neutralizes the positive influences of mainstream values,

fostering the development of a culture of poverty, which is both an adaption by and a reaction of the poor to their marginal position in society. It represents an effort to cope with horrors of the realization of the improbability of achieving success in terms of the values and goals of the mainstream.⁵⁴ Failure to integrate and incorporate the poor into the mainstream creates such attitudes of hopelessness and despair, suggesting the rewards of crime out-weigh the deterrents. "(T)he fabric and texture of life in (poverty)...provide an environment in which opportunities for criminal activity are manifold, and in which the rewards for engaging in crime appear to be high, higher than the penalties for crime and higher than the rewards for avoiding it."⁵⁵

Urban slums and ghettos create conditions in which the proliferation of crime is possible. Former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark surmised that most crimes are economically motivated, money and property being the main goals of such activities. "Historically, "street" crime has tended to be concentrated in the marginal sectors of the labor force and in the demoralized layers of the working class, irrespective of skin color or ethnic origin."⁵⁶ Furthermore, crime has been suggested as a rational response to the social reality in which the working poor find themselves. The point being that traditional factors for developing social definitions of values are based more on economic success than kinship

and ethnic bonds. As a result, social integration becomes tied to the welfare of the economy.⁵⁷

Inasmuch as the number and type of survival options are limited, people seek alternatives to escape their situations. "Those raised in poverty...do not have such easy access to money. If they are to obtain it criminally, they must impinge on those who already have it to direct its flow.... The criminal ways which we encourage (them) to choose will be those closest at hand. From vandalism to mugging to armed robbery."⁵⁸ Given the type and availability of jobs in the inner cities, crimes against property, which represent the greater number of crimes victimizing people, often are mirror reflections of the social malice which afflicts people in poverty. "Many kinds of crime 'available' in the ghetto often bring higher monetary return, offer even higher social status and, at least in some cases, like running numbers, sometimes carry relatively low risk of arrest and punishment. Given those alternative opportunities, the choice between "legitimate" and 'illegitimate' activities is often quite simple."⁵⁹

Changes in the economy and the deterioration of the social conditions weigh most heavily on those in poverty. The underclass faces problems of how to make a living while the working poor are engaged in a struggle to earn a living wage. Movement from an industrial-based economy to a service sector economy has helped construct a way of

life which is becoming both impersonal and anomic.

"Childhood is forbidden to become manhood and manhood is forbidden to die a natural death, mausoleums in which we bury the dead rich, slums in which we bury the living poor."⁶⁰ As a result social disruptions such as survival crime magnify the problems of marginality and deprivation. "The army of marginally employed comprise a significant segment of both politically radical and socially deviant cultures."⁶¹

The deprivation of the poor confirm their alienation from and marginal positions within society. The working poor and underclass exist in part due to economic changes or advances in traditional job opportunities. High rates of unemployment and dependence upon government assistance programs characterize those individuals upon whom the pressures of poverty impact most. The downward pull of a sluggish economy, increased use of technology in the production process, and the flight of businesses out of cities threaten the economic security of workers. The impending threat of 'slipping' out of the working class into the underclass, can prompt people to seek new ways to first provide for the welfare of themselves and their families and their own welfare above the welfare of their neighbors. "It is becoming increasingly clear that these marginals (may) threaten to destroy the fruits of general affluence, and indeed threaten to disrupt the entire system. Increasing crime rates (may be) merely the first

indicator of this situation."⁶²

The growth and sophistication of technology mark the evolution from a labor-intensive to capital-intensive labor market. As a consequence of such changes, traditional channels for incorporating the poor into the mainstream have changed and are become. Changes in the economy demand new job skills and for those who are unable to keep pace with such changes, entry into or remaining within mainstream society is difficult. With limited job prospects for a quality life, crime, as well as welfare, becomes a viable survival option. Given the tenuous and depressing conditions in which many people live, survival crime illustrates to what can be referred to as an apolitical form of social protest. Living without in a land of plenty cultivates a sense of relative deprivation which can tempt people to crime to get what they want or feel they deserve. Perceiving mainstream society as being unresponsive to their needs and in part responsible for their circumstances, people are encouraged to participate in criminal activities to make a living. With the American Dream and being a solid citizen viewed as part of a con by the mainstream, people are left with hopes that "...one day, maybe, (they) will hit a number. So if...the numbers are taken away...then (society) takes away their dreams. They know they are not going to make off their wages."⁶³

Social relations are indicative and illustrative of the dominant ethos of society's culture. Though people may not be directly impacted by how society is organized, the system does impact upon people. "A reflective response to a social environment, assimilated by its members, is always related to the needs of that environment. Defined operationally, that environment is the largely unreflective behavior patterns of a specific set of groups, e.g. a class or set of institutions."⁶⁴ Given the preeminence of business the morality of the market place has evolved into a dominant component within the mainstream culture's value scheme. "Men are valued, not for themselves, but for their bank account."⁶⁵ Standards of importance and success are focused upon the dominance of wealth and power, often perceived as the "pursuit of happiness," where the rich are successful and the poor are failures.

People's perceptions about their world and their role within it are influential in the decision of how one makes a living. Their perceptions are a unique blend of various factors, including their expectations of the "good life" and of job opportunities for enjoying that life. Having access to meaningful work is a requisite for sharing in the wealth and this affects the career-choices of people. "No living thing can be content or even go on living, unless its wants are sufficiently harmonized with the means at its disposal."⁶⁶ Failure to

bring into equilibrium individual expectations and opportunities for success increase the likelihood for deviance, crime. "Inevitably, at any time many of the 'best' opportunities of economic survival open to different citizens will violate some of those historically determined laws. Driven by the fear of economic insecurity and by a competitive desire to gain some of the goods, unequally distributed throughout the society, many individuals will eventually become criminals."⁶⁷

As the plight of the underclass becomes more anarchic, increases in violence and crime are often reflective of social disorganization and crisis. "The cultural and environment of the urban area created by the conditions and forces of (the economy)...create among its members interpersonal relationships that foster violence...as displacement, as convenience, and as a personal solution to the oppressive and exploitation problems generated by the wider society."⁶⁸ Though the desire for and expectation of a high quality life is as great as for those in the mainstream, for the poor theirs is but a dream deferred. "Increases in violent crime and in crime in general have roots in the changing perspective of people's role in life and what they expect out of it. The older generation was more subservient and accepting of second class status, not so with the younger generation. "They say, 'I'm going to take the money.'"⁶⁹

Not so much a new phenomenon survival crime has become part of society, a way of making money. In explaining the link between crime and unemployment, the National Urban League has "first...recognized that all human beings have insatiable desires and that our desires are influenced by the society in which we live. Second we recognize that all of us are not equal, either in terms of ability or in terms of opportunity. And third, we recognize that monetary income and ownership of personal property determine our status in this society. All of us with our desires and differences in preferences and tastes, and our unequal abilities and opportunities, strive for that status, and we use whatever means are available to us. For some of us the only means are illegitimate ones." ⁷⁰

CHAPTER TWO
Making A Living in America:
From Farm to Factory

Survival crime is the process, a criminal process, by which people obtain the necessities of life, what they need to survive. Whether as a need to literally provide for their survival or as a desire to experience a higher standard of living, survival crime is often synonymous with what people associate "making it" to mean. In today's society, this expression commonly refers to a person's job. Yet, making a living is not restricted to either a specific segment of the labor market or to a type of worker; occupations range from minimum wage jobs to professional positions. Examples include such occupations as being a cook, a carpenter, a clerk or a janitor, as well as professions such as nursing, teaching, medicine, law or business. So while making a living may describe various kinds of jobs, it is the means by which people insure their survival.

Making a living does not simply refer to only those survival options within the labor market. It may also mean receiving government assistance, welfare, food stamps or social security insurance. The receipt of government subsidies may be the only means of income or way some people -- i.e. single-parent mothers -- make ends meet surviving from "check to check." Making a living also refers to activities found outside of the labor market, i.e. crime or hustling. Regardless of what people may do, making a living focuses on what they do to survive.

Though making a living primarily is what people do to provide for their subsistence or possess material comforts, it does possess other implications as well. For example, it provides insight into the motivations and those circumstances leading to the choice of how they make a living. People's attitudes and perceptions about their present life-situations as well as about the possibilities for the future are often revealed by their choice of survival options. Their choices often indicate how people may interact with each other and with society. Finally, the impact of people's environment also indicates the range of options of how they can earn a living. Making a living is obviously more than a one dimensional expression.

Whether it happens within a simple economic arrangement or within a highly complex system, such as today's post-industrial society, making a living is a primary focus of human concern. In the past making a living has made reference to various forms of labor, many of which have become obsolete or redundant. Today it can signify a career or an occupation which is located in and part of the "regular" economy. (Refer to Figure I)

The economy is predicated upon the buying and selling of goods and services. Survival is determined by wage, and instead of the division of labor and its constituent social relations being based on the nature or kind of work, the social function of work is mediated by

ENERGY

Coal mining
Gas & Electric Utilities

Petroleum refining and related products.

Crude petroleum and natural gas.

AGRICULTURE

Dairy products
Livestock
Food grains
Feed grains and grass seed

Tobacco
Vegetables
Oil-bearing crops
Forestry & fishery products

Miscellaneous crops
Poultry and eggs
Cotton
Fruits and nuts

HIGH TECHNOLOGY

Complete guided missiles
Calculating and accounting machinery.
Scales and balances.
Industrial controls.
Telephone and telegraph equipment.
Electron tubes.
Electronic components.
Aircraft

Aircraft parts and equipment.
Aircraft engines and engine parts.
Engineering and scientific instruments.
Dental equipment and supplies.
Optical instruments and lenses.
Photographic equipment and supplies.
Electronic computing equipment.
Typewriters

Office machines
Radio and TV receiving sets.
Radio and TV communications equipment
Semiconductors
Measuring and control instruments
Surgical appliances and supplies.
Watches and clocks
Ophthalmic goods.

SERVICES

Hotels and lodging places
Beauty and barber shops
Advertising
Eating and drinking places
Motion pictures
Doctors and dentists
Other Medical and Health Services
Nonprofit organizations and miscellaneous professional services.
Railroads
Motor Freight

Air carriers and related services
Transportation services
Radio and TV broadcasting
Communications other than radio and TV
Banking
Insurance carriers and agents
Real Estate
Miscellaneous business services
Automobile repair and services
Amusement and recreation services

Hospitals
Educational services
Social services
Passenger transportation
Water transportation and related services
Pipelines, except natural gas
Water and sewer services
Credit agencies and securities brokers
Owner-occupied dwellings

OLD-LINE INDUSTRY

The 19 basic industry groups include:

Food and tobacco manufacturers.
Textiles and textile products.
Lumber and wood products.

Paper and paper products.
Chemical and allied products.
Stone, clay, and glass products.
Construction.

Metal mining.
Metals and metal products.
Electrical and nonelectrical machinery and equipment.

FIGURE 1**WHO'S WHO IN THE FIVE SECTORS**

Business Week: June 1, 1981

an exchange process.¹ In order to make a living, people enter the marketplace with various forms of "human capital," ranging from raw labor power to skills reflected in various academic credentials and occupational titles.² If an employer is found, an individual's survival is assured temporarily and he can participate in the mainstream. If people are unable to find work, then alternatives are found.

Making a living can also be a barometer measuring people's expectations and hopes about their future. It may embody their perception of the American Dream or it may represent their notion of what their "subsistence rights" are.³ As an impetus for social interaction what people do for a living often is reflective of a desired standard of living or simply an average quality of life.

The process of making a living becomes then a means for achieving a certain end. With the increasing complexity of society, work for many people becomes simply a means to achieve a certain end of earning a living rather than building a "career."⁴ Whether people live to work or work to live, they do so in order to enjoy a certain quality of life. For people employed in "good jobs," most would keep working even after inheriting money to live comfortably without working. The exception would be individuals employed at unskilled jobs -- typifying low wage, menial, dead-end jobs.⁵ Therefore, the problem is not only what people do, but

whether it is socially and legally acceptable.

Mainstream society has evolved from one dominated by trading concerns to one where subsistence and cash crop farming was king to the rise and then fall of industrialism and finally to its present focus of economic activity in a service/information society.⁶ In general, a sketch of the occupational history of society is of clerk succeeding laborer succeeding farmer. It is within this framework that people were able to choose how they would survive, at what kind of job would they be employed.⁷

While the settling of the new frontier allowed Europe's disfranchised political and religious freedoms previously denied to them, a primary lure was access to economic opportunity unavailable within the overcrowded cities of Europe. Displaced farmers, returning soldiers, unemployed craftsmen, paupers and small merchants, who made the journey across the ocean, brought with them dreams of economic opportunity. The expansiveness of the land and a seemingly endless reservoir of natural resources and opportunities, captured the imaginations of all new-comers. How people made their living was not so much a question of the availability of work, and to what extent people were able to share in the available opportunities. According to Adam Smith, the prosperity of America depended upon one simple factor -- plenty of land.⁸ One's fortune could be readily gained from hard

work and sacrifice for the future. Regardless of how people chose to make their living, it was from the fruits of their own labor that their survival depended.

Trade opportunities in fur, fishing, lumber and other natural resources were generally monopolized by large commercial interests. The remainder were involved in commerce, competing in the small luxuries market in the cities and in the budding industries, such as textiles.⁹ Farming was the primary means of survival for the vast majority of immigrants to this country. In 1820, over 70% of the labor force was located in farming. This country attracted two kinds of farmers, those who would grow crops primarily for their own consumption or for sale locally and those who raised "cash crops" for sale on the global market. Plantation economies, located basically in the south, dominated the economic landscape of society and the cash crop markets of tobacco, indigo, rice, sugar and cotton. Subsistence farming, located primarily in the northeast and along the early western frontier. When these agricultural operations produced surpluses for sale, their commercial outlets were the local cities and towns.

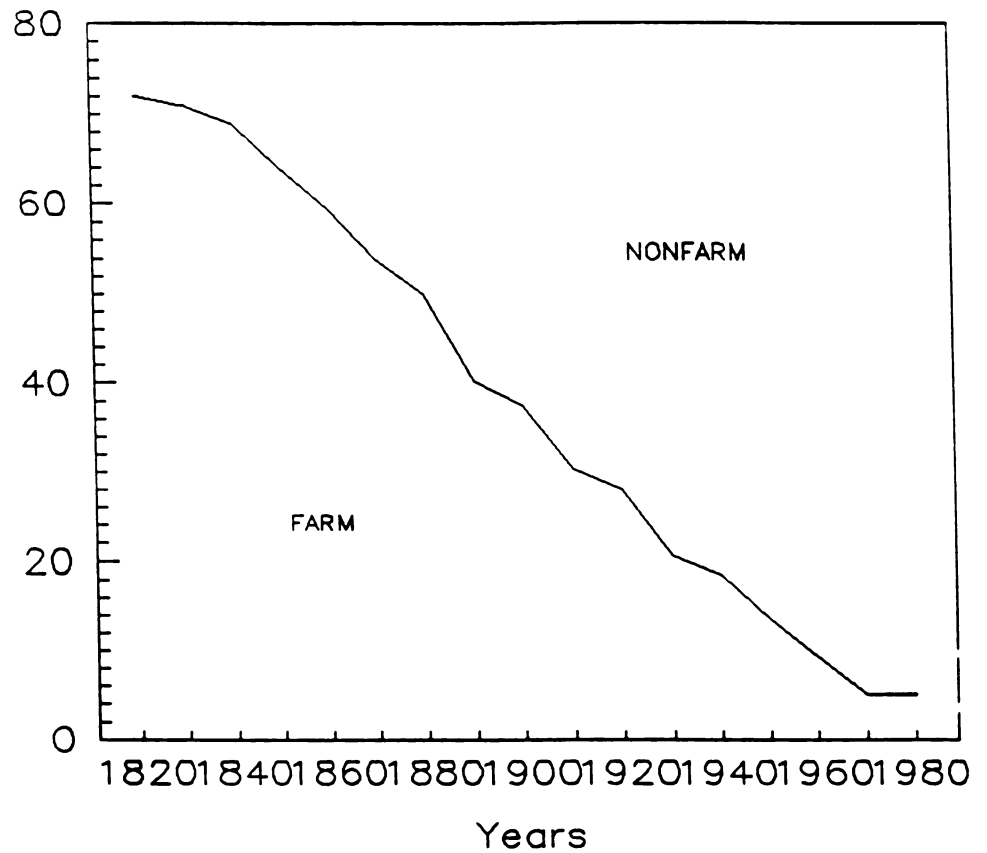
In the cities, employment opportunities were representative of the purpose or function which each individual city served. Most of the early urban centers were established primarily as military outposts and as hubs for the transportation for goods to market.¹⁰ As a

result, the lion's share of jobs were linked to those enterprises connected with transportation, finance, trading companies and government/military. Banking and government functions and commercial entrepreneurship were the bailiwicks of the aristocrats and wealthy merchant class. For the common man, this meant employment as laborers, seamen, servants or craftsmen within the small luxuries trade. Since job opportunities were limited within the urban economies, as indicated above, the majority of people turned to the land to seek their fortunes.

The late 1870's witnessed a fruition of those seeds of early industrialism. Textile mills, shipping and ship building and other "spin-off" industries were linked to the plantation economy.¹¹ These early precursors of an industrial economy provided services to the needs of cash crop farming, such as transporting goods to both domestic and foreign markets, processing raw materials, and manufacturing goods for sale. These businesses helped fuel urban development and a growth in the populations of the cities in the northeast and south that created new economic opportunities for making a living.

With the continued expansion of the frontier westward, opportunities in farming continued to represent a primary attraction for immigrants. In 1880, 80% of the labor force was still engaged in agriculture. (Refer to Figure II). Yet despite the idyllic and romantic

Percent of Labor Force



HISTORIC DECLINE in the fraction of the U.S. labor force employed in agriculture reflects the high degree of mechanization achieved on the farm in the past century and a half. In recent years agriculture in the U.S. has actually become more mechanized than manufacturing.

FIGURE 2

U.S. LABOR FORCE EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE

Source: Scientific American, Vol. 247 No. 3

illusions of subsistence farming the harshness, uncertainty, and misery of this life began to take its toll. The end of the 19th century witnessed the infancy of a process which would change the American Dream from an agrarian arcadia to urban sprawl. What resulted was the steady migration of people from the farms to the cities in search of reliable and lucrative employment.¹² People forged a path from the country to the city and from the south to the north in hopes of finding their dreams within society's industrial sector. The smoke stack slowly began to replace the barn and silo as America's symbol of the land of opportunity.

In the cities, work as domestics and servants, transport laborers, and in other "export industries" was readily available in spin-off businesses during the golden years agricultural production. (Refer to Figure III). However, the focus of the urban economy had evolved to where factory production and commercial manufacturing began to have a life of its own, no longer solely dependent on the plantation economy.¹³ As the need for labor grew, European immigrants settling in the urban north and midwest and Chinese and Japanese laborers in the west formed a significant portion of the work force in the new businesses.¹⁴ These new workers provided the labor required to fuel the growth of this industrial explosion of the late 1880's and 1890's. Economic activity shifted from the farms to the factories, and

Labor Force							Employment						
YEA R	TOT AL	FREE SLAV E	AGRI CULT URE	FISH ING	MINI NG	CONS TRU CTION	Manufacturing			Transport			Service ESTI MATES
							TOT AL	COT TON	PRIM ARY	TRA DE	OCE AN	RAIL WAY	
							PERS ONS	TEXT ILE	IRON AND		ESSE LS		
							ENG AGE	WAG E	STEE L				
							D	EAR	WAG				
								NERS	E				
									EAR				
									NERS				
1960	74060		5970	45	709	3640	17145	300	530	14051	135	853	1850 2489
1950	65470		7870	77	901	3029	15648	350	550	12152	130	1373	1270 1995
1940	56290		9575	60	925	1876	11309	400	485	9328	150	1160	1086 2300
1930	48830		10560	73	1009	1988	9884	372	375	8122	160	1659	1044 2270
1920	41610		10790	53	1180	1233	11190	450	460	5845	205	2236	752 1660
1910	37480		11770	68	1068	1949	8332	370	306	5320	150	1855	595 2090
1900	29070		11680	69	637	1665	5895	303	222	3970	105	1040	436 1800
1890	23320		9960	60	440	1510	4390	222	149	2960	120	750	350 1580
1880	17390		8920	41	253	900	3290	175	130	1930	125	416	230 1130
1870	12930		6790	28	180	780	2470	135	78	1310	135	160	170 1000
1860	11110	8770	2340	5880	31	176	520	1530	122	43	890	145	80 115 600
1850	8250	6280	1970	4520	30	102	410	1200	92	35	530	135	20 80 350
1840	5660	4180	1480	3570	24	32	290	500	72	24	350	95	7 45 240
1830	4200	3020	1180	2965	15	22	NA	55	20		70		30 160
1820	3135	2185	950	2470	14	13	NA	12	5		50		20 110
1810	2330	1590	740	1950	6	11	75	10	5		60		12 70
1800	1900	1370	530	1400	5	10		1	1		40		5 40

FIGURE 3

Series D 167-181. Labor Force and Employment, by Industry: 1800 to 1960
(In thousands of persons, 10 years old and over)

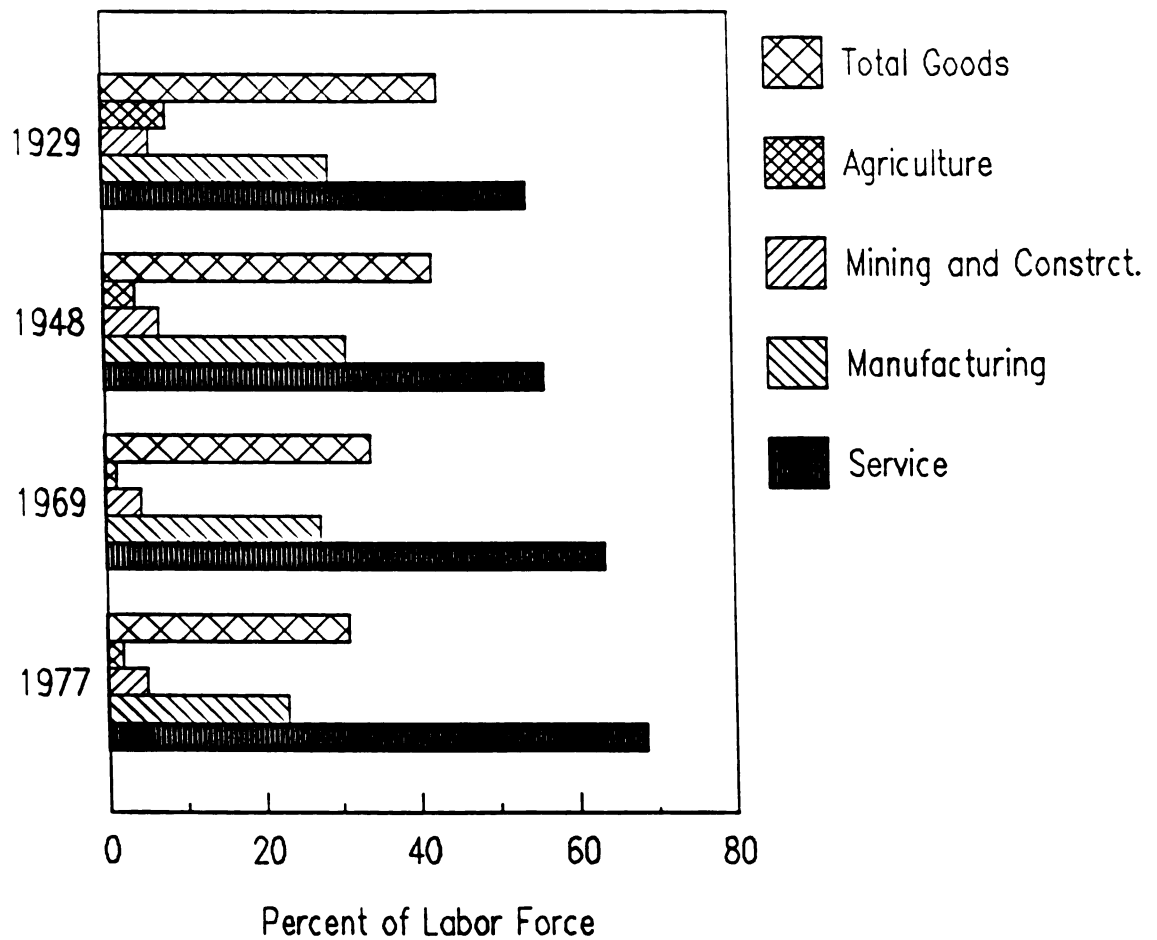
Source: Historical Statistics of the U.S., Colonial Times to 1970. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census 1975

urban development mirrored the changes wrought by this new economic thrust. The arrival of masses of people into the industrial centers produced positive and negative results. While business prospered with an increasing workforce, the life within the cities did not fare as well. The downside of the urban explosion fueled the recreation of the slums of urban Europe.¹⁵ The inner cities became home to large numbers of immigrants and migrants who were absorbed into the ghettos. The quality of life eroded as problems of urban pollution, congestion and crime increased.¹⁶ As early as the late 1880's, these conditions began to spark a movement to the serenity of the urban fringe. The inhabitants of these communities marked the first origins of suburbs. Nonetheless, manufacturing and commercial interests continued to locate and proliferate within the central city. Businesses supplied a growing middle class and working class with food, clothing, housing and small luxuries, the necessities for survival within modern society. As America came into the 20th century, it was apparent that one's survival had become inexorably tied to the vitality and health of the industrial and commercial market place.

Visions of an agrarian arcadia became increasingly faint as concrete and steel forged economic growth and urban development. Employment in the factory became the prime means by which people made a living. In 1929, over

25% of the workforce was employed in manufacturing while over 50% had jobs in service industries. (Refer to Figure IV). With the industrial boom, wages became the medium through which people secured their survival. Purchasing of goods and commodities for one's sustenance began to replace the self-sufficiency by prospering from the toil and the sweat of one's brow. In addition, money, obtained from being employed, was not only a determinant of how well people lived, but also of whether or not they were accepted into the mainstream. Life on the outside meant being put in public or in privately funded poor houses or surviving by crime.¹⁷ The self-determination of the independent farmer gave way to the dependency of work in the factory -- if one was to work.

Changes also occurred with the symbols of freedom and equality and the concept of individualism. "The evolution of society between the late 19th century to the early 20th century eroded the primacy of individualism in American cultural life. The spirit of the rugged individualist symbolized the growth and expansion of society as well as attested to the wealth of opportunities for realizing the American Dream. The early 1900's signaled a deterioration in the importance of the spirit of the rugged individual which was being replaced by the corporate personality, a consequence of the rise to power of industrial corporations. This new symbol of mainstream society produced conformity to

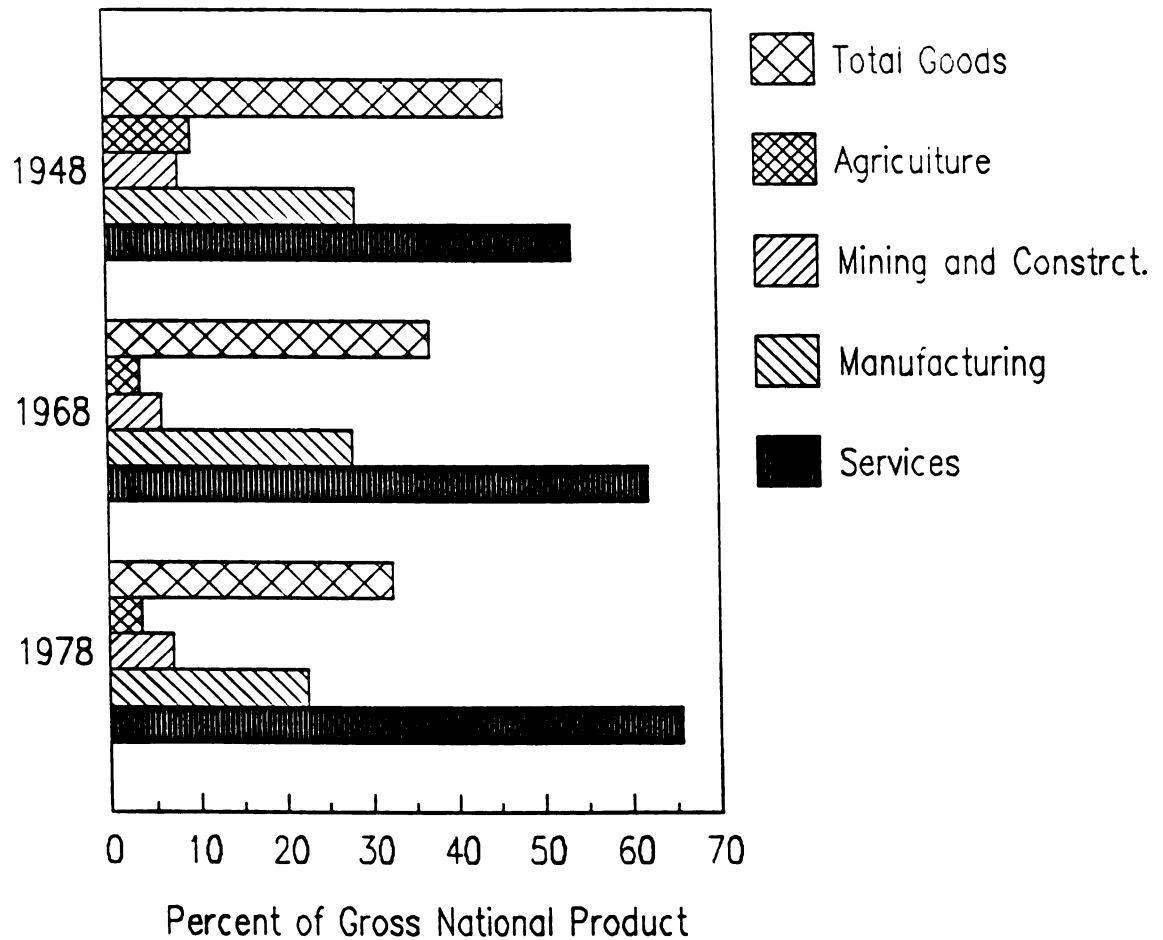


SHIFTS IN EMPLOYMENT since 1929 are charted for the goods-producing industries and the service sector. The service sector includes distributive services such as communications, utilities and wholesale trade; retail trade; consumer services such as restaurants, dry cleaning and recreation; producer services such as accounting, banking and legal work, and nonprofit and government services including health, education and national defense.

FIGURE 4

SHIFTS IN EMPLOYMENT OF U.S. LABOR FORCE

Source: Scientific American, Vol. 244 No. 3



SHARES OF GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT have shifted among the major sectors in the past 30 years. The contribution from services has increased, whereas the contributions from the four goods-producing sectors has declined. Taken together, the goods-producing sectors accounted for 46 percent of the gross national product in 1948 and 34 percent in 1978. The share of services rose from 54 percent to 66 percent of the gross national product.

FIGURE 4

(Continued)

PERCENT OF GNP BY SECTOR OF THE ECONOMY

Source: Scientific American, Vol. 244 No. 3

normative standards of a newly-emerging homogeneous mass culture.¹⁸ Opportunities for making a living belonged to the entrepreneur and to people, who worked hard, obeyed the rules and delayed gratification.

With increases in the quality of life, often measured by the level of material consumption, possession goods from a burgeoning consumer market came to be symbols of success.¹⁹ Changes occurred in the labor process reducing the need for skilled labor.²⁰ The production process was subjected to time management studies in efforts to make it more efficient; the assembly line of Henry Ford typified such changes. The knowledge and skill required for production of goods, once the property of the worker, were subdivided into its sequential, component parts. Instead of workers beginning and completing production of a particular item, work was broken into separate units, piece-meal work, eliminating the power of creation and execution, a source of meaning for working. This eventually reduced the skill and challenge of work and degraded jobs performed by workers.²¹ The consequences, of robbing workers of the meaning of work, ultimately rendered the skilled craftsman a dinosaur in the industrial age. Having their self-esteem and pride of accomplishment in the work place minimized by technology, people turned to other means for self-worth and success. This void was filled by a growing consumerism created and dispersed by the

manufacturing of affordable consumer goods.²²

The economic explosion of the 1920's was given impetus by a budding consumer economy and culture that sought to capture the market of a growing middle class and working class. "Mass consumption has been conceived as an apotheosis of human achievement. The wonder of the machine is borne out in the modern infiltration of machine made goods into the lives and aspirations of people."²³ Industrialism had once focused upon the production of goods already produced by hand; now the focus was on products developed as a result of industrialization and mass production. Radios, cars, household appliances and personal items became available to the mass market of consumers. The good life came to mean the material prosperity and comfort afforded by industrialism.

The middle class became the backbone of an economic take-off, associated with the 1920's, that incorporated many people, previously living at the fringes, into mainstream society. The underside of industrialism, homelessness, crime and poverty all were thought to have been eliminated in this era.²⁴ The availability of jobs and business opportunities provided numerous possibilities for making a living. The decade of the 1920's was hailed as proof that the consumer economy of a free enterprise system could solve the problems facing humanity -- and not socialism or communism as the Russian

Revolution claimed.²⁵ It was believed that the unemployed and impoverished were responsible for their own predicaments and that hard work was the solution. These individuals only had to "pull themselves up by their own boot straps" to share in society's wealth.

Despite the crash of 1929, industrialism and urbanization were the hallmarks for future success. Perceptions of the cities being the "lands of milk and honey" were originally fueled during the boom cycles of business, despite recessions with the family farm. Stories of success dotted the pages of newspapers and magazines, and in tales passed from person to person in letters home or by word-of-mouth.²⁶ The exodus from the rural south and midwest to the urban north and west coast continued as people traveled up from Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, and Kentucky to cities like Detroit, Chicago and Cleveland in search of jobs in the auto, steel and chemical industries. Even during the 1929 stock market crash, people, motivated by hopes of finding jobs, chased rumors of work in the cities. During the Great Depression, Oklahomans left their dust bowl farms to work the fields of the west (captured in the works of many such as The Grapes of Wrath by John Steinbeck.²⁷ Others moved from Ohio to Pennsylvania and Alabama as well as from east Texas and Arkansas to Canada in search of ways of earning a living.²⁸

During the depression, the economy began to change and seek out new directions within the consumer goods sector. As a result, many traditional avenues for making a living became scarce while others disappeared all together. Prior to WW II, economic recovery was linked in part to a combination of several factors, of which federal government intervention was crucial. The government created new job opportunities, i.e., Works Progress Administration and Civil Corps, in the absence of a strong private sector. This resurgence helped to restore a vitality and cohesiveness within a society threatened by poverty and a hopelessness of being without viable options for making a living. This intervention assisted the economy's "private hand" to stimulate businesses so that jobs, and not crime, would be the survival option of choice again.²⁹

Following the war, fears of a renewed economic downturn hovered over society.³⁰ The opportunities of a wartime economy disappeared with a return to a "peace time" economy. Making a living still meant being connected to the urban industrial economy; in 1948, approximately one in three jobs were in manufacturing.³¹ To prevent a possible return to a decade of poverty and hopelessness, the federal government assisted private sector initiatives to further advance the commitment to an urban industrial-based economy. A federal government commitment to a nationwide highway system for national

defense, the Marshall Plan for the economic recovery of western Europe, technological advances in industrial and agriculture production and a boom in suburban growth helped to fuel a new economic take-off.³² This economic upswing renewed people's faith in a mainstream that provided people with opportunities for making a living.

Cities still were the recipients of new waves of people seeking jobs. The mechanization of agricultural production expedited the migration of people from the farms of the south and midwest as a historically labor-intensive system began to incorporate new technologies and petro chemicals into the production process. For example, the 1950's witnessed the mechanization of agriculture and triggered a mass migration from the countryside to the city.³³ Machines replaced the hands of workers who once planted, tended and harvested the crops. In response to their displacement, people followed the lead of their forbearer who migrated to the industrial factories in the north to chase the American Dream.

During the 1950's and 1960's, work in factories and other areas of manufacturing was generally plentiful. This era of general economic growth helped incorporate into a growing consumer working class, individuals and families previously excluded from enjoying such a high standard of living. Years of pent-up consumerism across levels of the working class, beginning in the Depression and extending through WW II, were unleashed. Businesses

scrambled to meet these new demands for products, new homes, new cars, luxury items, etc. This growth in the domestic economy coincided with business' unprecedented growth with both the western European and Far Eastern (i.e., Japan) markets. Employment in manufacturing and construction experienced steady increases in the labor force from 1880 to 1960. (Refer to Figure III). Higher wages, good medical and insurance benefits and better working conditions on factory jobs were the plums within the labor market for working class. Many of these positions did not require prohibitively high job prerequisites, such as technical skills or a college degree and thus helped to incorporate people previously excluded into the work force. This allowed people to not only enter the mainstream, but to advance up the occupational ladder to a higher standard of living.

Each generation expects to surpass the standard of living of their parents, opportunities have to exist, and this is possible through sustained economic growth and development which create jobs so that the young can inherit a better life. These expectations and perceptions produced by prosperity resulted in people assuming that an ever-increasing quality of life was inevitable. Upon graduation from school or discharge from the military, young people expected to enter the work force and get "good-paying" jobs and professional careers. Owning a car, buying a home, or having the

latest fashions were the ingredients of such expectations, not just dreams. Not only were the passions of the mainstream inflamed during this prosperity, but many of the previously dispossessed entered into the mainstream. Jobs in new industries, newly created job training programs, and programs targeted for the growth of small and minority-owned businesses all helped fuel the economy and raise hopes for an ever-brighter future. This expanding job market not only meant an improved standard of living for those already in the mainstream, but a life preserver to help others from being drowned in the whirlpool of poverty.

Amidst this long romance with a growing economy and an expanding labor market, the steady increase in the quality of life began to slow for inner-city workers. These trends had their roots within the same decades which served as the impetus for the economic take-off of the 1950's and 1960's. Suburban sprawl, an increasing dependence on capital intensive rather than labor intensive technology, and new economic focus from an industrial based to an information/service sector based economy all began to develop. These factors had evolved from being conduits to barriers retarding people's access into the mainstream.³⁴ In the mid 1950's, society was experiencing a period of high prosperity and productivity within the industrial sector. Yet by early 1957, subtle changes began to happen: white collar jobs started to

out-number blue collar jobs and the origins of the globalization of the information age took root in society.³⁵ Though the influence of these developments would not be noticeable immediately, they would establish a pattern which would eventually come to the fore in the 1970's.³⁶

Traditional jobs in industry and manufacturing were disappearing and these job skills were becoming redundant in today's economy. In the auto industry, the age of robotics has arrived; spot-welding, no longer performed by people, is performed now by robots. By creating jobs on the one hand while eliminating jobs on the other, technology has played a dual role in creating these conditions. High tech, computer and engineering are examples of jobs which will afford people a high living standard. Moreover, the bulk of the work force is able to transfer skills from the factory floor to the computer terminal. It is predicted that the service sector will experience great occupation growth in such labor-intensive areas as clerical, janitorial and food services, positions which do not subsidize a quality life.

Cities of the old industrial age are becoming 20th-century "ghost towns." The seeds of the new economic age had begun to germinate during the times of unchecked prosperity and rising living standards. The last hired, also the ones who tasted prosperity least, were often the

first laid off during the mini-recessions of the late 1970's. In many cases, these individuals were "pioneers," being the first in their families to break the cycles of poverty, or even graduate from college. During the recessions, often there is not a safety net upon which these individuals can rely. Instead they lose whatever gains they had achieved, and fall back to the margins of society.

Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, and Pittsburgh began to experience massive problems in housing, education, shrinking tax bases, social service demands and crime. The traditional means by which people made a living, began to disappear or were unavailable in sufficient numbers as the demand out-paced the supply for these quality jobs. The numbers of industrial and manufacturing jobs were declining, becoming obsolete and redundant in a restructured economy. Manufacturing employment in the midwest and northeast declined by 10% from 1971-1980. (Refer to Figure IV). Because these positions provided workers with good benefits, high wages and security, the wealth and solvency of local communities also became adversely affected. Real personal income had increased by only 2.1% during the same period despite an increase in the cost of living. (Refer to Figure IV). The quality of life of both worker and community declined in this shifting economy.

The economic prosperity of the 1960's and early 1970's reinforced people's faith that all tomorrows were bright. People continued to migrate to the urban-industrial centers in hopes of finding jobs like others before them had done. Yet, the oil crisis of 1973-1974 ignited a slowdown in economic growth and in the late 1970's, stagflation gripped the economy. This marked a period of decreased job opportunities, high inflation and general economic insecurity.

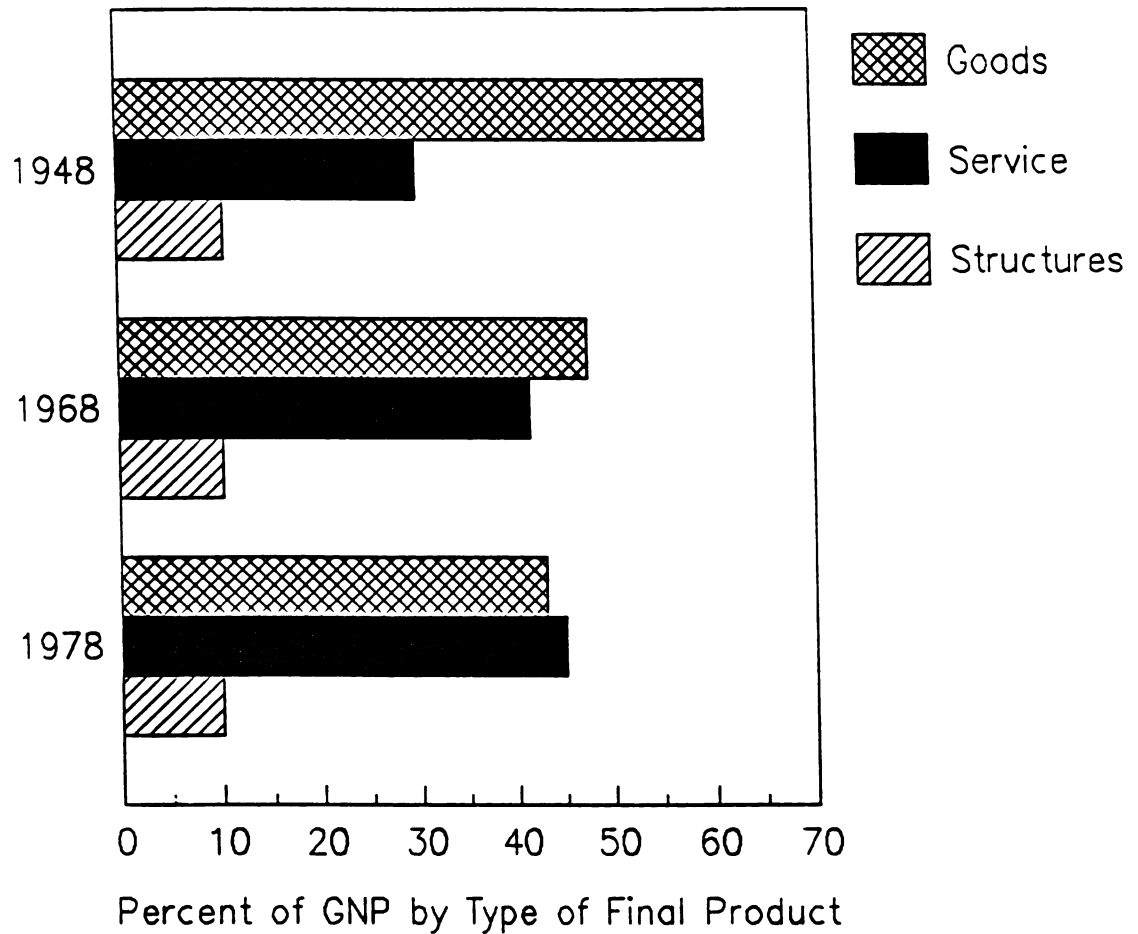
During the mid 1970's, cities like Los Angeles, Phoenix, Tampa, and Atlanta became the beneficiaries of economic development and relocation. For example, employment in manufacturing increased by approximately 2.4% between 1971-1980 in the west and south and personal income rose 4.5% (Refer to Figure IV). As the costs of business became more attractive in the south and southwest, the Third World represented yet still another alternative for business investment. The overseas expansion of business further added to the problems faced by the northern urban-industrial centers.

The new assembly centers of Brazil, Korea, Taiwan, Haiti and Singapore replaced those manufacturing plants of the rust bowl, further accelerating their economic decline. The children and grandchildren of those workers, who had originally built society's great industries and corporations, were unable to reap the economic success for which their parents and grandparents

had been in part responsible.

Shrinking opportunities often pushed people away from traditional ways of making a living to seek alternatives. In 1948 almost 35% of the work force was employed in manufacturing while the total dropped to almost 22% in 1977. During this same period, jobs in the service sector rose approximately 55% to almost 70%. (Refer to Figure IV). Continued migration to the cities and from economically depressed regions to prosperous regions (the Snowbelt to the Sunbelt) captured the frustrations and desperations of people. However, business growth and economic development had laid barren the labor market of the inner-city. The sunbelt and the suburbs continued to attract businesses from the wastelands of the rust bowl cities. People left the security of family and familiarity of one's environment for jobs to earn a living. What had once started as a trickle at the end of WW II had now become steady economic development outside of the old industrial belts. In 1948, the importance of manufactured goods, as a percentage of the GNP, was almost 60% while for services it was less than 36%. By 1977, manufactured goods fell to just over 40% and services had risen to approximately 45%. (Refer to Figure V.)

Low wage menial jobs still remained, surviving the exodus of businesses and a restructuring of the national economy. By 1980, there were 18-19 million jobs in



CHANGING IMPORTANCE of goods with respect to services when the gross national product is classified according to type of final product is reflected in this chart. The share of the service sector is actually understated, since by a convention of national-income accounting the output of nonprofit, government and certain producer services is measured only by what the workers are paid. The total value of what is produced is not taken into consideration.

FIGURE 5

CHANGING IMPORTANCE OF ECONOMIC SECTORS IN GNP

Source: Scientific American, Vol. 244 No. 3

Northeast & Midwest	-0.1%	+0.6%	+2.1%	+2.4%
New England	+1.3	+0.7	+2.1	+2.5
Mid-Atlantic	-0.9	0	+1.3	+2.2
East North Central	-0.3	+0.7	+2.4	+2.4
West North Central	+1.7	+2.1	+3.3	+2.8
South & West	+2.4%	+2.6%	+4.5%	+3.2%
South Atlantic	+1.4	+2.2	+3.9	+3.2
East South Central	+1.3	+2.8	+3.9	+3.8
West South Central	+3.7	+2.9	+5.8	+3.1
Mountain	+4.8	+3.4	+5.7	+3.8
Pacific	3.3	2.6	+4.3	+3.0
Total U.S.	+1.0%	+1.6%	+3.3%	+2.8%

FIGURE 6

Growth in the South and West Will Continue to Outpace Other Regions

Data: Chase Econometrics BW

clerical positions, the number one occupation in the labor market. There was less than one in four jobs in the manufacturing sector.³⁷ It was from this core of job opportunities that people decide how they are going to earn a living. With an information and services structured economy, the majority of employment opportunities were menial and often dead-end jobs, characterized by low wages, poor benefits and little job security. While many relocated to where the jobs were plentiful, others could not and remained behind. Competition for the most desirable jobs increased as well as did competition for menial jobs. Business Week indicated that during the 1980's, high tech industries would create less than 50% of those jobs lost in manufacturing.³⁸ Because people had fewer options from which to choose, this further swelled the numbers living outside of and at the fringes of the mainstream. Even though the means for realizing their dreams have changed and gone beyond their reach, people still hope for a better tomorrow.

Future opportunities for making a living will be a double-edged sword. While the job market continues to expand and more people will be working than the year before, the number of quality jobs offering high wages and meaningful work will continue to be outpaced by the demand for these positions. The types of jobs that will be available for the majority of workers will be

reflective of the restructured economy. (Refer to Figure VII). Society is no longer the world industrial giant, but it is now in fierce competition within a world service and information economy.³⁹ Originally a nation of producers, society has become a nation of consumers.

The social understanding implicit in the concept of economic growth and development suggests that as mainstream society evolves, its people should realize an appreciable increase in their standard of living. In spite of the availability of jobs, the bulk of the labor market consists of work characterized by low wages, high turnover, and little or no benefits (i.e., health, disability or life insurance). The quality of life that people realize from working on such jobs is an important factor in determining the degree of integration of these workers into the mainstream. "The type of job, whether it provides for continuous full-time employment, upgrading seniority protections, or other provisions aiding mobility and the amount of pay have much to do with the ability (of people) to withstand the structural, induced downward pull toward underclass status...."⁴⁰

The historical exclusion of black people/workers by whites and by mainstream society has influenced the life chances and expectations of blacks today. Opportunities for making a living have become very competitive in the labor market, but when combined with the heritage of discrimination the opportunities and choices are far more

Jobs in the smokestack industries will continue to decline, but there will be new opportunities in service and high-tech sectors

Some Jobs Are Going...		Others Are Growing...		But The Future is Here.	
Occupation	Percent Decline	Occupation	Percent Growth	Occupation	Estimate Employ. 1990
Shoemaking & Machine Operators	-19.2	Data-processing Machine Operators	+157.1	Industrial-robot Production	800,000
Farm Laborers	-19.0	Paralegal personnel	+143.0	Geriatric Social Work	700,000
Railroad & Car Repairers	-17.9	Computer-systems Analysts	+112.4	Energy Technicians	650,000
Farm Managers	-17.7	Computer Operators	+91.7	Industrial-laser Processing	600,000
Graduate Students	-16.7	Office-machine Servicers	+86.7	Housing Rehabilitation	500,000
Housekeepers, private household	-14.9	Tax Preparers	+77.9	Handling New Synthetic Materials	400,000
Child-care workers, private household	-14.8	Computer Programmers	+77.2	On-line Emergency Medcial	400,000
Maids and Servants, private household	-14.7	Aero-astronautic Engineers	+74.8	Hasardous-waste Management	300,000
Farm Supervisors	-14.3	Employment Interviewers	+72.0	Genetic Engineering	250,000
Farmers, owners and tenants	-13.7	Fast-Food Restaurant Workers	+69.4	Bionic Medical Electronics	200,000
Timer-cutting and logging workers	-13.6	Child-care workers	+66.5	Laser, Holographic and Optical-fiber Maintenance	200,000
Secondary-school teachers	-13.1	Veterinarians	+66.1		

FIGURE 7

THE SHIFTING JOB MARKET

Source: Newsweek October 18, 1982

limited. The consequences are dreams to be deferred or survival/life choices which are socially or legally unacceptable.

Blacks first arrived in America in 1619 at Jamestown, Virginia, not as slaves, but as indentured servants who were freed upon the completion of their contracted period of servitude.⁴¹ Unlike their predecessors, Native Americans and Europeans, their survival to such labor conditions provided a work force which was critical for the prosperity of the plantation system, the focal point of the colonies' principal economic sector -- cash crop farming. African workers were able to make the adjustment to the physical demands and to adapt to the environment, society and culture of the colonies and colonists.⁴² Other problems such as escape into the surrounding and alien environment and integrating into society also proved unlikely for African workers because of the color of their skin.

Yet despite the early "success" for the planter class, this system had its limitations. The demand for labor increased faster than the supply, rendering the system indentured servitude both cost prohibitive and inefficient.⁴³ In addition, social problems caused by a growing free black population troubled the whites who feared both what the moral and legal implications of equality and right of citizenship for blacks would be.⁴⁴ These fears were based in part on the white perceptions

of black inferiority as well as other cultural stigmas against blacks.⁴⁵ "Pre-existing derogatory imagery of darkness, barbarism and heathenism was adapted to formulate the psychology and doctrines of modern racism."⁴⁶

Yet, economic imperatives coupled with racism created an important development in the relationship between a small free black population and whites whereby blacks would no longer be released to freedom at the expiration of their contract of indentured servitude. Between 1660-1682, a series of court decisions removed blacks from the status of indentured servitude and placed them into slavery by law.⁴⁷ Making blacks servants in perpetuity solved Slavery then solved both the legal and moral dilemmas of citizenship as well as many of the labor problems facing the planter class in trying to have a reliable and abundant work force for the domestic export market economy. In turn, this production was critical to the expansion and development of businesses in Europe, the recipient of the plantation economy's harvests.⁴⁸

Black slaves performed the most menial and degrading tasks. "Slavery had created the pernicious tradition that manual labor was the badge of the slave and the sphere of influence of the Negro." Once institutionalized within the American experience, slavery served to establish a dual society and a work force based

on color and class/caste."⁴⁹ "(T)he insidious nature of this incident...lay in its indication of the growing correlation in the minds of all...that dark skin and degrading labor went together."⁵⁰

While time might have eroded the conscious distinction drawn between work "suited" for whites and that for blacks, the work performed by black slaves set a standard for future generations to embrace.⁵¹ Slavery institutionalized the racial distinction in the labor process well beyond the passage of the Emancipation Proclamation during the Civil War.⁵² Since slaves performed the most degrading work, whites were able to avoid the suffering connected with such work and consequently its culture. Since white workers never had to experience the debasement of such work, the distinction in the labor process between white and black workers was predicated upon race. "By the early 1660's white men were protesting loudly against slaves in terms which strongly suggest that they considered slavery not a wrong, but as inapplicable to themselves."⁵³ Because slavery was not born solely out of racism, the equation of slavery and being black helped to provide the stigma to the social status of work. This illustrates that, for whites, race was a key in determining one's position within the mainstream.

In the north, economic competition between free blacks and whites created a situation where blacks were

forced out of the skilled jobs between 1830-1860. This essentially gave white workers exclusive control over employment in the skilled trades. In 1850 in New York, 75% of black workers were employed in menial or unskilled jobs; in 1855, the situation worsened to the point at which 87.5% were employed in these same job categories.⁵⁴ In the south, race was a primary concern as well, and the economic benefits of such a labor system only reinforced the prejudices of both the planter class and working class.

The emancipation of slaves brought to fruition the long perceived threat by blacks to the status and security of the whites. The early experiences of white workers in southern cities, was that they often had to compete with slaves to make a living. This served as historic precedence. To protect their interests, white labor took action against blacks who were perceived as a threat to their jobs. Racism was effectively used to socially block employers from hiring blacks, at a lower wage, for jobs previously "reserved" for whites. In addition, white workers organized craft unions to further insulate themselves from competition with blacks and to consolidate their power by creating a monopoly in the skilled trades.⁵⁵

Before the Civil War, white workers pressured planters to stop the "leasing/renting" of slaves, who were skilled workers, to employers in the cities, as

mentioned above. However, the planter class also feared that contact with mainstream society would disrupt the cultural hegemony used to control black slaves on the plantation, and encourage rebellion, i.e. Nate Turner rebellion.⁵⁶ After the war, the power of these craft unions to limit the survival options for blacks continued after emancipation and Reconstruction. Whites had effectively excluded blacks from entering the work force by promulgating racism directed at black people and those whites who sympathized with blacks, i.e. Knights of Labor problems in southern labor struggles.⁵⁷ To further cement their control of the competition within the labor market, several white unions began to add "white only" clauses in their constitutions.⁵⁸ Such collective action effectively locked out black workers from being employed within craft and factory jobs. White skin privilege still regulated blacks to the least desirable jobs, severely limiting how they could make a living. For example, "Nigger jobs" included work in agriculture (i.e., picking cotton), menial unskilled work and non-factory positions in the lumbering, coal mining, and railroad industries.⁵⁹

The industrial development of the late 19th and early 20th centuries created a demand for skilled and unskilled labor. Yet, the skilled labor needs of industry were being satisfied by indigenous white workers; immigrant workers, serving as a pool of reserve labor, filled the needs for unskilled workers at the bottom of the job

ladder. This reliance on skilled white labor strengthened the grip of whites on the labor market. In addition, this reinforced the belief conceived during slavery that black-skinned people were to be restricted to those jobs that whites did not want, i.e., the lowest paying and most degrading.

Conversely, there was a void in the labor supply after emancipation. The labor needs of the plantation economy were unfilled after emancipation and during Reconstruction. Once Reconstruction ended, the planter class returned to regional power in the south and the cash crop economy of cotton witnessed a resurgence in the late 19th century. This segment of agricultural production was labor intensive, requiring large numbers of unskilled labor. Because of their historical past, demographic position and limitations as to how they could make a living, blacks provided land owners, the new planter class, with a ready-made labor source. Serving as an internal colonial population, black labor was needed "to preserve the value of existing capital" of the plantation economy.⁶⁰

Share cropping, tenant farming, and convict leasing were examples of the labor system in which blacks 'competed' for ways to make a living. Blacks were primarily limited to few survival options by a social system reinforced by the Black Codes, Jim Crowism and disfranchisement -- poll taxes and the grandfather clause

-- all which continued to suppress blacks economically and politically.⁶¹ Their role in the plantation economy was fixed by the oppression of the planter class, the exclusion from the urban labor market by white workers, and the institutionalized system of peonage. These shackles temporarily prohibited blacks from migrating to the north where opportunities for making a living were thought to be greater and access to "quality" jobs possible, unlike in the south.

The explosion of industrialism created a large demand for workers, primarily filled by immigrants from Europe. Upon their arrival, immigrants quickly learned that their's was but an "unguaranteed existence" in which prejudice and discrimination excluded them from competing for high wage jobs and regulating them to the unskilled labor pool.⁶² Yet, they learned invaluable lessons from their experiences and in turn used their advantage of being white to secure jobs over black workers. Though limited as to how they could earn a living by 'native' white workers, immigrants invoked their white-skin privilege to enter the mainstream at the expense of blacks. "In order to maintain their feelings of superiority, whites had to avoid doing work which was socially perceived as 'nigger work.'" ⁶³

The racism of white workers continued to subordinate blacks to the lower rungs of the occupational and social ladder. For example, "(w)hen the industrialization of

the south began...it had comparatively little significance for Negro agriculture workers.... The poor whites took the cotton mills as their own; and with the exception of sweeping, scrubbing, and the like in cotton factories, there was virtually no work for the Negroes in the plants."⁶⁴ In addition, whites refused to work alongside those few blacks who were employed in factories. Walk-outs, strikes and riots, such as in East St. Louis and Chicago, occurred in part when blacks broke the social barrier of the work place. "Between 1880 and 1890, alone there were fifty strikes in the North against the employment of black workers in industry. The result was that in 1910, the number of blacks in industries other than cotton was less than 0.5 percent, while as late as 1931, 68.75 percent of gainfully employed blacks were still in agriculture and domestic service."⁶⁵

The industrial explosion of the late 1880's and early 1900's created conditions in which businesses' need for labor reached crisis proportions. To solve these problems, businesses violated an unofficial "hands-off" agreement to recruit black labor in the south. From 1890-1910, approximately 338,000 blacks left the Jim Crow south to migrate primarily to the urban-industrial centers in the north and mid-west. (Refer to Figure VIII). In doing so, northern industrial interests disrupted the social customs and codes of the mainstream, disrupting the way of life governing race relations.

During periods of economic growth and development, business would often concede to the racial norms of the times in society. With the primacy of profit and fiscal solvency, social customs no longer superceded the "bottom line."

Employment recruiters, newspapers and letters from family to family all regaled the glory of life in the northern urban industrial centers to "pull" blacks out of the south. Between the years 1910-1920, an estimated 454,000 blacks left the south to move up north and out west to start new lives. (Refer to Figure VIII). This helped spark a massive migration out of the south to the factories in the north. "The move from countryside to city had on the average unquestionably meant a higher standard of living for Negroes; if it had not, the migration would have ceased long ago. In other words, the bottom of the urban-industrial ladder was higher than the bottom of the southern agricultural ladder."⁶⁶ Where once industry's need for black labor had been acute, it was now over-abundant.

The outbreak of World War I furthered the manpower drainage of immigrants returned home to fight or were unable to leave Europe. Immigration had slowed dramatically, reducing the pool of workers usually available to fill businesses' needs:

1914 --	1.2 million immigrants
1915 --	.326 million immigrants
1916 --	.295 million immigrants
1917 --	.110 million immigrants ⁶⁷

Plus sign (+) denotes net in-migration
 Minus sign (-) denotes net out-migration

Intercensal Period	South	Total	North		
			Northeast	Northcentral	West
1870 - 1880	-60	+60	+24	36+	(NA)
1880 - 1890	-70	+70	+46	+24	(NA)
1890 - 1900	-168	+168	+105	+63	(NA)
1900 - 1910	-170	+151	+95	+56	+20
1910 - 1920	-454	+426	+182	+244	+28
1920 - 1930	-749	+713	+349	+364	+36
1930 - 1940	-347	+299	+171	+128	+49
1940 - 1950	-1,599	+1,081	+463	+618	+339
1950 - 1960	-1,473	+1,037	+496	+541	+293 ¹
1960 - 1970	-1,380	+994	612+	+382	+301

NA = Not Available

¹Figure revised since prior publication

NOTE: The net migration estimates for the period 1870-1940 were developed by the national census survival rate method; the estimates for 1940-1970 were prepared by the vital statistics method.

FIGURE 8

ESTIMATE NET INTERCENSAL MIGRATION OF BLACKS, BY REGION: 1870 to 1970 (Numbers in Thousands)

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; and Everett S. Lee, et al.

In addition, the armed forces drafted over four million young men to join the ranks of the U.S. military. These factors magnified the need for black labor within industry. It was during this era when black workers were first able to choose from an expanded pool of survival options. yet, blacks still remained under-represented in skilled trades, i.e., in the meat packing industry. The exclusionary policies of white unions failed to prevent blacks from making inroads into industry by penetrating the labor market through entry level positions. Yet despite such gains, the racism was still pervasive enough to insure that the high wage, skilled jobs remained the domain of white workers. This preserved the perception that the least desirable jobs were still the domain of blacks.

As blacks slowly penetrated the urban industrial job market, white workers responded by trying to keep blacks from entering apprentice programs. This essentially prohibited many blacks from obtaining those skills, learned and earned as apprentices, required for many high wage positions. Whites tried to retain control over the access into these apprenticeship programs in order to minimize competition with blacks.⁶⁸ In the stratified social order of the mainstream, people perceive of their struggle for making a living in terms of status hierarchy, motivated by ambitions to move up and fears of sliding back down.⁶⁹

Though the barrier of working in the same factory with blacks had been broken, the segregation of skilled trades remained. Job competition from blacks and the social interaction of having to work along side blacks still remained outside the experience of those whites employed in skilled trades. For example, the practices of the Railroad Brotherhood prevented blacks from becoming either firemen or engineers. This effectively prevented black railroad workers from job advancement and regulated them to such low wage jobs as porters and baggage carriers.⁷⁰

These exclusionary policies produced a dilemma for black workers. Choices of how people made a living in the mainstream often resulted in a choice to either working where they are not welcome, as strike breakers or be either employed or underemployed and possibly starve. As the history of segregation and racism deepened within the experience for blacks, strike breaking proved to be an effective weapon for securing both high wage and entry level jobs. Yet historically black workers were in the minority of scabs during labor struggles and only reluctantly chose this route out of necessity.⁷¹ However, during the great steel strike of 1919, black labor played a dominant role in its failure because white workers refused to allow blacks to work in the steel industry at that time. Having closed all doors to blacks because of racism, white workers experienced the consequences of

excluding people from mainstream opportunities for making a living.⁷²

"In America migration, especially black migration was markedly different from immigration of Europeans. The European immigration predominantly occurred during the growth and acceleration of industrialism as these workers provided the labor to fill the shortage."⁷³ Black migration occurred during the decline of this period of growth and prosperity, and absorption into the industrial sector as unskilled and semi-skilled positions, "entrance jobs," declined as well. Black workers were mostly absorbed into those "backward and labor intensive sectors" of industry. "This is the scavenger role in production which white workers, acting consciously on behalf of their own social mobility and unconsciously on behalf of constantly advancing capitalism, have assigned blacks and other peoples of color..."⁷⁴ Even though black workers were able to make the transition from peasant to proletariat, their employment was regulated to the worst jobs, following in the heritage of white-skin privilege. The social division of labor still existed in the occupational structure of industry.⁷⁵

The end of World War I resulted in the swelling of the labor market by returning veterans. The change from war-time production back to peace-time production produced an economic slump. Many of the advances that blacks had made during the war were lost as a return to

"pre-war" normalcy re-established earlier divisions within the labor market. The taste of the "good life" was short and had begun to soar as the position of the black community as a whole returned to second-class status. However, the immigration laws of 1924 and a strong economic recovery began to off-set many of the losses blacks incurred after World War I. This also helped to ignite a second mass migration out of the south during the period of 1922-1924.⁷⁶

The economic boom of the 1920's witnessed new levels of penetration by black workers in the urban-industrial labor market. A new sense of prosperity and cultural awakening flourished called the Harlem Renaissance. Though this period had much promise, it was short lived. The Great Depression of the 1930's not only erased the gains of blacks, but those of most Americans. An estimated 25% of the work force was fired or laid-off as the economy ground to a crawl. Industries shut down and employment of blacks even in the plantation economy was at an ebb.⁷⁷ The decline of the cash crop economy, sugar, cotton, and tobacco, forced blacks again off the land and out of the south; this time toward the slums and ghettos of the northern urban-industrial centers. Without work, the options for making a living were extremely scarce and competition for existing jobs was so great that black workers were locked out of jobs once considered as "nigger work" by whites.⁷⁸

World War II helped society to escape the poverty, homelessness and joblessness of the depression, a time which "brought everybody down a peg or two."⁷⁹ War brought a welcomed increase in the demand for industrial production and jobs, similar to what happened during World War I. The traditional social division of labor, distinguishing skilled from semi-skilled and unskilled, began to dissipate as technological advancements altered the traditional labor needs. "Threats to the skilled labor of craft unionism were sparked by the reduction of labor's skills as modern industrialism evolved; the degradation of labor and the use of lesser skilled labor were viewed as being associated with the deterioration of labor. Along with the rise of modern technology, these phenomena were accompanied by the inclusion of the undesirable lesser-skilled workers who ultimately threatened the position of labor's aristocrats."⁸⁰

Industrial conversion from civilian to military production along with the introduction and use of new technology led to job breakdown, altering the work previously performed by skilled craftsmen. As the demand for skilled work decreased, the social status of white workers followed suit. This simultaneously, upgraded the need for and status of unskilled and semi-skilled workers. Blacks were drawn into the industrial labor market along with others who populated the ranks of the unemployed. This facilitated the removal of the

occupational and social barriers that prohibited blacks from competing for jobs providing people a quality of life.

Even during times when jobs were plentiful, white workers still perceived their position in society was threatened. Despite the lowering of the occupational racism, the social attitudes of the whites remained as barriers limiting the ways blacks could make a living. The effects of segregating black workers remained alive within the occupational ladder and with regards to social equality in the work place. For example the effects of job conversion initially resulted in "hate strikes" such as those which occurred in Detroit in 1943.⁸¹ The removal of social distinction in occupations led to the erosion of the status enjoyed by white workers, at the expense of black labor. In 1930, 26% of all blacks were employed in manufacturing, communications and transportation, an increase of 8% since 1910. By the 1940's, approximately 56% of blacks were engaged in the urban-industrial labor market. (Refer to Figures IX and X). The perception of white-skin privilege had been so ingrained within the consciousness of whites, that outright job discrimination prevented blacks from choosing how they would make a living.

After World War II, many of the gains experienced by blacks were lost or negated as the economy slowed during the recession of 1948-1949. The seniority system, a

Occupation and Sex	Black			White		
	1890	1910	1930	1890	1910	1930
BOTH SEXES						
Total Gainful workers:						
thousands	3,073	5,193	5,504	19,542	32,774	42,584
Percent	100	100	100	100	100	100
Agriculture, Forestry & Fishing	57	55	37	37	30	20
Manufacturing & Mechanical	6	13	19	25	30	30
Transportation & Communication	5	5	7	16	7	8
Domestic & Personal Service	31	22	29	17	8	8
Other Occupations	1	6	9	5	25	34
MALE						
Total Gainful workers:						
thousands	2,101	3,179	3,633	16,603	26,730	33,767
Percent	100	100	100	100	100	100
Agriculture, Forestry & Fishing	63	57	42	42	33	24
Manufacturing & Mechanical	7	18	25	24	31	33
Transportation & Communication	7	3	11	18	9	9
Domestic & Personal Service	22	8	12	13	3	4
Other Occupations	1	8	10	4	24	30
FEMALE						
Total Gainful workers:						
thousands	972	2,014	1,841	2,939	6,044	8,818
Percent	100	100	100	100	100	100
Agriculture, Forestry & Fishing	44	52	27	9	12	4
Manufacturing & Mechanical	3	3	5	34	29	20
Transportation & Communication	-	-	-	8	2	3
Domestic & Personal Service	52	42	63	39	28	23
Other Occupations	1	2	5	10	29	50

FIGURE 9

Occupation of the Gainfully Employed Population 10 Years Old and Over By Sex: 1890, 1910, and 1930
Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census

OCCUPATION	1940	1950	1960	1970
Professional and technical workers	1.8	2.1	4.6	7.0
Proprietors, managers, and officials	1.3	2.2	1.9	3.0
Clerical, sales, etc.	2.0	4.3	6.8	10.2
Craftsmen, foremen, etc.	4.5	7.8	10.7	15.2
Operatives	12.7	21.3	26.6	29.4
Services workers and laborers	37.1	38.1	38.4	32.0
Farm Workers	41.0	24.0	12.3	4.4

FIGURE 10

Table 13. Percentage of Employed Black Males (Fourteen Years Old and Over) in Major Occupations in 1940, 1950, 1960, and 1970.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Census of the Population: 1940, Characteristics of the Nonwhite Population by Race, Table 8; Census of the Population: 1950, vol.4. Special Reports, Nonwhite Population by Race, Table 9; Census of the Population: 1960. Subject Reports, Nonwhite Population by Race, Final Report PC(2)-1C, Table 32; Census of the Population: 1970 Subjects Report, Final Reports PC(2)-1B, Negro Population, Table 7.

Occupation	White	1964		1970		1974
		Black and other races	White	Black and other races	White	Black and other races
Professional and technical	13.0	6.8	14.8	9.1	14.8	10.4
Managers and administrators	11.7	2.6	11.4	3.5	11.2	4.1
Sales workers	6.6	1.7	6.7	2.1	6.8	2.3
Clerical workers	16.3	7.7	18.0	13.2	17.8	15.2
Craft and similar workers	13.7	7.1	13.5	8.2	13.8	9.4
Operatives	18.4	20.5	17.0	23.7	15.5	21.9
Service workers and laborers	14.6	45.2	14.8	36.3	16.4	34.0
Farm workers	5.8	8.4	4.0	3.4	3.6	2.7

FIGURE 11

Table 14. Percentage of Employed Persons Sixteen Years Old and Over, By Occupation Group and Color for 1964, 1970 and 1974.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Report of the President (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975)

practice originally conceived to protect workers from indiscriminate firings, worked to the disadvantage of blacks. Being the "last hired and first fired," blacks were laid off first due to limited seniority status stemming from not being allowed to compete with whites for certain jobs earlier. Structural racism -- job ceilings -- was pervasive in the work force. The seniority system forced blacks to remain in the worst, least desirable jobs, helping to preserve white dominance in a labor market shaped by prior discrimination. Efforts to open and expand the job market continued to experience problems as whites did resolve issues, such as job discrimination and entrance into apprentice training programs, which affected survival options available to blacks.

The introduction of technology into the plantation economy during the 1950's mechanized this once labor intensive industry. Along with changes in the methods of planting and growing crops, the mechanization of farming, southern agriculture in particular, led to the final mass migration of blacks out of the rural south to northern urban industrial areas.⁸² From 1950 to 1960, approximately 1.5 million blacks left the south to relocate in the north and to the west coast. (Refer to Figure VIII). Though these industrial centers had already reached their zeniths, work was still available. However, the skilled labor market remained limited and

primarily within the domain of white workers. For blacks, making a living meant working at the unskilled low wage jobs, such as janitors and in restaurants. The increase of black migration to the cities only added to an already overcrowded labor market. The effects of past discrimination in employment practices and being unable to enter apprentice programs further forced black workers to the lowest strata in the mainstream.

The changing nature of urban society heightened the problems of the intra-class conflict between black and white workers. With the growth and sophistication of technologies, the traditional channels of incorporating marginal groups are disappearing. The previously presumed status of white-skin privilege has begun to lose its effect of guaranteeing a higher status for whites. "Conscious of increasing automation and cybernation and imbued with the conviction that labor mobility should be the basis of increasing income regardless of what happens to anybody else, white workers regard the upgrading of every black man or woman as an immediate danger to their jobs and to their most sacrosanct principles."⁸³ Without jobs or hopes of getting a job, blacks (as well as whites) are competing for low wage menial jobs or considering crime and welfare as alternative survival options. In 1974, approximately 52% of blacks were employed as clerical, sales and service workers. (Refer to Figure XI). The elaborate welfare system and the

increasing crime rate and prison population lends credence to the dilemma of incorporating into the mainstream those peoples who were previously excluded. As industry modernizes and as new skills are required, those workers who are unable to gain access to train for those new entry level jobs will remain outside the mainstream labor market.

The emergence and increasing significance of the underclass mirrors the problems that plague blacks and threaten white workers.⁸⁴ Unemployment and dependence on public assistance programs characterize this group which resides predominantly within the inner-cities where inadequate housing, poor health care and schools and high crime rates are symbols of this barren social environment. The downward pull generated by a sluggish economy, increased use of machines in the production process, the flight of businesses out of the cities, and the internationalization of labor all threaten people seeking jobs, especially black and minority workers. The impending threat of slipping from the working class into the underclass represents a consequence of an economy which is evolving from a producer to consumer society within a service and information economy.⁸⁵

While problems exist, access to decent job markets remain. As the economy develops and grows, accompanying social expectations suggest that people should realize an appreciable increase in the standard of living and

quality of life as society progresses. This can be measured by the occupational advancement of succeeding generations as the children and children of laborers become the white collar employees and professionals of their respective generations. "But development has also meant that some classes change their function without changing their position at the bottom of the economic and social pile: black slaves became sharecroppers became unskilled laborers and became urban service workers."⁸⁶ These problems continue to focus upon the historic relation between whites and blacks with respect to making a living. The "...physical and social mobility for white workers into and within increasingly modernized industries, possible only because there is a reserve army of black labor to scavenge the dirty, unskilled jobs in the fields and sweatshop.... There has actually existed a horizontal platform resting on the backs of blacks and holding them down, while on top white workers have been free to move up the social and economic ladder of advancing capitalism."⁸⁷

CHAPTER 3
Unemployment and Crime:
The Red-Headed Step Children of
Urban-Industrial Society

The Importance of Work: A Review

"In every culture the integration of man with physical nature, in terms of technology, is significant in the life of people who carry the culture. From this integration flows the wealth which supports the social order and certain basic judgments on life that have entered always into social attitudes, religious beliefs, and moral practices."¹ The significance of work is that people tend to describe themselves in terms of what they do to make a living. The workplace is that arena where personal self-worth is defined and fortified as well as being socially valued and accepted.² Work has also been perceived as providing a sense of reality, ensuring moral character, providing a sense of community (belonging and/or being a part of a group), being a natural right and duty, having economic function, and providing sanction to worldly wealth and achievement.³

Work is valued in how it serves the society's interests and how it contributes to an individual's success. Work tends to eliminate or minimize the chances of developing atomie, a sense of rootlessness, lifelessness or disassociation. In doing so, work helps to legitimize the social order. For individuals, it is a process leading to self-fulfillment instilling within people self-esteem, dignity, independence, social usefulness, and social acceptance. These factors are all considered to be ingredients for success and material

gain. By embodying and glorifying the positive qualities of work, this reinforces mainstream culture which serves as the basis of people's belief and value system.

Because work plays such a pervasive and powerful role in the psychological, social, and economic aspects of our lives, it is often referred to as a basic or central institution in society.⁴

However important these issues are to the well-being of society and to the personal development of individuals, work becomes a means to an end. Mainstream culture's emphasis on being successful in terms of purchasing power blurs the lines between the pragmatism of survival and the romanticism of individual reward. The personal value derived from work is often closely tied to the amount of money and level of status associated with what people do for a living. The amount of an individual's salary is readily equated with social status and acceptance. The higher one's salary, the greater sense of self-worth and integration into the mainstream an individual experiences. An object of the market economy was to make the consumption of material goods a high priority in life or an everyday facet of life. The market economy had this "...desire (to) raise the quantity of goods consumed and in particular, to turn luxuries into daily necessities."⁵ Thus, the whole concept of survival becomes relative to the social conditions and the era of which one lives. The job at

which people are employed becomes the conduit for the spiritual rewards of work as well as the practical, for example survival. The bottom line then is that work is the essential activity to sustain life.

Issues of Unemployment

What is unemployment? How do people become unemployed thus joining the ranks of the industrial reserve army?⁶ What barriers prevent people from finding jobs and why do some jobs go begging?

"For most people, work was taken for granted. Work was the struggle for subsistence and excepting a natural calamity or war, the resources through which human effort yielded subsistence were usually available."⁷ Changes in an industrial society impacted on the issues of subsistence rights and how people made a living. The natural laws of the marketplace -- *laisse-faire* -- divorced the unity of everyday life from pre-industrial society. Once where rights were assumed, privileges arose in determining access to subsistence resource. Though this influenced how people could make a living, the masses of people did not perceive of such a split because for them democracy provided protection against coercion by the state and coercion by the propertied classes.⁸ Early industrialism was marked by guidance from law and custom which drew upon both the new and traditional ways of life. Workers still had access to alternative subsistence resources so they were protected

somewhat from the dictates of market relations.⁹

The right to compete for existing opportunities in behalf of individual fulfillment or achievement represents the hallmark of mainstream society as well as being the means for establishing equality among people. Although employment opportunities are many, participation in and choosing from among these options are not equal for all people. However, access to these opportunities is not equal. Access depends on one's place within the social order, one's geographic location, one's skills/abilities or ultimately, who one knows.¹⁰ The higher one's position, the greater the range of choices from which people can select. In addition, such individuals have the advantage of being better prepared (college degree, graduate degree or professional degrees) to compete for the most desirable jobs within the labor market. This head start of sorts often translates into having greater access to high wage jobs and greater social status. For instance, education, family connections and personal networks assist people in being exposed to greater opportunities and also in recognizing the range of options to which individuals have access.

Restrictions and limitations as to how people make a living include the organization of the labor market itself, the types of available jobs, environmental barriers and people's prejudices. For example, there may be a high demand for workers with computer skills, but

the supply does not meet the demand. Without having the appropriate job skills, people remain unemployed and such jobs are left vacant. Lacking the necessary job skills or by not having access to job training programs, people are unable to compete. Yet, people do have a choice as to how to make a living; the difference often rests in the type and number of choices available.

The make-up of the labor market reflects certain assumptions about the operation of and function of the economy. A diversity of jobs and needed job skills exists, each offering specific monetary and certain status rewards. These differences influence people's choices of survival options. All people cannot for example work at the same job because of differences in abilities, desired outcomes and opportunities. The attraction of high wages and conferred status are often reflective of a certain quality of life and is indicative of a shared commonality motivating people in selecting how they will make a living. Though diversity itself does not determine what people do to survive, but when considered in conjunction with culturally defined ideas of success, it serves as a catalyst in determining job preferences. In society, people's survival and quality of life are linked to the amount of money and power/influence people have through their job. The type of job then is a primary concern of people as to their choice of survival options. Competition is most

prevalent for jobs that provide a high salary as well as other "in-kind" benefits,¹¹ or perks. Consequently, people react in ways that protect their interests first while concerns of the social good are often secondary. In doing so, this multiplies the restrictions confronting people as they seek employment.

The number of jobs in relation to the number of people seeking "meaningful work" further limits people's choice of survival options, and as a result, people may opt to alternatives outside the regular economy.¹² Industries with the highest unemployment rates, even when seasonally adjusted include:

Lumber -- 20.3%, Construction -- 18.2%, Auto -- 15.8%,
 Farming -- 14.4%, Textiles -- 13.8%, Rubber -- 12.9%,
 Primary Metals -- 11.2%, Transportation Equipment --
 11.2%,
 Furniture -- 10.5%¹³

However, if jobs exist, people must possess the required or appropriate job skills. If people do not have the needed job skills, then access to training programs or apprenticeships are vital in order to have a qualified labor pool from which to draw workers. Yet without access or without the availability of such programs, people again are unable to compete and wait outside the mainstream seeking alternatives. In addition, to incorporate and utilize the existing or available work force, businesses gear their production processes to either access the skills of the unemployed labor pool, often an unprofitable business practice, or provide

training programs to upgrade the job skills of the unemployed, often a costly undertaking. The consequences of not incorporating the marginal and disfranchised workers are that they may turn to alternatives which are costly to society as a whole in terms of government expenditures on welfare programs or for the criminal justice system, annually a growth industry.

In addition to these employment barriers, transportation problems become a factor for people to consider when deciding how to make a living. Businesses were once tied to either locations near their customers or to easy access to major transportation nodes. With improvements transportation, as well as in the production processes, businesses were able to locate in areas which were more advantageous with respect to access to markets, cheaper labor and production costs and increased tax incentives. Movement from the central cities to the suburbs and eventually from the snow belt to the sun belt captures the history of industrialism in society. The old industrial and manufacturing centers such as Detroit, Cleveland and Akron no longer were able to offer its citizens the types of jobs which once attracted the unemployed. The old smokestack industries of the Middle West and East are in what economists called "slow economic rot."¹⁴ Beginning in the postwar era, employment in manufacturing has declined as a percentage, manufacturing could go the way of agriculture, which

employs less than 5% of the labor force. In 1950, the manufacturing sector employed approximately 33.7% of the labor force while in 1982 manufacturing's share dropped to 21.4%¹⁵. When businesses left the central city or expanded outside the city limits, transportation became a problem for many of the inner-city work force. The car became critical for employment in the modern economy as commuting long distances to the suburbs often became a fact of life for many city dwellers. Whereas people once lived in close proximity to their jobs (or the jobs were located near where the work force lived), improvements in transportation along with the growth and development of a national highway system and an expansive urban public transportation system facilitated the decentralization of business. A lack of transportation as well as the costs involved in commuting to and from work may often prove to be a deciding factor in people's employment opportunities. High costs which reduce the take-home pay of an individual can prohibit people from competing for jobs for which they may be well-qualified. The remaining income derived from a job requiring high transportation costs may not provide for a living wage. As a result alternatives must be considered in trying to support oneself or one's family.

Not only can difficulties of transportation limit people's choices of employment, but the location where people live also impacts on the range of available

opportunities. Some businesses operate only in specific geographic locations and so access to these opportunities is dependent on where someone lives or to the degree people are willing to relocate, leaving family and their cultural/social roots behind. For example, natural resources often determine not only where an industry may be located, but where spin-off businesses develop and grow. The coal and steel industries dominate the Pennsylvania-Ohio Valley because of the rich natural deposits of coal and other resources necessary for steel production. The auto industry grew and developed within close geographic proximity to the steel industry, that was vital to its production of cars. As a consequence of these geographic considerations, the areas in the old industrial belt grew and prospered as people were able to find jobs plentiful and salaries sufficient. However, when the "cash crop" of the snow belt declined as businesses relocated and expanded in new regions, jobs became scarce as the local economies faltered. The lack of business diversity limited the availability of jobs for people to earn their livelihood.

Discrimination in hiring and promotion practices further limits the survival options available for people to choose. Regardless of the form which human prejudice takes, racial, class or gender, discrimination segregates people from the mainstream and locks them out of competing for job opportunities on criteria other than

the ability to perform the necessary tasks. It also provides one group of people a distinct advantage in finding employment or even an assumed privilege of having access to certain jobs at the expense of others.

Discrimination prevents people from working at certain jobs while it locks others into job categories which are the most desirable while the least desirable or lowering paying positions become their domain.

For example, during the early 20th century, skilled factory jobs were thought to be the domain of white males. Blacks were then restricted to the unskilled jobs at best or locked out of the industrial job market altogether. Perceptions that white males had the right of access to the most desirable jobs limited the quality of life available to black workers, who were forced to compete for the low wage menial jobs in the urban labor market. Consequently, racial discrimination limited one group from participating within the mainstream while it assured greater opportunities for another. By being restricted to survival options that did not provide for a "living wage," people were either forced to choose living at a standard of living below the subsistence rights of the mainstream or seek alternative employment opportunities that would provide people with what they perceived to be their subsistence rights.¹⁶

As indicated earlier the options for making a living are many with each offering specific status and monetary

rewards. As a result, the quality of life determined by one's survival strategy varies. Differences in how people approach the process of making a living are equally as diverse as there are opportunities. This is due in part to the complexity of today's service/information economy. However, the question of freedom of choice becomes moot in determining how people make a living when their opportunity to participate is limited.

Though people's freedom of choice is not officially restricted, the range of survival options is often determined by such factors as job skills, access to jobs as well as the number of available job openings. These factors reduce and narrow the survival options by which people earn their livelihood. In addition, salaries, status and job competition further divide people competing for jobs offering a "living wage." These barriers help provide the basis of social stratification which in turn impacts on the equality of choice and of competition. Rather than an equality being based on ability, a meritocracy, the social order reflects divisions created in part by competition for the most lucrative and desirable jobs.

Relationship Between Unemployment and Survival Crime

When people are unemployed, how do they make a living? What are their survival options? Within the

mainstream, people tend to primarily describe themselves in terms of what they do to make a living. For the unemployed, the absence of a job creates a void. "Not to have a job is to not have something that is valued by one's fellow beings. Alternatively, to be working is to have evidence that one is needed by others, [and a part of the mainstream]].¹⁷ What people experience day to day as workers is missing when they are unemployed. Being unemployed frequently and/or for long durations can cause feelings and attitudes of fatalism, alienation, despair, hopelessness, frustration, anger, etc.¹⁸ To minimize the economic and psychological impact of unemployment, people seek different arenas in which their survival becomes assured and personal self-worth is defined, strengthened, and socially valued or accepted.

Survival crime has always been based on a melding of the relationship among perceived and actual job opportunities, access to jobs, level of subsistence rights and people's expectations in life remain constant. When traditional jobs begin to disappear, or when they are insufficient in number to satisfy the needs of labor; when economic conditions become intolerable; when people's subsistence rights are violated; or when people are discriminated against, people seek alternatives for their survival literally and culturally. It is during "hard times" and during rapidly changing social and economic times when survival crime becomes a viable

alternative. History provides many examples which illustrate that survival crime represents an option rooted within the destitution and desparateness of poverty and alienation.

For many crime, then, becomes a real choice. The pursuit of crime as a survival option can be broken into distinct categories. "Why not": People opt for survival crime because they feel that they have nothing to lose or that there is no other choice available. People perceive that they have limited options from which to choose and that there will be no change in the future. "Because I needed the money": A crisis arises and there is an immediate need for money; delayed gratification has become a dream deferred, lost to years of experience instructing them that now is the time to realize their dreams. "It was what I did best": This serves as a basis for positive self-esteem in that a person has no other skills with which to make a living." In addition, people do not readily adapt to drastic changes in the methods of work as well as to the way of life dictated by the work which they do. In addition, people have also resisted leaving their traditional communities even in lieu of finding employment elsewhere.¹⁹ When people are faced with no work or a decreasing level of subsistence traditional and acceptable means of survival are abandoned in favor of alternatives. "When large numbers of people are barred from their traditional occupations

(or standards of living), the entire structure of social control is weakened and may even collapse. (When) there is no harvest or paycheck to enforce work and the sentiment that upheld work, without work people cannot conform to familial and communal roles; and if the dislocation is widespread, the legitimacy of the social order itself may come to be questioned. The result is usually civil disorder -- crime."²⁰

Human behavior, in responding to problems of survival, either affirms or conflicts with the normative social and legal codes of the mainstream. This becomes apparent as people try to make a living, a choice between crime, welfare or a job. "The acceptance of social rules as just and proper is itself a constraint on deviant behavior, to be sure; but if these sentiments find no support in the conduct of daily life -- if conformity yields no rewards and nonconformity no sanctions -- then they alone may be insufficient force to regulate behavior."²¹ Though people strive either to enhance their current level of subsistence or to provide for themselves, such actions were not perceived as wrong, but because of the social conditions and changes within the mainstream rather necessary for their survival.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the social conditions in England were unsettled during the changes to a merchantile economy and culture. The enclosure of common pastures and woodlands, changes in

farming methods and the uncharitableness of landlords were much accredited to contributing to the numbers of wandering poor and beggars who populated the then modern day tent cities for the homeless in and around urban centers. A crisis in the clothing sector of the economy had assisted in swelling the ranks of professional beggars and thieves.

The late Chief Justice Fortescue of France commenting on the widespread problem of crime stated that "robbers are recruited from the ranks of those who have fallen into poverty."²² With poverty and unemployment being pervasive, the numbers of beggars have become prodigious and thieves have become an over abundance. These people had become dislocated from mainstream society, and were left to fend for their own survival by whatever means possible. "Among the conclusions upon the matter of vagrancy and lawlessness made by sixteenth century writers, two seem to stand out as principal: first that unemployment, extreme poverty, reckless behavior, organized robbery, are not phenomena common to all stages of society, but have definite remediable causes here and now; secondly that unless measures (are) promptly taken anarchy and rebellion will destroy the commonwealth."²³

In 18th century and later 19th century England, cultural and economic changes helped fuel increases of poverty, crime, and environmental filth and decay

previously unknown in mercantile society. Entrance into the urban industrial labor market for people was not generally caused by the attraction of opportunity or the excitement of city life, "pull factors," but due to the "push" factors of economic hardship. People did not voluntarily give up their ties and roots. Unless people were able to improve their situations, they did not uproot themselves from family, a way of life, take on hard and degrading jobs, and/or enter a wage-labor system when alternatives are available. For example, the Bills of Enclosure, commercial expansion and the early years of industrialism wrought changes in the way of life for the lower classes.

Traditional ways for making a living slowly disappeared and people either adapted or found alternative ways to survive. "The poor lost their rights in the land and were tempted to crime by their poverty and by the inadequate measures of prevention; the small tradesman or master was tempted to forgery or illicit transactions by fear of debtor's prison."²⁴ The incidents of property crimes in England (1:799 persons) far exceeded those in France (1:1,804 persons) and the Netherlands (1:7,140 persons) during the early 1800's. Only when the traditional nexus of work and subsistence was broken did most people enter the labor market.²⁵

Popular sentiment supported the notion that increases in crime were rooted in economic dislocation

and poverty. "Such offenses are obviously due to poverty of one sort or another because no one needs to steal what he already possesses."²⁶ The crime statistics in England from 1805-1842 tend to affirm this general contention:

Year -- Recorded Crimes	Year -- Recorded
Crimes	
1805 -- 2,783	1830 -- 12,805
1810 -- 3,158	1835 -- 14,729
1815 -- 4,883	1840 -- 19,927
1820 -- 9,318	1841 -- 20,280
1825 -- 9,964	1842 -- 22,733

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Not only were problems of making a living cited as causes for crime, but "criminals" often found empathy within segments of mainstream society. Blame was directed at the economy. E.P. Thompson stated that in 18th century England, popular sentiment was in agreement with the condemnation of whole communities -- coining, poaching, the evasion of taxes...or excise or the press-gang.²⁸

With the continued evolution to an industrial society, movement from the country to the city not only resulted in overpopulation and rampant unemployment, but added to the ranks of the poor, beggars and homeless. As members of the underclass, these people were not absorbed into the mainstream economy, but rather they toiled at jobs which no one wanted or survived by whatever means are available to them. "When they are out of work, these people eke out a miserable existence by begging and stealing, by sweeping the streets, by collecting horse-dung, by pushing barrows or driving donkey-carts, by

hawking and peddling and by turning their attention to anything that will bring a copper or two."²⁹ Rather than adapting or being unable to adapt, the erosion of traditional jobs, methods of production and cultural tenents all led to conflict as people resisted changes in their way of life.

Across the ocean, 19th century America experienced a number of economic depressions in 1819, 1837, 1873-1877, and 1893-1898, bringing economic dislocation and distress to the workers and the poor alike. Reactions assumed many forms, including participation in illegal activities to make a living, to ensure their survival.³⁰ The great depression of 1929 dramatically disrupted the way of life within the mainstream, even threatening the social order itself. Because of the severity of this economic downturn, people began to take matters of survival into their own hands, often forsaking traditional values. Although the preceeding years of prosperity announced that the market economy would eliminate poverty,³¹ the economic collapse threw over 25% of employed workers into the ranks of the unemployed and homeless.

Incidents of increases in crime rates became the consequences of not being able to find jobs, let alone provide for their families. St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Clayton documented examples of just such reactions in their book, Black Metropolis volumes I and II. Howard Zinn, in his book A People's History of the United

States, documented various examples in which people struggled for their survival and to maintain their subsistence rights. Many responses were still within the boundaries of acceptable behavior, but illegal activities rose with the prevalence of economic hard times. "Aunt Molly Jackson...in Appalachia, recalled how she walked into the local store, asked for a 24 pound sack of flour, gave it to her little boy to take it, then filled a sack of sugar and said to the store keeper, 'Well...I'll have to see you in ninety days. I have to feed some children...I'll pay you don't worry.' And when he objected, she pulled out her pistol (which as a midwife traveling alone through the hills, she had a permit to carry it) and said 'Martin if you try to take this grub from me, God knows that if they electrocute me for it tomorrow, I'll shoot you six times in a minute.'"³² Upon her return, her children were so hungry that they were grabbing and pulling raw dough from her fingers as she prepared the bread.

Being without in the midst of plenty or knowing that people have made money and obtained material things illegally has drawn people to crime as a solution to unemployment or underemployment. "A large part of the female offenders (in the 1930's) especially with respect to sex offenses, are drawn from low-paid occupations. Those that have been found to be most dangerous to women from a moral standpoint are domestic service and work on

small wages in factories, store, and offices."³³

Reactions such as these allow people to survive and obtain material items which they feel they deserve.

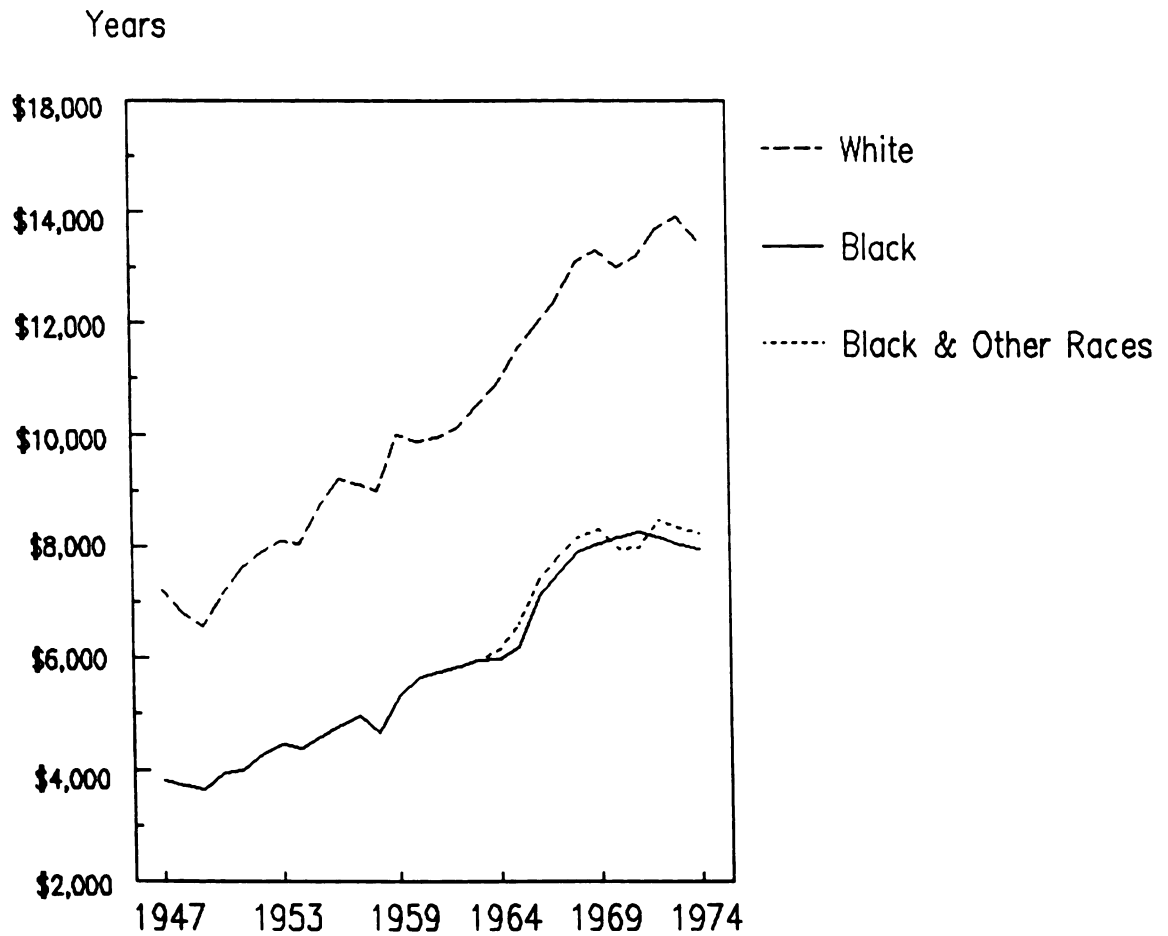
"Unemployment sets the stage for mercenary crime, it creates the economic urge, it develops the social resentments at the current economic injustices and the presence of abundance of wealth and food in the community, and offers the incentive and the opportunity for the worker to embark upon this crime career."³⁴

Not only had the Depression thrown approximately 25% of the work force out of the labor market, other workers were losing their jobs to those new technologies being introduced in the labor process. In addition, a study conducted at Sing-Sing prison in October of 1930 revealed that out of 1,051 inmates, 51% were unemployed when they had committed their crime. Despite the slow recovery of the economy, such developments swelled the ranks of marginal workers inspiring feelings of dislocation and resentment, fertile soil for criminal behavior.³⁵ Prior to WW II, economic fluctuations accounted for much of the factors affecting crime. Subsequent to WW II, cyclical fluctuations, economic growth and inflation together accounted for 90% of crimes.³⁶ "Being out of work is a personal tragedy for the unemployed individual and his or her family. It is also a very real crisis for the community in which the person and family live. There have been four recessions since 1969 which have lifted

the unemployment rate to new post-Depression heights. With each recovery, the rate bottomed out at a higher level with the 1982 rate at 7.2%.³⁷

Both the unemployment rate and crime index are only symptomatic of more fundamental social ills. For example, the root cause of crime and structural unemployment often have the same characteristics. Inadequate education gives rise to being uncompetitive in the job market because of the lack of prerequisite job skills. Often this individual turns to petty crime."³⁸ Between 1967 and 1974, the prison population in Georgia fluctuated with changes in the unemployment rate. Harvey Brenner in his testimony to the Subcommittee on Crime of the House Committee on the Judiciary in 1978 indicated that there is a direct link between the unemployment rate and incidences of crime. For every 1% rise in the unemployment rate, there will be a corresponding rise in the crime rate. (Refer to Figure 12)³⁹ "Hardcore unemployment is frequently the by-product of rapid technological changes where surplus workers find it difficult to service new employment with their old skills in a particular kind of labor market. Hardcore unemployment also represents circumstances where workers are excluded from employment on the basis of skin color or other characteristics that are irrelevant to job performances."⁴⁰

Culture of Unemployment and Survival Crime



NOTE: Single year data for 1960-63 are not available for Black only

FIGURE 12

MEDIAN INCOME OF FAMILIES: 1947 TO 1974

Income Adjusted in 1974 Dollars

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census

For the mainstream, work indeed is the bonding agent holding society together. Yet what happens when people are not employed? Unemployment conveys various images of both those people not working as well as the life style/culture of those who are not part of the labor market. The pathology of unemployment, emotional, physical, and psychological problems directly rooted to being jobless, becomes the common thread among the victims of joblessness. Workers are often demoralized and demonstrate a loss of self-esteem which makes them less effective in landing another job. Often times, people fall from the ranks of the employed to being unemployed, and from there to being disillusioned and discouraged. The discouraged workers do not appear on "official" employment/unemployment figures because they simply drop out and no longer look for jobs. In the second quarter of 1982, there were approximately 1.5 million discouraged workers, a 44% increase from the second quarter of 1981.⁴¹

There are many who do not participate in the labor market, and these people often find alternatives, primarily within the irregular economy or underground economy. These alternatives not only provide for their survival, but they fill that void created by not being employed and part of mainstream society.

Even though the overall economy is differentiated by various sectors, employment opportunities primarily are

located in the "regular economy." However, where do people find opportunities to make a living if they are unemployed? Regardless of the reasons why people are not part of the labor market, opportunities are often found within those unofficial sectors of society's economy: the irregular economy, the hidden economy as well as the underground economy.⁴² While the types of jobs found within these sectors may resemble those within the regular economy, differences exist. It is these differences which impact on the legality or social acceptability of the "jobs" from which people are able to choose.

How people make a living serves as a cultural mirror reflecting a level of participation within and an acceptance into the mainstream. Whether it is by choice or not, what people do is often influenced as much by their perceptions of life as the forces which determine that life. "(B)eliefs constitute assumptions about the world in which a person lives, the validity of which he or she does not question. The belief system defines the world for an individual, constitutes an information system to which a person looks for answers, and organizes the world of ideas, people, and authority such that the individual functions in ways he or she considers effective."⁴³ A problem is that rather than being perceived as victims or innocents caught in a changing economy, the unemployed are thought to be at fault for

their condition. "Americans still believe that if someone wants to work there's always work," said to Columbia University psychiatrist Jerome Steiner.

"According to the American Dream, a hard worker moves only upward and makes more and more money. Nothing can be wrong with the country, so if someone is out of work, they think something must be wrong with them."⁴⁴ However, factors determining their perception about society further separate the unemployed from the mainstream.

Despite the fact that individuals may violate social norms, their behavior does not automatically mean that they have changed their beliefs about right and wrong or that their actions are threatening to the social structure.⁴⁵ Rather, it is often the consequence of their reactions to those life situations that demand different survival responses than those within mainstream society. People often do not perceive their actions as a rejection of mainstream values, but merely a necessity based upon what life directs them to do. Even within this subculture, people engaged in crime as a way to make ends meet often demonstrate a "curious version of middle-class mentality and work ethic (in that many) would rather choose crime than collect social welfare."⁴⁶ For example, certain activities such as gambling, bootlegging, and prostitution gave employment to many people who were otherwise locked out of the labor market, unable to find employment. Although these "jobs" are all considered

deviant to the mainstream, not to mention illegal, within their community, these people were not necessarily looked upon negatively as being "bad people" as the thief and robber.⁴⁷

While the working poor and underclasses exist in an alternative social world, they possess many of the same mores and values of the mainstream. The fallacy that the impoverished are inherently different from the mainstream often fails to take into account how the environment impacts on their lives. People adapt to their situations, and differences arise out of the situational discrepancies among the experiences of the poor when juxtaposed against those of the middle class.⁴⁸ An absence of and a lack of access to quality job opportunities may result in the rejection of certain mainstream values as indicated by the refusal of many of the unemployed to work at low wage, menial, conventional jobs.⁴⁹

For these people, existence means low wage menial jobs, welfare and often participation in the irregular economy.⁵⁰ Yet, their struggle for survival is as basic to their condition as it is within the mainstream. Experience and a history of being denied jobs paying decent wages, and of being alienated from society paint a different picture of what is unacceptable and what is tolerable for those living at the margins. The poor and casual workers⁵¹ both want to be employed within the labor

market and be a part of the mainstream. For these people in a way must coexist with individuals comprising the criminal class and in turn they are influenced by the social forces at large, from which recruits for the criminal class are drawn. Lacking jobs, steady work and quality jobs, the poor and casual workers readily go with the tide, now rising to industry and decency, now falling to crime.⁵²

Institutionalization of Crime in Mainstream Culture

Just as people do not make a living from being employed, the payment for a person's labor is not solely derived from wages. People also receive "kind" payments, or "perks" from their jobs, a legacy rooted in the rise of merchantile society -- the forerunner to today's market economy. Kind payments were unofficial supplements providing for a more comfortable/tolerable existence. Perceived as their common "rights" prior to industrial and commercial growth, and the development of "legal rights," they were transmitted into the following: "literal specification of the amount which previous rights now represent...and a restriction of the previous universal acceptability of rights."⁵³ Hunting and fishing as well as grazing live stock on the common lands were examples of early kind payments during mercantile society. With the development of the commercial/industrial based economy, workers would take parts of the work place home as "kind payment" to

supplement their wages and/or in lieu of "decent" wages.⁵⁴

The societal changes which have witnessed the evolution of business from agrarian to commercial to industrial, and finally to service and information economy. In the process, there has been a relabelling of "rights into privileges," and "free citizenry to employees" with the mainstream culture.⁵⁵ The impact of this change can be seen in the growing amorality of the urban working class to the annexation of customary rights by those in power. As people moved to cities to become part of the industrial society their traditional way of life eroded and changed. "They were forced into a relationship in which subsistence was made conditional, not on work itself, but on employment by those who owned the resources that labor turned into valued goods. The loss of subsistence resources that forced people into the labor market."⁵⁶ While general rights became specific financial amounts, the beneficiaries were restricted to those actively engaged in production (working). In fact, these two processes eventually produced three classes of recipient, which ultimately became synonymous with these categories of in-kind payments; perks (for employees and the white-collar workers), pilferage (for blue-collar employees) and unequivocal theft (for the unemployed poor). "⁵⁷

The system of kind-payments has become institutionalized both within the regular economy as part

of a worker's salary and as common practice by the work force. The "wage-perk" system of payment is when a worker's wages include legal kind-payments, often thought of an incentive by an employer. An example would be the wage-tip salary structure for cab drivers, waitresses, and sky caps. Yet when wages alone do not provide access to one's subsistence rights, the "wage-pilferage" system becomes a tolerated practice. This system is best described when the "perks" are unofficially a kind-payment. An individual caught pilfering, "controlled larceny," is stopped by an employer, but is rarely prosecuted. This practice serves as a means by which workers can supplement their salaries despite the fact that enforcement of its illegality is unpredictable. Finally, the "wage-theft" system is when all occasions of unauthorized taking of kind benefit in a wage structure results in the offender be defined as a thief.⁵⁸

The same pressure of success-goals are applied equally to people in society regardless of their different places along the social structure ladder and the accessibility of opportunities for achieving such goals.⁵⁹ The quality of life expected by workers and the impact of mainstream culture's criteria of success and happiness both play an important role in the wage-perk-pilferage-theft structure. The difference between perk and theft is a fine line often defined by what is considered to be a given level of "acceptable deviance."⁶⁰

"For the working class employee, the general cultural availability of goals is in disjunction coupling with a class-based relative unavailability of means for legitimately securing them. In action terms, the specification that the means should be legitimate ones is weaker than the specification that the goals should be attained. In some occupational situation, for example, low wages are in harness with either direct (occupational) or indirect (societal) imperatives to maintain a certain standard of living which the visible component of the wage can not support."⁶¹ The difference between a perk or pilfering and occupational theft is blurred, and can be rationalized into a perk, avoiding the stigma of theft.

Fiddling is the common term applied to the variety of part-time property crimes which have been known separately as shop lifting, purse-snatching. Many of these activities make up fringe benefits or perks which employers either allow or expect workers to do. In addition some of these acts make up the certain amount of hidden property crime. Fiddling has a long history within the experience of man: Aristole referred to the embezzlement of public funds; the Articles of Edward I in 13th century England provided for the investigation of overseers who had "adjusted accounts"; in 1529, pilfering was a felony offense, but was initially a problem dating from 1339; corruption by people holding "official jobs"

was cited as a way to earn guaranteed income during the Middle Ages in Europe; fencing dated back to 1592 when the practice of "cony-catching" was in practice in brothels, public pubs and lodging houses.⁶² Employee theft takes many forms from outright theft to forms of deception. Dock workers and coopers responsible for transporting goods would skim off the top of certain goods, i.e. wine casks, or claim breakage/damage to goods during shipping. This would allow them then to take for themselves items they normally would not be able to afford or would have to purchase.⁶³

"Poverty exists when a person has inadequate resources to meet his or his family's needs. American poverty, while it involves considerable physical hardships, is primarily "social poverty." It isolates the individual from the social mainstream, denies him the respect and status of the "respectable" members of society, and excludes him from mobility opportunities into positions of "social worth." The poor are poor in relation to the aggregate wealth and to the standards of life enjoyed by others in society."⁶⁴ People, who form the "social outcaste group," represent those individuals who are perceived as socially undesirable, unproductive and redundant job skills and for whom society no longer has use. These people work at activities that are more physically demanding, monetarily and psychologically less rewarding, and higher levels of stress and insecurity.

Job opportunities from which this group makes a living include the menial jobs in the regular economy or those forming the hidden, irregular economy.⁶⁵

W.E.B. DuBois suggested that the attitudes of people and the opportunities within society impact on choices for making a living. "(T)heir environment makes it easier for them (the poor) to live by crime or the results of crime rather than by work, and being without ambition or perhaps having lost ambition and grown bitter with the world -- they drift with the stream."⁶⁶ By focusing on the responsibility and role of the social structure, DuBois alludes to the problem of making a living for the poor and "semi-criminals."⁶⁷ Racism and segregation with respect to employment opportunities and participation within the mainstream culture makes it easier for people to be "rogues" as opposed to "honest johns."⁶⁸

"Job Opportunities" and the Irregular Economy

When people seek alternatives to work within the regular economy, they generally find "employment" within what is popularly referred to as either the hidden or irregular economy. This sector of economic activity does not stand alone nor does it exist independently of the regular economy; one's existence being dependent upon the existence and health of the other.⁶⁹ Similar behaviors and motivations which drive the market economy of the mainstream also motivate people to participate in the

irregular economy. Not only then is the irregular economy as an alternative "employer" for people, it provides an alternative for consumers as well. It provides an income or "extra cash" for the unemployed and for consumers, a market place for items for which they cannot afford to pay market price.⁷⁰

Services provided in the irregular economy are characterized by lower level technologies and labor intensive work which often times is quite the opposite of the regular economy. The make-up of the irregular economy's work force consists of the unemployed, discouraged workers, the professional criminal, youths, retirees, welfare recipients and workers who are "moonlighting" from their jobs in the regular economy.⁷¹ The basic business principles guiding the regular economy direct the irregular economy, supply of goods, types of goods and shorter time at work. "So, rather than being able to choose work categories, particular social groups are forced to accept unemployment through the specific patterns of incidence in reduction of work opportunities. Even more seriously, those groups who are made unemployed are often those in most need of jobs in the formal economy."⁷²

The type of job at which one works in the irregular economy can be seen as being that person's regular job or else a "side" occupation.⁷³ "The various dimensions of work appear to be as applicable...to the illegitimate as

to the legitimate worker."⁷⁴ In the everyday world of the criminal, there are skills to be learned, senses to be sharpened, and patterns to be perceived and understood. Survival crime for many then is not merely a spontaneous activity, but a job much like the rudiments of a job in business. For example, planning, casing, accounting, marketing, etc. are skills that need to be learned and developed. Unlike the mainstream labor market, this process usually requires on-the-job training (OJT) where experience is gained because there is generally no "apprenticeship" program to train people. By focusing on the activities in which people are engaged rather than the "illegal" portion, the issue of survival crime becomes more apparent.

The irregular economy, at times referred to as the hidden economy, has been described as a sub-commercial economy where goods are bought and sold having been regularly and "visibly" stolen and been part of a ghetto economic network. The hidden economy operates side by side with the "visible" economy and indicates that it is popularly referred to as "side money." The irregular economy serves a source of income that people count upon as part of their everyday income or as a source supplementing a certain desired lifestyle. The hidden economy is the "...extended package of common rights...made a significant material contribution to the domestic household budgets of tenants."⁷⁵ When prices are

high, incomes are restrained, taxation crippling, money scarce, and when the only policy offered by government is one of equality of sacrifice, no one is surprised that people respond by finding their own method of survival. If these methods involve a dodge here or a fiddle there, accepting a 'cheap' offer, stretching a perk or striking a bargain, can people be blamed? Faced with no alternative way of getting round the inflexibilities of a rigid official system, it seems hardly surprising that such things happen."⁷⁶ Participation in and the continuance of the irregular economy suggests that there is a rationalization of crime as though society has accepted that certain crimes or a certain level of crime has become a way of life in society.

Unemployment, Crime and Black Workers

"In any society, man's work identifies him with his social system; and, in our own, the primary preoccupation of maturing adults is that of finding and holding a job. Unemployment for him thus assumes the aspect of a personal tragedy."⁷⁷ The legacy of slavery is crucial in understanding the resulting economic and cultural developments in the black community. It has been often stated that the only time when black people experienced full employment was during slavery.⁷⁸ Not since then have black workers been fully employed in the labor market. "What began as a color problem at the time that Dr. DuBois emerged as the leader of Negro protest (1900-1910's)

has become, in the last third of the Twentieth Century, basically a problem in education and economics. The advent of automation foreclosed to the Negro masses the road which European immigrants had successfully traversed to middle class status, that is, to the American ideal."⁷⁹

Racism has divided America along color lines, and has discriminated against black people by excluding, rejecting, and subjecting them because of their color. While differences in the life experiences among blacks exist, their history within society is one of a common heritage. While blacks have moved toward the development of a particular ethnicity and a distinct consciousness on the one hand, they were at the same time becoming American in action and identity.⁸⁰ In spite of this, the overwhelming shared experience of the black community has been one of low income and poverty.⁸¹ The modern form of racism corresponds to a 300 year tradition of cultural control, having migrated northward from the fields of the south and exists now within the cities of the "rust bowl."⁸² The history of this experience has become institutionalized within both mainstream society, its labor market and culture, and the developing inner-city subculture.

"In the world's most achievement-oriented society, work is more than a source of income. It is also a source of status and self-esteem, a point of

identification with the system, and a second social environment which aids in diffusing the accumulated tensions of day-to-day life."⁸³ The inner-city labor market is now synonymous with low wage, menial jobs, and high rates of employment. Yet outside the city the quality of life greatly differs and this discrepancy of living standards encourages in people such qualities as envy and covetousness, often translated into theft by stealth or violence.⁸⁴ "Grinding poverty seemed to make survival dependent upon petty larceny. And the concentration of population surely encouraged, if it did not make inevitable, a higher incidence of personal assaults."⁸⁵ Subordination, low educational attainment, frustration, economic insecurity, and incomplete social participation, significantly determine the position of inner-city blacks and impact upon most every possible aspect of black crime causation. Indeed, it is so important as to constitute virtually a special and major set of sociological and psychological factors which can explain black crime in so far as it needs special explanation.⁸⁶

Prior to the industrial explosion in the American economy, unemployment did not impact as heavily on blacks because of the labor-intensive job market. "Limited aspirations"⁸⁷ and more importantly exclusionary practices by skilled labor caused more instances of underemployment by reducing competition for jobs within the primary labor

market, minimize employment. Even prior to the Civil War, social restrictions, rather than a lack of job skills mainly prohibited blacks from entering certain professions, i.e. carters, draymen, mechanics, and dock trades, even when legal restrictions were not attached to such jobs. When economic times were hard and along with increases in European immigrants seeking jobs, free blacks were forced into unemployment or into finding alternatives during the first half of the 19th century.

The difficulty of finding employment and the attraction of seeking alternative survival options often resulted in blacks being over-represented in prisons, workhouses, and jails. For example, in Baltimore through the 1830's - 1840's, blacks constituted on the average 32% of the population in the city jail while only accounting for 16% of the population.⁸⁸ Statistics for other northern cities during this period of time included:

Philadelphia, 1820 through 1840's blacks constituted 33-40% of all convicted criminal acts.

Boston, late 1830's - early 1840's blacks constituted 1/12 of all inmates, 4 times greater than the free population.

N.Y.C., 1820 the Bridewell jail inmate population was between 20-66% black, while the city's black population was 1 in 12.
⁸⁹

"Although there are many exceptions, the mass of what we term crime is the direct or indirect result of

poverty and its attendant evils."⁹⁰ At the turn of the 20th century black crime was a prominent product of racism, a lack of educational skills, economic opportunities, and the heritage of slavery. Blacks were linked to crimes as gambling, drunkenness, and prostitution by mainstream society. A popular belief was the in New York City's Sixth Ward, predominantly a black section, was that "nearly every house and cellar is a grocery below and a brothel above."⁹¹ Segregation and unemployment further distanced blacks from the mainstream as opportunities for making a living were nonexistent or at best remained at the lowest rungs of the job ladder, keeping black unemployment rates disproportionately higher than whites.

The bottom line is that being incorporated into society, the crime rate tended to drop. However, "the greatest difficulty of all which Negroes have had in the North has been the problem of earning a living."⁹² While black people in general had a difficult time entering into the mainstream labor market, "the Submerged Tenth" who were considered social failures characterized by "debauchery and crime, and given to excess and immorality" constituted a nineteenth century version of the underclass.⁹³ In Philadelphia the following crime statistics illustrate this issue:

YEAR	CRIME	POPULATION
1835-1839	approx. 40%	7.5%
1850	16%	7.5%
1874	less than 4%	7.5% (considered normal)
1876	rising from 4-9%	7.5%
1901	9%	5%

In the U.S. blacks comprised approximately 1/8 of the nation's population, but accounted for nearly 1/5 of the crime. For example over 50% of the crimes for which blacks were charged were offenses against property.⁹⁴

It is important to recognize the type of employment, salary, and job security in understanding the impact on the relationship between poverty and unemployment. Racism, the heritage of slavery, and social disorganization following Emancipation inhibited black entrance into the labor market, but facilitated their position in the unemployment line. "A large proportion of Negroes in cities consist of migrant males between the ages of 20-44, who contribute the largest proportion of criminals in any racial group. Negro migrants to cities must find homes in physically deteriorated areas which are also centers of a vicious social environment. In addition, Negro men are constantly faced with unemployment and constantly live on the fringes of marginal existence."⁹⁵

Conditions facing many inner-city blacks can in part be linked to the time when they arrived. Key factors in the changing make-up of cities include the

decentralization of people and the overall economy, manufacturing concerns and other financial resources. At a time when vast numbers of blacks began to pour into the cities, there was already afoot an exodus out of the cities of the middle class and segments of business. In addition, business expansion began to occur outside of the old industrial and manufacturing sectors of cities. This shift of money and wealth to the suburbs started to occur at a time when the need for a solid economic base within cities was becoming critical.⁹⁶ Newly arriving black workers were victims of these imbalances. The available jobs were at the low skilled menial level, part of the secondary labor market;⁹⁷ the alternative is unemployment.

Many blacks arriving in the urban labor market left the rural farmlands in search of jobs in the urban economy only to find unemployment lines and welfare waiting for them. They had moved from one place of despair to another, yet their dreams of achieving the American ideal still directed their choices of making a living. Uneven economic growth and development trapped them along with the working poor and unemployed in the most desolate and destitute areas of cities. Recognition of their impoverishment may often motivate people to seek alternatives rather than employment in secondary labor market jobs awaiting them. Even though welfare is an option for many especially single-parent mothers, crime

is a lure for those seeking "quick money" of life. Economic disparities have fueled the attractiveness of alternative opportunities for making a living, which during an earlier time may have been jobs in the primary labor market, a booming industrial sector. Locked out of those desired mainstream jobs, choices of how to make a living, are made in terms of the American ideal.⁹⁸

Crime may be seen as an act of deviance, crime may also represent a "logical" choice for many involved participants even though it is part of the irregular economy. Often decisions are based on a crude "cost-benefit" analysis which serves as motivation in their choices of making a living.⁹⁹ Their choices are measured not in absolute terms by what available opportunities are available within their immediate environment, but relative to those within the mainstream society around them. "There is every reason to believe that as long as the Negro (sic blacks) is discriminated against in employment and is forced to live in ghettos where there is considerable social disorganization, criminality among them will continue to be high."¹⁰⁰

The poverty in which people live creates situations where they "stretch" their values in order to cope with their situations.¹⁰¹ How they make a living becomes a secondary concern to survival or to enjoying a quality life. "Pauperism is one of the sloughs in which the progress of mankind is arrested."¹⁰² Poverty must be

understood from a comparative relationship between those segments deprived of basic human needs and the most affluent.¹⁰³ Conflicts arise within the slums as a result of the clash between accepted mainstream values and learned values produced from living in poverty. "Crime is in general that portion of human depravity and passion which is regarded and punished by human laws. As distinguished from vice, it is more overt, more dreaded by the community, and held in greater abhorrence; while vice is more insidious, more general, and more ruinous to the individual, though often held in little reprehension by the community."¹⁰⁴

Unemployment and the Development of A Ghetto Subculture

"The core of the Negro subculture in American metropolises constitutes an unassimilated way of life: the conjunction of black, southernnnnn plantation conditioning and the individualistic highly motivated, racist spirit of modern urban society."¹⁰⁵ For blacks living in the ghetto, it represents taht section of the city where access to the mainstream has been historically restricted socially and at times legally. Exploitation of low-wage economic basis of the urban ghetto has created an economic subsystem, the irregular economy, which helps preserve the inferior position of the blacks.¹⁰⁶ "Perhaps no phenomenon so profoundly characterizes the mentality of the core ghetto Negro as a sense of not being wanted, included, and accepted in the

larger American society. He is not likely to feel encouraged to participate in the legitimate social order. The core ghetto tends to constitute an external society, racially (and often economically) identified."¹⁰⁷ A consequence is that of arbitrary limitation of choices for the unemployed and discouraged workers often lead to a greater degree of poverty and exclusion from the mainstream, more so than that for the working poor.

The ghetto has three chief characteristics. Its people are clearly recognizable as racial or national minorities: it is poor; and there are cultural differences with the mainstream. "The economic relations of the ghetto to white America closely parallel those between third-world nations and the industrially advanced countries. The ghetto also has a relatively low percapita income and a high birth rate. Its residences are for the most part unskilled. Businesses lack capital and managerial know-how. Local markets are limited. The incidence of credit is high. Little savings takes place and what is saved is usually not invested locally. Goods and services tend to be 'imported' for the most part, only the simplest and the most labor-intensive being produced locally. The ghetto is dependent on one basic export -- its unskilled labor power."¹⁰⁸

The ghetto has an isolating and retarding effect on its inhabitants who have been robbed of opportunities for social incorporation and of a normal sense of belonging.

Even though in the long run crime is also self-defeating and isolating in its own right, it can be an indicator of people's dissatisfaction of this existence.¹⁰⁹

Furthermore, the physical environment of the ghetto alone produces pathologies which become part of this subculture. These pathologies are produced by unemployment, squalor, pollution, adult idleness, physical deterioration, and crime. In addition, fear and insecurity tend to characterize the quality of life for individuals and it also desensitizes people living within the ghetto to their plight.

The ghetto destroys and stifles such aspirations and motivations of participating within the mainstream and pursuing the American ideal. Crime is often a reaction to this inhumanity.¹¹⁰ In the ghetto, there are signs of fantasy, decay, abandonment, and defeat everywhere. The only constant characteristic is a sense of inadequacy. Many people seem to have given up in the little things that are so often the symbol of the larger problems confronting them, i.e. making a living and becoming part of the mainstream.¹¹¹ Proliferation and the commonplaceness of the numbers in Harlem, or any northern city, is due to the "...desperate economic condition of the people who hoped to gain through luck what was denied them through labor."¹¹² "Caste, especially when it operates to cause legal injustice and insecurity of life and property, prevents the Negro from identifying himself

with society and the law.¹¹³ In Philadelphia, much as in other urban-industrial centers of the north, black crime rate was disproportionately higher than that of whites. In 1924, while making up 7.4% of the population, blacks accounted for 24.4% of the crime. In Detroit, the crime rate for blacks was almost four times higher than that of whites.¹¹⁴ "By the 1940's, it was well established that the black crime rate was consistently higher than that for whites. The relationship between black and white unemployment figures corresponded to the findings between black and white crime rates."¹¹⁵

The choice of choosing between unemployment jobs which do not provide a decent wage and self-respect makes welfare and crime an attractive alternative opportunity for many urban black residents. Since 1947, the "rate of affluence" of American workers has steadily decreased with respect to spendable weekly earnings. (Refer to Figure 13) In addition, from 1947 to 1974, the median income for blacks has been just over 50% of that for whites with the level for blacks being under \$8,000 for blacks and just under \$14,000 for whites in 1974. (Refer to Figure 12) Incorporation within the mainstream becomes a moot question when the mainstream opportunities fail to include these job-takers as part of the greater society. "Wages must be high enough to enable a man (and/or a woman) to maintain his self-respect as a provider and stable enough to make it worthwhile to

Decade	% Increase over Decade in Real Spendable Weekly Earnings for Workers with Three Dependents
1947 - 1957	+ 20.4%
1957 - 1967	+ 13.1%
1967 - 1977	+ 3.3%
1969 - 1979	- 1.7%

FIGURE 13

Table 6. The "Falling Rate of Affluence" for America Workers

Source: Inequality in an Age of Decline, Paul Blumberg

change the nature of his adaption to this world."¹¹⁶ By keeping people languishing at the fringes of society, alternatives which do not have the social or legal blessings of the mainstream remain both attractive and viable as survival strategies.

Technology has impacted the primary labor market by replacing people with robots and machines, automating the production process in manufacturing. By adding to the number of unemployed technology has also impacted blacks working in the secondary labor market. The reduction of jobs and in the job expansion has increased black-white competition for jobs in the secondary labor market once thought to be the reserve of minority workers only. While the percentage of income received by wages is almost even between whites and blacks (black -- 62.0%; white -- 59.8%), the per capita income for blacks is only 60% of whites, \$3404.44 to \$5636.38. The percentage of blacks receiving public assistance is almost 5 times greater than that of whites, 11.2% to 2.4% respectively. (Refer to Figures 14 & 15) For example in 1966, there were approximately 12.5 million non-whites living in all inner-cities of whom 12.1 million were black. Of these ghetto residents, approximately 40% were members of families living below the poverty line in 1964, which was \$3,300 annually for a family of four.¹¹⁷

Not only have technological advancements impacted on the job market, changes in the focus of economic activity

Type of Income	Percentage of Persons Receiving Income		Percentage of Total Aggregate Income		Per Capita \$		Ratio Blk/Wht Per Capita
	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE	
Wage or Salary Income	62.0	59.8	84.1	78.2	\$3404.44	\$5636.38	0.60
Nonfarm Self- Employment	2.3	5.5	2.6	7.2	\$103.88	\$521.78	0.20
Farm Self- Employment	0.7	2.3	0.2	1.3	\$6.98	\$93.25	0.07
Property Income	5.3	24.3	0.6	4.6	\$26.04	\$331.37	0.08
Transfer Income & All Other	N/A	N/A	12.6	8.6	\$507.73	\$621.69	0.82
Social Security Railroad or Retirement	10.9	13.6	4.1	4.1	\$164.93	\$295.25	0.56
Public Assistance	11.2	2.4	5.1	0.6	\$205.70	\$46.75	4.40
Retirement & Annuities			1.1	1.7	\$45.65	\$123.25	0.37

FIGURE 14

Income Receipts by Type of Income, Persons 14 Years and Older, By Race, 1970

Source: 1970 Consumer Income Services

YEAR	Percent Receiving Welfare			Percentage of Aggregate Income fro Welfare			Per Capita Income from Welfare\$		
	BLACK	WHITE	B/W	BLACK	WHITE	B/W	BLACK	WHITE	B/W
1979	28.1	5.3	5.30	5.2	.55	9.45	\$243.37	\$51.11	4.76
1978	30.0	5.7	5.26	5.4	.61	8.85	\$260.05	\$54.96	4.73
1977	28.9	5.7	5.07	5.9	.68	8.68	\$274.05	\$59.75	4.59
1976	28.1	5.7	4.93	6.0	.68	8.82	\$274.81	\$59.55	4.61
1975	26.9	5.9	4.56	6.0	.70	8.57	\$267.01	\$58.74	4.55
1974	27.4	5.7	5.80	6.0	.67	8.95	\$259.61	\$58.59	4.43
1973	25.5	4.4	5.77	5.8	.54	10.74	\$248.90	\$48.89	5.09
1972	25.8	4.6	5.61	5.8	.57	10.17	\$258.15	\$51.78	4.95
1971	25.2	4.5	5.60	6.0	.43	13.95	\$253.81	\$47.09	5.39
1970	22.0	4.3	5.12	4.9	.57	8.59	\$203.12	\$46.57	4.36
1969	19.1	3.6	5.31	4.2	.47	8.94	\$176.09	\$39.71	4.43

FIGURE 15

Welfare Reciprocity of Families by Race, 1969-1979
(Numbers in Thousands)

Source of Data: Current Population Reports, Consumer Income No.75, p.82; No.80, p.88; No.85, p.98; No.90, p.107; No.97, p.105; No.101, p.99; No.105, p.126; No.114, pp. 127, 130; No.118, pp.119, 122; No. 123, pp. 148, 151; No.129, pp.22, 36, 138, 141.

have affected the job participation rate of black workers. The level of job opportunity in society has not kept pace and expanded with the rising rate of population growth. The economy has not produced jobs paying decent wages, which enable people to live a minimum quality of life. Discrimination has continued to lock blacks out of competing for many prestigious jobs. In 1981, approximately 69.7% of all black males were employed compared to 77.9% for whites. In October 1982, over 2.2 million blacks were officially unemployed and this represented an increase of almost 1/2 million from October of 1981.¹¹⁸

The urban labor market consists mainly of a primary and secondary job category, but a "split labor market" characterized by a differing wage scale between individuals performing the same work exists as well. The benefit is that if cheaper labor, such as minorities, the young, or newly arrived migrants, can be attracted to businesses, then the wages for such work can be kept low. This not only increases the profitability of business, but threatens high-paid labor.¹¹⁹ The disproportionate number of black youth unemployed serves as a mass of individuals to populate the unemployed industrial reserve army. In doing so, wages remain low and the secondary labor market is further fortified.¹²⁰

Low wage, dead-end jobs are not in high demand and have primarily served as stepping stones up the job

ladder. With the development of industrialism, these jobs no longer were the spring boards for jobs within the primary labor market and being incorporated into the mainstream. As these jobs became primarily identified with being the reserve of minorities, the number of workers seeking and choosing alternative survival options increases. Unemployment often becomes the official reservoir for these disillusioned or discouraged workers. From 1955 through 1980, the black unemployment rate for individuals 16 years and older has been approximately twice that of white workers. The unemployment rate for blacks has hovered consistently near double-digit rates beginning in 1959 and 1980, it was 13.3%. (Refer to Figure 16) "Many of these jobs go unfilled as fewer black and white workers are willing to accept an economic arrangement that consigns them to work that is not only dead-end and menial, but does not provide a decent wage....(T)he problem for poor blacks is not simply the availability of or access to menial jobs in low-wage industries, but the availability of jobs that pay decent wages and that provide opportunities for advancement -- jobs that will enhance an individual's self-respect and feelings of self-worth."¹²¹

Crisis of Urban Unemployment and Crime

Today's urban and racial crisis has its roots in three long range problems: the changing nature of cities, persistent poverty, and the failure of the

YEAR	16+			16-17			18-19			20-24		
	B&O	W	B/W	B&O	W	B/W	B&O	W	B/W	B&O	W	B/W
1955	8.8	3.7	2.37	14.8	12.2	1.21	12.9	10.4	1.24	12.4	7.0	1.77
1959	11.5	4.6	2.50	22.3	15.0	1.48	27.2	13.0	2.09	16.3	7.5	2.17
1963	10.5	4.7	2.23	27.0	17.8	1.52	27.4	14.2	1.83	15.5	7.8	1.99
1967	6.0	2.7	2.22	28.9	12.7	2.26	20.1	9.0	2.23	8.0	4.2	1.90
1969	5.3	2.5	2.12	24.7	12.5	1.98	19.0	7.9	2.40	8.4	4.6	1.83
1973	7.6	3.7	2.05	34.4	15.1	2.28	22.1	10.0	2.21	12.6	6.5	1.94
1974	9.1	4.3	2.41	39.0	16.2	2.41	26.6	11.5	2.31	15.4	7.8	1.97
1975	13.7	7.2	1.90	39.4	19.7	2.29	32.9	17.2	2.15	22.9	13.2	2.08
1976	12.7	6.4	1.98	37.7	19.7	2.06	34.0	15.5	2.29	20.7	10.9	2.05
1977	12.4	5.5	2.25	38.7	17.6	2.20	36.1	13.0	2.78	21.7	9.3	2.33
1978	10.9	4.5	2.42	40.0	16.9	2.37	30.8	10.8	2.85	20.0	7.6	2.63
1979	10.3	4.4	2.34	34.4	16.1	2.14	29.6	12.3	2.41	17.0	7.4	2.30
1980	13.3	6.1	2.18	37.7	18.5	2.04	33.0	14.6	2.26	22.3	11.1	2.01

FIGURE 16

Unemployment Rates By Sex, Race, and Age: Annual Average, 1955-1980

MALES

Source: Employment and Training Report to the President 1973-1981

YEAR	16+			16-17			18-19			20-24		
	B&O	W	B/W	B&O	W	B/W	B&O	W	B/W	B&O	W	B/W
1955	8.4	4.3	1.95	15.4	11.6	1.33	21.4	7.7	2.78	13.0	5.1	2.56
1959	9.4	5.3	1.77	25.8	13.3	1.94	29.9	11.0	2.72	14.9	6.7	2.22
1963	11.2	5.8	1.93	40.1	18.1	2.22	31.9	13.2	2.42	11.7	7.4	1.58
1967	9.1	4.6	1.98	32.0	12.9	2.48	28.3	10.6	2.67	13.8	6.0	2.30
1969	7.8	4.2	1.86	31.2	13.8	2.26	25.7	10.0	2.57	12.0	5.5	2.18
1973	10.5	5.3	1.98	36.5	15.7	2.32	33.3	10.9	3.06	17.6	7.0	2.51
1974	10.7	6.1	1.75	36.2	16.4	2.21	33.7	13.0	2.59	18.0	8.2	2.20
1975	14.0	8.6	1.63	38.9	19.2	2.03	38.3	16.1	2.38	22.5	11.2	2.01
1976	13.6	7.9	1.72	46.9	18.2	2.53	35.0	15.1	2.32	21.7	10.4	2.09
1977	14.0	7.3	1.52	44.7	18.2	2.46	37.4	14.2	2.63	23.6	9.3	2.54
1978	13.1	6.2	2.11	41.7	17.1	2.44	36.5	12.4	2.94	21.3	8.3	2.57
1979	12.3	5.9	2.08	39.4	15.9	2.48	33.4	12.5	2.67	20.8	7.8	2.67
1980	13.1	6.5	2.22	43.0	17.3	2.35	36.9	11.0	2.63	21.8	6.5	2.56

FIGURE 17

Unemployment Rates By Sex, Race, and Age: Annual Average, 1955-1980
FEMALES

Source: Employment and Training Report to the President 1973-1981

mainstream to make an equal place for blacks. With the mainstream labor market not addressing the employment needs of inner-city blacks, the ghetto economy has had to compensate for the decentralization of business from the inner-cities. The development of the irregular economy is such a response as it involves (1) informal work patterns that are often invisible to outside observers, (2) a network of occupational skills unique to ghetto life but which have little significance for jobs outside the ghetto, and (3) acquisition of skills and competences by workers in nontraditional ways, making their use in the larger society difficult if not impossible.¹²² While the irregular economy represents an outlet for the industrial reserve army of the unemployed to seek work, it also serves to hamper any future involvement in the mainstream labor market. It tends to encourage patterns and attitudes of work that tolerate irregularity of work, lax work habits and high rates of turnover. These habits are incompatible with the mainstream, making it hard for people to compete for decent jobs, let alone retain a job once employed. The pattern of the ghetto economy, then, presents a series of self-reinforcing influences:

- poverty breeds a style of life which reinforces the conditions which lead to poverty;
- resources which might lead to betterment and development are drained out;
- lack of political power has brought public programs which are often harmful to the ghetto economy; and

-- white attitudes toward race have kept most of the ghetto residents from moving out.¹²³

"In a society when wealth is unequally distributed, and the poor are locked in a life-and-death struggle for survival, crime is but one of a number of limited responses to their deprived situation....The majority of crimes brought to the attention of the courts are committed for money."¹²⁴ Growing up in the ghetto, people are confronted with challenges and barriers unknown in the mainstream. Problems of making a living become more acute when the type and number of options are increased for those living at the margins. Many incarcerated blacks feel as though they were merely trying to survive in ways that they were able to when caught.¹²⁵ "They in turn go out to seek jobs, but only find a more negative situation than their fathers faced. So they join the Army if possible, or if not, they turn to petty crime, pushing dope, prostitution, and the cycle continues."¹²⁶

Though pervasive within the inner-city, this subculture does not contradict or stand in opposition to other mainstream values, nor does it become institutionalized or legitimized, supplanting mainstream values by the working poor and unemployed. Traditional institutions are not necessarily or automatically replaced by "informal" institutions; rather, the formal institutions exist and compete with such newly created systems for survival and social interaction.¹²⁷ However,

the problem of making a living often becomes a vehicle for infusing these subcultural traits within the everyday experiences of people. "(W)hen class traits are modified and given ethnic content by a natural group, they may become institutionalized, that is conscious, expected, and infused with value."¹²⁸

At the highest level of underdevelopment, the daily life of the Black poor becomes a continuous problematic, an unresolved set of dilemmas which confront each person at the most elementary core of their existence. The patterns of degradation are almost unrelenting, and thrust upon every individual and family a series of unavoidable choices...of which making a living is central. The preoccupation of "survival" occupies a pivotal place within the subculture. The subculture has roots within its salience and link with lower class status and poverty. The significance of this subculture is that it "...can be looked at as a philosophy of life or world view that places tragedy, suffering, and forbearance in a more central position than does the dominant American ethos."¹²⁹ The phrase "making it" for example captures the struggles of a lower class, underclass, existence. On the other hand, the phrase, "making it with dignity" suggests more of an aggressive attitude on the part of a people determined to share within society's wealth.¹³⁰

Unemployment and Crime:
Development of an Urban Underclass

Economic pressures on the black working poor and unemployed are unlike those which affect most within the mainstream. In the central city, black males have experienced over twice the rate of unemployment as whites; are working involuntary part time jobs at nearly twice that of whites; are employed at marginal jobs at a 2 to 1 rate; and are 40% more likely to receive inequitable pay. (Refer to Figure 18) The pressures have produced feelings of fatalism, hostility, alienation, and frustration, among others, and in turn have often caused behaviors which further isolate them to the margins of society. Attitudes and feelings as these have impacted upon how these individuals are viewed by the mainstream as well as how they perceive their role in society and how they interact within the mainstream. Equally as important, these feelings and attitudes become manifested within this subculture that is core to the institution of the "street," is that arena in which deviant behavior is the norm and not the exception.

Unemployment produces many problems which the poor generally and the underclass specifically suffer and which society must bear and later pay. "It is evident that a permanent black underclass developed, that virtually an entire generation of ghetto youth will never enter the labor force. This means that a large part of

CENTRAL CITY	Males			Females		
	Majority	Black	Hispanic	Majority	Black	Hispanic
Unemployed	6.4	14.7	8.4	5.2	13.4	10.5
Intermittently Employed	5.7	10.8	9.3	3.9	7.5	7.1
Involuntary Part Time	2.9	4.8	5.3	3.1	5.3	4.4
Marginal Jobs	6.4	13.7	13.9	13.0	20.6	18.9
Workers in pov- erty households	1.6	2.9	6.0	1.8	6.9	3.8
Inequitable pay	13.4	18.6	21.2	27.1	29.9	31.4
SUBURB						
Unemployed	5.4	10.0	7.3	5.2	11.4	8.1
Intermittently Employed	4.7	10.6	8.1	3.6	9.3	7.5
Involuntary Part Time	2.2	3.8	6.0	3.1	5.1	5.7
Marginal jobs	5.1	8.1	9.1	13.1	17.9	16.6
Workers in pov- erty households	1.2	3.2	3.8	1.2	4.0	3.2
Inequitable pay	11.6	20.2	16.2	26.3	30.0	30.4
NONMETROPOL ITANHOMES						
Unemployed	6.3	12.8	7.9	6.6	13.3	16.4
Intermittently Employed	5.7	14.7	11.4	4.4	8.4	8.8
Involuntary Part Time	3.2	6.5	6.0	4.4	9.1	8.8
Marginal jobs	4.8	11.3	10.1	14.9	29.1	21.4
Workers in pov- erty households	3.4	9.4	7.8	2.2	8.6	4.5
Inequitable pay	17.0	12.0	19.4	29.0	26.5	25.9

FIGURE 18

Unemployment and Underemployment by Race and Ethnic and Sex, and by Metropolitan Residence

Source: Commission tabulation of 1980 Current Population Survey Data

the young urban population will remain in a condition of hopelessness and despair and that the social and psychological costs in wasted lives continues a major tragedy in American life."¹³¹ In 1982, over 40% of black youth between the ages of 16-19 were unemployed, and over 30% of workers between the ages of 20-24 years. This compared to the unemployment rates for whites in the same categories as approximately 20% and 15% respectively. However, unless these individuals find employment, attitude problems such as apathy, frustration and fatalism often undercut such desires to enter the labor market. The black domestic periphery, the underclass living at the margins of the mainstream, is essentially imprisoned behind walls of unemployment, poverty, sexism, and exploitation.

The underclass differentiates itself from other classes in society by its lack of mobility. The underclass represents the permanent reserve army of black unemployed, the social culmination of the process of black ghettoization, economic exploitation, and urban decay. The lack of opportunities immobilizes the underclass and as a result, people prepare themselves for a social existence in the street. This further serves to widen the gap in entering the mainstream. "Although the 'school of the streets' prepares them for specific and often highly functional roles in that social context, these attributes do not necessarily prepare them to

achieve effective roles in mainstream life."¹³²

The ghetto is the home of organized crime that continually bleeds the poor of hundreds of millions of dollars annually. Four criminal industries are particularly important: numbers, loan sharking, drugs and prostitution. Robbery, mugging, petty theft, and selling dope have increased as unemployment for black workers remains high. "Crime is, in a sense, part of the 'Catch-22' of black youth unemployment. Without employment, the youths drift into crime, making future employment even more difficult to obtain. The middle class abandons the crime areas, taking away businesses that had provided some employment, and, in the process, taking away the community tax base."¹³³ For the underclass, "hustles, petty crime and welfare programs dominate this culture."¹³⁴

For most people unemployment means a temporary setback or at worst a lowering of one's living standard. Despite such consequences, their faith and allegiance to society remains unshaken and these individuals still remain within the mainstream. Education and job skills help these individuals to survive through the hard times. "But the underclass is made up of people who lack the schooling, skills, and discipline to advance and who have succumbed to helplessness -- a feeling of being beaten."¹³⁵ Poverty is reinforced by educational underdevelopment and an absence of appropriate job

skills. Criminal role models abound within the underclass and often times these individuals possess the symbols of success, material goods and power. Problems of unemployment and underemployment have been major contributors to the crime rates. Often times this is reflective of the problems many males experienced in trying to earn enough to support a family. The pattern of crime among blacks is that, basically, the predominant pattern is the persistence of crimes against property over the years, a greater disproportionate rate of crimes against property found among sales. In addition, the urban crime rates for blacks was consistently twice that when compared to the percentage of blacks to the overall population.

	White	Black
1970	70.5%	27.3%
1971	70.7%	27.1%
1972	71.4%	26.9%
1973	72.8%	25.8%
1974	73.0%	24.7%
1975	73.9%	24.1%
1976	73.7%	24.3%
1977	73.2%	24.6%
1978	73.4%	24.3%
1979	67.9%	28.6%

In addition, urban crime figures indicated that robbery represented the single most committed crime by blacks. The use of a weapon in the commission of robbery often is a show-of-force, an indicator of serious intent, and as protection for the perpetrator.¹³⁶

The consciousness of the underclass, akin to DuBois' Submerged Tenth, is not so much that of a "class," but

the sum total of destructive experiences that are conditioned by structural unemployment, the lack of meaningful participation within political or civil society, the dependency fostered by welfare agencies over two or three generations, functional illiteracy and the lack of marketable skills. "The underclass is so totally disaffected from the system that many who would not themselves steal or burn or mug stand by while others do so, sometimes cheering them on. The underclass...in a crisis feels no compulsion to abide by the rules of the game because they find that the normal rules do not apply to them."¹³⁷

CHAPTER 4
Detroit: From the Dawn to Twilight
of the Promised Land

Detroit -- The Motor City

To theorize about the impact which survival crime has in the city of Detroit in the 1980s, it is important to understand its history. What was the attraction of land later to be known as Detroit which initially wooed French traders and trappers and New England Yankee farmers, and then entrepreneurs, who later forged a road of economic prominence as hub of the U.S. automobile revolution? What was the lure that this city of Canaan, which held out hope and promise of a better life for blacks as they left the legacy of slavery and the Jim Crow south?

Indeed, Detroit has had a distinct role in the social, political and economic development of this nation. From its earliest beginnings as a fur trade center, through its commercial period, to its industrial explosion of the automobile era, and finally to its present stage of erosion in the midwest rust bowl, a relic of the industrial era. Though the glory days are gone, people are still trying to carve out their futures in Detroit.

The question now is what is their future? What opportunities are there now by which the citizens of Detroit can realize their American dreams or let alone make a living? Has the city evolved to where the dreams of the 1960s and early 1970s have disappeared? Have both blacks and whites of Detroit in the 1980's been locked

out of the jobs which brought the prosperity enjoyed by their parents? Are the most promising options for their career paths low wage, menial jobs, government assistance, or crime?

"French Trading Post to
American Town 1701-1850"¹

As indicated in earlier chapters, many of the early colonial cities were founded primarily as outposts to increase and stimulate trade, and regulate commerce for the colonial capitals of Europe.² Furthermore, site selection was determined largely by the needs of business, i.e. transportation requirements and other interests related to the movement of goods to market. Consequently, good harbors, access to rivers, and close proximity to natural resources such as timbered forests or farm lands proved vital in early American urban growth. "If any single influence can be identified as dominant, then commerce was the key factor that explains the siting of American seaports in the seventeenth century."³

As fur traders penetrated into the interior and as trading companies monopolized the natural resources export trade, these early outposts provided fertile ground from which the origins of commercial cities grew. The founding of inland trading outposts, was based upon reasons similar to those of the east coast cities. Many of these cities served as extensions, spokes of a large

wheel, of the large sea ports established as a centralized hub where cash crops would be brought to market. Again the need of transporting goods to market, for example, was a dominant factor in site selection, with military concerns and engineering interests also being crucial. Furthermore, these early urban outposts provided a military buffer zone to keep in check not only the expansion of rival powers, i.e. seeking to disrupt the peltry trade, but native peoples fighting to protect their lands.

As a city, Detroit was an example of colonial expansion into the interior of America. The French established this outpost to service its maritime settlements along the North Atlantic coast.⁴ Though the early settlement of Detroit was located upon an area that was one of the eighteenth century's most important lines of commerce, military consideration determined the actual position of the city which as along the river straits. The straits, or "de troit," was the connecting waters between Lakes Huron and Erie.⁵ In 1701 Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac erected Fort Pontchartrain du Detroit officially establishing the city of Detroit.

Detroit was founded as an entrepreneurial venture and survived the early years by the drive and fortitude of its pioneers. During its early history, Detroit lacked an agricultural sector capable of self-sufficiency, an important component for the success of

many of the early European settlements. The fur trade was the primary source of wealth and employment for Detroit and it managed to keep the city functioning as an outpost. "Like most North American cities, Detroit was part of a capitalistic venture and depended upon the export of some valuable staple into the Atlantic trade."⁶ With an absence of indigenous goods to provide for people's survival, the fur trade flourished as the means of commerce for the region. The pelt traders of Detroit depended on the sale of goods such as brandy, guns, and blankets, all produced in France and later in England, with the Indians for the necessities of life.

Though Detroit was founded as a trading settlement, the rationale for land distribution inhibited its early growth. Since land was the primary means of wealth, making a living was contingent upon ownership of land, or at the least access to it. However, despite its promise, the city became steeped in much of the corruption of the motherland, France. Land equaled power and thus it was parceled out to individuals as "connected" to the political and economic elite of the city. Cadillac granted lands by feudal tenure representative of an archaic social system French seigniorialism. This system retarded the economic development of Detroit as entrepreneurship was discouraged. This was a classic example of the imposition of a pre-modern social system upon a people and a large geographic area far advanced

into the first phases of social and economic modernization.⁷

From 1800 to 1850, Detroit's economy experienced a slow transition period, caused largely by the problems of land ownership and distribution. The retarding effect of this form of land ownership illustrated by the plight of Detroit's inhabitants for making a living. With the case-crop trade under control of the seignior-class, the productive energies of Detroit's "habitants" were subordinated to the interests of the ruling class, and even though they were considered inefficient and backward farmers, the habitants turned to subsistence farming for their economic survival.⁸ So economically ineffective were the habitants in developing a self-sufficient farm economy, that civic leaders advocated for the recruitment of farmers from New England. The goal was to stimulate trade and create greater opportunities for making a living. These migrants were encouraged to settle in Detroit in hopes of reviving a decaying subsistence agrarian economic sector, let alone the export sector. Their hopes were to not only transform the city's food deficit into a food surplus, but to stimulate the economy to become a diversified commercial center.

Not only did the direct recruitment of New England Yankee farmers help change Detroit's history, but the increases in European immigration help to diversify the population. Such demographic forces began to work

against the French. The introduction of other cultures initiated a challenge to the French culture and the Catholic Church both which served as the adhesive binding together the political and economic arrangements, characteristic of the early Detroit history. Irish and German immigrants, Catholics divided against Protestants, clashed for preeminence in determining Detroit's future during the 1840s, a power struggle originating only a couple of decades earlier.

After 1824, the elite's majority position of the preceding 125 years was challenged as a budding economy threatened the old-line social structure by the newly arriving immigrants.⁹ Irish and German settlers eroded the political strangle-hold that the French habitants had on Detroit's urban development. The arrival of many newcomers into Detroit during the 1830s and 1840s brought hopes of a new economic renaissance. As the economy grew, the population swelled and along with land speculation this led to new opportunities, opening new avenues for economic development. A new commercial beginning took root, supplanting Detroit's old image of a frontier trading post.

As indicated earlier, the key to power and control in early Detroit lay in the land -- its ownership and use. Land speculation had placed control over the land in the hands of the few and coupled with several disasters such as fire, the building of the city in the

early nineteenth century helped to further cement the power base of the wealthy. This situation was no more clearly illustrated in the housing situation facing working people. Since the ownership of land was dominated by the few, there was a want of housing in the city, especially among the working class districts around the central business and manufacturing areas. Instead of having opportunities to own homes, high rents and high land costs prohibitively prevented the equitable use and dispersion of the land. With this came a pattern of over-crowding and high-rent ghetto housing was established during the city's early history; earlier urban slums.¹⁰

The consequences of these early slums impacted greatly on those people who were unable to adapt or assimilate into the mainstream. Because these individuals were unable to make a living they existed at the fringes. In Detroit, this relation between crime, and unemployment and poverty has been a long marriage. The city's history is filled with examples cataloguing this "cause-effect" union. The Detroit Daily Advertiser addressed this issue in an article dated July 23, 1859:

"Walk the streets at night and you will see many of these men prowling about, in a rather suspicious manner; and you will at once make up your mind that they have changed suddenly, from day-loafers to night thieves....We believe that it has become an almost universally expressed desire among our respectable citizens that a work house or something of that kind should be established where these vagabonds or vagrants could be placed and compelled to earn their board and lodging. As it is now, they are

crammed into the jail by the dozens and the people have to support them."¹¹

Inasmuch as people turn to criminal activities to provide for their sustenance, these activities often turn into professions in which young people aspire to become active. Prostitution is job referred to as the oldest profession in the world. Furthermore, places operating as gambling dens or illegal boot-let houses have long attracted the poor and unemployed. Often these institutions of poverty offered their clientele a "refuge" from the mainstream. In some cases, job opportunities were the reason people gravitated to these establishments. Yet while the profit/survival motive provided the initial attraction, often times these activities would lead to instances of violent crimes. An article in Detroit Saturday Night addresses this problem:

"We have reached a state of society that is fearful to contemplate. Hardly a week passes without the commission of a murder....We have no police force to apply to, and the officers of justice, i.e., the constables, and deputy sheriffs are all or nearly all engaged in the substitute business, often carrying this on in direct contravention of law...."¹²

"Commercial City to Industrial City 1850-1900"¹³

Between 1850 and 1870, Detroit's economy had evolved primarily to that of a commercial center, often viewed as the foundation upon which Detroit's industrial economy was built. Despite these assumptions, the innovation triggering the automotive revolution into the mainstream

industrial economy was absent during the early years of the commercial period of Detroit.¹⁴

The city's economic interests had turned from the trafficking of furs to agriculture production and small merchant sales. By the early 1850s, Detroit had reached its zenith of commercial development. Wholesale and retail marketing of consumer goods were the two most prominent and vital functions of Detroit's economy. The export sales to outstate business interests dominated the economy and specialization began to become the primary concern of both wholesalers and retailers. For example, "...merchants had maintained general merchandise with a mixed line of staples, dry goods, hardware, and leather stock, by 1855 they had begun to specialize in a single line or two of goods. Exclusive dry goods sellers, carpet stores, drug and medicine vendors, and crockery, hardware and leather stores were doing business in the city."¹⁵ Once general stores dominated the urban economic scene and during the commercial era. As the twentieth century approached, these enterprises were replaced by businesses which specialized in one or two primary products for sale.

One of Detroit's earliest and most reliable exports was fish. The fishing industry provided much of the wealth during the commercial period with whitefish serving as a prime cash crop commodity. In addition to the fishing industry, other food stuffs for export

included beef, butter, hides and skins, sawed lumber, barrel staves, tallow, live pigs, dressed hogs and sheep clip.¹⁶ Not only had Detroit become dominated by commercial concerns in the export and import trade of cash crops, but the transportation industry prospered. Ship, rail, and dray line enterprises benefited as well during the commercial explosion.

Manufacturing interests were small in comparison to the commercial enterprises of Detroit. Many of Detroit's manufacturing concerns included handicraft shops, the processing of farm products, and businesses tied to the export and import commercial trade. For example, leather tanning, lumber milling, and the milling of grain were businesses that were tied to the cash crop businesses rooted in the outstate economy. In addition, component goods integral to the transportation and shipping industries spawned small manufacturing concerns. "Thus during the 1860s nothing of either the manufacturing scale or export magnitude of Massachusetts' mill towns could be found in Detroit."¹⁷

Even though expansion had begun to take place within the manufacturing sector by the 1870s, Detroit was still a processor of raw-materials.¹⁸ Aside from a small copper smelting sector, the city's principal industries included meat packing, bread and bakery products, machine tool accessories, motor vehicle parts and accessories, chemicals, drugs and medicines, petroleum refining, coke

ovens and by-products, malt liquors, steel works, and wire works.¹⁹ Despite this apparent diversity though, the primary thrust of Detroit's manufacturing, industrial, concerns were as spin-offs from the commercial export/import trade. These businesses together amounted to a small slice of the economic pie in Detroit.

Despite this, it was during this decade that the initial shift away from commercial dependence occurred. For example, the number of jobs in manufacturing jumped from 1,363 in 1860 to 10,612 in 1870. The amount of capital invested in manufacturing saw an increase from \$1.5 million to \$24.6 million and the value of finished products rose from \$2.1 million to \$21.8 million from 1860 to 1870.²⁰ By 1880, the number of manufacturing jobs had risen to 16,110 with the economy of Detroit achieving a balance and diversity that paved the way to the industrial explosion of the twentieth century.

"Detroit's industries of 1880, unlike its early copper and iron episodes, provided a solid base for growth, and the industrial picture for 1890 was an enlargement upon that of 1880."²¹ By 1900, Detroit had become a medium size manufacturing center rising from 19th ranked in 1880 to 17th in 1890 to 16th by 1900. It was during this period that Detroit had entered the industrial economic mainstream.

The wealth of the city's principal industries rose dramatically from the 1860s through the turn of the

century. There was a tremendous growth both in old-line industries and in new industrial ventures. Businesses such as foundry and machine shops, stove and furnaces, motor vehicles, tobacco products, flour and grist mill products, brass castings, iron and steel, and furniture sprung up following the decade of 1860. These industries became prominent parts of Detroit's economic market, continuing Detroit's expansion diversification.²² Yet, there was still nothing peculiar to the structure and organization of its economic base that would explain the industrial explosion which had its beginnings as early as 1904.

A key to this growth in the industrial sector was the availability of a cheap labor supply. Coinciding with this rise in manufacturing was the influx of European immigrants many seeking jobs during Detroit's industrial infancy. The number of foreign born individuals ranged from nearly 40% to 33.3% of the population during these early years, 39.2% in 1880 and 33.8% in 1910.²³ These individuals provided a labor core upon which future economic growth was possible. "Detroit grew enormously under the pressure of a steady flow of new immigrants and increasing industrial expansion."²⁴

Though other industrial cities experienced similar population increases and economic growth, suburban growth mirrored that of those industrial centers. As the factories multiplied and as people poured into already

crowded neighborhoods, wealthier citizens moved out to the suburbs to enjoy a better quality of life. However, Detroit did not have similar social geography and spatial arrangements. Rather than triggering an outward exodus, the middle class and white-collar professionals to the suburbs.

As mentioned earlier, land speculation had placed control over the land in the hands of the few and securing their control over the direction which Detroit's economic growth would take. Quality of life issues for the wealthy were liable to be addressed and controlled through restricting development of working class housing districts, both black and white. This in turn caused a housing shortage for many in the working class and resulted in both high rents and land costs. This created a double-edged sword: prohibitively preventing the equitable dispersion of land allowing big profits from rental property, and establishing class and racial ghettos, away from Detroit's gentry. Furthermore, this created a pattern -- one of over-crowding and high rent and produced a need for city housing in order to provide adequate, decent shelter for the working poor.²⁵

The economic evolution which Detroit was undergoing at the turn of the century not only ushered the city into the industrial mainstream, but it influenced the social structure of the city's economic aristocracy as well. Many of Detroit's traditional industrial enterprises

began to "belly-up" in the wake of this new industrial impetus. For example, the railroad car industry, which had been the city's most significant industry in 1890, was in a state of atrophy by 1910.²⁶ In addition, fluctuations in the national economy retarded Detroit's economic growth at the end of the 1890s. The stock market crash of 1893 forced over 25,000 workers from their jobs in the large manufacturing concerns, for example the closing of the Michigan Peninsular Car Works and the Big Stove Works. Situations such as this help stagnate the city's economy.²⁷ Yet, several of Detroit's early commercial interests were able to withstand the economic transformation from commercial city to industrial city. It was from this group and from the barons of the auto industry which formed the social and economic elite of the city.

"Dynamic Detroit 1900-1945"²⁸

With the advent of the automobile and birth of the auto industry, Detroit became not only a center of industry but of great importance to the national economy. The size of Detroit's shot from 16th rank to 4th rank by 1914.²⁹ In 1904, the auto industry had employed barely seven thousand workers and along with the spin-off industries, this sector of the work force represented merely 12% of all manufacturing employees.³⁰ Increases in the city's census was indicative of a booming economy. The greater the opportunities for people to make a living

in the prosperous industrial economy, the larger the population growth as people migrated to where jobs were. The link between the growth of the city's population and the booming economic sector can be measured by Detroit's rank among cities nationally. Detroit had not only jumped from 13th ranked city in 1900 to 4th ranked in 1920, but it began to challenge Philadelphia as the 3rd ranked city in the national census.³¹ With the take-off of the automobile, the city's economy surpassed the expectations of even the most optimistic city economic forecasters.

Even with its dependence on and allegiance to the auto industry, Detroit had a diverse manufacturing economy. Foundry and machine shop products, druggists' preparations, and stove and furnaces were the primary contributors to the city's economy. For instance, in 1904 motor vehicles ranked only 4th in the value of production, right ahead of the fifth placed meat packing industry.³² Despite this well-balanced economy, irreversible changes began to occur. The later half of the 20th century's first decade marked a change in the labor force. As a result of the consumer's love affair for the car, the auto industry and its spin-offs started to surge, ultimately becoming the dominant economic force driving Detroit's economy.

The Michigan State Labor Department reported that in 1919 over 45% of Detroit's 308,520 industrial workers

were part of the auto industry or its constituent parts. The estimated value earned by the auto industry was approximately \$880 million, 60% of Detroit's industrial manufacturing interests which totaled \$1.45 billion.³³ Detroit not only had become the major force in Michigan's economy, but it had become the industrial leader nationally. By 1930, no other city or industrial region could compete with Detroit's automobile manufacturing. "Automobile manufacturing had transformed Detroit from a diversified trade and manufacturing economy into a one-industry town."³⁴ This change seemed to happen over night.

The industrial explosion triggered by the automobile industry began to have both positive and negative effects on Detroit. This new economic arrangement began to affect the social patterns of Detroit, stretch the city's boundaries, crowd its housing, and create new sanitary, health and education crises. "The poor and newcomers to Detroit...were not crammed into the central ghettos but scattered from the waterfront to the unorganized districts on the outskirts, often living on cheap land on the periphery. They were also there in part because that is where space-consuming, heavy labor, and low-profit margin industries such as brickmaking were located."³⁵ Along with both these challenges and staggering problems, it also brought enormous wealth to the city. The automobile which had been the impetus for the city's

economic fortune also became the key to the area's suburban growth.

As the cost of purchasing a car declined, more people were able to afford what once had been the privilege of the wealthy. With automobile ownership now being widespread, the problem of mobility had been conquered and the automobile had helped propel the building boom in the suburbs. The mobility afforded by the car allowed the middle class and white-collar professionals to leave Detroit. The problems of life which they had attributed to the city's industrial plants, working class neighborhoods, and to the massive numbers of arriving migrant and immigrant workers did not exist in suburbia. While the city limits expanded from 28 to 139 square miles during the first quarter of the twentieth century, the suburbs were growing at a faster rate.³⁶ In 1910, approximately 52% of Detroit's "substantial families"³⁷ lived within three miles of the downtown business district and 91% lived within the city's corporate limits. By 1930, this situation had reversed itself with less than 8% living within three miles of the downtown business district and 50% of the city's substantial families living beyond Detroit's corporate limits.³⁸

Not only had the automobile industry sparked suburban growth, but the social patterns of Detroit began to experience changes as well. Detroit's early economic

aristocracy had been comprised by individuals and families with ties to the early commercial and small manufacturing concerns. The automobile and industry spin-offs had replaced the older commercial and manufacturing enterprises as Detroit's economic leaders. Consequently, the motor moguls like the Fords and the Dodges became the names among Detroit's economic aristocracy.³⁹ Not only had the old guard business leaders been replaced in terms of power and importance, but these young turks of the motor age began to take the lead in social and political issues as well. "The civic uplifters and municipal reformers were led by Henry Leland, a motor magnate. The city's mayoralty went, in 1918, to one of the founding fathers and pioneers in the Ford Motor Company, James Couzens."⁴⁰

The upper classes were not the only strata of Detroit society to be affected by the automobile. The demography of the city had undergone changes as well. The numbers of foreign born residents had totaled approximately one-third the city's population in 1904. In 1910, the total had nearly doubled, and by 1925 nearly half of Detroit's population consisted of foreign born people.⁴¹ The lure of industrial and manufacturing jobs, especially jobs in the auto factories, was the magnet attracting people to Detroit. In turn, the presence of such a large foreign born population eventually impacted on the public education system. Migrant workers also

were a problem because even though they were Americans, they were from rural backgrounds and were almost as ignorant and alien to American urban life as most immigrants were. It became the task of this system to not only teach people how to read and write, but to acculturate these individuals as well.⁴²

"The overwhelming dominance of a single heavy industry with low skills requirements had a significant and measurable impact upon Detroit's population structure and character."⁴³ While Detroit had been noted as a city of millionaires by the World Almanac and Book of Facts in 1902, these families had moved to the exclusive sectors of the city, such as Grosse Point, by 1914.⁴⁴ Detroit was in many ways much more a working class city than the success of the automobile industry may have suggested.

The craft union movement had gone into decline in Detroit during this period of economic transformation. The decline in union power was quickened by the efforts of a consortium of industrialists known as the Employers Association of Detroit who fought openly for the open-shop movement.⁴⁵ In addition, changing job-skills and job-breakdown had furthered the disintegration of unionism. The bulk of factory jobs had been broken down into precise constituent parts because the tasks of production had become greatly simplified. By 1922 Henry Ford boasted that 85 percent of his labor force required less than two weeks of training, and of that number, 40

percent needed only one day to be broken in for factory work.⁴⁶ Ultimately, the advancing technology of production would have become the Waterloo for craft unionism because the job-skills of craft workers would have become obsolete in the machine age.

With the union movement temporarily held in check, the economic explosion of the automobile industry was not without its darker side. While the nation experienced boom-bust-recovery business cycles, Detroit's economy experienced exaggerated swings. Detroit's economy was dependent upon sale of cars to consumers nationally. When economic times became tight, the purchasing of luxury items, such as a car, was deferred by consumers in lieu of purchasing the necessities. While this attitude by the consumer may not have had a great impact upon the overall economy, it did have a crippling effect in Detroit. "When the national economy was beset by a cold, Detroit normally caught pneumonia."⁴⁷

To further compound this cycle of economic fluctuations, the Great Depression had changed a period of tremendous economic growth into a period of collapse. "Detroit, the 'City of Tomorrow,' or 'Utopia on Wheels,' was sadly out of gear by 1930."⁴⁸ The production of cars had plunged from a record high of 5.3 million units in 1929 to 1.3 million in 1932. Coincidentally, the number of wage earners in Detroit fell by approximately 40% by 1933 with nearly half the total having been unemployed

auto workers.⁴⁹

The Depression caused politicians to focus on the plight of hardworking Americans who had gone from being employed, hard working citizens to the destitute, unemployed poor. Detroit's newly elected mayor, Frank Murphy, committed his administration to combat the number one concern of Detroit, unemployment. In 1929, there were 475,000 workers in Detroit area auto plants, and in 1930 over 125,000 lost their jobs and were left without a regular source of income. In 1931, another 100,000 lost their jobs with most of the remaining workers having only part-time employment in the plants. In the city of Detroit, the sole source of income for about 48,000 families, approximately 210,000 people, was city relief in 1931.⁵⁰ In the early years of the Depression, unemployed workers managed to carve out a precarious existence through seasonal jobs and more often temporary work. The harshness of the Depression resulted in people devoting the lion's share of their waking efforts to satisfying their basic needs and desires, at times often in disregard of their own humanity.⁵¹ Detroit had gradually sunk into a state of idle workers and factories.

As indicated in earlier chapters, the end of World War II meant peace and this was greeted heartedly. However, this peace was also met with skepticism about

fears of pending depression. Many feared that a recession would ensue after the war and immediately following the armistice; in fact, a sharp recession did occur. This recession caught many social and economic planners unprepared, and had it not been for a pent up demand for consumer goods, the recession may have had a more traumatic effect. The thirst of American consumers took up the slack as people sought to enjoy the luxuries of life which the war had temporarily denied them. "The simple replacement need for automobiles was estimated at nine million units by Fortune magazine in 1944, which surpassed even the banner prewar production years."⁵² Not since 1941 had automobiles been sold of the civilian market and following the war, Detroit retooled from war to civilian production as part of the necessary preparations for gearing up to meet consumer demands.⁵³

The automobile magnets of Detroit not only became influential in city politics, but they soon came to dominate state politics as well. Furthermore, Detroit economic leaders, now also leaders of the state of Michigan, played important roles within national politics. For example Arthur Summerfield was a Flint Chevrolet dealer appointed Postmaster General during the Eisenhower administration.⁵⁴ Not only had the economic leaders of Detroit entered the political arena, but unions, led by the United Auto Workers Union (UAW), sought to gain political influence. The differences

which separated these two combatants in the economic arena followed them into the political arena. For example, the UAW's Political Action Committee managed to dominate the state Democratic party, while the Republican party witnessed a rise to power of Detroit's economic leadership.

The auto industry was the pivotal industry to impact on the economic structure and life of Detroit. At different times in Detroit's economic development, the city was presented with several opportunities to diversify its industrial base away from its "money-crop" dependence. For example, in 1920, a small fledgling airplane concern made a healthy beginning, yet it did not survive the Great Depression. During World War II, the aircraft industry returned to Detroit, but the Willow Run bomber plant was converted to civilian auto production, manufacturing the Kaiser-Frazer car after the war.⁵⁵ Pent up customer demand for cars proved irresistible to business. In Detroit, the auto would remain king.

The late 1950s began to reveal the negative effects of being tied economically to one facet business concern the auto industry. The Cold War era resulted in a massive commitment to defense spending and Detroit's share of Defense contracts fell precipitously after the Korean War. Modern technology changed the character of Defense Department procurement from wheeled vehicles to electronics, computers, and missiles.⁵⁶ Detroit had

become obsessed with model changeovers and retooling, calibrating production to sales and the cosmetics of style.⁵⁷ "In Michigan development is what goes on next year's car; research is what goes on the year after's model."⁵⁸

Detroit's economic survival and prosperity now more than ever in its history were intertwined with the health of the auto industry. Prosperity existed during the peak years of 1953, 1955 and 1955 and 1965 with the year of 1955 representing a high watermark of employment. During the down years of 1958, 1961 and 1970 Detroit experienced high rates of unemployment. Big car production from 1968 through 1971 never was able to reach the heights achieved during the 1950s. "It was only because of a net loss from out-migration -- more people leaving the state than coming in -- that Detroit's early 1960s unemployment problems were kept within limit."⁵⁹ Additionally during the 1970s, the auto industry experienced a recession sparked by the oil embargo of 1973 and 1974. As a city, the negative impact of being dependent solely on the auto industry and its spin-off industries finally resulted in urban problems of inadequate school financing, increasing segregation, and accelerated outward migration of business and industry. In addition, inner-city criminal activity had also redefined the geography of human movement.

Detroit has over the years become a city of black and brown people, the poor and aged. During the decade of the sixties, the percentage of people who are defined as dependent has risen by 9.4% while there has been a loss in the tax base of 6.5%, a decline of \$3,000,000.⁶⁰ Furthermore, internal changes in the auto industry, such as speed-up, automation, and overtime, have reduced the manufacturing need for labor.

The 1970s have continued to witness a high rate of unemployment, as Detroit's rate was approximately twice that of the national average. Not only was unemployment a critical issue for the city, but many of those individuals who were employed, were working part-time jobs or earning poverty wages or below. In addition to problems of unemployment, other quality of life were affected, such as nutrition. In the metro area of Detroit, problems of nutritional deficiencies afflicted many of the poor and working poor. People were not only finding it hard to enter the mainstream labor market, but the effects of unemployment had begun to negatively impact on their physical well-being. The lack of quality jobs resulted in the inadequate diet of children and adults, further adding to the quality of life dilemma facing people.

Often times the make-up of the physical environment is indicative of the kinds of not only job opportunities but the quality of life available to people. It has been

estimated that downtown Detroit is approximately 63% parking lots, streets, and alleys, and that the city as a whole has more square feet of concrete per capita than any city in the world.⁶¹ In addition to the physical deterioration of the city, the environment has become polluted; the air quality has become dominated by chemical pollutants, such as sulphur dioxide and particulates often associated with the advancement of industrialism. Even with increased mobility many people have been left behind in Detroit, unable to follow the movement of business relocation and start-up in the suburbs. In addition to the flight of Detroit's capital base outside of city boundaries, racism, ethnocentrism, and class prejudice have also fueled the exodus out of the motor city.

Despite earlier lessons on the perils of being dependent on the fiscal health of a single industry (i.e. The Great Depression), the city of Detroit still is largely dependent upon the auto industry for its economic welfare. For example, in 1970, 28.6% of the U.S. work force was employed in industry: the manufacturing of durable goods, non-durable goods, and motor vehicles and equipment; during 1969 Detroit's figures were 54.6%. Furthermore, 1.1% of the nation's labor force was working in the manufacturing of motor vehicles and equipment. In Detroit, the work force totaled 15.3%.⁶² Expanding industries in Detroit often are spin-offs tied to auto

production. These businesses produce products to supply the larger auto plants with parts for the assembling of cars. As businesses, they tend to hire minorities and women into non-union situations which are characterized by lower wages, higher competition, and limited or no benefits. Finally, the survival rate among these firms are low due to the fluctuations in the auto industry.

While the auto industry and satellite industries have dominated the Detroit economic scene, there are other businesses which serve as major employers of Detroit's labor market. A significant percentage of these businesses are not located in the primary labor market but rather in the secondary labor market. City and county workers, hotel and restaurant employees connected to the convention industry, and other service sector employees, such as clerks and secretaries face similar problems of survival like people employed in the auto industry during periods of economic hardship. However, their situations often become more desperate and transient because of the lower wages and higher rate of job insecurity. Without a strong economic base, these workers are extremely vulnerable to the health of the auto industry -- "when the auto industry gets a cold, other businesses in Detroit get pneumonia." Together, these factors increase the pressure on people to make a living, maintain an acceptable quality of life -- standard of living.

Problems of housing, pollution, occupational insecurity, and poor physical and mental health all influence upon an individual's quality of life. Not only does it affect how that individual will earn their living, but it again influences the range/choices of options from which a person will choose. People react and respond differently to material deprivation, which consists of more than simply having an adequate diet or income. Deprivation also involves activities outside the workplace and includes areas of social activity (recreation) in terms of how people interact with each other and how they participate within the mainstream. Thus deprivation not only affects the poor and unemployed, but workers from all walks of life: the assembly line worker, the low and mid-level managers, and well-to-do youth. All of these permeate life in Detroit.

Detroit's Black Working Class

In terms of making a living in Detroit, historically people's place within the city's stratified social order greatly influenced by the economic context of the city. For example in Detroit, the impact of economic and social problems on black people (in fact all people) are measured in statistical categories linked to the economic system and activity of society. For blacks, their heritage is rooted in slavery and by their position after Emancipation of serving as a cheap labor supply unable to compete equally for mainstream jobs.

The history of the black working class was divided into two major historical periods: pre-World War I and post-World War I. The blacks did not represent a significant percentage of Detroit's population, and prior to WWI, the black community was relatively small. Until the mass exodus out of the south at the turn of the nineteenth century, blacks were for the most part rural southerners. Because of their legacy in slavery, the south was home to the largest portion of black America.

The black community initially consisted primarily of people from African descent, not from individuals whose heritage had been rooted in southern slavery. This was despite the fact that the city represented a last stop in AMerican before Canada of the infamous "underground railroad." Furthermore, the actual numbers of "free blacks living in and around the city were very small, hardly a significant portion of the city's overall population. For example, in 1820, Detroit's population was approximately 1,422 people, 1,355 whites and 67 blacks. In 1830, the population grew by over 50%, yet the number of blacks increased to only 126, while whites numbered 2,096. Just a few years later in 1834, Detroit grew to approximately 5,138 people, 5,000 whites and 138 blacks.⁶³ It was not until the 1830s in fact when blacks began to organize as a community. Thus during its formative years, problems between blacks and whites did not play an important role in Detroit's growth.

Relations between blacks and whites in Detroit could be described as neutral as they ranged from tolerance to cordiality at best. In 1850, Detroit's population was approximately 21,000 people, with blacks accounting for 2.8% of the population.⁶⁴ With such a small black population, the city had not experienced the number and type of racial hostilities as did other northern cities. In New York for example, competition over jobs and housing between blacks and newly arriving white immigrants and migrants increased and resulted in violence directed toward black workers. Though despite this apparent tranquility, blacks were not privileged to the better jobs and housing, generally assumed in an atmosphere of racial tolerance.

The types of jobs, careers, at which blacks were employed were either those that whites did not take or would not take. If a job was perceived as too demeaning, beneath one's status, or if better jobs were available, blacks would then have a "choice" as to how they would make a living. In the 1850s, these "choices" were primarily in four categories: skilled, semi-skilled, laborer, and service jobs.⁶⁵ The latter two categories employed the greatest number, and percentage, of black workers.⁶⁶ The actual jobs at which black workers were employed ranged from service, dock, and illegal forms of work. Segregation had limited blacks to these jobs, again those which others did not take nor want.

✓ The black community of the early 1880s was located on the near-east side of the city. This section of the city was characteristic of a low income slum/ghetto due to the restriction blacks faced in the labor market. A consequence of this was that blacks experienced a shortage of housing, and they often had to double up in single family houses, rented rooms, or constructed shacks in the alleys for shelter. By the beginning of the next century, a general housing shortage exacerbated this condition. The high demand for housing forced rents to climb as these slum tenements brought exorbitant profits for the absentee owners. For example, an alley house, no bigger than a large chicken coop, rented to blacks for \$10.00 per month, while a six-room house, complete with utilities, in the white community rented for \$10.00-12.00 monthly.⁶⁷ In addition to facing segregation and discrimination in the labor market, blacks found problems awaiting them in public education. Initially, blacks were prohibited from attending Detroit public schools, and it was only in the later half of the nineteenth century (1840s) that blacks could attend city supported schools. Despite this apparent gain for blacks, the white citizens of Detroit had not taken a giant step toward brotherhood. Blacks were forced to attend segregated and inferior institutions.⁶⁸

The last portion of the nineteenth century did not witness significant changes for blacks in Detroit; the

status quo was kept in tact. The percentage of the black population in Detroit remained low during this period and did not aggravate their position within the social order. As indicated earlier, in 1850 blacks represented 2.9%. The ensuing decades did not alter this ratio much: in 1860, 3.1%, in 1870, 2.8%, 1880, 2.4%, and 1890, 1.7%.⁶⁹ However, the problems caused by employment in the menial, low wage jobs, segregated schooling, as well as inadequate housing and health care pretty much kept the black community at the bottom of the ladder. Detroit itself did not blossom economically as did other sections of the country after the Civil War and Reconstruction ended.

By 1900, Detroit had grown to over 285,000 people with blacks comprising 1.4% of this total. In 1910, blacks represented only a small portion of the city's population (1.2%) and by 1915, black migration increased during the second take-off of the auto industry. With the advent of war, Detroit grew to over 993,000 people and blacks were 4.1% of the number, and even with the immigration of blacks, Detroit's population was 6.6% of the city's 1,242,044 citizens by 1925.⁷⁰ During the early years of the Depression in the 1930s, Detroit's black community accounted for approximately four (4) percent of the city's population.

As indicated earlier, the economic take-off did not begin until the twentieth century. Industrialization had

arrived and factories were mushrooming up to meet the demands for goods and services. Yet to insure that these factories would operate to their capacity, workers were needed. The numbers of immigrants, as massive as they were, could not address these needs; the need for workers and the appeal of work attracted blacks northward and employers to consider hiring black workers during the second decade of the 1900s. This changed the history and eventual legacy of blacks from that of the rural-agrarian experience to the urban-industrial experience. The jobs awaiting blacks were not those which help provide whites with their opportunities to participate in the mainstream. Rather black jobs were concentrated in the lowest paying and most menial jobs, primarily in the service sector. A 1924 Urban League publication described the condition of black workers:

"Prior to 1914 most of our men were employed in hotels as waiters, porters and bell-hops, on trains as porters and dining car waiters. In summer Negroes were employed on the lake steamers in a similar capacity; the stores employed a few porters, elevator operators and messengers. There were a small number as servants in private families. Almost everywhere the Negro was found at work, he was engaged in some kind of menial employment. Our women were mostly employed as domestics."⁷¹

However, with the advent of WWI, the demand for cheap labor sky-rocketed, and businesses turned to the cheap labor resource of black workers and southern tenant farmers. The expectations of black workers ran high as they migrated into the city in hopes of finding jobs in

the industrial economy. Yet, even with jobs being plentiful, "white-skin privilege" still kept blacks out of the factories. "Coming to the industrial north, (blacks) fully expected to live on a standard equal to that of any white man doing the same class of work the Negro is capable of doing. Thousands of Negroes in Detroit are doing exactly that, but there are thousands of others who have not yet had the chance at such jobs. They must go to the Public Welfare Department for their daily Bread."⁷²

The relationship between whites and blacks had not improved much and in fact was somewhat reminiscent of the south. Not only were native white Detroiters objecting to and restricting blacks from jobs, but poor whites from Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia also left the south for jobs in the north. These workers brought the Jim Crow south north with them.⁷³ Despite promises of jobs and a better life, blacks soon discovered that even with an increase in real wages and limited access to the fruits of industrialism, nothing changed regarding their status in white mainstream society.

Yet not all blacks were locked out of the industrial sector; the Ford plants often hired a small number of black workers. This was the exception, as most employers did not hire black workers. However, for those blacks who did secure employment in the industrial job market, they were located primarily at the bottom of the

ladder. For white workers, these jobs were entry level positions, but for blacks these jobs represented the pinnacle of their careers in industry. For blacks working in Detroit's auto (industrial sector) their contribution to the area's economy has been characterized as a process of 'niggermation.'⁷⁴ Not only did white workers have greater access to industrial jobs generally, but the likelihood for advancement was far greater than that of black workers. Yet while the segregation of blacks was still primarily occurring at the grass roots level with white workers, management was generally as guilty. Often times management would capitulate to the demands of whites who threatened work stoppages and walk-outs if blacks were hired. However, all this fighting over jobs became a mute question beginning in 1930.

As mentioned earlier, the Depression displaced approximately 25% of the work force nationally, and there was a drop in the GNP from \$314.7 billion to \$221.1 billion, a loss of 30%.⁷⁵ For blacks the problems were magnified as people would often wait in the bull pen outside the Ford River Rouge plant all night just for a chance at a job paying \$5.00 per day.⁷⁶ For instance, in Detroit 25% of the black population received government assistance to "survive" in 1933. Yet in spite of this economic nightmare, "For Detroit's blacks there was a friendly spirit and very little crime."⁷⁷

Outright segregation or at best work place discrimination described the tenuous relationship between whites and blacks during the industrial period beginning with World War I through the Depression and into World War II. World War II brought mixed blessings to this nation. On the one hand, war brought out and would eventually take the lives of many young boys. On the other hand, the war was to be a vehicle which would facilitate the economic recovery of this industrial nation. While the war did bring relief to many unemployed workers, it did not alleviate the problems of unemployment for a significant segment of black workers. Many blacks in Detroit were unable to find jobs and when work was available it became a question as to the kind of job it was -- often times the poor and harder jobs. For example in July of 1942, out of the 13,971 blacks who were on the active employment rolls, only 113 had professional and managerial qualifications. Furthermore in 1942, over 55% of the people receiving welfare were black and approximately 82% of the black population itself received some sort of public welfare or government assistance.⁷⁸

Race relations in Detroit both "at home" and on the job began to heat up, culminating with the race riot of 1943. Violence heightened as young and old were being squeezed by the economic and social conditions in the city. The violence was most notable and horrifying

between poor working whites and blacks, each trying to make a living. Whites as a group were resistant to blacks working not only in the plants, but at the same jobs as they did. They reacted most negatively to the integration of the work place.⁷⁹ For example workers at the Hudson Naval Arsenal booed CIO Union leaders out of the plant when they asked whites to set aside their racial biases and work along side blacks. At the Willow Run Plant, black women who had taken and completed training courses to qualify them for jobs were not hired as management feared a work stoppage by whites. However, the courage of many workers and management, and the needs of war finally wore down this resistance as by the end of WW II, black workers managed to gain a foot hold in the plants.

The post World War II years witnessed a retrenchment to the days prior to war that saw blacks locked out of industrial jobs and into the secondary labor market. Returning white veterans came back to claim the jobs which they had left when called to fight. As the factories geared down from war to peace time production, blacks struggled to retain whatever few gains they won during the war years. The struggle being fought now was actually waged on two different fronts simultaneously, one being the fight to maintain a foot-hold in the industrial labor market while the other was for advancement beyond the entry level and dead-end jobs

"reserved" for blacks. For example, in the auto industry, the union movement was the scene of these struggles and little progress would be realized until the Civil Rights era in the early 1960s and black revolutionary union movement of the late 1960s.

In the years, 1950, 1955, 1960 and 1965, more cars were produced than in 1970.⁸⁰ Yet despite a more labor intensive production process and these huge production figures, over 100,000 hard-core unemployed workers between 1956-1960 persisted in Detroit right through the auto boom; a disproportionate being black.⁸¹ Detroit's work force was able to withstand the further depletion of their ranks because of the introduction of increased automation because 150,000 auto workers retired during this period.⁸² The issues of ending job discrimination and desegregating the work place remained alive on the front burner following the war, and lasted through the 1950s into the 1960s. At the end of the 1960s, racism was still evident even though blacks were now a permanent part of the industrial workforce. For example at Dodge Main, 99% of all general foremen were white, 95% of all foremen were white and 90% of all skilled apprentices were white -- all of the better jobs still dominated by whites.⁸³

By 1961, unemployed workers generally comprised four groups: the young ages 14-19 years; permanently laid-off factory workers; older workers over 45 years; and blacks.

Black workers comprised approximately 42% of unemployed workers in Detroit at this time.⁸⁴ In spite of the general failing of the auto industry to solve the employment problems of Detroit, the city was dependent on the big Three Auto makers and growing service and government sector. In 1969, 15.3% of the total work force was employed in motor vehicle manufacturing and related manufacturing concerns, most tied to the auto industry accounted for approximately 39% of the work force; service sector and government employment accounted for 28.1%.⁸⁵

The city continued its pattern of shrinking physically in terms of housing which began after WW II. Even with the drop in overall housing units, blacks were still discriminated against and segregated into certain areas of Detroit, most notably the eastside. A 60 square-block area whose boundaries were East Grand Boulevard on the north, Russell on the east, Jefferson on the south, and John R on the west resembled much the same area in which blacks lived when they began arriving from the south in massive numbers. Yet the city did little to alter this pattern of discrimination as only 2% of the 87,000 new houses built between 1940 and 1952 were available to blacks. In 1956, only 758 low income housing units were built in Detroit.⁸⁶ The 1960s witnessed a net loss in dwellings throughout the decade: in 1960 there were 553,000 units available while in 1970,

there were 530,770 available units.⁸⁷

The city had also experienced a loss in the population between the census of 1960 and 1970, a drop of 190,000 people. These figures indicate that those individuals who could afford to leave a decaying city did so in search of a better quality of life in the suburbs. The number of whites leaving Detroit between 1969 and 1970 was 345,000, approximately 29.2% of the population.⁸⁸

The 1970s did not bring relief to Detroit and its black population. In January of 1971, the Michigan Employment Security Commission stated that over 64,000 people were reported as unemployed, approximately 14.9%.⁸⁹ As the decade of the 1970s unfolded, there were reported to be 24,000 unemployed blacks, in 1975 that figure rose to 51,000. While it may have dipped between 1976-1978, the unemployed figures rose to 61,000 in 1979 and 94,000 during the recession of 1980.⁹⁰ In 1978, the median income for whites was \$12,400 annually, while for blacks it was \$10,500. The percentage of white families living below the poverty line was 9% and for blacks it was over 20%. The hardships of poverty facing black Detroit further revealed that 23% of blacks received welfare as compared to 6% for whites. In addition, unemployment for whites was 8.7% and for blacks it was over three times that of whites at 27.5%. The great disparity was the difference between the unemployment figures for the young

between the ages of 16-19 years: whites 19% and blacks 60%.⁹¹

Poverty and Crime:
Impact on Detroit's Black Community

Aside from outright competition for mainstream job opportunities, the struggle for making a living has affected other areas of the human condition. "The struggle creates, in this society, a group of people who are psychologically and physically crippled long before they are physically dead."⁹² Case in point is what happens to workers who are laid-off from their jobs and experience great difficulty in finding other employment at best or at worst join the ranks of the unemployed reserve army. This alternative provides fertile ground for the choice of survival crime as a career path for many of the unemployed reserve army and their off-spring.

Inasmuch as people turn to criminal activities to provide for their sustenance, these activities often become professions in which young people aspire to become active. Often referred to as the oldest profession in the world prostitution is a job which attracts the young, male and female, with the lure of "fast-money" and ready-made clientele. For example, an article in Detroit Saturday Night dated 1916 addressed this problem:

"We have reached a state of society that is fearful to contemplate. Hardly a week passes without the commission of a murder....We have no police force to apply to, and the officers of justice, i.e., the constables, and deputy sheriffs are all or nearly all engaged in the substitute business, often carrying this on in direct contravention of law...."⁹³

In Detroit, the relation between crime, and unemployment and poverty has been a long marriage. The city's history is filled with examples cataloguing this "cause-effect" union. The Detroit Daily Advertiser addressed this issue in an article dated July 23, 1859:

"Walk the streets at night and you will see many of these men prowling about, in a rather suspicious manner; and you will at once make up your mind that they have changed suddenly, from day-loafers to night thieves....We believe that it has become an almost universally expressed desire among our respectable citizens that a work house or something of that kind should be established where these vagabonds or vagrants could be placed and compelled to earn their board and lodging. As it is now, they are crammed into the jail by the dozens and the people have to support them."⁹⁴

Furthermore, the relationship between unemployment and crime for blacks in Detroit also has a history; originating long before the social scientists of the 1960s recognized its existence. Many ecological studies on crime conclude that "...the lower the average social status, the higher the population density, and the higher the ethnic concentration of areas within cities, the higher will be their general crime rate."⁹⁵

Differences existed between the early history of much of the criminal activities and that modern Detroit. Early activities were organized primarily to serve the affluent classes (often black and white) who patronized the betting parlors, the houses of prostitution, and during prohibition the speakeasies. It should be noted that participation in criminal activities by the

unemployed and poor workers was hardly limited to blacks; unemployed and poor whites as well as recent immigrants and, to a lesser degree, businessmen participated.

As whites had done before, blacks gravitated to those jobs which were available to them, which were few in number and limited in kind by discrimination. Many blacks who were unable to secure full-time respectable jobs sought other avenues for making a living, and a number of these individuals in part formed a criminal element. A majority in Detroit believed that the criminal element accounted for a significant, if not the largest, segment of the black community. While the criminal segment of the black community was small, the services provided were not kept secret. In Detroit some blacks engaged in gambling and other illegal and 'immoral' activities.

Certain forms of crime were organized for the pleasure and entertainment of the citizens in Detroit. Despite their illegality, prostitution and blind pigs of the 1830s and 1840s were not shunned socially by the people of Detroit, managing for the most part to escape public controversy. In fact, patrons of the underground economy were both blacks and whites. Even though gambling, prostitution and "drinking bootleg" were considered illegal and immoral, the existence and success of these operations implied that these activities were welcomed by most.

As the city grew, the unofficial "red light" districts lost their distinct boundaries. The area to which this section was originally restricted became prime real estate for an expanding Detroit economy. The mixing of polite society and that of the brothel occurred. The results renewed the desire to put this enterprise out of business, forcing people to find alternatives for making a living. It was feared that these activities would undermine the family and property values. In addition, the interracial make-up of the clientele and "work force" was socially repugnant to whites in Detroit at that time. The increasing German population who were devoted Lutherans and socially conservative served as the force behind the moral revolt against prostitution and other forms of vice crime.

As Detroit's economy slowed during the mid-1850s, the city felt the economic shock waves of a national depression in 1857. In reaction to their conditions, the unemployed marched on the city demanding public works jobs to compensate for the lack of job opportunities. In addition, this coincided with a renewed crackdown on vice which impinged on the "employment opportunities" in the underground economy that served as an outlet for the poor and unemployed helping them survive a sluggish economy. During the period right before the depression of the mid-late 1850's, a crime wave began to affect the city. Not only did the rise in crime threaten them morally and

socially, but it started to spread to all parts of the city. This crime wave touched all segments of society as the victims were no longer simply the poor and dispossessed, but often cream of Detroit.

Houses of prostitution were important features in Detroit society. These institutions proliferated during the 1860s when Detroit began to come out of the economic doldrums which had slowed the city's development during the late 1850s. Prostitution houses and other vice crimes seemed to go hand-in-hand with both boarding house district and the large number of transient male workers in Detroit's economy.

Crime continued to occur frequently in the central business district. Burglaries still plagued the retail stores and the warehouses, and muggings still awaited the unwary at night. However, considering the expansion of the business district and particularly the great increase in retail establishments, including new department stores, the incidence of crime there began to diminish by the late 1860's; increases in the police force contributing in part. The price which the citizens had paid to reduce crime in the business was high, but it did build a large professional police force to combat crime. The crime rate moved to more desirable areas, those in which success was greater and defeat was minimized. "The intriguing thing...is that crime was still most

prevalent...in areas where the police presence was greatest...."⁹⁶

The period between the end of the Civil War and the initial northern migration during World War I was not marked by significant changes in the crime rates for blacks. As indicated earlier, various factors contributed to this. The industrial boom which slowly began to affect the nation at the end of the nineteenth century did not have a big impact on Detroit's economy which was still in its commercial phase. In the early years of the twentieth century, the percentage of blacks in Detroit had changed very little over the years. The war though changed this pattern. With the war, industries geared production to meet and the city grew. Despite this growth, not everyone participated in this growth, many of Detroit's citizens remained at the margins/fringes of the mainstream. To some, survival was linked to work in the illegal economy. It was during the war years, when the arrest figures began to rise for blacks. In 1913, 1,400 blacks were arrested. From 1914-1916, the figures increased to 1,974, 2,121, and 3,224 respectively. In 1917 the number jumped to 4,695 and to 5,932 in 1918.⁹⁷ Literally being locked out of work, and segregated from being employed in industry, the criminal labor market became a more attractive option.

The Great Depression wiped out the gains made by blacks during the 1920s. The 1930s witnessed a

scrambling for work and survival not only for blacks but whites as well. As Detroit's economy began to recover, race again played an issue in employment -- skilled and semi-skilled jobs in industry or other sectors went initially to white workers with the "left-overs" for blacks. Black crime rates painted a picture which would become the norm as the twentieth century unfolded. For example, in 1935, the black population comprised a small percentage on Detroit's overall population, but in the reported crime figures such was not the case. 31.8% of prosecuted robberies were by blacks; for burglaries, 40.6% were black; blacks represented 38.4% of the cases for larceny; prosecution for prostitution, blacks were 52.5% of the cases.⁹⁸ The years from 1935-1940 marked a gradual increase in the crime rate, with a disproportionate number being black.⁹⁹

✓ During the early 1940s, Detroit's black population grew as the influx of primarily southern migrants arrived in search of jobs in war industries. At the same time, whites also were knocking on Detroit's door of economic opportunity, increasing their numbers. As indicated earlier, people's expectations of what may be and the realities of what is are not always mirror images. More often than not, black workers found the doors through which white workers had passed closed to them when seeking jobs in the plants. So in spite of the similarities of a swelling populous, the experiences

between whites and blacks differed. While these differences were evident in many areas, crime and prison statistics can be most telling. In 1940, blacks comprised approximately 4% of the state's population, yet about 20% of the state's inmate population was black.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, police records indicated that the number of reported robberies dropped for whites while for blacks there was an increase during 1940-1941.¹⁰¹ In 1944 when black workers began to make in-roads into the industrial labor market, the number of reported robberies began to drop. The more blacks entered the mainstream, away from the fringes, the lower the reported crime rates were.¹⁰²

In the 1950s, the percentage of blacks in the state rose to 7% while the percentage of black inmates soared to 40% of the overall prison population. The overwhelming majority of incarcerated blacks came from Detroit.¹⁰³ An absence of requisite job skills for placement in industry, limited educational backgrounds, problems of social adjustment to cultural and environmental differences painted a picture of incarcerated blacks. This increase occurred during the post-war recession and reflected the consequences of a return to past discriminatory practices in hiring and firing which black workers faced in the labor market. In 1957, blacks represented about 21% of the city's population while accounting for 49% of the arrests in Detroit according to police records. Ten years earlier

though, blacks comprised only 14% of the overall population, but still accounted for 39% of the criminal arrests.¹⁰⁴

In 1960, police records indicated that two-thirds of the crime committed in Detroit was attributed to blacks even though the blacks represent 25% of the city's population.¹⁰⁵ While much of these figures can be attributed to restrictions within the job market, other facets of community life contribute. Public and slum housing units, inadequate education, high unemployment, and increasing health care issues, characteristics of what black Detroit has become, preserved the problems associated with life at the fringes of society.¹⁰⁶ Areas such as the Brewster-Douglas projects have become centers for criminal activity, often times violent crimes directed at those victims who are less likely to be able to defend themselves, i.e. women and the elderly. The more serious crimes include rapes, beatings, robberies, and extortion. Other crimes such as the sale of drugs and the sale of stolen merchandise, clothing and other consumer goods like televisions, radios, and cars, became incorporated into the quality of life within many of the city's neighborhoods.¹⁰⁷

The decade of the 1960s brought about various changes within the black community. Black consciousness began to take root within the community and was translated into the efforts of black workers to improve

their lot in the areas of employment within the labor market and within the union movement. Despite these changes, which did produce some gains in the number of blacks working in the auto industry and attaining higher rank, positions of political influence within the union, change in the overall picture were not noticeable. Due to layoffs (permanent or long term temporary) and economic recessions, certain sections of Detroit had become industrial wastelands. Regular employment was difficult to find for many black workers, and low wage jobs and unemployment represented the legal range of survival options for Detroit's impoverished. The lines at "day-work" offices or the unemployment or welfare office attested to this reality. Yet, the physical portrait of Detroit's neighborhoods drew a much starker picture of life within this environment.

Although blacks lived in Detroit's westside, the majority of the black community in Detroit was concentrated along the eastside. This was still much the same area in which blacks regulated when they began arriving during the migration of World War I.¹⁰⁸ Public housing projects had been initially built in hopes of providing adequate low-income shelter for the working poor. However, these areas have turned into the training grounds for recruits in survival crime. For example, the Jefferies projects were known to police as an area for burglaries and armed robberies. Smith Homes was noted

for car thefts, vandalism, and burglaries as were the projects of Lee Plaza, Herman Gardens Homes, Charles Terrace, and Parkside.¹⁰⁹

Wariness often described the underlying attitude of people living in these neighborhoods. "Here on West Boston life isn't fun city....Rip-offs (theft and robbery) is the name of the game over here....When you're out, you take your chances."¹¹⁰ As a result, many working people spend as little time on the streets as possible, fearing their own safety and that of their homes. When they did leave for work or go out for long periods of time, radios and televisions were often left on to dissuade people from burglarizing their homes; rudimentary burglar devices.

The riots of 1968 caused problems other than the physical devastation of certain sections of the city. Problems of how people could make a living within the inner city of Detroit became more acute, and what had been temporary problems now were issues having both short term and long term affects on people. Conditions caused by temporary lay-offs, became permanent as factories closed down, forcing people into "career changes" without being prepared. When the Dodge Main plant shut down, people who had spent their lives in the auto plants were now forced to find other jobs, in an economy that could not absorb these workers. Many of these workers possessed skills of an era gone-by as Detroit's

industrial base began to shrink and disappear. With traditional ways for making a living becoming fewer in number and even obsolete, the potential work force for the criminal market grew dramatically.

The dilemma facing the black working class also caused problems for even Detroit's criminal workers. The wealth of the "irregular or underground" market place began to dwindle as working people lost their jobs or had their incomes reduced. As a result of a reduction in their clientles' purchasing power, this sector of Detroit's unofficial economy started to show signs of increased competition, higher incidents of more violent "survival crimes" or more "dope house" and blind pig operations. In particular, the overall decrease in the economic pie of the illegal economy after the July 1968 disorders caused great difficulty for prostitutes, blind pigs, numbers rackets, and panderers. The increase in violence impacted on the number of customers and this drained money out of the local economy. With their livelihoods threatened, many of the city's criminal workers turned to other facets of the business such as burglary, muggings, or robbery to make a "dishonest" dollar.¹¹¹

From 1967 to 1976, crime overall increased significantly in the city of Detroit. For example, murder, rape and aggravated assaults, all violent crimes rose dramatically. However, equally as dramatic were the

rises in robbery, burglary, larceny-theft, and motor vehicle theft. These figures increased 107.1%, 89.3%, 590%, and 140% respectively during the decade.¹¹² The economy and drug problems were cited as major factors for these increases, a conservative estimate suggested that 70% of the city's junkies committed crimes to support their habits.¹¹³

With the end of the 1970s, Detroit witnessed a final chapter in its history with the auto industry. The oil crisis of 1973-1974 caused a down turn in the employment of factory workers, but an increase in criminal workers. This gave the working black poor a glimpse of what lay ahead for them in the city. In what could have been a harbinger of things to come, a U.S. Justice Department survey reported that in 1972, almost 80% of Detroit's businesses had been burglarized or robbed.¹¹⁴ Despite the years of general prosperity during 1975-1978, the days of job security in the auto plants was over. A redundant production process and deteriorating facilities were but two of the reasons cited as factory doors closed forever, i.e. Dodge Main among others. For much of Detroit's black community, making a living would involve a choice between the secondary job market or survival crime.

In 1981, Detroit police reports indicated that between 1979-1981 there was a steady rise in the number of reported crimes committed in the city. Significant increases were noted in thefts, burglaries, and

robberies.¹¹⁵ In addition, the economic recession of 1981 contributed greatly to the further rise of crime in Detroit. "Marginal workers, displaced because of the economic crunch, are blamed for the rise in Detroit's crimes during the first six months of this year (1981)."¹¹⁶ The largest boosts in crime were a 22% jump in burglaries and 18.4% in robberies during this same time. The situation facing many of Detroit's black workers, especially the young, is not bright as the options for making a living become clear cut, menial low wage jobs, welfare, or crime./ Executive Deputy Police Chief James Bannon theorized that without jobs, people turned to crime to make money.¹¹⁷

In general, people react to deprivation in ways that are compatible with the prevailing social norms; many though do not. Yet, the linkages between how people respond to their environment, their values/culture, and their perceptions of their survival options do exist. This is not to justify their choices, but rather point out the factors, history of experience, influencing people's choices as to how they will make a living. Working at a job in the regular economy or participating in survival crime are results from people's assessments based on factors from various sources within and outside an individual's control. For many blacks in Detroit (and whites), crime is an option, a readily accessible option, through which they feel that they can "correct" the

imbalances in life between the way they actually live, the way they expect to be able to live and the way in which they wish to live.

U.S. Representative John Conyers concluded that "...crime is not primarily caused by criminals, outlandish as that may sound. Crime in the aggregate is more fundamentally the product of desperation brought on by joblessness, poverty and community disintegration. Criminal acts multiply when a neighborhood or a city -- even a nation -- has so degenerated in its ability to provide for the well-being of people that individuals feel that stealing, mugging, or selling dope is an acceptable means of survival. In short, crime is the economic and political consequence of a system rooted in indifference toward, an exploitation of, marginal and disadvantaged people."



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FROM THE GHETTO TO THE JOINT:
A STUDY OF BLACK URBAN
SURVIVAL CRIME IN DETROIT

Volume II

By

Derek Bower Allen

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CHAPTER FIVE
In Their Own Words:
Offenders Speak on Survival Crime
and Criminal Occupational Networks

To this point, the discussion about survival crime has concentrated on theoretical, sociological, and historical analyses. Individually and collectively, each approach has illustrated the plausibility of the concept and the existence of survival crime. Furthermore, "survival criminals," have been afforded a level of credibility through justification of their involvement in crime. Yet, something is missing; an element that would lend support and credence to this issue. Furthermore, this element would assist in recognizing various causes for the growth in property-focused crimes (archetypical survival crimes) in urban society.

What the previous forays into the cognitive domain of survival crime did not involve were the personal accounts and statements of the participants themselves. While often referred to as "impressionistic" or anecdotal data, these pieces of information are invaluable in conceptualizing and explaining survival crime. Though not standing alone, this information enhances the empirical, or "hard," data delineated by the proceeding historical, sociological, and statistical analyses. Without this data, many nuances and causal relationships could not be as clearly understood or formulated. The impressions and documentaries of survival crime actors bring a sense of dynamism and life to an otherwise impersonal array of statistical data.

Statements from participants provide insight into several facets of the issue of survival crime. Despite

theories suggesting a biological explanation or natural predisposition towards criminal behavior, people are not born and do not enter into this world as criminals. Events, social conditions, and environmental factors as well play a role impacting on the lives of people. Establishing a pattern or process of events or experiences precipitating one's involvement on crime theoretically has a long academic and professional track record. However, it still remains an analysis more often than not void of input from the "survival criminals" themselves. While this approach generally becomes subservient to academic research, it illuminates and verifies detached empirical data. Examining the events as documented by the participants themselves breathes life into what just is theoretically plausible.

[This chapter provides such data. This research was not recorded merely to document as a case study the personal histories of people, or to establish statistical evidence from incarcerated felons illustrating survival crime. Through the thoughts and stories of men incarcerated in state facilities, the following information is intended to embellish the hard data noted in the previous chapters. Several research tools were employed in recording "their stories": structured interviews, questionnaires, and group discussions. All of the research instruments were designed to work both independently and in concert with each other. For example, information obtained from the structured interviews were not incompatible with the data generated

from other tools, i.e. group discussions. The data gathered through this process serves to establish the link between theory, and historical and statistical data through the lives of men actually serving time for committing crimes.

Finding Out "What's Happening"

As mentioned above, an underlying motivation for using the interview method was to let the actors themselves provide input into the issue of survival crime. The personal accounts and their interpretations challenged the significance and meaning of survival crime. In addition, this investigatory approach does not stand alone, but rather functions in conjunction with the information gathered from other inquiries into this subject. In addition, materials compiled from "pop culture" resources are used to further document and clarify the place of survival crime as another option available to people for making a living. For example, "toasts," folk poetry depicting street life and activities of the hustler, describe and analyze through feelings and perceptions of life-experiences of what the "Life," or the socio-cultural environment, of survival criminals consists.

[The structured interview was conducted with the cooperation with the Michigan Department of Corrections. The subjects who participated included blacks incarcerated at adult facilities, the State Prison of Southern Michigan (SPSM), and the Livonia Reformatory (LR). The ages of these men ranged from late adolescence through early sixties.

During the spring of 1983, the Livonia Reformatory housed young men from 18-25 years while SPSM supervised inmates ranging from men in their early 20s through their 50s. The individuals at the Livonia Reformatory were selected from the rolls of inmate records located in the Central Office at the Department of Corrections in Lansing, Michigan. The individuals participating at the SPSM facility were volunteers recruited through two sources: as part of the Spring Arbor College program or from contacts established through the college.

(Other information resources included formal and informal interview sessions. (Refer to Appendices A, B, and C) The formal interview process included one-on-one individual discussions between this writer and selected offenders, and group interviews in which the writer served as discussion group facilitator with small groups of incarcerated offenders. The informal group discussions between this writer and incarcerated offenders occurred in two different settings: one being in various locations within the correctional facility, i.e. on the "yard," at their "house" (cell), at their work detail (i.e. the license tag plant), or in the school office. The other primary setting in which information was obtained was connected directly with their undergraduate coursework at Spring Arbor College. As part of their academic assignments, students circulated formal questionnaires to fellow inmates who were asked to respond in writing to the questions.

An additional data resource which was part of the process was the incorporation of folklore, i.e. toasts. The use of popular culture materials often reinforced or clarified what "practitioner" analyses, comments and observation from survival criminals, generated. For example, "toasts" and "folk poetry" served to expand the pool of information by elaborating on the information obtained from incarcerated offenders. The meanings, or morals if you will, contained within a toast at times embellished or clarified the ideas and experiences of those interviewed. Toasts and other examples of black folklore also helped to create a necessary level of confidence in this writer as a credible and sincere archivist.

The other critical element involves the research project itself. To assure the quality and accuracy of the information being documented, it is also critical that the respondents perceive that the research is for legitimate purposes only (information which would not be used for legal and other punitive purposes against them). The respondents needed to feel certain that the meaning and intent of their statements is being received and recorded accurately and honestly.

Despite the inclusion of this kind of information, the interviews were the primary source for data. These interviews provided much more in terms of detail and description regarding the personal accounts of the lives of each respondent in answering the questions. Without the

barrier and task of the written word, the respondents would concentrate on merely formulating and describing their responses. In addition, the clarity and detail of this writer's notes were also more informative than data collected by using the questionnaire format.

The questions asked during the personal interviews were designed to accomplish several objectives with respect to identifying individually and as a group. The first objective was to gather basic demographic data from those individuals consenting to be interviewed. To achieve this end, the initial wave of questions were tightly structured, limiting the range of responses to demographic data. For example, questions regarding an individual's age, marital status, place of residence, educational background prior to incarceration his personal and family income, and occupational status prior to incarceration were asked of each individual (an individual's race was also recorded based upon visual identification).

(The second objective was to solicit the feelings and thoughts of the people being interviewed. People were asked to discuss events in their lives as they related to making a living, participating in crime; this effort was designed to record impressionistic data. To this end, open-ended questions were used so as not to contaminate their responses by asking leading questions designed to obtain specific information. For example, each respondent was asked to describe his home environment; to identify influential

people ("street heroes") and events and to define what it means to make a living, and describe how they provided for themselves and/or their families. The interview process used two approaches, one-on-one and group interviews. The individual interviews produced data with more detail about specific experiences. The group process on the other hand allowed for greater interaction among the participants.

The individual interviews were conducted with inmates at both facilities in private with this writer and individual respondents. All of the respondents volunteered to participate in this research and each session took approximately 90 minutes. During the interview, information was recorded on paper, not tape. After completing the day's interview schedule, additional notes were dictated into a tape recorder. This information consisted of comments and thoughts based on both the written notes compiled from statements of those interviewed, and this writer's impressions following the conclusions of each day's sessions.

Approximately, 200 hundred requests soliciting participants were sent to both the Livonia Reformatory (LR) and the State Prison of Southern Michigan (SPSM) and 68 individuals responded. All of these individuals were black and had either been raised in Detroit or lived there prior to their incarceration. While there was a small number of men over 40 years of age, the rest were evenly split between the age group of 18-29 and 30-39. In answering the question

regarding their marital status, most indicated that they were single, but even those individuals stated that they were living with a woman on a somewhat permanent basis. The educational background of these individuals generally was low, the vast majority having left school between the 10th and 12th grades (several of the individuals from SPSM had completed their GED and the Associate Degree from a Jackson Community College while incarcerated).

When questioned about how they made their living, made money, the majority indicated that they were involved in crime, referred to as "hustling" with a few having relied solely on being conventionally employed. There were just a couple of individuals who received government assistance or welfare but this was short term. The kinds of jobs at which these individuals were employed were minimum wage, service sector opportunities. While several had prior experience working in an auto plant, a lack of experience and job skills and an absence of job openings were cited as reasons for not working for one of the "Big Three." In response to such problems, hustling represented the most viable and reliable source of income for these individuals. (The most common response was that these people either did or preferred to work and hustle in making their living.) The types of hustles were legal and illegal; however, even when someone was hustling legitimately, i.e. hauling refuse or the jitney, they did not report their income which ultimately was still "criminal." Yet in terms of "sho nuf

hustling," robbery, burglary, and drug and narcotic sales were the "professions" of choice because the return (money earned) for the work involved was the greatest.

(The group settings were conducted as part of college classes offered through the Spring Arbor College program. These courses were concerned with the issue of survival crime. The survey questionnaire was designed to augment and supplement the structured interviews. Even though the respondents had ample time and space on the questionnaire, and opportunity to answer all questions, the information obtained using this method was not sufficient to stand alone. Limitations existed as to the detail and description of events in the respondents' lives. What the questionnaire did accomplish is to provide data which embellishes the statements taken during the interviews.

The format of the questionnaire closely resembled the bank of questions posed to both individual respondents and during group. The first section sought demographic information about the individual completing the form. Questions included place of residence (inside Detroit or outside), age, race, occupation, and educational background and income prior to incarceration. Individuals simply checked the appropriate space provided. The second section consisted of open-ended questions allowing the respondents to explain their answers. Having each individual write their answers possibly produced two different consequences: one in which people could take advantage of the unanimity

and be detailed in their response or that the task of writing was an obstacle, resulting in short generalized answers. These questions focused on each individual's and the family's background, job (or lack of job) experience, involvement in crime, personal goals and ambitions, and perceptions about career options/life choices.

[There were over 250 questionnaires distributed during this portion of the research, and over 190 were completed and returned. Out of the 190 which were returned, 96 were black with the majority living in the city of Detroit. The educational background of this group ranged from college graduates (4.1%) to completing the sixth to ninth grades (16.6%). Over 52% had entered or completed high school prior to incarceration. Most respondents earned between \$15,000-\$19,000 per year (29.5%), while 14.2% earned between \$5,000-\$9,000 and 19.3% realized wages from \$10,000-\$14,000. When asked how they made their living, 29.6% indicated that they were fully employed with only 9.6% receiving government assistance. The vast majority of respondents (60.8%) indicated that their survival was assured by participating in crime. Of that group, several individuals admitted that they worked in a legal occupation and "hustled" on the side or in addition to their jobs. Of the individuals who responded to committing crime, the drug trade proved to be the most "attractive" with 31.2%. Robbery (12.5%), burglary (14.5%), and auto theft/shoplifting (9.3%) were other sources for making money. A large category of "other," 25%,

was identified, but the respondents declined to be specific as to their crime of choice in terms of making a living.

A Man's Gotta Do, What a Man's Gotta Do

The responses of these individuals will provide important pieces to the puzzle of survival. Yet before examining the statements of these individuals, it should be mentioned again that the issue of survival crime does not justify nor excuse their participation as criminals. The issue which survival crime raises is that in modern society, people pursue those goals and ideals which the mainstream, often symbolized through advertising, holds as desirable. While the motivations underlying an individual's choice of crime as a survival option are many, the socially acceptable options for actually achieving these goals are limited. When coupled with other problems such as limited job skills and educational backgrounds, crime is woven into the fabric of mainstream society. Though deviant at its core, survival crime takes on a life of its own from a history of experience and through the generation of a segment of mainstream culture.

As mentioned in previous chapters, crime is a viable (in terms of financial reward) and available means to make a living. For some people, the choice is voluntarily made, but for others crime may be, or at least perceived to be, the only way out. The following represents the personal statements and responses from those individuals who have made survival crime their trade, their vehicle for making a

living.

In examining this issue, it was important to begin with several basic issues which many in the mainstream take for granted, assume as a given. The term "making a living" is generally taken to mean what people do in order to survive or at what kind of job they may be employed. As a starting point, this question served as a beginning. Making a living was generally thought to be earning sufficient funds to support oneself and family, getting the proper amount of money to satisfy your home life or people and this could be obtained by hook or crook, job or stealing. Upon further examination this expression contained two different assumptions: one is legal and the other being illegal. Making as much money as possible and given certain circumstances how one gets money would not be an issue.

In terms of earning money to support oneself and/or family, making a living also implies "whatever one can get away with." In the inner-city, making a living is often very hard to do when one has a family, easier when one is alone. The bottom line seemed to be that making a living means surviving, not having to worry about tomorrow, being financially secure so that unemployment, bills, no savings, or being laid-off are not stressors. Survival crime becomes an option not only because there is an absence of activities which are attractive, but those opportunities which are for the most part readily available are not acceptable.

Certain jobs are not considered desirable or are even considered in the first place with respect to accepting an offer of employment. For example, jobs which do not pay sufficient enough salary for people to live decently or at the level they wish will go wanting. In addition jobs which are considered demeaning or degrading to a person's image or status will also not be filled by many. A job pumping gas for \$110 a week would be part of this general category of work. A job working in a unionized plant, i.e., auto factory, would be a desirable job because of several factors: pay, benefits, and the opportunity to operate side-hustles such as selling drugs to co-workers.

Without marketable job skills young people find themselves in a "no-win" situation in terms of finding employment. Without the necessary job skills, their chances for getting a good paying job are extremely limited, leaving these individuals to compete for low-wage jobs. Such situations are fertile ground from which participation in survival crime results. Furthermore, the location of a job and the availability of transportation limits individuals in the area in which they can job hunt. Finally, some young people are turned down from work at Church's Fried Chicken because of the legal age restrictions placed upon young teenagers. Though not too young to want to work, or feel as though they need to have a job, these young people are in a grey area of not being old enough to work. In some instances, the need for money does not wait until people are

old enough to be legally employed. In cases like these, survival crime becomes an alluring possibility.

Despite being a legal alternative to employment, survival crime is not always a socially acceptable practice for many. Welfare then becomes the viable alternative means for making a living. For many older people, women and young children welfare becomes the only or the best way to make money. For men and older teenagers welfare is another hustle for making money, a short term measure until being called-back to the job or finding another job, or a sign of defeat.

Welfare in this country is faulty in that it is refuge of last resorts. If welfare is their sole means of support, welfare loses its acceptability for many. These individuals have given up, "throwing up their hands and doing nothing," not even hustling. These men become useless and hopeless individuals who have given up and will not take advantage of an opportunity even when it presents itself. Welfare drains an individual of any ambition and unless that person hustles, illegal alternatives to employment, they do not or cannot provide for themselves.

In understanding why survival crime is attractive and often perceived as a viable alternative to working, it would be necessary to examine what the street and street-life are. To begin with, the street and street-life is a product of the city; it is urban in its origins and is influenced and determined by urban development. Though generally

associated with drugs, money and fast women, "the street" can really be summed up as a life of despair. It is a closed environment to outsiders, except those who are customers of some criminal operation/activity (dope or prostitution). It is also an environment which produces victims and predators who thrive on victimizing others for money -- rough/deadly environment.

The street and street life characterize a sense of being alone whether one is with people or not. Being alone suggests that people are not to be trusted and that support systems are far-and-few between, if at all. Finally, the boundaries of the street are almost limitless in that it is not restricted to any neighborhood or section of a city. On the other hand, the ghetto, or inner-city, is geographically distinct from other sections of the city. There is an absence of obligations and responsibilities in the street-life. In addition, street-life is symbolic of despair and corruption as in the name of survival, people sacrifice their sense of morality. "Fast life -- hustlers (dopeman, stickup artist, etc.) association with people hanging on the corner...away from home. People live from day-to-day and do not plan for the future."

The presence of fast food chain stores, liquor stores, gas/convenience stores, store front churches, and bars dominate the inner-city landscape. Evidence of mainstream society in terms of shopping malls and residential homes are not part of this festering piece of Americana. While most

inner-city residents interact with others, "associate," out of their homes on the street, young and old males congregate on the street corners, a sight rarely evident in the suburban surroundings. Youngsters all trying and having to grow up too fast and too soon. Buildings in decay house the homeless and runaways and can serve as a center from which hustles emanate. Several run-down sections of the inner-city have been described as war zones in terms of how they physically resemble war zones. People living in these neighborhoods have many of the same dreams as individuals in mainstream suburban communities yet they do not have access as a community to the same opportunities. Thus, the images of life greatly differ and as a result, they face different challenges and obstacles in making a living. "People either accept their plight or die....Their alternatives...death, crime, dope, welfare or menial jobs."

Street life has been described as "dog or be dogged," a place where the strong (physical and mental prowess) live off of the weak. In addition, it has been described as "a place to live, but no place to go." People growing up in this neighborhood never were exposed to the "right side" of life, or at least the successful side of what happens when people abide by the rules of the mainstream -- work hard and get ahead. Conversely, money, physical toughness, cunning, and "artillery" are necessary items for people to successfully survive in the streets. Children of poverty and adults who have either matured or fell into poverty

often wanted to be "gangsters." They wanted to make a lot of money and escape poverty and in doing so, some idolized criminals such as loansharks, pimps (prostitutes), robbers, dope dealers, in the neighborhood who made a great deal of money. Common sights include "...a pimp walking stroll, giving his women their instructions for the night. Watching these women stray away in their different, but assigned position, corners, hotels, motels, bus stops, bus stations, even the corner store. This is where one finds them turning tricks, making money for themselves and that man who in turn is making money for himself and his family.

Street life is a term which often is interchangeable with the term the fast life, both of which share a common denominator, "no future, just living for tomorrow." Short term rewards rather than long term gratification characterize the street life. "Life is too short and you never know when you may get caught or taken-out so live for now." Growing up day-to-day was the chain of events which characterized the outlooks of the younger guys, "whatever came was what they did and how they lived." As children, they have witnessed illegal hustles throughout their growing years, and often is the most lucrative way to provide for your family. Playing the women, basketball and getting high often dominate the aspiration of the young males while they are entering their formative years. They live out their options which have been characterized as "shooting hoops, dope, their masculinity, and bullets."

These qualities, job skills, often are indicative of not only being successful in survival crime, the underground economy, but with being able to survive in the streets. As if being able to survive in the streets is an apprenticeship before entering the occupational environment of hustling. Knowledge is critical, especially knowledge about what actually goes on in terms of the activities and who the "players" comprising the participants are. Survival is dependent upon individual instincts for avoiding situations which prove to be negative while pursuing those which are beneficial. Functioning in the streets necessitates "common sense" in knowing when to walk away from situations, knowing when and when not to become involved, knowing how to approach others (especially in terms of getting something from them), and knowing the environment and being able to adapt. Successful individuals are often cunning, manipulative, quick-witted, experienced interns of knowing the ropes, and a lack of desire to work in the straight world.

The World of Hustling

Making a living is tied to the concept of survival, and survival means making a living. It does not always translate into a job. As we know, jobs are not always available, and thus a job becomes whatever you do to make a living. This is generally referred to as hustling, making things happen for oneself fulltime or part-time. "It (hustling) mean survival as an instinct. It's an adaption

you learn when employers say No." Primarily used in the vernacular, hustling includes not only the specific activities in which an individual is involved, but it casts a shadow over some of the emotional, psychological elements impacting on people's choices for making a living. In posing the question, "What does hustling mean to you?" the responses touched both extremes, being employed and committing crime, "hustling for tax free money for whatever you need or taxable money for material items."

Hustling creates two different impressions, one being a legal activity and the other illegal. Yet even in the legal activity, there is an implication that the income derived from this activity is not always reported, or at the least reported accurately, in terms of IRS accounting. As an activity to make a living, hustling is carried on in an "informal" manner achieving a means of subsistence or a stable level of income. People can realize personal satisfaction or peer approval from being involved in hustling -- even a job can be considered a hustle.

While the term hustling can be applied to both legal and illegal activities, the most commonly accepted meaning focuses on those which are "...not linked to the mainstream," making a living "...outside the norm." Hustling, much like the hustler, is a process or method through which an individual takes advantage of people or a situation to make money/material goods. There are those who are adept at generating their own job, in most case,

something illegal. What it does mean is that one resort to his own mean(s) of survival. The ways in which people can hustle vary from "macking women," operating cons, "stick-ups," or "slinin" dope. Many hustles often involve the sale of a commodity to "willing" buyers on the market much like in the mainstream, "above-ground" economy. The key concept is commodity. Drug dealers and pimping, "macking," are commodity traders.

While hustling is not always a primary activity, it can also be a sideline occupation and may be done by means of anything it takes to get money. For example, factory workers may work on the assembly line and sell marijuana to fellow employees on the side. Other hustles involve the use of deception, con games that rely on using false fronts. Hustling indicates that an individual is involved in an activity, 'scuffling" that is earning him and his family money or material goods from which they survive. A hustle, or hustler, is continuous activity which is not constant in terms of time, people or results. It does not afford people structure in terms of something on which they can depend. Hustling is a means to obtain money and surviving when events in an individual's life are not "normal"; the compensation that one receives for services rendered, is not sufficient for maintaining one's life style.

Hustling then is not an occupation which found in the classified section of the paper. The State unemployment office does not list "hustles" among the available

employment opportunities for job seekers. Hustles and hustling occurs outside the mainstream and occupies a place within what is often referred to as the "street-life." Though hustles also exist and thrive within middle-class society, the most fertile environment is in the "streets." Yet, what is it about the street, or the street-life which attracts to novice, would-be hustlers? The streets are not predominantly filled with criminals, hustlers and the like, but rather are the neighborhoods housing the working poor and impoverished.

If hustling is perceived as something in which people operate at the fringes or outside of the mainstream, then hustling can be thought of a way of life. People are always "scuffling" in the streets to make money and find happiness, an idea which often is fleeting and suggests immediate gratification versus building for the long term. In doing so, involvement in hustling becomes not only a product of one's reputation, but also the basis for developing one's reputation. Yet, hustling is not a way of life for the majority of people living in the streets. The majority work and embrace the same value structure as the mainstream.

The impact of poverty produces a greater likelihood for participation in criminal activities. The disparity between the income levels for people in society will provide fertile ground for hustling; "...hustling will always exist simply because (some) people are always gonna be looking for something for nothing. This one characteristic what makes

some hustles (cons, numbers and gambling) so sweet." For many facing unemployment or underemployment, hustling becomes a viable option in making the kind of money for purchasing material items which they "expect" and avidly desire.

If an individual is lucky and becomes successful by hustling, a problem occurs when that person gets accustomed to or acquainted with a particular lifestyle. The loss of or potential loss of that lifestyle often is the motivation for continued involvement in hustling. Often the quality of available employment does not provide for the amount of ready-cash that hustling can offer. While the return on one's labor is not always profitable over the long haul, considering time in the penitentiary as a loss of potential earnings, it is a viable short term solution.

Money is the key factor in determining an individual's involvement in that people. Needing money to survive or to enjoy a higher standard of living, people often can get caught up in hustling. For many, the amount of money involved/derived from hustling serves as the standard by which hustles can be measured. Selling dope more than sticking up people; prostitution than running cons; and cons more than stick ups. Hustling can become a habit as much as anything one does which brings pleasure and security. People get involved in hustling as do others because of need or want for things not readily available due to poverty conditions. The process can be described as converting

their street knowledge into dollars.

The lifestyle surrounding the world of hustling is generally referred to as the "Life," something which all people play to live. The drug game is a most popular hustle because of the large sums of money that can be made from a very small investment. "Once a dopeman, always a dopeman." Prostitution and "con games" are next in terms of making money and in being challenging to an individual's skills. The B&E artist or the stick-up man require the least talent and challenge because all that is necessary to make money is a house or business with no one present, or a gun, weapon, to intimidate people into giving up money.

Involvement in certain hustles results in being involved in certain lifestyles. For example, selling dope requires a lifestyle that is more flagrant in terms of notoriety and high visibility for sales, often symbolized by flamboyant life styles and flashy material items. Gambling and drug sales represent totally different involvements by individuals because they require "investments" of money in order to operate. Hustles such as dope and pimping often are lucrative enough to be able to "hire" people to assist in the trade. Prostitution provides actual job opportunities for people willing to get involved in selling sexual favors. Drug sales involve people who transport drugs, sell drugs on either the wholesale or retail levels, operate "shootin' galleries"/dope houses, and people who serve as protection for the dealers, and places of business.

The lifestyles involved in hustles do not always focus on the necessities, qualities, or steps for success. Rather, the hustle/lifestyle relationship can also be examined from the standpoint of what forces drive or attract them to getting involved in the beginning. While education in terms of degrees completed is a requisite for many skilled jobs in the mainstream, it also has a place within the world of hustling. Individuals who are not educated will not get involved in embezzlement or other kinds of cons requiring that person to be clever and knowledgeable. People without skills resort to hustles like armed robbery which do not require much savvy. For example, stick-ups do not require sophistication, cunning nor wit. Often characterized as acts of desperation and occurring on the spur of the moment action, robberies are also easy and convenient to pull-off.

People who are gamblers and/or con artists must maintain a particular appearance. This appearance must project several important impressions to accomplish their ultimate goal of making money. The impressions which they project are credibility and trustworthy. The "short-change" artist (short players or pickpockets), the threecard monte men, the murphymen, those who earn a living preying on the greed of others -- people who believe they can get something for nothing. They also need to be accepted as part of the group involved in the action, i.e., gamblers or, in the case of investment fraud, investment brokers, and be able to

converse in appropriate language.

Though hustling involves illegal activities, there are certain hustles which are okay or tolerated. Non-violent hustles often are tolerated or over-looked because they are property oriented and there is no or minimal chance for injury to others. The numbers operations are generally victimless crimes which cater to an older clientele who themselves are not involved in disrupting the neighborhood quality of life and threaten people physically. The same premises are applicable to the operations of "blind pigs," after-hour joints and gambling houses.

The crimes which usually provide a service that is, from the buyer of stolen goods; to the weary businessman who purchases a thrill between the legs of a young woman; to the runners who shuffle a three-digit dream to those who really can't afford to dream; to the boosters who peddle just the cut enough rate in clothes so that female-headed household of six can afford to dress her children against the elements...." Purchasing "hot items," such as clothes or material goods, is an alternative to shopping at mainstream stores where prices or means of transportation may be prohibitive, or at local stores where the prices for most goods are high, more so than those at comparable mainstream supermarkets, or selection of items is limited due to high costs.

The ripple or trickle down effect of the underground economy within a small neighborhood: a street whore does

not shop at the most exclusive stores in town, yet is able to wear fine apparel. How? she shops from a small-time thief who in turn does not buy from A&P, but instead goes to the "meat man" who in turn places bets with the small-time numbers runner or bookie who buys his color T.V.'s from the "local guy" who happens to be a burglar and petty fence who carries any number or type of appliance dirt cheap who in turn might at any given time need the services of a friend-of-a-friend so to speak (sex). In essence all that the bill collectors don't get stays in constant motion. The only true example of money staying in the community...it's no accident that participants of survival crime know, associate, with one another through name or reputation.

Marijuana sales though not accepted are tolerated when compared to the sale of hard drugs, like heroin. Armed robbery, B&E, boosting are crimes in which people can become injured physically. The sale of stolen merchandise often becomes a semi-legal operation in which the neighborhood residents are able to purchase goods that they otherwise would not be able to afford from mainstream stores. Prostitution is the oldest profession and satisfies the needs of both local residents as well as individuals from outside the area who seek to purchase their pleasures.

Some hustles are cunning and trick naive people about money matters for a fee. the dopeman is not an acceptable trade because of the damage to people and cause for increased crime as a result of its use. Other undesirable trades include B&E and stick-ups because people in the neighborhood become the victims.

With the growth of credit cards and the introduction of ATM cards and banking, credit card fraud and theft have become a growth hustling industry. The use and theft of credit cards ranges from the direct stealing of a card and its subsequent use to the manufacturing of "phony credit cards" and their use to purchase goods. These phony cards use actual or look-alike credit cards (i.e., VISA or MASTERCARD) and taking actual numbers of credit cards from the actual holders.

Hustles which are illegal in terms of violating the criminal code (not paying taxes), but legal in terms of activity often flourish in areas of poverty. For example, women sometimes operate beauty shops in their basements or in their homes without being licensed as beauticians or without having licenses to own and operate a small business. People not only steal automobiles to sell, but taggin'/strippin' cars is also big time business for the individuals selling the parts, but for small and large companies specializing in parts sales or in repairing specialty areas of the car, i.e., transmission work. "Like Ollie Fretter would say, I'm trying' to beat your best

deal."

There are hustles in which people use property or material items for purposes other than what they initially intended, i.e. fraud. People have been known to apply and receive permission to purchase HUD houses that need to be fixed up. However, instead of those individuals moving in to live as homeowners, they become landlords, renting the property illegally to others. This is in violation of the terms of agreement in the original purchasing of HUD houses. Other uses for HUD houses include the purchase and renovation of these homes which would then be converted into dope houses, or shooting galleries.

Hustling means that an individual never has to go without having money, "all game fair game." Even when unemployed, people do not have to be broke or at the point where their survival is threatened because hustling is the viable option or alternative to make money. It is a quick fix for people who cannot defer rewards or who feel that they cannot survive until tomorrow. "People choose to hustle, no one becomes involved in hustling against their will. Granted there are times when hustling appears to be the better or viable survival option. The key though is that people make choices when they reach that fork in the road, one leading to employment in the mainstream with the other ending at crime's door." People choose to do what they do best in terms of skills and/or opportunities to make money. If people do opt to hustle rather than find

employment or collect welfare, the opportunities are not limited. This is true whether or not the hustle is legal or illegal.

"Hustling is not for everyone; people often lack the actual job skills to operate in several of these occupations. In addition, people lack the courage and patience to be successful as hustlers. Yet, the attraction of hustling continues to draw people to this line-of-work. Freedom from having to work on a menial, low pay, 8-to-5 job can hook some individuals. In addition, hustling provides people with an alternative from the mundane. The financial rewards from hustling allow people to "work" relatively short or few hours to make their living." People have learned to operate and hustle within the system. For example, people can work at a plant for the minimum time, approximately 90 days, and then quit. Upon quitting, they would then apply for unemployment insurance, often as a cover, freeing them to concentrate on hustling full-time.

Another situation would be where people work on a 40-hour week job and hustle on-the-side for extra income, much like "moonlighting." This situation would involve an individual being employed, i.e., as a construction worker, and after hours or when there is no work, he would turn to hustling, i.e., selling marijuana. "For example, I would average \$42.07 a day on my job at the bakery...on Tuesday, my day off, I will pick up money and the betting slips, I would make three or four hundred dollars on a good day."

If people are unable to find work or choose not to work, and welfare is not an acceptable or viable alternative, the remaining options are limited. Fears of losing one's job or being laid-off can cause people to consider hustling for a living. In addition people turn to hustling because they cannot overcome the liabilities of no job skills and no job experience which are necessary to get good jobs. Being unable to get into training programs, or even know that it is actually an option open to them, hustling becomes an easy out.

In reaching this juncture, the question of why do people hustle for a living is significant in examining survival crime. Those individuals who are hustlers do so because they do not want to be employed and do not feel that an 8 hour work-a-day world will provide them with what they want in life. These occupations are attractive because they provide an individual cash-money as opposed to taxed dollars. (A guy having been laid-off from a local factory could drive a taxi cab without reporting the income.) Hustles will exist whether they are structured and organized or not. The former would be indicative of hustles requiring the "employment" of several individuals while the latter would involve one person and/or a few rap-partners, characteristic of burglary or robbery. Hustling is another way to survive and get those material things an individual would otherwise not be able to afford. Earning \$30-40 dollars a day, \$150 a week will not allow people to buy the

clothes or other things which make life more comfortable, easy to cope with. Others turn to hustling as a result of being unemployed or laid-off from a fulltime job. After exhausting their savings or when welfare payments do not provide for an acceptable lifestyle, hustling looms as a more desirable option. They could be unskilled workers or they could be "dangerous" because they "will not be denied." People also become involved in hustling because they are not satisfied with the standard of living afforded by their paycheck and look for alternatives to make money.

Hustles which are violence or potentially violent are not favored by many (let alone folks in the neighborhood). Hustles which rely on cunning and wit, or property oriented and non-violent are most attractive. Some of these hustles include dummy hustles (selling phony drugs such as slum weed or powdered milk as cocaine/heroin); car hustles where cars are stolen and sold or stripped and the parts sold; and refund hustles where items are stolen and then returned for the cash refund." Other activities in which people become involved include gambling, operating after-hour joints, theft, boosting, robbery, dope sales, "hanging paper," selling food stamps for cash and there were several selling bootleg alcohol, "white-lightning."

Hustles can also be divided along time and culturally specific lines. These hustles are geared towards both the younger and older people within the neighborhood. For example, hustles which provide services to older hustlers

include odd jobs without reporting the income, jitney, operating blind pigs and gambling houses, and salvaging items from abandoned buildings (i.e., mantels, copper plumbing, etc.,) and hauling trash. For example, some people in the neighborhood have operated successful "cabarets/dance hall clubs for people seeking affordable and late night entertainment spots. Another example in the neighborhood is a numbers operation which makes good money from people in the area supporting his "business."

The younger, upwardly mobile, hustlers gravitate toward activities that are more reflective of the street-life and fast-times. Again, these hustles fall into those which are legal or socially tolerated and those which capture the primary meaning of how the term is commonly used. "Macking (pimping), selling drugs, boosting and robbery (beasting-off), being a "handler" (money courier) or larceny by treachery are examples of tried-and-true hustles. "Other illegal outlets for the younger hustlers include preying on gays is an option for many young males. These individuals would be properly attired and pick-up gays in bars, perform sexual favors (pay to do sex games) for money, clothes, etc., "treat 'em like a real woman."

Though generally not considered a hustle, younger guys often make money by gambling. This can be easily accomplished by playing basketball games or doing trick shots with each other for money. Boxing was another sport in which money could be made and a reputation earned or

developed by being tough. Though not usually thought of as an inner-city sport, some guys would hustle others by playing tennis for money. (Before guys enter their teen years, "pitchin' pennies/quarters" is a sport for making extra money.) In addition, "...many young fellas try to play the girls for money, clothes, etc. For square janes, this means turning over some of the pay check to 'their man.' Other women who turn tricks, become whores by walking the streets to give 'their man' money.

Safety and "jail-time" are also considerations in the hustle which one chooses for an occupation. Hustles which are non-violent, as mentioned above, "carry less time" than those which are violent. The reality of prison is viewed as an occupation hazard, or place for higher education. However, once having served time, whether it is "a nickel or dime or even 'big Ben,'" people focus on activities which are less likely to receive a long sentence. "Hustling is not generally an activity which people can do successfully hustles are valuable and help those who have been well schooled in them. For those people who have worked the greater part of their lives or who have never had to hustle, or who have been associated with hustling before do not fare well. Prison becomes an eminent reward. Rather than learning the trade in their youth, these individuals are introduced late and often by the unskilled or novice craftsman."

Furthermore, hustles which are "safer" than others are sought after as well. These hustles attempt to place distance between the hustler and either the illegal activity and/or illegal items. An example would "...involve being a middle-man, the one who can make the connections. For example, the dope game provides for a big dealer to go through a middle-man to arrange deals with smaller, drug dealers. An individual wanting to purchase four ounces of heroin could use the services of a middle-man who will establish contact with the "big fella" who provides the merchandise. The middle-man is not present when the transaction takes place, but instead introduces the players involved. Similar situations exist when people are looking to sell large quantities of merchandise, televisions to furs, and do not know a fence. The middle-man can make the necessary arrangements."

The question of a commonality of experience in working-poor neighborhoods and the existence of survival crime is clear to those who live there. For example, "...this situation, being laid-off and having to hustle to make money, occurred to several members of my family. My brother and myself lost our jobs at the plant and turned to drug sales for making money. Though selling marijuana and cocaine did not represent a choice of careers for us, it did provide a lucrative income for a short period of time. While this situation may be more frequently associated with the inner-city, our clients were students from Western

Michigan University, who could readily afford the financial burden of drug use." Another family situation involved "...my three step brothers lost their jobs and turned to selling drugs to make money. In addition to them, my uncle lost his job and would drive a cab and not report the income he earned."

Other examples include a Chrysler worker who after being laid-off started to hustle; he never was called back by the plant. Hustling occurred after having exhausted his savings in approximately 90 (ninety) days. His hustles included sticking up "reefer houses," then proceeding to rob dope dealers, working people, and then small convenience stores. A lay-off at the Ford plant resulted in a guy delivering newspapers in the neighborhood while some others robbed loan companies and credit unions. Another example was a guy quit his mainstream job in order to sell dope which gave him more money in a shorter period of time. This also translated into a higher standard of living.

Though an occupation more prevalent for women than men, "people turn to prostitution as a lucrative opportunity. However there are differences as to the amount of wealth obtained and conferred status in the type of prostitute. Cass corridor whore is generally a street-walker who is less respectable and often less expensive. In addition, participation in other activities such as robbery or "running murphys," often at the expense of their johns, characterizes this individual. Massage parlor prostitutes

are a step higher because of the cost for services rendered and quality of business location. Woodward Avenue prostitutes can command higher prices and if this individual works off the street rather than on the street corner.

"Like business, hustling has to keep pace and modernize, become more sophisticated. Streetwalkers are no longer meeting customers on the street. Rather some are operating from high priced apartments, not cheap hotels in the inner-city. The stick-up man who used to rob by whim is now involved in planning, taking time to study the lay-out of a business, target, before attempting the robbery. Fencing operations now are legitimate businesses as well, fronts which sell hot items."

If people no longer hustled to make money, many of the legitimate businesses in the ghetto/neighborhood would close. Without the disposal income earned from illegal and/or unreported activities, these businesses would not have the capital to operate. Often the hustles support ghetto businesses; people get money and spend it in the neighborhood, and questions as to its origin are asked when a customer wants to buy goods from the store.

If indeed, hustling is a survival option chosen by the majority of its participants, the process of how individuals get involved raises the issue of the available "employment" opportunities for "would-be" hustlers. The occupational networks which hire workers often reflect the activities of business operations within the regular economy. Many of the

operations within the irregular, underground, economy include "independent entrepreneurs," small business operators and still larger organizations. It is from these networks and independents that serve as the role models and provide opportunities to people opting to make a living hustling, survival crime.

In Detroit, hustling has been part of the city's fabric from its earliest origins. Since WW II, there has been an evolution of hustles -- growing from predominantly "soft-hustles" such as con games, numbers, and blind pigs, in the 1950s to "harder hustles such as dope sales and robberies in the 1970s. The con games were more widespread in the "old days" in the 1950s and 1960s. For example, the Pigeon Drops involved conning people into "investing money" into phony scams -- selling false hopes.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the dope man sells whatever drugs give the great return of the dollar and include leisure drugs like marijuana or drugs such as downs and hard drugs like heroin and cocaine which bring a larger profit on one's investment dollar. This lifestyle includes fast women, and the night life. Frequently lives a glamorous life style which ultimately is short term due to prison and competition or failure to dominate competition -- death due to the violent nature of the business. A side hustle for the dope man or a peer in the business would be buying stolen items from boosters and car thieves or prostitutes and their pimps.

Occupational Hustling Networks
Dope Operations

Dope was a little-known operation and the dopeman an obscure figure who commonly sold marijuana in a 3 pack -- 10 joints -- for \$3.00 in the 1950s in Detroit. Dope had not made significant inroads into the community, parabolic was as much a drug of choice during this time as heroin to some degree. In order to survive and cope with the perils of the trade (arrest), the dope man in the 1950s would only be known by his friends/clients and not by strangers or the community at large, unlike today. Dope on the other hand became heavy in the community during 1968; the bug push occurred when marijuana and hashish started to become scarce. At the same time, "penny-caps," single hits of heroin selling for \$1.00, appeared and became plentiful. The primary target of the penny-cap were youths.

People who work at dope houses often are responsible for the transactions of goods to users, providing security, and transporting the "raw materials." People engaged in selling drugs often approach this hustle much like a businessman in the mainstream. A dope man essentially takes a raw product, i.e., heroin (poppy is the initial substance processed into a salable product), and then chopped into a larger quantity by adding substances (like powdered milk, talc, etc.) to the "pure" heroin. After this is complete, the raw product is through its processing and next is to package the product into ounces for larger sales or into "penny caps," nickel/dime bags, spoons, etc. for sale on the

street. Selling dope on the streets, "running," for a dope man is when a supplier gives packets of dope to a person to sell on the street. The runner gets \$2.00 and the dope man gets \$10.00 off of each packet.

Often times, there is a hierarchal structure in the dope sales business. At the top of the organizational chart are those individuals who run and finance the operations, often times this segment of the business does not become involved in the actual possession and distribution of drugs (all depends of the scope of operations and volume of business). From this level down, the next group of individuals serve as the wholesalers suppliers of the drugs, and possibly the money launders/accountants. Next would be at the retail level and these people operate the dope houses (sales, protection, etc.) and then young teens and children who may sell dope on the streets for the big dealers or act as couriers. The under age children/teens do not get arrested nor do they get taken off the streets when taken into custody by the police. Instead, they are released into their parents' custody and return to business as usual.

These establishments are generally part of a larger overall dope operation or it is a spin-off business dependent upon the sale of heroin for its existence. This business has a clientele similar to those of the street dealer who is employed by a "pusher" or a "big fella" selling drugs. Street junkies and drug addicted prostitutes frequent these establishments. In addition, small time

"entrepreneurs" who have specialized in aiding the drug addict work inside these places along with the regularly employed staff.

This establishment is predominantly associated with the drug world of heroin users, though today with the growth of the "crack" industry cocaine is no longer a "suburbanite drug of choice." This place is where small time dope sales take place with users purchasing enough to get high, an immediate fix. As the intensity of a habit varies from individual-to-individual, the number of visits to a shooting gallery or hit house can be numerous within a given day. In addition, the quality of the heroin will determine the frequency of visits by clients to maintain their highs.

Shooting Galleries and Hit Houses

Dope house operations vary in size and quantity of drug transactions and to the type of merchandise sold. While the term "dope" has been used when referring to drugs in general, it specifically refers to hard drugs, such as heroin or even cocaine. These operations include the small time operators selling drugs on a retail level to local area customers. These clients include heroin, cocaine and marijuana. Larger establishments, and operations, specialized in both function, the sale and use of drugs, and drugs for sale. The sale of hard drugs generates not only more income but has a larger profit margin on the wholesale level. For example, heroin can be processed more profitably than marijuana or pills.

Small scale operations or low-class establishments function as shooting galleries where drugs are sold and where people gather to use, i.e., taking heroin -- "China White" or "Mexican Mud" -- often sold in "penny caps." The people operating these establishments are few, often armed while selling drugs. Opportunities for people to "freelance" exist in some places. An example would be for individuals who are adept at locating the veins of a user in need of a fix. "Hardcore" junkies have injected drugs into their veins so often and for so long that they can no longer find a vein to shoot-up into or whose veins have collapsed that someone other than themselves would be required to inject the heroin. Large operations will employ more people and in several cases divide the responsibilities among the employed so that people do not have to do more than one thing at a time. For example, security would simply guard the establishment while others sell the merchandise. While not commonplace among these spots, some shooting galleries sell the implements for using drugs, such as needles, as opposed to those which make such items available as a "courtesy" to their customers.

A shooting gallery bears similarities to a hit house in many of its services to customers. Still at the lower end of the drug distribution occupation, the shooting gallery offers not only a place to shoot-up, the equipment to prepare and inject drugs and a spot to "enjoy" their high. However, it sells small quantities of drugs for individual

fixes for clients. Though a slight derivation from the hit house, it is enough to separate these two establishments.

The shooting gallery and hit house are often run down apartments and operate within the neighborhood. Inside these walls, the furnishings of the business are sparse and usually in deteriorating shape. The purposes of these establishments again is for the user to shoot-up heroin, not provide entertainment. The apartment may be divided into several areas designated for specific activities. Often a large area is reserved for the user to pass time while high. These places provide the bare necessities, such as pillows or simply benches on which people sit or lay down. The lighting in a shooting gallery is generally dim to black where people congregate after injecting drugs. The area where the drugs are actually injected may be lit fairly well so that people can see what they are doing. The floors are dirty and the walls are bare, covered only by faded, chipped paint. From the back of the apartment (near bathrooms) a foul smell/stench lingers in the air much like death awaiting its next customer.

Another room may contain a large table with several coffee cans sitting on top. These containers are filled with water/alcohol (an attempt at cleanliness and at being sterile) and they also contain "spikes," tools of the trade. Spikes are home-made needles often being converted nose/eye droppers with needles attached to one end, a complete "outfit." These tables also have candles and matches

scattered about with rubber tubes or other belt-type devices and bottle caps or tins. The candles are lit and are the stoves used to melt the heroin into liquid form necessary for injection. The rubber tube is used as a tourniquet to bring or make stand out the blood vessels, making injection easier. Once the heroin turns into a liquid then it is drawn up into the spike. The user then ties the rubber tube around the arm (or other body extremity) and carefully sticks the needle into a vein. Once blood enters the chamber of the needle, the needle is squeezed, a plunger is depressed, sending the heroin into the blood stream. There are two ways to inject heroin: one is main-lining where heroin is injected directly into the blood stream and another is "skin-popping" where the heroin is injected under the skin. Skin-popping does not provide the extreme sensation and high of main-lining. This room is generally set-off from the entrance near an exit or a separate entrance to where people "nod-out."

The occupational structure of the shooting gallery generally may consist of:

DOORMAN: Controls the entrance as to who is allowed to enter or not. If someone is not known by the doorman, entrance is forbidden. However, if accompanied by a known customer, a "stranger" can enter. The doorman may or may not be responsible for checking weapons and often carries a weapon for protection of the establishment.

SECURITY: This may be part of the doorman's duties. If not then security protects the premises from robbery attempts and police raids.

DOPEMAN: This may be the middle man who supplied the shooting gallery with its supply of drugs and paraphernalia. He also picks up the daily take and delivers it to his superiors -- "the big fella." He is the contact man or direct supervisor for the employees at the shooting gallery.

DOPEMAN: This individual provides a multitude of services to customers. They range from the actual sale of dope to the implements used for injection. The collection of money is also part of the job responsibilities, and the transfer to the money runner.

FREELANCE HIT

SPECIALIST: Usually in all shooting galleries or hit houses, there is a person(s) who specializes in injecting the drugs in cases where the addict cannot "hit" (inject) himself. As a result of a lengthy period of drug use, one's veins will collapse and become "burned out," making it difficult for the addict to find a vein and inject the drug. For a portion of the drug or a fee (\$5-10) the "hitman" will inject the drug. The fee will depend on the difficulty of locating a veing and the location of the hit (in the groin, foot, behind the knee, under the tongue, etc.)

TOP DOG/BIG FELLA

For example an eastside neighborhood housed several illegal operations, one of which was a "hit-house." People simply use this establishment as a place to "get high," inject drugs; hence the name "hit house." This establishment differed somewhat from a "shooting gallery" in that drugs were not sold on the premise. People would purchase heroin from their pusher, who could be connected to the hit-house but not operating from within the establishment. If drug sales did take place, the merchandise were pills, such as Tees and Blues (depressants, downs). Rather, this place sold "spikes," needles, and paraphernalia for injecting heroin. The hit-house also

provided addicts a place to inject drugs as well as to crash during their high. The hit-house would employ approximately 3 to 5 people depending on the size of the operation. The job responsibilities would include the sale of merchandise, security and a doorman who would be responsible for detecting robbery attempts as well as police raids. Side hustles even occur again for individuals who could locate the veins of others would inject the heroin for long term addicts. The cost structure would vary according to each shooter, junkie as well as the hit-house. For example, fees for injecting in the arm were approximately \$3.50 and \$5.50 for the groin area.

Another example involved a "family" business of one of those interviewed. "My uncle operated a dope house and he catered to several different types of clientele, users of hard drugs like heroin and people who used "leisure drugs" like marijuana or boot-leg liquor. He was the "big fella" and did not frequent his own establishment too often in order to keep distance between himself and what was going on in his business. There were three shifts in operation so that the house was always open for business. There was a captain in charge, with a lieutenant and sergeant under the captain's supervision. There were only two armed doormen responsible to prevent robberies and look-out for the police. In addition to these people working in the dope house, my uncle employed anywhere from 13-17 youngsters who would sell, "sling" drugs on the street for him. They would

pick up the dope from the sergeant or lieutenants and return the money to them when they would receive their pay. In addition, women used to operate side hustles inside the house. They would turn tricks with the customers in exchange for drugs."

Blind Pigs/Gambling Houses

Gambling houses (blind pigs) provide people with an establishment to gamble, drink, and listen to entertainment. Some of these places have been described as caberettes or little Las Vegases. People employed in the smaller operations may include bartenders, cooks, hostesses, "coupiers" operating the gaming tables, security, and waitresses. The gaming tables are supervised generally by an individual operating for example dice, tonk, Georgia Skins, and poker tables. Larger establishments may often employ more staff catering to larger clientele and may have more gaming tables. In addition, security at larger clubs, which are usually more sophisticated, has a greater range of responsibilities. For example, security staff conduct shake down customers for weapons which could be used in stick-ups or cause unwanted violence (murder). While alcohol and dancing are "Caberette" are more common place in many of the "high class" establishments; drug sales and forms of vice are often a party to the lower class establishments.

"After-Hours Joints" are small time operations which predominantly cater to people seeking entertainment after mainstream "clubs" have closed. Though often associated

with gambling houses, after-hours joints operate within the local neighborhoods and provide an outlet for people wishing to eat and socialize not only after hours, but more importantly within the neighborhood. These places provide tax-free employment to people even though the job itself does not require "hustling skills" in the completion of job responsibilities. The size of the "staff" is dependent upon the scope of the operations. For example, an after-hours club may have a waitress, cook, hostess, and security working. For example, a neighborhood establishment in eastside Detroit has a kitchen employing three female cooks and washers and a bar manned by three people, female and male. In addition, this place employed "accountants" to keep financial records and pay bills and a small security staff. The people working security were responsible for guarding the front door (two men), the back door (one man), and a couple of men who would frisk people at the door for weapons, conduct shakedowns. The purpose of security again was to protect both the operation itself and the customers from people trying to rob the establishment.

Numbers Operation Occupational Network

The numbers operations employs several types of workers, and depending upon the size of the operation, the actual number of people employed varies. The types of workers employed include: "runners" who make the rounds of the neighborhoods collecting numbers from individuals placing bets and/or places which serve as centers for people

to bet; "operators" who take phone calls and record the numbers from people calling in bets; "bankers" who record the numbers taken in a given day from the neighborhood bettors; delivery/doorman who take the assets to "central office" and serves as protection. People placing bets pick three numbers which can be played several ways: one would be to play the numbers straight; another would be to box the numbers which increases a players chances to win, but reduces the odds for betting (some operations offer 500 to 1 odds on a dollar bet while boxing a number would drop it to 200/100 to 1 odds).

The numbers man once operated in the highest social circles before drugs became popular and widespread. The numbers man now serves an older clientele, one not now associated with the criminal element. The numbers man usually is successful in terms of the usual trappings of the fast life, and often services all types of clients from the respectable to the young hoodlums. In the numbers racket, there is an absence of "heavy foot traffic" because bets are picked up by runners or recorded over the phone, much the same as a gambling operation with a bookie.

The following organizational chart provides a look into the employment grid of a numbers operation. While this may or may not represent a "typical" grid of how the numbers racket is organized, it does provide insight into the nature of this hustle. It is important to remember that the actual number of individuals employed will be dependent upon the

size of an operation, the association or size of a single operation with other operations in the "numbers industry" within a given geographic area, (local control or outside control) and/or the length of time an operation has been in business.

HOUSE

PHONE BANK

OPERATORS: These workers take phone calls and make the tapes for the number runners.

ACCOUNTANTS: These workers keep the account books of how much money is being played and on what numbers the money is being bet for a given day. This is done to inform the phone workers as to what numbers to lay-off and what bets to accept. This all figures in the pay-off for each day.

BOSS/CENTRAL OFFICE

FIELD

RUNNERS: These workers are the backbone of the numbers racket. They work the streets going from house-to-house and store-to-store collecting bets and taking numbers from clients. After making their rounds they return to the HOUSE so the bets can be recorded with the accountants. In addition, the runners deliver the winnings to their clientele. Some runners also drop off the day's assets and betting receipts from each field house at "central office."

Gang Association

Gang association began to gain prominence with the younger guys and was a source for people's reputations. Guys would participate in "gang-banging" to get reputations and provide a sense of self-worth through their loyalty to the gang, the family. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the Young Boys Incorporated gang was a highly respected, often imitated, and idolized group. Before this group, a

gang called the Black Stone Rangers captured the attention and imagination of young guys growing up in the 1960s, before the riots of 1968. Gangs of the time include the Bishops, the White Killers, the Seven Mile Dogs, Bishops, Chain Gang-Sheridan Players, the Black Killers, the Cooney Ohneys and the Earl Flynns.

An organization developed in the inner-city areas of Detroit and what started as small time heroin sales turned into a large scale operation with a large work force. This work was directed by adults, but the overwhelming majority of the labor was supplied by adolescents and teenagers. This organization also had a strict para-military structure and strick division of job responsibilities. Finally, the packaging of the heroin reflected the group's name, their name also became associated with quality, and finally unofficial uniforms came to be symbolic of this group, the Max Julian jacket (glass healed shoes and bossilino hats were symbols of the Errol Flynns gang). This group was well-armed and violent, often flagrantly defying city authorities. This group was Young Boys Incorporated (YBI).

YBI leaders are not out of the mold of the hard core drug dealers, but "bookish" guys not "sport" players or hustlers. When the dope guys get cracked (busted) competition grew as the "cartel or monopolies" were in prison. The YBI leaders moved in an preyed on the youngsters to "sling their dope" who had idolized them as heroes or role models because of large sums of money.

Boosters and Fence Operations

Operations tend to vary on the available merchandise, size and scope of operations. In places selling expensive items, security would be much greater and armed. Places selling items which are common place are much more representative of "mom and pop" stores. In the neighborhood, there is a Total Gas Station which provides customers with the usual products of a service station. However, while a legitimate business, this place houses a fencing operation for selling and buying stolen goods. Several of the regular "wholesale customers" include boosters of clothing, mostly women, who sell to the fence who in turn is a clothier for the local neighborhood residents who otherwise would not be able to afford those items. The Total Station employs seven workers, but the fencing operation is limited to the immediate individuals in buying and selling hot items.

In the neighborhood, a record shop would also sell drugs in addition to records and tapes. In addition, people who steal goods from others and from stores usually operate alone or in pairs. When pairs work together, they can be two men, two women or couples. A successful couple would be a "salt and pepper" team working together to steal goods. Fencing operations are also small time operations in which few people are working together for the same employer. People in this trade often handle the transactions between

"retail" customers and "wholesalers" who provide the merchandise.

Individual Hustles
Mack/Pimp/Player

People who demand respect and earn respect from peers in the street can be skilled in several different ways. For those who are prime candidates for survival crime the player or mack-man is but one role model to which they aspire. For example, there are people who personify success by the clothes they wear and the material goods which they possess, i.e., cars. Other individuals are known for their athletic prowess and their intelligence, cunning and wit. However, while not necessarily respected, there are some people who demand respect through fear. FEar because they are dangerous, "crazy," and because they possess weapons which they use to inflict upon their victims, i.e., aggravated assault, murder or rape, without fear or repercussion by others and by the law.

This is a person possessing a variety of skills and views life as a game, in which the key is to know the rules and take advantage of all available opportunities. For example, the con artist and con game or gambler/dopeman hustling for money. A pimp, or "mack," symbolizes the "hustler" as portrayed in popular culture. This individual operates a prostitution ring of women who sell their services in bars, bus stops, street corners, bordellos (whore houses), hotels or motels. The mack man lives off of women, prostitutes, but does not need to pimp women.

Stick-Up Man

There has been a evolution of the murphy man to the "Rayfield man" to the Gangster. The mode of operation has grown more violent where people relied more on their wits, then their physical strength to using weapons and injuring people not for protection, but for "fun."

The boss dog is an expression for those who use force in robbing people and/or ripping people off. Resistance may result in the bodily harm of those coming into conflict with the boss dog. A handyman of sorts in terms of the primary criminal activity in which the boss dog is involved. This is an individual who generally possesses little or no hustling skills outside of carrying a weapon -- a gun.

This individual chooses to rob people or "convenience-type" stores for relatively small amounts of money. This hustle requires frequent involvement. The stick-up man has a tendency to be "vicious" in that he can kill or seriously injure his victims (pistol-whip, shoot) without caring what happens. There has been an upsurge of rape and robberies and the individuals involved in this have been thought to be an extremely dangerous breed of "ganster," not hustlers. More in days passed, the stickup man was not interested in injuring people, but rather taking their money or valuables. A weapon is used to present the picture that resistance could prove fatal/dangerous -- a deterrent for resistance on the part of the victim.

Many of the skills involved in hustling have begun to deteriorate to brute force, indicative of the increasing rate of violent crime. The hustlers of the earlier post WW II days commonly relied on their wit and cunning. Today's hustlers rely on physical intimidation and using weapons, "artillery," in being successful.

The Murphy Game

The murphy man usually has a top reputation in that he does not resort to violence or the muscle of others to get over. Rather the murphy man is a con artist who is generally older than the other notable hustlers. It seems that experience in conjunction with common/people sense is a critical part of the skills for the murphy man. This can explain in part that older guys dominate this segment of the hustler job market. The MURPHY game is the type of hustle where a lady approaches a potential trick and leads him to a place where he has to check all his valuables. Once this is done the jong, the trick, is confronted by an accomplice of the "prostitute" as an "angry boyfriend" or "husband." This results in the john running away from what is thought to be a potentially violent situation.

This hustle is based on larceny by trickery. The object is to create the impression that the item(s) for sale are stolen and that they can be purchased for substantially less than what the retail cost is. The uniqueness of this particular hustle is that the hustler never displays the item of purchase.

The method of operation is simple. For example, an individual posing as a truck driver begins to frequent a bar, getting to know the bartender and several of the "regulars." After establishing his credibility as being one-of-the-guys, he begins to drop hints that he can get items (i.e., televisions) for far less than cost. The scam operates that on pay-days the hustler initiates the actual murphy game. He goes back to the bar and spreads the word that tonight is the night when he can pick up a number of items from another trucker friend, off the back of the truck. As the word spreads and orders are taken, the hustler asks for one of the regulars to hold the money and meet him at a designated spot, nearby trucking operations or truck stops.

The hustler takes further steps to "assure" the integrity of the deal when he demands that the regular hold the money until he completes the transaction with his contact -- a person never seen. The hustler then disappears behind the end of a truck to arrange the deal. After a short time, the hustler returns and says that his contact does not want to be seen and that they have taken the items off the truck and stacked them in the back of the rig. At this point, the hustler tells the regular that he has to take the money to his contact when upon his return they will drive to the rig and load up the items. It is then that once the regular hands over the money that the hustler goes

off to "pay his contact" and never returns -- having completed the murphy game.

Murphy Game Variation

Another version of the murphy game involves the coordinated action of at least two players, one female, the other male. The scenario generally focuses on a "john" looking to "party" with a prostitute. An example would include a hustler hanging in a bar where out-of-towners or suburbanites frequent. The male would establish contact with a potential john and after initial conversation, he offers the john his services as a contact. Once the arrangement is agreed to, then the female enters the scene. Just before the john and woman leave the hustler suggests that the john should take precaution not to cary his valuables into the room in case the woman tries to pick his pockets. The hustler offers to "hold" the items while the john "enjoys" himself.

Other variations include simple forms of this game to complex involvements; others still can rely on being very sophisticated and non-violent to being very crude and violent. All situations rely on a john wanting to pick up a prostitute. A sophisticated operation could be when a woman picks up a john and takes him to a hotel and registers as Mr. and Mrs. As they undress and prepare to have sex, in bursts two phony police officers. One plays the role of the bad cop while the other is the good cop. After an ugly scene between the bad cop and prostitute, the good cop takes

over and tries to settle the john down, asking his partner to leave with the woman. After the woman dresses, the two leave the good cop, who lets the john get dressed, and the john. The good cop begins to weave his web of empathizing with the john and initiates feelers for "taking money" to fix the situation. This hustle evolves over a couple of days and requires the john and hustler to make contact at the police station or court house. Money exchanges hands in order to get the right judge and then to get the charges dropped. The john in an attempt to keep his indiscretion quiet plays along figuring the money is well spent to avoid "getting" caught at home. Another, but crude and violent variation, is when the woman picks up a john and take him back to the hotel. After getting the room key, the woman's accomplice waits inside and attacks the john, often striking him with a blunt object and then they steal his wallet and valuables while he lays unconscious. This variation can be worked with the male being an enraged boyfriend, husband who catches the two in bed. At this point the john can resist and violence occurs or the john willingly gives up his valuables to get out safely.

A variation of the same theme would involve the same circumstances, but without the intrusion of a male partner and no violence. For example, this version, works when the prostitute works alone and picks up her/his trick and returns to the hotel. As the john is getting undressed in the bathroom, the woman (totally or partially undressed)

takes the john's valuables, quickly dresses, and runs out leaving the john in the bathroom returning to an empty room.

Still, in other circles, the Murphy Game is also called "high jive stuffin'." The murphy game is sometimes operated by small-time hustlers for relatively small stakes. This generally reduces the risks involved, which often is critical to those who participate. An example of this is when a john is tricked out of his wallet. A con engages his mark into a conversation, often at a bar which is known as a pick-up spot for prostitutes. After the john and the con get talking, the con "confides" to the john that he would be wise not to carry more money up to the room than is necessary to pay for services rendered, sex. The con, who has established a sense of credibility and honor with the john, suggests that the whore may try to rip him off or that her boyfriend may be waiting to steal his money after he has sex. The con offers to keep the john's valuables, promising that he will be staying at the bar until his return. The john agrees, and leaves with the prostitute to have his fling and the con has the john's wallet and other valuables which he steals as he leaves the bar shortly after the john and prostitute leave.

Selling Slum/Junk/Ghetto/Hock Jewelry

Selling "slum" is a hustle in which imitation (imos) items are sold for the popular "designer" labels -- clothing, jewelry, watches, etc. These items can be purchased from many legitimate "wholesale operations" and

the person engaged in the hustle will mark the product with false "price tags" and present the product as the actual designer product -- giving the illusion that it can either be "hot" or that he/she needs money quickly and must sell the piece quickly. This hustle relies on the "pigeon" to want "something-for-nothing."

In most large cities, there is a wholesale distributor which sells junk jewelry, in Detroit such a place is called Snyders located on Woodward Avenue. The object is to purchase "expensive" looking items that cost approximately \$5.00 each. These "look-a-like" brand names even have similar names as the "designer" brands, but with slight difference. For example, Longines is spelled Longgines or 14kt rings appear with the label 14ct. This deception is effective in not only hoodwinking the "mark," but allowing borderline legality by not "infringing" on trade names. The hustler sets up in various locations, at malls, street corners, etc. and approaches people to buy these "designer" products.

The key is to establish a credible story of why he wants to sell the item. Often a tag marked with a \$175 will accompany an item giving the illusion that it is a price tag. At first the hustler sets a steep price once the "mark" is nibbling on the bait. At that point, the hustler allows the mark to believe that he can be talked down from 175 to 75, thus getting a terrific bargain. The hustler though has made \$75 on a \$5 item. A hustler can even

purchase a peddler's license to further insulate himself from the police if stopped with his goods. Other goods which are popular include watches, clothing (designer jeans like Jordache), and other fashion apparel (like Gucci handbags).

3 Card Molly
--Peas In a Pod--

In this hustle, the hustler has a table on which rests three cards, two black queens and one red queen. The object is for the mark to guess which card is the red queen and if he does, he wins the bet. The hustle unfolds generally with an accomplice whose purpose is to attract others and give them the impression that the hustler can be easily beaten. The hustler allows his accomplice to win several passes, even though he may win an occasional round. Once others are drawn into the action the accomplice slides away and the hustler and his "mark" are left. The hustler will win and lose in the beginning to "hook" the mark. Eventually, the hustler will build to a big bet and win consistently because of his ability of slight-of-hand. The slight-of-hand operates by palming the red and one black queen in one hand while the other hand has the other black queen. The hustler shows the mark which order the cards sit while in his hand and then he is able to drop the red after/before the black queen (opposite way that they are arranged in his hand).

Salt and Pepper Hustles

These hustles are worked with a black and a white partner; generally one is a male and the other female. This team operates in predominantly white middle-class business areas in order to take advantage of racial biases on the part of merchants. By relying on stereotyping, this hustle is based on the notion that blacks, especially those dressed "poorly or as street types" cannot be trusted. The object is for the black partner to "shop" and divert the attention of the owners from the white hustler to the black. While their attention is diverted, the white hustler lifts the merchandise from the store and leaves. Meanwhile, the black partner remains in the store for a short time and then leaves, not allowing the owners to connect the two hustlers as a team. The places of operation are many and may include jewelry stores where items are small and can be concealed easily. Key ingredients are for the salt and pepper teams to dress appropriately in order to convey the proper image and to enter a store at a favorable time (shortly after opening so that the employees are busy preparing for the business day, and not to the early-bird customer). For example, a white male walks into a jewelry store and he is impeccably dressed and pretends to be a big spender wanting to purchase something for his girl friend. Moments later a black female enters and begins to cultivate and play on the store employees' stereotyping. While they concentrate on the black hustler, the white hustler fleeces the store of

select items. This hustle can be expanded by adding other actors to the scene. An example would be to have the "big spending" hustler be an invalid in a wheelchair, accompanied by a nurse, carrying a box with a false bottom. Enter another accomplice and the scenario unfolds as indicated above.

Survival crime is an equal employment opportunity sector which does not discriminate based upon creed, gender or color -- unlike many jobs within the regular economy. Though day-labor recruiting services are not in business to solicit workers for the hustling networks, openings abound in the underground economy's enterprises and for independent operators. Unlike mainstream jobs, those interested in a career in hustling become aware of these networks and opportunities by being exposed to them in their neighborhoods and having personal experience with individuals already employed as hustlers. Preparation and training for these opportunities again is not available through the local unemployment or Private Industry Council (PIC) office. Outside of time, on-the-job training and tutelage under a known hustler, inside or outside prison, are the ways individuals become skilled in the trade. The lifestyles and material possessions of hustlers in the neighborhood inspire and attract ensuing generations of participants in survival crime.

Despite the growth of jobs in an expanding economy, the proliferation of survival crime is linked to the thriving

success of hustles such as selling drugs. This also indicates that a growing segment of the population is not able to participate in the economic recovery impacting other portions of the mainstream. A growing gap between those having access to the "plum" jobs and those who do not have access to decent jobs, or at all, is becoming more evident. There is a connection between a declining productive sector and an expanding service sector because the jobs created tend to be those which are rejected by people favoring to hustle. Faced with these consequences, the choice of survival crime as a way to make a living is a prospect that is becoming more so than for previous generations of workers.

Hustles within survival crime have kept pace with those changes in the modern mainstream economy. The art of hustling has evolved in several areas, such as in technology (i.e., the processing of cocaine into crack) and in sophistication (i.e., the evolution in many con games which accounts for newly developed surveillance equipment at store or the use of new technologies, computers, in the operation of a scam). These innovations have also contributed to the continued lucrative investment involved in many survival crime options, i.e., drug sales. This has even brought into question the deterrence of prison in selecting opportunities within survival crime for many of today's young people; the price one has to pay for getting caught (prison) is far outweighed by the amount of money and material possession

accumulated. For people born into the ranks of the working poor and dislocated, the experience of prison has become trivialized so that it is viewed as an "occupational hazard" or even as a "right of passage" to adulthood.

Hustles have become not only ingrained within the subculture within many neighborhoods, but it has taken hold with the mainstream culture as well. Drug use is portrayed as being glamorous (beautiful people do it) and widespread (part of the fasttrack life) in movies and television. Another example, involves the numbers racket which has been coopted by several state authorities. Many states have legitimized betting on numbers by running, funding and promoting lotteries (often a funding source for education and other public projects). New York City has even ventured into the horse race betting business by operating Off-Track Betting (OTB) office to challenge the money collected by illegal bookmakers.

Private sector businesses have not lagged behind their public sector counterparts. In the numbers racket, for example, stores within the local neighborhoods have sold "dream books" for decades. These books would help customers determine the three digit number to which their dreams correspond. In addition, people have sold their services as advisors who would uncover the number symbolic of one's dreams or intertwined with one's horoscope or fortune. These outlets hold out the hope of being lucky, lucky enough to hit the number for the day, "straight or boxed." Other

examples include the rise of underground headshops to chic curious shops selling drug paraphernalia. These items include pipes, rolling papers, storage tubes, miniature spoons and kits containing mirror and a place for razor blades. These items are becoming acceptable goods for sale at local convenience stores much like candy and soda.

As mentioned above, these examples of hustles are not exhaustive of the range of opportunities and merely serve as glimpses into the world of survival crime. Though not an officially measured portion of the economy, the underground sector is growing and is a powerful presence within depressed neighborhoods. Many of these neighborhoods are cultivating grounds for people ripe to choose survival crime rather than employment within the mainstream labor market. With quality employment opportunities being limited and with the living standard rising faster than what is regarded as a "living wage," survival crime becomes more viable and hustles more prevalent.

Chapter Six
Survival Crime: A Continuing Dilemma
for People and Society

The previous chapters have focused on the general question of how people make a living, but specifically on the proposition of survival crime. In doing so, the following areas have all been addressed in various detail: the concept of survival crime and theories of criminology, a cultural history of black labor, the place of crime within the cultural history of American society in general and particularly within the black community, and finally specific examples of survival crime, individual hustles as well as hustling networks. In doing so, the role of crime in mainstream culture, particularly as it has impacted on the black experience, has been presented.

In retrospect, the motivation for examining the issue of survival crime stemmed from the linkages between access to economic opportunities, the changing nature of the overall economy. Many criminologists have stipulated that being denied access to employment opportunities has created conditions which make the crime a more viable and likely option. This situation is especially pertinent to the black working poor who have been denied a chance to participate. In addition, the history of struggle for working poor people to gain a foothold in society, socially, politically and economically, has further clarified the place of crime in the mainstream. Again, the history of blacks has not only illustrated similarities of experience, but described specific

differences. Over time, these events have shaped and molded their expectations about the kinds of available opportunities and what it would take to participate in the mainstream.

In an economy that is in the throes of change from an industrial base to a service base, the choices of how people make a living have evolved. Traditional opportunities such as jobs in the auto plants, meat packing plants or steel mills have given way to jobs in the hotel/restaurant industry, computers and communications. The new economic frontier demands different job skills from those of the past as well as increased educational requirements. Welders and spray-painters, once important cogs along the auto plant assembly line, have been replaced by robotics. Electronic workers stand in lines at the employment office looking for work as plants have closed and moved overseas. In addition to trying to find work with antiquated job skills, workers face a reduction in wages for the existing jobs. What kind of future will there be if society continues to make people redundant in terms of how they fit into the mainstream labor market?

For most people unemployment is a temporary problem limiting their quality of life in the short run. Education and marketable job skills are tools by which people secure new jobs, assisting them through these difficult periods. Despite these temporary setbacks,

these individuals are the ones who abide by the rules and do what society prophesies as traits necessary to be successful. These people believe that the system works and remain allied to the mainstream and that way-of-life. However, for individuals who do not have the self-discipline, education and/or job skills to compete and succeed in the mainstream labor market, the converse is true. Often feelings of despair, desperation and frustration influence their perceptions of what it takes to be successful and consequently affects the choices of alternative courses of action and how they interact socially with others. They feel that they must take matters into their own hands, and do whatever they feel is necessary to provide for themselves. For these people, the system does not work and never will.

The options for making a living though are not limited to simply two choices, jobs or crime. Before people are forced to resort to hustling, government assistance is an option of last resorts. The question between hustling and receiving government assistance (welfare) addresses similar concerns. The belief that a man should fend for himself is quite compatible with the notion that he should not accept welfare because it is degrading to his stature as a man. "Welfare is a dead end; it is only for people who are unable to help themselves such as the women, children and old people." If the only available or viable alternative is crime,

then hustling becomes this individual's career choice. As a last resort, there are instances when people, for whom welfare is socially or morally unacceptable, subscribe to government assistance as a temporary solution. Hustling becomes an option when either the reality of accepting government assistance conflicts with one's values or when the time waiting for the paper work to be completed produces high levels of stress because issues of survival become acute.

In understanding this predicament, people are confronted with the task of synthesizing various pieces of information in competing for jobs within the mainstream market. For example, in determining how to make a living, individuals must recognize what marketable job skills they possess and then decide if there are employment opportunities demanding these skills to which they can apply. In addition, people have to identify the educational backgrounds which are required for holding specific jobs as well as the kinds of experiences that are needed. In making these assessments, people consider other information such as transportation costs, geographic location and quality of work environment in determining how to make a living.

People's perceptions about their environment and their place within it are influential in their decisions about how they will make a living. These perceptions are a unique blend of several factors including their

expectations of a quality life and having access to meaningful employment opportunities. Failure to bring into equilibrium individual expectations and opportunities (quality of opportunities) for success increase the likelihood for crime. The fear of poverty and the frustration and resentment of not being able to share in society's wealth have both "pushed" people into committing crime as well as "pulled" to becoming criminals in order to obtain those material goods which they could otherwise not realize. Left with limited choices for making a living how will these people adapt?

In terms of activities, survival crime is not substantively different from crime in general. Specifically, there are certain subtleties which need to be addressed. In part these distinctions can be differentiated between the "inexperienced" and "professional" who have each selected crime as their profession. "How you pay the rent..." is indicative of these differences because professionals view their activities as their "job," a career. Inexperienced hustlers fall into two types: one in which an individual is simply a novice and the other in which participation in crime has been dictated by external causes more so than by internal. Today's hustler (survival criminal) is geared to taking things now and views his actions only in terms of the present without regard to the future. "Survival is a matter of fortuity, instinct, ingenuity

and unavoidable conditioning. Consequently, the manchild who survives is usually more cunning, more devious and often more vicious than his middle-class counterpart. These traits are the essential contents of his survival kit."

Survival crime is also pursued to augment an individual's legitimate, though meager, income. Not only can survival crime be an attractive alternative because of the money, but the "working conditions" can be more attractive. Generally, the hours required "working" and the amount of effort involved in operating successful hustles can be fewer and less stressful than being employed at a low wage, menial job. When combined with receiving "nontaxable income," the relatively short hours and the conducive or stimulating work environment make survival crime more desirable than many available jobs. When faced with choices between hustling and being employed at minimum wage jobs (i.e., a clerk at a convenience store or counter work in a fast food restaurant) people ordinarily do not fervently pursue these job opportunities. Low salaries, limited mobility, no job security and inadequate job benefits tend to dissuade individuals from filling these vacancies. People are not willing to take these jobs primarily which are lacking both money and status because they are not willing to "clean up behind nobody." Yet, what are the remaining choices available to people?

How society is organized has a direct and indirect effect upon people. Given the preeminence of business and the sanctity of the marketplace, mainstream values often reflect the notion that people are judged not by their stature as people but by their net assets. Standards of importance and success are focused on the dominance of wealth and power where the rich are successful and the poor failures. In addition to these cultural issues, the environment in which people live has further impacted on their survival options. The inner cities have become modern wastelands in terms of current opportunities and future growth development.

The middle-class has abandoned the inner-city, taking businesses and community stability (a tax base) with them to the suburbs. This has drained the economic life which once offered the working poor their opportunity to participate in the labor market. Jobs were not the only tie to the mainstream to leave the inner-cities, but cultural and social conduits (i.e., central business districts and recreational events) drawing people into the mainstream also disappeared and changed. People, who were unable to support themselves and their families from the jobs which remained in the cities, were also alienated from the very society which has cast them adrift. Not only has the absence of jobs pushed people to the margins of society, but not being able to participate in the material and social cultural

mainstream has further distanced the working poor.

In the absence of quality jobs, thriving criminal networks often represent the growth industries and cultural meccas in many neighborhoods. For many the symbols of success are found within the subculture of hustlers, who consist of both the professional and amateur survival criminal. For as many successful hustlers live within the inner-cities, there are ten-fold the number of "failures" who have worked hard all their lives and have not profited from their struggles. To the disfranchised and to the young growing up, success is defined in the same terms as in the mainstream, wealth and power. In the inner-city, access to these jobs and career planning/training are at best scarce. Conversely, the opportunities for hustling and becoming part of a hustling network are more readily available and more profitable.

Poverty reinforces the role models presented by the hustlers and criminals within the local neighborhoods who symbolize success as determined by material wealth. Feeling and being disfranchised from the mainstream translates into people living in a crisis of destructive experiences. These experiences have been conditioned by structural unemployment, an absence of meaningful participation in the political and social processes, generational dependency on government assistance, functional illiteracy, and redundant job skills. It is

these people who feel no compulsion to abide by the societal laws and norms primarily because they do not apply to them within their lives.

A question that society has not successfully addressed is what to do with unemployed and underemployed workers and young people who are not competing for jobs in or seeking to be part of the mainstream. In a society that perpetuates problems of incorporating the young and poor, these groups are being lost to the trappings of the hustling network of survival crime. As the formation of the job market changes the young generation, and all adult workers, must keep abreast of such changes or fall behind. This is clear in terms of preparing oneself for the modern economy and being able to change as the nature of jobs change. By not planning for a future, career planning, young people are not prepared for entry into the job market, becoming the "Lost Generation."

While issues of legal segregation have been addressed through legislation, participation in the American Dream has become defined in terms of commercialism. The size of one's bank account allows people to buy their piece of the dream; yet in order to be able to do this, how one makes a living is vitally important. A quality job is determined by the degree of purchasing power derived from its salary and not by the challenge of the skills involved. Jobs which do not pay adequate wages are not highly valued and are not

considered as viable career choices. The American Dream has evolved to become correlated with an individual's ability to buy or own those material items advertised by business. Though these are the ideals of success and happiness in the mainstream, there are a limited number of quality jobs and consequently, not everyone can enjoy the "high-life." Despite this reality, the ideals and means for becoming successful do not change and conform to meet these material conditions. "This is what (an array of material goods such as a house, car, expensive clothing, etc.) you're supposed to have, but (the authorities) spank your hand in trying to get it (illegally)."

In general people react to deprivation in ways that are compatible with the prevailing norms. However, many do not and in doing so, they establish a set of social norms to guide their behavior. There are similar linkages between how people respond to their environment, societal values/culture, and their perceptions of available survival options. Yet, the code of this subculture conflicts in part with many of the tenets of mainstream values. The issue of survival crime is not intended to justify their choices, but rather point out factors, a history of experience, that influence people's choices as to how they make a living. Working at a job in the regular economy and participating in survival crime are results from their assessments of events and

factors from various sources within and outside of their control. For blacks and whites, crime is an option, a readily accessible option, through which they feel that they can "correct" the imbalances in life between the way they actually live, the way they expect to be able to live and the way in which they want to live.

Whether or not people opt to hustle rather than receive welfare or be employed, this dilemma focuses on the linkage between quality of life issues and the ability to be creative and experience self-determination. People need to feel challenged and fulfilled in terms of the gratification received from their "job." An absence of these values transforms a job from being an integral part of a person's make-up to being simply a means to an end. Problems of boredom and inefficient work on the assembly line have been traced to workers feeling alienated from their jobs. The individual tasks performed have no meaning to the final outcome for workers. The separation between conception and execution of the job has reduced the job to merely a paycheck. In response to this situation workers turn to activities outside of the job in order to find meaning and fulfillment. When their needs are not met from recreational activities because of inadequate salary, alternative ways to make a living are sought.

In terms of violating the social norms and society laws, these considerations were not significant factors

affecting their decisions. For many, how they made a living was primarily a means to an end. Consequently, survival crime was thought to be a deviant act, but just another type of "job." This perception is the result of an assessment of their unique situation and circumstances by the participants of survival crime. When people's survival is literally at stake, crime as a means to make a living can frequently be a choice of "what they do best" or "the-lesser-of-two-evils." In situations in which people choose crime to earn extra income, it indicates a dissatisfaction with their present standard of living and what their perceptions are regarding their right to share in the American Dream are in terms of how they ought to make a living. Quality of life issues are a product of their subjective assessments about what they need/deserve from society, their subsistence rights.

Furthermore, survival crime has taken on additional meaning with the younger generation. The type of lifestyle which can be obtained from hustling is what motivates these young hustlers. For these young hustlers, survival crime is a job to make money, pure and simple, and they are not concerned with the craft of hustling. They are concerned with image and return on investment, not in developing their skills for the long term as successful hustlers. "MO (motis operandi) is everything: what they (young hustlers) want is to be hip, get on the wild...not just one thing (hustle), but

several things such as sellin' dope, stickin' up, sellin' hot goods and beasting-off folks...." Instead of developing skills for one specific hustle in which to specialize, "Murphy games or selling slum," the young focus simply on the bottom-line. Their concern focuses on how much money can they get and how much effort and time it will take to "earn" the money.

Many factors exist which have seriously impacted on the family which has traditionally been an environment crucial to the development of the mores and values of the young. Today external pressures and dynamics are pulling the family apart and it is often impossible for the family to maintain its traditional functions. Consequently, the survival of the family as we know it in terms of its nuclear structure and as a conduit for incorporating the preceding generations into society is at stake. The labor market is geared to producing either high wage jobs requiring technical skills or professional training or low wage, menial jobs. When coupled with the growing numbers of single parent households (especially female-headed), these pressures raise still more questions of the ability of the family unit to stay in tact. For the young and unskilled, participating in the American Dream through traditional means is not readily feasible or at times practical. People have trouble making ends meet from jobs paying at or just above minimum wage. The burning desire to have what others

have is not tempered by the fact that one's income is unable to accommodate such desires.

In terms of economic security, the experiences of workers who have had the "bottom fall out" are similar to those of workers to be, the younger generation. The youth of individuals, who are involved in survival crime, reflects behavior that indicates young people do not perceive that they have a stake in society and that society does not provide for opportunities for them. Some experience their first period of incarceration as an adult shortly after the age of sixteen. This reflects problems of incorporating people into the job market for the first time. While this may not fully explain the impact of job dislocation on displaced workers, it suggests that young people's perceptions of what their future possesses is that crime is both a viable and conceivable career choice for making a living. For the young, the range of survival options is determined in part by the economy, but it also is tempered by the options chosen by their parents or significant others. The success which these role models have achieved often guide young people to follow in their footsteps. Being just like their middle class counterparts in the mainstream, the children of the working poor want to experience the riches that society offers. If legal employment cannot address their needs and the experience of the parents reinforces this fact, the young, as their

adult role models, consider alternative survival options, of which is crime perceived as being practical.

Survival crime is also perceived as a short term, stop-gap, measure to satisfy immediate needs, it can become "...a habit as the money (gets) good." When people begin to experience an increase in their standard of living, either through working or hustling, new bills and wants replace the preceding ones. When this occurs pressure builds in handling these demands. If one's job is not able to make ends meet and/or if one is laid-off (terminated), other avenues for generating income are needed. Situations such as these "...squeeze on an individual to do what they do best (stickin' up-armed robbery) to maintain.... A key issue is how fast and how much money is needed...." Young hustlers are driven by the desire/need to have material items symbolic of a quality life within the mainstream. These individuals turn to survival crime to have both pocket-change and material goods because they are obsessed with what they perceive as their right to have the same things which people with money have.

Though an alternative career choice for some, survival crime serves as a vehicle for survival and for chasing the American Dream. The inability of people to provide for their survival and that of their family reinforces beliefs that they are victims of a system that is beyond their control, or fate controls their destiny.

Feeling that they are in a powerless position, trying to make a living without marketable job skills and adequate education, people tend to strike out on their own to "take" what they want and what they feel they're entitled to have. In doing so, people fail to take into consideration the rights of others which have become secondary to their own quality of life.

What is the answer, or deterrent, to the prevalence of survival crime? This question assumes that this issue is one dimensional and can be addressed as such. Previous efforts reveal that solutions were formulated after the fact; once a crime was committed, remedies were then developed. These solutions were based on the belief that incarceration or rehabilitation would prevent individuals from committing future crimes. While these solutions were designed to punish offenders, their failure was rooted in the omission of linking crime with the social conditions spawning crime.

Prison has proven to be a partial deterrent for individuals considering these positions. However, this generally occurs subsequent to an individual's imprisonment (first time offense) or when people reach a certain age and have grown weary of being incarcerated. Among those people interviewed, the majority who opted to be employed regardless of the job's salary and status were older, generally the youngest being in their early 30s, and have been incarcerated from several years

(usually over 8 years) or several times. These individuals indicated that being employed at any kind of job was preferable to returning to prison. Prison is a consequence that almost every "survival criminal" will experience during their career.

A common theme running through the questionnaires and interviews was the process of how people became involved in hustling. People addressed questions regarding their perceptions about the meaning of work, welfare and hustling specifically as ways to make a living. How people provided for themselves focused on two major criteria: providing the basic necessities and realizing a quality living standard, lifestyle. One centers on the question of whether or not an individual's income will generate a satisfactory standard of living or quality of life. The other focuses on job itself; is the work demeaning, degrading and/or routinized for people to be challenged or satisfied. There has to be a balance between these issues and what is available in the mainstream labor market. If one's income comes up short of the desired living standard, either one's living standard will decrease or hustling begins to be a viable option to make a living. Low paying and demeaning jobs tend to pull individuals to participating in survival crimes and push them away from entering the mainstream labor market.

Many offenders, both young and old, have indicted that incarceration is an answer to those who choose survival crime as a way to make a living (Prison has been referred to euphemistically as the university of crime). Many have indicated that they have and will be employed upon release from prison. However, the jobs for which they qualify do not pay well enough to prohibit them from hustling as well. Being unskilled and lacking job experience, the kinds of jobs available are low paying, provide little advancement, and inadequate benefits. To them, this represents "making the best of a bad situation." The job would provide steady income and equally as important a front for hustling by deflecting suspicion of their involvement in crime. For these individuals, the combination of working and hustling is how they have approached making a living in the past and how they will upon release from prison.

If prison is not a viable deterrent, what can be done to address the issue of survival crime? Survival crime is a multifaceted issue and there is no one single factor alone that explains the scope and totality of survival crime. Therefore it is important to recognize that it does have not a simple cause-effect relationship and it requires a multi-factor analysis. Various factors influence people's participation and include unemployment, underemployment, educational deficiencies, limited job skills, etc. People are only able to

participate in those activities which society has made available, and these are predominantly determined by factors outside an individual's control. For example, the structure of the economy, the extent of social relations and openness of the political structure impact on the type and number of opportunities. Because available options for making a living are limited in terms of producing a quality life, society has contributed to these problems and bears responsibility in developing solutions.

While it is easy to point out society's involvement in these problems, this does not minimize the responsibility of the individuals for the consequences of their actions. The fact that there exist certain factors and circumstances which push people towards crime does not automatically translate into people doing so. The point to consider is that people do have a choice as to what they do with their lives. People are not automatons who are programmed to react in specific ways when confronted with certain circumstances and conditions. For example, if an individual is turned down from several jobs, lives in poverty, experiences pressure of mounting bills and has limited job skills, is it realistic to expect that this person is automatically a criminal or committing crimes because he is supposed to act this way? If this truly were the case, all poor people, especially those locked out of participating in the mainstream or

unable to compete for quality jobs would then be criminals. This simply is not the case because people do make choices.

(In considering solutions for the existence of survival crime, it is critical to establish linkages with all factors contributing to this problem. These factors include areas in which both individuals and society share responsibility. For example, issues such as job training and career counseling need to be available for both the displaced, unemployed worker as well as for individuals preparing to enter the job market. People need to understand the dynamics of a changing economy and what the requisite job skills for the present are and what the future will demand. As indicated earlier, a factor pushing individuals to crime is the absence of requisite job skills. Other issues which contribute to minimizing the viability of survival crime include vocational training and education programs. In addition, areas of social skills training, career development, financial planning, family planning, housing development, nutritional programs, daycare programs, etc. are all elements of the overall causes which lead people to and attract people to survival crime. However, programs addressing these issues, and more, have been developed and are still in operation to some degree today (the debate as to the success and scope of these programs continues).

What these programs do not adequately address is the responsibility of individuals. People share responsibility for their own actions and cannot rely simply on government programs and private initiatives to solve problems for them. If opportunities for job training exist, then it is the duty of individuals to take advantage of such programs. In order to plan for their future, people need to seek advice and support from "planned parenthood centers" and from school counselors. There is no guarantee for that people share in the wealth of this society equally, but rather people share in having opportunities to participate. People then must take the initiative to provide for themselves within the framework of those opportunities which society offers. People's participation outside of this framework illustrates their involvement in crime, survival crime.

In conclusion, participation in crime ultimately is a decision which every individual makes. The choice of crime is not inevitable simply because people are poor and disadvantaged. At the same time though, being a criminal is not solely the fault and responsibility of the individual. U.S. Representative John Conyers concluded that crime is as much an act of desperation caused by joblessness, poverty and community disintegration as it is wanton disregard for the rights of others. Crime grows dramatically when society has deteriorated in its ability to provide for the well-being

of its people so that they feel compelled or "forced" (the lesser of two evils) to hustle (stealing, robbery, narcotic sale, or prostitution) as an acceptable means of survival. In brief, crime is fostered and perpetuated by the socio-economic consequences of a system rooted in indifference towards the disadvantaged and marginal.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
Structured Interview Questions with Offenders

1. Where did you live before being incarcerated?
2. With whom did you live before being incarcerated?
3. How old are you now? How old were you before you were incarcerated? (first case)
4. Are you married? Were you married before your incarceration? Do you have children?
5. A) Before incarceration, what was the highest grade you completed in school?

What did school (going to school) mean to you?
What was your school like (building, teachers, students, etc.)?
Why did you go to school?
Why did you stop going to school?

B) What is the highest grade/level in school which you have completed now?

Why are you going to school now?
What does school (going to school) mean to you now?
Is it important to you to get an education before you get out?
6. How much money were you making before being incarcerated? Ex. per month, per week, per day, or a good day versus a bad day.
7. How did your mother, father or brothers and sisters make a living? Did your girl friend work or how did she make a living?
8. Describe your neighborhood to me -- the sights, sounds, smells of where you grew up?
What was your neighborhood like?
What is different about the Eastside versus the Westside of Detroit?

9. What things were important to you when you were growing up?
10. What thing(s) did you like to do while you were growing up?
11. What did you want to do/to be when you were growing up? What things did you want to do before you were incarcerated?
12. Who did you want to be like? Why?
13. What things had an influence on you or had an impact on you while you were growing up?
14. Who had an influence or an impact on you while you were growing up?
15. What kind of person (or people) did you respect? Why?
16. What was the type of person or kind of person (people) whom you looked up to while you were growing up? Why? Describe them.
17. Did you have a "rep" while you were growing up? What kind of "reps" were there in your neighborhood?
18. Did you have any heroes as a youngster/teenager? Was there someone whom you wish you could be like?
19. Describe the following individuals:
 - A) The Dope Man
 - B) The Numbers Man
 - C) The Murphy Man -- Con Man
 - D) The Pimp
 - E) The Boss Dogg -- The Top Dogg -- The Dogg
20.
 - A) How did you make a living?
 - B) What does making a living mean to you?
21.
 - A) Were you employed before you were incarcerated? If so, at what? List your jobs.
 - B) Were you laid-off? If so from what job and employer?
 - C) Were you unemployed? If so, why and for how long?
22. What does it mean to you to be employed?
23. Have you ever refused or turned down a job? If so, what?

24. Have you ever been denied a job? If so, at what and why?
25. Have you always looked for a job? How often would you go out and look for a job?
26. Have you ever been on welfare? If so, for how long and why?
27. What does welfare mean to you? What does being on welfare mean to you?
28. What does hustling mean to you? Describe and define hustling.
29. Have you ever hustled? Have you ever hustled to make a living? If so at what, why, and for how long?
30. A) What kinds of hustles are there? List some examples. Are all hustles illegal and if not explain and name both legal and illegal hustles?
B) What hustles do you respect/admire the most? Why?
31. If you had a choice between a job as a construction worker and hustling, which would you do and why? Would you do both?
32. If you had a choice between a job as a factory worker on the line and hustling which would you do and why? Would you do both?
33. If you had a choice between a job as a janitor and hustling which would you do and why? Would you do both?
34. If you had a choice between a job at Big Boy's or MacDonald's and hustling which would you do and why? Would you do both?
35. If you had a choice between a job as a clerk (sales clerk) and hustling which would you do and why? Would you do both?
36. If you had a choice between welfare and hustling which would you do and why? Would you do both?
37. Why do people get involved in hustling?
38. Do you know anyone who has lost their job and turned to hustling to make a living? Explain.

39. Have you heard of anyone in your neighborhood or anywhere else who had lost their job and turned to hustling? Explain.
40. Are there people inside the penitentiary who turned to hustling after losing their job?
41. Do you know people who could not find employment and turned to hustling to make a living?
42. What does the Street mean to you?
What does the Street Life mean to you?
What does the Fast Life mean to you?

APPENDIX B
Structured Group Questionnaire

Where did you live before you caught your bit?

How old are you now?

How old were you before you caught your bit?

Are you married?

If so do you have any children?

Describe the neighborhood in which you grew up and/or lived before your bit. The sights, sounds, people, homes, noise levels, violent/non-violent etc.

What did you want to be or want to do while you were coming up? Did you want to be like anyone?

Did anyone (or people) have an influence on you when you were coming up? If so describe their influence and why they had an influence on you.

What kind of person did you respect or admire when you were coming up? Explain.

Did you have any heroes when you were coming up or did you want to be like someone who you may have known or have seen? Explain.

Before you caught your bit what was the highest grade in school that you finished? What did school mean to you?

What was the school like that you went to? What did you do? Why did you go?

Are you in school now? If so what does school mean to you now? Why are you going to school?

What does making a living mean to you?

How did you make a living? (for jobs please give date when you were employed, the salary which you earned, how long you worked at a given job, what kind of work you did. If you need more room use the back of this page.)

Were you employed before you caught your bit? If so, at what?

Had you been laid off before you caught your bit? If so, from what job and how long?

Were you employed before you caught your bit? If so how long?

Have you ever turned down a job? If so, why and what job?

Have you ever been denied a job? If so, what job and why?

Before you caught your bit, did you look for jobs regularly?

What does it mean to you to be employed? Explain what you mean.

Have you ever been on welfare? If so, why and for how long? (If more than once why?)

What does being on welfare mean to you? What does welfare mean to you?

Before you caught your bit, how much money did you make? Per week _____ or Per day _____

What does hustling mean to you? Explain.

What kinds of Hustles are there? Give examples of some.

What kinds of hustles do you admire/respect most? Why?

Have you ever hustled to make a living? If so, at what and why?

If you had a choice between a job as a construction worker and hustling which would you choose? Why? (Would you do both, if so why?)

If you had a choice between a job as a factory worker and hustling which would you choose? Why? (Would you do both, if so why?) Use the back if you need more space.

If you had a choice between working as a janitor and hustling which would you choose? Why? (If you would do both, why?)

If you had a choice between working at Big Boys/MacDonald's and hustling which would you choose? Why? (If you would do both, why?)

If you had a choice between working as a clerk and hustling which would you choose? Why? (If you would do both why?)

If you had a choice between going on welfare and hustling which would you choose? Why? (If you would do both, why?)

Why do people get involved in hustling?

Do you know or have heard of anyone who could not find work and turned to hustling? If so, describe their experience or experiences -- please no names.

Do you know anyone or heard of anyone who had been laid-off from work and turned to hustling in order to make it? If so, describe their experience or experiences -- no names.

From your experiences is hustling a way of life in your neighborhood? If so, why? Explain. (Use the back of this page for more writing space.)

I agree to participate in this research project and realize that the answers which I give will be held in the strictest of confidence.

NAME:

NUMBER:

APPENDIX C
Class Project -- Survey Questionnaire

1. Name (Optional) _____
2. Place of Residence
before Incarceration: _____
3. Race: Black ____ White ____
 Native American ____ Asian ____
4. Age: 18-29 ____ 30-39 ____ 40-49 ____
 50-64 ____ 65 and over ____
5. Marital Status: Single ____ Married ____
6. Education Background:
 - A. Prior to Incarceration what is the highest grade completed?

6-9th grade ____ 10th grade ____
12th grade ____ 1-2 yrs. college ____
3-4 yrs college ____ Masters Degree ____
Ph.D. Degree ____
 - B. Currently, what is the highest grade completed?

6-9th grade ____ 10th grade ____
12th grade ____ 1-2 yrs. college ____
3-4 yrs college ____ Masters Degree ____
Ph.D. Degree ____

7. Prior to incarceration, what was your income level:

0-2,999_____	3,000-4,999_____
5,000-7,499_____	7,500-9,999_____
10,000-11,999_____	12,000-14,999_____
15,000-19,999_____	20,000-24,999_____
25,000-29,999_____	30,000-39,999_____
40,000 & over_____	

8. "How did you earn your living?:

A. Were you employed at a regular job?

Yes_____ No_____

If yes, what was your occupation?

B. Were you on welfare (government assistance)?

Yes_____ No_____

If so, how long?

C. Were you involved in hustles*?

Yes_____ No_____

If so, what and how long?

9. What was your family's income level:

0-2,999_____	3,000-4,999_____
5,000-7,499_____	7,500-9,999_____
10,000-11,999_____	12,000-14,999_____
15,000-19,999_____	20,000-24,999_____
25,000-29,999_____	30,000-39,999_____
40,000 & over_____	

10. "How did they earn their living?

Were they employed at a regular job? Yes___ No___

Were they on welfare (government assistance)?

Yes_____ No_____

If so, how long?

*Things that are considered against the law or that you did not file a tax return on.

11. How did you support yourself (and family)?
12. What does it mean to you to have a job?
13. Have you ever been denied a job? What prevented you from finding work?
14. Have you ever refused a job? If so, what job did you refuse and why?
15. What does it mean to you to be on welfare?
16. Have you lived off welfare or other forms of Social Assistance? If so, why?
17. What does it mean to you to hustle?
18. Did you hustle in order to make a living? If so, give examples and explain why.
19. When it came to supporting yourself (and family) did you have a choice between a job, welfare, or hustling?
20. What made you choose one way of "making it" over another and why?
21. Why do some people work at a job to "make it"?
22. Why do some people use welfare to "make it"?
23. Why do some people get caught up in hustles to "make it"?
24. What hustle do you respect the most and why?
25. Upon your release from prison, what are your options to support yourself or your family?

FOOTNOTES

Chapter 1

1. Comfortable life refers to a standard of living, or life style, where people are able to afford the basics, food, clothing, shelter, and those material comforts that satisfy one's psychological wants and needs. The level of wealth is not necessarily a key issue, but rather it is the quality of one's credit that is vital in allowing one to experience a comfortable life. The purchasing of those items is necessary for one's well-being, as determined by people themselves and by society at large.
2. The term living wage refers specifically to the salary which people receive. A living wage will be that amount which enables an individual to afford much of what constitutes a middle class life style or what can be loosely referred to as "enough to support one's family." For further explanation see: Gordon, David M. (editor) Problems in Political Economy; Lexington, MA; D.C. Heath and Co. 1977
3. Survival strategies refers to whatever means in which people become involved that provides them with the necessities by which they can live, survive.
4. Austin, Severa "Crime as Employment: What a way to make a way to make a living," in Crime and Employment Issues Report prepared for the Office of Research and Development and Training Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. June 1978
5. "Subsistence rights" addresses the concept that people have a right to expect a certain standard of living which is commensurate with the wealth of society as a whole. It implies that given the capabilities of a society to provide opportunities to work and enjoy a comfortable life style, people come to expect to participate in the mainstream of society and partake in enjoying this wealth. For further explanation see: Piven, Francis Fox & Cloward, Richard A., The New Class War; Pantheon Books 1982
6. Brenner, M. Harvey et al, Unemployment and Crime, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Crime of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives

95th Congress 1st & 2nd Sessions on Unemployment and Crime. Serial No. 47, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 1978

7. Dead-end job refers to "all market economic activity, formal production, consumption and employment; all official redistribution through state benefits; formal marriage, education, housing, health, and social welfare; as well as the administration of justice and government." Henry, Stuart (editor), Informal Institutions: Alternative Networks in the Corporate State; N.Y. St. Martin's Press 1981
8. Economic activity refers to the following:
Criminal economy contains "all illegal activities which are measured by the official criminal statistics as 'offenses known to the police' such as theft, robbery, burglary, handling of stolen, and so on."

Informal economy contains "all those activities and institutions which occur within official institutions settings but which are not officially recognized as part of these formal institutions."

Hidden economy contains "all unofficial activities and institutionalized practices were illegal or extra-legal activities."

Refer to above: Ibid.
9. Irregular Economy is activity not registered by measurement techniques and uses money as its medium of exchange.

Refer to: Ferman, Louis A. & Berndt, Louise E., "The Irregular Economy," Ibid.
10. Hustling is a slang term to describe how people make money. Though it includes activities which are legal, such as carpentry, trash hauling, etc., no taxes are paid as all transactions are conducted "under-the-table." However, when the term hustling is commonly used, it refers to illegal activities such as dealing drugs, pimping, shop lifting, etc. Refer to interviews with inmates by D.B. Allen.

11. Street crimes refer to property crimes, especially those crimes occurring in the inner cities like theft, prostitution, drug dealing, robbery, etc.
12. Taylor, Ian, Walton, Paul & Young, Jock (editors), Critical Criminology, London & Boston; Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975
13. Brenner, M. Harvey et al, Unemployment and Crime, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Crime of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives 95th Congress 1st & 2nd Sessions on Unemployment and Crime. Serial No. 47, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 1978
14. Ibid.
15. "Make-it" is a slang term used to describe the ways people earn money from which they can obtain the necessities of life.
16. "World" refers to the immediate environment in which people live as well as the environments in which their "work" brings them in contact.
17. Lewis, Oscar A Study of Slum Culture, N.Y.; Random House. 1968
18. Selznick, Philip, "Sociology and Natural Law" in Donald Black & Maureen Mileski (editors), The Social Organization of Law, N.Y. & London: Seminar Press 1973
19. Ibid

20. Durkeim, Emile, "Crime as Normal Behavior" in David Dressler (editor) Readings in Criminology and Penology; N.Y., Columbia University Press 1972
21. Ibid
22. Wilson, James Q., Thinking About Crime; N.Y.: Basic Books, 1975
23. Ibid
24. Lemert, Edwin M., Social Pathology, N.Y.; McGraw-Hill Book Co. 1951
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CHAPTER 3

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finding work. While the mainstream claims that this society operates on the basis of meritocracy, in actuality "who someone knows" is crucial in getting started in a career or simply finding work.

11. "In-kind" benefits refers to monies or services which the government provides in assuring people a minimum standard of living. Examples would include unemployment insurance, welfare, social security and food stamps.
12. Meaningful work suggests that the work involved challenges an individual's skills, manual or cognitive, provides an adequate salary, allows for advancement, and is not repetitive or rote.
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51. Casual workers refers to those individuals who will work infrequently or periodically by choice only.
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54. Decent wages refers to an amount of salary which enables an individual and/or his family to afford a life style of comfort, given an acceptable level of indebtedness.
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unemployment, increased poverty, a shrinking tax base, and a poor economy.

97. The secondary labor market is made up of jobs which are menial, dead-end, low paying and low job security. These jobs stand in opposition to jobs in the manufacturing, industrial and construction sectors which are high pay, good job security, demanding/challenging and lead to advancement, the primary labor market.

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