1991-0101

FROM THE
11TH ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
NEW JERSEY PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE
(NJPPRI)

Building Against Crime: Prevention and the African-American Community

By Hubert Williams
President,
The Police Foundation

Introduction

Crime is having a devastating effect on the African-American community. Statistics released by governmental and private agencies portend a grim future for African-Americans and for U.S. society at large—unless we take well-considered, intelligent steps to stem the tide of social destruction. It is of vital importance that African-American communities take the initiative in analyzing what is needed to heal themselves. Governmental policies have been too narrow to address the complex problem of crime. They have overemphasized the enforcement option to the detriment of prevention and rehabilitation. As a result, prisons are overcrowded. Yet no real impact has been made on crime. What is needed is a balanced formula, one that seeks to prevent crime and deter criminality and employs enforcement primarily to deal with acute criminal behavior. The political ideology of "just deserts" is purely punitive and does little, if anything, to abate the overall crime problem. The causes of criminal behavior must be looked at, and with these in mind steps must be taken to protect this country's most precious resource, its youth.

The problem of crime control is most frequently viewed as the purview of the criminal justice system. When the family and the educational system fail, society shifts the entire burden created by this failure onto the criminal justice system, thus ensuring the problem will not get resolved. If the problem of preventing crime is to be tackled with any hope of succeeding, many social institutions besides those dealing specifically with criminal justice must be involved. Health and educational institutions must be mobilized; community building must be encouraged. People must be empowered to live better lives.

The Problem

Crime affects the African-American community most particularly, and, within this community, takes a devastating toll on youth through deaths that should be preventable.

- *According to the Census Bureau, African-Americans make up 12.2 percent of the U.S. population, yet the FBI reports that in 1989, out of 18,954 murder victims in the United States, 9,314—almost 50 percent—were black. Ninety-four percent of these black homicide victims were slain by black perpetrators (Federal Bureau of Investigations, 1989, p. 10).*

- *Homicide is the leading cause of death for blacks, both male and female, between the ages of 15 and 34. A recent study conducted by the Centers for Disease Control's Division of Injury Control found that in 1987 homicide accounted for 42 percent of deaths among black males between the ages of 15 and 24 (Centers for Disease Control, 1990, p. 869).*

- *According to the federal National Center for Health Statistics, which studied mortality data for 1988, the life expectancy for African-Americans dropped again that year, continuing a worsening trend that began in 1984, and further widening the gap that exists between life expectancy for African-Americans and life expectancy for whites (National Center for Health Statistics, 1990, p. 1). Negatively affecting blacks' life expectancy were increases in the number of deaths due to homicide, motor vehicle accidents, and AIDS.*

The Enforcement Strategy

In order to keep crime at a minimum, potential offenders must be deterred from committing crimes. Otherwise, the offender population will continue to increase and the incidence of crime will skyrocket. In the United States, the criminal justice system is the primary vehicle through which society addresses this problem. Heavy reliance on the enforcement approach has overburdened the system and created a pressing need to expand its capacity. This approach carries with it a large price tag. For example, in 1985, state and local governments in the United States spent more than $12.32 billion on corrections (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1989). Yet, the effect on actual crime of the present enforcement strategy has been insignificant.

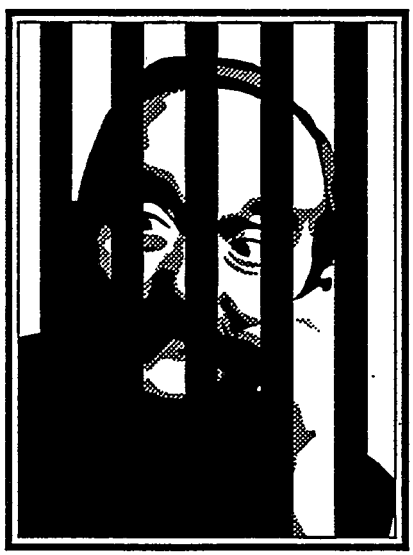
It has had an impact on African-Americans disproportionate to our numbers in the population:

- *FBI statistics show that 30.8 percent of persons arrested in 1989 were black (FBI, 1989, p. 190).*

- *Marc Mauer of the Sentencing Project, a national, non-profit organization, calculates that, on any given day, 23 percent—almost one in four—of black men between the ages of 20 and 29 are under control of the criminal justice system; that is, "either in prison, jail, on probation, or parole..." (Sentencing Project, 1990, p. 3). Only 6.2 percent of white men in that age group were similarly circumstanced.*

Emphasis on enforcement is misplaced. A study published in 1990 by the RAND Corporation (Reuter et al., 1990) looked at young men in Washington, D.C. who have been apprehended for some criminal offense. The researchers found that although young men overestimate the danger of getting killed or seriously injured while engaging in the drug trade, they are nonetheless undeterred. They are also well aware of the threat of arrest, but where the more grievous consequence of death fails to deter criminal activity, so also does the threat of arrest.

Sanctions are imposed whether or not they will prove effective in controlling the level of crime. Our society has moved away from its past idea of rehabilitating criminals, which it now sees as unworkable, and has instead shifted its focus toward simply getting criminals off the street. One result of this shift is that prison sentences are, more and more, designed to be merely punitive. This get-tough approach may satisfy political or ideological interests because it suggests that we are being hard on crime, but it cannot succeed because of its narrow focus and its exclusive concern with symptoms rather than causes. Our political pronouncements, legislative actions, and the focus of the media on arrests and prosecutions create a false sense that the crime problem is being addressed as effectively as possible. The public remains unaware that the course being taken to address the crime problem is neither the only nor the best that can be taken; in the meantime



conditions worsen.

Fear of crime has driven Americans to the brink of relinquishing important civil liberties that are fundamental to our democratic form of government. If we are not careful, this erosion of liberties will create rigid class distinctions predicated on wealth and race. Disparities in punishment for the rich and poor are evident in differential mandatory sentences prescribed for those who are convicted of possessing crack cocaine, the form most frequently used by the poor because of its lower cost, and those convicted of using the more expensive powder cocaine, or cocaine hydrochloride, a drug employed by the affluent. A Minnesota state law provides that first-time users of crack be sentenced to four years in prison but that first-time users of powder cocaine receive only probation. A county judge found that the law discriminates against blacks, who in Minnesota are the most frequent users of crack cocaine; powder cocaine is most frequently consumed by whites. More alarmingly, a similar disparity was enshrined by Congress in Title I of the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986 (subtitled Narcotics Penalties and Enforcement Act of 1986), which set mandatory minimum five-year sentences and ten-year sentences for possession of amounts of crack cocaine that are 1 percent of the amounts of cocaine hydrochloride for which five-year sentences or ten-year sentences are mandated. It is not the case that an ounce of crack cocaine is one hundred times more powerful than an ounce of cocaine powder. At the time the Act was passed, however, there was a lot of public alarm about inner-city use of crack and the violence that became associated with a changed drug market. The United States Sentencing Commission's *Guidelines Manual* follow the legislation in setting the sentencing level for each drug-related crime. In part because of the Congressionally-mandated sentences, a person with a previously clean criminal record who is convicted of possession of 5 grams of crack cocaine with a street value of $400 will get a sentence of 63 to 78 months, while a white-collar criminal who runs an investment service and steals $74,000 from a retirement account will, under the guidelines, get 6 to 12 months in prison.

If we are not careful about how we deal with the problem of crime, we will imperil our democratic system of government by making the benefits of citizenship not the innate right of individuals, but rather dependent upon economic status and ethnicity. Our reliance on channeling people through intrusive systems such as welfare and criminal justice is having a detrimental effect on the right to privacy of all of us, but its impact is especially onerous on the poor. The case management systems imposed by government assistance programs

on those who come under their purview leave clients with very little adult choice or power, not only about what programs they may participate in but also what information they must surrender. We keep records on the poor about the income they derive from employment and from public assistance, how much money they keep in the bank, what rent they pay, what arrests they have had, what drug treatment they received, what convictions they have, how much time they have spent in jail. Those who are supported by public assistance are labeled as unable to care for themselves or irresponsible and some recipients come to believe this about themselves. Those who are incarcerated at a young age incorporate into their self-concept the label "delinquent". Because of the detailed information kept on individuals, those with criminal records are locked out of the employment market at an early age. Thus we encourage them to continue to operate within the criminal underclass.

Need to Focus on the Causes of Crime

The current short-sighted approach to crime ignores the environmental factors that shape and form the values and perspectives of potential criminals. It is time for prevention to be revisited. Perhaps one reason why governments have shied away from attempting prevention is that the roots of criminal behavior are complex. There is no one single cause that can be attacked with a magic bullet. Prevention requires patience and long-range thinking, and that does not generate flashy press coverage or satisfy demands from constituency interests that something be done right away.

In exploring the causes of criminal behavior, we must look at the basic kernel of what, from those crucial first years of life, makes a human being what he is. Most delinquents have a very poor self-image. It is known that children develop in accordance with the self-image that is projected onto them by adults. If a child is repeatedly told that he is no good and stupid, he will behave accordingly. He will develop a personality that is bent on destruction, either of self — through alcohol or drugs, for example — or of others through violence.

Some sociologists, proponents of the containment theory of delinquency, have expanded on this model—for example, Walter Reckless (1967, 1956). Reckless argued that youths encounter pressures toward criminality both from within (frustration, anger) and from their environment (poverty or trouble-prone companions, for instance). Yet certain factors will keep a young person from succumbing to these pressures. These include family values, discipline, and community expectations, but the most important is a positive self-

concept.

Winston Churchill once said, "We mold our buildings, and then our buildings mold us." The values of youths are, to a large degree, the product of the vision and circumstances of the adults who mold them. Adults, discouraged by their lack of access to the means of attaining the goals respected by the culture, may develop value systems that inhibit their and their children's success in society. Young people who participate in criminal behavior frequently have not been brought up to value personal accountability, respect for authority, deferred gratification, and success through hard work, characteristics necessary for academic achievement as well as success in legitimate spheres of work.

Youth at Risk

We are creating people who will be destructive of our society. If we look at the effects of our crime-filled environment on the very young, we can project their future. What we see is frightening. We are dooming the generations that are our future and therefore our hope. The President's Office of National Drug Control Policy estimates that 325,000 drug-exposed babies are born each year—100,000 of them exposed to crack. The March of Dimes Foundations projects that in the United States there will be between 500,000 and 4 million crack-exposed children by the year 2000. There has been a nationwide increase of 29 percent in the foster care population in the last three years. In New York City, 400 boarder babies are born each month, over 85 percent drug-exposed. The percentage of black women in the United States getting pre-natal care declined from 62.7 percent in 1980 to 61.1 percent in 1988, according to the March of Dimes.

Murder is the second-leading cause of death for black children aged one to four (Bell & Jenkins, 1990, p. 149). The majority of these homicides are the result of family violence. Families under severe stress, especially when the parent or parents feel isolated, are the most prone to violence. The incidence of adolescent girls, barely out of childhood themselves, having children continues to be a problem. They acquire the responsibility of providing for a family before they are even able to support themselves. They drop out of high school, and thus limit their new family's income potential. What is more serious than that, they find themselves in an unfamiliar, extremely stressful situation. Many lack basic parenting skills. Children of mothers who are unavailable, withdrawn, or unstimulating begin their lives not only at greater risk of physical accident but also with their emotional and intellectual development in jeopardy. In some cities such as Washing-

ton, D.C., health care agencies whose clients are the very poor have started home visit programs in which nurses weigh and otherwise monitor the progress of newborns and give young mothers tips on how to provide better care for their babies. One aim of these programs is to prevent violence against the children. They show new mothers, for example, how to cope when their babies cry.

Children are deeply affected by violent treatment, even when the violence is moderate. Carl C. Bell and Esther J. Jenkins of the Community Mental Health Council in Chicago looked at some effects of violence on black children in that city *(Bell & Jenkins, 1990)*. They found that children who were spanked or whose parents fought with each other were themselves more frequently involved in fights than those from less violent homes.

The violence that surrounds children in many crime-ridden neighborhoods needs to concern us deeply. For these children, the journey from school to home at the end of the day can be a harrowing one. The streets may be full of gunfire and drug dealing. The stairs leading up to their apartment may be covered in blood. Even their homes may not be places of safety if the parents are drug-dependent. In their survey, Bell and Jenkins found that over 30 percent of the children they surveyed had witnessed at least one act of life-threatening violence (1990, p. 1). Twenty-nine percent of the children had seen a stabbing and 26 percent a shooting (p. 4). Often the victims were known to the children. The lessons that these children are learning about the value of human life should motivate us into rescuing them from the terrible conditions in which they live. Otherwise, they will soon be victims and perpetrators as a new cycle begins.

The statistics show us that offenders begin their trek toward criminality early. In 1989, juveniles between the ages of 10 and 17 constituted less that 11 percent of the population of the United States, yet they accounted for 16 percent of the arrests for violent crime and almost 30 percent of the arrests for property crime. Almost 1.7 million arrests of youth, aged 10 to 17, were recorded in 1989. In 1987, the last year for which data are available, over 716,000 juveniles were admitted to public and private juvenile facilities. From a one-day census conducted by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, we can estimate that over 90,000 juveniles are in custody at any one time. The rate at which juveniles are admitted to custodial facilities increased over 46 percent from 1975 to 1987. The nation spent slightly over $2.5 billion to maintain these juvenile facilities in 1987, an increase of over 190 percent from 1975 to 1987. The percent of juveniles housed in over-crowded facilities

also increased dramatically from 1977 to 1987; that is, from 8 percent in 1977 to nearly 40 percent in 1987, a fivefold increase.

One hopeful note is contained in the RAND study, which found that the majority of youths arrested for drug offenses had not yet become drug dependent (Reuter et al., 1990, p. xiv). Older dealers were much more likely to sell drugs in part to support a habit. It is imperative that we reach youths at that crucial threshold before dependency.

Problem Models

We must look carefully at populations at risk and determine their needs. For example, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, the *Work Force Unemployment Prevention Program* was set up under the auspices of the local Housing Authority to conduct a job-culture training program for youths 13 to 19 years old who reside in public housing; that is, young people whose parents have been unsuccessful in the employment market. The housing authority pinpointed this population of adolescents as being particularly in need of being introduced to the varieties of jobs available in our society and the skills needed to obtain and retain employment. The program helps them obtain part-time jobs in the Cambridge area and monitors their school performance. It is an interesting illustration of present-day priorities that the same day that the project won a $100,000 award from the Ford Foundation's Innovations in State and Local Government program, Massachusetts cut its $250,000 funding as part of statewide budget cuts.

Some schools whose pupils reside in neighborhoods with high levels of violence have initiated ***no-fee after-school programs***. These programs postpone the children's return to a violent environment and provide a quiet place in which the children can do their homework or expand their learning. After-school programs can also be employed to teach children useful survival skills.

One type of training that should be considered for all children at risk is ***conflict resolution***. As Bell and Jenkins, who discuss the need for this training, point out, "Violence erupts as individuals get locked into an escalating situation from which it is difficult to extricate oneself without loss of face, and for which they lack skills, other than violence, for defusing" (*Bell & Jenkins*, 1990b, p. 148). Children from violent

environments often do not have the opportunity to learn how to deal constructively with anger—theirs or other people's. They carry their poor conflict resolution skills into adolescence and eventually find themselves in face-off after face-off, increasing their chances of becoming either the victim or perpetrator of violence. Many schools include "health" as part of their curricula. Training in skills that will help students survive into adulthood should fit comfortably under this rubric.

For those who do break the law, we should have stations along the way that embody hope rather than despair about their redemption. Especially, there should be ***alternatives to imprisonment*** for very youthful offenders. Jails harden people's criminality and label them as offenders for life. Behavioral psychology long ago demonstrated that positive reinforcement is a much more effective tool in modifying behavior than negative reinforcement. It must be kept in mind that, whatever intervention we employ, we have to aim to modify behavior that has developed over time in response to angry or neglectful treatment. Negative reinforcement should be a last resort. The threat of criminal justice intervention is a built-in negative reinforcement in our society that repeatedly fails to deter undesirable behavior. We need programs that will provide encouragement and will expose youths to positive discipline, a concept that troubled youths, who frequently have poor impulse control, seldom encounter in their years of development.

We need more experimentation and research on the efficacy of programs designed to rehabilitate offenders, and we need to compare these rehabilitative initiatives with existing correctional programs so that sound, realistic policies can be developed to improve the situation. It is important to keep in mind that an evaluation of the long-term and short-term economic and social costs of incarceration programs is a very complex undertaking. On the one hand, we can say that while a felon is in prison, he is not out committing crimes and thus society is deriving a benefit. If he serves his full term of sentence, then the cost to him of engaging in future criminal activity will be great and he may be deterred from committing crimes in the future. If he is released early—because, as often happens, the prison system is overcrowded—then he will be receiving a mixed message. Because the prisons will continue to be over-crowded, he may predict with confidence that the cost to him of retuming to his criminal activity will be of lesser proportions than the law dictates. We have to consider also that serving time in prison brands the individual as a criminal and he may find it difficult or

impossible to secure legitimate employment; this is a serious loss to society. We must consider further that the cost of keeping an offender in prison for a year is greater than the cost of sending him to Harvard for that year. Since prison is a mere holding of the individual securely away from the society against which he has transgressed, rather than an investment in his future ability to be a productive member of that society, the benefit the community derives from such expense is negatory.

One possible approach is to provide young offenders with a modified sort of incarceration in an environment in which discipline is taught and treatment, job training, and possibly job placement are provided. These programs could be funded through partnerships between business and government. The health care community should be encouraged to become involved. Through such programs, young people could learn that they can control their actions, curb their impulses, and perform well in a disciplined environment. They would have a better chance at leading a straight life once they had paid their debt to society.

Bringing about behavioral change is a necessary but slow process. There is one thing that we could do very quickly to reduce the homicide rate if there were enough public will. We could ***reduce the number of weapons available on the street.*** The CDC found that from 1978 through 1987 firearms were involved in 78 percent of homicides of young black males (CDC, 1990, p. 870). More than half of all homicide victims are killed by people they know. Homicides frequently occur when the volatile anger stirred up in arguments between family members, friends, or business associates is taken one step further by the presence of a gun. By reducing access to guns for people who are mentally incompetent or who have a record of committing violent crimes, we can take a step toward stemming the tide of killing.

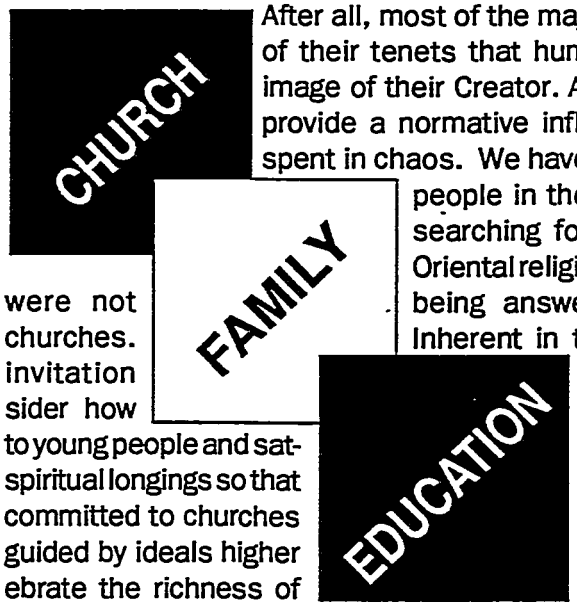
Family

If we wait until youths exhibit anti-social behavior, we will be failing them and our society. It is clear from what we know of the causes of criminal behavior that prevention must begin at the cradle. We need to provide strong, healthy foundations on which to raise the new generation.

The family and the church provide external constraints against crime and inculcate values that will help incline young people toward positive goals. We in the African-American community, and U.S. society as a whole, need to strengthen our families into units that can

nurture our young people's self-esteem and provide positive models of discipline, respect for authority, self-control, and mutual respect. Admittedly, this is not an easy task. One-half of black families with children are headed by only one parent—usually the mother. Of these families, 59 percent live below the poverty line (National Research Council, 1989, p. 10). It is clear that our community must recruit resources to supplement the traditional functions of the family.

Religious institutions are a logical resource to be mobilized in this effort. Religion can be a powerful force in building self-esteem. After all, most of the major religions hold as one of their tenets that humans were made in the image of their Creator. All teach values and can provide a normative influence over young lives spent in chaos. We have seen large numbers of people in their twenties and thirties searching for spiritual fulfillment in Oriental religions because their needs were not being answered by the traditional churches. Inherent in this phenomenon is an invitation for our churches to consider how they can best reach out to young people and satisfy the community's spiritual longings so that members will remain committed to churches that teach them to be guided by ideals higher than themselves, to celebrate the richness of family life, and to value high morals and community service as true treasures.



Education

Education, that third pillar of a healthy society, must play a pivotal role in the African-American community. The American education system is suffering from a failure of expectations vis-a-vis African American children. The schools have not demanded a high enough performance from teachers and the teachers have not held high enough expectations of the black children they educate nor helped these children develop high expectations of themselves. The National Research Council found that *de facto* segregation continues in U.S. schools, in large part due to segregated housing patterns. The quality of education, as measured by standards of performance for both teachers and students, is lower in predominantly black schools than in predominantly white schools (NRC, 1989, p. 19). The National Research Council estimates that the odds that a black high school graduate will enter college within one year of graduation are less than

one-half the odds of his white peer. Further, they determined that the high school dropout rate for blacks is twice that of whites (pp. 19-20).

Education has always been touted as a route to betterment. Yet Carter G. Woodson, in his 1933 book, *The Mis-Education of the Negro*, suggests that the educational system does not teach blacks to uplift the African-American community but, rather, promotes individual success. Because it does not teach African-Americans to value their heritage but, rather, to "transcend" it, it detaches black leadership from the masses. This constant loss of the best trained reduces the likelihood that African-Americans will create a community with a shared sense of values and perspective. Instead of detaching themselves from the community, the educated must realize that they have a duty to turn their talents to the service of others in the community. Those who have climbed higher on the ladder should give a hand up to those who are still lagging behind.

What causes so many of our educated people to develop a low opinion of their heritage? From the beginning of their schooling they are taught that culture comes from Europe. Africa is often omitted from any discussion. The role of blacks in U.S. history is frequently omitted as well. How can our children grow up to see themselves as people of value and as full citizens if they cannot recognize themselves in U.S. or world history? The history of Europeans coming to this country is transmitted by parents and educators to children of European background, but African-American children have not enjoyed a symmetrical experience. They have been left to suffer a gap in their story. This exclusion must be corrected to establish for Black and other children a balanced perspective. We need to make our young people aware that blacks took part in the Revolutionary War, in the Civil War, and in the cowboy enterprises of the West; that our forebears did not passively accept slavery, but rebelled against it in the United States and the Caribbean. Further, we must show our children that the African continent of their ancestors gave birth to rich, varied cultures with long, proud histories. This history is important for the self-esteem of our children.

The United States must acknowledge that its society is multicultural and that the fabric of which it is made will unravel if the country continues to give ascendancy to one culture over another. This multicultural quality should be recognized by the educational system. We must be cautious about how we structure a multicultural educational program, but above all, we must not let ourselves be hindered by a lack of ambition. Awareness of Africa's contributions

to civilization among African-American children is imperative, but we will be setting our sights too low if we stop there. Children who are not African-American should also be made aware of African history, just as African-American children should be exposed to the histories of other ethnic groups. In some schools with "multicultural" programs, the African-American students spend their days in Afro-centric classrooms while Puerto Rican and other Hispanic children spend their days in Hispanic classrooms. The twain never meet. An opportunity for showing these young people the interrelatedness of cultures is missed, and with it a lesson in the importance of forming productive relationships across cultures.

It is easy to see why a lot of recent interest in educational change in the African-American community has focused on Afro-centric education. Teachers involved in this type of schooling are likely to believe that their students have a substantial potential for achievement. Expecting more from them, they will get better results. An educational system that fosters children's sense of self-esteem may be able to provide some of those elements of family that many children's lives may be lacking: positive models for the black men and women of tomorrow, bonding, and a feeling of community and acceptance. This would be particularly likely to occur in a school that emphasized the positive aspects of an African heritage.

Options

As Woodson suggested six decades ago, we must identify the real needs of African-American students and their communities. Our young people should feel that they have many options from which to choose a route to success that best suits them individually. Those who are interested in academic endeavors and the professions for which university training is required should be encouraged to rise to their full potential. Yet our society's overemphasis on college education as the *sine qua non* for success and social acceptance flies in the face of the fact that many wealthy people amass their fortunes by starting out in small businesses. Youngsters who are not academically inclined may come to feel that the only point of high school is to prepare someone to go to college, and that since they do not plan to go, there is no point in hanging in there until they get their diplomas. The RAND research found that 67 percent of male offenders aged 18 to 29 whom they studied were legitimately employed at least part-time. However, of these males—all between the ages of 19 and 29—only 35 percent had completed high school (Reuter et al., 1990, p. 40). At first glance it may seem that these men were doomed, by their lack of education, to such low wages that no

legitimate employment could hope to equal those earned, at great risk to themselves, through crime. However, the link between education and actual earning potential is not absolute. Training should be provided to our young people that is based on their individual capabilities and interests. Their options should be increased: to go to college; to learn trades; or to pursue legitimate entrepreneurship, thus bringing profit to themselves and their neighborhoods.

In examining the value of entrepreneurship, it may be helpful to look at the example of immigrant communities. Many immigrants who cluster in neighborhoods open shops that cater to the needs and tastes of their communities — old-country delicatessens in Italian neighborhoods, small grocery stores that carry roots and tropical fruits in Hispanic-Caribbean neighborhoods. They operate restaurants, jewelry stores, and a whole array of other businesses providing services sought by their special communities. Community members patronize these businesses, which in turn provide jobs for them. The capital remains within the community. People stay in the communities because their families are there and the places where they worship, shop and entertain themselves are there.

African-Americans are also clustered in neighborhoods. The National Research Council found that blacks in the United States live in racially segregated communities, partly as a result of discrimination in the real estate market (NRC, 1989, pp. 49-50). Furthermore, blacks are much more likely than whites to live in areas of concentrated poverty (p. 51). Residents of such neighborhoods seldom come into contact with people in higher income brackets who might help them rise economically. African-Americans have an opportunity to tap the existent market of their communities through businesses designed to cater to their specific needs, in much the same way as immigrant merchants stock their shops to suit the needs of their communities. Corporate and financial institutions should be encouraged to sponsor this entrepreneurship, perhaps though creative public-private partnerships. Corporations could adopt neighborhoods in much the way they now adopt schools. The economic benefits of a concentrated effort at entrepreneurship by African-Americans could be considerable. Not least of these benefits would be the creation of many new jobs, thus diminishing residents' need for contacts outside the community in order to advance.

Conclusion

With determination and clear-sightedness, African-Americans can build strong communities that will be economically self-reliant and socially cohesive. Such viable African-American communities will serve to improve the conditions of all its members and will produce new generations who will find straight paths toward their legitimate goals. All of U.S. society will reap significant benefits as crime is reduced and tomorrow's work force thrives.

References

Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986, Section 1001, Title 1, 21 USC 801 note, Public Law 99-570.

Bell, Carl C. & Jenkins, Esther J. (1990). *Community Violence and Children on Chicago's Southside.* Chicago: Community Mental Health Council.

Bell, Carl C. & Jenkins, Esther J. (1990). Preventing Black Suicide. *The State of Black America, 1990.* New York: National Urban League.

Bureau of Justice Statistics. (1989) *Justice Expenditure and Employment in the U.S., 1985.* Washington: BJS.

Center for Disease Control. (1990). Homicide Among Young Black Males—United States, 1978-1987. *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report, 39* (48), 869-873.

Federal Bureau of Investigation. (1989) *Uniform Crime Reports for the United States.* Washington: FBI.

National Center for Health Statistics. (1990). Advance Report of Final Mortality Statistics, 1988. *Monthly Vital Statistics Report, 39,* (7, Supp.), 1-12.

National Research Council. (1989). *A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society.* Washington: National Academy Press.

Mauer, Marc. (1990). *Young Black Men and the Criminal Justice System: A Growing National Problem.* Washington: The Sentencing Project.

Reckless, Walter C. (1967). *The Crime Problem.* New York Apple-Century-Crofts.

Reckless, Walter C. Dinitz, Simon & Murray, Ellen. (1956). Self Concept as an Insulator Against Delinquency. *American Sociological Review. 21,* 744-746.

Reuter, Peter, MacCoun, Robert & Murphy, Patrick. (1990). *Money for Crime: A Study of the Economics of Drug Dealing.* Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation.

United States Sentencing Commission. (Nov. 1989). *Guidelines Manual.* Washington, DC.

Woodson, Carter G. (1933). *The Mis-Education of the Negro.* Philadelphia: Hakim's Publications.