

Bullets, Bucks, and the Bottom Line: Corporate Engagement in Violence Intervention and Economic Growth in Impoverished Neighborhoods

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America's paradigm of socio-economic success has focused on education first then employment. That paradigm blocks employment for workers in impoverished minority communities where quality schools are absent. Jobs are paramount, education can follow. Corporations can succeed as pro-active agents of socio-economic change, eroding racial barriers blocking minorities' entry into the workplace. Multi-national corporations have tailored products and trained employees in culturally complex overseas markets. Similar strategies can successfully engage low-wage and public service workers in multi-cultural training preparing for America's changing demographics. We propose five engagement strategies that enable corporations increase minority employment and promote social justice.

Separate but Equal?

This paper documents the historical record of racism in Chicago, IL, in the early decades of 20th century. Racism then had incited sociopathic, irrational outbursts of violence. Racism's uninterrupted effect on America society has embedded racism as character trait of American culture (Rushton, 1995). Violence, poverty, and racism tore at Chicago's social fabric in the early 20th century just as it does today. In 2016, Chicago was the most violent city in America (Chicago Murders, 2017). Violence suppression, intervention, and prevention initiatives today, if those are predicated on theories of violence and notions of race and culture popular a century ago, won't resolve urban violence in today's cities. We have carefully examined race and culture theories of a century so we don't make the same mistakes today.

Our review of early 20th century life in Chicago illustrates the complexity policymakers today face in quelling racial bias and adequately responding to minority poverty and social injustice. After our historical review, we propose five actionable strategies that can mitigate violence, obviate the effects of racism, and build economically viable inner cities. We argue that despite its long history in American society, racist thought and xenophobia cannot be erased from our culture's history conscientiousness, but bigotry can be thwarted and overridden by well educated, highly literate minorities. Therein we find the challenge: how to bring high quality schools to impoverished neighborhoods.

America's inter-national corporations, highly skilled at engaging in complex cultural environments, can effect positive social and economic change in major urban centers. Corporate agents of change can engage in meaningful ways to alleviate race-based social and economic barriers. No matter people's skin color, if people cannot read and write well they cannot be gainfully employed. If unemployment and

poverty are outcome of poor literacy than building prisons cannot alleviate poverty and crime. Literacy can strengthen individuals' analytic coping skills and open employment opportunities to impoverished and low-income Americans. Better literacy-based skills can strengthen neighborhood economies, offer residents stable employment, and over time, strengthen social relations that create informal mechanisms of social control and reduce local-level offending (Fleisher, 2009; Greenbaum, 1982).

Violence kills business and effectively hinders social stability and economic growth in poor neighborhoods. Financial wealth and political capital of inter-national corporations can help import financial and human resources into poor, inner-city neighborhoods. But first, CEOs have to support local efforts to create an environment where businesses can grow. In an effort to aide local governments, corporations can invest funds in community-based violence suppression, prevention, and intervention. In practice, these interventions require collaborating with police departments to quell violence, public schools to improve student literacy; and community colleges to boost adult literacy. In an ironic way state prisons with mandatory inmate education and vocational training harness a workforce of literate men and women accustomed to routine and abiding by rules (Carlson & Fleisher, 2016). Learning how to tap into that workforce requires collaboration between prison systems, corporate and local stakeholders, and university researchers for implementation and program evaluation.

In a retrospective view of early 20th century social theory, poverty was thought of as micro-level problem focused on individuals' inadequacies, such as poor education and few vocational skills (Glueck, 1956). A reasoned response to micro-level poverty can come in the form of macro-level resources imported into poor neighborhoods by corporations that bridge the wide socio-economic, -political gap between the poor isolated in neighborhoods and resource-rich mainstream communities (Greenbaum, 1982). Economically valuable resources in poor neighborhoods need strengthening. Public schools are often as deteriorated and neglected as local neighborhoods. Corporations can enliven these schools and create schools that are separate and equal. Police organizations, too, can work for the betterment of social stability in impoverished communities. Police agencies can be a critical resource in crime control and at the same time offer residents in poor neighborhoods pro-social resources and means to reach outside their neighborhoods (Fleisher, 2015). Building informal, face-to-face relationships can result in safe environments where social and economic resources can grow. Local businesses can prosper. That can be achieved through careful planning and collaboration among local residents, law enforcement, schools, and political stakeholders.

Race & Culture

Micro-level sociological theory posits that community-based, pro-social violence intervention should offer adolescents and adults remedial education and entry-level vocational skills. Eventually, the theory argues, violence rates decrease. Lower rates of neighborhood violence do not guarantee that employers will search for workers inside those neighborhoods nor does it ensure that able body workers will search for employment outside their neighborhoods. A willingness to work does not infer an ability to meet job requirements. Stable employment requires strong literacy skills. Poor literacy skills cum unemployment do not cause violence. A General Education Degree (GED) and low-wage jobs will not ensure households' financial success and neighborhoods' economic viability whether or not those jobs are obtained inside or outside inner-city neighborhoods. Even if local residents have basic education and vocational skills their neighborhoods are geographic isolated, often at a long distance from workplaces without adequate low-cost transportation to worksites.

America's cultural paradigm of socio-economic success relies on an education model of social change: Study hard, finish school, graduate, secure a professional job or trade, settle into family life, and pay taxes. That paradigm has worked well for most Americans but has excluded others. Minorities have been locked into poor in neighborhoods where public education has been precluded by under-funded schools. Quality education and its byproduct, a high level of literacy, has never been an outcome of public education in America's impoverished black neighborhoods where average reading levels hover at third grade (Rauh, 2003). Politicians have asserted that poor communities' failing schools are a function of those neighborhoods' low tax base. Low tax base, a government euphemism for racial bigotry, has

been a long-standing rationalization easily accepted by elected officials as a viable explanation for failing schools, crime, drug abuse, gangs, and low literacy among black students in inner cities.

Poor education bolstered by bigotry has constructed an impenetrable racial barrier between the haves and have nots. All states have had free public education since in the late 1700s (Cubberley, 1919), but all public education has not been created equal (*Brown v. Board of Education*, (1954)). Racial barriers have excluded minorities from quality education afforded to students in mainstream, well-funded public schools. When minority children are excluded from mainstream education the epidemic of poverty spawned by racism passes to future generations. Where local, state, and federal governments have failed, non-government stakeholders can act in behalf of the poor to eradicate the socio-economic effects of racism.

American history has documented racism in the form of violence toward people with dark skin over the past 500 years (Crenshaw, 1991). In the late 1800s and into the 1970s, descendants of black slaves have migrated to urban centers in the northeastern United States (Moehling et al., 2009). Chicago was a target destination. There, black migrants were greeted with violence, an overt, unmistakable expression of racial hatred (Bienen, 2002). In 2016, Chicago had 746 homicides and hundreds more were victimized (Chicago Murders, 2017). Endemic violence spreads. Acts of reflexive violence committed upon one another in their own communities are self-reinforcing. This intra-community pattern of violence expresses a cultural pathology with no easy remedy (Hofstede & McCrae, 2004; Price, M., 2016). More arrests, more convictions, more incarcerations have not fostered lower rates of intra-community violence. If residents in poor communities cannot read and write well enough to secure jobs and assimilate into mainstream communities, violence, crime, and high rates of imprisonment are likely to persist into the future, extending social pathologies have over decades. A first step toward meaningful social and economic change comes with a conscious recognition of the underlying problem.

Historical Perspectives on Race

Racial bias was well ensconced in scholarly thought of a century ago. Time provides a vantage to see the assumptions and biases within that early body of sociological literature. Social science in that period was rife with concepts of racial inferiority and superiority that rested on assumptions that complexities of human social behavior were a byproduct of biology. Caldwell (1929) attributed juvenile delinquency to heredity and ascribed delinquency as a racial characteristic. In the admixture of ethnicities, races, languages and cultures in the early 20th century period of massive migrations, the absence of a well-formed theory of culture, biased thinking transformed into theory. Black neighborhoods did not appear to social scientists to be sufficiently well organized. These neighborhoods fell short of realizing a normative, education-based, socio-economic model seen in white neighborhoods. Researchers postulated that failure to meet normative standards of white community life resulted in non-adaptive, socially dysfunctional behavior. The prominent sociologist Edward Frazier (1932) promulgated the idea that if black communities would benefit by assimilating to the social organization of white communities, as a means to adapt positively to a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic urban environment.

In the 1940s, two theories accounted for variations of social behavior between white and black communities. Social disorganization theory (Shaw & McKay, 1942) stands out as an example of a theory that sought to explain crime, a maladaptive individual behavior, at the time when the genesis of human social behavior was still mired in the culture vs. biology debate and well before the concept of cultural relativism entered scholarly discourse. The ethnocentric theory of social disorganization has since been co-opted by sociologists as a means to identify and label the deviant byproducts of social disorganization in black neighborhoods, such as black female-headed households and black teenage pregnancy (Sampson et al., 2005; Orton et al., 2009; Massey & Denton, 1993).

George Devereux, a psychiatric anthropologist, and Edwin Loeb, a cultural anthropologist, proposed a competing explanation (Devereux & Loeb, 1943). They argued that a conflict of cultures arose between minority black neighborhoods and the dominant white urban population and gave rise to aggressive

individual behavior in black neighborhoods and between the white and black populations. This theory known as antagonistic acculturation explained individual- and group- level, inter-racial conflict as socio-psychological effects of conflict-based culture contact (Price, T., 1930).

A reading of early 20th century sociology addresses the historical, conceptual, and empirical issues concerning Chicago's endemic violence. Sociological studies of Chicago's inner city neighborhoods provide substantial historical documentation showing the theory of social disorganization had poor explanatory power in that era; since then it has remained bedrock in sociological thought. Social disorganization theory gave a limited account of violence and criminality at an individual and social level. A cultural explanation of violence, the theory of antagonistic acculturation, offers a subtle account for Chicago's long-term patterns of blocked assimilation of minority groups.

Immigration and Migration

Chicago's black population in 1920 of nearly 110,000 exceeded Chicago's total population in 1860 (Allison, 1924). There were 2.5 million southern-born blacks living outside the southern region by 1950 and four million by 1980; most blacks were thought to be illiterate sharecroppers from the rural south (Tolnay, 2003). The post-Civil War northern black migration coincided with a wave of immigration into the United States from Europe. Hundreds of thousands of European immigrants settled wherever they could find housing in urban areas. Italians, Greeks, Syrians, Poles, Russians, Jews, Germans, and Scandinavians jostled one another to gain inches of living space. Feuds and vendettas erupted. Moehling and Piehl (2009) explain that major demographics shifts triggered a backlash. Immigration laws were changed and immigration quotas were imposed. The prevue of immigration laws expanded. Some types of crime committed by the foreign-born resulted in deportation. An increase in crime irrevocably linked European immigrants and black Americans to the idea of crime. Poverty plagued immigrants and black Americans. Poverty became linked with the idea of crime.

Allison (ibid.) described pressure-filled, antagonistic, inter-racial, inter-ethnic clashes in Chicago. Race riots erupted in 1919. Neighborhoods grew overcrowded. Some installed protection against perceived innovation by black Americans. Homeowners and real estate agents forcefully and violently resisted black encroachments (ibid., 532) into settled white neighborhoods. Bombs were used to frighten away blacks. Chicago's inner-city demonstrates deleterious results of this massive wave of endogenous and exogenous migration.

Frederick Thrasher's 1927 study of Chicago neighborhoods identified areas of aggression where violent clashes occurred between racial and ethnic groups and the dominant white population. Thrasher termed these areas, urban interstitial zones. An admixture of cultures and languages characterized these geographic areas between racial and ethnic enclaves. Early migrant generations and subsequent generations found themselves mired in the pressure of acculturation in these interstitial zones. Devereux and Loeb (1943) explored types of acculturative socio-cultural change and coined the term antagonistic acculturation. Graves (1967) posited that acculturation's adverse socio-cultural and socio-psychological effects on neighborhoods damaged family integration, pushed adolescents toward youth gangs, and generated residual socio-psychological damage. The socio-psychological effects of acculturative conflict requires a close look at intellectual thought used to interpret the concepts of race and culture in the early 20th century.

Nature v. Nurture

The relationship between immigration and crime posed conceptual, theoretical, methodological, and interpretive challenges for early 20th century sociologists and anthropologists, many of whom found a home in the Chicago School of sociology. Few black sociologists at that time had a voice in the ongoing debate on biology, culture, and race (Young & Deskins, 2001). Scholars queried the source of human behavior (Harris, 1968): Was human behavior a function of learning cultural knowledge and rules of behavior or driven by biological heritability? A misreading of Darwin's theory of evolution stokes the flames of racism.

Darwin's 1871 theory of social life held that the traits of social groups had greater importance for the human evolution than traits of individuals (Wilson, D., and Wilson, E., 2007), meaning that social patterns heavily influenced biological evolution. Early 20th century theories applied a misconstrued reading of Darwin's theory of human evolution to studies of social life in Chicago. White researchers saw black neighborhoods and families as insufficiently organized, socially disordered, for sustaining adaptively robust social groups.

Goldenweiser (1924) wrote that the advent of racial psychology sought an answer to the question: Is social dysfunction an innate psychological characteristic of races? Psychological examinations were used to look into American soldiers' sensory and psychic qualities in World War I.

"American soldiers from different localities [were tested]. Among them were many colored people. . . . results of the investigations seem to indicate a striking inferiority of the colored folk. . . . the very best of the colored privates performed just barely as well as the very worst of the white officers. (ibid., p. 128)

"We have a number of problems here [America] which are of continental magnitude: the problem of the Negro, that of the Japanese, that of the Jew,—I regret to say that the Jew has again become a problem, and here in America—and then we must also face the tremendously complex situation . . . of diverse groups of immigrants other than the Jew and Japanese. . . . The first and perhaps the major problem of America is that of the Negro. There are more than ten million colored people among us. . . . Can we do anything deliberately to solve this problem? (ibid., p. 132)

"A famous sociologist said the other day, 'There is no use in troubling our minds about various hocus-pocus schemes of education [to resolve social problems]'. Eugenics is the thing, a rational system of 'positive eugenics' . . . the selection of particularly favorable breeds, among them men and women, the mating of such individuals under the supervision of a board of matrimonial experts." (ibid., p. 136)

There were sociologists who were aware of the pernicious impact of racial prejudice backed by biological explanations of human behavior. Race prejudice, Frazier (1927) wrote, demonstrates characteristics similar to those of insanity, with a single distinguishing feature: insanity is a manifestation adjudged by a population; prejudice exhibited by racists is supported by a segment of a population. In 1973, the American Psychiatric Association Committee of Black Psychiatrists advocated that the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-IV)* include racism as a mental disorder (Spitzer 1975 as in Scurfield and Mackey, 2002).

Acculturation

Cultures in contact affect one another, often in unpleasant ways. When scholars watched blacks and Europeans come into contact with indigenous Chicago culture in the early decades of 1900s, their interpretation of what occurred was marred by undeveloped social theory, which could not offer cogent explanation of cultures in contact change. That process of mutual influence among different cultures was termed acculturation. The term was used first in J.W. Powell's (1880) report on changes in American Indian languages when he referred to acculturation in terms of psychological changes prompted by cross-cultural contact. W.J. McGee (1898, p. 243), an anthropologist at the Bureau of American Ethnology, wrote that human development is essentially social, and may be measured by the degree in which devices and ideas are interchanged and fertilized in the process of transfer—i.e., by the degree of acculturation. In lower culture-grades (savagery and barbarism), on the other hand, the interchange is largely inimical and adventitious; this may be called piratical acculturation. In this section we have an overview of scholarly interpretations of cultures in contact.

McGee claimed that: (1) Acculturation can be measured in terms of degree of sharing material culture and ideas. (2) Acculturation occurs in multiple forms, such as the sharing of weapons and implements and similar modes of commerce and ways of thinking. (3) Marriage is one of the most efficient means of acculturation. Sarah E. Simon (1901, 791) wrote "that 19th century sociologists and historians rarely used the term acculturation and that it had no clear definition: Assimilation is a process

with its active and passive elements. . . . a process of prolonged contact . . . always accompanied by a measure of violence.”

Decades later, Redfield, Linton and Herskovitz (1936, p. 149) wrote: “Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups” (p. 149). These scholars posited that: (1) Acculturation refers to a single aspect of culture change. (2) Assimilation can be a phase of acculturation. (3) Diffusion occurs in all instances of acculturation and can occur outside of the process of acculturation. Redfield et al., (ibid.) provided a detailed categorization of traits associated with phases of the process of acculturation.

Cultures in contact are often cultures in conflict. Several outcomes are possible. Rudmin (2003) wrote that it was common to argue that biculturalism can have a positive response and be adaptive, and others argued that biculturalism has maladaptive outcomes, that it is “existentially inauthentic” (p. 18). Redfield et al. (ibid., 152) argued that in bicultural adaptation, a receiving group’s attempts of reconciliation of one’s own culture and its prescribed social behaviors and norms can engender difficult to resolve psychic conflict among those engaged in the process of bi-cultural adaptation and least among those who reject acculturative change.

Acculturation involves mutual interaction between cultures. Ethno-psychiatrist George Devereux and cultural anthropologist Edwin Loeb (1943) described ways that cultures in contact self-adjust to avoid, resist, and control the two-way diffusion of material culture, social practices, and values. Cultures are conservative and internal inertia keeps cultures and their people from adopting new behavior. Resistance to change can turn into antagonism toward lending or borrowing cultures in contact. Chicago’s white and black culture contact provoked white culture’s defense against the intrusion of migrant blacks, an overt rejection of black culture, and engendered a white social and economic barrier that further separated black and white culture. That barrier limited the transfer of black culture’s influence on white culture and imposed a white barrier to black workers’ assimilation into Chicago’s socio-economic marketplace.

The socio-cultural milieu of Chicago in the early 20th century brimmed with contact and conflict between ethnic and racial groups. Black Americans, transplanted from rural areas, encountered aggressive white antagonism. This explication of the complexities of acculturation serves now as groundwork for a closer look at studies of conflict in Chicago’s ghettos and slums in the early decades of the 20th century.

Park (1928) proposed a theory of marginality, which identified four types of acculturation marked by geography and racial features. “Acculturation begins as a transition . . . [a] state of marginality, characterized by liberation or emancipation from the confines of culture, but also characterized by spiritual distress, inner turmoil, intense self-consciousness, embitteredness and disillusionment. . . . racially marked migrants who leave the segregated ghetto . . . stay in a permanent state of cultural hybrid . . . ‘living and sharing intimately in the cultural life and traditions of two distinct peoples.’ (p. 892).”

Frazier (1932), whose work evinces an abhorrence of racism (see Frazier, 1927, postulated that black communities needed to adopt structures of the robustly well-organized white communities. Frazier (1937, 610) argued that the patrilineal traditional family pattern of black families shows many of the same characteristics of the traditional family pattern of the American whites, and robustly stands up to social and economic hazards. Frazier deemed this black group pattern to be organized. He deemed other black family patterns as disorganized. Disorganized family patterns included female-headed households without the constant presence of a man. The disorganized family leads to delinquency and crime. That disorganized family produces successful children who form the same family type. That disorganized social group leaves the area of extreme deterioration and poverty over the course of generations (ibid., p. 617). The conceptual misinterpretation of the genesis of human behavior exacerbated racial prejudice and distorted perceptions of criminality among black Americans.

Frazier’s (1932) use of the concept of social disorganization accounted for black communities’ social problems, such as crime, illegitimacy, and delinquency. He wrote that social problems were indicators of maladjustment to an urban environment. He conjectured that black communities would eventually become enriched once black Americans assimilated into white society. Park and Burgess (1921), too,

argued that as black Americans assimilated they would gradually abandon black culture, its behaviors, norms, and values, and replace black culture with white culture.

Frazier (ibid.) as well as Park and Burgess 1921 compared a black community's culture to a white community's culture. Frazier argued that skin color was the only difference between possible social organizations of white and black communities. His interpretation of social disorganization presumed that black communities can become well-organized if these closely resemble white communities in culture, social structure, social organization, and values and beliefs. Consequently a socio-cultural system dissimilar in its structural-functional composition must be dysfunctional. Frazier perceived conflict was caused by the great migration of southern blacks to northern cities. The behaviors attributed to social disorganization can be explained as resistance among those who reject acculturative change (Frazier, 1937).

Ghetto and Slums

Socio-economic change occurs in neighborhoods where concentrated populations are as isolated away from the mainstream community today as these were a century ago. Thrasher (1927) had described acculturation (although he did not use that term) within and between Chicago's racial and ethnic neighborhoods. His descriptions are a record of the consequences of antagonistic acculturation, the damaged families, disheveled living conditions, and injured adolescents ((Gonzales et al., 2006); Hoijer, 1948). These neighborhoods were differentiated into slum and ghettos.

Immigrants and black migrants had settled and formed communities that early scholars labelled ghettos and slums. The early use of the terms differs from contemporary use. Lind (1930) described that ghettos were areas where European migrants first settled and organized. Ghettos were socially inclusive stable places with high social moral standards and high population density locales where families integrated into communities and where immigrants were able to reconstruct, as much as possible, life in their native homes (Hughes, 1954).

Early 20th century scholars' and practitioners' observations and descriptions living conditions in ghettos and slums, delinquency, gangs, drug abuse, and violence evinced the cultural upheaval Thrasher and his contemporaries had witnessed. Social workers then in the 1920s and 1930s described and anguished over an absence of guidance accessible to colored and black adolescents in schools, clubs, recreation, and mental health treatment (Nesbitt, 1926; Thurnwald, 1932).

Thrasher's sociology of urban life was a way of talking about emerging social problems among immigrant Europeans and blacks. Where he saw immigrants and blacks, he saw crime occurring in conditions of slum life. Pressures of conflictive acculturation that resulted in Chicago's violence also occurred elsewhere, in a similar way.

Park (1915) had noted that slums were areas where racial migrants arrived from southern states and ethnic immigrants who fled conflict and poverty in Europe. He wrote: "Slums were less habitable areas occupied by black migrants stamped negroes [*sic*]. Others who had dark skin were not negroes; they were branded coloreds. Physical deterioration, congestion, unsanitary conditions, crime, poverty, and residential mobility characterized slums." Researchers inferred from these characteristics that slum residents' were apathetic toward their living conditions and indifferent toward their fellow community members. Wirth (1928, 207) insinuated that slum dwellers lacked morale standards, showed little interest in their fellows, failed to communicate with one another, and engaged in "incoherent and meaningless behavior following no set patterns." Zorbaugh (1929, 11) wrote that "the slum harbors many sorts of people: the criminal, the radical, the bohemian, the migratory worker, the immigrant, the unsuccessful, the queer and unadjusted." Lind (1930, 207) interpreted the poverty found in slums as a consequent of slum dwellers' resistance to the "discipline and control of standards imposed in more stable and self respecting [*sic*] neighborhoods or . . . in the case of immigrants in the first generation [slum dwellers were not] concerned about their status and reputation in the larger community."

Engineering Socio-economic Change

Chicago's violence has come down over the generations like waves of a tsunami. Scholars wanting to explain Chicago's tsunami of violence, which had its origin in the distant past, would do well to critically reexamine the adverse effects that antagonistic acculturation, blocked assimilation, and political and economic exclusion has had on minorities. Waves of migrants populated Chicago, including migrant black families and European immigrants, seeking shelter from violent bigotry, pogroms, starvation, and war. They ran into a buzz saw of aggression and violence aimed at them. Legitimate scholars of the time (Lind, 1930, Wirth, 1928, Zorbaugh, 1929) claimed the migrant populations were culturally and biologically inferior people. They were the cause of the poverty and violence spreading through the city, even blaming local residents for violence inflicted on one another in their own neighborhoods.

A reading of early 20th century sociology about a multi-racial, multi-ethnic Chicago demonstrates a lack of self-awareness in many scholars. Few sought answers that included how the actions of the dominant, resident, non-migrant population toward migrants effected violence. Recent mass migrations overseas caused by poverty and war have created a hostile environment in European cities analogous to early 20th century Chicago. Our reading of that early 20th century body of sociology, examining its origins and complexities, lays out a comparative vantage point for critically reviewing new studies of the present multi-racial, multi-ethnic social whirl of violence.

We doubt if social justice crosses the minds of racists and xenophobes. Impoverished people packed in high density neighborhoods have waited long enough to assimilate, for racial biases to weaken and open to them access to high-value resources available to mainstream citizens. Americans who are identified by their skin color, those labeled marginalized groups, cannot wait until elected officials are enlightened and recognize their role in decades of political justification for and rationalizations of minority poverty. The time to act has come.

America's demographics are changing fast. Social groups with different cultures are being drawn closer together in neighborhoods. Antagonistic acculturation given by racism has been visible in clashes today, between police and minority groups and white Americans' violence directed toward people with different cultural values and religious beliefs. Violence can be prevented on a wide scale if corporations work to strengthen police departments' human resources and training programs and improve public school teachers ensuring they are skilled at educating multi-cultural, multi-linguistic children and their parents.

Inter-national corporations can lead the charge against community violence and are better able to improve public school education than local governments. These corporations are highly skilled at developing products desirable in multi-cultural communities; skilled at cross-cultural communication; and skilled at understanding how cultural differences influence the attitudes and behavior of multi-cultural groups. Primary and secondary school teachers trained in American universities need to learn how best to teach children whose parents speak one of the 381 languages spoken more than 60 million people in the United States, in 2011 (Ryan, 2013).

Nearly 400 hundred languages and cultures within America's borders and thousands of people who speak those languages and practice those cultural beliefs are targets for racists. Young children are highly vulnerable to their hatred. The illness we call racism cannot be mitigated with dialogue alone. American society with the help of corporations can fight against racism and its effects on minority children and adults and can mitigate racism's effects. Strong education and stable income can vaccinate minorities against racists' vitriolic dialogue and aggressive behavior. Strong annual incomes, good jobs, and an ability to support one's household can go a long way to erode social barriers generated over centuries by racism, bigotry, and xenophobia.

Strategies to Build Local Economies

Elected officials have had ample opportunities to remedy poor education in inner-city schools and actively engage in mitigating the effects of social and economic injustice. The Supreme Court of the United States (*Citizens United v. FEC, 2010*) decided that corporations have a political voice in America's future. Corporations can do what elected officials have ignored: enable social justice and

honorable types of employment into poor neighborhoods, and in the long term ensure that minority children can read and write and think critically as well as children in rich suburban communities. We propose five action steps. Each represents a starting point that can remedy race-based unemployment and under-employment and improve minority children's education.

- (1) Corporate engagement in literacy education in schools requires complementary action in law enforcement agencies. In the mid-2000s, Washington D.C. advertised policing jobs with billboards in the Metro system. Basic requirements were a GED and a valid driver's license. America's police organizations should do a better job at recruiting applicants. Policing organizations are complex systems requiring well-trained administrators, managers, trainers, and human resource departments that advertise and screen applicants who meet high standards. Our vision of policing has police officers working as social workers with guns. That requires strong in-house education and training and demanding standards of performance. Corporate support of police departments can improve management oversight, implement data-driven performance measures, and upgrade tactical and strategic planning skills closely tied to current budgets and projection of future funding.
- (2) Corporations can aid in the rehabilitation of policing agencies' knowledge, skills, and abilities to work in multi-cultural cities. Policing in black and Hispanic neighborhoods often has gone awry, largely because police are not familiar with cross-cultural nuanced behaviors, such as expressions of aggression in behavior and speech. American police will need special training in crime investigation in Muslim communities. Policing smarter must include cross-cultural education for law enforcement officers, who develop investigation methods sensitive to cultural variation across urban centers. Corporate sponsorship can target violence suppression, prevention, and intervention practices with public education aimed at fans in the professional sports arenas carrying corporate names. Of major importance now and in particularly in the near future are police training programs targeting knowledge, skills, and ability in cross-cultural family dynamics, concepts of domestic and intimate partner violence, local cultural definitions of deviant behavior, and cross-cultural strategies for community policing and crime investigation. Inter-national corporations' success overseas demonstrates its ability to handle complex multi-cultural, multi-linguistic program design and implementation for training and oversight. These are critical skills that corporation can bring to the community.
- (3) Corporations can sponsor and fund major investments in community-based adult literacy education programs. Children's literacy skills begin at birth. Parents who have poor literacy do not support their children's literacy education (Darling, 1992). Generations of poor minorities have had low literacy skills leading to low-salary employment. Corporations can help education move from classroom to public spaces. Parks and athletic fields offer recreation and with some planning education can become available to parents and their children. Reading teams and soccer teams are compatible. Corporations have the human and financial resources to reach a large public audience.
- (4) Corporations can sponsor vocational programs in public schools. Presidents since Kennedy have argued that everyone needs a college education. A majority of black students drop out of school in the 10th grade (Guryan, 2004). If these youth had vocational training linked to literacy education the likelihood of dropping out decreases, especially if corporations offer graduates entry-level employment with benefits. Data show that college graduate cannot find employment (Carnevale et al., 2012). Perhaps there are few jobs in students' disciplines or their literacy skills are too low to meet workplace demands (Kutner, et al., 2003). Data show that high school graduates earn less than college graduates, if they can find jobs. Tradesmen with or without high school diplomas, can earn incomes sufficient to support families if they are well trained with high literacy skills (Bakja et al., 2010).
- (5) Corporations can collaborate with state corrections officials on inmate job training and post-release continued education and advanced job training. America's federal prisons require inmate employment in skills ranging from unskilled kitchen workers to highly skilled factory workers (Fleisher, 1989). Research has shown that even highly skilled workers eventually recidivate. Prisons provide full inmate services, meals to recreation to medical care. Outside prison those serves are

expensive. Growing accustomed to these services lessens released inmates' ability to cope outside prison. Support system outside prison comparable to those inside prison can support employees long enough to learn how to cope, if corporations train them in life skills as they train them in employment skills. Prison industries' skills, such as sew children's and uniform clothing, can be exported to local neighborhoods. Every inmate who works and doesn't return to prison saves American taxpayers' hard-earned dollars.

Ending Illiteracy

Local, state, and federal governments have failed to import into poor neighborhoods the resources necessary to support individuals and families. In every poor neighborhood there are two sources of external support: public schools; police. We don't think of the police as a resource to build economic capital and social integration in poor neighborhood, but police can play a vital role in generating and sustaining strong social ties among residents. Police can also bridge the social gap between minority communities isolated by race, if police roles can extend from crime control to include social support ensuring social justice. Schools are underfunded in poor neighborhoods. Schools are a sustainable local resource in poor neighborhoods. The best teachers, the most effective teaching tools, such as latest technology and up-to-date libraries, are usually absent in schools located in poor neighborhoods. Local and state governments have looked passed minorities' neighborhoods and schools. Separate but equal has failed to generate schools with equal resources, the best teachers, the best facilities, the best educational supplies. If government won't act in behalf of the poor, then inter-national corporations have an opportunity to strengthen in inner-city neighborhood with trained, employed workers whose income increases local tax that support schools. Careful planning and collaboration with local residents and churches can offer corporations reliable, dependable, dedicated employees within America's urban borders. Corporations can bridge the gap between the haves and have nots, and do it for the betterment of society, generating quality schools for minority children and their families and creating market products at home.

Racism has created a society segmented by skin color and education. Literacy and the tools it opens to achieve success can trump the ills of poverty. We've carefully documented racist attitudes and behavior over decades, which have created nearly impenetrable obstacles in the path of minority groups' educational and social achievement. Illiteracy results when inner-city minority children are blocked from gaining access to educational resources open in the suburbs to non-minority children and minority children lucky enough to reside there. Busing has not resolved the problem of separate but unequal schooling, a byproduct of racial injustice more than century ago. Untended, illiteracy creates nearly impossible barriers to socio-economic achievement and over the decades has had lifelong detriment effects on generations of black citizens. Illiteracy ensures that adolescents and adults are unemployed. Americans, no matter their skin color, have little chance to succeed in America's technical economy or in the service sector if they cannot read, write, and comprehend at a high level. Poor literacy has generated impoverished enclaves in America's inner cities. The poorest Americans, no matter their skin color, have the worst literacy skills (Dearing et al., 2006). Literacy can be available, separately and equally, to America's children.

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