

Social Disorganization in West Chicago:

How crack cocaine sentencing disparities are linked to social disorganization in West Chicago.

Submitted by:

Jacob Alexander Lekki

Political Science and Criminal Justice

To:

The Honors College of

Oakland University

In Partial fulfillment of the
Requirement to graduate from
The Honors College

Mentor: Dr. Lori Burrington

Department of Sociology, Anthropology, Social Work, and Criminal Justice
Oakland University

April 1st, 2021

Abstract:

This study compares community social disorganization caused by excessive incarceration in two communities of West and North Chicago. This study attempts to confirm the hypothesis that African American communities will experience higher instances in crime and lower economic growth rates than majority white neighborhoods, because of the inequitably enforcement of crack cocaine mandatory minimum sentencing. This study expects that the majority African American community of West Chicago should experience larger levels of social disorganization than North Chicago a primarily white area of the city.

Introduction:

This paper will analyze social disorganization criminological theory and how mandatory minimums for crack cocaine possession contributed to the social disorganization of low socioeconomic and majority minority communities. First, I will give some background on United States drug and violence trends in the 1980s which led to the passage of the Anti-Drug Act of 1986, and the mandatory minimums sentencing disparities for powder and crack cocaine possession. Next, I will review the current literature on social disorganization theory. Next, I will show how the mandatory minimums associated with crack cocaine sentencing apart of the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986, has contributed to social disorganization in lower socioeconomic and majority minority communities. Next, I will analyze a real-world example to see if drug crimes have led to the social disorganization of lower socioeconomic and majority minority communities, by comparing the predominantly white neighborhoods of North Chicago to the primarily African American neighborhoods of West Chicago. Lastly, I will recommend some policies that can break the cyclical social disorganization of these communities.

Background:

During the late 1970s and the early 1980s the United States experienced rising rates in drug use and violent crime. More specifically, the use of cocaine sky-rocketed and was considered an epidemic by the government since the early 1980s (United States General Accounting Office, January 1991). By, 1985 cocaine use in America peaked at about 5.7 million people (Office of National Drug Control Policy, 1999). Violent crime also rose from 476 violent crimes per 100,000 people in 1977, to 558 violent crimes per 100,000 people in 1985. (U.S.

DOJ, FBI, Query date: April 04, 2019). Violent crimes are defined by the Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) in the Uniform Crime Report (UCR) data as murder, rape, assault, robbery, and manslaughter. According to an earlier study of crime by Beck et al. done in 1993, 28% of these violent crimes were caused by drug use, 12% were crimes caused by people committing crimes to pay for drugs, and 46% reported using drugs at least a month prior to committing a violent crime (as cited in Sandoval, 2013, p. 10). These rises in violent crime and cocaine usage have led to changes in U.S. drug policy and given rise to criminological theory and research.

The Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986 embodied this change. The provision of this act that pertains to mandatory minimum sentences for crack cocaine and powder cocaine is found in Title I Anti-Drug Enforcement, Subtitle A Narcotics Penalties and Enforcement Act of 1986, Section 1002. Controlled Substances Act Penalties which states:

“In the case of a violation of subsection (a) of 6 this section involving...

(ii) 5 kilograms or more of a mixture or sub-stance containing a detectable amount of—

(I) coca leaves, except coca leaves and ex-tracts of coca leaves from which cocaine, ecgonine, and derivatives of ecgonine or their salts have been removed;

(II) cocaine, its salts, optical and geometric isomers, and salts of isomers;

(III) ecgonine, its derivatives, their salts, isomers, and salts of isomers; or

(IV) any compound, mixture, or preparation which contains any quantity of any of the substance referred to in subclauses (I) through

(iii) 50 grams or more of a mixture or substance described in clause (ii) which contains cocaine base...

such person shall be sentenced to a term of imprisonment which may not be less than 10 years or more than life and if death or serious bodily injury results from the use of such substance shall be not less than 20 years or more than life, a fine not to exceed the greater of that authorized in accordance with the provisions of title 18 of the United States Code.”

This act amended sentencing guidelines and made the punishment for possession of cocaine a mandatory sentence of 10 years indiscriminate of circumstances, and took away judicial

discretion of these sentences. If death or serious bodily harm resulted from the use of cocaine then the sentence was elevated from a minimum of 10 years to a minimum of 20 years. Clause (ii) indicates that possession of 5 kilograms or more of coca leaves, cocaine, cocaine salts, etc. would be enough to activate the threshold for 10 or 20-year mandatory minimum sentence. However, clause (iii) indicates that possession of 50 grams or more of a mixture or substance in clause (ii) which contains a cocaine base would be enough to activate the threshold for the 10 to 20-year mandatory sentence. Clause (ii) identifies the legal definition of powder cocaine, and clause (iii) defines what is called cocaine freebase or “crack cocaine”. These two clauses established a 1:100 ratio of crack to powder cocaine sentence disparity.

The justification for this differentiation was found in the Department of Justice’s Handbook on enforcement of the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986, where it says, “The quantitative distinction drawn in the new Act between the “cocaine base” [crack cocaine], and all other forms of cocaine is that the alkaloid forms of cocaine such as crack are far more potent and addictive at much lower dosages than the other forms of cocaine.” (Weld, W., & United States, 1987). The DOJ indicated that sentencing discrimination was implemented because crack cocaine is stronger and more addictive at lower dosages, so one might (incorrectly) assume that crack would be 100 times stronger than powder cocaine because of the 1:100 sentencing disparity. However, other justifications are that crack cocaine is cheaper than powder cocaine, and if crack cocaine would have a higher penalty associated with it, the demand for crack cocaine would also be reduced. According to the DOJ crack cocaine in the 1980s cost between \$5 and \$35 a gram and was more accessible in lower socioeconomic communities, inversely powder cocaine cost over \$100 a gram and was highly available in the higher socioeconomic suburbs (as cited in Sandoval, 2013, p. 31). The price ratio between crack and powder cocaine would be about \$1: \$20. This act

disproportionally discriminates between the usage of crack and powder cocaine, making the penalties harsher for crack cocaine users, who often reside in lower socioeconomic communities.

Literature Review:

Now I will review the current literature that discusses social disorganization and the effects associated with the theory, as well as possible remedies for social disorganization, and I will describe how my study differs from previous research done on social organization theory. First, I review scholarship that defines social disorganization theory and the effects associated with social disorganization.

Clear (2018) studies social disorganization and hypothesizes that if imprisonment grows and passes a certain point any further incarceration past that point can lead to increases in crime rates and the decline of the community where the prisoners are removed from. Clear studies social disorganization in poor minority neighborhoods, where growth in imprisonment has been primarily concentrated. Clear says the “main vehicle”, as he calls it, for the different incarceration rates for black males and the rest of the incarcerated population are drug laws. He finds that the results of excessive incarceration in these communities damage the economic, familial, and political systems of these neighborhoods that lead to a breakdown of social controls which inevitably lead to increased crime.

Rose and Clear (1998) study the effects of social disorganization on local social controls, which break down familial, political, and economic systems. Their study focused more on the theoretical effects of social disorganization compared to defining social disorganization theory. When individuals are incarcerated, they are removed from their families which leads to generational increases in incarceration and lower educational performance. Incarceration causes

labor shortages in those communities where businesses are forced to leave those communities because there are not enough people to work, or by products to keep the company in business, which diminishes the economic opportunities in the community. Lastly, they identify that incarceration can lead to a decline in political participation and the community trust in the political system as a whole.

Next, I will review scholarship that discusses possible policy remedies to social disorganization. Petersilia (1995) studies why tough on crime proposals are so popular among the electors and the electorate, but are not effective at really reducing crime. She finds that higher populations of criminals are being placed on parole and probation, however increased funding is allocated to prison populations, because of its electoral popularity. Current populations of persons on probation and parole do not receive adequate treatment or supervision so recidivism is very high. She also argues that if intermediate sanction programs, and community correctional programs were giving the proper resources and staff, then recidivism will decrease. This study also applies to drug treatment; “A Bureau of Justice Statistics probation follow up study found that if probationers are participating in or making progress in treatment programs, they were 38% less likely to have new arrests” (Petersilia, 1995, p. 489).

My study will expand on the current research on social disorganization, because I will examine social disorganization and its effect on two specific communities, the neighborhoods of West Chicago and North Chicago. I examine the social disorganization in both communities in result of crack cocaine mandatory minimums and drug sentencing. Previous research on social disorganization; has often been very broad, theoretical, or examined the phenomenon as a whole. There is no previous study on social disorganization as a result of mandatory minimum sentences on the neighborhoods of West and North Chicago.

Social Disorganization Theory:

Next, I will define social disorganization theory and how the mandatory minimums associated with crack cocaine sentencing via the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986, has contributed to social disorganization in lower socioeconomic and majority minority communities. Social disorganization is defined here as the increase in crime, decreases in income and educational opportunities as a result of a breakdown of social controls and legitimate opportunities for success. These breakdowns of social controls are caused by residential instability, and racial and ethnic heterogeneity. Residential instability is the constant flux of residents in and out of the community, and racial and ethnic heterogeneity is defined by the community being made up of many diverse people who do not share a common beliefs or ideas. These two factors lead to lack of community bonds that form to reduce crime and keep each other's neighbors out of trouble. The theoretical root cause to the breakdown of social controls and social disorganization is an excess in incarceration. To determine if social disorganization is taking place in these communities we need to analyze if there is evidence that an excess in incarceration leads to residential instability and racial and ethnic heterogeneity. When these factors are present in a community we can then determine if the increases in crime and interpersonal, familial, economic, and political effects of social disorganization are present in the community as well (Rose & Clear, 1998).

The root cause for social disorganization is an excess of incarceration that causes racial and ethnic heterogeneity and residential instability. Traditionally, incarceration removes criminals for society to prevent them from doing further harm to a community, and to deter future criminal behavior. Therefore, the relationship between crime and incarceration has always

been seen as an inverse relationship; as incarceration increases, crime should decrease. However, Clear (2018) indicates that this is a fallacy and that the true deterrent power of incarceration is negligible especially in poorer residential communities, where individuals often resort to illegitimate and criminal means to support their families and themselves and as a result are incarcerated at higher-than-normal rates. This leads to an effect called prison cycling where individuals go to prison and then return after their sentence.

Prison cycling leads to an increase in racial and ethnic heterogeneity and residential instability. Because individuals are constantly in and out of prisons the community always has an unstable number of members each with their own beliefs and ideas, which prevents the community from building a common identity or any bonds of trust among their neighbors. Without these community norms or identities established, “child rearing is less likely to establish delinquency-resistant social controls, and pro-social attitudes that insulate youths against breaking the law.” (Clear, 2018, p. 587). When the community is constantly cycling individuals in and out of prison, community social norms are often not established. This causes less trust among community members and leads to a failure on socializing children, who when not properly socialized often are added to the cycle of individuals who are sent and released from prison.

In relation to the issue with crack cocaine mandatory minimum sentencing this issue is exacerbated. With crack cocaine, the mandatory minimum sentence for possession is ten years, so individuals are removed from their communities longer than the sentence or most violent crimes in most states including; 1st degree sexual assault and aggravated sexual assault, 1st degree assault, manslaughter in the 1st degree, armed robberies, etc. Drug arrests are also concentrated more among African Americans than any other demographic population. Clear

(2018) indicates that the signs of social disorganization are larger and more prevalent in African American majority communities, and that “the main vehicle for the different rates of incarceration for these communities is in drug laws” (p. 586). This discrepancy in incarceration is largest for crack cocaine arrests, where by 1992 91.4% of all crack cocaine offenders were African American (Campbell, 2013). Therefore, African American communities are more likely to experience increased residential instability and racial and ethnic heterogeneity the causes of social disorganization as a result of increased incarceration brought about by ten-year mandatory minimum sentences for crack cocaine possession.

The effects of social disorganization include an increase in crime, and effects on familial, economic, and political systems in the community (Rose and Clear, 1998). When social controls in a community break down due to a lack of mutual trust and a community code of what is wrong and right, crime is expected to increase. This increase in crime takes on a very cyclical structure, because when people are removed from a community the familial, economic, and political system experience a shortage of human capital and people are forced to resort to illegitimate means in order to provide for their family or realize their goals.

Family systems are one of the main systems damaged by social disorganization. When incarceration is heavily targeted in specific African American communities, the families in these communities experience negative and generational consequences. Children of single parent homes and children of incarcerated parents may not be well socialized (Rose and Clear, 1998, p. 458-459). When children are not properly socialized, they are unaware of proper social norms, they underperform in schools and are more likely to engage in criminal activity (Rose and Clear, 1998, p. 458-459). Before parents are incarcerated, even if they engage in crime, they still play a role in socializing their children. When parents are removed there are fewer people in the family

to supervise their children and keep them out of trouble, and if only one parent is incarcerated the other parent often has to work for two people to support and provide for the child. Granted some people who are incarcerated are bad influences on children and could teach them criminal activity. However most non-violent drug offenders sell and deal drugs to provide for their families and play a role in supervising and socializing their children. When these individuals are removed for 10-year periods, studies indicate that children are more likely to drop out of school or commit criminal activity, decreasing their potential for success. These children grow up and raise their children in the same conditions. And because these first-generation children grew up with a higher potential to commit crime and spend time in prisons, children of the second generation will also suffer from a lack of socialization and supervision which are associated with increased rates of criminal behavior.

Macro-economic systems are also disrupted by incarcerating members of the community to an excess. Even if they are making money illegitimately, individuals who sell drugs still contribute to the economy of the community and provide for their families. In many of these lower income African American communities, different households rely on each other to make ends meet. An Edin, Lein, & Jencks (1997) study found that 69 to 91% of single mothers in these communities reported that they received monetary support from family, boyfriends, or a child's father because their current needs could not be met. However, when individuals are incarcerated en masse they no longer are earning money to provide for their families, and as a result the community's economy collapses, leaving a shortage of human capital in the area. When people are incarcerated there are fewer people to buy goods, contract services, or work in those industries. So, legitimate jobs and traditional sources of income are closed down or move out of the community. When this happens, people are forced to find often illegitimate and illegal ways

of making money and contributing to the economy, like selling drugs. These new drug dealers are often incarcerated and removed from the community for ten years as well, and the community's economy decreases further. There are also failures in the micro-economic system. After individuals are released from prison, they experience discrimination in employment, and on average earn less of a wage than workers who never go to prison (Rose and Clear, 1998, p. 462). Individuals are still penalized after they have paid their debt to society, because of the stigma attached to a prison sentence. The American penal system is designed to incarcerate individuals and does little to rehabilitate or address the root causes of crime in communities. So, people are released with no skills to reestablish their lives after prison and a majority are likely to recidivate and go back to criminal activity.

Political systems also become disorganized when the social structures collapse due to excess incarceration. The removal of individuals causes the disruption of neighborhood programs and political participation (Rose and Clear, 1998, p. 463). Individuals participate less in politics when they feel they are not effective, or their elected officials are not working on their behalf (Rose and Clear 1998, pgs. 463). In predominantly African American communities, residents feel the political and judicial systems are not working for them, because they are incarcerated and arrested at disproportionately higher rates than other groups. They also believe the laws and punishments of the government are unjust, and are less likely to conform their behavior to follow the laws if they are perceived as unjust (Rose and Clear, 1998, p. 465). The same phenomenon is present with crack cocaine sentencing. Many people considered the 1:100 sentence disparity for crack and powder cocaine unfair and unjust, and the fact that you could go to prison longer for a non-violent drug possession offense than most violent crimes made the punishment a subject of perceived injustice. One of the reasons that drug crimes have not decreased as expected under

the Anti-Drug Act of 1986 could be because people see the act as unjust, and are not conforming to the law they find unjust.

The failure of these systems causes further cyclical breakdowns in the social, economic and political systems in communities that restricts the means of economic, social and political success. People in these communities turn to atypical and illegitimate forms of success, when the typical forms are blocked. In the Jarecki and Shopsin documentary film, *The House I Live in* (2012), there are accounts from individuals in these disorganized communities and how they pursue an illegitimate form of success. The film showed in these disorganized communities where the economy and local political systems have failed them, the community relies on drug rings and drug kingpins to succeed. These drug kingpins buy shoes, toys, and food for the children, employ the unemployed in the community, and have worked to build up and improve their communities. In these areas these drug lords and kingpins fill the vacuum of role models for the youth in that community, their economic success and the ways in which they give back inspire people in the poorest areas to improve their communities. These drug kingpin role models display a model of success that would otherwise not be possible through conventional means. These individuals are living examples of when the social, political, and economic systems fail the people in the poorest communities that they must fall back on the illegitimate means to succeed.

Case Study:

Now, I will analyze a real-world example to see if cocaine drug crimes have led to the social disorganization of lower socioeconomic and majority minority communities, by comparing the predominantly white neighborhoods of North Chicago to the primarily African

American neighborhoods of West Chicago. I will be analyzing U.S. census data, as well as Chicago Police Department's Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) violent crime data comparing different indicators from 1980 before the Anti-Drug Act of 1986, to the same indicators in the year 2000 when individuals are reintroduced to each community. I will be using household income and family income to compare both neighborhoods' economic progress, and to compare crime rates I will be using the UCR violent crime indicators. The UCR in 1980 considers violent crimes to be: murder, nonnegligent manslaughter, arson, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault. I will be comparing the rates of change of both the UCR crime indicators and income indicators of both West and North Chicago to track social disorganization in those communities. I expect that in West Chicago that income will increase at a lower rate and violent crimes should increase from 1980 to 2000 than North Chicago. Conversely, in North Chicago I expect income will increase and crime will decrease.

West Chicago, or the area of majority African American communities in this paper, is defined as the following neighborhoods: West Garfield Park, East Garfield Park, West Town, the West Loop, North Lawndale, the Near West Side, the Lower West Side, Little Village, Austin, and Humboldt Park. North Chicago, or the area of majority white communities, is defined as the following set of neighborhoods: Wrigleyville, North Center, Lakeview, Lincoln Park, and the North Near Side. These communities were chosen because they are clearly divided on the racial lines as depicted, in *The Racial Dot Map* (Figure 1) done by the University of Virginia's Weldon Cooper Center for Public Service (2017). These communities also show the largest contrast for community drug enforcement. On average there is about \$96 million spent in West Chicago on drug enforcement compared to the communities of North Chicago which averages about \$6.5 million spent on drug enforcement, as seen in Table 1 (Cooper & Lugalia-Hollon, 2015). The

resources dedicated to stop drug crimes are disproportionately spent and targeted to the neighborhoods of West Chicago, compared to North Chicago. West Chicago has experienced higher instances of drug crime because the resources allocated to stop such crimes are 16 times more than in North Chicago. By 1990, 68 percent of the imprisoned population of Chicago was African American (Vogel C, 2012). And 92% of the drug offenders who were released were African American, and would be released to the neighborhoods of West and South Chicago (Vogel C, 2012). Out of all prisoners who were released for drug use about 54% were convicted of cocaine use and/or possession (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1992, p. 29). So, if one community were to experience declining socioeconomic indicators, and increasing rates in crime due to over-incarceration of drug and cocaine crimes, it would be West Chicago.

In 1980 the average median household income in West Chicago was about \$10,366 and the average median familial income was \$12,066 (Table 4). In 1980 in North Chicago the average median household income was \$17,074, and average median familial income was \$21,995 (Table 3). So, individuals in West Chicago earned less on average than individuals in North Chicago. If social disorganization is taking place to a larger extent in West Chicago the rate at which income increases from 1980 to 2000 should be less than the rate at which North Chicago's income grows. However, in the year 2000, West Chicago's average median household income was \$27,880, and the average median familial income was \$30,164 (Table 4). North Chicago's average median household income was \$45,591, and the average median familial income was \$70,769 (Table 3). West Chicago's median familial and household income did in fact increase, but both increased at a lower rate than North Chicago's median familial and household indicators. West Chicago's economic indicators show that they are experiencing some effects of social disorganization compared to North Chicago. West Chicago's economy is not

increasing at the same rate as North Chicago, when under normal circumstance West Chicago would increase at the same rate if not higher if people were not removed from the community.

Interestingly, however, the total number of violent crimes in West Chicago has actually decreased from 32,670 in 1980 to 28,544 in 2000 (Table 2), while violent crimes in North Chicago have actually increased from 11,667 to 12,031 (Table 2). The crime data is inconsistent with the results of social disorganization (granted, West Chicago still has 17,000 more crimes in 2000 than North Chicago). The theory of social disorganization would predict that the number of crimes would increase as the community experiences excessive incarceration and reintegration in the community. Crimes in West Chicago interestingly have decreased as a total and in North Chicago, a community which should have experienced decreased crime numbers, crime has actually increased. Also, because police precincts are not organized by the same community areas as census tracts are, the crime data may not map precisely but do align generally to the geographical areas I have selected for North and West Chicago.

Conclusion:

As expected, West Chicago when compared to North Chicago has experienced less of an increase in familial income and in household income. However, unexpectedly, while the number of violent crimes committed in West Chicago is still about 17,000 more than the number of crimes committed in North Chicago, the number of violent crimes in West Chicago has actually decreased by 13% from 1980 to 2000, while at the same time there was a 3% increase in violent crime in North Chicago. Therefore, there are mixed results on how social disorganization has affected the community of West Chicago. It seems as though the over-policing of cocaine and drug users in West Chicago has resulted in hindering the area's economic development when

compared to an area like North Chicago where the population was targeted less for cocaine possession. However, when analyzing violent crime, the inverse turned out to be true, West Chicago actually saw a decrease in violent crime, while the community of North Chicago experienced a slight increase in crime. Despite these mixed results, I still argue that social disorganization is negatively impacting the future generations of West Chicagoans who live there. Although median household income had increased from 1980 to 2000, the average median household in West Chicago was still about \$600 below the poverty line in 2000 which was \$17,650 (United States Department of Health and Human Services, 2020). The community of West Chicago still makes about half the income of the individuals in North Chicago, and has over double the amount of violent crime.

Further research could be done to possibly study more generational outcomes of social disorganization. For example, scholars could research how many children who were born in these neighborhoods around the year 2000 would have the opportunity to pursue higher education, or comparing the earnings of individuals in those communities in 2010, 2020, and so on. Additional research could also be done on studying the social controls in that neighborhood, and linking them to mass incarceration, which could be done by using community survey data on the levels at which residents know or trust their fellow neighbors and trying to find the extent to which each community has social control over crime in their neighborhoods.

Recommendation:

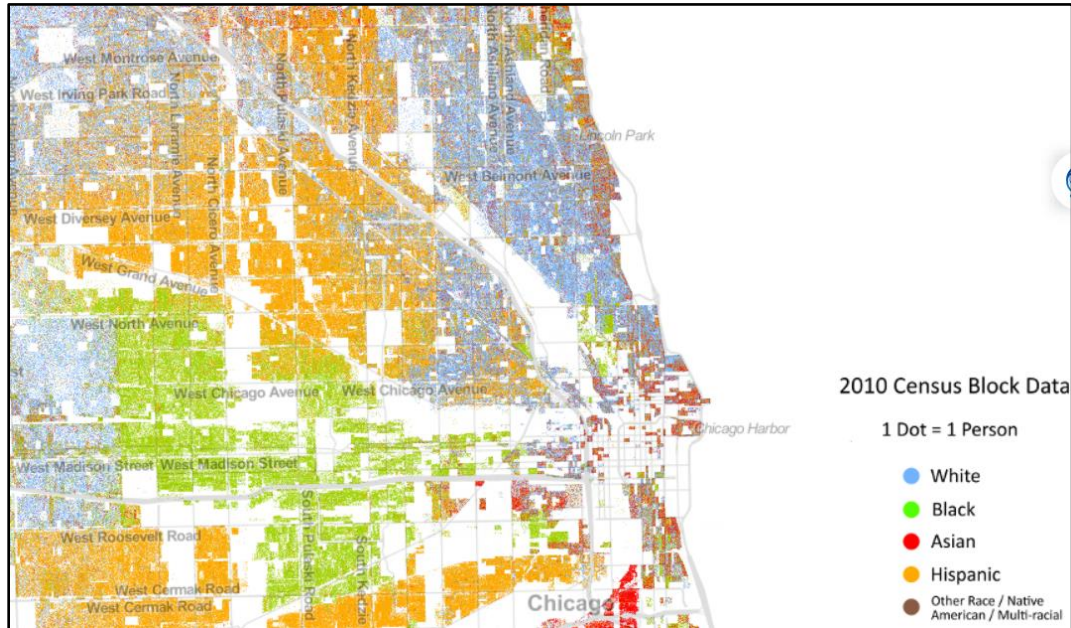
Lastly, I would like to make a policy recommendation on how to break the cycle of social disorganization in communities like West Chicago. A shift in resources from an incarceration focused criminal system to a rehabilitative correctional system would break the social

disorganization cycle. Research and scholarship have indicated that rehabilitative correctional programs like drug rehab and other treatment programs are associated with massive declines in criminal activity and recidivism. “The reported number of criminal activity declined before and after rehabilitation as follow: mean number of times used weapon/physical force (-93%), percentage committing any illegal activity (-72%), and the mean number of months involved in criminal activity (-80%)” (Petersilia, 2015, pg. 493). This study shows that if convicted drug offenders are not just incarcerated but, receive rehabilitative treatment they are; 72% less likely to commit any future criminal activity, 93% less likely to use a weapon or physical force in a crime, and will reduce criminal activity as a whole 80% of the time. Rehabilitative treatments analyze the underlying causes of crimes and attempt to correct those issues to prevent future crime. These methods of crime prevention are found to be very effective and successful, however are largely unpopular to the electorate. The main arguments against rehabilitative treatments are why should society pay for rehabilitation care for criminals, and that these programs cost too many taxpayer dollars. The first argument is based in our criminological philosophical beliefs, that criminals should be punished for their crimes. It is very difficult to change an entire society’s philosophy on crime, and has to happen over time. The second argument against rehabilitative corrections is that these programs are too expensive and not as cost effective compared to incarceration. However, according to Gerstein et al. (1994) “Treatment was very cost beneficial: for every dollar spent on drug and alcohol treatment, the State of California saved \$7 in reductions in crime and health care costs” (p.33). Not only are these treatments cost effective but they reduce health care and crime costs, as well as prevent future crime.

Figures and Tables:

Figure 1

Racial Dot Map of Chicago



(University of Virginia, Weldon Cooper Center for Public Service, 2017)

Table 1

Drug spending by Neighborhood and community

Neighborhood/Community (N/W)	Drug spending
Austin/ W	\$290,669,134
Humboldt Park/ W	\$132,620,671
West Garfield Park/ W	\$91,139,090
East Garfield Park/ W	\$82,026,672
West Town/ W	\$21,054,715
North Lawndale/ W	\$123,031,082
Near West Side/ W	\$24,350,392
Lower West Side / W	\$3,263,565
West Chicago Average:	\$96,019,415
North Center/ N	\$1,725,733
Lakeview/ N	\$4,188,824
Lincoln Park/ N	\$3, 021,627
Near North Side/ N	13,596,866
North Chicago Average:	\$6,503,808

(Cooper & Lugalia-Hollon, 2015)

Table 2

Change in Reported Violent Crime by Chicago City Area from 1980 to 2000.

Crime Reporting Districts/ Year	1980	2000	percentage change
#10 Marquette:	7565	7646	1%
#11 Harrison:	9181	8453	-8%
#12 Monroe:	5096	6691	31%
#15 Austin:	10828	5754	-47%
West Chicago:	32670	28544	-13%
#19 Belmont:	7117	7077	-1%
#23 Town Hall:	4550	4954	9%
North Chicago:	11667	12031	3%

Table 3

Median Household Income, and Median Family Income in North Chicago by Community Area

for 1980 and 2000.

Neighborhood: community area:	North Chicago							
	North Center		Lake View		Lincoln Park		Near North	
indicator/ year:	1980	2000	1980	2000	1980	2000	1980	2000
Median Household income (Percentage change)	\$15,683	\$37,562 (140%)	\$15,890	\$41,364 (160%)	\$18,122	\$53,233 (194%)	\$18,602	\$50,206 (170%)
Median Family income (Percentage change)	\$19,361	\$45,067 (133%)	\$20,716	\$59,677 (188%)	\$24,509	\$97,451 (298%)	\$23,392	\$80,879 (246%)

(Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission, 1993 & City of Chicago, 2021.)

Table 4

Median Household Income, and Median Family Income in West Chicago by Community Area

for 1980 and 2000

Neighborhood:	West Chicago							
community area:	Humbolt Park		West Town		Austin		W. Garfield Park	
indicator/ year:	1980	2000	1980	2000	1980	2000	1980	2000
Median Household income (Percentage change)	\$12,223	\$28,728 (135%)	\$10,970	\$38,915 (255%)	\$14,496	\$32,387 (123.42%)	\$9,654	\$23,121 (139%)
Median Family income (Percentage change)	\$14,462	\$30,125 (108%)	\$12,974	\$39,813 (207%)	\$16,566	\$36,590 (121%)	\$10,922.00	\$26,908 (146%)
community area:	E. Garfield Park		Near W. Side		N. Lawndale		Lower W. Side	
indicator/ year:	1980	2000	1980	2000	1980	2000	1980	2000
Median Household income (Percentage change)	\$7,979	\$24,216 (203%)	\$6,079	\$29,566 (386%)	\$9,095	\$18,342 (102%)	\$12,433	\$27,763 (123%)
Median Family income (Percentage change)	\$9,682	\$27,185 (181%)	\$7,535	\$32,822 (336%)	\$9,902	\$20,253 (105%)	\$14,487	\$28,891 (99%)

(Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission, 1993 & City of Chicago, 2021.)

References:

- Bureau of Justice Statistics. (1992). *A national report: Drugs, crime, and the justice system*. U.S. Department of Justice Washington D.C. Retrieved from <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/Digitization/133652NCJRS.pdf>
- Campbell, C. (2013). *The war with no end: Sentencing disparities in the “War on Drugs” and national trends that are defining the nation*. ProQuest Dissertations Publishing. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1426400355/>.
- Chicago Police Department (1980). *Statistical Summary 1980*. Retrieved from <https://home.chicagopolice.org/statistics-data/statistical-reports/annual-reports/>
- Chicago Police Department (2000). *Biennial Report 1999 / 2000*. Retrieved from <https://home.chicagopolice.org/statistics-data/statistical-reports/annual-reports/>
- City of Chicago (2021). *Community Area 2000 Census Profiles*. Retrieved from https://www.chicago.gov/city/en/depts/dcd/supp_info/community_area_2000censusprofiles.html
- Clear, T.R. (2018). Imprisoned communities coerced mobility theory in Francis T. Cullen, Robert Agnew, and Pamela Wilcox (Eds.), *Criminological theory: Past to present*, pp. 583-592. New York, NY: oxford university Press.
- Cooper, C., & Lugalía-Hollon, R. (2015). *Million dollar blocks*. Retrieved from <https://chicagomilliondollarblocks.com/#section-4>
- Edin, K., Lein, L., & Jencks, C. (1997). *Making ends meet: How single mothers survive welfare and low-wage work*. Russell Sage Foundation. Retrieved January 18, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10>.
- Gerstein, D. R., Johnson, R. A., Harwood, H., Fountain, D., Suter, N., & Malloy, K. (1994). *Evaluating recovery services: The California Drug and Alcohol Treatment Assessment (CALDATA)*. Sacramento: California Department of Alcohol and Drug Programs. Retrieved from <https://www.ncjrs.gov/App/Publications/abstract.aspx?ID=157812>.
- Jarecki, E. (producer & director), & Shopsin, M. (producer). (2012) *The House I live in*. [Motion picture]. United States: Charlotte Street Films.
- Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission (1993). *1990 and 1980 census- selected income characteristics from summary tape file 3A: Northeastern Illinois municipalities, counties townships and the Chicago community areas*. Data Bulletin 93(3) Retrieved from <https://datahub.cmap.illinois.gov/dataset/d08a3ab4-9a2e-4d40-aa67-6db659ba545a/resource/f25f4767-483c-42e8-8f1b-d7da2735e67d/download/nipcdatabul9331990and1980incomechar.pdf>
- Office of National Drug Control Policy. (1999). *Cocaine abuse: We are still paying the price for the 1980s*. Retrieved from <https://www.ncjrs.gov/ondcppubs/publications/policy/99ndcs/ii-e.html>

- Petersilia, Joan. (1995). "A crime control rationale for reinvesting in community corrections." *The Prison Journal* 75(4):479-496.
(<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0032855595075004005>) doi: 10.1177/0032855595075004005.
- Rose, Dina R., and Todd R. Clear. (1998). "Incarceration, social capital, and crime: Implications for social disorganization theory." *Criminology* 36(3):441-480. Retrieved from: <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1111/j.1745-9125.1998.tb01255.x>.
- Sandoval, L. (2013). *The anti-drug abuse act of 1986: A policy analysis* (Order No. 1523205). Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. (1416424478). Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/1416424478?accountid=12924>
- United States Department of Health and Human Services (2020). *Prior HHS poverty guidelines and federal register references*. Retrieved from <https://aspe.hhs.gov/prior-hhs-poverty-guidelines-and-federal-register-references>
- United States Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of investigation. (Query date: April 04, 2019). *Uniform crime reporting statistics: Estimated crime totals in the United States 1975-1995*. Retrieved from <https://ucrdatatool.gov/Search/Crime/State/RunCrimeStatebyState.cfm>
- United States General Accounting Office. (January 1991). *The crack cocaine epidemic: Health consequences and treatment*. Retrieved from <https://www.gao.gov/assets/90/89031.pdf>
- University of Virginia, Weldon Cooper Center for Public Service. (2017). *The racial dot map. The Demographics Research Group*. Retrieved from <https://demographics.coopercenter.org/racial-dot-map#thedata>
- Vogel C. (2012). "An end to mass incarceration." *The University of Chicago School of Social Service Administration magazine* 19(2). Retrieved from https://crownschool.uchicago.edu/ssa_magazine/end-mass-incarceration
- Weld, W., & United States. (1987). *Handbook on the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986*. U.S. Dept. of Justice, Criminal Division. Retrieved from <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=pur1.32754077976839;view=1up;seq=28>.