Issues in Urban America:

Factors Related to Perceptions of Self-Reliance and Lower Crime

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Factors Related to Perceptions of Self-Reliance and Lower Crime

by

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For over a century, researchers have studied methods for revitalizing urban communities. Many studies show that entrepreneurship plays a vital role in sustaining valuable resources that are necessary for community development. The currently study adds to previous research by identifying factors that are related to self-reliance and lower crime. I analyze data from the 1991 National Race and Politics Study, which explored attitudes on various issues related to community development and politics. My findings indicate that jobs, more say in government decisions, and hard work are significantly related to self reliance, while small business, neighborhood organizations, care for the homeless and job training are significantly related to lower crime. These results support the work of previous

researchers by showing that crime and neighborhood organizations play important roles in community development. The study goes a step further to identify additional attitudinal variables that are related to self-reliance and lower crime. These results should assist policy makers in determining what factors may help revitalize urban communities that suffer from high levels of unemployment and crime.

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INTRODUCTION

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Sociologists have been studying urban communities for over 100 years. Steven Steinburg, author of *The Ethnic Myth*, vividly shows how immigrant communities were organized, politically, culturally, economically, and socially at the turn of the 20 century and beyond. He points out the problem is reification of culture, which occurs whenever culture is treated independently. "This is especially the case", states the author, "when ethnic groups are assumed to be endowed with a given set of cultural values, and no attempt is made to understand these values in terms of their material power" (Steinburg 1989 :xiv). In short, he asserts that an examination of the specific relationships between ethnic factors must be studied along with a wide range of historical, economic, political, and social factors. Blacks often face similar problems (e.g. high crime, gang activity, discrimination, alcohol abuse, etc.) that members of early urban immigrant groups confronted over a century ago.

Various transformations have occurred in urban communities over the past 40 years. The current study provides a historical analysis of changes that have occurred in inner city communities. Research is examined that covers various perspectives on community development

and group success. For example, Max Weber's Protestant Work Ethic provides a theoretical foundation for understanding how groups adjust to society in the face of obstacles. John Sibley Butler's research on entrepreneurship and self-help among African Americans applies Weber's ideas, providing a blueprint for economic and organizational development. In short, both investigators state that self-reliance or self-organization leads to healthy communities. To gain a better understanding of important community level variables and their relationships to attitudes toward self-reliance and lower crime, secondary data was examined from the 1991 National Race and Politics Survey. A primary data analysis was also conducted which identifies community problems and potential development initiatives. The results of each of the analyses are discussed to show how they are alike and different. In the end, both data sets identify common factors that may help better inform urban policy.

SPECIFIC AIMS AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF THIS RESEARCH

In the current analysis, self-reliance and lower crime are viewed as two essential factors that lead to healthy communities that are able to sustain themselves economically, socially, and politically. The Survey was a nationwide random-digit telephone survey carried out by the

Survey Research Center of The University of California at Berkeley. It is the aim of this research to identify important community level variables and their relationships to self-reliance and lower crime, which may better inform public policy.

It was hypothesized that education, jobs, more say in government decisions and hard work would be significantly related to attitudes toward self-reliance. The findings support part of the hypothesis, showing that variables such as jobs, black businesses, more say in government decisions and hard work have significant relationships with self-reliance. Education was significant but in the opposite direction than that predicted, showing that education was actually negatively related to self-reliance. The data analysis also shows that organizational development, care for the homeless, and job training have significant relationships with less crime. These findings support the work of Steinburg, Weber, and Butler in showing how groups can positively build strong communities, even when they face obstacles such as discrimination and high crime rates. This additional evidence may better inform policy makers on issues that need attention in today's urban neighborhoods.

Successful stories of inner city education and welfare reform, job training, neighborhood watch programs, and small business activity provide support for initiatives that are geared toward investment in these

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public policy areas, as mentioned in chapter 4 . The present study asserts that high crime rates and high unemployment rates harm the natural development of communities. The research suggest that preventive measures such as creating better primary and secondary schools, improved social service programs that make families self-reliant, increased community policing (or neighborhood watch), and small business activity should be raised in level of priority. As mentioned, the secondary data analysis showed that education was negatively related to self-reliance, which may appear to contradict the findings of the primary data analysis. Although research shows that those with higher educational levels may be less likely to engage in self-employment due to the risk factor, education is still an important factor for neighborhood and organizational development, particularly at the primary and secondary school levels. A discussion on the primary and secondary school system is provided to show that research indicates that these are important areas that need the attention of policy makers when discussing the general health of urban communities. The fact that education is negatively related to self-reliance does not contradict the fact that education is crucial for community development. Education and income are positively related, as previous studies have shown, so this is an important variable nonetheless.

CHAPTER 1

URBAN DEVELOPMENT ISSUES: HISTORY, THEORY AND

RESEARCH

HISTORICAL, THEORECTICAL , AND EMPIRCAL CONTEXT

Urban communities represent areas of great potential for the

American economy. Unfortunately, many of these neighborhoods

currently represent economically depressed areas around the country,

composed of high rates of unemployment and relatively higher crime

rates (when compared to their suburban counterparts), along with other

indicators of community instability. Researchers have been examining

the social, cultural, economic, political, and racial aspects of urban

communities for over a century, as mentioned in the introduction (DuBois

1889; Osofsky 1968; Crossland 1914; Steinburg 1989). Over the past 4

decades in particular, urban communities experienced a number of

transformations. During the Civil Rights Era of the 1960s, blacks fought

for equality and economic empowerment through massive

demonstrations and protests all over the country. Martin Luther King Jr.

became one of black America's most influential leaders by leading the

struggle that culminated in his "I have a dream speech" with the march

on Washington. American blacks gained the attention of congress and political leaders all over the world. Other leaders such as Malcom X accused the United States of violating the human rights of blacks in the world court of the United Nations, pressuring lawmakers to change America's continued policy of racial segregation.

President John F. Kennedy and his successor Lyndon B. Johnson heard the voices of the protesters and initiated civil rights policies that began to knock down the walls of legal segregation. Legislation was passed that allowed blacks to vote, gain equal access to housing and employment, along with other initiatives that were intended to make America a colorblind nation that did not discriminate against anyone on the basis of race. Black Americans were able to move into neighborhoods and enter universities that were previously closed to them. African Americans also gained new opportunities in corporate America. The 1960s marked an era of change in America that continued for the next three decades.

Despite these unprecedented changes in the American social structure, inner city blacks still find themselves stuck in poverty-stricken communities with relatively high crime rates and few employment opportunities. William Julius Wilson calls this segment of the population *the truly disadvantaged*. Black America witnessed a change as one

section of the community integrated with mainstream America, while those without skills or adequate education were left behind in urban ghettos. Inner city blacks also suffered from changes in the job market as the country switched from an industrial economy to a service economy.

Prior to the 1960s, blacks with a high school diploma or less could find jobs in auto manufacturing plants and other goods producing companies that paid descent wages, allowing them to meet most of their basic necessities. Major cities such as New York lost hundreds of thousands of manufacturing jobs during the next three decades, leaving few employment opportunities for urban residents. Service jobs that paid much lower wages replaced manufacturing jobs while better paying occupations required more education and specialized skills. These economic changes coincided with rising rates of community instability. Inner city neighborhoods eventually became war zones as gang and drug activity became wide spread (Walker 1994). Prior to the 1970s, inner city communities did not have many of the problems that exist today. At the turn of the century, and for decades to follow, African American businesses stabilized their surrounding environments despite racism and legal segregation (Butler 1991).

At the turn of the century, Max Weber noted that the Protestant

religion played a major role in the development of capitalism: "A glance

at the occupational statistics of any country of mixed religious

composition brings to light with remarkable frequency a situation which

has several times provoked discussion in the Catholic press and

literature, and in Catholic congresses in Germany, namely, the fact that

business leaders and owners of capital, as well as the higher grades of

skilled labor, and even more the higher technically and commercially

trained personnel of modern enterprises, are overwhelmingly Protestant"

(1930:35). Weber posited a relationship between the "Spirit of

Capitalism," as measured by the will to take risk and go into the

economic world. These influences came from the ideas of Protestant

thinkers like Luther and Calvin.

Werner Sombart argued for the primacy of religious beliefs found

in Judaism, stating that entrepreneurship had been a characteristic of the

Jewish population due to thousands of years of oppression: "On one

hand, they influenced the outward form of modern capitalism; on the

other, they gave expression to its inward spirit. Under the first heading,

the Jews contributed no small share in giving to economic relations the

international aspect they bear today; in helping the modern state, that

framework of capitalism, to become what it is; and lastly, in giving the capitalistic organizations its peculiar features" (1951:11-21).

One can compare the entrepreneurship of present minorities to the ideals of these early theorists. Minority groups – such as blacks, Hispanics, Pakistanis, and Asians – have entered entrepreneurship as a result of religious influences, exclusion from larger societies, and numerous other factors. Groups engaged in entrepreneurship create business incubators. Self-employed minorities practice economic strategies that inspire internal investment. Financial resources circulate within the community to sustain a consistently growing source of capital. John Butler and Patricia Greene note how Pakistani Americans, for example, engage in their self-help practices as a natural outgrowth of their Ismaili Islamic religion. Repeated surveys of this community revealed that their self-help techniques give them a sense of control over their economic and educational welfare. They own many small-scale businesses, such as convenience stores. A rotating community fund allows them to open additional stores after new immigrants learn English and how to operate a business. An instance of the methods they use to deal with crime is shown in how the community business leaders advise store owners on security (1996). Community members join together to purchase security cameras and they also install surveillance equipment.

This practice allows their businesses to survive even if they are located in or near high crime areas.

Research has shown that small businesses tend to stabilize communities, making them efficient and pleasant places to live (Fisher 1991:364). Economic resources circulate throughout the neighborhood, creating necessary jobs and infrastructural investment. The 1994 State of Small Business, a report of the President, showed that small firms added more than 1 million jobs to the economy in 1993, while large firms reduced employment by more than 200,000. Firms with four or fewer employees added 2.6 million new jobs. Small businesses employ 60 percent of the workforce, and contribute to 54 percent of sales (Scott 1995).

Although they do exist, there are fewer small businesses in communities that have high levels of crime, fear, and disorder. The natural cycle of the marketplace is stifled when the local economy is regulated by crime and fear of crime (Fisher 1991). When small businesses are victimized they suffer for a variety of reasons: they may have to raise their prices, decrease their operating hours, pay for increased security, or close down.

Most inner-city neighborhoods contain multiple abandoned buildings, which were businesses at one time. When these businesses

moved or shut down, the infrastructure of central cities suffered. There were fewer employment opportunities and there were less funds available for individual and community-wide investment. Inner city neighborhoods suffered an economic disaster in the 1980s. Not only did small business activity decrease, but manufacturing jobs (a major route out of poverty for older immigrant groups) also declined tremendously. A major source of capital which kept these communities functioning disappeared (Walker 1994). Crime rates, drug abuse, and other indicators of community instability increased. Although a significant number of businesses left central cities, a few remained, managing to survive despite their deteriorating surroundings.

Many state that entrepreneurship plays a vital role in the overall economy, citing that change in the system is very often sparked by new business formation and growth (McKee 1991). Entrepreneurs are able to lead the means of production into new channels. Self-employment allows groups to achieve economic success even when the odds are against them. Historically, minority groups frequently received hostile treatment from host societies around the world. This especially applies to newly arrived immigrant groups. For example, the economic behavior of the Chinese, Indians and Jews, show similar patterns wherever they are located. They develop what has become known as middleman

community organizations, occupying a "status gap" or marked division between elites and masses (Bonacich 1973). These groups usually begin as sojourners in the territories to which they move. They often suffer short-term depravation to hasten long-term objectives, whether they plan to return home or develop a stable community in the host country. Their business practice involves working excessively long hours, with an emphasis on saving. This enables middlmen to cut costs at every turn, allowing them to compete effectively with other enterprises in the same market.

Butler states that black enterprise gained its roots from Booker T. Washington's *Up From Slavery*, W.E.B. Dubois's *Economic Co-Operation Among Negroes*, Henry Minton's *History of Negro Business in Philadelphia*, Joseph Pierrce's *Negro Business and Business Education*. Blacks developed one of their first entrepreneurial enclaves in Philadelphia. "A register of Trades of Colored People listed 656 persons engaged in 57 different occupations". A business district developed in Tulsa, Oklahoma called Greenwood. Even after having their market centers burned down over an alleged rape of a white women by a black man, African Americans rebuilt this community in 1928. They continued a strong tradition of self-reliance. The area currently contains five blocks of mall-like enterprises, including the Greenwood Chamber of

Commerce. Another example can be seen in Durham, North Carolina. Urban renewal destroyed this black entrepreneurial community during the 1960s by running a highway through the old business district known as little Hayti. Despite this occurrence, Durham has re-emerged with new shopping malls, development plants, and manufacturing (1995:26-30).

In 1956, *The National Business Negro League* was resurrected. Operating under a new name, *The National Business League*, the organization started a program which consisted of the following tenets: outreach, uplift, and mainstream. Project mainstream was initiated to spur economic growth within the black community with the aid of federal programs. Other organizations also developed with a self-help focus. Freedom Enterprises, Inc. emerged in the Boston area with an emphasis on food, electronics, engineering, and advertising. The Ghetto Economic Development and Industrialization Plan was started in Harlem. And urban Chicago had the Chicago Economic Development Corporation (Butler 1991).

These examples of grassroots organizing lend support to the *community empowerment model* mentioned by Douglas Perkins in a study on the ecology of empowerment (1996). Community residents form these associations due to a variety of factors. Citizen participation

theoretically fosters self-efficacy as residents work together to solve community problems. Participants' economic resources or investments and the protection of those investments are important reasons for joining grassroots community organizations (Hyman & Wright 1971). Community organizations work to improve the social and economic climate and beautify the physical environment of the community, and to empower residents to gain control over crime, and other neighborhood problems (Perkins 1996). Such ideas can be used to examine past influences on community organizing, as well as provide blueprints for future planning at the grass roots level. With the problems of crime and joblessness currently affecting urban areas, the community empowerment model can be used to address these issues. Complexity theory incorporates these models of self-help and self-organization to show how communities can survive and sustain themselves through periods of unrest and instability (Raymond, Horsfall and Lee 1997).

RECENT EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE

Poverty and Crime

Loic Wacquant and William Julius Wilson note that eight of ten families located in Chicago's "Black Belt" neighborhoods were living in poverty by 1980 (Wacquant and Wilson 1990). Out of 2.4 million poor

areas in the United States, blacks represent 65 percent, 22 percent are Hispanic, and 13 percent are non-Hispanic and other races (Jargowsky and Bane 1990). Fortunately, this is not a widespread phenomenon throughout the entire United States. 74 percent of the total poverty increase in the inner cities during the 1970s was accounted for by only 10 cities. 33 percent of the increase can be attributed to New York City alone, and 50 percent by New York and Chicago combined (Wilson 1991).

Not all inner-city communities faced dismal changes. Of the 195 standard metropolitan areas that recorded poverty in 1970, 88 experienced a decrease in the number of poor residents. Ten cities account for the largest decrease in poverty: Texas cities like Brownsville, McAllen, Corpus Christi, and San Antonio; southern cities such as Shreveport, Charleston, Jackson (Mississippi), Memphis, New Orleans, and Columbus (Georgia). 46 percent of the total decrease in poverty of the 195 standard metropolitan areas can be accounted for by these ten cities during the 1970s (Jargowsky and Bane 1990).

Yet a number of cities did suffer from massive job layoffs and community instability. Research shows that decentralization of employment is still occurring in the United States and manufacturing has been declining in inner cities, especially in the Midwest and Northeast

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regions of the country (Wilson 1991). Karsarda notes that the bottom fell out in central cities and there was no demand for inner city labor (1989). Urban manufacturing industries suffered from a slack in the economy and fired huge numbers of employees. New York City lost 520,000 manufacturing jobs during the 1970s and 1980s. Chicago lost 326,000 manufacturing jobs during the same time frame (Walker 1994). Poor schools, inadequate job information networks, and a decreasing amount of job opportunities gave rise to weak labor-force attachment. The probability that individuals would seek income from illegal or deviant activities increased (Wilson 1991).

During the 1970s and 1980s new opportunities developed for African Americans. Many blacks were able to enter corporate America as a result of desegregation. The expansion of various sectors of the economy permitted more talented and educated blacks to move into stable white-collar jobs. Many African Americans took advantage of opportunities in other parts of the country and moved into new neighborhoods. The migration of middle-class and working class families from many inner-city neighborhoods removed a "social buffer" that allowed these areas to feel the full effects of the prolonged joblessness that plagued central cities in the 1970s and early 1980s (Wilson 1987).

Between the 1970s and 1980s economic conditions took a turn for the worse in urban areas. African American communities witnessed the deterioration of schools, families, business activity, and other mechanisms that previously stabilized these areas. Part of the problems facing the inner city lie in the fact that many business people do not believe that opening companies would be profitable in these areas. High crime and an unskilled labor pool influence some businesses to locate elsewhere. Some have even compared inner cities to urban wastelands. Mark Alpert asserts that the inner cities actually contain hidden wealth with great business opportunities. He states that they should be viewed as developing countries, like Peru or Poland. Certain myths exist about the inner city economy. The so-called urban underclass has been used as a catch all term to describe the chronically unemployed and socially dysfunctional – when many actually resemble the residents of East Harlem, for instance, which includes middle-class families, and a substantial number of working poor (1991).

Sherwood Williams notes that "fear of crime in the United States has become a significant social problem in the past twenty years, resulting in considerable social, psychological, and economic costs to individuals and society. A problem such as this has the potential to bring people together and strengthen social bonds if they act collectively to

solve it. However in the United States, this has not occurred. The result instead has been insecurity, distrust, and a negative view of the community" (1994:324). Also, fear of crime has brought about a decrease in social interaction, community organization, and the effectiveness of informal community control of deviance.

The U.S. Department of Justice conducted a study which showed that crime actually declined 12.4 percent during 1995, the largest drop in survey history. "Personal victimizations declined by 13 percent and household property victimizations fell 9.1 percent," as indicated by the report. "Burglary dropped 12.9 percent and household thefts fell by 8.4 percent. The report also showed that urban areas had a 10.7 percent drop in total violent victimizations, compared to a 15.1 percent decline in the suburbs, and an 11.0 percent decline in rural regions" (US Department of Justice 1997:1-2). Rises in self-employment coincided with decreases in crime in urban and rural communities throughout 1980s and 90s. Small businesses may serve as a barometer of health of the local economy and quality of life, as mentioned by Fisher (1989). Richard Taub states that businesses can be used to mobilize municipal service bureaucracies to meet the standards of a community. They can also devote some of their resources to the community in such a way that the stability of the area can be increased (1984).

Fear of crime and victimization become over-exaggerated due to a variety of factors. The media is probably the most influential component that often heightens the general public's fear of crime. Paul Williams conducted a study that examined the relationship between newspaper crime reporting and fear of crime. The first part of the study examined quantitative content analysis of daily newspapers. A questionnaire survey was then administered to see if readers rated high on cognitive, affective, and behavioral measures of fear of crime. Due to a number of constraints – such as time and available space – journalist must choose from a variety of stories. It is not possible for them to report every story, so a process of 'creating news' develops. Williams emphasizes the fact that fear sells. A survey examined in the study noted that approximately 70 percent of the respondents identified the mass media as their main source of knowledge about crime. People who read newspapers that contain more salient crime reports show more fear of crime (1993). These findings were irrespective of actual crime rates.

Exaggerated news coverage is not limited to newspaper reports. The Media Culture Review, as mentioned by Charles L. Klotzer points to the proliferation of "reality" programs (e.g. *Cops, A Current Affair, Dateline NBC,* and *CBS's 48 hours*) which manipulate public concern

and reinforce fear in the process. Klotzer points to a quote from the MCR which states that these programs "are pulling off a dangerous and cynical con." Misrepresentation of the frequency of crime in urban America has many implications, and inner-city residents usually end up paying the price. Inaccurate reports provide support for the agendas of many policy makers who use public funds to build more prisons and increase the size of police departments. More than twice as much was allocated to punishment than to prevention in the crime bill (Klotzer 1994:2-3). Some communities have gone so far as to levy special assessments in order to pay for private police in an effort to protect their communities from the waging crime the media often reflects.

The myth of the American crime wave is having an enormous impact on the criminal justice system. Policies have been directed toward increasing punitiveness. The U.S. Department of Justice reported that the nation's adult prison population grew by 55,876 during 1996, bringing the total to a new record of 1,182,169. As of 1996, there were 1.6 million incarcerated adults in this country. Between 1985 and 1995 there was a 12.3 percent average annual increase in the number of Hispanic inmates among state prisoners, a 9.4 increase for blacks, and a 7.6 increase for whites. State prisons are operating at 16 percent to 24 percent over capacity, while federal prisons are at 25 percent in excess

of capacity. A variety of factors may be attributed to the increase: a 91 percent increase in admissions from 1985 to 1990 and a 13 percent increase from 1990 through 1995; a sharp rise in the number of drug offenders among black inmates – 42 percent of the growth from 1985-1990 (U.S. Department of Justice 1996).

Samuel Walker notes that the war on crime has had a terrible impact on racial justice. The war on drugs has been fought primarily against young African American men. Blacks represent 41 percent of all people arrested for drug offenses. But the National Household Survey on Drug Abuse shows that they are only 12 to 15 percent of all people using illegal drugs (1994). Many policy makers point to the fact that lower crime rates show how successful crime policies have been. But lower crime rates are not just a result of tougher judicial policies. Criminologist, such as Walker, note how changing demographics also play a role in crime rates. There are fewer males between the ages of 17 and 23 as a result of the aging of the baby boomer generation (1994). And these are the ages when men are more likely to commit crimes. Some policy makers may not be concerned with the racial impact of these policies, but inner city families have been affected by the disproportionate number of black men being sent to prison nonetheless. Thus it is argued here that the nation has placed too much emphasis on

punitive measures, such as tougher sentences for non-violent offenses, while not placing enough emphasize on preventive measures such as improving urban schools, job creation, and the construction of community-based organizations.

Entrepreneurship

Research conducted by Michael Porter shows that the perceived disadvantages of the inner city are often misguided and exaggerated. There are many success stories of companies that are thriving in central cities. In fact, the inner city offers some businesses a strategic location, giving them a competitive edge. This edge derives from proximity to downtown business districts, logistical infrastructure, entertainment or tourist centers, and concentrations of companies. For instance, being located in the inner city gives Boston's food processing and distribution industry the opportunity to make rapid deliveries, and downtown buyers have a convenient location to buy goods (Porter 1995). Also, land in the inner city is less expensive than downtown.

The inner city market provides a large opportunity for entrepreneurs. These markets remain poorly served, while other markets are becoming saturated. Local residents in some communities have to make difficult treks outside the neighborhood for about half of their

shopping needs. For example, on Saturday evenings, the Metro-North train station at 125th Street, Harlem's Main Street, is packed with shoppers returning from malls 20 miles away in Westchestor (Alpert 1991). New business formation in these types of local neighborhoods offers job opportunities and local shopping for consumers. Another illustration can be seen in Boston's inner city which has an estimated total family income of $3.4 billion. Too add, the financial strength of the inner city is young and growing rapidly. The central city also has a vast array of human resources. There is a common stereotype that inner city residents would rather be on welfare than work. But evidence shows that employers in a number of industries report that they find hard working dedicated employees in the inner cities (Porter 1995).

Nonwhite businesses have grown over the last few years. The U.S. Census Bureau reports that "minority-owned firms increased 62 percent from 1, 213,750 in 1987 to 1, 965, 565 in 1992. Receipts increased by 160 percent from $77.8 billion to $202.0 billion". The data in this report were collected as part of the 1992 Economic Census from a large sample of all non-farm businesses filing 1992 tax forms as individual proprietorships, partnerships, or subchapter S corporations, and with receipts of $500 or more (U.S. Census Census 1992:1-2).

Thomas Boston notes that traditional black-owned businesses, like retail and personal service industries, are being replaced by a new generation of black businesses that emerged during the early 1980s. He states the following: "Ambitious young black professionals are starting new businesses at a rapid clip, often at very early ages. They have more financial wherewithal than their predecessors, are bigger risk takers. . . Personal service establishments declined from 29 percent to 13 percent of all black owned businesses, and retail businesses declined from 25 percent to 13 percent. In contrast, professional service firms, wholesalers, and construction contractors increased from 10 percent to 19 percent" (1995). The most successful of these new black entrepreneurs have formed 1120 subchapter C corporations, and data on these businesses are not included in the government's survey universe for the Survey of Minority-Owned Business Enterprises (SMOBE). As a result, a substantial portion of this growth phenomenon is unrecorded. Boston goes on to note that policy makers believe that black businesses contribute only marginally to employment, but current research shows that this is not true (1995). Policy implications for the growth of minority owned businesses and their employment potential will be discussed later.

Minority entrepreneurship represents a return to tradition. Butler states that self-employment is not new to the black community. In the 1700s, blacks were involved in manufacturing industries that employed a significant number of black and white workers. Minority companies amassed wealth that can be placed at a conservative amount of $50 million on the eve of the Civil War. This tradition carried on into the 20th century. Black Americans were heavily involved in the banking industry in the early part of the 1900s. There were no less than 134 banks developed by African Americans between 1888 and 1934. Total resources of all of these banks reached a high of $12.8 million in 1926. The tradition carried on for the next few decades. There were 163,000 African American firms in 1969 (Butler 1996). These businesses flourished, despite racism and legal segregation.

Joe Feagin notes that black entrepreneurs encounter high levels of discrimination in the construction industry, the second largest startup for black businesses (Waldinger et al. 1990). Feagin notes that "we find racial discrimination in unions, in white general contractors' contracting and bidding processes, in construction project conditions, and in the bonding, lending, supplier networks critical to a successful construction business" (1994:3). Despite present and past discrimination, minority owned businesses appear to be increasing at a steady rate.

Minority business ventures usually operate on a community level, something that has been left out of many traditional economic models. Because the community perspective has been neglected in many discussions on minority entrepreneurship, this area has been caught in the conflict between individualistic theories and structuralist arguments (Portes and Zhou 1992). Earlier theories focused on the hegemony of functionalism which translated into a focus on assimilation. It was widely believed that as minorities abandoned their traditional customs and values, they would eventually gain acceptance into the mainstream. Acquiring mainstream American values was seen as a precondition for economic progress. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole noted the following in their analysis of ethnic minorities and economics: "Some of the unsuccessfully mobile turn hostile to the old culture, develop increasing feelings of loyalty to their ethnic tradition and prevent others from becoming assimilated. But, generally speaking, our class order disunites ethnic groups and accelerated their assimilation" (1945:245). Current evidence shows that this perspective has shortcomings in explaining the status of minorities in the labor market.

Traditional economic models sought to explain the low socioeconomic status of minorities by pointing to their focus on improper values, such as a lack of thrift, inability to postpone gratification, and a

'culture of poverty'. Scholars such as Robert Blauner and James Geschwender described the condition of minorities and stated how it contrasted with the assimilation model. Concepts like 'unmeltable' and 'colonized' minorities were used to refer to the plight of these groups. Earlier models overlooked self-employment as a major avenue of success for minorities (Portes and Zhou 1992:493).

Portes and Zhou go on to state that the increase in minority owned firms suggest that ethnic economies created by these groups cannot be dismissed as an insignificant phenomenon. The structural processes that have influenced them to create their own 'match' between available opportunities and their collective resources is worth attention. In fact, evidence shows that some groups, such as the Dominican, Cuban, and Chinese immigrants who remain within the ethnic economy often do better than those who move outside (1989).

The current conditions of poor urban communities show that much needs to be done to correct the problems that still exist. Much debate has occurred over the quality of urban schools, health and human services, business activity, incarceration rates, and other important areas. This study seeks to address these issues in a holistic fashion, instead of viewing these entities as separate phenomenon. The purpose of the present analysis is to better inform policy makers so that effective

models can be developed that will help make urban communities self-reliant entities that inspire internal investment and growth. As research continues to grow in this area, urban communities should be able to escape the disastrous cycle of unemployment, teenage pregnancy, poor education, and the host of other ills that often plague these neighborhoods.

CHAPTER 2

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

Analytical Procedures

First, in order to gain a better understanding of important

community level variables and their relationships to self-reliance,

secondary data was examined from the 1991 National Race and Politics

Survey. Multiple regression is used to examine the joint relationships

between self-reliance and a series of independent variables. This

procedure is utilized because of its capacity to estimate the relative

importance of several hypothesized predictors of self-reliance. Ordinary

Least Squares (OLS) is used for obtaining the estimates of the

regression equation coefficients to minimize the error sum of the

squares. The dependent variable, self-reliance, was chosen because

previous studies show that it plays a crucial role in helping communities

properly adapt to their environment (Weber 1930; Butler 1991). The

multiple regression coefficients measure the amount of increase or

decrease in self-reliance for a one unit difference in each independent

variable, while controlling for the others. The independent variables are

age, educational level, race, employment status, income, government

should help blacks get jobs, more say in government decisions, region of residence, work hard can make a good life, and the average black could own a small business. It was hypothesized that educational level, employment status, government should help blacks get jobs, more say in government decisions, and hard work would be positively related to self-reliance.

Second, to get a closer look at this issue, a series of independent variables were used to predict lower crime, using the same data from the 1991 Race and Politics Survey. Because crime has been a major problem for urban neighborhoods, identifying variables that are significantly related to lower crime should add to the literature concerning urban development. Previous research shows that the positive view is supported in regards to how communities react to crime (Skogan 1989). This view asserts that neighborhood residents will organize and ban together to do something about rising crime rates as opposed to becoming prisoners in their own communities. The multiple regression coefficients will provide clues as to which independent variables are significantly related to lower crime, as perceived by respondents in the survey. The independent variables in this analysis are government should help blacks get jobs, race, the average black could own a small business, black neighborhoods need stronger organizations, self

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reliance, care for the homeless, job training, region, employment status, and income. It was hypothesized that black neighborhoods need stronger organizations, care for the homeless, job training, self reliance, and employment status would be significantly related to lower crime.

Sample

Secondary Data Analysis

The 1991 Race and Politics Survey was a nationwide random-digit telephone survey carried out by the Survey Research Center of the University of California, Berkeley. The target population for the study was defined as all English-speaking adults 18 years of age or older, residing in households with telephones, within the 48 contiguous states. The number of completed interviews was 2,223. The response rate was 65.3 percent. The method employed was Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI). The principle investigators were Paul M. Sniderman, Philip E. Tetlock, and Thomas Piazza. The data collection period was February 1st, 1991 through November 21st 1991.

Respondents were told that "there are a number of other important topics we'd like to ask you about," at the end of the telephone interview, and were asked if they could be mailed a questionnaire. 1,942 of the 2,223 respondents consented to have the questionnaire sent to

them, and 1,198 eventually returned the questionnaire. To confirm that the mailback questionnaire had been filled out by the same person, gender and aged were checked; as a result, a few mailbacks were discarded.

Weighting

Secondary Data Analysis

In the Race and Politics survey weights were created for each case to compensate for differences in probabilities of selection and to adjust the sample to match certain demographic distributions. These two levels of weights were generated as follows.

1. Sampling Weight

The first weight is the sampling weight, which adjusts for differences in the probabilities of selection among the various respondents. There are three components to this weight:

(a) respondents from the stratum with no telephone listings and from the stratum of supplementary area codes and prefixes were selected with smaller sampling fractions than respondents in the main stratum. Respondents from the undersampled strata receive higher weights. The relative stratum weight is S, where S equals 10.3 for the stratum with no

listings, and 3.0 for the supplementary stratum, compared with 1.0 for the main stratum.

(b) The number of telephone numbers that ring in a household is also taken into account. A person who can be reached on two telephone numbers has twice the chance of being selected as a person with only one number. The former should therefore receive half the weight of the latter in computing statistics. The relative weight is 1/T, where T is the number of telephone lines (1-3 = actual number, and 4 = 4 or more).

(c) The other factor affecting probability of selection is the number of eligible adults in each selected household. Since only one eligible adult was selected to be interviewed, persons residing in households with more eligible persons were less likely to be selected than persons residing in households with fewer persons. The relative weight to compensate for this factor is P, where P is the number of eligible persons in the selected household (1-4 = actual number, and 5 = 5 or more).

The sampling weight for each case on the data file (sampwt) is the product of these adjustments: sampwt = k*S*P/T, where k is a constant to scale the weight so that the weighted number of cases equals the unweighted number of cases.

2. Poststratification Weights

The second level of weighting is a poststratification adjustment. Since different segments of the U.S. population are more likely than others to reside in a household with a telephone and to respond to the interview, certain groups of people are over- or under-represented in the data file. Therefore poststratification weights were used to adjust the distribution of the sample to a reliable standard. The variables used to poststratify were gender (male/female), race (white[non-Hispanic]/black/other), age (for whites: 18-29/30-39/40-54/55+; for blacks: 18-39/40+; for others: 18-34/35+), and education (for whites: high school or less / some college / college grad; for blacks and others: high school or less / some college or more). Since the full crosstabulation of those variables is not yet available from the 1990 Census, the criterion distribution was taken from the Census Bureau's 1990 Current Population Survey.

The poststratification weight was created in the following steps:
(1) Generate the proportion of the U.S. population in each cell of the crosstabulation of the poststratification variables mentioned above, based on the 1990 Current Population Survey.
(2) Generate the proportion of the sample in each of those cells. Note that the sampling weight is used for generating the proportions. If a respondent had missing data on one of the variables, he or she was put

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in the middle category, if one existed, or randomly allocated to one of the categories.

(3) Divide the criterion proportion in each cell by the sample proportion. For all respondents in each cell, this ratio is multiplied by each respondent's sampling weight to generate the poststratification weight. The poststratification weight, consequently, incorporates the sampling weight adjustments for unequal probabilities of selection. The poststratification weight is also scaled so that the sum of the weighted cases equals the number of unweighted cases.

For this study two versions of the poststratification weight were created – one for all respondents to the telephone survey, and one for respondents who also completed the mailback questionnaire. Since the respondents who completed the mailback differed somewhat from those who did not, the poststratification adjustments are also somewhat different. Concretely, step (2) above differed for the two groups; otherwise, the procedure was the same. The two versions of the poststratification weight are as follows:

pswt   Poststratification weight for all respondents

pswtmail   Poststratification weight for mailback respondents

Note that all respondents have a positive value on 'pswt', and the

number of cases obtained by applying this weight equals the unweighted number of all respondents. Respondents who did not return the mailback questionnaire have a value of zero on 'pswtmail', and the number of cases obtained by applying this latter weight equals the unweighted number who returned the mailback questionnaire.

Measures

Secondary Data Analysis

Self-Reliance (va4)

(How about) Self-reliance -- having everybody stand on their own two feet? (On a scale from zero to ten, how important is that to YOU? 10=most important)

Age (age):

First I'm going to ask you a few questions just to make sure we're reaching a genuine cross-section of the country. How old were you on your last birthday?

Education (educ):

What is the highest grade or year of school you completed?

Response choices for education:

1 Eighth grade or lower
2 Some high school
3 High school graduate (or GED)
4 Some college
5 College graduate
6 Some graduate work or graduate degree

Race (race):

What race or ethnic group do you consider yourself?

Response choices for race: (Note: this variable was recoded because it

is categorical to list black and non-black).

1 Black, African-American, Negro
2 Native American, Alaskan native
3 Latino, Mexican-American, Hispanic,
4 Filipino
5 Asian, Pacific Islander
6 White, Caucasian
7 Other (SPECIFY)
8 VOLUNTEERED: Jewish

Employment Status (empl):

Now for a few background questions for statistical purposes. Are you currently employed full-time, employed part-time, on temporary layoff, unemployed and looking for work, retired, a student, (keeping house), or what? Responses Choices: (Note: this variable was recoded to full-time, not full time).

1 Employed full-time (35+ hours/week)
2 Employed part-time
3 On layoff or temporarily laid off
4 Unemployed and looking for work
5 Retired
6 Permanently disabled
7 Keeping house
8 Student
9 Temporarily disabled

Family Income (isum):

Think of the income BEFORE taxes of all members of your household living with you now. Include income from all sources, including wages, dividends, interest, pensions, and other sources.

Response choices:

1 <10K
2 10K
3 10 - 20K
4 20K
5 20 - 30K
6 30K
7 30 - 40K
8 40K
9 40 - 50K
10 50K
11 50 - 70K
12 70K
13 >70K

Government should help blacks get jobs (jobs).

Some people feel that the government in Washington should...

...increase spending for programs to help blacks get more jobs.

Responses Choices:
    1 Government should (increase spending/do more)

    5 Blacks should take care of their own problems

Goal: More say in Gov. Decisions (m1f):

Giving ordinary people more say in government decisions

Response choices:

    1 One of the most important goals
    2 Important, but not one of the most important
    3 Not too important
    4 Not at all important

Region of residence (region):

The region of residence was derived from the variable 'state'.

(Alaska and Hawaii were not included in the sample.) (Note: this

categorical variable was recoded to included south and non-south).

1 South: AL,AR,FL,GA,LA,MS,NC,SC,TX,VA
2 Border: KY,MD,OK,TN,WV, and Washington D.C.
3 Mountain: AZ,CO,ID,MT,NM,NV,UT,WY
4 New England: CT,MA,ME,NH,RI,VT
5 Mid-Atlantic: DE,NJ,NY,PA
6 East North-Central: IL,IN,MI,OH,WI
7 West North-Central: IA,KS,MN,MO,ND,NE,SD
8 Pacific: CA,OR,WA

Work hard enough can make good life (m4e):

If people work hard enough, they can make a good life for themselves

1 Agree strongly
2 Agree somewhat
3 Disagree somewhat
4 Disagree strongly

Average Black could own small business (m4f):

The average black could own a small business if they took advantage of

the opportunities.

Response choices:

    1 Agree strongly
    2 Agree somewhat
    3 Disagree somewhat
    4 Disagree strongly

Goal: Less crime (m1h):

    1 One of the most important goals
    2 Important, but not one of the most important
    3 Not too important
    4 Not at all important

Black neighborhoods need stronger organizations (m4g):

Most black neighborhoods need stronger community organizations

    1 Agree strongly
    2 Agree somewhat
    3 Disagree somewhat
    4 Disagree strongly

Care for homeless (va8):

(How about) Taking care of the homeless? (On a scale from zero to ten, how important is that to YOU? 10=most important)

Job training (rf4a):

1 Strongly in favor
3 Somewhat in favor
5 Somewhat opposed
7 Strongly opposed

Methodological Issues

Secondary Data Analysis

CONVENTIONS USED IN THE DATA FILE

Blanks

    Due to skip patterns, variable locations left blank in the data file generally indicate that those variables are not relevant for a specific respondent. When the question was not asked of some of the respondents "Blank - DNA" appears in the list of code categories and unused (undefined) record locations are also left blank.

Leading Zeros

Leading zeros are used if a response code has fewer digits than the defined width of a variable. For instance, a response code of "7" for a two column variable is written as "07" in the data file.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

R.....Respondent   DNA....Does Not Apply   RF....Refused

HH....Household   DK....Don't know   MD....Missing Data

The sample of telephone numbers for this survey was generated using a new stratified two-phase procedure that produced a high proportion of households in the sample, yet did not require the replacement methodology of the two-stage Mitofsky-Waksberg method. A discussion of the sampling methodology used for this study can be found in R.J. Casady and J.M. Lepkowski, "Optimal Allocation for Stratified Telephone Survey Designs," Proceedings of the Section on Survey Research Methods, American Statistical Association, 1991. The sampling was carried out in the following steps:

1. The area code and prefix combinations on the AT&T Bellcore tape were ordered geographically, and a large first-phase sample of those combinations was selected with systematic random sampling. Four-digit random numbers were appended to the area code and prefix combinations to generate complete telephone numbers.

2. The selected first-phase telephone numbers were compared with a tape created by Donnelley Marketing Services, which gives the number of listed residential telephone numbers in each series of one hundred numbers – that is, how many residential telephone numbers in phone

directories begin with the same eight digits. Based on this information the selected telephone numbers were placed into two strata -- telephone numbers from series with no residential listings, and telephone numbers from series with at least one listing.

3. From the stratified pool of first-phase selections, a second-phase sample was drawn. Many replicate samples of telephone numbers were drawn from the stratum containing telephone numbers from series of numbers with at least one residential listing; a random sample of telephone numbers was also drawn from the other stratum, but with a smaller sampling fraction. This method of disproportionate sampling resulted in the selection of a second-phase sample in which approximately half of the selected telephone numbers turned out to be households. The difference in selection probabilities between the two strata is compensated for by using weights.

Only four cases were completed from the zero-listing stratum, but they receive weights of 10.3, relative to cases in the main sample.

4. A small supplementary sample of telephone numbers from new prefixes was also drawn, to compensate for the fact that the major sampling work described above was carried out several months before the beginning of this study. A new Bellcore tape was obtained, and 761 area code and prefix combinations that had not appeared on the older

tape were identified. A sample of 102 such prefixes was selected at random, and four-digit random numbers were appended to each selected prefix to generate the supplementary sample. Of those 102 numbers, 6 turned out to be households, and interviews were completed at 5 of them. Those completed cases receive weights of 3.0, relative to cases in the main sample.

Table 1.

	Number	Percent of Total	Percent of Eligible
Total Selected Phone Numbers	7434		100.0
Ineligible for the sample			
Not a household*	3912	52.6	
Not English Speaking	119	1.6	
Total ineligible	4031	54.2	
Eligible Sample Units	3403	45.8	100.0
Non-response			
Refusals	1021	13.7	30.0
Never at home	74	1.0	2.2
Unable to participate	85	1.1	2.5
Total non-response	1180	15.9	34.7
Completed Telephone Interview			
With mailback	1198	16.1	35.2
Without mailback	1025	13.8	30.1
Total Completed	2223	29.9	65.3

*Includes numbers never answered after at least 18 calls;
most of those are disconnected business numbers, although
a small proportion could be residential.

Some of the random numbers used to determine the wording of questions were initially given the incorrect range (1-2 instead of 1-3, for example) for approximately the first ten percent of the cases, until the problem was detected and corrected. As a result, some of the random numbers have distributions of about 55/45 percent, instead of being close to 50/50; or random numbers with three categories will differ somewhat from a 33/33/33 percent distribution.

A more serious problem was that some of random numbers were unintentionally correlated. Although each random number taken individually is distributed almost uniformly, the distributions of some random numbers are not independent of the distributions of others. As a result, some combinations of question wordings were asked more frequently than others. This problem was discovered about half way through the study and was corrected for the remaining cases.

Of 23 random numbers used to determine question wording, five random number variables were correlated: rag6, rlst, rpor, rqt, and runv. The cases with correlated values on those variables have the code '1' on the variable 'rprobs'. The later cases without this problem have the code '2'. Analyses which include more than one of the affected random number variables at a time should probably be carried out on cases for

which 'rprobs' equals 2, at least as a check on the results obtained from analyzing the sample as a whole.

Although these random number problems are unfortunate, it should be noted that the size of the sample was increased from the original target of 1,500 to its final size of 2,223 in order to compensate for those problems. Most analyses will not be affected by the random number problems but will benefit greatly from the increased sample size.

CHAPTER 3

SELF-RELIANCE, LOWER CRIME AND COMMUNITY

DEVELOPMENT

First, with data from the 1991 Race and Politics Survey, multiple regression is used to determine the relationship between important community level variables and their associations to self-reliance. As mentioned previously, researchers such as Weber and Butler found that self-reliance is essential to community growth and development, particularly through the development of small-scale enterprises (1930; 1991). The following analysis extends these conclusions by identifying additional variables that are significantly related to self-reliance. It was hypothesized that the following variables would be positively related to this indicator of well functioning neighborhoods: educational level, employment status, income, government should help blacks get jobs, more say in government decisions, hard work, and the average black could own a small business. By identifying non-economic as well as economic indicators of self-reliance, previous research is extended and may better inform public policy.

To get a closer look at this issue, an additional analysis is provided to identify important community level variables and their

relationship to less crime. Although crime rates have declined across the nation, urban communities still experience relatively higher rates of deviance and disorder than suburban communities, causing many businesses to locate elsewhere (Porter 1995). Research also shows that the inner cities contain hidden wealth and have the ability to become safe and economically viable communities that can help the nation's larger economy (Alpert 1991; Boston 1995; Dreier 1995). Skogan also found that communities will ban together by forming neighborhood organizations to do something about crime, instead of becoming prisoners in their own neighborhoods with the proper support (1989). This research elaborates upon this finding by identifying additional variables that are significantly related to less crime. It was hypothesized that organizational development, care for the homeless, job training, being employed, and higher income would lead to lower crime.

First, the frequencies of each of the variables in the analysis are reported. Then summary tables are provided to show the means of the variables, their correlation coefficients and levels of significance. It should also be mentioned that race and region were held constant in the analysis.

Table 2.

AGE

18-35	888
36-45	515
46-55	312
56-65	209
66-75	214
76-85	63
86 and above	22
Total	2223

Table 2. shows, the respondents ranged in age from 18 to above 90. Most fell between the ages of 18 to 35, followed by with those between the ages of 36-45.

Table 3.

RACE

Black	201
Native American, Alaskan Native	33
Latino, Mexican American, Hispanic	89
Filipino	3
Asian, Pacific Islander	30
White, Caucasian	1,841
Jewish (Volunteered)	13
Don't Know	1
Refused	12
Total	2,223

This categorical variable was recoded to 1=black and 2=nonblack.

As the table above shows, whites made up the largest portion of survey respondents. Weights were created for each case to compensate for differences in probabilities of selection and to adjust the sample to match certain demographic distributions. Respondents from undersampled strata receive higher weights.

Table 4.

EDUCATION

Eighth grade or lower	79
Some high school	168
High school graduate (or GED)	728
Some college	557
College graduate	392
Some graduate work or graduate degree	245
RF/MD	54
Total	2,223

Table 4. shows the education level of the respondents. The largest portion of the sample were at least a high school graduates. 557 respondents had some college, while another 637 had college degrees or at least some graduate school.

Over 1,200 of the respondents were employed full time. About 200 were part time workers. About 300 were retired and another 200 were keeping house. This variable was recoded to employed full-time and other.

Table 5.

EMPLOYMENT STATUS

Employed full-time	1,299
Employed part-time	213
On Layoff/temporarily laid off	26
Unemployed and looking for work	64
Retired	306
Permanently Disabled	27
Keeping House	167
Students	56
Temporarily Disabled	7
RF/MD	58
Total	2,223

Table 6.

How Important is Self-reliance to you.
(Having everyone stand on their own 2 feet). 10=most important

0	12
1	3
2	4
3	7
4	16
5	105
6	85
7	152
8	361
9	290
10	1,153
98 DK	2
99 RF/MD	33
Total	2,223

As can be seen above, most of the respondents believed that self-reliance was most important. Hardly any believed that self-reliance was not important. The majority of the respondents gave this variable at least a ranking of 8 on a 10 point scale.

Table 7.

INCOME

Below 20k	492
20k-40k	688
40k-70k	590
Above 70k	266
DK	88
RF	99
Total	2,223

As the above table shows, the largest income category for the respondents was 20-40k. The next largest category was between 40-70k.

Table 8.

REGION

South: AL,AR,FL,GA,LA,MS,NC,SC,TX,VA	570
Border: KY,MD,OK,TN,WV, and Washington D.C.	171
Mountain: AZ,CO,ID,MT,NM,NV,UT,WY	143
New England: CT,MA,ME,NH,RI,VT	125
Mid-Atlantic: DE,NJ,NY,PA	316
East North-Central: IL,IN,MI,OH,WI	394
West North-Central: IA,KS,MN,MO,ND,NE,SD	183
Pacific: CA,OR,WA	321
Total	2,223

This categorical variable was recoded to include south and non-south.

Table 8. shows that about 550 of the survey respondents reside in the south. East north-central made up the second largest category. There was even split between the Mid-Atlantic and Pacific. New England made up the smallest portion of respondents with just over 100.

Table 9.

Govt should X to help blacks get jobs

Government should (increase spending/do more)	1,047
Blacks should take care of their own problems	946
VOLUNTEERED: Leave as it is now	34
DK	81
RF/MD	115
Total	2,223

Table 9. shows that 1,047 of the respondents believed that the government should help blacks get jobs, while around 946 believed that there should be no assistance.   As will be shown in the multiple regression analysis, this variable has a significant relationship with self-reliance.

Table 10.

GOAL: More say in government decisions

MD, but chosen as most important	0
One of the most important goals	463
Important, but not one of the most important	539
Not too important	160
Not at all important	16
MD	20
. (No Data)	1,025
Total	2,223

Table 10. shows that the largest category of respondents felt that giving ordinary people more say in government decisions was important but not most important. Still 463 of the respondents believed that this variable was most important. Only 16 felt that it was not important at all.

Table 11.

Work hard enough/can make good life
If people work hard enough, they can make a good life for
themselves

Agree Strongly	527
Agree Somewhat	525
Disagree Somewhat	117
Disagree Strongly	15
MD	14
No Data	1,025
Total	2,223

Table 11. shows that most of the sample agreed that hard work

can make a good life for people. 527 agreed strongly with that statement

while another 525 agreed somewhat. Only 117 disagreed somewhat

and about 15 disagreed strongly.

Table 12.

Average black could own small business
The average black could own a small business if they took
advantage of the opportunities

Agree Strongly	278
Agree Somewhat	537
Disagree Somewhat	319
Disagree Strongly	45
MD	19
No Data	1,025
Total	2,223

Table 12. shows that most of the respondents believed that the average black could own a small business. 278 agreed strongly while 537 agreed somewhat with that statement. 319 disagreed somewhat with the statement, while only 45 disagreed strongly. As will be seen later, this variable plays an important role with attitudes toward self-reliance and community health.

Table 13.

GOAL: Less crime

MD, but chosen as most important	1
One of the most important goals	977
Important, but not one of the most important	194
Not too important	11
Not at all important	1
MD	14
(No Data)	1,025
Total	2,223

Table 13. shows that most of the respondents felt that less crime should be the most important goal for our society. As will be seen later, the multiple regression analysis identifies variables that have significant relationships to less crime, which should be important findings for policy makers.

Table 14.
Most black neighborhoods need stronger community organizations

Agree Strongly	414
Agree Somewhat	579
Disagree Somewhat	161
Disagree Strongly	19
MD	25
(No Data)	1,025
Total	2,223

Table 14. shows that most of the respondents agreed that black neighborhoods need stronger community organizations. 414 agreed strongly with this statement while another 579 agreed somewhat. 161 disagreed with the statement somewhat, while only 19 disagreed strongly. As will be shown later, this variable has a significant relationship with attitudes toward less crime as well.

Table 15.

(How about) Taking care of the homeless?
(On a scale from zero to ten, how important is that to YOU?)

0	11
1	6
2	14
3	22
4	23
5	196
6	124
7	220
8	407
9	248
10	915
99 RF/MD	37
Total	2,223

Table 15. shows that on a scale of 1-10 about 915 of the respondents felt that taking care of the homeless should be one of the most important goals in our society. Few of the respondents felt that it was not important. The greatest number of responses fell between 7-10 on the scale.

Table 16.

Job training/welfare

Job Training	1,219
Welfare	1,004
Total	2,223

Table 17 shows that more of the respondents support job training as opposed to welfare. 1,219 fell in the former category while 1,004 fell in the later. As will be shown in the multiple regression analysis, this variable has a significant relationship with attitudes toward self-reliance.

LOGISTIC REGRESSION

Because the dependant variable in the following analysis is skewed, logistic regression was used to see if the results would be greatly effected. Due to the fact that the relationships remained the same with logistic regression (although slightly weakened), the results of the OLS analysis are still presented below.

MISSING DATA

2,223 telephone interviews were completed in which demographic data were collected, along with other questions. Out of these interviews, 1,942 consented to have an additional questionnaire sent to them. And 1,198 of those were returned. This made the response rate 65.3 percent overall. It should also be noted that a few of the returned questionnaires were thrown out after checks were done on gender and age to make sure that they were completed by the same person.

The table below shows the means and standard deviations of all of the variables used in the secondary data analysis.

Table 17.

Variable	Mean	SD	SE
Age	43.24	16.81	.357
M4f	2.22	1.12	.034
Educ	3.93	1.47	.031
Empl	5.03	15.54	.330
Va8	9.79	11.78	.250
Isum	13.88	23.42	.497
Jobs	3.46	2.53	.054
M1h	1.28	.934	.027
M1f	1.89	1.18	.034
Race	5.91	7.31	.155
Region	4.33	2.54	.054
Va4	10.21	11.36	.241
M4g	1.97	1.25	.036
Rf4a	1.45	.50	.011
M4e	1.76	1.05	.030

SELF-RELIANCE AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The multiple regression analysis presented below shows how important independent variables relate to self-reliance. As mentioned previously, the value of this procedure lies in its capacity to estimate the relative importance of several hypothesized predictors of the dependent variable. The table below shows the variable names used in the analysis, their labels and their ranges. Race and region were recoded due to the fact that they are categorical variables (i.e. race; 1=black and 2=non-black; region; 1=south and 2=non-south). Weber and Butler's conclusions that job development and hard work lead to self-reliance are tested. Additional non-economic variables are identified as well to examine their relationships to lower crime.

Table 18.

	Variables		
Role	Name	Label	Range
Dependent	Va4	Self-reliance	0-10
Independent	age	Age of Respondent	18-94
Independent	educ	Educational Level	1-6
Independent	race	Race or Ethnic Group	1-8
Independent	empl	Employment Status	1-9
Independent	isum	Family Income	1-13
Independent	jobs	Govt. should help blacks get jobs	1-4
Independent	m1f	Goal: More say in Gov. Decisions	1-4
Independent	region	Region of residence	1-8
Independent	m4e	Work Hard enough/can make good life	1-4
Independent	m4f	Average Black could own small business	1-4
Weight	pswt	Postratification weight	.1432-12.1633

The table below shows the listwise correlation matrix.

Table 19.

Zero Order Correlation of Regression Variables

Variables	Y1	X1	X2	X3	X4	X5	X6	X7	X8	X9	X10
Y1 va4	1.0										
X1 age	.05	1.0									
X2 educ	-.09	.12	1.0								
X3 race	---	---	---	1.0							
X4 empl	.01	.27	.24	---	1.0						
X5 isum	.03	.10	.36	---	.33	1.0					
X6 jobs	.17	.13	.10	---	.05	.04	1.0				
X7 m1f	-.11	-.08	.10	---	.03	.06	.01	1.0			
X8 region	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.0		
X9 m4e	-.18	.05	.14	---	.00	.01	-.13	.03	---	1.0	
X10 m4f	-.18	.15	.15	---	.06	.01	-.17	.05	---	.55	1.0

Notes: Allocation of cases
Valid Cases: 1,026
Cases with invalid codes: 1,197
Total Cases: 2,223

The table below shows the results of the multiple regression analysis. Butler and Weber's conclusion that economic activity leads to community development was supported. Certain non-economic variables were found to be significantly related to self-reliance as well. The regression coefficients are presented as well as the probability that each result equals zero.

Table 20.
   Dependent Variable = How important is self reliance to you

	B	SE(B)	Beta	SE (Beta)	T-statistic	Probability
Age	.004	.003	.043	.032	1.334	.183
Educ	-.143	.045	-.106	.033	-3.170	.002
Race	-.215	.226	-.030	.031	-.954	.341
Empl	-.142	.108	-.044	.034	-1.314	.190
Isum	.027	.015	.062	.034	1.816	.070
Jobs	.082	.025	.105	.032	3.313	.001
M1f	-.160	.067	-.074	.031	-2.404	.017
Region	-.275	.118	-.071	.031	-2.320	.021
M4e	-.246	.086	-.105	.037	-.2854	.005
M4f	-.129	.075	-.064	.037	-1.725	.085
Constant	10.826	.530			20.434	.000

Valid Cases 1,026
Cases with invalid codes on variables in the model 1,197
Total Cases 2,223

Multiple R=.274   R-Squared=.075   Std. Error of Estimate=1.514

Recode for 'race'
1 = 1 "black"; 2 = 2 "non-black"; 2 = 2-8

Recode for 'empl'
1 = 1 "full-time"; 2 = 2 "other"; 2 = 2-9

Recode for 'region'
1 = 1 "south"; 2 = 2 "other"; 2 = 2-8

Sociodemographic Characteristics

Education level (educ) was negatively related to how important respondents viewed self-reliance (B=-.14; beta -.11; p<.05). Past interpretations of the link between education and self-reliance attitudes show that more education tends to make one less likely to engage in activities such as self-employment due to the risk factor (Sexton and Kasarda 1992). On the other hand, this points to the fact that less education is not a barrier to ones attitudes toward self-reliance. This link may be further explained by the fact that research shows how immigrants have come to this country with little education and developed communities that were economically self-sufficient. Stephen Steinburg explains how groups such as the Irish, Italians, and Poles built self-sustaining ethnic neighborhoods with small levels of education (1989). Although higher levels of education may be negatively linked to attitudes towards self-reliance, this does not imply that education at the primary and secondary level is not important. Martin Haberman shows that urban schools have a large role to play in helping these areas become self-reliant and economically viable. In research collected in the primary data analysis, I show how education was seen as a high priority for helping urban communities build strong neighborhoods, which will be discussed in more detail later. It should also be noted that the survey in

the present study does not directly measure self-reliance. The question was formed to ask respondents about the importance of having everyone stand on their own two feet. This does not imply that the respondents themselves who ranked scored high on this variable are more likely to gauge in self employment. But the question does allow us to examine attitudes toward self-reliance.

Race was not significantly related to one's attitude toward self-reliance (B=.215; beta= -.030; p>.05). This provides further support to Steinburg's conclusion that jobs and the economy play a larger role than race in determining how groups adjust to society (1989). William Julius Wilson also notes that race is not as significant a factor as it was in the past in determining the plight of those trapped in poverty, while pointing to changes in the labor market that have played the largest role in creating America's disenfranchised urban neighborhoods (1996).

Economic and Socio-Political Characteristics

The results presented above provide some support for the findings of Butler and Weber: in that the government should help blacks get jobs and the belief that hard work can make a good life are positively related to attitudes toward self-reliance. The variable, jobs, has a very significant link to how the respondents rated the importance of self-

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reliance (B=.082; beta=.105; p<.001). This may help these communities

become self-sufficient and able to sustain themselves. The link between

hard work can make a good life, m4e, (B=-2.46; beta -.105; p<.05) and

attitudes toward self-reliance was noted by Weber in *The Protestant*

Work Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism where he showed that certain

values play a large role in helping communities build strong economic

foundations (1930). This also supports research which shows that

teaching urban residents about business development and

entrepreneurship may play a large role in helping these communities

build solid foundations. William B. Walstad and Marilyn L Kourilsky

found that urban youth want more entrepreneurship taught in their

schools, believing that successful entrepreneurs have a responsibility to

give back to their communities (1998). Inadequate knowledge and

discomfort with some of the mechanisms of entering competitive markets

often limits the potential for urban residents to realize their

entrepreneurial aspirations. This is not to imply that the government

should not play a role. As a matter of fact, this may help inform public

policy on what areas need to be emphasized in spending.

The average black could own a small business, m4f, was also

linked to attitudes toward self-reliance (B=-.129, beta=-.064, p<.10). It

should re-stated here that the way the question was measured makes

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the relationship negative. The response choices to the question pertaining to whether or not the average black could own a small business were 1-4 with the lower numbers representing an affirmative answer. And the response choices for attitudes toward self-reliance were 0-10 with the higher numbers representing an affirmative answer. The fact that the average black could own a small business leads to greater attitudes toward self-reliance lends additional support to Butler's work (1991). It also lends support to Boston's research in which he states that black businesses have the potential to decrease the unemployment rates in urban communities (1995). Empowerment zones have become a measure introduced by policy makers in which attempts are made to increase business development in urban neighborhoods. One can infer from this finding that survey respondents believe that such initiatives may be a step in the right direction to help revitalize inner city communities.

Table 21.

Zero Order Correlation Matrix of Regression Variables

Variables	Y1	X1	X2	X3	X4	X5	X6	X7	X8	X9	X10	X11
Y1 m1h	1.0											
X1 jobs	-.01	1.0										
X2 race	---	---	1.0									
X3 educ	.12	-.09	---	1.0								
X4 m4f	.14	-.18	---	.14	1.0							
X5 m4g	.10	.04	---	.08	.10	1.0						
X6 va4	-.10	.14	---	-.08	-.18	-.08	1.0					
X7 va8	-.10	-.22	---	-.14	.03	-.16	.03	1.0				
X8 rf4a	.05	.10	---	-.01	.04	-.03	-.04	.02	1.0			
X9 region	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.0		
X10 empl	-.06	.05	---	-.23	.04	-.01	-.02	.10	-.09	---	1.0	
X11 isum	.05	.05	---	.36	.00	.07	.04	.11	.06	---	-.35	1.0

LOWER CRIME AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The multiple regression analysis extends the previous results by examining important independent variables and their relationships to the goal of lower crime. As mentioned previously, crime is been a central concern for urban residents and policy makers. By identifying variables that are significantly related to attitudes toward less crime, this part of the analysis will test the conclusions of previous research as well as add to the literature on this aspect of urban development. The table below list the variable names, their labels and their ranges. As in the previous analysis, the categorical variables race and region are recoded (race: 1=black and 2=non-black; region: 1=south and 2=non-south). Wesley Skogan's conclusion that organizational activity lead to attitudes toward lower crime is tested. Additional variables are added to the analysis to extend his findings by identifying other factors that lead to these attitudes about crime.

Table 22.

	Variables		
Role	Name	Label	Range
Dependent	M1h	Goal: Less crime	0-4
Independent	Jobs	Gov. should help blacks get jobs	1-7
Independent	Race	Race or ethnic group	1-8
Independent	Educ	Education level	1-6
Independent	M4f	Average black could own small business	1-4
Independent	M4g	Blck nghbrhds need strngr organizations	1-4
Independent	Va4	Self-reliance	0-10
Independent	Va8	Care for homeless	0-10
Independent	Rf4a	Rnum ef4: job training/welfare	1-2
Independent	Region	Region of residence	1-8
Independent	empl	Employment status	1-9
Independent	Isum	Family Income	1-13
Weight	Pswt	Postratification Weight	.1432-12.1633

The table below shows the results of the multiple regression analysis. Skogan's conclusions that organizational development leads to attitudes toward lower crime were supported. By extending his conclusions, I found that variables external to the communities were also

significantly related to these beliefs. The regression coefficients are presented as well as the probability that each finding equals zero. By taking a closer look at what factors lead to lower crime as well as the previous analysis, this study extends the current literature on community development and provides policy makers with more options for re-vitalizing urban neighborhoods.

Table 23.

Dependent Variable = Less Crime

	B	SE(B)	Beta	SE(Beta)	T-statistic	Probability
Jobs	-.010	.007	-.049	.033	-1.487	.138
Race	.087	.056	.050	.032	1.559	.120
Educ	.019	.012	.055	.034	1.559	.110
M4f	.062	.017	.120	.032	3.722	.000
M4g	.043	.018	.074	.032	2.334	.020
Va4	-.008	.008	-.032	.032	-.998	.319
Va8	-.016	.007	-.073	.032	-2.257	.024
Rf4a	.063	.026	.075	.032	2.361	.019
Region	-.049	.031	-.049	.031	-1.555	.121
Empl	-.014	.028	-.017	.033	-.507	.612
Isum	-.002	.004	-.019	.035	-.533	.594
Constant	1.000	.171			5.838	.000

Multiple R=.222 R-Squared=.049 Std. Error of Estimate=.404
Valid Cases 1,021
Cases with invalid codes on variables in the model 1,202
Total Cases 2,223

Recode for 'race'
1 = 1 "black"; 2 = 2 "non-black"; 2 = 2-8

Recode for 'region'
1 = 1 "south"; 2 = 2 "other"; 2 = 2-8

Recode for 'empl'

1 = 1 "full-time"; 2 = 2 "other"; 2 = 2-9

Economic and Organizational Characteristics

The variable, average black could own a small business, m4f, was
significantly related to attitudes toward lower crime (B=.062, beta .120,
p<.001). This finding adds to Butler and Weber's conclusion that
business development leads to greater attitudes toward self-reliance.
Research has been conduced concerning business development and it's
overall impact on community stability (Boston 1995; Gallager 1989;
Lowery 1996). Yet specific links to business development and attitudes
toward crime reduction have been tenuous at best, particularly for poor
black communities. High crime and fear of crime often cause businesses
to leave central cities and leaves the perception to potential investors
that these areas lack economic potential. Yet, as this finding indicates,
inner-city business development, particularly self-employment, may
actually help to reduce attitudes about crime in urban neighborhoods.

Pyong Gap Min concluded that the advantages of locating
businesses in the inner city outweighed the negatives for many Korean
merchants in Atlanta, GA. (1988). So research does exist to show that
inner cities do offer viable economic alternatives for many merchants

who discover that many suburban markets are becoming saturated (Alpert 1991). As a matter of fact, business development in the inner city has also been found to benefit neighboring suburbs. Peter Drier mentions that just as problems from the inner cities eventually reach the suburbs, economic development in the inner city benefits the suburbs (1995). The above findings adds to the growing body of research, showing that attitudes about crime may actually be chaged through increased entrepreneurship in urban neighborhoods, which may possibly have positive affects about attitudes toward crime in neighboring suburban communities.

Skogan's conclusion was supported in the analysis, showing that attitude stronger organizations in black communities, m4g, was linked to attitudes toward lower crime (B=.043; beta=.074; p<.05). This also lends support to the development of more neighborhood watch programs and community policing which have caught the interest of many policy makers. The primary data analysis, which will be discussed later, also shows that neighborhood organizations play a crucial role in community development. The fact that businesses appear to help lower attitudes toward crime may stem from a couple of sources: (1) increased employment opportunities develop, providing alternatives for potential criminals; and (2) many deviant activities, such as drug dealing and

prostitution, are less likely to occur when abandoned buildings are replaced with storefronts.

External Support and Developmental Characteristics

Care for the homeless was linked to attitudes toward lower crime (B=-.016; beta=.032; p<.05). This finding extends the previous results by showing that it is important to include the homeless in initiatives geared toward reducing beliefs about crime. In New York City, a homeless man was recently convicted for bashing a woman's skull in downtown Manhattan. Many crime reports show that the offender is homeless or has lived in the streets during some portion of his or her life. Research shows that many single mothers on welfare may end up being homeless with the cuts that are occurring in governmental assistance policies (Edin and Lein 1997). Increased prostitution and other forms of illegal activities may result. Giving the fact that homeless people are on the street day and night, it is not surprising that this variable was linked to beliefs about crime. Also, many homeless people already suffer from psychological problems that may also lead to a greater likelihood of becoming involved in criminal activity.

Job training, rf4a, was also found to be linked to attitudes toward lower crime (B=.068; beta .075; p<.05). This finding also extends Skogan's conclusion by pointing to an additional factor that is related to organizational development. With the changes that have occurred in the economy over the past 40 years, jobs are increasingly requiring greater skill levels. Many who do not finish high school, and a growing number of those with high school diplomas, may turn to crime as a result of being unable to find a job. Irwin and Austin found that 64 percent of the new males admitted to prisons lacked a formal high school education (1994). This also shows how job training may play a role in reducing attitudes toward crime. It is also important to mention that fact that once individuals become involved in the criminal justice system the likelihood of them readjusting to society is slim and a great number end up returning to prison, getting caught in a negative cycle. More job training for prisoners may play a role in reducing the recidivism rate, thereby reducing crime as well.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION: IMPLICATIONS OF THE DATA

ANALYSIS

Self-reliance and Community Development

It is important to note that hard work can make a good life was significant in the secondary data analysis. This finding supports Max Weber's research on the Protestant Work Ethic and the development of economically viable communities. This has relevance to urban communities because, as mentioned by Edin ad Lein, single mothers would rather work than receive welfare. But it is important for single mothers to be able to find jobs that pay them wages that are more attractive than what they receive in welfare benefits. Currently, many urban residents face the challenge of job opportunities that often pay wages that are at or lower than what they receive in welfare payments. So there is not enough incentive for them to move from welfare to work which would make them more self-reliant.

This leads to the finding that people should have more say in government decisions. Many believe that the minimum wage should be increased to help solve this problem of moving from welfare to work.

Policy makers should take this into account in order to assure that urban

residents will have the ability to sufficiently care for themselves and their

families once they enter the work world. If urban residents had more

influence on policies, such as increasing the minimum wage, then the

transition to work would be much easier. And they will not have to rely

on welfare to survive. Most Americans feel that welfare is not the

solution to solving the problems that face urban communities, but

disagreement surfaces among policy makers on finding viable

alternatives. By asking urban residents what they think will help them

maintain strong communities, we may be able to come up with more

productive alternatives to welfare.

Small business development, another important finding in the

analysis may be a step in the right direction. As Butler and Weber show,

small businesses provide mechanisms that allow communities to sustain

themselves. Early immigrants groups successfully adjusted to American

society by building self-help organizations which provided a consistent

flow of resources to their communities. Presently, many blacks and

other minorities find themselves trapped in the same urban ghettoes that

were once occupied by earlier immigrants who were able to escape the

cycle of poverty that still plagues these areas. So efforts to foster small

business development in urban communities should provide a viable

solution towards making these neighborhoods self-reliant, as opposed to being dependent on welfare and other forms of public assistance.

Education was also significantly related to self-reliance. The findings showed that education was negatively related to self-reliance. Thus, the more education, the less likely one is to become self-reliant. As mentioned previously, this was not expected, but it makes sense because more education may make one less likely to take risks. This does not refute the claim the primary and secondary schools play important roles in helping communities organize though. All urban students do not need a graduate education, but basic schooling is still important. Urban schools are currently facing many obstacles, which will be discussed in more detail later. Many urban schools have problems that involve their infrastructure, access to adequate teaching materials, quality of teachers, and a host of other ills.

The data analysis revealed that jobs were significantly related to self-reliance. Respondents believed that the government should help blacks get jobs. As was mentioned previously, many jobs were lost in urban communities as the economy transitioned from manufacturing to service. Hundreds of thousands of jobs were lost in many major cities. Currently, entry level positions do not pay wages that compare to what entry level positions paid forty years ago. This is one of the major

problems that single mothers face when they seek to move from welfare to work. So policies should be implemented that help mothers and other urban residents find decent paying jobs. The nation's economy is strong so it should not pose a major burden to come up with creative programs that match urban residents to available jobs. Programs should also be formed that create more job opportunity.

Lower Crime and Community Development

In order to get a closer look at this issue, less crime was used as a dependent variable in the second regression analysis. As mentioned previously, it is the aim of this research to identify variables that have significant relationships to self-reliance and less crime, two variables that are essential for safe, healthy communities. The average black could own a small business was linked to lower crime. Thus, this variable may play a role in helping to alleviate crime. Small businesses bring increased resources to communities and provide opportunities where they may not otherwise exist. Merton's structural strain theory states that one may be more likely to turn to crime when there are fewer job opportunities. So with more businesses there will also be more employment opportunities. If one is taught how to run a business at an early age, this will provide individuals with more life choices, so that he or

she may be less likely to turn to deviant behavior. This is important for public policy and encourages the creation of more small business development programs for urban neighborhoods.

This leads to another important finding, job training, which was also linked to lower crime. It logically follows that along with efforts to build more businesses in urban communities that training should also be included. This will lead to more successful business start-ups and job training in general will prepare those individuals who are leaving welfare to work with increased chances for success. Communities with more businesses also tend to take greater care in keeping up their neighborhoods due to the fact that there will be fewer abandoned buildings, where crime is more likely to occur. Drug activity tends to occur in areas where people are less likely to be observed and run down buildings provide more opportunities for deviants to engage in criminal activity. If urban youth are provided with adequate job training, they will be more likely to turn to productive means for obtaining resources, rather than learning the negative routes provided to them by neighborhood drug dealers who conduct much of their illegal business in rundown sections of communities.

Black neighborhoods need stronger organizations was also linked to lower crime. This supports Skogan's research, as mentioned

previously, where he discovered that the positive model was supported in neighborhood reactions to crime. People will be more likely to do something about crime in their communities, rather than sit back and do nothing. So building stronger community organizations should be encouraged in black neighborhoods. Neighborhood watch programs, which will be discussed later, tend to help lower crimes. When the local police force works with local organizations, relationships of trust tend to develop, which helps to alleviate the tension that exist between many minority communities and local police departments. Efforts of this nature should be encouraged through public policy as well.

Care for the homeless was also linked to lower crime. As with the problem of abandoned and run down buildings, homelessness creates opportunities for more crime. Many criminals essentially live in the streets and they are more likely to turn to crime due to a lack of other positive choices for adjustment to society. So providing more programs for the homeless to help integrate them back into communities will be likely to lower crime rates.

This discussion shows that certain variables may help communities become self-reliant with lower crime rates, two factors that are important for maintaining healthy neighborhoods. These findings should be of great interest to policy makers as they continue to seek to

come up with effective means to strengthen urban communities. By addressing the problems of urban neighborhoods, this also helps to keep suburban neighborhoods in good shape. For problems in urban communities may eventually creep into suburban neighborhoods when they are not addressed. Given the fact that research on urban communities decreased dramatically during the 1980s, these findings show that more attention needs to be refocused on these areas. Urban neighborhoods provide great potential for the nation. Once more jobs are developed for these communities, small businesses, along with other neighborhood organizations, and improved schooling, then these areas will become self-reliant and fewer of the residents will end up in prisons due to decreased crime rates.

Examining Community Development Initiatives

Education

Evidence from other research is provided below in an attempt to gain a greater understanding of the relationship between the quality of schools and community development. By 1996, there were 51.7 million children enrolled in America's public and private schools. The National Center for Education Statistics states that enrollment should reach 55.9

million by 2005. As enrollment is climbing, American confidence in the educational system is hitting an all time low. Only 25 percent of adults have a "great deal" of confidence in education administrators and teachers, down from 49 percent in 1974. Those with the lowest amount of confidence are parents – people in their 30s and 40s. The number of 30 to 39 year olds with much confidence in public education has dropped by 30 percentage points over the past 20 years. The decline went from 45 to 20 percent among 40 to 50 year olds. (Russell 1996). One of the biggest problems facing urban schools is the deteriorating and aging infrastructure. Some estimates show that $50 billion is needed to repair school facilities (Argon 1998). So it is not surprising that the respondents in the current study viewed education as the biggest dilemma plaguing their neighborhoods. As mentioned throughout this study, complexity theory provides a lens for viewing communities as self-evolving entities. Urban communities represent complex adaptive systems that co-evolve with their environment and quality schools play a major role in helping communities grow in the proper fashion. With schools being such a major component to the development of communities, it is not difficult to see why urban neighborhoods are suffering from a lack of proper development and growth. The educational environment plays a tremendous role in scholastic achievement as well and this is reflected in

lower test scores for American students, compared to other industrialized nations. President Clinton has called on Congress to pass more legislation allowing for a greater amount of federal funding for schools. Although education spending has increased over the past decade, national and state budget cuts are failing to keep up with the needs of rising student enrollments and the aging infrastructure.

Despite financial challenges, school districts must incorporate plans that will allow education to play the crucial role it is supposed to play in community development. Some school administrators are making attempts to allow more autonomy in the educational system. A good example can be found at Fenway Middle College High School in Boston. The goals of this pilot program address issues that school bureaucracy has been unable solve. "Fenway established a dual mission:to create a dynamic community of learners and to challenge traditional school structures and policies in order to increase student engagement and achievement". School administrators sought to raise money and find time for an important discussion about teaching, learning, and getting rid of inherited policies, structures, and incentives that did not work. Community collaboration also plays an important role in this project, enlisting the support of university researchers, parents, students and other crucial entities. During the 1996-97 academic year

dropout rates were very low for this school. Graduates were admitted to many schools, including Wheaton College, Boston University, and Boston College. Many of the students were awarded full scholarships as well. By working with CVS pharmacies, a student was accepted to the renown Massachusetts College of Pharmacy. Additional participants in this program are attending Wentworth, Franklin Institute, and Tuskegee. And retention rates are strong (Nathan 1998:278-283).

The current paradigm for public schools focuses on a systemic approach to education that does not leave much room for autonomy and community level programs. Urban neighborhoods have changed dramatically over the past 40 years. Schools must take into account the fact that education should serve the needs of its local populations. The urban learner framework, introduced by Belinda Williams, seeks to build on the strengths of America's inner city students. This paradigm does not view urban youth as an "at risk" population. Rather, it sees great potential for these students. The framework includes the following major components:

> * **Curriculum, instruction, and assessment.** When curriculum and instruction are tied to the cultural experiences and values of urban students, schooling becomes more meaningful for them. Schools need to design assessments of these new learning experiences that go beyond standardized paper-and-pencil tests.

> * **Staff development.** To begin to value and build on the experiences andstrengths of urban learners, educators must think,

feel, and behave in new ways. Staff development programs often serve as catalysts for teachers to make the kinds of cognitive, affective, and behavioral changes that will foster the success of urban learners.

* **The school environment.** Schools organized to assure high expectations, a challenging curriculum, a caring climate, and positive self-esteem are more likely to develop individual potential and promote growth and learning in all students. Likewise, community members, local district administrators, state and federal agencies, legislators, and other stakeholders must contribute to these efforts.

* **Management.** Through increased school-home collaboration, shared decision making, and other strategies, districts and schools can increase the awareness of school staff about the experiences and strengths of urban learners.
Source: Building on the strengths of urban learners. Contemporary Issues: Urban Schools.Williams, Belinda Educational Leadership.May 1994, v51, n8, p75(4)

Table 24.

Toward a New Vision of Urban Learners

Current View	A New Vision
Deprived	Culturally Different
Failing/Low-Achieving	Unrecognized Abilities/ Underdeveloped Potential
Unmotivated	Engaged/Self-Motivated/Effortful
At-Risk	Resilient

Source: Building on the strengths of urban learners. Contemporary Issues: Urban Schools.Williams, Belinda Educational Leadership.May 1994, v51, n8, p75(4)

It is also important to note that schools should play a practical role in preparing students for the real world. Much of the current curriculum focuses on abstract subject matter that does not provide students with the knowledge and skills necessary for the world of work. Some even argue that urban educators reinforce the anti-work attitude that currently plague inner city schools. Martin Haberman states the following: "For many urban young people living in poverty, moving from school to work seems about as likely as having a career in the National Basketball Association" (1997:499). The urban educational environment reinforces attitudes that allow students to pass through middle school and high school that also promotes their failure to succeed. This ideology is "easily learned, readily implemented, rewarded by teachers and principals, and

supported by school policies". Rather than trying to change this thought process, schools push it because it is easier. The active training that the students receive for unemployment is even more detrimental than the drop out problem – even though it is quite severe (Haberman 1997:499). This perspective regarding the ideology of work and urban schools may seem a bit harsh, but it does point out the fact that schools could do much more to prepare students for the work world.

These approaches allow for innovative approaches to community growth and development. This is a major functional component of self-evolving social systems. When complex adaptive systems fail to change with their environment they stagnate and do not progress in the proper fashion. So incorporating novel and innovative ideas, as suggested above, should be paramount for urban educators and policy makers.

Health and Human Services

Health and human services is a topic that has sparked much debate between liberals and conservatives in recent years. On the right, arguments usually state that welfare and social services amount to hand-outs that make individuals dependent instead of independent. On the other hand, the left generally states that it is necessary to provide assistance to those in need because it is morally defensible and

necessary to help people gain self-sufficiency. It is the aim of this research to come of with a viable and effective manner to deal with this divisive issue. And, as the data analysis shows, health and human services is an issue that sparks much concern among individuals and communities.

Human services are going through major changes. While providers enter new circumstances, the distribution of authority and responsibility for programming is being reevaluated. New organizational arrangements and more dependence on avenues to reach greater unity in service delivery have caused concern with fragmentation and decentralization. Policy makers are seeking efficiency by identifying costly clients and considering additional methods of service and by consolidating an range of funding sources. Inner city minority clients, as well as poor whites, have a great stake in these changes. Poor blacks are especially vulnerable inefficiencies that have provided much of the motivation for change (Snowden 1993). Reform may improve the situation facing poor Americans but this can not be taken for granted, as is often the case in many discussions on this topic.

Models of comprehensive, integrated, and school-linked services have been put into place as a part of these reform efforts. Yet, evaluation studies have illustrated that institutional change may not be

the sole solution service providers are looking for in the attempts to address the needs of younger generations. Presently, service providers administer health and human services on a "categorical and contractual basis". Without a strong commitment and concern for clients, professional relationships in these agencies are often limited. The central questions regarding this issue are the following: How do we create social structures that support poor residents in the process of helping themselves? And how do we move from the business of health and human services to human empowerment? (Yowell 1996)These questions can not be adequately covered with the current data, but they should be explored in dept in future studies.

It is important to emphasize that empowerment is not a static trait, but one that changes over time. Also human activity itself is dynamic. Because individuals modify their environments, the interaction between human activity and sociocultural context is fluid. This ongoing process makes research and policy formation difficult. Variables that are causal in one moment become dependent in the next moment (Yowell 1996), which is why complexity theory should shed light on such situations. So, if our goal is to enhance human empowerment, then we must begin to handle these constantly changing interactions.

Two important goals should guide plans to improve health and human service agencies. Professionalism that handles the cultural dissonance between the cultural identities of urban residents and the norms of the institutions that assist them should be the first goal. In order to make social service agencies more effective, the risk factor that cultural dissonance represents must be addressed. Next, community organizations and social institutions must address the "defiant adaptation" of urban culture (Yowell 1996). In other words, it will take a broad network of input from residents, researchers, and policy makers to work in collaborative efforts to formulate productive human service programs.

The importance of housing assistance must not be underestimated as well in reform efforts. Housing assistance is being removed at a time when welfare programs are facing their most serious problems. And in all discussions on the topic, housing is hardly addressed. Yet there is a valuable connection between successful welfare reform and housing. Recipients will find it less training to leave welfare for work if housing is available in areas with high job growth rates, for instance. For young adults with small amounts of education and training, employment is often hard to find and sporadic. Generally people have about eight different jobs after being in the workforce for 10

years. Turnover rates are particularly high for 16-24 year olds. Housing assistance can help welfare recipients sustain employment and improve their lives. (Sidor 1997).

In 1996, Carol M. Trivette tested the hypotheses that "help-giving practices in family-centered programs would be assessed as more empowering compared to the practices used in professionally centered and family-allied programs, and that the help-giving practices in the family-allied programs would be assessed more positively compared to practices in the professionally centered programs"(275). Three different kinds of programs were included in the study: family support/early intervention, public health departments, and departments of social services. Evidence showed that families participating in human service programs viewed as family-centered were more consistent with an empowering philosophy opposed to families who took part in other types of programs. The findings also yielded evidence showing that the paradigm of the program was associated with the degree to which families mentioned that they had control over needed resources (1996:283). These results show the importance of empowering families (and communities) to function as self-organized and self-reliant entities, as is also inferred from the results in the present study.

It appears as though women may play an important role in the welfare of the urban poor in the future. Research shows that giving will increase in the first decades of the new century. The people who were more likely to give to human services, as opposed to those who did not give, were white women with higher incomes. Women are more committed to charitable organizations and believe that they have the ability to help others. The 1980s witnessed an increase in wealth among upper-income groups in the United States. Also, older Americans are expected to make contributions close to $10 trillion. And baby boomers are presently reaching years in which they will be most likely to give. Another important fact for human services is that women will have more influence than ever in determining who will receive benefits. As a matter of fact, 60 percent of the wealth in this country is now controlled by women. And, it is anticipated that women will give significant portions of this wealth to entities that assist women (Marx 2000).

As the above illustrates, the goals of health and human services should center on empowering people to be self-sufficient. Due the fact that many urban residents, particularly single women, depend on welfare to survive, programs that are effectively designed to help them care for themselves without future government needs will serve them well. Currently, welfare programs are the only option that many women have

to keep them off of the streets. These programs need to be implemented in a fashion that will allow them to gain the necessary skills to find good jobs. This also means that other alternatives need to be created. With the decrease in employment opportunities, which has been emphasized throughout this study, welfare becomes their only alternative. Policy makers should see that wages for entry-level positions will truly provide single women (and families) an opportunity to become self-sufficient.

Neighborhood Watch Programs

Many communities across the nation are working with the local police to forge programs for collective preventive measures to reduce crime and neighborhood instability. Due to the high level of tension that exist between many inner city neighborhoods and the local police, such programs offer good steps toward alleviating these problems and many others. When the officers who gunned down African immigrant Amadou Diallo were recently acquitted in a New York court, the hostility between inner city communities and the police gained international attention. Many young black males expressed the fact that they feared the police. Mothers also expressed concern for the safety of their sons in urban neighborhoods. Although these tensions have a long history, neighborhood watch programs and community policing offer solutions for

such issues. It has not been and will not be an easy task, but committed efforts from both sides are producing promising results. Yet it is important to emphasize that the original goals of such programs were designed to deal with issues surrounding crime.

Although community policing is widely praised, it is not well understood. The general premise is that citizens work with the local police to decrease crime as opposed to reacting to it. Law enforcement generally assumes that crime is a fact of life, making the role of the police one of respond fast and arrest the criminal. Neighborhood watch programs and community policing, on the other hand, attempt to stop prevent crime, creating an ordered surroundings in the process. They use ideas such as allowing officers to work with local resident organizations, to complex solutions like New York City's effective computer-aided crime statistics system (Lehrer 1999). Although crime is up for the first half of this year in New York, the Big Apple is still considered to be America's safest large city and it has police officials across the country praising the benefits of neighborhood watch programs and community policing.

Researchers Robert Sampson, Stephen Raudenbush and Felton Earls surveyed 843 Chicago neighborhoods in the largest study ever done on the topic. The neighborhoods they studied represented the full

spectrum of the city's socioeconomic classes, including residents of several poor, largely black communities where populations were stable, with strong local organizations low crime. Their findings, published in the Journal of Science, challenge the traditional views of the left and right. Economic disadvantage and unemployment correlate weakly with crime in some neighborhoods which would probably surprise many on the left. And those on the right would probably be equally surprised to discover that the growth of single-parent families also seem to have little to do with crime rates, according to the study. The researchers state that "collective efficacy" is the most crucial factor. In neighborhoods where residents say they are likely to look out for each other crime rates are 40 percent lower than in similar areas that do not have community cohesiveness. Wealthy neighborhoods where people say their neighbors do not seem to care about one another experience a significantly higher levels of violent crime, although affluent neighborhoods are safer than poor neighborhoods in general. (Lehrer 1999).

While in the process of keeping offenders from committing crimes, informed and organized neighbors can actually help criminals and ex-cons become productive citizens. Mike Elsworth credits his neighbors for helping him stay on the right track during his parole after being

released from prison in Washington D.C. Although one neighbor shunned him, other "neighbors were supportive and understanding of me trying to do better once I got out. They knew I was looking for a job, and they would tell me about places that they knew were hiring, and some of them would tell me if I needed anything to come on by." With the supportt of his neighbors, three months after his release, Elsworth landed a job (Carlson 1995:52).

Robert J. Bursik and Harold G. Grasmick go as far to state that including gang members in locally based crime prevention programs should be encouraged because such plans have potential for productivity. Those who have engaged can be important sources of information concerning crime, its level of occurrence throughout the neighborhood, along with those who are deeply involved. Reformed gang members are usually embedded in relatively wide networks of association. The networks needed to form an effective neighborhood watch program do not have to be artificially developed by entities outside of the community. An example of the success of such an initiative can be found at the beginning of the twentieth century in the low income Bridgeport neighborhood of Chicago. This area was composed of poorly educated Irish immigrants. The most recognized were the Hamburgs, who were very involved in the 1919 race riots of Chicago. Local

politicians were attracted to the Hamburg gang structure and recruited members to help bring stability to the neighborhood. The use of these reformed ganged members as a local political organization provided great benefits for the Bridgeport neighborhood and many local residents gained political appointments. Three mayors of Chicago originated in the Bridgeport neighborhood several decades later, including probably the most well known former member of the Hamburgs – Richard J. Daley, Sr. (1993).

Wesley Skogan, as mentioned earlier, posed important questions regarding neighborhood organization and community development. The dominant policy questions he posed in his research were: How can local organizations be encouraged to adopt a crime prevention agenda; and how can new anticrime groups be spawned in areas where none were active? The positive view asserts that crime problems stimulate action, while the negative view, on the other hand, is that problems discourage constructive responses. Skogan's research uncovered the following:" *1) organized activity was stimulated by serious crime; 2) better off areas were better organized, but the more cohesive they were the less they relied upon formal organization; and 3)* **there was an inverse relationship between the quality of police service and the extent of local organizational activity** "(1989:449-450). His third finding

definitely demonstrates the need for community policing and neighborhood watch programs.

Respondents in the current study probably viewed neighborhood watch programs as a top priority for policy makers because they are aware of the benefits that such programs can provide. This may be the case because (1) they are likely to have been exposed to the tensions that exist between the police and many urban communities and (2) a portion of the respondents belong to neighborhood watch programs themselves. Now it is time for policy makers to devote more attention to this aspect of community development. Although these programs have been praised and encouraged by researchers, some local authorities are still hesitant to modify the traditional role of the police. The antagonistic relationship between poor minority communities and local constables will not get better unless community policing and neighborhood watch are taken more seriously by policy makers. An accreditation system needs to be developed from a national level that sets standards for police departments across the country. It is unfortunate that incidents such as the Diallou shooting in New York have to occur before authorities acknowledge that change needs to occur (even still, as the verdict suggest, many do not see a major problem with the harsh tactics of many police officers). Hopefully, more research will be conducted in this

area in the future and more police departments will adopt effective anti-crime prevention programs such as neighborhood watch and community policing. Such initiatives, when properly administered, also demonstrate that urban communities are able to live up to their potential as complex adaptive systems, withstanding periods of chaos or disorder.

Small Business Activity

An increasing amount of research is showing that entrepreneurship serves as a viable method to refurbish the economy in urban communities. With the changes in the economy over the past 4 decades, policy makers and those involved in business should recognize the role that small businesses can play in providing jobs for inner city residents. Major cities lost hundreds of thousands of jobs once the nation's economy switch from a manufacturing foundation to a service economy. New jobs are increasingly requiring more education and skills, which are often lacking in poor inner city communities. So urban residents usually pay the price with high unemployment rates and more dependency on government programs.

Efforts to reduce unemployment are being made in cities such as Los Angeles by making small business activity a priority. Despite the reduction in jobs traditionally provided by large firms, the city is

experiencing an economic boom created by entrepreneurs. As of 1997, the employment rate was 7.3% compared with about 10% in New York city, despite the fact that Los Angeles experienced its worse recession in more than half a century. 78,000 jobs were created in a year's span in Lost Angeles county, more than any other American city. The area's rate of job growth, at 2% a year, is "twice that of New York and a third greater than Chicago's". Jack Kyser, chief economist for the Economic Development Corporation, attributes this growth to the boom of the city's smaller businesses. Companies with less than 100 people are responsible for more than half of these new jobs (1997:25).

Similar, or even greater, success may be obtainable in other cities that are committed to job growth. Business incubators are becoming increasingly popular around the nation. THE WEST Philadelphia Enterprise Center (WPEC) is one of the nation's more than 600 business incubators, and one of 30 that particularly targets women and minority owned businesss. These entities offer participants access to rental space, basic services, equipment, and management guidance. The main goal of a business incubator is to produce successful companies that are both viable and self-sufficient. Incubators are not just training camps. They are demonstrate urban development. In an effort to form jobs and strengthen local economies, many neighborhood groups are

building business incubators in poor communities. Yet a large disparity remains in the number of minority-owned businesses compared to the amount of African Americans living in large cities like Philadelphia, Detroit, Atlanta, and New York. Cash reserves are limited in poor inner city communities, which causes a major obstacle to business formation. (Brown 1998).

With private, for-profit initiatives and investment based on economic self-interest – jobs, investment, and businesses in inner cities will materialize. Inner cities will continue to be left out of the economic mainstream unless entrepreneurs and policy makers start with the premise that inner city businesses must be genuinely profitable and capable of competing on a regional, national, and international scale. One of the reasons for the failure of past urban development initiatives lies in the fact that these basic economic principles were ignored. While noble attempts, past programs sought to meet the highly visible social needs – such as poverty, homelessness, and hunger – through income assistance, housing subsidies, and food stamps (Porter 1995). Creative reforms should include business formation as an important priority. Government officials state that they are open to innovative measures and the private sector is ready to help in such efforts.

New programs aimed at making inner city residents self sufficient are especially important in light of the attacks on affirmative action programs across the country. Research conducted by Timothy Bates shows that non-minority owned businesses hire few to no minorities. Black owned businesses in urban neighborhoods, on the other hand, employ a labor force that consist almost entirely of minority employees. Bates found that 96.2 percent of the black owned firms in urban communities have a workforce composed largely of minorities. Even black firms outside of minority neighborhoods rely upon minority workers, while most white-owned businesses in these same areas have no minority employees (1994).

Small business activity definitely represents an initiative that fosters the complex adaptive traits inherent in communities. As mentioned earlier, even in the face of hostility, minority groups used self-employment as a mechanism to achieve against the odds. Small business activity was ranked extremely close to the preceding community development initiative with an insignificant difference of .43. Creating policies that support entrepreneurship in urban communities promote self-sufficiency. Such practices enable communities to survive through periods of chaos and instability. Currently, employment rates are relatively low for urban residents, especially the youth. This is one of

the reasons many turn to a life of crime. Programs supporting small business activity in inner cities should be a major priority for policy makers. Schools can also play a role in this endeavor by teaching students practical skills such as how to start and mange a business. If such practices have worked for minority groups throughout history, there is no reason that they cannot work for poor inner city blacks.

Policing

As was mentioned previously, many urban neighborhoods have antagonistic relationships with local police authorities. Much evidence shows that these antagonistic relationships between the police and local residents will be extremely difficult to improve without reform in current policies and practices. Hiring more minority officers will not solve these problems by themselves. The overall structure of police units needs to be looked at critically, something that has not been done often enough in law enforcement history.

The biggest police departments in America define policing in America. Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York have distinctive police departments, with insular police cultures. The LA police department is currently in the courts for corruption among its ranks, with up to 90 convictions being overturned due to falsifying evidence, falsified police

reports, and false testimonies by officers. And if we take a close look at the Abner Louima rape case and the Amadou Diallo killing in New York, one can easily see the need for change in police practices and techniques. Some researchers point to a "blue wall of silence" which pervades police practices and often protects officers from misconduct. The New York Police Department is still deeply rooted in the same machine politics that ruled New York in the early 1900s (Harring 1999). Mayor Gulliani is under constant criticism for his public appearances in which he makes light of serious violations committed by NYPD officers.

A college degree or city residency has never been a prerequisite for joining the NYPD. There is a requirement for two years of college, or an equivalency, such as military service. And those with college degrees state that their education means nothing to the department and does not help promote their careers. Most recruits are young, mostly white with suburban backgrounds. They are adept at understanding urban issues, and usually not comfortable with minority communities. Problem officers are often not reprimanded until they are involved in a corrupt situation that obtains national attention. For instance, Charles Schwarz, "convicted of participating in the assault and rape of Abner Louima, had three charges of petty violence and racial remarks on his record" (Harring 1999:64).

The Civilian Complaint Review Board (CCRB) has insignificant influence and is not effective in New York. For instance, out of 5,000 complaints in 1997, 276 were "substantiated". And something was done in only 89 of the cases. A detailed investigation by the U.S. attorney's office regarding the Abner Louima case, showed that there was a "pattern" in the NYPD of ineffectively processing complaints against officers. Clear evidence also shows that blacks draw at least 70% of the stops down the Turnpike, although blacks make up only 10% of all drivers and drive at roughly the same speed as whites (Harring 1999). Relations between the police and minorities communities are more antagonistic now than they were 25 years ago, along with the fact that arrest and prison statistics are more racially unbalanced.

Over the past 20 years, the number of Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) teams has grown steadily. The Department of Defense "gave police departments 1.2m pieces of military hardware, including 73 grenade-launchers and 112 armored personal carriers". M-16 assault rifles have been distributed to police forces around the nation. The LAPD has 600 of these weapons. Special-forces units have trained many of these SWAT teams. Usually SWAT teams are employed to conduct drug searches and arrest guilty culprits. And departments are often giving the incentive of keeping the cash and other assets

confiscated in raids. Many of these units are going into black

neighborhoods as if they are "hostile territory". Certain hostage-rescue

task are justified by SWAT teams, but 90% of police forces with these

units no longer limit their use to such cases. Most are routinely utilized

to issue drug warrants or for regular patrols of certain communities

(Economist 1999:28). And their use is growing at a time when crime is at

a record low for most major cities across the nation. The need of SWAT

teams should be seriously questioned at a time when tensions are

already so high between poor black communities and police units.

In order to help alleviate the problems that exist between police

departments and poor minority communities, Sherman Block

recommends the following in the FBI Enforcement Bulletin:

* Be service-oriented to our diverse communities by performing
  duties with the highest possible degree of personal and
  professional integrity

* Be fair and impartial and treat all people with dignity

* Work in partnership with the community and its citizens in
  solving problems and maintaining peace

* Be fully accountable for your actions or failures and, when
  appropriate, for the actions and failures of subordinates

* Be guided by reverence for human life when considering the use
  of deadly force

* Treat every member of the department, both sworn and civilian,

as you would expect to be treated if the position were
reversed.
(Block 1994:24-25)

Positive change may occur in police practices if officers follow these

guidelines, along with the inclusion of more community policing and

neighborhood watch programs, as was discussed in detail previously.

Political Involvement

During the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s, black political

activity reached its peak. Martin Luther King led the most widely

accepted form of political activity, although he was despised by those

who wanted to keep the walls of segregation in tact. Through marches

and boycotts, protesters were successful at gaining the attention of

Presidents' Kennedy and Johnson as they pushed for legislation to

improve the plight of blacks in America. SNCC (The Student Nonviolent

Coordinating Committee) reached its peaked during this time frame as

well. Stokely Carmichael, who also coined the phrase "black power", led

this movement. Carmichael later became disenchanted with American

politics and moved to Guinea, changing his name to Kwame Toure. The

black Muslims also had a large following, led by Elijah Muhammad,

Malcom X, and later, Louis Farrakhan. The Black Panther Party also

gained a huge presence, led by Bobby Seale and Huey Newton. Despite

the strength of many of these organizations, black political activity diminished during the 1970s, after the assassinations of Martin Luther King and Malcom X.

African American demands for justice and equality have been considered as illustrations of the American democratic tradition. Yet at the same time these demands were often viewed as ill-timed and subversive by those in the mainstream. Blacks directly challenged the racial status quo as well as the economic status quo. However, some argue that reactionary periods have lead to political isolation as the United States turned its back on social justice, which has happened at the turn of the century. Barriers to black empowerment have led many to question the health of black political activity in the United States. These barriers have also disrupted black political aspirations and weakened progressive movements since the end of the civil rights and black power eras. Changes in the American political economy had devastating effects on large sectors of the black community. State repression of the more active wings of the black movement, internal dissension, and shifts to the right in American public opinion have also weakened black political activity (Dawson 1996).

During the 1980s and 1990s, Democratic Party members attempted to distance themselves from being associated with black

issues, and a political strategy that featured state intervention and economic redistribution began to wane. This move back toward the middle was accomplished by paying less attention to blacks and the cities. The 1992 election was a milestone for Democratic Party leaders who wanted to move the party back toward the middle. The new "suburban majority" that allowed parties to build successful coalitions while not paying attention to the cities was one issue that led to Clinton's success in 1992. And a new consensus allowed Democrats to avoid race as an issue, which was another factor that led to Clinton's success. For the first time in nearly 50 years, The Democratic Party's platform made little to no mention of redressing racial injustice. So race never became a dominant issue in 1992. Dawson notes that the "new" consensus on race has four major components:

1) Government programs and legislation from the 1960s was deemed unfair to white Americans and they were seen as ineffective in solving the problems facing African Americans.

2) The criminalization and demonization of large sections of the black community.

3) The "recognization" that the black community itself is divided into "two nations".

4) The keys to fixing the problems in poor black communities lie in changing their values, looking to the black bourgeoisie for answers (1996:458).

The "new" consensus deems that if a whole race is declared outside of the polity, whole sets of policies become suspect and the democratic institutions of America become endangered. A homogeneous black public opinion appears to be beyond resurrection due to these changes within the black population and changes in the general political economy (Dawson 1996). This is why the attacks on affirmative action and other race-based policies have been so successful in the past few years.

Poor black Americans face an unprecedented crisis within the U.S. political and economic system. Both major parties have distanced themselves from the legacy of civil rights reforms and the social welfare initiatives of the "Great Society". Poor inner city blacks have been caught in a cycle of unemployment, social inequality and imprisonment. The reality in the 1990s were the vast polarization of classes, rises in income for a minority of American households, growing social misery, and falling incomes for the majority of the country. The top 1 percent of all incomes in 1993 combined a net wealth greater than the bottom 95 percent. Between 1973 and 1989, average incomes fell by 16 percent. The poorest fifth of the population in 1990 earned an annual average income of $5,237 in the New York borough of Manhattan. The richest fifth earned $110,199. Similar trends can be found in every American city. The median incomes for the poorest and richest fifth were $6,821

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and $123,098 respectively in Los Angeles. In Chicago, the incomes were $4,743 and $86,632; In Detroit, $3,109, and $63,625 (Manning 1995). While things have never been better for richer Americans, white and black, millions of poorer Americans have been pushed into unemployment and poverty.

So given these trends over the past three decades, it is not surprising that political involvement ranked 6th among the other development initiatives. Poor urban communities face huge obstacles in the political arena. In the face of these hurdles, many have called for more business activity and entrepreneurship, which seems to work for less politically active groups, such as Asian Americans. Of course, poor inner city dwellers need adequate representation in government, but given the current political climate, other alternatives need to be sought out as well. The black middle class, and concerned whites, may have to assume more responsibility for inner city communities. Many blacks who benefited from the Civil Rights Movement are expressing discontent at the attacks on Affirmative Action and other programs designed to redress racial injustice. This may influence them to engage in more self-help activities, including poor inner city blacks in the process. As the secondary data analysis showed, more say in government decisions was significantly related to self-reliance. So it is important for the voices of

ordinary citizens to be heard in the political arena and having more say

may reduce some of the apathy that is expressed by many voters.

Gun Control

The respondents did not see gun control as a major obstacle to

community development, compared to the other initiatives already

discussed. Whether the respondents favor more gun control legislation

or not, it is not surprising that this issue was seen as relatively less

important due to the fact that crime rates are down all over the country.

The other issues were seen as being more effective in turning

communities around that are currently experience problems. And given

the fact that guns are so interwoven with American culture, people may

be less sensitized to gun violence until it strikes close to home.

Popular coverage of American gun violence often treats these as

inevitable reflections of our culture. Many even argue that guns receive

a bad wrap in the media, stating that the responsibility for controlling

violence lies solely upon the individual and community. The division on

the issue usually centers on liberal and conservative themes that can be

seen in other debates. Those on the right believe that more gun control

legislation violates individual liberties and freedom. While those on the

left argue that the government has a responsibility to do all that it can to curb gun violence, even if it means making more laws.

In the 1990s, some signs of change in acts toward toughening America's gun laws developed. After years of fighting and lobbying, the Democratic Congress two measures were put into place – the Brady bill and a partial assault weapons ban. The Brady bill established a five-day waiting period before the finalization of gun purchases, allowing for background checks to be completed. The partial assault weapons ban outlawed nineteen types of semi-automatic machine guns for ten years. Then key provisions of the Brady law were ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. And the Supreme Court also struck down as unconstitutional another federal law – the Gun Free Schools Zones Act of 1990 – which prohibited possession of firearms within 1,000 feet of a school (Singh 1999).

The Supreme Court's decisions add fuel to the debate for those who are against more gun control measures. Gun control has also proved to be an especially divisive electoral issue that many Republicans and Democrats take up with enthusiasm. For example, Pat Buchanan championed the repeal of existing gun laws in his abortive campaign in 1996. And this theme was also taken up by a large number of candidates in the congressional and state legislative elections that year

(Singh 1999).   With Clinton's re-election and Republicans holding on to a majority in Congress, the issue of gun control remains in a deadlock for the most part.

Arts and Culture

With the assistance of the Rockefeller Foundation, the Arts and Culture Indicators in Community Building Project (ACIP) was formed in 1996. The Neighborhood Indicators Project (NNIP) was also formed as an trial effort intended to develop arts and culture-related neighborhood issues. To achieve this goal, the project has undertaken efforts that have sought to provide a better understanding of the following:

1)   the presence and role of arts and culture in inner city neighborhoods and community building contexts

2)   the utility of existing data collection practices among community-based as well as large mainstream arts and culture-related organizations for the purposes of developing neighborhood indicators.

3)   and in an attempt to expand the empirical base of information on arts and culture in neighborhoods, ACIP has launched pilots in Boston and Washington, D.C., in conjunction with NNIP participants, and in Los Angeles, in partnership with the Getty Research Institute (Jackson 1998:201).

As expected, the field work demonstrated that mainstream definitions of "the arts" generally left out the cultures of inner city inhabitants.

Interviews and focus groups revealed that there are many moving and

inspiring expressions of creativity in inner city neighborhoods that

demonstrate the development of standards of excellence. Arts and

culture must not be exclusively viewed as products to be consumed, but

they also have meaning as parts of processes such as the creation of

collective memory, the creation of shared identity, worship, the provision

of a variety of social services, economic development and cultural

bridging (Jackson 1998).

Omar N. Bradley, mayor of Compton, California, takes a bold

stand on the significance of hip-hop culture. He argues that rap music

has become an important source of energy for American youth, providing

them with a voice that has tremendous influence. He states that this

genre of music reflects a society that it did not create. And for those who

argue that the explicit lyrics are derogatory, Bradley reminds us that

those same words were a part of the American lexicon long before rap

emerged. He also believes once the forces of rap find their political

foundation, they can begin to carry out their goals by expressing their

thoughts on youth oriented topics such as affirmative action, abortion

rights, educational funding, and media perceptions (Bradley 1995). If

Bradley is correct, then music may become an important tool for

development for urban communities.

Incarceration

While prison populations have soared over the past decade, crime has gone down at record levels. There is a wide disjunction between crime rates and incarceration. Many have argued that this has been one of the major flaws of public policy over the past decade. Instead of investing in education as a priority, the number one ranking initiative in this study, public policy has centered on the war against drugs, sending hundreds of thousands of Americans to prison. Crime prevention through education and job creation has not been a top priority for policy makers. The United States has the highest incarceration rates among all industrialized nations. We have become a nation more focused on social control than allowing individuals and communities to become self-empowered through productive development initiatives.

By the end of 1998, 5.9 million people were on probation, in jail or prison, or on parole. State and Federal prison authorities had 1,333,561 inmates at midyear 1999 and 1,254,577 were physically in their custody. Local jails held or supervised 687,973 persons awaiting trial or serving a sentence at midyear 1999. About 82,000 of these were persons serving their sentence in the community. The incarcerated population grew an average 5.8% annually. The Federal prison population rose by 9.9%, up 10,614 prisoners, the largest 12-month gain
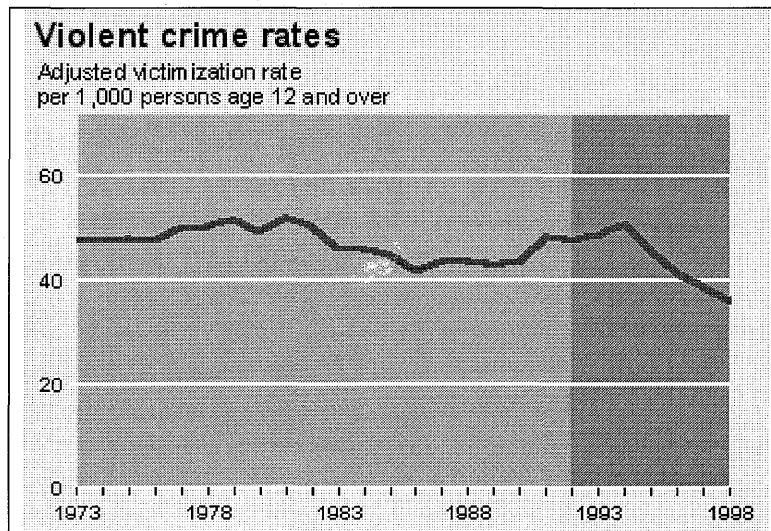
ever reported. State prisons were operating at between 13% and 22% above capacity at the end of 1998, while Federal prisons were operating at 27% above capacity. At the end of 1997, there were 3,209 sentenced black male inmates per 100,000 black males in the United States, compared to 1,273 sentenced Hispanic male inmates per 100,000 Hispanic males and 386 white male inmates per 100,000 white males. (U.S. Department of Justice 2000).
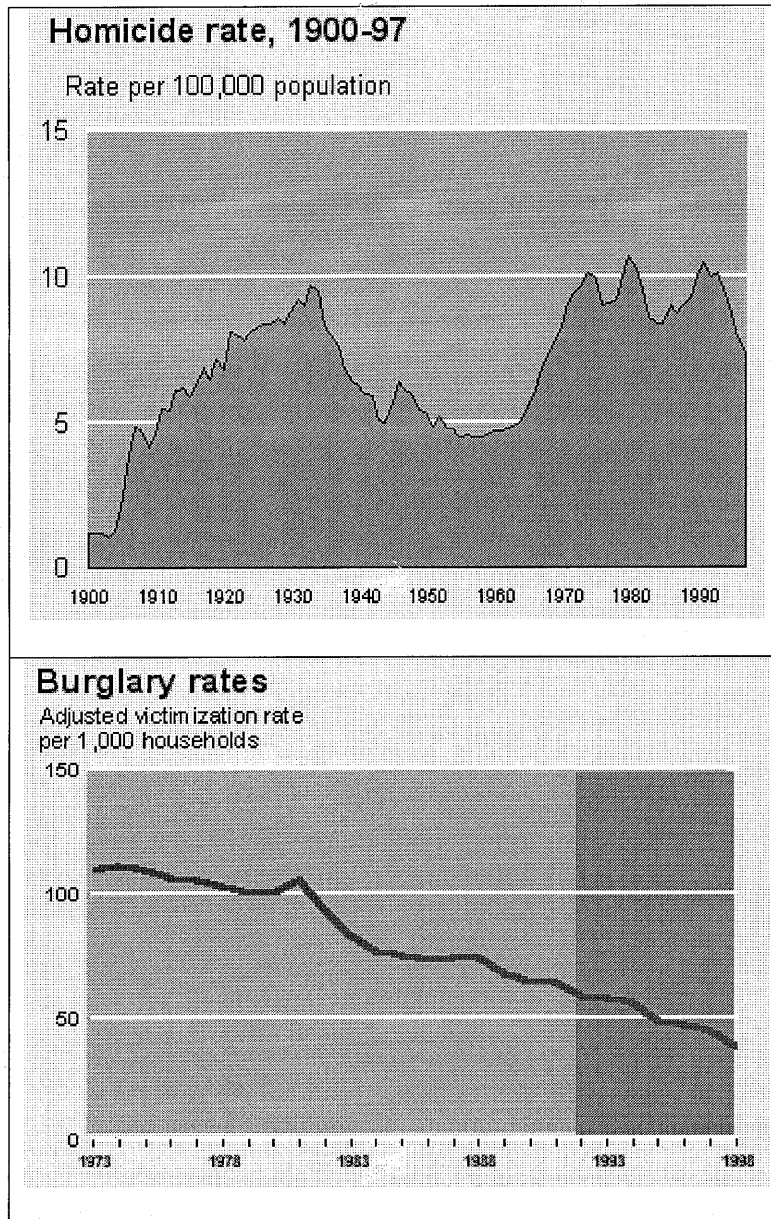
The US Congress passed President Clinton's $30 billion Crime Bill in 1994. The Crime Bill's provisions included: "$10.8 billion in federal matching funds to local governments to hire 100,000 new police officers for the next five years, $10 billion for the construction of new federal prisons, an expansion of the number of federal crimes to which the death penalty applies from two to 58, and a three strikes proposal that mandates life sentences for anyone convicted of three violent felonies". About half of the inmates in prison and jails are African American. One quarter, a conservative estimate, of all African American males in their twenties are either in prison, on probation or parole, or waiting trial. In the District of Columbia, it is estimated that 70 percent of black men will be arrested by the time they reach 35, and that 85 percent will have encounters with law enforcement that end in arrest during their lives (Manning 1995).

A 1991 survey showed that one-third of all prisoners did not have jobs when they were arrested, and two-thirds of all prisoners did not complete high school. Marable Manning states "that the prisons of the US are vast warehouses for the poor and unemployed, for low wage workers and the poorly educated, and for Latino and African American males" (1995:15). After embezzling hundreds of millions of dollars, white-collar criminals hardly ever receive prison sentences. As mentioned previously, there are hundreds of thousands of more black men in prison than are enrolled in colleges or universities. A young black man has a greater chance of being arrested than landing a job that sufficiently supports him and his family, statistically speaking. It should also be noted that African American women must bear a tremendous burden by themselves: "raising their children, working at two or more jobs, and all of this in light of not having personal intimacy or the sharing of a partner" (1995:16).

All of these circumstances are occurring at a time when crime is at an all time low in the nation. On the surface, it may appear as though higher rates of incarceration may be the solution to America's crime problem. But one can not overlook the fact that warehousing individuals in prisons does little to build and sustain productive urban communities. Public policy has neglected preventive measures, such as improving the

quality of urban schools and inner city job creation. Findings from the

National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) show that violent crime

rates declined 7%, and property crime rates fell 12% from 1997 to 1998.

The 1998 rates are the lowest recorded since the survey's inception in

1973. The following charts, reproduced from the U.S. Department of

Justice (2000), speak for themselves:

Homicide rate, 1900-97

Rate per 100,000 population

Burglary rates

Adjusted victimization rate
per 1,000 households

With these wide disparities between crime levels and

incarceration rates, policy makers should see red flags in current

policies. As the data analysis in the present study showed, education

should be a top priority instead of incarceration. Given the fact that

America's schools are falling behind other developed nations, this should

be a concern for all Americans, and not solely for inner city communities.

Until the focus is changed for public policy, we can not expect to see

great changes in the growth of prison populations. Potentially productive

citizens, who could become major players in the global economy, are

being warehoused in American prisons. All sections of the American

population, regardless of race or class, have the ability to learn

marketable skills. But the current state of urban schools provides little

opportunity for this to occur. Successful students have become oddities

instead of the norm for urban schools. Policy makers should treat such

issues as a crisis that threatens the future of the country as a whole.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY

Implications of the Present Study

In light of budget cuts and efforts to limit spending, one can see how the current findings may provide a useful guide toward more effective spending by helping policy makers prioritize areas that are deemed most important. There are multiple variables that play a role in maintaining self-reliant communities with low crime rates.

Urban settings must be allowed to development without internal or environmental threats that affect the health and proper growth of the system. For instance, it is argued here that high crime rates, high unemployment rates, and an over-reliance on incarceration, harm the natural development of communities. That is why, as the current study suggest, preventive measures should be raised in level of priority, such as creating better public schools, improved social service programs that make families self-reliant (e.g. job training), increased community policing, and more small business activity.

Shortly after the Los Angeles riots in 1993, President Clinton proposed a program for creating community development banks (CDBs).

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These are known as "microenterprise programs" that make loans to bidding entrepreneurs in impoverished areas, something conventional banks tend to avoid (Glastris 1993). There have been success stories of such programs. Shorebank Corp. provides an example of how these initiatives are supposed to work. A community group that wanted to fight the pattern of disinvestment in Chicago's South neighborhoods bought out the bank in 1973. During the previous year, owners of the bank had made only two mortgage loans in the entire South Shore neighborhood, composed of about 80,000 predominately black working-class to middle-class families. The owners of Shorebank Corp. used loans and government grants to increase business activity and refurbish rundown buildings and apartments. This sparked an economic chain reaction and presently South Shore is an economically thriving neighborhood with rising real-estate value.

Although the national government has not been as actively involved in central city business development as it could be, future investments from this level could offer viable remedies for urban decline. HUD's Community Development Block Grants, the National Trust for Historic Preservation's Main Street Center, and the banking community are sources that could be utilized for urban business development. Floyd Lapp notes that past programs usually had three major

components: (1) public improvements and street amenities; (2) storefront renovations; (3) an ongoing maintenance program to sustain improvements (1985). In the future, these programs should be directed towards areas that are most in need of improvement. Little success came from these programs in the past due to the fact that a large number of central cities were left out.

National urban policies have been unsuccessful for a variety of reasons. Gerald Jaynes notes that much of the debate has been over centralization versus decentralization over the quantity and types of welfare and income-transfer programs delivered by political entities to their citizens. How welfare is distributed can not substitute for a sound urban policy that seeks to provide a firm economic base from which labor market opportunities enable the poor to provide for themselves (1984). Any initiatives that fail to attack the underlying poverty can not offer permanent solutions to urban problems. Sound policy must assure a flow of benefits that exceed costs for a majority of the polity.

Peter Dreier notes that America's future as a whole will be largely shaped by how soon it removes the barriers which separate cities and suburbs and replaces them cooperation: "The rational for federal efforts to revitalize cities should not depend on charity, compassion, or even 'riot insurance.' Instead, it should be recognized that metropolitan

regions (cities and suburbs) are critical players in the global economy."

(1995). A total eradication of welfare programs, as some call for, would

be unwise. Rather, a program should be enacted that moves families

from welfare to economic independence, as stated previously. A policy

of this type must include a projected increase in capital formation and

business investment (Jaynes 1984). Past programs of this type

benefited suburban and other non-central-city areas. More funds for

better schools and training facilities were directed toward non-urban

areas, leaving central city residents behind. One of the first priorities of

sound urban policy must address the problems facing urban schools and

training programs, as was also supported by the data analysis in the

present study. Investments must also be made available for

entrepreneurs who plan to locate in these areas, bringing with them

needed jobs and a continuous cycle of economic resources.

Research about cities declined tremendously during the 1980s.

The Reagan and Bush Administrations cut federal funds for social

science research, along with dramatic slashes in urban aid. Federal

dollars accounted for 14.3 percent of city budgets in 1980; it was less

than 5 percent by 1992 (Dreier 1995). Social Scientists and policy

analysts, such as William Julius Wilson along with the Ford and

MacArthur foundations, began to challenge the conservative view that

public policy could do little to address urban poverty and inner city decay (Wilson 1991).

Even after the election of liberal Democrat Bill Clinton, no national commitment to the rebuilding of central cities emerged. William Schneider explained part of the reason by saying that the 1992 elections, the first in which suburbanites were a majority of voters, marked the beginning of a 'suburban century' in American politics. The number of congress members who represent suburbs is now larger than the number who represent urban districts. Little attention has been given to the inner cities, despite the fact that 60 percent of Americans thought the nation was spending too little on cities in the wake of the Los Angeles riots in 1992 – up from 46 percent in 1988 (Dreier 1995). Any successful attempts at forging a federal urban policy will necessitate appealing to some portion of the suburban electorate and their congressional representatives.

Dreier notes that federal aid to the cities during the past half-century has amounted to a drop in the bucket compared with those that fostered suburbaniztion. America's postwar suburban migration was shaped and subsidized by federal government policies that pushed people (and businesses) out of cities into suburbs. Dreier goes on to state that the country is mostly suburban as a result (1995). Mapping

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out an effective urban policy would require a rethinking of old notions of "city" and "suburb". As mentioned above, the cities and suburbs are inextricably linked, so effective urban reform would help the country as a whole.

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