

A Report On:

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CRIME

AND

LABOR MARKET CONDITIONS

by

Gary Eckstein, B.A.

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PREFACE

The problems of economic recession and changing opportunity systems within the labor market increasingly present themselves as concerns in the mature industrial sectors of the country. As the problems worsen, journalists, public service professionals, and social scientists are compelled to examine the social consequences of these conditions. Legitimate concern has been raised over possible increases in drug and alcohol abuse, the impact on the family, emotional stability, and increases in rates of crime that may result from deteriorating economic conditions.

This paper examines theoretical and historical approaches to the problem of crime and labor market conditions (specifically unemployment), then relates the findings of a case study which involves two cities in Southeastern Wisconsin.

My interest in this problem grew as I worked in an outreach program for juvenile delinquents in Kenosha during the worst economic period since the great depression. I was curious if my casual observations would be reinforced by a statistical analysis of the problem.

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THEORETICAL PARADIGMS USED TO EXPLAIN THE CRIME - UNEMPLOYMENT RELATIONSHIP

The argument that economic conditions directly or indirectly affect crime rates has developed into a series of complex propositions and theories. Modern criminologists generally express their economic theories of crime within one of the following theoretical perspectives:

1. Anomie or "Strain" Theory
2. Conflict Theory
3. Neoclassical Utility Theory
4. Labor Market Theory

This chapter will give a brief explanation of each of the first three theoretical perspectives, then give a comprehensive explanation of the segmented or dual labor market theory.

ANOMIE OR "STRAIN" THEORY

The development of a theory of anomie can be traced to Emile Durkheim's essay on suicide. Durkheim argued that an understanding of anomie, a state of cultural or social disequilibrium, could provide insight into the understanding of the phenomenon of suicide. In that essay, he argued that the disruption of the normal limitations of behavior, expectations, values, etc. created stress and a personal loss of control. Economic changes, good or bad, have the consequence of altering the norms and values in everyday living. Suicide resulted before or during the time that the parameter of limits could be redefined:

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Every disturbance of equilibrium, even though it achieves greater comfort and a heightening of general vitality, is an impulse to voluntary death. Whenever serious readjustments take place in the social order, whether or not due to a sudden growth or to an unexpected catastrophe, men are inclined to self-destruction. (Durkheim, 1951, pg. 246.)

Durkheim's theory led directly to the formulation of Robert K. Merton's essay, "Anomie and Social Structure," (1938). In that essay, Merton devised a theoretical paradigm with which to understand social disorganization, specifically crime. For Merton, criminal behavior represented an imbalance between the success goals of a society and the institutionalized means by which they are achieved. The following table represents the range of possibilities between success goals and institutionalized means; where (+) represents acceptance, (-) represents elimination, and (\pm) represents elimination and substitution of new goals (Merton, 1938, pg. 676).

	<u>Culture Goals</u>	<u>Institutionalized Means</u>
I. Conformity	+	+
II. Innovation	+	-
III. Ritualism	-	+
IV. Retreatism	-	-
V. Rebellion	\pm	\pm

Merton explains crime within the framework of "innovation". Anomie is the condition that exists as the dissociation between goals and means becomes exaggerated. Subsequent essays on crime which have used Merton's paradigm include: Sherwin's explanation

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of white-collar crime (1963), Cloward and Ohlin in the formulation of their theory of differential opportunity systems (1960), and as the basis of international comparative studies (Guttentag, 1968).

CONFLICT THEORY

The conflict theory of crime is based loosely on the writings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Three issues concerning crime stem from the writings of Marx/Engels:

1. The demoralization of the working class.
2. The pre-political and political nature of crime.
3. The consequences of dominant/subserviant relationships. (Marx/Engels, 1968; Engels, 1950).

Subsequent criminologists have focussed on one or more of these themes. Bonger, for example, explored the demoralizing effects of the capitalistic order:

On the one side is the cupidity brought about by the present economic environment and on the other is the moral abandonment and bad education of the children of the poor classes. (Bonger, 1958, pg. 668).

Vold (1958) argues strongly in favor of a political model with which to understand crime. Taylor, Walton, and Young (1973) concur with this viewpoint:

We are confronted once again with the central question of man's relationship to structures of power, domination, and authority . . . and the ability of men to confront these structures in acts of crime, deviance, and dissent . . . (Taylor, et. al, 1973, pg. 268).

The conflict perspective found renewed support within the

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radical academic circles of the 1960's and 1970's. Segmented labor market theory similarly is rooted in the same tradition.

NEOCLASSICAL UTILITY THEORY

Neoclassical utility theory represents a revival of the "free will" argument within criminology. To the utility theorists, crime "arises from the utility maximization of rational individuals." (Danziger and Wheeler, 1975). Individuals calculated the returns from all possible income sources -- illegal as well as legal -- and chose that which maximizes expected utility.

Leading proponents of neoclassical utility theory include: Becker (1968); Erlich (1973, 1975); Danziger and Wheeler (1975); Danziger (1975).

LABOR MARKET THEORIES

The category of segmented or "dual" labor market theory has emerged from two separate, yet methodologically similar, academic traditions concerned with the economic circumstances of the poor. The first tradition stems from the "Chicago-School" of sociological fieldwork, while the second can trace its beginnings to a radical movement within the field of economics. The separate traditions complement each other, yet they are different. The sociological fieldwork is closely related to the study of deviance, while the economic fieldwork generally focusses on illegitimate (non-legal) occupations. The following is a discussion of those perspectives.

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Although they were also concerned with anomie, it was Cloward and Ohlin (1960) who first formulated a labor market theory of crime. Their book, Delinquency and Opportunity, outlined a theory of "differential opportunity systems." This theory represents a melding of the theory of anomie and the tradition of the "Chicago-School" in which the concept of differentials in access to illegitimate means is implicit. That is to say that the assumed access to illegitimate opportunity by the Chicago tradition have been combined. The authors state the perspective in the following manner:

In a sense, then, we can think of individuals as being located in two opportunity structures - one legitimate, the other illegitimate. Given means, the nature of the delinquent response that may result will vary according to the availability of various illegitimate means. (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960, pg. 152)

Cloward and Ohlin have traced the historical connection between the relationship of illegitimate and legitimate opportunity structures. Illegitimate rewards have fostered alliances with political fractions, and even provided individuals with access to legitimate opportunity systems.

Qualitative sociological field projects since Cloward and Ohlin have focussed increasingly in the existence of alternative economic systems.

Studies of the "subeconomy", the "ghetto economy", and "illegitimate economy" have been of primary importance. Bullock (1973) explains the preoccupation with the topic:

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The subeconomy is probably the greatest single source of market income for young men in the central city. The participants in Watts, for example, estimate that they obtain equally as much income from this source as from all the governmental programs combined. (Bullock, 1973, pg. 100)

Bullock has limited his definition of the subeconomy to victimless crimes, particularly the sale of marijuana and non-narcotic drugs. However, the broader economic implications of a more inclusive definition are evident. Other authors include in their definitions the sale of stolen property, prostitution, gambling, and the sale of narcotic drugs.

The authors of sociological field studies which have contributed to the segmented labor market theory include: Auletta (1982); Bullock (1973); Ferman (1967, 1978); and Piven and Cloward (1971).

David M. Gordon (1972) has given credit for the groundwork of dual labor market theory to four different groups who simultaneously were involved in qualitative field studies: a group who studied the Boston ghetto labor market (Doeringer, et. al, 1969); a second group working in Chicago (Baron and Hymer, 1968; Rees, 1968); a third group associated with the Michigan Institute of Industrial and Labor Relations (Ferman, 1967; Fusfeld, 1968; Bluestone, 1970); and the fourth group who worked in Harlem (Vietorisz and Harrison, 1970).

Credit for the formal articulation of the theory may be given to Piore (1968, 1969, 1970), Bluestone (1970), Gordon (1971), Doeringer and Piore (1971), Harrison and Sum (1972).

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Harrison and Sum (1972) have outlined a theory of dual labor markets which generally accepted as germane to the viewpoints of other dual economy theorists:

1. Occupations can be sorted, grouped, reaggregated into clusters; each cluster characterized by highly intercorrelated and casually interrelated variables (such as wages, profits, productivities, training, turnover, stability).
2. There exists an aggregation of these job clusters such that mobility is greater within than among the clusters or segments. (Mobility is tracked or nonexistent.)
3. The observed behavior of workers is the outcome of interactions among ideology, individual aspirations, institutional opportunities, and family neighborhood and peer group pressures.
4. Discrimination (against women, minorities) is an inherent aspect of the labor market.
5. Dual is shorthand for balkanized or segmented. It is used to emphasize dialectical tensions.

The dual labor market theory places great emphasis on the issue of job stability. Job stability is the factor that not only distinguishes the separation of job markets, but also becomes the source of an individual's location in the market. (Once tracked in unstable occupations, employers become reluctant to hire those individuals.)

The response to dual labor market theory within the field of economics has been divergent. On one hand, a series of orthodox explanations have been developed in the attempt to incorporate it into conservative theory, while a second group has sought to incorporate it into a more radical-economic theory with strong emphasis on historical development. (Gordon, 1972, pg. 52)

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The positivistic tradition within the field of modern criminology began with the publishing of a series of articles in the Journal of the Statistical Society of London between 1847 and 1857. Those early reports compared the crime rates within given geographical regions with the price of cereal grains during corresponding time intervals. Although methodologically unsophisticated, the preliminary findings of these reports indicated that certain types of criminal behavior fluctuated regularly with the price of grain. Similar studies published elsewhere in Europe during the latter half of the nineteenth century confirmed the findings of those earlier reports. (See Sellin ch. 2 and Bonger ch. 3)

The American tradition of positivistic criminology began ostensibly in 1922 when two articles: "Social Aspects of the Business Cycle," by George R. Davies, and "The Influence of the Business Cycle on Certain Social Conditions," by Dorothy Swaine Thomas, were published. Davies examined the influence of wholesale prices on the number of annual admissions to the New York State prisons. Thomas compared vital indicators of the business cycle with the number of convictions for offenses in the state of New York. Davies' study yielded a correlation coefficient of $-.41^{+}.13$, while Thomas' study produced a finding of $-.35^{+}.08$. A subsequent, more elaborated study by Thomas, published in 1927, produced similar conclusions. (Thomas, 1927)

Dorothy Swaine Thomas was perhaps the first American social

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scientist that used unemployment statistics as a measure of economic stability/instability. Subsequent studies focused primarily on the problems of unemployment and its possible relationship to crime rates. Table I summarizes the studies published from 1922-1945 which measured the statistical relationship between rates of unemployment and the incidence of certain, primarily economic, crimes.

A summary of Table I finds that the majority of the authors whose works were published between 1922 and 1925 concluded that a consistent statistical relationship existed between rates of unemployment and economic-type criminal behavior. The notable exceptions within this group being Ray Mars Simpson and A. M. Carr-Saunders. Both authors indicated that the severe economic depression that began in October of 1929 may have had the effect of decreasing, rather than increasing, the incidence of certain crimes. (Simpson, 1932, 1934, 1935; Carr-Saunders, 1934)

The accuracy and reliability of these early studies have been questioned by Thorsten Sellin, Dorothy Swaine Thomas, and W. A. Bonger. Thomas felt that many authors "use and abuse statistics outrageously." That and sample sizes used were generally inadequate. (Thomas, 1927, pg. 37) Sellin has questioned both the sensitivity of the measurement devices and the reliability of official crime statistics. (Sellin, ch. 4) Bonger points to both the sensitivity of measurements and the limitations of crime statistics.

A notable lack of literature concerning the crime/unemployment

Table I
EMPIRICAL STUDIES PERTAINING TO
UNEMPLOYMENT AND CRIME
1922 - 1937

AUTHOR	YEAR	a) ECONOMIC INDICATOR	b) TYPE OR INDICATOR OF CRIME	RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN a) AND b)
Thomas	1922	Business cycle - includes measurements of unemployment.	All indictable crimes, crimes against property, vandalism, crimes against persons, crimes against morals.	The statistical relationship between the business cycle and property crimes was not strong ($r = -.25$). A significant inverse correlation existed between violent crimes and the business cycle ($R = -.44$).
Winslow	1931	Unemployment	Vagrancy, property crimes	All categories of criminal offenses fluctuated regularly with rates of unemployment.
Van Gleek	1931	Unemployment among prisoners at Sing Sing Prison.	Property crimes, crimes against persons.	Over 50% of all prisoners were unemployed at time of their crimes, larger percentages existed for persons convicted of property crimes.
Van Gleek	1931	The business cycle - including unemployment	Crimes against property, all crimes per 100,000 population.	There is a close occurrence between increases in crime (particularly property crime) and depression in business or employment.
Jones	1932	Unemployment	Incidence of theft (larceny) and robbery	"There is insurmountable evidence of a tendency for drastic increases in unemployment to be paralleled by increases in crimes of theft . . .
California State Un-Employment Commission	1932	Unemployment	All crimes committed by adults, all serious juvenile offenses	Statistics indicated weak correlations between unemployment and these categories of crimes.
Simpson	1932	The business cycle as measured by the unemployment index	Prison Commitments	There is little evidence to suggest any regular fluctuations between a) and b)

Table I - (cont'd.)
 EMPIRICAL STUDIES PERTAINING TO
 UNEMPLOYMENT AND CRIME
 1922 - 1937

AUTHOR	YEAR	a) ECONOMIC INDICATOR	b) TYPE OR INDICATOR OF CRIME	RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN a) AND b)
Simpson	1934	The business cycle as measured by the unemployment index	Arrests, court actions, and commitments	1) Arrest rates fluctuate regularly with the unemployment cycle. 2) Court actions did not follow the trend of the unemployment index. 3) Admissions to misdemeanor, juvenile, and penal institutions did not follow the unemployment index.
Carr-Saunders	1934	Unemployment	Non-indictable offenses, crimes known to the police	Crime may have actually decreased proportionately during the depression years (in Great Britain).
Warner	1934	Annual employment rates in industry	Property crimes	Fluctuations in employment corresponded with rises in property crimes in 73% of the years studies.
Vold	1934	Unemployment and economic depression	Prison commitments, major crimes, arrests, and convictions.	1) There was not an increase in crime commensurate with the extent or duration of the depression. 2) Most crime indexes reflect a decrease after 1932. 3) Property crime did not increase drastically when unemployment increased.
Maller	1936	Economic depression	Juvenile delinquency	Juvenile delinquency was on the increase during 1928-1929 but decreased from 1930-1933 during the economic depression.
Lund and Lund	1937	Economic depression	General crime index	Increased sharply at the onset of the depression, then fell below pre-depression rates after 1932.

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problem is evident during the 1940's and the 1950's. Labor shortages caused by the war economy undoubtedly accounts for this absence of academic research. The topic was, however, revived in 1957 by W. Wattenberg and John B. Moir. Wattenberg and Moir examined the possible explanations for the sharp increase in juvenile delinquency during 1953. After ruling out several competing hypotheses, they concluded that the increase in delinquency was caused by unemployed youth that were also high school dropouts. (Wattenberg and Moir, 1957) Fleisher, (1963) using arrest data from Boston, Cincinnati, and Chicago reached conclusions similar to those of Wattenberg and Moir. (See Table II)

Dobbins and Bass (1958) analyzed the effect of race on the incidence of crime and unemployment, while Glaser and Rice (1959) considered age as a differentiating factor. Each research team noted significant differences in the rates of crime and unemployment when a third factor was considered. Dobbins and Bass concluded that increased unemployment caused a greater variance in white prison admission than in black prison admissions. They reasoned that blacks were accustomed to periods of unemployment and, therefore, were not as vulnerable to sudden changes of lifestyle, while whites experienced a drastic loss of status and esteem. Glaser and Rice concluded that "adult crime rates vary directly with unemployment" (pg. 685), particularly in property crimes among persons aged 20 to 45. Once again, opportunity, structure and job insecurity were blamed for the incidence of crime.

Table II
EMPIRICAL STUDIES PERTAINING TO
UNEMPLOYMENT AND CRIME
1957 - 1980

AUTHOR	YEAR	a) ECONOMIC INDICATOR	b) INDICATOR(S) OF/OR TYPE OF CRIME	RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN a) AND b)
Wattenberg and Moir	1957	Unemployment	Juvenile delinquency	Authors discovered that the only hypothesis to explain upsurge in crime was one which accounted for unemployment among high school drop-outs.
Dobbins and Bass	1958	Unemployment	Prison admissions	67% of variance in white inmate admissions could be explained by unemployment, 37% of black inmate admissions were similarly accounted for.
Glaser and Rice	1959	Unemployment	General crime rates	Property crime rates vary directly with unemployment rates in adult populations.
Fleisher	1963	Unemployment	Juvenile delinquency	Delinquency and unemployment are closely related. Each 100% increase in the unemployment rate in persons under the age of 25 should produce a 25% increase in delinquency rates.
Phillips et al	1972	Labor market participation rates	Larceny, burglary, robbery, auto theft	Labor market participation rates and economic-type crimes are closely related. Accurate predictions of crime can be made on projected unemployment rates.
Gansemmer and Knowles	1974	Bank deposits, retail sales, employment	Crimes against persons and crimes against property.	High positive correlations. The highest was between crimes against property and bank deposits.
Saxon	1975	Unemployment	Aggregate crime rates	No stable statistical relationship based on a seven-year study.

Table II (cont'd.)
 EMPIRICAL STUDIES PERTAINING TO
 UNEMPLOYMENT AND CRIME
 1957 - 1980

AUTHOR	YEAR	a) ECONOMIC INDICATOR	b) INDICATOR(S) OF/OR TYPE OF CRIME	RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN a) and b)
Krohn	1976	Inequality and Unemployment	All reported crimes	Neither inequality nor unemployment was consistently correlated with crime.
Danser and Laub	1980	Unemployment consumer price rates, Gross National Product	Total offenses , robbery, aggravated assault, simple assault	No consistent statistical relationship could be established.
Mellot and Moredock	1980	Unemployment	National burglary statistics	The only significant statistical relationship found was for males 18 to 24 years old.

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Recent studies focussing on the problem of crime and unemployment include: Phillips, Votey and Maxwell (1972), Gansemer and Knowles (1974), Saxon (1975), Krohn (1976), and Mellot and Moredock (1980).

Phillips, Votey, and Maxwell focused their study not on unemployment, but on labor participation rates. They point out that crime increased during the 1960's, while unemployment rates actually decreased. The apparent contradiction was explained by decreases in the rate of labor participation.

Gansemer and Knowles (1974) found high-positive correlations between property crimes and certain economic indicators (i.e., bank deposits, retail sales, and unemployment). The highest statistical correlation was between crimes against property and bank deposits.

A 1975 congressional research service report authored by M. S. Saxon concluded that no stable statistical relationship exists between crime and unemployment. His conclusion was based on aggregate crime rates from 1967 through 1974. (Saxon, 1975) Krohn (1976) similarly examined the relationship between national scale, but found no consistent relationship between unemployment, equality, and crime rates. (Krohn, 1976)

The two most recent studies available on the topic of crime and unemployment have produced conflicting conclusions. Mellot and Moredock (1980) have concluded that a significant relationship exists between rates of unemployment of 18-24 year old males and rates of burglary. Danser and Laub (1980), however, found no relationship

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between unemployment, consumer price rates, gross national product, and rates of robbery, aggravated assault, simple assault, or total number of criminal offenses. Mellot and Moredock have based their findings on national data, years 1948-1978, while the Danser and Laub survey was based on National Crime Survey Reports from 1973-1978.

CONCLUSION

The investigation of the economic roots of crime dates back to the 1840's. European statisticians interested in the problem commonly compared crime rates with the price of foodstuffs in the attempt to explain the fluctuations in crime as they related to fluctuations in economic conditions. Although methodologically and statistically unsophisticated, these early attempts demonstrated a statistical relationship. When food prices increased, so did the type of crime which resulted from economic despair.

American studies which attempted to explain the existence of crime results of economic instability were first published in 1922 with a greater variance in methods and statistics. These studies also produced diverging conclusions. All of the authors in Tables I and II have used unemployment as the primary indicator of economic stability. However, different indicators or types of crime have been used.

Studies that date from 1950-1980 generally assume that there is some type of relationship between crime and unemployment and considered the influence of intervening variables such as age or race.

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Nevertheless, the conclusions reached in these studies are conflicting. The increased diversity and complexity of recent field methods and analysis has consequently made comparison and contrast between case studies increasingly difficult.

However, sufficient documentation of the statistical correlation between unemployment and the incidence of crime has been accumulated to conclude that further investigation is merited. Recent studies that conclude that crime and unemployment are significantly correlated include: Phillips, Votey and Maxwell (1972); Gansemer and Knowles (1974); and Mellot and Moredock (1980).

Further, the possibilities for community-oriented and regional studies which investigate the crime-unemployment issues have remained largely unexplored.

A STUDY INVOLVING THE CRIME-UNEMPLOYMENT ISSUE

The first two sections of this report relate the theoretical and historical approaches to the crime-unemployment issue. This section describes an original study of the problem.

The study involves two cities in southeastern Wisconsin, Racine and Kenosha, chosen because of geographical proximity and similarities in size. These cities also vary slightly in demographic features that could affect the outcome of the study.

The intent of this study is to examine the statistical relationship between the incidence of unemployment and certain types of crime. The selection crime categories is intended to determine if a reduction in the economic status of large numbers of people will result in an increase in economically rewarding crimes.

Data used in the statistical analysis encompasses the years 1974-1982. This nine-year period represents a period of economic decline in which unemployment rates fluctuated drastically. If increases in the rates of crime result from increases in unemployment, then this period of history should illustrate the point well.

SAMPLE GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Racine and Kenosha, Wisconsin, are two cities located along the Milwaukee-Chicago corridor. Both cities have historically been known as relying heavily on industrial-based economics. Racine is known for such companies as J. I. Case, an agricultural equipment manufacturer, and the Johnson Wax company. Kenosha is the former

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headquarters for the American Motors Corporation, an automobile manufacturer. Two automobile manufacturing plants still remain which produce A.M.C.-Renault automobiles.

The cities are located only some ten miles apart, a factor which contributes to a considerable amount of mobility between city of residence and city of work. The 1982 Annual Planning Report published by the Department of Industry, Labor and Human Relations describes the situation in the following manner:

"There is a high degree of worker mobility in Southeastern Wisconsin . . . due to the high concentration of diversity and the proximity of this population to various different labor markets in the Great Lakes industrial complex. The probability of workers entering the local labor markets or leaving this area to work in other labor markets is increased." (Knox, 1982, pg. 23)

Tables III, IV and V represent selected descriptive characteristics of each city. They were chosen as factors which could influence the nature of the relationship between the crime-unemployment issue.

Table III indicates that the two cities differ considerably in racial and ethnic composition. Racine is comprised of approximately 21 per cent minorities while Kenosha's population is comprised of 9 per cent minorities.

Dobbins and Bass (1958) indicate that racial differences play an important part in accounting for prison admissions during times of high unemployment. Furthermore, they indicate that the criminal activities of whites and blacks differ significantly during those same periods. Although actual unemployment statistics are not

TABLE III
SAMPLE GROUP CHARACTERISTICS BY RACE

Racine

White	70,215	%	79.0
Black	12,633	%	14.0
Hispanic	5,501	%	6.0
Other	<u>506</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>1.0</u>
Total	88,855	%	100

Kenosha

White	72,940	%	91.0
Black	2,813	%	3.5
Hispanic	3,110	%	4.0
Other	<u>522</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>1.5</u>
Total	79,385	%	100

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available by race or ethnic group in these communities, the unemployment rates of minorities are traditionally much higher than unemployment rates for whites. The 11 per cent difference in minority groups between the cities could greatly influence unemployment rates. However, minorities are also traditionally among the ranks of discouraged and marginally employed workers who often escape being counted as unemployed.

Table IV represents some demographic features of the two cities. They are provided as examples of the degree of income and poverty.

The per capita incomes of the two cities differ only slightly (approximately \$200).

A slightly larger percentage of the total population of Racine receives payments through the Aid for Families with Dependent Children program (10.5 per cent for Racine, 7.5 per cent for Kenosha). A.F.D.C. payments should represent general trends in the distribution of social welfare payments. Figures for payments of general relief funds are unavailable.

Table V shows selected characteristics of manufacturers in Racine and Kenosha.

These figures indicate that Racine has a larger manufacturing base than Kenosha. However, the factors concerning manufacturing are somewhat mitigated by the before-mentioned factor of worker mobility between city of residence and city of work.

The "common wisdom" of most people in Kenosha whom I have

TABLE IV
SAMPLE GROUP CHARACTERISTICS -
SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC FEATURES

Racine

per capita income	\$7,973
A.F.D.C. Payments:	
Families	3,500
Individuals	9,400
Children	6,500

Kenosha

per capita income	\$7,756
A.F.D.C. Payments:	
Families	2,300
Individuals	6,000
Children	4,100

TABLE V
SAMPLE GROUP CHARACTERISTICS -
MANUFACTURERS AND EMPLOYMENT

Racine

N of Manufacturers	405
N of Employees	27,000
Manufacturers With:	
100+ Employees	57
Total Payroll	385.8 Million

Kenosha

N of Manufacturers	145
N of Employees	18,000
Manufacturers With:	
100+ Employees	15
Total Payroll	246.2 Million

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talked to seem to feel that the city's economy is so closely related to the success or failure of the American Motors plant as to make them inseparable. Although the plant is the largest employer in the city, this may not be true, given the factor of worker mobility.

INDICATORS OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The data source for all labor market data used in this report comes from the State of Wisconsin Department of Industry, Labor and Human Relations, Job Service Division.

The unemployment rates provided are estimates based on census information, reports from employers, unemployment compensation claims and information from local job service offices. Table VI shows unemployment rates for each city.

Tables VII and VIII represent graphically the quarterly trends in unemployment in each city.

The lowest rate of unemployment in Racine occurred during the second quarter of 1974 (3.77%), while the high rate occurred in the fourth quarter of 1982 (15.6%). The trend shows a dramatic rise from 1974 to 1975 with slight fluctuations from 1975-1978. 1979 saw a drastic decrease in unemployment. The trend continued upward again in the second quarter of 1980 and then consistently increased through 1982.

The lowest rate of unemployment in Kenosha also occurred in the second quarter of 1974 (3.33%), while the highest point occurred

TABLE VI
QUARTERLY UNEMPLOYMENT RATES FOR
RACINE/KENOSHA, 1974-1982

<u>Racine</u>				<u>Kenosha</u>			
I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV
<u>1974</u>							
4.26	3.77	3.93	4.67	3.80	3.33	4.00	5.56
<u>1975</u>							
6.93	7.16	7.33	6.30	7.46	6.63	7.17	6.27
<u>1976</u>							
7.63	6.13	5.63	6.47	10.66	6.23	5.63	10.00
<u>1977</u>							
7.07	4.76	5.57	5.13	12.53	5.53	9.76	6.37
<u>1978</u>							
6.43	7.53	7.80	8.30	10.70	8.93	6.63	5.77
<u>1979</u>							
5.70	4.13	4.63	4.63	7.50	4.40	4.57	4.60
<u>1980</u>							
5.37	7.97	9.80	8.70	5.30	10.07	8.20	7.80
<u>1981</u>							
10.63	9.07	8.40	9.27	14.4	9.0	7.43	10.43
<u>1982</u>							
13.0	15.33	13.93	15.60	12.80	11.57	9.30	10.37

TABLE VII
TRENDS IN UNEMPLOYMENT
for Racine

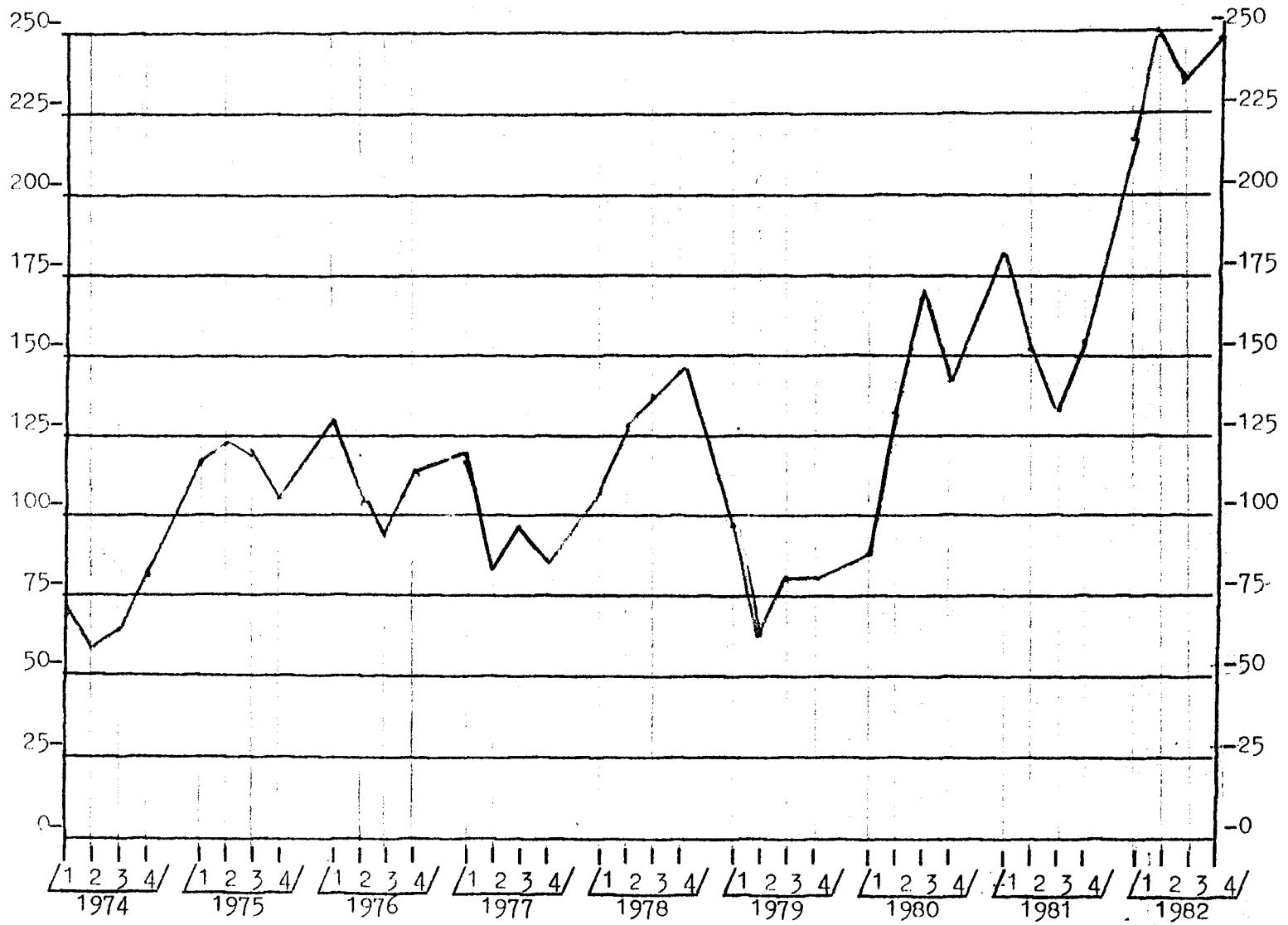
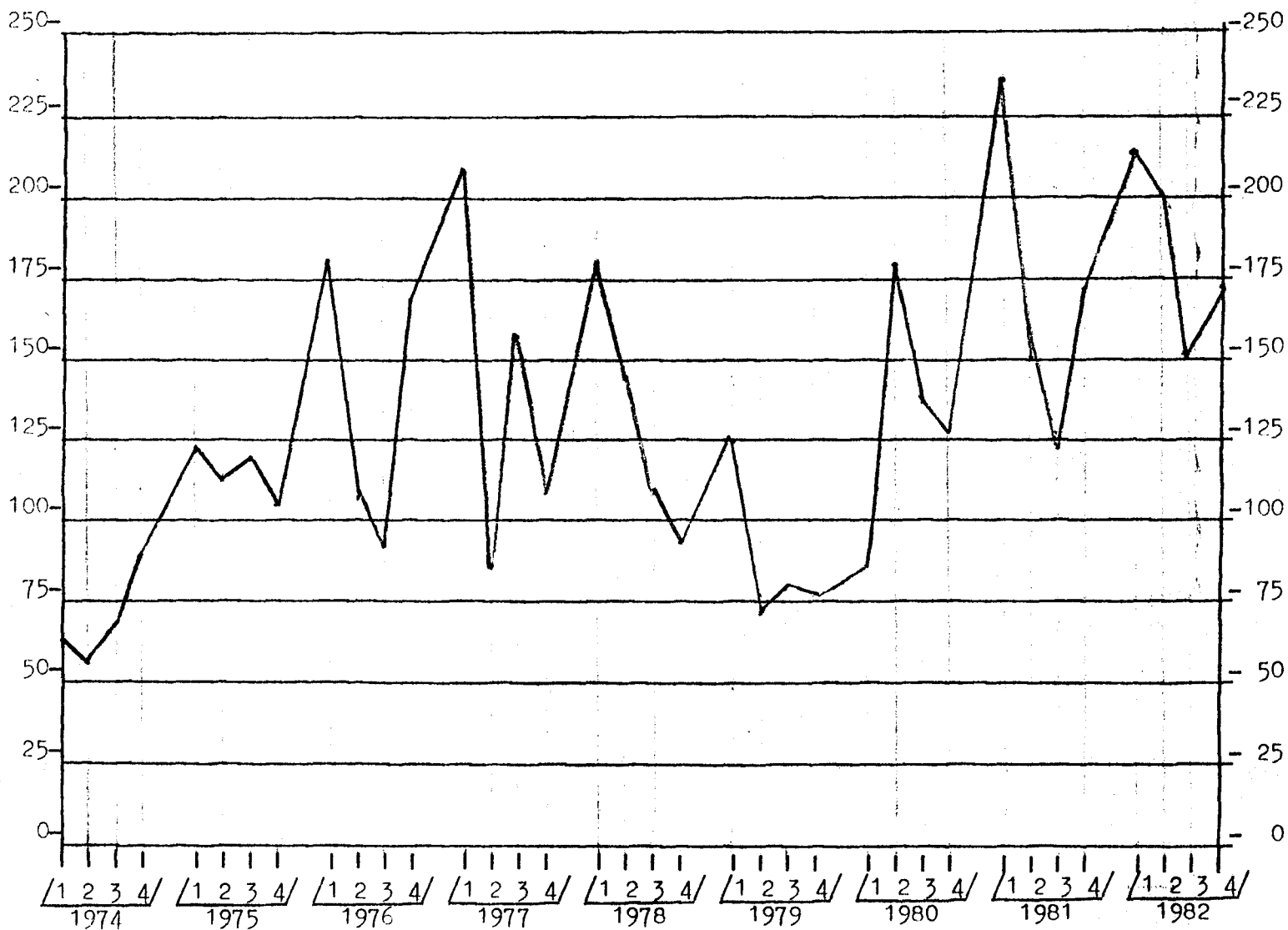


TABLE VIII
TRENDS IN UNEMPLOYMENT
for Kenosha



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in the first quarter of 1981 (14.4%).

The trend in Kenosha is for more extremes in unemployment from quarter to quarter. This can be seen clearly by the pinnacles and valleys of the graph. The trend otherwise is similar to the trend found in Racine. The graph shows gradual increases in unemployment until 1979 with drastic rises beginning again in the second quarter of 1980.

The use of government unemployment statistics in this type of study is not without drawbacks. Criticism has been levied against this data because many unemployed persons escape inclusion in these statistics. The following categories of persons are among those who are commonly not included in those statistics:

1. Persons who are unemployed and do not receive unemployment benefits but who are considered discouraged and no longer actively seek employment.
2. Persons who work part-time or occasionally but desire full-time employment.
3. Persons engaged in illegitimate means (the sub-economy) who, by the nature of their subsistence, do not come forward to be counted.
4. Persons entering the job market for the first time (i.e., high school drop-outs or recent graduates, former housewives), all commonly are not included in the statistics.

Despite these shortcomings, the use of this data source is not without value, providing the limitations are understood and certain assumptions are made about their value.

It is important to assume that, while certain errors are inherent,

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the margin of error has remained constant during the reporting period used in this study. While we may never know exactly how many persons are unemployed at a given time, it is assumed that reporting techniques and estimates of unemployment have maintained levels of error which are constant. This assumption recognizes that unemployment statistics are not absolute values, but indicators that reflect relative values.

THE ECONOMIC CRIME INDEX

The crime index developed for this study reflects part one offenses from uniform crime reports. The index reflects crime categories that generally results in economic gain to the perpetrator of the offense. The expected relationship is that economic deprivation could possibly produce economically motivated crimes.

The offenses include:

1. Robbery
2. Burglary
3. Larceny
4. Auto Theft

This index compares to offense combinations used in previous studies by Gansemer and Knowles (1974), Mellot and Moredock (1980), and Phillips, et. al (1972).

The economic crime index is comprised of 1-5 per cent robberies, 15-35 per cent burglaries, 55-68 per cent larcenies, and 3-24 per cent auto thefts.

The FBI's Uniform Crime Reports for the United States reports

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that these offenses follow similar seasonal trends and that over the period of a decade have followed similar yearly trends (F.B.I., 1980).

Data for the economic crime index was obtained from the archives of the Wisconsin Council on Criminal Justice. The original reports came from the city police departments of Racine and Kenosha. Table IX shows the raw data of the economic crime index.

Tables X and XI illustrate the trends in the economic crime index by city.

The trend in each city is for the index to reach its highest point during the third quarter of each year and the lowest in the first quarter. The second quarter is higher than the first, and the fourth quarter shows declines from the third. The quarterly trends are especially predictable as they occur in Racine. In Kenosha, there seems to be a leveling rather than a dramatic increase from the second to the third quarter.

The highest quarterly crime rates occurred in the third quarter of 1975 in Kenosha and the third quarters of 1975 and 1980 in Racine.

The lowest points in Kenosha occurred during the first quarters of 1974 and 1979, while the lowest points in Racine occurred in the first quarters of 1978 and 1979.

The general trend for the nine-year period in each city is for a peak in crime in the third quarter of 1975 with a gradual decline

TABLE IX
ECONOMIC CRIME INDEX
1974-1982 (by quarter)

<u>Racine</u>				<u>Kenosha</u>			
I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV
<u>1974</u>							
1320	2139	2341	1979	885	1288	1711	1628
<u>1975</u>							
1548	2027	2468	2042	1405	1742	2002	2003
<u>1976</u>							
1432	2019	2207	1755	1438	1665	1803	1503
<u>1977</u>							
1444	1611	1827	1430	1289	1497	1493	1468
<u>1978</u>							
1088	1583	1981	1619	1001	1342	1733	1497
<u>1979</u>							
1173	1544	1822	1793	849	1276	1631	1586
<u>1980</u>							
1251	1842	2404	1885	1150	1685	1626	1536
<u>1981</u>							
1502		2087		1361	1597		
<u>1982</u>							
1465	1923	2207	1682	1050	1648	1685	1506

TABLE X
TRENDS IN CRIME
for Racine

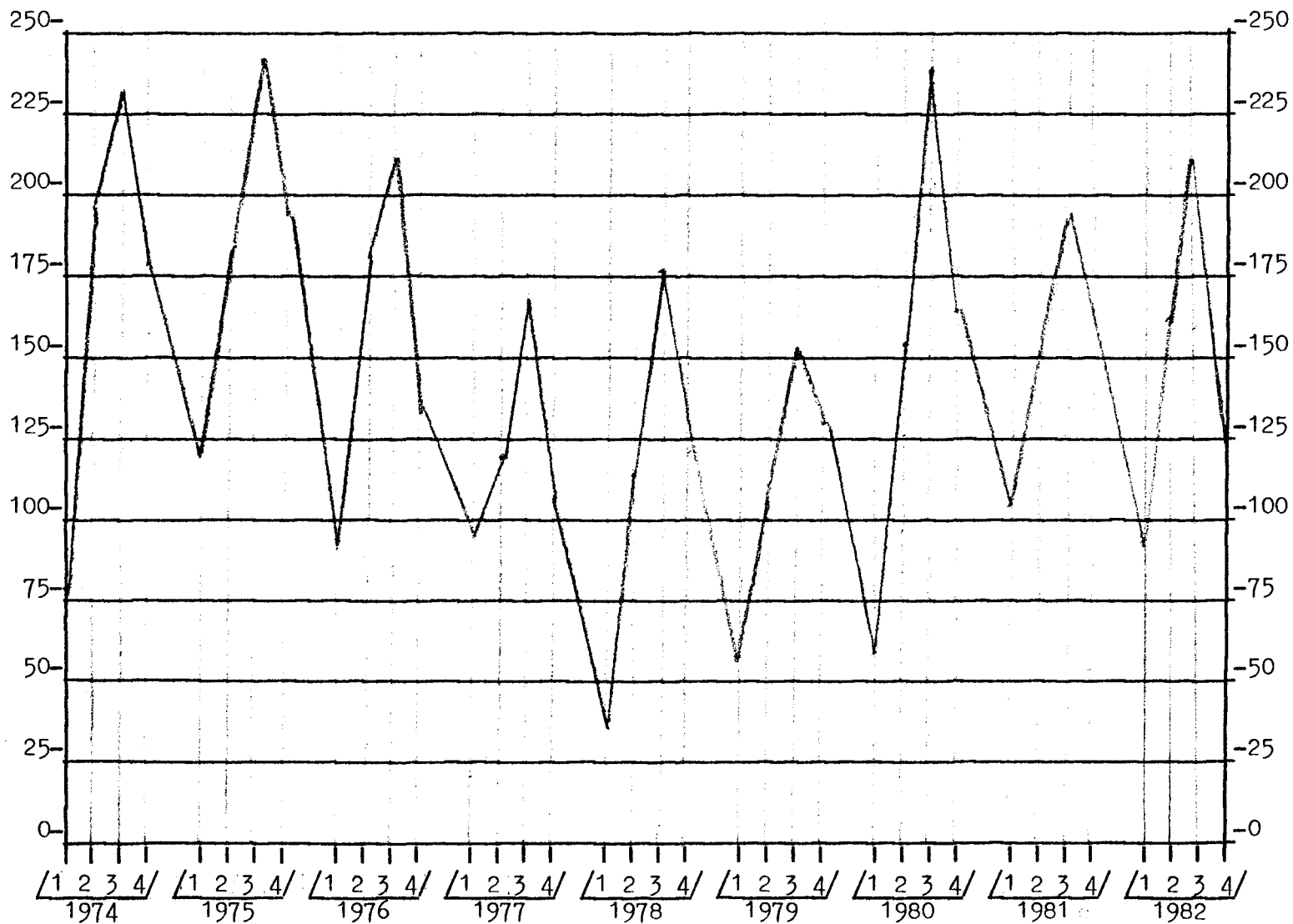
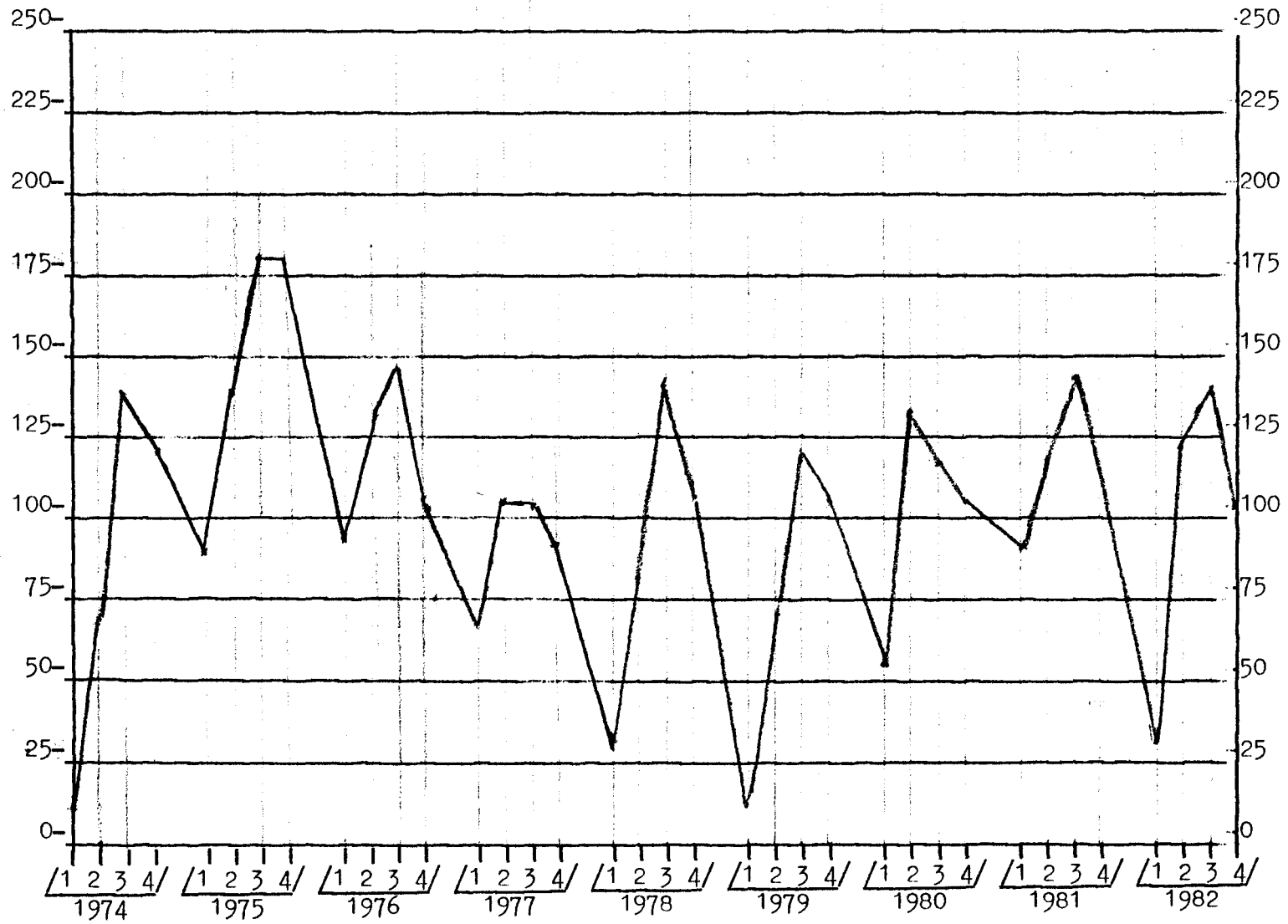


TABLE XI
TRENDS IN CRIME
for Kenosha



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through 1978-1979 and then a gradual incline through 1982.

The accuracy of crime statistics, like unemployment statistics, has been questioned. Under-reporting of actual crimes, manipulation by police agencies, poor classification and distortion of facts have been cited as problems. (Pursley, 1977)

As in the case of the unemployment statistics, an assumption of a standard margin of error must be made.

DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURES

The data used in this study is analyzed by description of trends in crime and unemployment and by testing the strength of the relationship by the use of linear correlation analysis.

The description is based on comparison of the graphs presented in the previous pages.

The linear correlation procedure used to test the strength of the relationship between the variables of unemployment and the economic crime index is the linear regression correlation. This procedure is used by Fleisher (1963), Phillips, et. al (1972), Danser and Laub (1980), and Mellot and Moredock (1980).

The linear regression also can be used to predict increases in variables based on past incidence.

The correlation coefficient is expressed in values that fall between the range of -1 to +1. A value of +1 indicates a perfect positive correlation while a value of -1 indicates a perfect inverse relationship.

A STUDY INVOLVING THE CRIME-UNEMPLOYMENT ISSUEHYPOTHESES

The hypotheses presented in this section are used to test the relationship between fluctuations in the rates of unemployment and rates of economically-motivated crimes.

The formal statement of the null hypotheses reads:

$$H_0 : P = 0$$

Where P equals the calculated value of correlation and zero equals no significant value. The alternative hypothesis reads:

$$H_a : P \neq 0$$

Where not-equal to zero indicates that a significant relationship exists.

The test of hypothesis is established as it relates to the correlation of variables in each city.

RESULTS

Tables X and XI illustrate the trends in the economic crime index for each city, while Tables VII and VIII illustrate trends in unemployment.

Examination of the economic crime index reveals that the commission of this variety of crime varies in accordance with seasonal changes (as indicated by quarters) and in consistent and predictable patterns. The crime rates in Racine all are lowest in the first quarter, then rise in the second, reach their highest point in the third quarter, then decline somewhat drastically in the fourth quarter. Kenosha's pattern is nearly the same, with less variation between the second and third quarters.

The seasonal trends in unemployment are comparatively erratic and unpredictable; Kenosha's pattern of unemployment being slightly predictable. The highest quarterly points of unemployment were reached in the Kenosha data in the first quarter six of nine times. The low points are equally dispersed among the second, third and fourth quarters. In Racine, the highest quarterly unemployment rates occurred four times in the first quarter, two in the second and fourth, and once in the third quarter. The lowest rates occurred three times in the first and second quarters, twice in the third quarter, and once in the fourth quarter.

Trends in unemployment measured on a quarterly basis tend to moderate the extremes that are found in the monthly data. For example, the highest quarterly unemployment rate in Kenosha was

RESULTS

14.4%, while the highest monthly rate was 16.9%. Similarly, in Racine the highest quarterly rate was 15.6%, while the highest monthly rate was 18.9%.

When compared on a yearly basis, there exists no consistent relationship between years of high unemployment and years of high rates of economic crimes. In fact, of the two cities under consideration, only one year (1981) showed high crime rates and high unemployment rates in one city (Kenosha).

The graphic representations of trends in the economic crime index and rates of unemployment show that there are no consistent or predictable relationships between the two factors. The economic crime index follows clear, predictable seasonal trends. Unemployment statistics in this example show no clear or predictable patterns. It would be inaccurate to explain fluctuations in the economic crime index as a result of conditions or fluctuations in the overall rates of unemployment.

The results from the test of hypotheses agree with the conclusions of the graphic illustrations. A two-tailed test for significance at the 95 per cent confidence level produced the following results:

$$H_0: P = 0$$

Where the correlation coefficient for the Racine data equals .0628 and .09181 for the Kenosha data.

These values do not meet the criteria for significance as

RESULTS

indicated by Pearson and Hartley's Biometrika Tables for Statisticians, Volume I (1962, pg. 138).

The critical value for 35 degrees of freedom (df) in this case is .325.

The correlational values do not fall outside of the critical region on the two-tailed test for significance. The null hypothesis, therefore, cannot be rejected.

The finding of no significance value precludes the use of the data as having predictive value.

The following section will discuss the meaning of the findings in terms of the theoretical and methodological context of this paper.

DISCUSSION

The findings indicate a number of issues regarding the relationship between crime and unemployment. There are several competing conclusions.

The first is that the data accurately reflects the reality that crime and unemployment are not related. This conclusion is certainly tenable based on the theoretical and empirical examples provided in the previous chapters. Saxon (1975), Krohn (1976), and Danser and Laub (1980) came to similar conclusions based on the analysis of similar data.

Earlier authors including the California State Unemployment Commission (1932), Ray Mars Simpson (1932, 1934), A. M. Carr-Saunders (1934), Vold (1934), and Maller (1936) also reached the conclusion that statistical evidence could not prove a relationship between crime and unemployment.

Theoretically, perhaps only the group of neoclassical utility authors would agree that there exists no true relationship between crime and unemployment or, for that matter, crime and other social/environmental conditions. This group of theoreticians is concerned chiefly with the acts of criminal behavior, the motivation of profit to the individual, and the relative risks involved. By focussing on individuals and the acts they perform, the social context is removed and the relevance of the act as a part of the prevailing social conditions is ignored.

The fact that statistics cannot indicate a relationship between

DISCUSSION

economic conditions and social acts reinforces the position that crime is a random occurrence, a behavior that results when individuals find it in their best interest to perform that behavior, regardless of their class, status or background. (This is, of course, the viewpoint in its extreme form. Danziger and Wheeler are classified as utility theorists yet their work has a decidedly radical viewpoint.)

The results of this study can be explained neatly in the context of the theory of anomie. Anomie as explained by Durkheim results in changes (positive or negative) in the social order. Durkheim focussed on the phenomenon of suicide as a resulting consequence of anomie. Other authors have been preoccupied with crime or other problems. Anomie may produce any number of phenomenon including, but not necessarily, criminal behavior. The manifestations of anomie would be expected to vary accordingly with personality type, prevailing beliefs and attitudes or other idiosyncrasies of a people or region. This study does not deny the existence of anomie. It merely lends no support for the theory because the focus of the inquiry may be incorrect.

The segmented labor market theory provides the most valuable insights into the explanations for the findings of the study. The theory states that there exists primary and secondary labor markets. Primary labor markets are characterized by a certain amount of long-term job stability, while the secondary market is characterized by

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underemployment and periods of sustained unemployment.

The data provided by government agencies undoubtedly gives an accurate count of unemployment in the primary labor market, but the very nature of the secondary market precludes their inclusion in the official data.

The qualitative researchers have repeatedly demonstrated that persons in the secondary labor market play a key role in the understanding of the crime-unemployment problem. (Doeringer, et. al, 1969; Baron and Hymer, 1968; Rees, 1968; Ferman, 1967; Bullock, 1973; Auletta, 1982) The fact that the data cannot give an accounting of this population seriously compromises an understanding of the situation.

It is no mere coincidence that persons identified as members of the secondary labor market (juveniles, minorities) are consistently identified as comprising disproportionate numbers of arrestees and inmates of the correctional facilities. (Phillips, et. al, 1972)

A recent survey by the state of Wisconsin indicates that young people are disproportionately arrested for property-related crimes. Juvenile arrests account for 59 per cent of arrests for burglary, 68 per cent of motor vehicle thefts, 79 per cent of stolen property arrests and 81 per cent of the arrests for forgery and counterfeiting. (Wisconsin Department of Industry, Labor and Human Relations, October, 1981)

Persons who exist with the boundaries of the secondary labor market are generally considered to have fewer occupational and economic

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alternatives than persons in the primary markets. Secondary labor market persons frequently do not qualify for unemployment compensation benefits, have few marketable job skills, and have difficulty moving into primary labor market jobs. (Harrison and Sum, 1972) In addition, the policies of income maintenance programs (general relief, food stamps, medical assistance programs) are structured in such a way that they discriminate against or discourage young persons.

Expectedly, questions will arise concerning the choices of data and methodology used in this report as well as the value of the conclusions.

To address the last issue, this report does have value. It illustrates the fact that there is no statistical evidence that indicates that crime rates are related to primary labor market conditions. Many will find it encouraging that the majority of the unemployed persons in these communities continue to refrain from criminal behavior in the face of extreme economic chaos.

The choice of data employed in this study was constrained by the fact that there are no systematic attempts to chart unemployment rates among teenagers, minorities and other groups commonly associated with the secondary labor market at the community level. (I have been told by Job Service employees that this is so because of potential political embarrassment.) Had extensive data been available, then my analysis would have reflected different target populations.

The methodology used reflects personal preference rather than

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philosophical or ideological problems associated with qualitative fieldwork. In addition, my occupation as an outreach worker in Kenosha may have biased my outlook on the problems of unemployment in this region.

CONCLUSIONS

There is no statistical evidence provided in this report to suggest that a relationship between unemployment and crime exists.

However, the data indicates that this is true only in the case of unemployment within the primary labor market and the economic crime index. The secondary labor market remains a hidden element in the question of the crime-unemployment problem. But because this segment of society continues to go uncounted, the use of secondary data in social research does not give an accurate accounting of the situation.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

In future projects which examine the crime-unemployment issue, it may be necessary to develop instruments that measure unemployment that are independent of those used and reported by government agencies. It is not only fair but accurate to say that the political process encourages masking of the problem. No mayor or governor could uncover dramatic unemployment increases without his/her opponents using it as evidence to attack economic policy.

Along with new instrumentation, superior methods of implementation must be developed. Persons who engage in alternative economic endeavors do not systematically draw attention to themselves or their activities.

The reliance on government agencies has also caused considerable logistical problems in acquiring data. Personnel changes in the Racine Police Department nearly interrupted this paper before all the data was collected. Similarly, when the outline was written, I intended to utilize data from the city of Milwaukee but was denied access to needed records. (In fact, I found it difficult to obtain entrance into the building in order to make my request.)

These suggestions would require greater resources than could be made available to a single individual. Future projects would need to be handled by a research team, perhaps as a joint academic/government policy research venture.

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