

STUDY ON THE
STATUS OF
BLACK CRIMINOLOGY
IN THE UNITED STATES

by

Julius Debro, Director

Helen Taylor, Research Assistant

Institute for Criminal Justice
& Criminology

University of Maryland

June, 1978

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Funded by the National Institute of Mental Health Grant #278-77-0028(SM) awarded 27 June 1977 for a Study on the Status of Black Criminology in the United States.

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ACQUISITIONS

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THE STATE OF THE ART OF BLACK CRIMINOLOGY

I. Introduction

One of the major issues confronting scholars in the area of crime and delinquency is the relationship of race and crime. When race is discussed, blacks constitute our largest majority that are involved in criminal behavior. This curious relationship of blacks and crime has been analyzed over and over again with the same results. Blacks are overrepresented in crime statistics.

The Uniform Crime Reports for the year 1976 indicated that black arrestees constituted 54% of persons arrested for murder and non-negligent homicide, 47% for forcible rape, 59% for robbery, 41% for aggravated assault, 29% for burglary, 26% for auto theft and 32% for larceny and theft. Yet, blacks constitute only 12% of the total population of this country. (Kelley, 1977) Some scholars of black crime argue that this is a result of different selection patterns, others argue that this is a result of socio-economic patterns, still others indicate that blacks are actually more criminal than the statistics show and point to black on black crime which is never recorded or reported in most cases. What is the reason for this overrepresentation? No reasons have been found but those persons who have tried

to explain black crime have always been white. This is an attempt to explain black crime from a black perspective.

Historically, the works of black authors have been excluded from traditionally white publications. This exclusion of the works of black authors has been as discriminatory as the criminal justice system has been to blacks. Black authors have had to seek out black journals for their forum which has lead to a vast amount of criminal justice and criminological literature not being read by students at predominately white colleges and universities. The definitive material on blacks and crime has always come from white authors thus when the riots of the sixties occurred and the prison riots of the seventies came, white America could not and did not understand the causal factors surrounding the rebellion by blacks. Black perceptions and white perceptions of the criminal justice system have always been different. Whites generally see the criminal justice system as being somewhat unjust but not entirely discriminatory. Blacks see the criminal justice system as being unjust and discriminatory.

The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders¹ concluded that the nation was moving in the direction of two societies, one black and one white - separate and unequal - this same conclusion had been reached two hundred years ago by blacks.

We saw a need to compile works and comments by blacks and to expose white audiences to extensive works by blacks in the field of criminal justice and criminology. Our task was to ascertain whether or not black authors viewed the criminal justice system any different than whites and also whether or not blacks had developed different strategies over time. We were aware that some black authors have responded to the need to conduct and refute studies conducted by white authors; others have supported white conclusions that show that discrimination does not exist within the system. We were also aware that a vast majority of blacks had been trained at white colleges and universities and their views quite often reflected the views of their major professors.

Specifically, the study was designed to:

1. Develop an authoritative "State of the Art" paper of publishable quality on the development of black criminology in the United States and to
2. Identify needs and opportunities for more research on black crime and delinquency by black investigators.

This is the first study that has attempted to develop a black ideology of crime as seen by black authors. The most difficult task was to try and identify only those

black authors which had devoted their time to a discussion of black crime.

The study was also concerned with compiling data on white authors and their discussions of black crime. It is expected that over time there can be a comparative analysis of what blacks are saying and have said about black crime and what whites are saying and have said about black crime.

A. Literature Search

The literature search included four important tasks:

1. Identification of the Literature Available
2. Identification of the Race of the Authors
3. Annotation of the Most Relevant Literature Available
4. Obtaining Copies of the Most Relevant Literature

These four tasks were performed simultaneously and continuously throughout the grant period. We originally started out with just a graduate assistant, Ms. Helen E. Taylor working on the literature search but soon found that because of the amount of material available that one person could spend full time and never complete the task during the period of the grant. Seven undergraduate students were used during the two semesters of the grant. The methodology, work process and special problems of

each task is discussed below.

Identification of the Literature

The identification of literature relating to blacks, crime and delinquency was a primary task of this project.

The search was undertaken at the Library of Congress, Howard University Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, and the University of Maryland, College Park. The Howard University Moorland-Spingarn Room provided extensive materials for the identification of the literature.

To identify the literature available we first searched through the card catalogues at each facility to identify the relevant entries. Several subjects were checked including: Negroes, Blacks, Police, Law Enforcement, Corrections, Juveniles, Courts, etc. A number of indexes to periodical literature were also searched; these included:

1. Index to Periodical Articles By and About Negroes, 1950/59, 1969/70, 1971-1972
2. Index to Selected Periodicals - Decennial Cumulation
3. Analytical Guide and Indexes to the Voice of the Negro: 1904-1907
4. Analytical Guide and Index to the Colored American Magazine 1900-1909
5. Journal of Negro History Index
6. Journal of Negro Education Index
7. Opportunity - Journal of Negro Life - Cumulative Index

8. Index to Legal Periodicals, 1926 to Present
9. International Index to Periodicals,
10. Crime & Delinquency Abstracts 1963-1972
11. Sociological Abstracts 1953-1972

In addition to the indexes and abstracts listed, several other reference sources were used:

1. The Schomberg Collection of Negro Literature and History
2. Dissertation Abstracts International
3. Directory of Afro-American Resources
4. Criminology - A Bibliography
5. Davis, Lenwood G., The Administration of Criminal Justice: An Exploratory Bibliography. Monticello: Council of Planning Librarians, 1975.
6. King, W. M., Blacks, Crime and Criminal Justice: An Introductory Bibliography. Illinois: Council of Planning Librarians, 1974.

The National Criminal Justice Reference Service (LEAA) and NIMH provided a printout of literature relating to blacks, crime and delinquency which were also utilized.

The majority of literature available appeared in the traditionally black periodicals listed below:

Black Law Journal
Black Scholar
Crisis
Colored American Magazine
Freedomways
Howard Law Journal
Journal of Afro-American Issues
Journal of Negro Education
Journal of Negro History

National Bar Journal
Negro Educational Review
Journal of Social and Behavioral Sciences
Opportunity
Phylon
Voice of the Negro

Articles by black authors were also found in the following traditionally white periodicals:

American Journal of Sociology
American Scholar
American Sociological Review
Annals of the American Academy of Political and
Social Science
Crime & Delinquency
Issues in Criminology
Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology
Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law
& Criminology
Journal of Criminal Law & Criminology
Journal of Educational Psychology
Journal of Human Relations
Journal of Political Repression
Judicature
Justice System Journal
Pedagogical Seminary
Social Forces
Social Problems

Several articles by black authors were also found in legal periodicals.

Identification of the Race of the Authors

After identifying the literature available, it was necessary to identify the race of the authors since we were specifically interested in contributions by blacks to the development of black criminology in the United States.

The identification by race proved to be quite difficult. Due to time constraints, it was impossible to thoroughly research each author individually to determine their race. Because many of the individuals whose writings appeared before the 1940's were not well known persons, information about them could only be discovered by in depth research using several sources.

Dr. G. Franklin Edwards, Department of Sociology, Howard University, was most helpful in identifying many of the black authors. The Moorland-Spangarn Research Center, Howard University also assisted in identifying the black authors. A staff person at the Center checked the works available in the Center to determine from pictures or statements in the book about the author the race of the author.

Dr. Peter Lejins and Dr. Barton Ingraham of the Institute of Criminal Justice & Criminology, the University of Maryland helped identify many of the white authors.

For those authors remaining whose race had not been identified the following reference sources were used:

1. The Negro Year Book
2. Who's Who Among Black Americans
3. Black American Writers 1773-1949
4. Who's Who in Colored America 1927-1950
5. American Men and Women of Science

The project would have to be extended to complete the identification of the race of the authors.

Obtaining Copies of Most Relevant Literature

After the identification of the race of the author the most relevant articles, books, special reports, Ph.D. and M.A. Abstracts were read and annotated.

The research assistant and seven undergraduate students annotated the most relevant literature.

In the early period of the grant, annotations were completed irrespective of race, since, at that point, the race of the author was unknown. Later, annotations were completed on works by black authors only.

The annotations were done at the Library of Congress, Howard University (Moorland-Spingarn Research Center), and the University of Maryland (College Park). The literature which was most relevant was xeroxed or, in a few instances, ordered from the publisher.

One problem of this task was the unavailability of the literature. Several pieces were missing from the libraries or simply not able to be located.

B. Consultations

Consultations were conducted with scholars and practitioners in New York, Washington, D.C., Atlanta, New Orleans, Jackson, Mississippi, Los Angeles, Oakland, Berkeley and San Francisco, California.

Additional contacts with blacks occurred at national meetings such as the American Political Science Association, American Sociological Association, Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences and the American Society of Criminology.

Seven black scholars were used throughout the project. Their task was to provide assistance and guidance as well as suggestions for future research.

A special thanks should go to Reginald Eaves, Former Director of Public Safety in Atlanta, Georgia. He was constantly available for support and guidance concerning the role of the police in black communities. Because of his support and criticism, the task of obtaining material and analyzing was made much easier. Under his guidance, the City of Atlanta reduced crime appreciably and the black community in Atlanta has a better understanding of the role of the police. Reginald met with every church group and every school group as well as establishing a police community relations program that was responsive to

community needs. The policeman in Atlanta acting as a change agent between the city government and the poor was able to breach the gap and solve non-crime problems such as trash removal, neighborhood clean-up, old car removal and also minor crime problems.

The seven scholars are considered specialists in their field and all, with the exception of Dr. Chisom and Ms. Sulton, have been educated in Criminology and all have strong theoretical backgrounds.

Our seven consultant black scholars were:

1. Dr. Lee Brown, Director of Public Safety, Atlanta, Georgia
2. Dr. Ben Carmichael, Director of Criminal Justice, Hayward State University, Hayward, California
3. Dr. Andrew Chisom, U.S. Marshall, North Carolina
4. Dr. George Napper, Chief of Police, Atlanta, Georgia
5. Dr. Andrea Sullivan, Special Assistant to Ms. Patricia Harris, HUD
6. Ms. Cynthia Sulton, Researcher, Police Foundation, Washington, D.C.
7. Dr. Alex Swann, Department Chairman, Sociology Department, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee

C. Survey on the Status of Blacks in Criminology

In order to identify the number of black faculty members and Ph.D. candidates in criminal justice programs

a questionnaire was administered to two hundred twenty-nine schools throughout the country. Of these two hundred twenty-nine schools, one hundred thirty-three were predominantly white schools with M.A. or Ph.D. programs and ninety-six were predominantly black schools.

The predominantly white schools were chosen from the International Association of Chiefs of Police, Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Education Directory. The predominantly black schools were identified from The Moton Guide to American Colleges with a Black Heritage.

Persons identified by this study were included in the Directory of Blacks in Criminal Justice and Criminology.

Presently, only seven blacks with terminal degrees in Criminology exist within the country and all graduated from the School of Criminology at Berkeley, California. Only three of those seven are teaching and only one is teaching at a black university. There are presently thirteen black doctoral candidates in Criminology and Criminal Justice programs, four of which are at the University of Maryland.

With regard to the literature 37 books, 31 special reports and 22 Ph.D. dissertations and theses were identified in addition to the periodical articles.

II. AUTHORS BY DECADE

CHART I

AUTHORS INCLUDED BY DECADE 1899-1978

1899-1909

Chestnutt
DuBois (2)
Jackson, Ida J.
Waring, J. H. W.
Kealing, H.
Hampton Negro Conference

1910-1920

Grimke, Archibald
Hershaw

1921-1930

Wilson, Edward E.

1931-1940

Beckham (2)
Daniel, Robert P.
Diggs, Mary H.
Ford, Nick Aaron
Frazier, E. Franklin
Hill, Joseph T.
Himes, Joseph
Moses, Earl R.
Reid, Ira
Washington, Forester

1899-1909

1941-1950

Blue, John T.
Huff, William
Gann, Lloyd
Watts, Frederick P.

1951-1960

Blue, John T.
Journal of Negro Education
Himes, Joseph
Mitchell, Lannie
Williams, Franklin

1961-1970

Epps, Edgar (67)
Vontress

1971-1978

Brown, Lee
Davis, Lenwood
Davis, John A.
Elion, Victor H.
Owens, Bell
Pierson, Gwynne
Spain
Staples
Swann, Alex
Wintersmith

The most significant contribution from this time period

to an understanding of criminology and blacks was offered by W. E. B. DuBois. Educated at Fisk, The University of Berlin and Harvard (Ph.D., History, 1895), DuBois was exposed to the best in social science training offered at the time. DuBois considered it an important goal to make a science of sociology by emulating the orientation of the physical sciences.² As he stated:

"I determined to put science into sociology through a study of the condition and problems of my own group. I was going to study the facts, any and all facts, concerning the American Negro and his plight, and by measurement and comparison and research, work up to any valid generalization which I could."³

In 1896, DuBois undertook a statistical study of Philadelphia's blacks for the Philadelphia settlement house movement. In 1899, DuBois published The Philadelphia Negro, his major sociological work based on the study he conducted as a participant-observer in a slum area where one-fifth of the city's Negroes lived. Using a lengthy questionnaire and personally interviewing hundreds of people, DuBois compiled data on such matters as family structure, income, occupations, and property holdings.⁴ The Philadelphia Negro was one of the earliest empirical monographs published in the United States. Chapter 13 of The Philadelphia Negro entitled "The Negro Criminal" and Chapter 14 entitled "Pauperism and Alcoholism," were among the first pieces of literature by a black author explaining crime as it affects blacks.

DuBois traced the history of blacks and crime from the seventeenth century to 1896. In 1693 the first laws were passed allowing constables of Philadelphia to arrest blacks "whom they should find gadding abroad on the first days of the week, without a ticket from their Mr. or Mrs., upon apprehension they were to obtain 39 lashes which their Mr. or Mrs. had to pay for."⁵

In 1732, the City of Philadelphia passed an ordinance to reduce (especially on Sunday) gambling, cursing, swearing and many other disorders committed by blacks. In 1741, another order against public disorder was passed to suppress black freedom.

In 1780, a mass migration of freedmen began to congregate in the city which created fear among the whites resulting in many blacks being arrested without cause. There was, however, an increase in black crime and the black community through its churches came together in a war against crime.

After the War of 1812, immigration to the city increased because there had been rapid industrialization, thus there were high expectations for employment. Because the need for industry had decreased there was a reduction in the work force and the poor blacks were the first to suffer. Crimes increased, especially in the area of thefts and assaults which were primarily attributed to the blacks. Black

citizen groups again came together to denounce black crime and even spoke of a black crime class. The denunciations did not prevent white citizen groups from being fearful of blacks within the city. Groups began to riot against blacks because of this fear which was fed by word of the Nat Turner Insurrection.⁶ The white citizens were so frightened that legislation was passed to disfranchise the negro in 1837.

Between 1830 and 1850, in Philadelphia, less than 1/14th of the population was responsible for nearly 1/3rd of the serious crimes committed. DuBois offers the following explanation for this phenomena:

1. Discrimination against the Negro was much greater then.
2. Great numbers of those arrested and committed for trial were never brought to trial.
3. Fewer Negroes were pardoned than whites.⁷

After the Civil War, according to DuBois, there was an increase in crime throughout the country, especially in cities. After 1880 the increased migration of Negroes to the cities was paralleled by an increase in criminality. Arrest records, whose value is lessened by varying efficiency and diligence of the police, by discrimination in the administration of the law and by unwarranted arrests are used by DuBois to indicate the extent of crime among

Negroes. The following table gives total arrests in Philadelphia and the number of Negroes for thirty-two years between 1864 and 1896 with a few omissions:⁸

ARRESTS IN PHILADELPHIA 1864-96

<u>Date</u>	<u>Total No. Arrested</u>	<u>Total Negroes Arrested</u>	<u>Percentage of Negroes</u>
1864	34,221	3,114	9.1
1865	43,226	2,722	6.3
1869	38,749	2,907	7.5
1870	31,717	2,070	6.5
1873	30,400	1,380	4.5
1874	32,114	1,237	3.9
1875	34,553	1,539	4.6
1876
1877	44,220	2,524	5.7
1879	40,714	2,360	5.8
1880	44,097	2,204	4.98
1881	45,129	2,327	5.11
1882	46,130	2,183	4.73
1883	45,295	2,022	4.46
1884	49,468	2,134	4.31
1885	51,418	2,662	5.11
1886
1887	57,951	3,256	5.61
1888	46,899	2,910	6.20
1889	42,673	2,614	6.10
1890	49,148	3,167	6.44
1891	53,184	3,544	6.66
1892	52,944	3,431	6.48
1893	57,297	4,078	7.11
1894	61,478	4,805	7.81
1895	60,347	5,137	8.5
1896	58,073	5,302	9.1

Several other tables and graphs are presented which help confirm DuBois' findings⁹ that:

1. Young men were the perpetrators of serious crime among Negroes.

2. Major crimes committed were stealing and assault.
3. Ignorance and immigration to the temptations of city life were responsible for much but not all of the crime.
4. Deep social causes underlie the prevalence of crime and have worked to form a distinct class of habitual criminals since 1864.

During his years at Atlanta University, DuBois was responsible for the preparation of numerous sociological monographs. These monographs were notably lacking in sociological theory. However, their value must not be underestimated.

Some Notes on Negro Crime Particularly in Georgia was one such monograph prepared together with the Ninth Conference for the Study of Negro Problems held at Atlanta University, May 24, 1904.

The monograph contained numerous tables, charts and graphs to support its findings. The following conclusions were made as a result of the study and conference:¹⁰

1. The amount of crime among Negroes in Georgia was great which was both dangerous and threatening.
2. Crime was caused by:
 - a.) transmission from slavery to a state of freedom;
 - b.) the narrowing effects of race prejudice upon the opportunities of the Negroes;
 - c.) the small legal protection offered the Negro;
 - d.) laws on vagrancy, contracts and disorder so framed as to entrap the Negro;
 - e.) the two-faced justice in the courts, one for the whites and one for the blacks; and
 - f.) methods of punishing Negro criminals.

"At the Eighteenth Annual Conference for the Study of the Negro Problems, held nine years later at Atlanta University, a similar position concerning crime was echoed by the delegates. The conference listed six causes of crime for young blacks: (1) The difficulty of adjusting the young to a caste system (2) Poor home training (3) Demand for strong young convict labor (4) Poverty (5) Discouragement arising from lawless treatment and withdrawal of civil and political rights (6) Lack of self-respect under a caste system. They also gave six remedies for black crime. (1) Justice in Southern courts, including blacks on the police force and in the jury box. (2) Abolition of the economic demand for criminals in the South. (3) Better housing and free chance to work in the North. (4) National aid to black education. (5) Better wages. (6) Full civil and political rights for blacks on the same basis as they are granted to whites."¹¹

In this same period, annual conferences were sponsored by the Hampton (Normal) Institute in Hampton, Virginia. At these conferences, specific attention was given to the problem of crime each year between 1897 and 1909.

Within the South, blacks were seen as more criminal especially after emancipation. The governor of Mississippi in 1904 saw blacks as:¹²

1. most criminal in the population
2. much more criminal as a free man than he was as a slave
3. becoming more criminal as a free man than as a slave, being one third more criminal in 1890 than in 1880
4. blacks who could read and write were more criminal than illiterates
5. blacks were three times as criminal as whites

Eight-tenths of all black prisoners were in the south during this period of time but this was due not only to

discrimination in arrest and prosecutions but also to the excessive number of blacks still residing within the southern frontier. Nine-tenths of all blacks within the country were still residing within the south. The characteristics of black prisoners were essentially the same as they are today. Young, half being between 20 and 30 years of age, a fifth between 10-19 years of age. The crimes of this period are the same kinds of crimes committed today. Half were confined for crimes against property, i.e., pilfering, which developed primarily because of the expectations that slaves would steal. One-fourth of the offenses were for crimes against the person, black on black crimes were also prevalent. Fighting, quarreling, homicides among blacks were expected and enforcement was either lax or non-existent. Conduct of this kind against blacks was expected especially of an ignorant populace.

Table II gives some indication of the arrest rate for blacks in nine major cities.

TABLE II

Arrests per thousand of Black Population

<u>Cities</u>	<u>Negro</u> <u>Pop.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	
	<u>1900</u>	<u>1858</u>	<u>1867</u>	<u>1872</u>	<u>1875</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1885</u>	<u>1890</u>
New York	60,666	83	106					82
Philadelphia	62,613	150		94	47	69	65	80
Washington	86,702					111	161	166
Charleston	31,522					90	50	70
Savannah	28,090				79	82	65	75
Louisville	39,139						129	99
Cincinnati	14,482			163	132	106	108	225
Chicago	30,150			153	226	211	274	387
St. Louis	35,516		64	80	97	134	108	120

- A - Philadelphia, 1864
- B - St. Louis, 1869
- C - Philadelphia, 1870
- D - Savannah, 1874
- E - Washington, Savannah &
St. Louis, 1881
- F - Louisville, 1884

*The above statistics were presented at the Ninth Annual Conference for the Study of the Negro Problems at Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia.

1910-1920

During this time period only one literary work was found that contributed to an understanding of crime and blacks. In an address to The American Negro Academy in 1915, Archibald Grimke offered valuable insight into the origin of Negro crime and the causes which contributed to produce the Negro criminal.

By tracing the developments of the last half of the 19th century, Grimke maintained that the hostile and unequal social, industrial and political conditions during reconstruction contributed a great deal to Negro criminality. Furthermore, the generation born after the Civil War was conceived in lawlessness which made it difficult to teach respect for the law in Negroes and whites.¹³

The history of black crime indicates that the Civil War was the crucial period especially of crimes in the South. Blacks generally were not prosecuted for crimes, punishment was left to the master, however, most crimes were either against other blacks which there was no punishment or they were misdemeanors. The system of law dealt almost entirely with whites and the law was very lenient in theory and lax in execution. After the war, whites were convinced that blacks would not work as well as freemen, thus various laws

were passed designed to ensure that blacks would be charged and convicted of crimes thus allowing any white to "buy" the offender for a period of time until the fine was paid. In most cases, the fine was not paid until the death of the prisoner. This system of "buying" the slave was known as the convict-lease system and it worked at its best in the South.

The effect of the convict-lease system linked crime and slavery into black offenders minds in such a way that it was indistinguishable from slavery itself. Blacks within the South, perceived criminal punishment as another form of oppression by the white man. Punishment as a means of deterrence lost its most effective weapon. Blacks soon lost faith in the courts. Whites who had the machinery of the law in their hands used the courts as an instrument to continue slavery. There was no concern about black on black crime and, in fact, the attitude was that "this is a matter among niggers and why bother."¹⁴ Even among well educated whites there was some dismay concerning the amount of black crime. There was a feeling that blacks were expected to be criminal but this criminality was expected to decrease after a certain period of time when blacks were given education which occurred in all black schools.

White intellectuals listed various causes of crimes by blacks. Some of the causes were:

1. abuse of new freedom and tendency toward idleness and vagrancy
2. loose ideas of property, petty pilfering
3. unreliability, lying and deception
4. exaggerated ideas of personal rights, irritability and suspicion
5. sexual looseness, weak family life and poor training of children; lack of respect for parents
6. lack of thrift and prevalence of the gambling spirit
7. waywardness of the "second generation"
8. the use of liquor and drugs

Blacks perceived the causes of crime differently:

1. transitional period of blacks between slavery and freedom
2. race prejudice
3. less legal protection
4. laws as to vagrancy, disorder, contracts for work, chattel mortgages and crop-leins are so drawn as to involve the ignorant, unfortunate and careless
5. courts administer two kinds of justice, one for blacks and one for whites
6. punishment breeds crime (lynching)

Even in the early days, there were concerns about crime that were different as to the causal factors and this difference was directly attributed to race. Blacks were objects of discrimination throughout the criminal justice

system. They were arrested for less cause than whites and given longer sentences than whites. Additionally, great numbers of blacks were arrested and never brought to trial. Those that came to trial, there was always a presumption of guilt for blacks. Generally, during this period, blacks were the object of stinging oppression and ridicule because they had just been freed from serfdom and that freedom brought them nothing but sadness.

1921-1930

In 1929, Edward Green stated in his article, "The Responsibility for Crime" appearing in Opportunity that the underlying causes for crime among Negroes (in Chicago) were:

1. Economic conditions
2. Inability to adjust to city living
3. Inability to adjust to conditions since the War
4. Underenforcement of Negro to Negro crime

These causes were not different to any significant degree than what Ira Reid¹⁵ indicated in his examination of prisoners in Sing Sing between 1920-1929. The study enumerated the importance that economic conditions play in the causes of crime. Unemployment and inadequate wages were seen as the prime causes of crime within the city. In 1929 the percentage of blacks within Sing Sing were at an all-time high of 22.2 percent of total prison population. Reid selected 80 files to study the problems facing black

prisoners. 78 percent of all the offenses fell into three categories, i.e., robbery, larceny and burglary, 19 percent of the cases were assaults, manslaughter and murders and 4 percent of the cases were sex crimes.

Crime is traditionally committed by persons who are very young. 80 percent of the offenders were between the ages of 21 and 44. 18 percent were under 21 years of age. 45 percent of the black offenders had no record of previous commitment to an institution.

Marital status indicated that 48 percent were single, 34 percent married and 11 percent separated or divorced, and 7 percent widowed. Of this total, 67 percent of the single persons and 70 percent of the married were living apart from family at the time of commission of the act.

Approximately 80 percent of the offenders were living with a single parent prior to their eighteenth birthday. All had less than 10 years in school. Three had no formal education, 25 had less than 5 years, 43 had more than five years but less than 10, 8 had spent 10 years or more and no data was available for 1 offender.

Job satisfaction is one of the most important criteria for judging a persons worth. If one is underemployed, one is usually not happy in ones job. The vast majority of the prisoners examined in the study were employed in the least

remunerative positions, i.e., those requiring the least skill and promising the least chance for advancement. Most of the offenders were not employed at the time of the commission of the crime (59%). The author concluded that occupational factors did appear to exert a very definite influence on crime.

Broken homes, poverty, lack of intelligent and sympathetic guidance, unemployment, and the shifting of jobs with more unemployment were the underlying causes of crime among this group.

This study is a part of the National Interracial Conferences presented by Professor T. Sellin of the University of Pennsylvania. The research committee in its findings in November of 1928¹⁶ listed these conclusions about black crime:

1. difficult to secure dependable data on Negro crime because (a) general crime records are poor and comparative figures less dependable, and (b) racial prejudice enters, influencing the agencies of law enforcement most frequently to the disadvantage of the Negro and the negro records of crime.
2. the apparent Negro crime rate as measured by all comparative records is greater than that of the white.

3. The difference in apparent criminality between the two racial groups varies widely and according to geographical location and population ratio; it also varies by types of offenses.

4. There is a much higher Negro rate for homicides than white, even when the emotional factors referred to are taken into account.

5. Negro arrest rates are higher than white for petty offenses and lower than whites in commitment to prison for serious offenses.

6. There is obvious discrimination in the administration of laws on the part of the police, magistrates, judges, and pardon boards, which explains an undetermined degree of the disparity between white and Negro rates.

7. It is possibly true that the apparent Negro rates of crime are more nearly actual crime rates of Negroes than white recorded rates are of crime committed by whites.

8. Illiteracy, unfavorable environment, age distribution, and unfamiliarity with city and urban life are factors to be seriously studied in relation to present Negro crime.

Ira Reid was not aware of studies showing relationship of crime to good and bad housing but he did indicate that unfavorable housing had a direct effect upon the use of leisure time and recreation. Blacks generally lived in the worst areas and vice flourished in those areas.

Dr. W. T. Root¹⁷ conducted a study of prisoners in the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania in 1927. Of the more than 300 cases of black prisoners he studied, he found that blacks occupied the poorest houses in the poorest districts, that there was considerable evidence that whites received less severe sentences than blacks, are subject to arrest less often and are less likely to be convicted.

"The Negro is often the cat's paw or the victim of unscrupulous whites who either from superior cunning or from police protection avoid arrest or at least conviction. It then comes to pass that while the Negro is convicted as guilty, the white, equally guilty, is not. If this condition is at all prevalent it may be a very definite factor in the high frequency of Negro crime as represented by the Western Penitentiary."¹⁸

Dr. Root concluded that the Negro criminal is the victim of a vicious circle of social, biological, and economic causes; lack of education, no trade training commensurate with the intelligence he has; a set of moral, social, and leisure habit, adjusted to a rural southern community; a victim of caste, forced to live in discarded houses of the dominant race; restricted in employment and social opportunity,

the Negro is forced daily to feel inferiority and humiliation in a thousand ways. All this must be given consideration in judging his status in the criminal world.¹⁹

Black police officers contributed to increased arrest rates of blacks within the cities. A survey was conducted of 75 cities having the largest black population. Forty of these cities were located in the South and 35 in the North and Middle West. Of the 40 southern cities, only 9 employed black police officers. All of the northern cities utilized black police and "found them a distinct advantage in ameliorating many of the evils that existed within an underprivileged group."²⁰ Black police officers traditionally have been more suppressive of blacks because they felt that they had to prove to white officers how "fair" they were in arresting their own kind.

Charles H. Houston,²¹ Vice-Dean of the Law School at Howard University describes the system of law in the southern courts as one of social status which is reinforced by employment. The first question asked the accused is "where do you work?" If he answers satisfactorily the case proceeds in orderly fashion; if he fails to satisfy the court and jury that he is an economic asset to the community his case is then and there prejudiced.

This period also saw the continuation of lynching of

blacks throughout the south. Between 1882 and June 30, 1930 a total of 3,533 blacks were lynched with little if any prosecution of the criminals.

Blacks still were not serving on juries to any great degree. Only three southern cities; Augusta, Savannah and Louisville had blacks on the jury on a regular basis. Yet, whites still were viewing the black as inherently criminal. A white student in commenting about crime and blacks during this period said:

"there is little comfort for the native white American in casting the blame for crime on the Negro. Even if they are more criminal, which is open to doubt, the causes that bring them to the commission of the crime lie in the social structure for which the white American is primarily responsible."²²

This criminality of blacks was always perceived as being very excessive when, in fact, there was little data to actually measure the amount of crime. Professor Warner's report to the commission, Survey of Criminal Statistics in the United States, indicated the poor state of statistical data gathering. The defects took two forms: The basic records of courts and penal institutions are often incomplete and inadequate; and the statistics as a whole are not only lacking in completeness and accuracy for any given community or state but they are not uniform, and hence comparable analysis of them presents almost insurmountable idfficulties.²³

1931-1940

Black writers in the 30's were beginning to reflect the influence that the Chicago School had on theoretical criminology in the cities. Mrs. Clifford Shaw and E. Franklin Frazier conducted research in the black delinquent areas of Chicago. As a result of this research, Frazier published "The Negro Family in Chicago" which was seen as a landmark publication of black family life and its trials and tribulations.

Earl Moses published a study on community factors in Negro delinquency which was based on zonal theories developed by Shaw and McKay. Moses indicated that blacks resided within the central cities and lived within the zone of transition which was the most disorganized area of city life. The transitional zone was highly disorganized, with rapid changes in life style constantly occurring as well as having a high crime rate. Blacks upon reaching the city, were forced to live in these areas with no chance of moving into the better sections of the city. Black delinquency was attributed to the product of migration and settlement in areas of rapid deterioration. Rapid moves from one community to another within the zone was seen as a contributing factor to delinquency since the moves took place in areas of highest deterioration and disorganization.

The impact of the Chicago School of Sociology was quite strong and black writers reflected this trend. Cities were now dissected into sections or zones which maintained the highest delinquent patterns and as people moved away from central city, less crime was prevalent.

The depression years also reflected the ongoing crimes of blacks within the cities. As blacks migrated into the cities, there was a constant fight for jobs and whites were reluctant to part with their already established way of life without a fight.

In Chicago the mass migration of blacks into the city lead to race riots in which hundreds of blacks were killed. This northern migration was seen as somewhat different than when the Irish, Poles, Germans and Jews moved into the city. Blacks were and had always been the subject of discrimination in the South so it was only natural to continue the segregation in the North. The racial division between blacks and whites that had been present in the South just continued. The discrimination lead to higher incidences of crime as well as more charges of crime within the black community.

1931 also saw the decline of lynchings. Between 1882 and 1930, a total of 3,533 blacks had been lynched

most primarily in the South. The decline was due primarily to the passage of the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill which passed the House on January 26, 1929. This bill while it did not stop the assignations completely, reduced the amounts considerably.

Blacks continued to pour into northern communities in record numbers from the South. The mass migration of blacks lead to overcrowding, poor social environment, economic pressure applied by whites in northern communities, undesirable living conditions for blacks within the cities because they were the persons with the least amount of funds to purchase adequate housing. For containment, black police, parole agents and social workers were used in certain cities. Black police generally did not have arresting powers to detain whites (Reid, 1931).

In another study of black crime in Richmond, Virginia blacks were convicted of 55% of the crime yet only comprised one third of the population.²⁴ Studies indicated that only 16% of that one third of the population was actually involved in crime which indicated that 84% of the black population was crime free. Dr. Joseph Hill²⁵ spoke of a criminal population within the black community. He attempted to explain the causes of crime in terms of low self esteem, i.e., the Negro is looked upon as a social

outcast, an untouchable, who must think of himself as unfit to show his face except as a menial wherever members of the dominant group show up. Another factor in the increasing crime rate was unemployment within Richmond. The city did not have one black on its payroll. Hill²⁶ explained this by saying:

"The Negro is the true southern gentleman today in Richmond for he has nothing to do. His garbage is hauled away by white men - his trash also - white policemen watch over him while he sleeps at night - house on fire, white men risk their lives to put it out for him."

Lack of education was another factor for the high crime rate. Only three percent of the black schools had black principals. There were very few recreational facilities and housing was the worst in the city. These and other factors contributed to the high crime rate among blacks within Richmond, Virginia.

The recommendations from the conference were:

1. hiring of black policemen
2. employment
3. improve public services
4. better education

Underscoring this conference was the recurring theme that blacks were inherently criminal.

"The best of the world's authorities on racial characteristics and behavior reject the theory that one race is 'naturally' more given to crime than another. Environmental conditions and pressures, broadly speaking, are the determinants of criminal behavior and not blood."²⁷

Even with juveniles, whites were not concerned with the causes of crime but only with the amount of crime within the black community. Diggs,²⁸ a prominent black author, indicated that the black child is exposed unduly to those features of community life that are the least desirable and that community resources are not available for the youngster to work out compensatory satisfactions. Diggs²⁹ found that black youngsters came before the juvenile court at a much younger age than whites, that a larger proportion of blacks were referred for stealing, that black girls were referred more often than whites for stealing, acts of carelessness or mischief, being ungovernable, and for injury to persons. They were referred less frequently for truancy, running away and sex offenses. Truancy, running away and sex offenses were considered normal within the black community. Black juveniles during this era suffered perhaps more than their adult counterparts because they were exposed at an early age to the crime and delinquency of the community. Furthermore, there were fewer resources that could provide assistance so that he or she could work out compensatory satisfactions that were socially acceptable.

Diggs found that black youngsters came into contact with the courts at an earlier age, that black males were referred more often for stealing and that black females were referred most often for acts of carelessness or mischief, being ungovernable and for injury to persons. Black girls were expected to be more promiscuous and enjoy sex at an early age. This was due to the myth perpetuated within the white community. Cases of black youngsters were less frequently dismissed than were cases against white youngsters.

Washington³⁰ attributed delinquency to working wives, "seventy-five percent of the black wives of the country have been compelled to help provide the means to support the family." It seems curious that the concept of working wives and delinquency were linked very closely but now it is acceptable for wives to work and very little research has been conducted to determine the effect of working wives on delinquency.

Washington understood that individualized treatment of juveniles was necessary but insisted that the ultimate goal should be identical treatment for all. He also found it somewhat incongruous that whites could not understand the triple adjustment that blacks face on a daily basis, i.e., first to be fired, secondly, to live

in a world of discrimination and segregation and thirdly, returning to a black world which also will not accept him. Washington also indicated that employers tended to hire the untrained black, primarily because the untrained will not demand much, whereas the trained will demand respect and admiration from workers as well as the courts.

Crime among blacks changed over the years. During the first six months of 1935 in Harlem over 6,500 men and 1,300 women were arrested and the majority of the arrests were for gambling, i.e., numbers racket (31.9%), disorderly conduct (31%). 80% of the women were arrested for immoral sexual behavior. Frazier³¹ attributed the high crime rates to the immorality of whites within Harlem. He indicated that whites could leave their communities and come to Harlem and indulge in vicious and antisocial behavior because they were free from censure of their race and the intimate groups in which their lives were rooted. Blacks, because of their economic condition had to cater to the licivious, immoral and pleasure seeking impulses and desires of whites.

E. Franklin Frazier is perhaps the most famous of black authors during this period. In his book, The Negro In The United States, he devoted a chapter to crime and delinquency. He accepted, as have many authors in the past, that blacks had a higher crime rate per capita than

whites. Most writers attempted to explain the high crime rate citing slavery and mass migration as the most important causes of crime among blacks. Frazier cited two authors, Hoffman who indicated that education had failed to raise blacks to a higher level of citizenship and DuBois who analyzed the high crime rate among blacks in terms of the social disorganization following emancipation and employment in which the South tried to maintain blacks in a servile position.

Frazier also cited other authors who indicated that the black man was childlike and primitive with physical characteristics which tended to ally him with the instinctive and habitual criminal type. Another study cited indicated that the crime rate was indeed higher in the North and South for blacks but it is lower than some immigrant groups.³² He acknowledged that the black crime rate in both the North and South had increased during the four decades following the Civil War, but he indicated that the black crime rate in the South had remained approximately a third as high as in the North. He attributed the large increase in the North to the influx of blacks into central cities and pointed out that a far greater number of blacks in the North were in the age group in which incidents of crime were greater. A most important observation was that the introduction of the convict lease system in southern prisons made the convict a source of income, thus he was

arrested and convicted more often.

In discussing the causes of black crime we find that the North did not escape. Racial discrimination led to increased arrests. Records were altered by the police department in Minneapolis.³³ Political parties insisted that the police arrest large numbers of blacks because they wanted to show that they were not soft on crime. Blacks were convicted more often than whites for crimes. In Detroit during the first six months of 1926 twice as many blacks were sentenced to imprisonment as whites for approximately the same kinds of offenses.³⁴ A larger percentage of whites were given the alternative of a fine or imprisonment. Twice as many whites as blacks were given suspended sentences.

Frazier was an advocate of the Chicago School and believed very strongly in the zonal theory of crime causation. He concluded that the extent, nature, and cause of crime among blacks will continue as long as they are discriminated against in employment and are forced to live in ghettos. Social disorganization was seen by Frazier as the key to crime and discrimination among blacks. He referred to the work of Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, in which Myrdal pointed out that "Caste" prevents the black from identifying himself with society and the law.

Frazier's works included studies of adults in the District of Columbia, juveniles in Chicago, Harlem and some national statistics on delinquency. His response with regard to causation was identical to that of Shaw from the Chicago School, i.e., blacks moving into deteriorated areas abandoned by other migrant groups. He concluded that black crime rates were no higher than white rates when studied in relation to the social disorganization of the areas in which blacks were concentrated.

1941-1950

Blue (1948) compared the relationship of juvenile delinquency to race and economic status in Detroit using children who have been referred to the court as criteria and over ten years as the age. His hypothesis was that economic status is more closely related to juvenile delinquency than is race. This hypothesis proved to be true. The study also indicated that the combined effects of race and economic status lead to a higher incidence of juvenile delinquency.

Lloyd (1950) concentrated on the increase in juvenile delinquency during and after periods of national tension. Data was somewhat incomplete because the author was using annual reports to the Children's Bureau and FBI reports. Causal factors related to juvenile delinquency were

environmental and to change we must look at the social environment of children, i.e., character building and citizenship training (schools), parental education, flexible school curriculums, recreational facilities, child guidance clinics, strengthening of home life, better control of community conditions.

Huff (1944) referred to the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 which was passed by Congress. The intent was to bring the slave back to the owner. The law indicated that "In no trial or hearing shall the testimony of such alleged fugitive be admitted in evidence." Title 18 U.S. Code #408 which was passed in 1934 was a duplication of that order even though the act was called "Fugitive Felon Act." He stated that the law allows U.S. Marshals to hunt down black fugitives from peonage-slavery, take them before U.S. magistrates who may return them to their masters precisely as was done under the old law. The fugitives are returned and then turned over to state courts where they are persecuted, browbeaten, chain ganged and peonaged.

"It would be better, yea, holier for a thousand felons to go scot free, escape from all punishment than for a single person to be returned to a condition of peonage through and by the machinery set in motion by this law."³⁵

All the state courts have to do is to trump up a charge against any black who has left, swear to it and go to their peon-ridden grand jury and have an indictment voted.

Himes (1938) describes in his study of crime in Columbus, Ohio four definite periods in the history of black crime. The first period is a description of crime and vice in central city which he describes as the "bad lands," i.e., the saloon, the gambling halls, and the houses of prostitution. These institutions were tolerated by the establishment and also by the administration. Characteristic personality types were the gambler, the hostess and manager of houses of prostitution, the bartender, the dissolute habitue, and the romantic vice-lord. The most frequent offenses were homicides, brawling and fighting, sex vice, gambling and drunkenness.

As central city began to grow, the expanding central business zones pushed black criminals and their activities into another zone which became somewhat larger because of the mass migration of blacks from the South. Blacks entered at points of least resistance, chiefly near the center of the city. Along with this spatial isolation grew an antagonism by whites which lead to a gradual deprivation of privileges, theatres, hotels, cafes, restaurants, public places, employment opportunities, etc. The black community was divided between those who had been in Columbus for long periods of time and those who were newcomers.

Isolation of the black immigrants from other blacks as well as from whites set the stage for a poor self image.

Black migrants were segregated into sections of town where deterioration of buildings had long since begun. There was inadequate sanitary facilities, poverty and decay, the neighbors were prostitutes, gamblers, the maladjusted and the incompetent. All persons were either involved in deviant behavior or were on the verge of becoming deviant. The new heritage fostered upon the migrant was one of crime and delinquency which ultimately became a way of life and was not seen as abnormal within that community.

This new form of life which had as its focus crime and delinquency created a conflict between parent and child because the parent was a product of the southern mentality which advocated law and order and the child was a product of the inner city which saw crime as a normal way of life.

Blacks were generally arrested for "numbers" and selling marijuana. "Production or importation, processing and distribution of the narcotic weed are highly organized and conducted with the utmost secrecy. Customers are largely youths mad with 'sophistication.' Organization includes both customer and operative in a bond of secrecy. And although public sentiment is intolerant of the practice and police surveillance is strict, the illicit business has grown swiftly."³⁶

1951-1960

The black journals have provided the most articles by black authors. The Journal of Negro Education devoted an entire issue in 1959 to the problem of juvenile delinquency among Negroes in the United States. A great number of the articles in all of the literature deal specifically with juvenile delinquency.

The 1959 special issue of the Journal of Negro Education included the following articles by black authors:

1. Clark, Kenneth B., "Color Class, Personality and Juvenile Delinquency," The Journal of Negro Education, Vol. 28, No. 3(59) pp. 240-251.

Examines recent data from a northern urban community (Buffalo, N.Y.) on the incidence of juvenile delinquency in order to determine the degree to which the factors of color, class and cost influence the amount and type of delinquency among Negro youth. Examines the complex relationship between the psychology of minority status and delinquency to form the basis for a theory.

2. Hill, Mozell C. "The Metropolis and Juvenile Delinquency Among Negroes," The Journal of Negro Education, Vol. 28, No. 3, pp. 277-285.

Juvenile delinquency is a "way of life" in urban living. The deviant behavior of minority youths (Negroes) living in segregated communities in heterogeneous, multi-group, metropolitan areas is discussed. Highlights the unique cultural components of the social relationships of Negro youth living in segregated communities in urban areas.

3. Hypps, Irene, "The Role of the School in Juvenile Delinquency Prevention (with special reference to pupil personnel services), The Journal of Negro Education, Vol. 28, No. 3, pp. 318-328.

A child is not born a delinquent. He may become predelinquent by the time he enters school, since home and neighborhood influences are strong conditioning factors.

Public schools must present the Negro youth's development of serious maladjustments and anti-social attitudes which are the result of being from a less privileged environment than other youths through the situation of being racially segregated and integrated. These youths must compete with non-acceptance by more privileged youths.

All school services and all teacher pupil relations must be applied as consistently and adequately to Negro pupils as to any other children. Only then will schools become preventors rather than modifiers of juvenile delinquency.

4. Mays, Benjamin E., "The Role of the 'Negro Community' in Delinquency Prevention Among Negro Youth," The Journal of Negro Education, Vol. 28 No. 3, pp. 366-370.

The leadership in the "Negro Community," ministers, teachers, social workers, doctors, lawyers, businessmen, editors, parents and leaders in all areas of the community must become well-informed as to the nature and problem of

juvenile delinquency and must take an active part in the solution or the numbers of delinquent Negroes will continue to increase.

5. Miller, Carol L., "Educational Level and Juvenile Delinquency Among Negroes," The Journal of Negro Education, Vol. 28, No. 3, pp. 268-276.

Low academic achievement, retardation, absenteeism and over ageness are found in significantly greater proportions than among non-delinquents. Any improvement in school achievement for Negroes and a reduction in juvenile delinquency will probably be contingent upon the extent to which youths are able to accept as norms for behavior and positive values, high levels of educational achievement and social behavior.

Himes associated class linkage with juvenile delinquency indicating that social class shapes the child's total environment as well as the number and types of groups, associations and institutions that he confronts. He saw every aspect of the child's life as being closely associated with class.

"To be educated is part of each child's birthright, but his class position will condition the amount and nature of that education...When he grows up he will enter the world of work, but his class identification will influence the occupation he follows."³⁷

He saw the lower class as being predisposed toward delinquency because of cultural heritage which functionally restricted people of this class by a lack of information, ideas and experiences, as well as social relationships. The social structure of lower class youngsters provides both the conventional and delinquent modes of conduct. This means that the socialization of the youngster must constantly deal with both aspects of society. We have very little knowledge about how youngsters go through the process of selection within ghetto neighborhoods.

Himes also conducted a study of black crime in Columbus, Ohio. He attributed the increase in crime to the mass migration of blacks from the South and their consequent movement into areas of deterioration within the cities where crime and vice continued to flourish. He also saw a breakdown in primary relationships between parent and child as well as a breakdown in relationships with primary institutions within the cities.

"Patterns of sophistication characterize the leisure-time activities of young people. Youths crowd the night spots of the community. Jazz, cheap liquor and "reefers" are among their diversions. These youths are mad with the new sophistication, patterns in many instances outmoded by the white world a decade ago."³⁸

Youngsters were seen as embracing the sophistication of the city which lead naturally into crime.

Blacks also discriminated against migrant blacks from

the city because they viewed rural migrants as being unsophisticated, ignorant and "country." Whites began to apply pressures to the migrants because they perceived them as threatening to a way of life that they had grown accustomed to within the city. Thus, the migrants felt unwelcomed by blacks and whites alike. Even within black churches, black migrants were given a "cool" welcome and inter-marriage between members of old black families and newcomers was frowned upon.

The process of isolation set the stage for criminal activity. Family controls broke down because parents were in the employment market. The neighborhood did not have controlling power because, essentially, the entire neighborhood was new and people were from different parts of the country. Crime and vice became normal in a society which had very few norms.

Blue was concerned with normative orientation as it related to juvenile delinquency. His delinquency definition included not only persons below a certain age who violate the law or ordinance, but people who also violate the normative code which could be interpreted differently by different courts.

He criticized those researchers who limited their studies to children who violate the law, stating that the sample was biased in terms of administrative practices within a given jurisdiction. Overrepresentation of people from different

social, economic and racial categories was a given as well, as delinquents were primarily from urban environments.

1961-1970

Clement E. Vontress, in his article "Patterns of Segregation and Discrimination: Contributing Factors to Crime Among Negroes" (Journal of Negro Education, April, 1962, p. 108-115), maintains that the majority of crimes among Negroes can be attributed to segregative and discriminatory attitudes and practices inflicted upon the Negro.

Inequality of justice, racial etiquette,* distorted figures, and the lack of Negro judges, police lawyers, etc. are all the result of practices of segregation and discrimination.

Unemployment, inadequate housing, population density, lack of education, frustration and other aspects of the surrounding environment of the Negro which contribute to crime are also the result of segregation and discrimination.

To support his theory, Vontress cites the number of executions of blacks, especially those accused of rape:

"During the period 1930 through 1959 53.8 percent of all persons executed were Negroes and of the 414 prisoners put to death for alleged rape 375 (89.6%) were Negroes." (p. 110) 39a

*Racial etiquette refers to the conventional, ceremonial, and institutionalized norms to which the Negro must submit himself.

Segregation and discrimination, according to Vontress, make the crime statistics even more unreliable than they already are since blacks are more likely to be arrested, indicted and convicted than whites. Furthermore, since no distinctions are made between the insane and the criminal, juvenile and adult, the erratic and the feeble-minded Negro offender, the Negro crime rate is unreliable.

Vontress' contribution to an understanding of crime is summarized in the following quote:

"Listing an 'infestive' or slum environment as the cause of crime among Negroes is inadequate. The basic cause is multifarious; it consists of a melange of attitudes and practices which have become institutionalized in American culture. Crime and other social maladjustments are common accompaniments of life in highly compressed ghettos; and as long as there exists in this country a public opinion which perpetuates an unequal opportunity for social development of minority groups, and as long as there exist economic insecurity and substandard conditions of living for large segments of people who are victims of segregation and discrimination in a land of 'equality', so long are high crime rates to be expected among Negroes." (p. 115)^{39b}

Edgar Epps

Robert K. Merton's theory of deviant behavior states that juvenile delinquency results in part from the disparity existent in our culture between a culturally prescribed and emphasized "success" goal for the population at large and restrictions for a large part of the population in obtaining access to this goal. Those groups which have least access to the culturally prescribed "success" goal

are subjected to the greatest pressure toward delinquency.^{39c}

In a study of delinquent and non-delinquent students in Seattle, Washington, Edgar G. Epps tested the following hypotheses which he derived from Merton's theory:

1. Juvenile delinquency is most prevalent in the lower socioeconomic strata;
2. High aspirations for achieving success goals are held by individuals in all social strata; and
3. Ethnic minorities because of limited access to legitimate avenues of achieving success goals have a high frequency of delinquent behavior.⁴⁰

346 juniors (159 white students, 111 negro students and 76 oriental students) at a Seattle, Washington high school were the sample for this study. A questionnaire administered to the students included items on the socioeconomic status, level of aspiration and juvenile delinquency. Socioeconomic status was measured by the occupation of the respondents father, delinquency was measured by reported delinquent behavior, and level of aspiration was measured by the level of vocational training the student expected to achieve as well as their occupational aspirations.

Epps findings indicated that juvenile delinquency did

not differ among the various socioeconomic levels.⁴¹

The only major difference found was the tendency for those in the lower socioeconomic category to skip school and have sexual relations while those in the highest socioeconomic category drank beer, wine or liquor.⁴²

High aspirations for achieving success goals were not found in all social strata, the majority (60%) of the Negroes did not expect to obtain a college degree. Of those who did expect to obtain a college degree (high aspiring lower status students), delinquent involvement was not more than the low aspirants. This refutes Merton's theory that lower status students who have high aspirations will also have high frequencies of delinquent behavior.

Ethnic minorities did not exhibit a high frequency of delinquent behavior. Orientals were significantly less involved in delinquent behavior than either whites or Negroes and the differences between Negro and white boys were not statistically significant.⁴³

In the late 1950's and early 1960's Merton's theory of deviant behavior was subjected to much criticism, extension and revision.

Edgar G. Epps was one of the first black authors to

empirically test the relationship of socioeconomic status to delinquent behavior.

1970's

During the 1970's blacks contributed an increasing number of literary works which offered explanations of blacks and crime.

The increase in writings by black authors could have been due to any one of a number of factors.

First, after the civil unrest of the late 1960's, blacks began to speak out on a number of issues. Because "law and order" was one of the dominant social issues of this time period it would be expected that blacks would speak out on this issue.

The creation of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration made funding available for numerous symposiums and conferences out of which came publications on the black perspective on crime.

During the 1970's blacks with Ph.D.'s in Criminology began to appear - for the first time in this country. These individuals have contributed a great deal to an understanding of blacks and crime in this decade.

Lee P. Brown, recently appointed Commissioner of Public Safety in Atlanta, Georgia, has been one of the most prolific writers of the 1970's. At the Institute for Urban Affairs and Research, Howard University, Brown was instrumental in bringing together black practitioners in 1973 to discuss the administration of criminal justice and the black community. The Institute continues to bring together blacks (and whites) annually for conferences, workshops and symposiums on the criminal justice system as it affects blacks.

The Administration of Criminal Justice: A View From Black America edited by Brown presents the views of six leading black criminal justice practitioners who attended the workshops presented by the Institute in 1973.

While these practitioners were not concerned with developing theories, their explanations of crime and blacks emphasized the underrepresentation of blacks in the employment of the criminal justice system, discrimination in the enforcement of laws and the role of blacks who become employed in the criminal justice system.

In 1974, John A. Davis published an article in Issues in Criminology entitled "Justification for No Obligation Views of Black Males Toward Crime and Criminal Law."

Davis, in his article maintains that historical injustices inflicted upon blacks under the law in this country have produced a black consciousness which views the law as simply another instrument for upholding white supremacy.⁴⁴ Because of this, the law is not seen as an instrument of justice and little if any stigma is attached to law violation. This "de-legitimization" of the legal system takes place as a result of (1) contacts with agents of that system and (2) contacts with those who have been in the legal system.

Davis maintains that three conditions affect the emergence of criminality among blacks:

1. The awareness of grievances concerning unjust conditions leading to low respect for the law enforcement among blacks;
2. The awareness and acceptance of illegal methods as adequate solutions to these grievances; and
3. The willingness to engage in illegal activity as a solution to grievances resulting from feelings of injustice.⁴⁵

In this article Davis' contribution to a theory of blacks and crime focuses on an understanding of motives for committing crimes.

In January, 1976, John A. Davis published another article entitled "Blacks, Crime and American Culture" in the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

In this article Davis states that the attempts thus far to understand crime patterns among blacks in the United States have systematically failed to consider the impact of slavery and resultant racist policies on black self-esteem.⁴⁶ Crime among blacks, according to Davis, is a complex reaction to oppression which occurs primarily within the black community with blacks as the primary victims.

Historically, there have been attacks on blacks and their culture usually justified by legal interpretations by whites. Social inequalities perpetuated under the law tended to destroy the faith of blacks in "justice" in this society.

Davis presents data from the Ninth Atlanta Conference, 1904, The Report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice (1967) and Current Population Reports (1975) to show the predominant pattern of blacks to commit crimes against property. This however is not substantially different from the rate of property crimes for whites. The black rate of violent

crime while substantially greater than that for whites accounts for a minor portion of black crime.⁴⁷ The higher rate of crimes against persons for blacks is due to (1) property deprivation and (2) selective law enforcement.

Criminologists according to Davis, have played a major role in perpetuating an unreal threat from the black community to the dominant society. Through theories and research these criminologists have defined the black community as prototypical of the criminal environment.⁴⁸

Robert Staples has presented a theory of black crime which applies the colonial model to explain crime and race. This theory is presented in three articles by Staples:

1. "Informal Colonialism and Black Violence: An Analysis of the Political Character of Black Fratricide," Black World (1974)
2. "White Racism, Black Crime and American Justice: An Application of the Colonial Model to Explain Crime and Race," Phylon 36(1975)
3. "Black Crime and Delinquency" in Introduction to Black Sociology by Robert Staples. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976.

The colonial model is attributed to Frantz Fanon who analyzed colonial relationships in Africa in his noted book The Wretched of the Earth. Black Americans have

transferred this colonial analysis to the American pattern of racial dominance and subjugation.

The colonial analogy views the black community as an underdeveloped colony whose economics and politics are controlled by leaders of the racially dominant group.⁴⁹ Race is a political and cultural identity (as opposed to a genetic identity) because (1) it defines the way in which an individual is to be treated by the political state and because (2) white cultural values always have ascendency over black cultural values.

Crime by blacks in America is structured by their relationship to the colonial structure, which is based on racial inequality perpetuated by the political state.⁵⁰

Under the colonial model, the police serve as agents to enforce the status quo. Staples points out that police forces are predominantly white, hostile to the black community they service and disliked by the black community.

The colonial administration of justice and the oppression of blacks has resulted in the internment of a disproportionate number of blacks in the nation's prisons.⁵¹

Staples emphasizes that his application of the colonial model to race and crime needs more theoretical and empirical research. His analysis does represent the black perspective

III. CONSULTATIONS WITH BLACK SCHOLARS AND PRACTITIONERS

Interviews were conducted with the following persons:

A. Atlanta

Commissioner Reginald Eaves, Director of Public Safety

Mr. Samit Roy, Director of Research, Atlanta Police Department

Deputy Director C. Chafin, Atlanta Police Department

Major W. Dixon, formerly Director of the Police Community Unit, presently Director of Patrol for the City of Atlanta

Mr. David Rivers, Director of City Planning

Dr. George Napper, Director of the Crime Analysis Team

Dr. LaMarr Howard, Georgia State University, President of National Association of Blacks in Criminal Justice

Mr. Peter Roberts, Director of Criminal Justice Programs, 312 Oakhill Place, Calgary, Alberta

B. Washington, D.C.

Dr. Andre Sullivan, HUD, Office of the Secretary

Dr. Gwynne Pierson, Executive Director, Minority Advisory Council, LEAA

Mr. Art Jefferson, Criminal Justice Planning, Washington, D.C.

Ms. Alicia Christian, Center for Community Change, Washington, D.C.

Mr. Victor Rouse, American Institute for Research

Mr. Bob Woodson, former Director of Crime & Delinquency Unit, Urban

C. Dallas, Texas

Dr. Melvin Banks, Director, Criminal Justice, Bishop College

Mr. William Drake, Assistant Professor, Bishop College

Mr. George H. Coleman, Executive Director, Moorland Branch
YMCA

Mr. Paul Allen, Community Worker, George Evans School

Ms. Lena Knowlton, Youth Division, Police Department

Mr. John Softly, Dallas Police Department

Deputy Chief, Donald A. Stafford, Dallas Police Department

D. New Orleans, Louisiana (Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences)

Dr. Coramae R. Mann, Assistant Professor, School of
Criminology, Florida State University

Mr. Benjamin Ward, Commissioner, New York Department of
Corrections

Mr. Edward Elwin, Deputy Commissioner, Parole, New York
State

Dr. Andrew Chisom, U.S. Marshall, State of North Carolina

Mr. Lloyd Sealy, John Jay College of Criminal Justice,
New York, N. Y.

E. Jackson, Mississippi

Mr. Jimmy Bell, Director of Criminal Justice, Jackson
State College

Dr. Lena Wright Myers, Sociology Department, Jackson
State College

Dr. Joseph Curtis, Director of Criminal Justice, Mississippi
Valley State, Ita Bena, Mississippi

F. New York, New York

Ms. Avis Mulvaney, Member Probation Commission, State of
New York

Mr. Carl Berry, Deputy Commissioner, Department of
Correctional Services, Long Island City, New York

Dr. Audrey Johnson, New York Institute of Technology,
New York, New York

Dr. Alphonso Pinkney, Chairman, Department of Sociology,
Hunter College

G. National Association of Blacks in Criminal Justice
Conference, Washington, D.C.

Mr. Hal Williams, Director, Criminal Justice Education
Project, Minority School Consortium, Washington, D.C.

Ms. Patricia Morris, Offender Rehabilitation Program,
Jackson, Mississippi

Dr. Charles Owens, Department of Psychology, University of
Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Ottie Andre Dale, Operation PUSH, Chicago, Illinois

Mr. John Jeffrey, Sociology, University of Georgia,
Athens, Georgia

Mr. Fred Sizer, Bureau of Prisons, Washington, D.C.

H. Houston, Texas

Ms. Norma Johnson, Assistant to the Dean, School of Public
Affairs

Dr. Walter J. McCoy, Dean, School of Public Affairs

Ms. Taunya Banks, Assistant Professor, Thurgood Marshall
School of Law

Dr. Fad Wilson, Assistant Professor, Administration of
Justice Program, School of Public Affairs

Dr. K. L. Sindwani, Sociology Department, School of Public Affairs

Dr. Robert D. Bullard, Sociology Department, School of Public Affairs

I. Los Angeles, California

Mr. Perry Parks, Los Angeles Regional Criminal Justice Planning Board

Dr. Winston Doby, Vice Chancellor, Administration, U.C.L.A. Assistant

Dr. J. Wilson, Vice Chancellor, Administration, U.C.L.A.

J. San Francisco-Oakland Bay Area

Dr. Ben Carmichael, California State University, Hayward

Dr. Troy Duster, University of California, Berkeley

Dr. Harry Edwards, University of California, Berkeley

Dr. Price Cobbs, Psychiatrist, San Francisco, California

Interviews were conducted with various black scholars and practitioners throughout the country. The primary purpose was to obtain information concerning black crime and delinquency problems from different areas of the country. We were also concerned with obtaining information from persons who have made or were in a position to make important contributions to future research within the black community.

Perceptions of black crime were different in geographic areas of the country. In the South, crimes of violence are not the mature concern of citizens within given communities. The South is generally a place in which citizens can walk the streets at night without worrying about the fear of crime. Their perceptions of crime related research centered generally upon the need to deal with juveniles in a different way.

Charles Owens was concerned with addressing the problem of crime at the elementary school level and continuing through high school. His view of crime was from an educational level and his belief was that prevention must start within the educational system. He also indicated that community support for crime prevention is essential in any changing society. Self esteem through preventive mental health was seen as one way of combating crime within urban communities. I.Q. testing of juvenile and adult offenders should be completed soon after adjudication as possible. Dr. Owens believed that a strong correlation existed between I.Q. and crime. With black youngsters, his impression was that coping skills must be taught in all homes because children must deal with a hostile world which discriminates because of color.

In Jackson, Mississippi, scholars saw the need for further research in the area of black families because of

the belief that crime originates within the family and that crime prevention could be served through family intervention.

Street violence or juvenile crime was not seen as a major problem within the State of Mississippi. Crimes against property were most pervasive and families associated burglaries with acts of violence or potential acts of violence. Blacks were overly represented in crime statistics and were convicted and sentenced at a higher rate than whites.

Mississippi is basically still rural even though there are pockets of urban growth such as Jackson, Vicksburgh, Hattisburgh, etc. There were no indications of gang behavior nor indications of youngsters "hanging out on the streets." Communities are still somewhat close and responsibility for deviant behavior rest primarily with the family. Most of the research being conducted at Jackson State University is in the area of family relationships.

Atlanta, Georgia is considered by blacks as being the mecca of the South. Within the city, there is a black Mayor, black Director of Public Safety, black City Planner, black Police Chief, and essentially a black culture which is somewhat different from other black cities within the

South. Since the change in government from an all white environment to a black political structure, crime has decreased and this decrease is attributed to the change in leadership.

Interviews were conducted with members of the police department, city planning, and crime analysis team as well as with scholars at the traditional black colleges and universities within the city. Atlanta University, Spellman College, Moorehouse and MorrisBrown are the four major black universities and colleges within Atlanta. Additionally, Atlanta is the home of the King family as well as the home of our present Ambassador to the United Nations, Andrew Young.

Deputy Director C. Chaffin of the Atlanta Police Department conveyed the following information:

- a. More police support by the community than at any time within the last 30 years.
- b. No overt racial conflict within the cities.
- c. Non-existence of gangs.
- d. Attitudinal change of young people within the last five years.
- e. No reduction in the perceived fear of crime by people in the inner city.
 1. Fear increased by the media.

f. Indicated a need for studies to show that crime does not pay.

g. Studies needed in the area of career crime versus non-career crime.

h. Crime is a product of social, economic and housing conditions.

i. Single family units should be integrated into areas of large concentrations of poor people with many children to provide a better housing mix.

j. Reduction in drug traffic.

Major Dixon, former head of the Police Community Relations Unit, conveyed the following information:

a. City divided into ten target areas.

b. No gangs within Atlanta

c. Community Crime Prevention Section works closely with tenant associations and participated in problem solving which, in most cases, was unrelated to a policeman's duties.

d. Police Athletic League has reduced crime in target areas.

e. Parents are becoming involved in crime prevention in ghetto communities.

f. Research should be done in the area of behavioral indicators which lead to crime.

g. Police are now concerned with integration of all agencies within government.

h. Crime related to social problems within the ghettos.

Mr. Samit Roy, Director of Research, Atlanta Police Department, indicated that:

a. 85% of homicides in Atlanta are caused by people who have some personal relationship with each other.

b. Homicides are decreasing.

c. Aggravated assaults gradually increasing.

d. Overall decrease in crime which is attributed to Black Commissioner whose major emphasis is on interaction with the community.

Mr. David Rivers, Director of City Planning, Atlanta, indicated that the attitudes of police have changed over time and he attributed this change in attitude to the new Commissioner. In the past the police did not see themselves as part of the total community but that has changed. The police are now establishing an effective link in talking

to the people and the people feel that they can talk to the police. David also suggested that we look at the attitudes and that the attitudes of the police must change and that in his office he looks at the budget and he feels very strongly that no one wants to look at social planning, i.e., building people to see how land is being utilized within the cities and he said that is where the action is. He also indicated that they must have quality services. He suggested that we should saturate the school with black professionals and bring them over to the school system and show kids role models of what blacks are doing in city government as well as in other areas that this would bring about long term changes, and that we are more concerned with short term changes rather than long term changes. In the area of housing he suggested that city services must improve if we are going to have standard housing throughout the City of Atlanta.

Dr. George Napper (concept of self) indicated that there were certain items of worth, i.e., occupation status, family, income, community and love, and that when a person has only one of these items of worth there is a strong belief that no item should be retained at all costs. If that item of worth is lost, then people resort to violence. He suggested we should begin to look at studies in the area

of reclassifying or redesignating these kinds of items. Also suggested that gang behavior was nonexistent within the city and the reduction of crime and delinquency was associated with (a) a black concerned police department (b) the relationship of the police department with tenants and tenants associations (c) that the police department act as a referral service. He saw problem areas as non-reporting to the victim as to the outcome of the case, restitution, loss of community, i.e., people are still afraid to go out of their homes in the evening. Enforcement should be equal throughout the city and the police may have too much discretion.

Lamar Howard sees within the city a decrease in police brutality. He suggested that we should be looking at predictive studies in the schools primarily because the teachers know who the criminals are and we should be concerned with modes of innovation and with value system. Within the community we should seek to impose value systems and we should induce self-assessment studies as to what kept people out of trouble and maybe refocus instead of looking at people who are in difficulty, instead look at people who have succeeded in depressed communities. He talked about the underclass and felt we should not try to impose our value system on the underclass. Also suggested that we should look at teaching coping skills to minority youngsters at an early age. The major contribution that Lamar made was to say that we as a University should begin

to look at an all-black cohort and that no study has been done on a black cohort to follow for a long period of time.

Dr. Coramae Mann from Florida State University was concerned with the lack of definitive studies measuring black women and crime. She also suggested a cohort study of a black community, as well as an evaluation of crime prevention efforts in black communities.

In the Southwest, both in Houston and in Dallas the fear of crime was not as strong as the fear of the police. The fear of the police was not as pervasive in Dallas as it was in Houston but the fear was there. Most blacks saw the police as an occupying force which had little concern for human lives among blacks and Mexicans.

Most of the interviews in Dallas were held at Bishop College which is predominantly black. Dr. Melvin Banks, Director of Criminal Justice, believed in prevention through the schools. He indicated that there should be special purpose schools, i.e., college, vocations, family management, child rearing, etc. His major emphasis was on prevention and to be effective, one must teach criminal justice programs in the secondary schools. Observations of predelinquent behavior should be recorded within

school systems. The major changes from law abiding to anti-law abiding behavior generally occurs in the fifth and sixth grades.

Dr. Banks was concerned with the drastic changes in society over the last few decades. He described integration as being frustrating primarily because the old controls that blacks had in the community have dissolved themselves and these controls were manifested more in the schools than in any other social organization. Within the South, he saw white teachers who are not committed to black excellence and their prior attitudes about blacks have not changed; that resentments of blacks still exists and that black students are moving from one grade to another without fundamentals needed to show people what happens once they are in the criminal justice system, etc. There should be a no-nonsense film about prisons.

He also felt that we must return to the concept of punishment and restitution for crimes committed.

Educational institutions and churches are the two strongest institutions within the black community. We should utilize those institutions to bring about changes in crime prevention within the black community. What we need is an outreach from the church and schools to deal

with the problems of the offender. Arrest records are not as detrimental to blacks because most have been arrested at least once. There is no desire to hide or conceal identity for the black offender because he or she knows it doesn't matter within the black community. We don't have people coming out of other neighborhoods and committing crimes within our neighborhoods because they are a part of our neighborhood and they live in our community. Crime feeds upon itself within the black community because most blacks are consumers of criminal products or they are into crime themselves.

William Drake, Assistant Professor at Bishop College, saw a need for reality therapy within the black community. Reality therapy would assist in providing coping skills that are so vital for black youngsters within the community. He also saw the need for research into the question of why some people who grow up in the ghetto remain crime-free and others are involved in crime. He rejected to a certain degree, Sutherland's theory of differential association, indicating that the study did not explain the successes within the black community.

Throughout the Dallas interviews, there was a controlling theme of black on black crime and its impact upon black communities. There was also expressed the importance of

blacks becoming involved in the criminal justice system as workers and not participants.

Bishop College is at the forefront in working with groups whose aims are combating crime within black communities. The closest affiliation is with the Dallas Alliance for the Improvement of Dallas. This organization assists in informing and providing information to groups so that they may develop an awareness of common problems within the black community.

Some causes of crime as seen by the Dallas interviews:

- a. More leisure time for children.
- b. Impact of television on behavior
- c. Traditional organizations (i.e., boy scouts, girl scouts, boys clubs) no longer meeting the needs of today's youngsters
- d. Black films glorifying pimps and prostitutes have negative effect upon youngsters
- e. More employment for youngsters
- f. Both parents working leaving children unsupervised.

Researchable areas:

- a. Neighborhood councils.
- b. Small group behavior within black communities.
- c. Effect of foot patrol within black communities.
- d. Utilization of older kids to change attitudes within communities.
- e. Effect of a Black Deputy Chief on crime reduction in the neighborhood where he is assigned.
- f. The effect of role modeling on crime reduction.

Dr. McCoy, Texas Southern University, suggested that blacks who are middle and lower class contribute to the crime problem within the black communities by purchasing stolen goods. The market for buying and selling of stolen merchandise is always available and there is a non-involvement of individuals when crimes are committed.

The police in Houston also contribute to the high incidence of crime within the City of Houston. They are not sensitive to the black and Mexican community and are found quite often to be involved in acts of brutality against minorities. He perceives the fear of the police as great as the fear of criminals.

Dr. McCoy suggests studies of the part-time thief, the individual who steals when he is not working, who has a ready market for his wares within the black community. The part-time thief is occasionally working and generally moves from bar to bar, pool hall to pool hall, always searching for a victim. The design of the black community contributes to the thief mentality. In most black communities local stores, churches, liquor stores, bars, and pool halls are located in the heart of the black community. When a thief or a potential thief leaves a liquor store, pool hall or bar his observations are always of resident homes which he may eventually decide to burglarize or rob at will. In white communities, establishments such as bars, pool halls, liquor stores are zoned away from residential neighborhoods, thus the opportunity for ready crime is not present. Additionally, the opportunities for crime in white neighborhoods by blacks is considerably reduced because of color. Blacks are often viewed with suspicion if confronted in white neighborhoods.

There is also a need to study the prevailing attitudes of people within the black community, as well as their relationships with local police. In Houston the belief is that nothing is going to occur even if the police are called, so most victims do not report crimes. One should

look at role models. Blacks suffer from the cycle of poverty and are constantly striving to survive in an unfriendly world. Finally, the long term effects of a criminal record are entirely different in black communities than in other communities.

Other scholars at Texas Southern suggested research in the legal aspects of crime and delinquency, family organization, community organization and sentencing.

Al Pinkney, Chairman of Sociology, Hunter College, is concerned with the area of police use of deadly force, especially as it relates to homicides committed against blacks. There was also a concern about the increase in delinquent behavior within New York City by black youngsters. Pinkney did not see a reduction in crime within urban communities within the near future because of the political nature of the cities.

Ms. Avis Mulvaney, Probation Commissioner, cited statistics to illustrate the increase in crime within the New York Metropolitan Area. More than 47,000 regular investigations took place in the year 1976, with supervision of over 41,000 cases and a budget for \$40,000,000. She saw the need for research in the area of differential supervision programs, designs for release on recognizance

programs, case evaluations, and sentencing.

Audrey Johnson, the New York Institute of Technology, focused on juvenile delinquents and the causal relationship between the role of adolescent peer groups in the political socialization process. She saw the gang in a different role. The gang could become a powerful agent for reinforcing or altering political beliefs, attitudes and values. She also indicated that a high premium is placed on education but few schools do much to increase the political efficacy or skills of ghetto youngsters. As she saw it, there is a difference in the gangs of the sixties and the gangs of the seventies. She found that gangs presently in New York are much more politically astute than ever before. They are stratified along the lines of legitimate political parties with a hierarchical arrangement that begins with a core group at the top, followed by a middle and larger layer of activists that rests on a wider base of supporters.

Her impressions were that research is needed in the area of political socialization as it relates to gang behavior.

In the West, especially California, problems of delinquency center to some extent around gang behavior, but only in Southern California. Gangs are somewhat prevalent in Watts and Compton, both black communities.

U.C.L.A. has assigned certain staff members to work with organizing the various groups who are working in crime prevention within the Compton community. Compton has become a complete black community since the riots of the sixties. Violent crime has increased especially in the area of juveniles. There are very few resources within the city and the majority of the people are receiving some form of public assistance. There is a need for a massive reorganization effort as well as research in the area of juvenile crime causation. Compton is seen as an ideal town for a cohort study of black youngsters because its population is very stable and also very black.

Perry Parks saw the need for more blacks working within the criminal justice system. Within the State Planning Agency, he was the only black employee at a policy making level. He indicated that the regional planning agencies throughout the Los Angeles basin had few if any blacks employed at policy making levels.

Dr. Price Cobb (Black Rage) sees a need for definitive studies into causes of mental disturbance among young middle class blacks. His concern is that businesses employ blacks and convey to them high expectations within the business world, but those expectations are never realized because of institutional discrimination. Young blacks

are then left with a feeling of frustration as well as a negative perception of themselves primarily because of a lack of promotion and a lack of status within the company. Blacks are "locked" into the job because the offer of employment was lucrative, quite often much higher than the starting salary for young whites.

The large salary is quite often spent on luxury items such as a nice car, home, clothes, etc. With high mortgage and car payments, blacks find themselves in a compromising position in which they must sacrifice their integrity for the maintenance of employment. Thus, they become dismayed, disillusioned, and disappointed at the white business world. Their return to the inner city is gradual, but it generally begins with returning to all black parties where you can "get down."*

The resulting frustrations of moving into the white middle class is beginning to take its toll on the young blacks which is resulting in mental degeneration as well as an ingrown hatred for the white male. Dr. Cobb sees the next revolution as coming from the black young middle class rather than from the young lower class.

Employment of juveniles seems to be the more pressing problem as noted by academicians at the University of

*be one's self and talk about the "white man" and his games, some some dope, and dress as one desires, not as one must when he or she is playing "games" during the week.

California at Berkeley. Crime and unemployment are seen as being directly correlated, even though class differences do have some impact upon juvenile crime. Delinquency was seen as social behavior and not intrinsically different from conventional behavior.

Troy Duster indicated that social class could not decide the question of membership in the society, but it does determine the quality of that membership even to the point of obtaining adequate employment. Troy did not see any reduction in crime or juvenile delinquency within the last decade and seriously questioned the value of further research when the conclusions of such research are not followed.

The perceptions of crime are very intense on the East Coast, quite often leading to a feeling that the victim is just waiting to be victimized because there is no other choice. People are fearful to walk the streets at night or leave their homes unguarded.

On the West Coast, the perception of crime in the black community is not one of fear for black on black crime but one of acceptance that it will occur and that very little will be done to combat neighborhood crime.

Street gangs are not as prevalent and, even in communities such as Watts and Compton, there is not the fear of street violence that persists on the East Coast. Perhaps one reason is that there are not enormous highrises and massive amounts of people in small areas as there are on the East Coast.

In the South, there is a changing mood which is somewhat difficult to describe. Communities are working together, people are walking streets at night without fear, black on black crime is primarily limited to certain areas of the city where vice flourishes. Crimes of violence have been considerably reduced, not so much because of police action, but primarily because of political action.

In the North, violence is still seen as a way of life. Detroit and Chicago are still crime capitals. Detroit has a black Mayor and black Police Chief. Cities with black heads of government have shown a reduction in crimes of violence. It will be interesting to research the causes of those reductions especially as a city changes from a white majority to a black majority.

IV. EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF BLACKS IN CRIMINOLOGY AND
CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Programs:

In the past ten years the number of criminal justice education programs has increased tremendously. Along with this increase the number of faculty members and students at the graduate and undergraduate levels has also increased.

In order to determine the number and location of black faculty members and Ph.D. candidates in criminal justice programs, 229 questionnaires were administered to colleges and universities across the country.

In the Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Education Directory 1976-1977, the International Association of Chiefs of Police lists 667 colleges and universities which offer either A.A., A.S., B.A., B.S., M.A., M.S. and Ph.D. programs in criminology or criminal justice. Eighty-one of these programs offer graduate degrees and eleven are listed as offering the Ph.D. degree. The questionnaire was mailed to seventy-four of these predominantly white schools listed in the directory.

The questionnaire was also mailed to ninety-six traditionally black schools. The Moton Guide to American

Colleges with a Black Heritage was used to identify traditionally black colleges with criminal justice programs. Twenty-one of the traditionally black colleges and universities were listed as offering a criminal justice or criminology degree program. (Of the twenty-one schools with criminal justice programs, only four; Bishop College (Dallas, Texas), Coppin State College (Baltimore, Maryland), Fayetteville State University and Howard University (Washington, D.C.) were listed in the IACP Directory.)

Even though the problems of crime disproportionately affects the black population, black schools of higher education have been slow to develop criminal justice curriculums. The explanations for this include a lack of financial resources and a lack of faculty trained in the discipline.

At a number of schools, courses relating to criminology and criminal justice are taught in the political science and sociology departments. For this reason, questionnaires were mailed to all the black colleges with a liberal arts curriculum and in many instances questionnaires were mailed to both the sociology and political science department.

Findings

Only thirty-eight schools responded to the questionnaire.

This was a very low response rate which can be interpreted in several ways.

First, the questionnaire may have been too vague, especially for traditionally black schools without criminal justice programs.

Second, the majority of schools included in the questionnaire may not have any black faculty members and for that reason did not return the questionnaire.

Of the thirty-eight respondents, twenty were predominantly white schools and eighteen were traditionally black schools (two questionnaires were returned undelivered). Twenty schools had full time black faculty members, ten schools had black faculty members teaching at the graduate level and four schools had black students pursuing the Ph.D. degree.

Twenty-nine full time black faculty members were identified by the questionnaire. Of these faculty members, nine were at predominantly white schools and twenty were at predominantly black schools. Table III lists the traditionally black schools with full time faculty members and Table IV lists the predominantly white schools with full time faculty members.

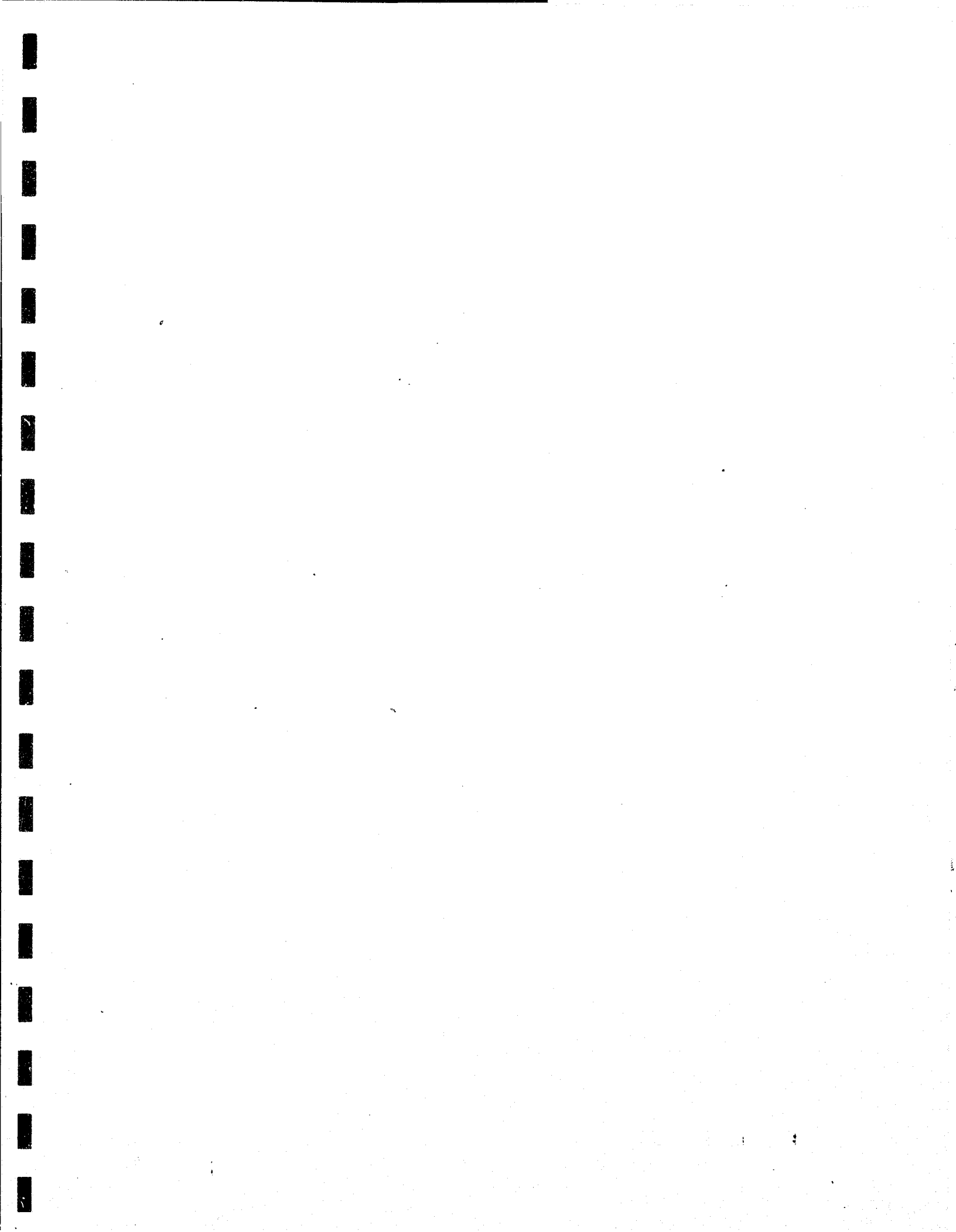


TABLE III

Schools with Black Full Time Faculty Members Teaching
Criminology/Criminal Justice Courses

<u>School</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Black Faculty Members</u>
Bishop College	Dallas, Texas	2
Central State University		1
Cheyney State College	Baltimore, Maryland	1
Fayetteville State University	Fayetteville, North Carolina	1
Grambling College	Grambling, Louisiana	2
Howard University	Washington, D.C.	2
Huston-Tillotson College		3
Lincoln University	Lincoln, Missouri	1
Mississippi Valley State University	Ita Bena, Mississippi	4
Shaw College	Detroit, Michigan	3
Shaw University	Raleigh, North Carolina	5
Spelman College	Atlanta, Georgia	1
Southern University	New Orleans, Louisiana	1
Talladege College	Talladege, Alabama	3
Tennessee State University	Nashville, Tennessee	2
Texas Southern University	Houston, Texas	2
West Virginia State		2
Xavier University	New Orleans, Louisiana	1
	Total	37

TABLE IV

Predominantly White Schools with Black Faculty Members
Teaching Criminology/Criminal Justice Courses

<u>School</u>	<u>No. of Black Faculty Members</u>
Florida State University	1
Sangamon State University	1
SUNY, Albany	1
University of Alabama in Birmingham	1
University of Illinois at Chicago Circle	2
University of Maryland, College Park	2
University of Pennsylvania	<u>1</u>
Total	9

Five white schools and five black schools have black faculty members teaching at the graduate level. All of the schools responding have only one black faculty member teaching at the graduate level with the exception of Howard University, which has two. (See Table V.)

Ten black doctoral candidates were identified by the survey, all of them at predominantly white institutions. (See Table VI.)

The questionnaire also identified publications by the respondents. Ten faculty members had publications including articles, books, special reports, theses and dissertations.

The faculty members and doctoral candidates are included in the Directory of Black Academicians in Criminology and Criminal Justice, their publications are included in the comprehensive bibliography and the bibliography of literature by black authors. (See Appendix.)

These faculty members and Ph.D. candidates represent only those schools who responded to the questionnaire. Of course, additional faculty members will be found in schools which were not included in the questionnaire. At the traditionally black institutions faculty members were often not reported if there was no criminology/criminal justice degree program.



CONTINUED

1 OF 2

TABLE V

Schools with Black Faculty Members

Teaching at the Graduate Level

<u>School</u>		<u># of Faculty Members Teaching at the Graduate Level</u>
Cheyney State College	(B)	1
Howard University	(B)	2
Sam Houston State University	(W)	1
Sangamon State University	(W)	1
Southern University	(B)	1
State University of New York at Albany	(W)	1
University of Maryland - College Park	(W)	1
University of Pennsylvania	(W)	1
Xavier University	(B)	1

10

(B) - Predominantly Black

(W) - Predominantly White

TABLE VI

Schools with Black Doctoral Candidates

<u>School</u>	<u>No. of Ph.D. Candidates</u>
SUNY, Albany	2
University of California, Irvine	2
University of IBWA	1
University of Maryland, College Park	4
University of Pennsylvania	<u>1</u>
Total	10

The University of Pennsylvania had two graduates (Ph.D.) teaching at universities in Nigeria. Black graduate students were found at Michigan State University after the completion of the survey.

Although not included, several schools had black Master's degree candidates.

BLACK ACADEMICIANS IN CRIMINOLOGY

AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE

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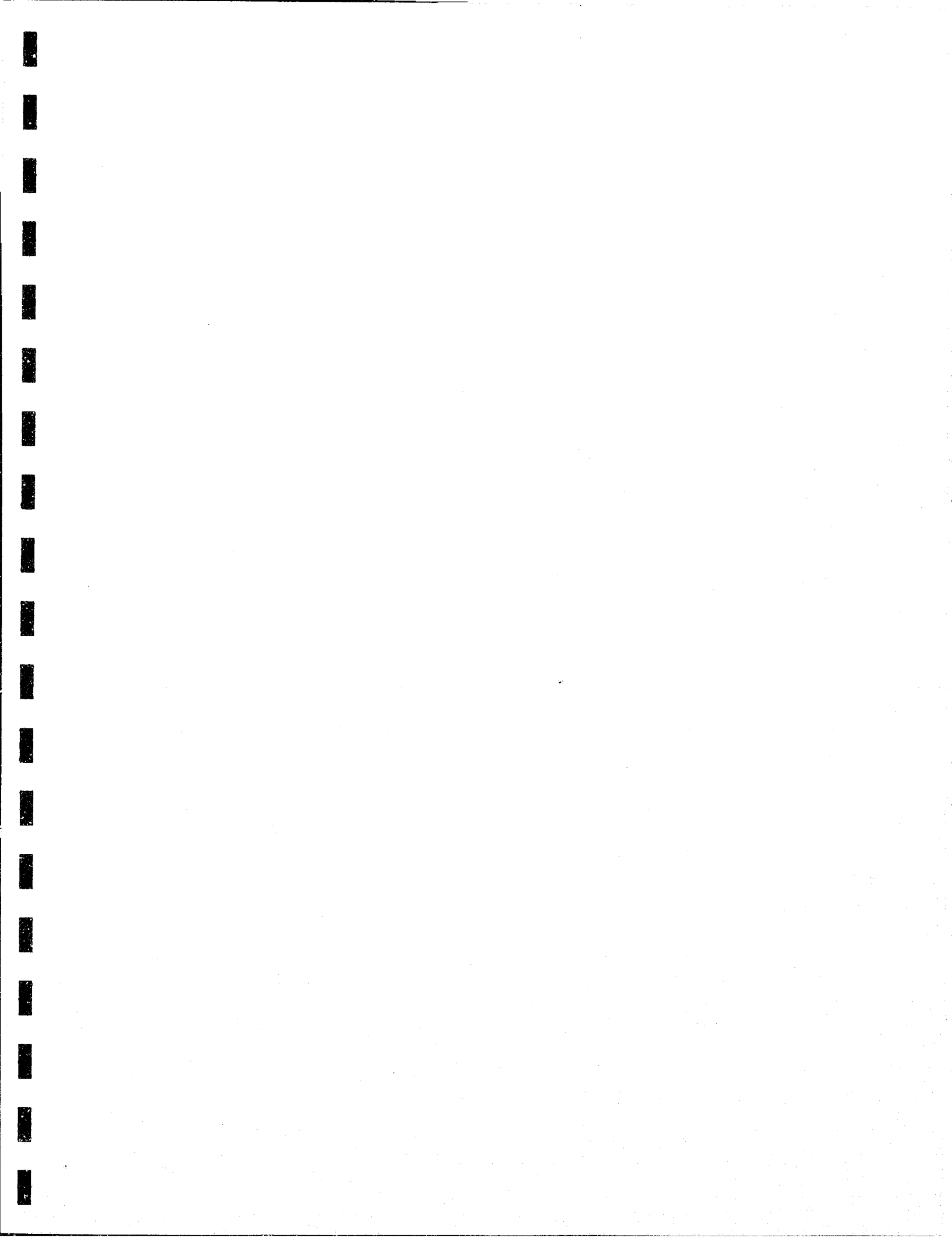
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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This has been a study of black crime and delinquency as perceived by black authors. This study has endeavored to show that there does exist a body of knowledge called Black Criminology and that this knowledge is different from the field of criminology as we know it today. The essential difference is that we focused upon a race of people who were forced into slavery, given freedom, had it taken away and given freedom again under constitutional amendments. Black people within the United States still are victims of discrimination whether it be overt or covert. That discrimination, whether real or perceived, is said to be the most pervasive cause of crime within the country.

Black criminology thus is described as the scientific study of black criminals and crimes as committed by blacks. In the past, major studies of blacks and crime have been conducted by white authors. Black writers have written about crime within black communities but their writings have largely been ignored.

Criminology has been defined by Sutherland and Cressey as the scientific study of crime as a social phenomenon. Carroll and Pinatel define criminology as the complete study of crime and the criminal. Seelig defines criminology as the science that deals with all aspects of the perpetration of crime and the fight against crime.

Criminology as a science is just over two hundred years old. Becarria published his treatise, "Del Delitti e delle Pene" in 1764 and John Howard his treatise on the state of prisons in England and Wales in 1777. These two works are considered as the beginnings of criminology.

Lombroso (1876) is considered the father of the scientific school of criminology. It was Lombroso who enunciated the hypothesis of atavism to explain criminal behavior. His concepts were later proven incorrect, yet it was a beginning.

Within this country sociologists were the leading advocates of criminological theory. The Chicago School had, perhaps, the most influence upon our thinking in the area of crime and criminals. This influence is seen throughout the writings of black authors.

The findings from the study quite clearly indicate that in the early days of black crime, blacks were primarily involved in non-violent types of crime. In the South, blacks were arrested with little provocation and their release depended upon whites' paying the fine and the black offender became, in effect, an indentured servant. In the North, blacks were also arrested for minor crimes but there was a gradual increase in incidents of violence as more and more blacks moved to the cities.

The causes of crime were linked to inadequate housing, unemployment, illiteracy, transmission from slavery to a state of freedom, racial prejudice, poor legal defense, laws of vagrancy, dual justice, etc.

White scholars as well as black scholars were sympathetic to the plight of the poor black but efforts were not made to eliminate adverse conditions. Blacks continued to move from the south to the north in large numbers. Within the South, overt oppression became the rule because whites soon became aware that they were losing their major working force. In the North, whites became alarmed because of the rising number of blacks migrating into the cities. Chicago gained over one million new residents between 1910-1930.

The result was oppression both in the North and in the South for different reasons. Blacks were denied job opportunities, given poor housing, poor education, inadequate justice, but were expected to remain crime free.

Underlying the entire approach to blacks and crime was the general feeling that blacks are criminogenic and that there will always be a criminal element within the black community.

The major work involving blacks and crime was conducted by W. E. B. DuBois, whose definitive study of "The Philadelphia Negro" was the first and most comprehensive study of black crime in the city. DuBois was convinced that crime and delinquency within the black community was a result of discrimination and that the discrimination was a result of the mass migration of blacks into the inner cities. He viewed the young black as being a victim of a lack of education which prohibited him from functioning as a normal person within the city. His theory was that ignorance and immigration were primarily responsible for much crime. He did not rule out other social causes but saw the problem of immigration as being primarily responsible for much of the crime.

Most of the earlier studies were concerned with proving that blacks were inherently criminal and very few studies were concerned with the causes of crime nor the relationship of blacks to the criminal justice system. Data was constantly obtained to show that the degree of criminality between whites and blacks varied widely and that blacks were involved in acts of violence at a higher rate than whites. In truth, crimes of blacks were initially non-violent. Laws in Philadelphia in 1693 were passed to authorize constables to arrest blacks for loitering without a pass from their white masters. Crimes of

blacks in the South were practically always concerned with theft of property, gambling, vagrancy, etc. Even as late as 1923, 39% of all commitments of blacks to prison were for the offenses of drunkenness and disorderly conduct. The commitments of whites in the South exceeded the commitments of blacks for robbery, rape, liquor laws, drug laws, drunkenness and vagrancy!

Yet, the most frequently encountered explanation of black criminality was that blacks were biologically inferior to whites and, therefore, naturally resorted to crime because of being less able to solve economic, social and emotional problems in socially approved ways.

Numerous studies confirmed the inferior size and weight of blacks as compared to whites. Additional studies indicated that blacks functioned at a lower mental level than whites. One study even indicated that blacks will never be the mental equal of whites but that blacks could progress in America. Those studies were all studies by whites used to explain black crime.

Even at times black authors contributed to the myth of inferiority. In a study conducted by Dr. DuBois in a small Virginia town in which he studied 260 black families, he described the members of the lower class as "below the line of ordinary respectability, living in

loose sexual relationships, responsible for most of the illegitimate children, and furnishing a half-dozen street walkers and numerous gamblers and rowdies. They are not particularly vicious and quarrelsome, but rather shiftless and debauched. Laziness and promiscuous sexual intercourse are their besetting sins." 52

Later writers such as E. F. Frazier indicated that poverty and social disorganization were the major causes of crime. They indicated that juvenile delinquency was a result of the movement of blacks into deteriorated areas from which whites had moved. These writers were strongly influenced by the Chicago School and they used zonal theories to explain crime and delinquency within the cities.

Frazier was aware that blacks were convicted of crime at a higher rate proportionately than whites and that the crime rate was initially ascribed to some physical or moral deficiency which did not exist. Frazier disregarded the moral deficiency theories and instead accepted causal conditions as economic, social, poverty, educational, and urbanizational. His solution for reduction of crime depended upon blacks being integrated completely into American life.

Wilson thought that crime and delinquency was a result of the economy. Moses attributed the increase of juvenile delinquency among blacks in Chicago to the settling of black migrant families in areas of deterioration and disorganization. He indicated that black delinquency was similar to white delinquency and that the question was not one of race but of settlement into areas of deterioration where delinquent patterns of behavior prevail.

In a later study of black crime in Baltimore, Moses did not find conviction rates unfavorable to blacks. In comparing black and white areas with the same socio-economic backgrounds, he found very little differences in crime behavior. He did find homicide rates as being much higher among blacks. He attributed this to the natural inclination for blacks to carry knives and guns.

"A More reasoned explanation for higher crime rates is to be found in the poverty of life in the deteriorated areas inhabited by them. One recognizes this poverty on every hand and in a variety of its manifestations. Because of it, life in these areas has been reduced largely to organic survival...This poverty is more than economic; it is pervasive in character: bad housing, overcrowding, restricted areas of settlement, limited outlets of expression, as in recreation, restricted employment opportunities, etc. On every hand the Negro is hedged in by racial proscriptions." 53

Reid attempted to refute the argument that blacks are inherently more criminal than whites by showing that

the low economic status of blacks and the restricted opportunity for securing employment contributed to the large number of cases of larceny and robbery. He suggested studies in the following areas:

1. A study of the proximity of vice resorts to black dwellings.
2. A comparative case study of black delinquents in particular communities of the North and the South.
3. Surveys of neighborhoods, covering all the environmental conditions in their possible relationship to crime.

Recent writers such as Swan, Pierson, Lee have attempted to project a synthesis of black crime which deals with the underlying causes of crime within urban communities. They have attempted to enlarge the reading audience and convey to whites that black writers see crime in the black community in somewhat different terms than white writers and that their solution to crime problems is approached in somewhat of a different way than whites have faced the problem in the past.

Efforts to eliminate crime have generally been cosmetic. The government has been reluctant to deal with the basic issues for prevention of crime because the poor

are non-political and have no power.

Some of the findings of this study are:

- * Black scholars perceive racism as increasing within the criminal justice system.
- * Black practitioners perceive black crime as decreasing, especially within black communities.
- * Black scholars see a need for action rather than evaluative research within black communities. This research must be by black scholars.
- * Black scholars in their writings perceived the causes of crime in identical ways as white scholars. The same orientation may be attributed to blacks being trained in white colleges and universities.
- * Black practitioners were primarily concerned with returning to a family value system as a method of reducing crime.
- * Black scholars were primarily concerned with changing a lifestyle through economic progress.
- * Black scholars were concerned with the emasculation of the young black middle class by industry and its implications for young blacks in the future.
- * White and black scholars were leaving the field of criminology and criminal justice because of a feeling of hopelessness.

Recommendations:

- * A cohort study of a black community. A study of this kind has never been attempted. The ideal community would be Compton, California. Compton is worse today than before Watts in 1964. It is the true shanty town of the West and would make an ideal study area. The Joint Center for Community Studies at UCLA has been

involved in Compton in the area of community organization.

- * A National Conference devoted entirely to a discussion of blacks and crime.
- * A study of the impact of black police commissioners and chiefs on crime in large urban communities.

PROPOSED AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

I. JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

- A. A comparison of youngsters whose first officially known offense was a status offense with those whose first was a criminal offense. The issue is whether or not a status offender signals a substantial risk of serious delinquent behavior in the future.
- B. What effect does the process of labeling of delinquency have upon black youth?
- C. A study is needed to record the daily round of juvenile activities of black youth as well as their process of thinking about themselves and their community.
- D. Cohort study of a total black community, i.e., Compton, California.
- E. Predictive studies of criminality in black schools.
- F. Reality therapy (coping skills) and its relationship to crime and delinquency.
- G. The relationship of desegregation of schools and crime and delinquency within black communities.

II. POLICE

- A. Is there a relationship between a reduction in crime and the advent of black political leadership? Look at cities such as:
 - a. Atlanta
 - b. Detroit
 - c. Newark
 - d. Berkeley
 - e. Washington, D.C.

- B. Homicides committed by police upon black people.
- C. The public and self-perception of black and white police in cities with a majority black population or elected black mayors.
- D. The increase in community organizations which have been formed to prevent crime. (Most community organizations have been formed to reduce the threat of rape, but they have had the effect of reducing burglary.)

III. BLACK FEMALE CRIME

We should look at the social-psychology of black female crime; its relationship to black and white male crime; has black female crime kept pace with white female crime, what effect has the women's movement had on black female crime? Is there a relationship between black female crime and single parenting, low pay employment, head of family, etc. What impact does incarceration have on the children of female prisoners?

IV. CORRECTIONS

- A. Black subcultures: Much is said about inmate control of prisons through gangs organized along ethnic and racial lines. Research might provide information about the dynamics of these groups and the prospect of using such groups as adjuncts to prison rehabilitation programs. Research might also provide information for relating such groups to the larger community as a potential strategy favoring parole success.
- B. Flat sentencing and its relationship to rehabilitation.
- C. The potential impact of determinate sentencing upon the black prison population.
- D. Black victimization within institutions.
- E. Race and social class of probation and parole officers as a factor affecting recidivism rates of black offenders.

- F. The effects of institutional discrimination on the mental health of adults and juveniles within correctional institutions.

V. COURTS

- A. The impact of plea bargaining upon black offenders. It is not uncommon for prosecutors to use their discretion to place maximum charges against minorities while placing less serious charges against majority representatives and then getting minorities to plead guilty to less serious charges.
- B. The impact of sentencing disparities upon blacks.
- C. A comparison of sentencing procedures of white and black judges in one large urban city.

VI. BLACK COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Much black crime is community based crime (e.g., black on black crime). What impact, if any, can be realized through effective social and political organization within the black community? Is the fact of community disorganization considered an impetus or justification for criminal behavior by residents? Do agents of the criminal justice system view community disorganization as justification for differential or unequal treatment of black community residents?

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