A History of Hoarding: A Comparative Test of Tilly's Durable Inequality Theory to Explore Opportunity Hoarding in the Jim Crow, Civil Rights, and Post-Civil Rights Eras

Dissertation

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By

Charles Lindell Patton, M.A.

Graduate Program in Sociology

The Ohio State University

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Dissertation Committee:

Townsand Price-Spratlen, Advisor

Ruth D. Peterson

Rachel E. Dwyer

Abstract

Historically, opportunity hoarding strategies (i.e., tactics to acquire and monopolize valuable resources) such as racial threat (i.e., overt discrimination resulting from large proportions of black residents), racial residential segregation, and jailing have influenced the labor market access of both blacks and whites. This research evaluates how opportunity hoarding strategies influenced the unemployment rates of African American and white men in 1940, 1960, and 1980. I address these relationships by primarily drawing from Tilly's (1999) Durable Inequality Theory (DIT). I also draw from Western's (2006) adjusted unemployment rate to analyze how acknowledging those who are imprisoned in the unemployment rate impacts the relationships between opportunity hoarding and unemployment. In a diverse sample of 136 U.S. urban counties, net of region, percent change in retail employment, and the Talented Tenth, the findings from my Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression suggest that opportunity hoarding practices were influential on the labor market participation of both black and white males in 1940, 1960, and 1980. Focusing on the results for the standard unemployment rates shows that whether observing white or black males, proportion black never impacted unemployment, segregation was influential in each era, while jailing was only influential in 1980. Focusing on the results for the adjusted unemployment rates reveals that proportion black

and segregation were influential in 1940 and 1960, while jailing was actually influential in each era. Utilizing the results for the adjusted unemployment rates shows that the results limited to the standard unemployment rate are slightly flawed and overlook important indicators of unemployment. They also show that the failure of racial threat and the ghetto to effectively marginalize blacks and hoard opportunities for whites led to the use of the criminal justice system as the opportunity hoarding mechanism of choice for American society.

Dedication

To my wife and parents.

Acknowledgements

Toward the end of my undergraduate education, I was unsure of my career aspirations. The McNair Scholars Program opened my eyes to the possibility of a graduate level education and a career conducting research on social stratification. Prior to being a member of this program I did not know this was a career. Needless to say I also did not know how to pursue it as my career. The McNair Scholars Program helped me with graduate school applications, GRE preparation, and getting my feet wet with social science research. Without this program I would not have written a word of this dissertation.

When I considered attending graduate school, the Director of the McNair Scholars program, Michael Aldarando-Jeffries, encouraged me to explore the possibility of attending Ohio State University. He thought that Dr. Townsand Price-Spratlen and I shared similar research interest and the university could be a good fit. As years passed I realized that Mr. Aldarando-Jeffries was correct. Not only has it served as a great fit but Dr. Price-Spratlen has proven to be an excellent guide through this journey. He has provided with excellent advice to help navigate my way through the graduate process. He was always excited about a new finding and eager to offer insightful ways to improve my research. And he truly lived by the credo that there were no stupid questions. This created an open atmosphere where I was allowed to grow without fear of judgment.

My family has also played a pivotal role in making it to this stage in my life. Although they do not understand my research and sometimes may feel that I am speaking a different language, they made education a top priority in my life, created a structured environment where I could thrive, and instilled values of hard work that have served me well during this process.

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Vita

2005.....BA Communication, DePaul University

2007.....MA Sociology, The Ohio State University

Publications

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Fields of Study

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Chapter 1: An Introduction to the Relationship between Opportunity Hoarding and Unemployment in the 20th Century

Much of the research on racial inequality draws from Weber's theory of social closure and Marx's theory on historical materialism. Social closure refers to the construction of group identities and boundaries for these groups. This process is used to create divisions within a society and allot opportunities / resources to each group according to their place in the hierarchy (Weber 1978). Historical materialism, a theory first articulated by Karl Marx, argues that those at the top of the hierarch maintain their position by using institutional devices (i.e., superstructures) that stabilize and reproduce class relations. The superstructures used to stabilize and reproduce class relations can change when the benefits from these devices decline and/or the costs increase (Wright 1999). Both of these theories will be considered in greater detail in the chapters that follow. In this dissertation I draw from Tilly's (1999) Durable Inequality Theory (DIT), which fuses theories of social closure and historical materialism.

Few studies have utilized DIT, which serves as a valuable tool to explain general processes of stratification across time and space. DIT asserts that inequality is not solely the result of variance in individual skill and motivation. Tilly argues that inequality is also the result of institutions that adopt categories such as age, race, gender, etc. to maintain control of valuable resources for the majority group (i.e., social closure). Those who are members of the majority group's categories are granted more opportunities to

gain access to these resources. DIT uses two postulates, exploitation[1] and opportunity hoarding[2], to serve as an umbrella for many of the theories used in this study. This dissertation will focus on his latter postulate, opportunity hoarding, which more appropriately captures the historical relationship between whites, blacks, and employment. Opportunity hoarding is more appropriate than exploitation for the topic of race and employment because it captures how whites used their status to acquire and monopolize jobs from blacks. DIT also addresses why systems of opportunity hoarding (i.e., superstructures) are resistant to change and what contextual circumstances can lead to change (i.e., historical materialism). Tilly specifically addresses every form of inequality, differentiates opportunity hoarding from exploitation, and delves deeply into why institutional devices used to stabilize and reproduce class relations change or remain fixed. These unique features are the reason I chose to utilize an empirical test to explore this theory and add to Tilly's contribution to the field of social stratification and more specifically, the field of racial unemployment inequality.

Explanations for racial unemployment inequality are varied. Some studies have focused on the discriminatory hiring practices of employers that intensified as the size of the local black population increased (i.e., racial threat). The racial preferences of employers created a racial queue where whites were at the top and blacks were at the bottom. This inflated the employment prospects of whites and reduced the prospects of blacks (Bonacich 1972; Lieberson 1980; Massey and Dentón 1993). Other research has

[1] Exploitation refers to the distribution of rewards in a manner that is disproportionate to the value added by employees. Underpaid workers are an example of an exploited class of people.
[2] Opportunity hoarding refers to how those in power acquire and monopolize valuable resources. The process of systemically removing people from competing in a labor market is an example of this system at work. Consequently, unemployment serves as my dependent variable. Each of my core independent variables (i.e., proportion black, segregation, and jailing) serve as measures of institutional forces that remove people from the labor force rather than means to pay someone less than their labor is worth.

focused on the impact of segregation on unemployment disparities between whites and blacks. For example, spatial mismatch explores how segregation prevents blacks from having access to social networks, viewing job postings, and being within a reasonable commute to businesses in predominantly white neighborhoods. The consequences of spatial mismatch have been shown to increase unemployment in minority communities. It also allows whites to hoard jobs in their neighborhood and consequently reduces their unemployment rate (Mouw 2000; Wilson 1987, 1996). Still other authors have focused their research on racial disparities in incarceration. Because black male jail rates have historically been considerably higher than any other group, including white men, the negative effect of jailing on employment was focused on this demographic (Western & Beckett 1999). These negative effects include a reduction of employment opportunities in communities with high rates of recidivism (Clear 1998, 2007; Frost & Clear 2013; Rose & Clear 1998), overt discrimination against former convicts (Alexander 2010; Bursik & Grasmick 1993; Holzer & Stoll 2001; Sampson 1986), a reduction in the development of human capital (Braman 2007; Holzer et al. 2003; Waldfogel, 1994), etc. The inequalities of the penal system essentially reduced the likelihood of employment for an entire social group (Garland 2006). Each explanation has received substantial attention individually, but few studies attempt to integrate these explanations.

Additionally, despite the long history of racial discrimination in the penal system, most researchers have limited their assessment of racial incarceration disparities from the 1970s to the present. My dissertation addresses the limitations of previous research by historicizing this more contemporary research. Although racial disparities in incarceration ballooned after the 1970s, the gap was present prior to this era.

Consequently, it is possible that the theoretical themes found in modern penal research can be observed in earlier decades. Thus, there is worth in exploring the historical ramifications of the racial incarceration gap. More specifically I will explore Bruce Western's (2006) critique of the unemployment rate and Devah Pager's (2003) research on the labor market's differential treatment of black and white ex-offenders in the eras of Jim Crow,[3] Civil Rights,[4] and the era of hyper-incarceration.

According to Western (2006), imprisonment reduces the size of the labor supply by removing able-bodied, working-age men from the workforce. Western argues that these men should be categorized as unemployed.[5] The vast majority of researchers have failed to acknowledge those who are imprisoned when they measure racial unemployment disparities. This masks the actual level of economic inequality between races because minorities are disproportionately represented in the prison system (Western 2006). The underestimation of inequality that results leads to flawed analyses and overlooked indicators of race specific unemployment rates. I will address these flaws by utilizing a more accurate measure of unemployment that reveals the missing underclass of prisoners in a historical examination of labor market inequality.[6]

According to Pager (2003), African American job applicants received callbacks half as often as equally qualified whites. Additionally, black applicants that were never incarcerated received callbacks less often than white applicants with a record of

[3] This era spans from the 1890s to the 1950s and is defined by racially discriminatory laws that were condoned by the government.
[4] This era spans from the 1950s to the 1960s and is defined by social movements that strove to end the legal discrimination of racial groups in America.
[5] Pager (2008:174) adds to this argument by stating "though removed from our official economic indicators, prison inmates are counted in local population estimates … These rural counties, in which prison growth has been the fastest, benefit substantially from the reported population growth, becoming eligible for increases in certain federal financial aid and in the apportionment of political representation, each allocated on the basis of population counts."
[6] This measure serves as the dependent variable in the analysis.

incarceration. My research will explore how historical context influences the discriminatory practices of employers in local labor markets when there are layered identities of race and criminal deviance. This provides a contextual, historical extension to Pager's findings. It will also improve the generalizability of Pager's theory by using urban cases across the United States rather than individuals in a single city.[7]

There are several reasons why it is meaningful to study historical variations in unemployment outcomes. First, by exploring the historical roots of the aforementioned theories, I highlight the impact contexts have on these variables and processes. It is imperative to extend this research into the pre-World War II era because the modern urban racial unemployment gap emerged during the 1940s (Bernstein 2001; Sundstrom 1997; Williams 2011). Contextual characteristics are very influential on how systems of inequality operate. The years 1940, 1960, and 1980 served as vastly different social contexts than the modern era Western and Pager were analyzing (Albelda 1986; Galster & Hill 1992; Michalowski & Carlson 1999; Ovadia 2003; Rusche 1933; Suk 2007). In 1940 blacks suffered from increased unemployment due to the discrimination that resulted from New Deal policies and President Roosevelt's response to the Great Depression (Bernstein 2001;Williams 2011). African Americans of 1960 lived in the midst of the Civil Rights era but suffered from disproportionately higher levels of unemployment due to white flight, deindustrialization, and spatial mismatch (Galster & Killen 1995; Keels et al. 2005; Krivo et al. 1998; Mincy 1994; Rubinowitz & Rosenbaum 2000; Wilson 1987). And while blacks in 1980 enjoyed some of the fruits of the Civil Rights Movement (e.g., educational opportunities and anti-discrimination legislation),

[7] Pager's (2003) work focuses on Milwaukee and New York City in the early 21st century. My geographic breadth significantly broadens the generalizability of her exclusionary theme in regards to space and time.

whites sometimes responded to this success by simply replacing the more overt strategies of maintaining racial dominance with covert strategies of discrimination that fell within the new rules as defined by Civil Rights legislation (Alexander 2010; Wright 1997, 2009; Wacquant 2000, 2001, 2003). Each of these social contexts altered how strategies of exclusion operated.

Second, three exclusionary institutions have successively operated to control African-Americans in the United States during the 20th century: Jim Crow, the ghetto, and mass incarceration. "This suggests that [Jim Crow] and mass imprisonment are genealogically linked and that one cannot understand the latter—its timing, composition, and smooth onset as well as the quiet ignorance or acceptance of its deleterious effects on those it affects—without returning to the former as [the] historic starting point and functional analogue" (Wacquant 2003:1-2). "Gunnar Myrdal (1944) argued that there is a contradiction between Americas' ideals regarding equal opportunity and the tactics of social closure they embrace. Only by understanding the historical roots of exclusionary institutions and their relationship with racial unemployment disparities can we ever hope to understand the oppression of today, end this inequality, and live according to the values this country was founded upon.

Third, Michalowski and Carlson (1999) recommended that future research exploring unemployment should use measures that incorporate those who are not acknowledged by the standard rate. There has also been a call to increase the inclusion of jailing as a variable in analyses of social control practices (McCarthy 1990). Both of these "calls to action" were addressed in my analysis.

To better understand the relationship between opportunity hoarding and unemployment during the 20th century, I draw on data compiled by the Census (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1940, 1960, 1980). These data were used to evaluate hypotheses that explore four general questions: 1) How does the proportion of blacks residing in a county influence the black and white male standard unemployment rates; 2) How does racial residential segregation impact black and white male standard unemployment rates; 3) How does jailing manipulate black and white male standard unemployment rates; and 4) How does recognizing prisoners in unemployment rates alter these relationships? Each of the hypotheses for the first three questions varies with the corresponding year that was evaluated. The hypothesis that corresponds with the Question 4 should remain consistent regardless of the observed year. Details regarding why these hypotheses do and do not vary are provided in the chapters that follow.

Authors have argued that Tilly's DIT is an important sociological theory that can serve as a valuable resource for studies of racial stratification (Lorant & Bhopal 2011; Roos 1999; Tomaskovic-Devey, Avent-Holt, Zimmer, & Harding 2009; Traugott 1999). My study is designed to empirically test the value and applicability of DIT to the field of racial inequality using a more sophisticated measure of unemployment. I accomplish this by using the postulates of DIT and Western's adjusted unemployment rate to evaluate opportunity hoarding practices and how they may have changed during two generations of the 20th century. The core indicators that will allow me to explore these postulates include black proportion, racial residential segregation, and race specific jailing percentages. Each of these measures' relationship with unemployment is discussed below along with the unique temporal contexts that informed them. The integration of

Tilly's theory and Western's measure sheds new light on the relationship between race and the labor market.

THEORETICAL APPROACH

Explanations for racial unemployment inequality that explore racial threat, spatial mismatch, incarceration, and other related themes have not been extensively examined for the period before the 1970s. Most recent work on black/white male unemployment patterns relies on data from the last 30 years of the twentieth century. It cannot explain the emergence of the racial unemployment gap (i.e., 1940) or why it persisted during the Civil Rights era (i.e, 1960) (Fairlie & Sundstrom 1999; Sites & Park 2011; Winship & Harding 2003). It is important to consider these earlier years because, as stated above, in order to understand the oppression of today we must explore the oppression of yesterday.

Blacks are disproportionately categorized as economically superfluous because they are viewed as "the other". The perception that whites and blacks belong to two distinct social groups has roots in slavery. During the earlier half of the 1600s, white indentured servants were treated in a similar manner as black slaves. They worked, ate, and slept alongside one another. They had the same social standing and their titles were even interchangeable until Bacon's Rebellion[8]. This rebellion was one of the first times poor blacks and whites aligned in an uprising. The uprising was in protest against the planter elite who would not provide militia support against Native American raids. The planters responded by shifting their strategy for racial dominance. They brought in less indentured servants from England and brought in more slaves from Africa. They also avoided slaves from countries familiar with the English language and culture, which

[8] Bacon's Rebellion was an uprising in 1676 by Virginia settlers. Nathaniel Bacon led these settlers against the rule of Governor William Berkeley and the planter elite (Alexander 2010; Bell 2008).

hindered the development of alliances between indentured servants and slaves due to their inability to communicate with one another. Additionally, whites were given special privileges (e.g., more access to Native American land, slave labor could not compete with free labor, whites could police slaves, etc.) and consequently white indentured servants had a vested interest in maintaining the race-based system of slavery, which made them less likely to revolt (Alexander 2010; Bell 2008). According to Tilly, these strategies created categorical "distinctions between insiders and outsiders, ensure[d] solidarity, loyalty, control, and succession [and] commitment to these categories is enhanced through socialization" (Tilly 1999:11).[9] In other words, the day-to-day routine of discrimination eventually makes it appear normal and even rational. Additionally, due to the increased demand for cotton, there was a militant defense of slavery that generated an elaborate ideology justifying the subhuman condition imposed upon blacks. This included claims that they had an inferior biological makeup that was animalistic and child-like (Gould 1981; Terman 1916; Wacquant 2001).

As time has passed, institutions such as slavery were eventually met with resistance and backlash. However, instead of completely collapsing, it has morphed into other institutions (overt discrimination, residential segregation, mass incarceration, etc.) that are more acceptable by the populace but serve similar functions of insuring categorical inequality and opportunity hoarding (Alexander 2010; Tilly 1999; Wright

[9] These categorical distinctions make it easier to determine who should be excluded so resources can easily be monopolized. When these categorical distinctions are woven into the fabric of society and organizations, they allow opportunity hoarding to take place without any need for personal animus. Wright (1999:1) summarizes this portion of Tilly's theory by stating: "beliefs, attitudes, and other discursive elements of culture may contribute to stabilizing inequalities, but they are of less causal importance in explaining such inequality than are the organizational structures in which inequality becomes embedded." Institutional devices (e.g., methods of opportunity hoarding) that are accepted as a part of our daily lives provide insiders with a system that improves their likelihood of receiving opportunities relative to outsiders, regardless of the insiders' intentions (Tilly 1999; Wright 1999).

1997; Wacquant 2000, 2001, 2003). Opportunity hoarding occurs when a group acquires access to a resource that is valuable and subject to monopoly. Outsiders are then limited, and sometimes completely excluded, from having access to these resources. Whites continue to hoard opportunities from blacks because the perception that they are two distinct groups remains. This preserves white solidarity, which in turn allows this group to maintain control over valuable resources. After claiming this resource they restrict access from potential competitors using exclusionary tactics such as overt denial or methods of exclusion that reduce another group's chances of obtaining this scarce resource (Alexander 2010; Bell 1993; Massey 2007; Tilly 1999; Wright 2009).

Drawing primarily from Tilly (1999), the research in this dissertation considers how some of the more common practices of opportunity hoarding influence black and white rates of unemployment differently and how this influence evolved across two generations of the 20th century (i.e., 1940, 1960, and 1980). More specifically I utilize hypotheses that explore how variables such as black proportion, residential segregation, and jailing affect the unemployment rates of black and white males. To test these hypotheses, I use Census data that provide a sample of counties and cities that together accurately represent the 20th century urban experience.

DATA AND METHODS

To better understand the factors associated with racial variance in unemployment during the 20th century, I draw on data compiled by the Census (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1940, 1960, 1980) that includes a variety of indicators of black proportion, segregation, jailing, region, retail employment, and the Talented Tenth[10]. Table 1.1 presents the

[10] Educational attainment, which I measure using the percentage of blacks that earned a college degree or higher, serves as a proxy for the presence of the Talented Tenth. Talented Tenth was a term used by

operationalizations of all these variables. The years 1940, 1960, and 1980 were selected because they provide a chance to explore if the labor market influence of proportion black, segregation, and jailing varied with unique temporal contexts. Each year provides a unique social, political, and economic background that likely informed the relationships between opportunity hoarding practices and race specific unemployment rates. Each context will be explored further in the upcoming chapters. Some 1940 and 1960 variables were constructed using all non-whites as a proxy for African Americans because this is the best available data and during this time the overwhelming majority of U.S. urban people of color were black (Preston and Richards 1975).

The economic sector data (i.e., retail employment) were the only data not collected specifically in 1940, 1960, or 1980. This is because the Economic Census has been published every 5 years since 1967 (years ending in "2" and "7"). Prior to 1967, it was conducted in 1963, 1958, and 1954, with earlier versions being collected and published piecemeal. Consequently, the two years that preceded each of the years observed in this dissertation (1940, 1960, and 1980) were used to establish a trend of economic growth. Economic Census data from 1935 and 1939 were used to capture economic growth for 1940, 1954 and 1958 were used for 1960, while 1972 and 1977 were used for 1980. The only data not collected from the Census were the segregation data for 1940 and 1960. These were collected from the Taeuber and Taeuber's (1965) index of residential segregation. These segregation indexes range from zero and 100. A

W.E.B. DuBois to describe the ten percent of blacks he believed could improve the economic condition of their race with their higher level of human capital and by participating in activities that uplifted the race (Battle and Wright 2002; Dennis 1977; DuBois 1969). This dissertation will use a measure of the Talented Tenth to control for the influence of an educated black populace on the unemployment rate.

value of zero indicates that every block has the same proportion of black and white residents. A value of 100 indicates each block has solely white or black residents.

Counties are used as the unit of analysis rather than Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSAs) because they are more economically and socially homogenous (N=136). Examining counties allows me to measure variables such as black proportion and jailing for units whose boundaries have remained relatively constant over time. Thus, they allow for a nationwide, multi-era exploration for some of the core theoretical arguments. Additionally, these counties were only included in my sample if they had cities with populations of 25,000 or more residents in 1900. This allowed me to capture the prime African American destinations during the Great Migration (1910 – 1970) as well as many urban alternatives, which improves the generalizability of the results (see Figure 1.1)[11] (Price-Spratlen 1999, 2008). Cities were used in instances where county level data were not available. This was the case for variables representing racial residential segregation and the Talented Tenth (i.e., the percentage of blacks that earned a college degree or higher). If one decennial Census did not use county level data for a variable, all of the decades utilized city level data for this variable. This allowed the results to be uniform across decades so they could be compared.

SUMMARY

Each of the next four chapters develops hypotheses about the effects of opportunity hoarding practices, presents empirical tests of these hypotheses, and discusses the substantive implications of the findings. Chapter 2 explores how overt racism and the social milieu of the Jim Crow era influenced the relationship between black proportion,

[11] Charleston County, South Carolina is not represented in the figure although it was represented in my analysis. Charleston County was originally removed from this map because it was an outlier. It experienced a unique urban exodus, which led Price-Spratlen to remove this case from his models.

segregation, jailing and unemployment. Here I investigate the utility of theories such as group threat, realistic group conflict, and spatial mismatch. I explain their relevance to how methods of exclusion impacted labor market participation for black and white males during this era.

Chapter 3 explores how deindustrialization and living in the midst of the Civil Rights era influenced the relationship between black proportion, segregation, jailing and unemployment. Throughout this chapter I elaborate the competition hypothesis, spatial mismatch, and Pager's queuing theory. I explore their capacity to explain the influence of my core variables on the size of black and white male surplus labor pools.

Chapter 4 explores how the successes of the Civil Rights era and the beginning stages of the prison industrial complex influenced the relationship between black proportion, segregation, jailing and unemployment. Here the primary focus is elaborating Pager's queuing theory. I explore why some aspects of this theory were relevant during this time period, while other aspects were not.

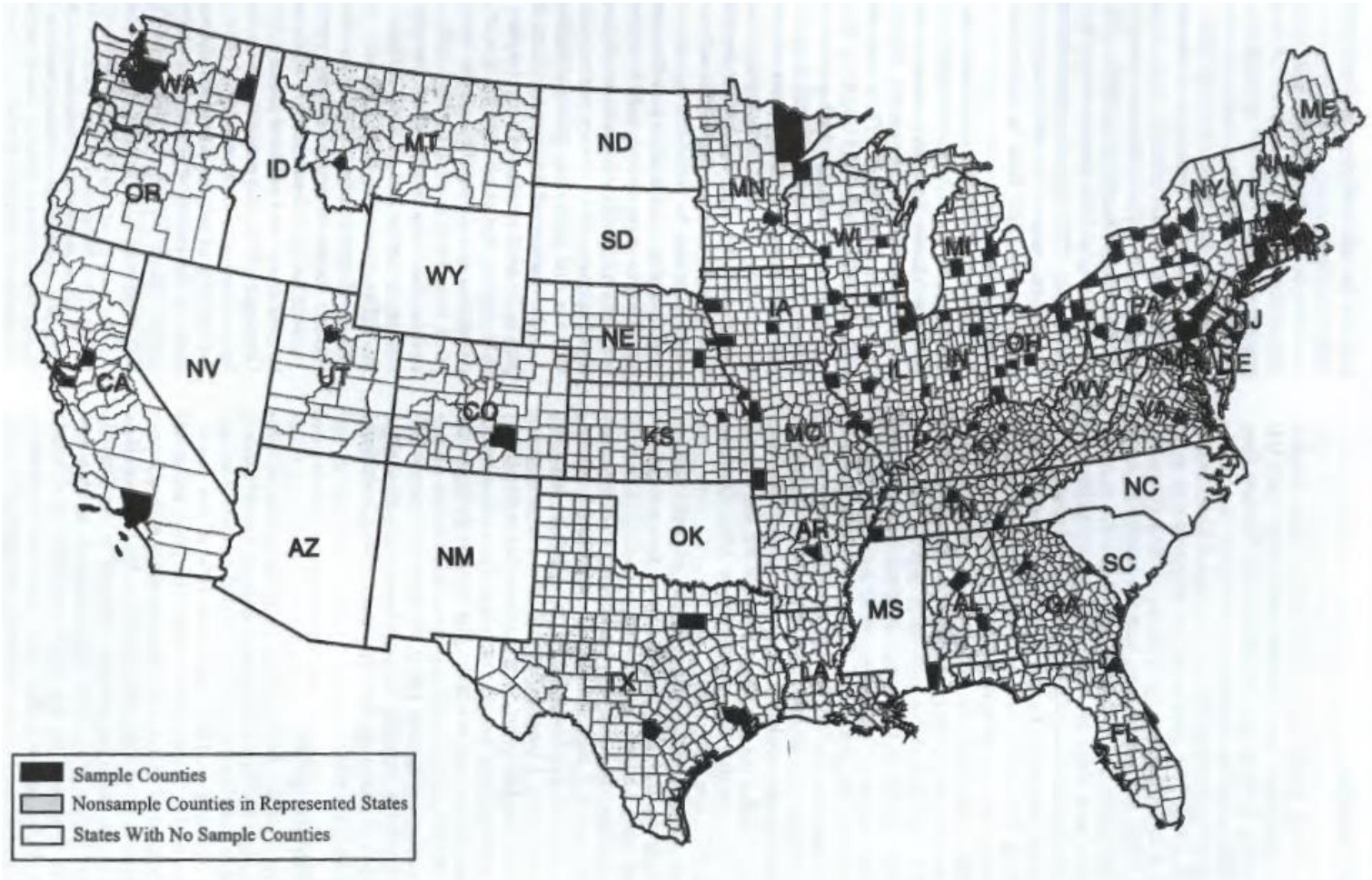
Chapter 5 compares and contrasts all three decades. Here I answer the following questions: How did each opportunity hoarding system evolve with history? In which decade was the influence of each system the strongest? Guided by these questions and Durable Inequality Theory, I will detail why the influence of each system changed or remained the same through the course of this 40 year span.

In each of these chapters I develop hypotheses about the influence of a county's / city's black proportion, level of segregation, and race specific jailing proportions on standard and adjusted race specific unemployment rates, while taking into consideration each of the aforementioned social contexts. I tested hypotheses using Ordinary Least

Squares (OLS) regression, which helped identify the factors that had the most significant effect on inter-county variation in black and white male unemployment.

Variables	Operationalizations
Male Unemployment Rate	
NonWhite / Black Standard	Percentage of nonwhites without paid employment actively seeking work
White Standard	Percentage of whites without paid employment actively seeking work
Nonwhite / Black Adjusted	The nonwhite / black unemployment rate definition was extended to include those who were imprisoned
White Adjusted	The white unemployment rate definition was extended to include those who were imprisoned
Proportion Black	
Squared	Proportion black raised to the power of two
Linear	Percentage of the county population that is non-Hispanic black
Segregation	Index of Dissimilarity across census tracts within the city between whites and non-Hispanic blacks
Male Jail Proportion	
Nonwhite / Black	Percentage of jailed nonwhites / blacks age 14 and over
White	Percentage of jailed whites age 14 and over
Control	
South	Dummy for 1 if South (0 if else)
Retail employment	Percentage change of employed civilian population age 16 and over working in a retail industry, 1935 to 1939
Talented Tenth	Percentage of nonwhites / blacks with a college degree or higher

Table 1.1. Operationalizations of Variables (N=136)



[12]

Figure 1.1. The U.S. Counties of the Historical African American Urban System

[12] Source: Environmental Systems Research Institute's Maps and Data. Prepared by the Ohio State University Center for Mapping.

Chapter 2: 1940 – The Relative Influence of Black Proportion, Segregation, and Jailing on Race Specific Unemployment Rates in The Jim Crow Era

Tilly (1999) argues that racial variance in unemployment is in part explained by opportunity hoarding. Increasingly more research is focusing on a specific form of opportunity hoarding: incarceration (Pager 2003; Western 2006; Western & Beckett 1999). However, most of this research has ignored the influence of incarceration and other opportunity hoarding tactics (e.g., overt discrimination and segregation) prior to the 1970s. To address this limitation I, like other Weberian scholars, empirically explore these historical institutional devices of opportunity hoarding using various theories of social closure in an attempt to "create a comprehensive paradigm" (Wright 2009:115). Social closure refers to the construction of group identities and boundaries for these groups. This process is used to create divisions within a society and allot opportunities / resources to each group according to their place in the hierarchy (Marx 1887, 1968; Weber 1978; Wright 2009). Some examples of theories that fall under the umbrella of social closure include Durable Inequality Theory (DIT), racial threat, spatial mismatch, etc. DIT is an important sociological theory with potentially significant implications for studies of ethnicity and inequality. Generally speaking, it is a structural approach to the study of inequality. It focuses on how categories such as race / ethnicity are used to distribute opportunities and rewards. The theory also addresses how these distribution

practices maintain the status quo of who is more likely to receive opportunities / rewards and the types of circumstances that typically lead to the evolution of these practices. Other authors such as Alexander (2010), Wright (1997, 2009), and Wacquant (2000, 2001, 2003) have supplemented this work and their theories are addressed below.

Tilly (1999) argues that there are two primary strategies for distributing opportunities: exploitation and opportunity hoarding. This dissertation will focus on the latter, which is described as a strategy for monopolizing access to a resource for a particular group. "Social positions afford some people control over economic resources while excluding others" (Wright 2009:102). "Colour bars" (e.g., overt discrimination resulting from large proportions of black residents, racial residential segregation, and jailing) are examples of an institutional devices used to hoard opportunities for whites in America (Wright 2009:105).

One omission from *Durable Inequality*, is that the author did not provide any empirical evidence to support the theoretical arguments. There are studies that have empirically tested DIT. Lorant & Bhopal (2011) used DIT to explore ethnic health inequalities in modern Europe. Tomaskovic-Devey, Avent-Holt, Zimmer, & Harding (2009) used DIT to evaluate the influence of ethnicity, sex, and other demographic categories on between-class wage inequality in modern U.S. and Australia. However, I am not aware of any studies designed to do this for black / white differences in unemployment across the 20th century. This led me to ask: What common strategies of opportunity hoarding effectively marginalized black men from the labor market and historically monopolized resources for white men? This question guides my theoretical approach for this chapter. Here I weave the social context of 1940 with various theories

of social closure and DIT to explain how methods of opportunity hoarding were used during this time.

I test hypotheses using data from the 1935, 1939, and 1940 censuses as well as Taeuber and Taeuber (1965) index of residential segregation for 1940. I estimate the relationship that proportion black, segregation, and jailing shared with unemployment and how this varied across 1940 U.S. urban labor markets using Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression. I also assess how a more inclusive accounting of unemployment[13] alters the relationships between systems of exclusion (i.e., opportunity hoarding) and black / white male labor underutilization, while controlling for variables such as region, retail employment, and the Talented Tenth.

THEORY

My theoretical framework centers on two questions. The first question is: How did common practices of opportunity hoarding effectively marginalize black men from the labor market and monopolize employment for white men in 1940? Blacks were marginalized and categorized as economically superfluous because they are viewed as "the other". The perception that whites and blacks belonged to two distinct social groups has roots in slavery[14]. According to Tilly (1999:11), strategies to create "distinctions between insiders and outsiders, ensure[d] solidarity, loyalty, control, and succession". As time passes, "commitment to these categories is enhanced through socialization" (Tilly

[13] Please see the Methods section for details on how this was calculated.
[14] This is the foundation of white privilege. It has ushered in centuries of marginalization for black Americans in the world of work. Please see the Theoretical Approach section of Chapter 1 for more details.

1999:91). In other words, the day-to-day routine of discrimination eventually makes it appear normal and even rational.[15] Tilly refers to this process as adaptation.

As time has passed, institutions such as slavery were eventually met with resistance and backlash. However, instead of completely collapsing, it has morphed into other institutions (overt discrimination[16], residential segregation, mass incarceration, etc.) that are more acceptable by the populace but serve similar functions of insuring categorical inequality and opportunity hoarding[17] (Alexander 2010; Massey 2007; Tilly 1999; Wacquant 2000, 2001, 2003; Wright 1997). During the Jim Crow era there were still strongly held perceptions that whites belonged atop the racial hierarchy (Blumer 1965a, 1965b; Bobo 1999). To justify the majority's opinion, blacks were labeled with negative stereotypes (Fossett and Kiecolt 1989; Kaufman 2002; Quillian 1996). The social norms (i.e., the day-to-day routines) of the Jim Crow era provided whites with the motivation and opportunity to exclude blacks from the labor market in very effective ways. Some examples of common techniques for the time were overt and covert discrimination in the labor market, real estate market, and legal system (Beggs, Villemez, & Arnold 1997; Corzine, Creech, & Corzine 1983; Giles and Buckner 1993; Reed 1972; Tolnay & Beck 1992; Tolnay et al. 1996; Wilcox and Roof 1978). These tactics secured monopolies over jobs for whites by limiting the ability of the black populace to compete. This ultimately meant there were less people who had to split the local labor market pie,

[15] Additionally, due to the increased demand for cotton, there was a militant defense of slavery that generated an elaborate ideology justifying the subhuman condition imposed upon blacks. This included claims that they had an inferior biological makeup that was animalistic and child-like (Wacquant 2001). For example, craniometry was used to prove African Americans had the smallest brain of any racial group and books such as Types of Mankind (Gliddon 1854) argued that African Americans were a separate species that was inferior to whites.

[16] Black proportion serves as a proxy for overt discrimination. Group threat theory argues that overt discriminatory was most prevalent in areas where there was a large minority presence (Blalock 1956, 1967; King & Wheelock 2007).

[17] Please see the Theoretical Approach section of Chapter 1 for a definition of opportunity hoarding.

so whites were more likely to find employment (Grusky and Sorensen 1998; Kornrich 2009; Tilly 1999; Weedon 2002).[18]

All of this leads me to my second question: How does a more inclusive accounting of unemployment[19] alter the relationships between methods of exclusion (i.e., opportunity hoarding) and black / white male labor utilization? Western (2006)[20] argues that incarceration artificially underestimates measures of inequality. Unemployment rates are compiled from U.S. Census Bureau surveys that omit penal populations. As black men are incarcerated and removed from the labor market, their unemployment rate is reduced. Based on this distorted data, the black / white unemployment gap appeared to shrink after the mid-1980s. However, this apparent decrease in unemployment was merely an illusion generated by an invisible prison population. Here Western clearly illustrates how the standard unemployment rate masks the reality of the economic well-being of African-American men. Because of the way unemployment values are calculated, the extent of the damage caused by methods of exclusion has been hidden from view. Taken broadly, his book suggests that scholars addressing social inequality must take note of the prison system. To do otherwise risks producing indicators and narratives of inequality that are not just incomplete but incorrect. To explore the historical utility of Western's critique, in this study, an adjusted version of the unemployment rate is utilized. My evaluation of economic and social inequality extends to an era prior to what other incarceration analyses have explored.

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[18] Covert discrimination of the black jailed (i.e., queuing) falls under the umbrella of an opportunity hoarding technique (Tilly 1999). It should be treated like the other theories I use throughout the text (e.g., spatial mismatch and group threat) that also are opportunity hoarding techniques. I address Pager's theory in the Introduction (i.e., Chapter 1).

[19] Please see the Methods section for details on how this was calculated.

[20] This text is a comparison of the U.S. labor market with that of European countries in the 1980s and 90s. Western focuses on the scope of inaccuracies in measures of wages, earnings, and employment that result from the exclusion of the prison population.

In the following paragraphs I develop hypotheses about how specific opportunity hoarding strategies (i.e., overt discrimination, segregation, and jailing) influence unemployment rates for black and white men. Throughout this section of the text I draw on various theories of social closure. I then explain how utilizing a more inclusive account of the unemployment rate likely influences these relationships.

Black Proportion

Racial threat and self-sustaining communities, which result from a large presence of African Americans, may decrease the standard unemployment rates for both black and white males. Racial threat theory argues that feelings of threat and discriminatory responses were most prevalent in areas where there was a large minority presence (Blalock 1956, 1967; Brown and Fuguitt 1972; Dixon and Rosenbaum 2004; Fossett and Kiecolt 1989; King & Wheelock 2007; Oliver and Mendelberg 2000; Quillian 1995, 1996; Taylor 1998; Turner 1951; Wilcox and Roof 1978). In these circumstances, a minority group might successfully acquire scarce resources (e.g., jobs) and topple the existing social order (Bobo and Hutchings 1996).

White residents were concerned that the employment gains of blacks would come at their expense (Bobo and Hutchings 1996). This ideology is consistent with realistic group conflict theory, which states that one group's gain is another group's loss (Bobo 1988; Bonacich 1972; Campbell 1965). Following this line of reasoning, one would argue that increased black employment should be associated with increased white unemployment. Consequently, the racial stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination of an area was exacerbated in communities with large proportions of black residents that appeared to pose a threat to the employment prospect of whites and their social position

atop the racial hierarchy (Bobo and Kluegel, 1993). Research has shown that realistic group conflict theory is simplistic and flawed. The presence of out-groups can initiate the development of new businesses that provide goods and services to these underserved communities. It can also expand the market for established businesses and lead to the hiring of additional employees from among these underserved communities (Massey 1990; Muth 1971).

The inaccurate perception that jobs were static and scarce further heightened the sense of threat felt by the large presence of minorities and added more motivation to exclude them from the labor market via discrimination. Even employers that were not racists avoided hiring blacks because they "feared the backlash they would receive from their white patrons" (Offner & Saks 1971:151). In 1940, a business could be boycotted or even bombed for hiring a black employee (Offner & Saks 1971). The discrimination that resulted from this zero sum perspective on labor market competition was industrially wasteful. According to DuBois (1899), the growth of poverty in minority communities cost the public much more than it would cost to force whites to feel uncomfortable working alongside blacks. Although a more equitable system would allow the United States to develop untapped talent in its ghettos and make it more competitive in the global market, inequality persists because those in power have the means to maintain their advantage even at the expense of the country's success (Tilly 1999).

Not only were whites averse to working alongside blacks, but they were also averse to serving blacks.[21] Ironically, in certain circumstances this racism opened

[21] The severity of this aversion is highlighted by executive order 8802, which was signed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on June 25, 1941. Racial discrimination had reached a point where the security of America was put at risk during WWII and the federal government felt compelled to prohibit the use of discrimination by employers so all groups could engage in defense production regardless of their race.

employment avenues for blacks to fill. The relatively large black communities were capable of becoming self-sustaining and developing semi-separate economies. They accomplished this through building businesses to serve each other (e.g., funeral homes, restaurants, beauty salons, etc.) when they were excluded from working in white communities, white business owners refused to serve them, and/or their needs were not met by white businesses (Boyd 1996; Brown & Fuguitt 1972; Hout 1986). One example of this was Chicago's "Black Belt". Here, blacks of various classes gravitated to a chain of densely populated housing on the city's south side (Hirsch 1998). In an area that was about 30 blocks long and around 5 blocks wide there were black owned banks, insurance companies, grocery stores, etc. (Cutler 2006; Drake & Cayton 1993). Based on this research, I hypothesize that:

1) African American proportion is negatively related to both black and white male standard unemployment rates.

Racial Residential Segregation

Spatial mismatch and dense black communities, which results from racial residential segregation, may decrease the standard unemployment rates for both black and white males. As southern black migrants moved into Northeastern and Midwestern cities during the Great Migration of the early 1900s, indices of racial residential segregation became higher as they were funneled into the most dilapidated areas of these cities. This heightened level of segregation was a response to the sense of threat experienced by whites who were alarmed by the changing racial demographics of their communities. In some cases segregation was maintained by using violence. There are numerous instances of black residents attempting to move into white neighborhoods only to be attacked, have

their homes bombed, and in some cases even murdered (Keating 1994; Kusmer 1978; Molyneaux & Sackman 1987). Restrictive covenants were also used to fortify segregated neighborhoods. These restrictive covenants, which were very common in 1940, barred homeowners from selling or leasing their homes to nonwhites. They also were used to charge higher fees and interest rates to black residents under the guise that they were more of a financial "risk" for reducing the value of a neighborhood (Sugrue 2008). Racial steering was another strategy used to maintain levels of segregation. "[Racial] steering includes advising homebuyers to purchase in particular areas and/or failing to inform them about homes that meet specifications due to their race" (Darden 1987:21). Realtors would regularly tell blacks there were no available houses in their price range in white communities. These were common practices in 1940 that limited the options of black homebuyers and consequently perpetuated systems of segregation (Bond and Williams 2007; Boyd 1996; Flippen 2004; Massey & Denton 1993; Philpott 1978; Squires 1994; Sugrue 2008; Yinger 1995).

Segregation serves as a method of economic exclusion and opportunity hoarding via spatial mismatch. Since they could no longer be exploited as slaves, and society felt that it could not survive with the full employment of this racial group, blacks were placed in cordoned off areas of metropolises (Bonacich 1972; Wright 1997). This allowed whites to contain and manage blacks without overt racial confrontation (Blauner 1969; Spitzer 1975). By encaging blacks in the center of these cities, blacks were prevented from having access to social networks, viewing job postings, and being within a reasonable commute to businesses in predominantly white neighborhoods. This effectively allowed white businesses to limit their applicant pool to residents of white

neighborhoods, which hoarded jobs for the local white populace and consequently reduced the white unemployment rate (Kain 1968). Massey (2005) and Tilly (1999) argued that segregation is a technique commonly used by dominant groups to hoard resources because it allows for the effective and efficient disinvestment of an entire demographic by discriminating against a community rather than a specific individual or family.

While segregation excluded blacks from the white labor market, it simultaneously concentrated blacks into communities where they served one another. During the early 1900s employment opportunities transitioned from serving and providing goods to everyone in the community regardless of race to primarily serving those within one's racial group. During the late 1800s, there was a limited presence of blacks in non-southern areas and this lack of racial threat helped cultivate a social milieu where people of different races could interact, work alongside one another, and exchange goods / services. After the Great Migration, this racial harmony moved toward racial hostility (Boyd 1996). This hostility led to racial isolation and racial restrictions on who could provide goods and services to whom. Research has shown that the isolation and concentration of the black labor market actually increased African American employment during this time period. The segregation of blacks during this time allowed for a dense community to develop with convenient access to the goods and services of neighborhood businesses (Fligstein 1981; Gottlieb 1987; Steinberg 1981). These dense, close knit communities also allowed for the development of strong ethnogenic institutions (e.g., black community newspapers, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) chapters, branches of the National Urban League (NUL), black

churches, etc.) that could provide occupational support and job placement resources for residents in these neighborhoods (Drake and Cayton 1970; Grossman 1989; McAdam 1999; Price-Spratlen 1999, 2008; Spear 1967; Trotter 1991). This leads me to my second hypothesis, which is:

2) Racial residential segregation is negatively related to both black and white male standard unemployment rates.

Jailing

Coercive mobility, which results from the jailing of black men, may increase the standard unemployment rates for black males (Clear 1998, 2007; Frost & Clear 2012; Rose & Clear 1998). It was likely inconsequential for white males. Semi-separate economies, which were common during this time, may make the jailing of one group inconsequential to the unemployment rate of another.

Although the mass incarceration of African American men is considered a more recent phenomenon, blacks have been disproportionately jailed for decades. Black men have been stereotyped as violent and deviant for centuries[22] and the accumulation of racial bias in a variety of criminal justice decisions (e.g., policing, charging, sentencing, etc.) has culminated in these racial disparities (Devine and Elliott 1995; Kang et al. 2012; Tittle 1994). Additionally, research has shown that crime and incarceration disproportionately occur in dilapidated and impoverished communities, which was primarily where blacks resided due to their limited options at the time. The physical disorder (e.g., abandon buildings) (Kelling & Coles 1996; Skogan 1990), density (Roneck 1981; Smith & Jarjoura 1988), and residential turnover (Bursik & Grasmick

[22] Movies such as Birth of a Nation (Griffith 1915) and books such as Red Rock (Page 1898) helped shape and perpetuate the stereotype of black men as innately savage, menacing, murderous, rebellious, animalistic, etc. (i.e., the black brute caricature).

1993; Katyal 2002; Sampson & Raudenbush 1999; Shaw & McKay 1969) commonly experienced in these communities lend itself to high rates of criminal activity and subsequent arrests (Park et al. 1925). The relatively high rates of jailing in these communities create a revolving door of residents, which leads to neighborhood instability and fewer job opportunities. This is referred to by Rose and Clear as coercive mobility (Frost & Clear 2012).

Previous research has shown a strong positive relationship between jailing and unemployment (Western, Kling, & Weiman 2000). This is in part a consequence of the overt legal discrimination that individuals with criminal records experienced and continue to experience in the labor market (Alexander 2010; Bursik 1993; Holzer & Stoll 2001; Sampson 1986). Employers often use an applicant's criminal background as an inexpensive screening technique, which leads them to assume the applicant is untrustworthy, unreliable, and less productive (Boshier & Johnson 1974; Buikhuisen & Dijksterhuis 1971; Nagin & Waldfogel 1998; Schwartz & Skolnick 1962; Western 2007).

Jailing also hinders the development of human capital. Inmates are kept out of school, prevented from acquiring skills on the job, and the skills they had tend to erode behind bars (Braman 2007; Holzer et al. 2003; Waldfogel, 1994). Positive work habits deteriorate and they develop "certain attitudes, mannerisms, and behavioral practices that on 'the inside' function to enhance survival but are not compatible with success in the conventional job market" (Western & Beckett 1999:1045). For example, inmates may develop aggressive predatory behavior as a defense mechanism to prevent themselves from becoming victims. This aggressive temperament may lead to office conflicts, violence, and possible dismissal (Cabelguen 2006).

Not only did jailing hinder the development of human capital but in some cases in 1940 it led to psychological conditions and physical disabilities. During this time period chain gangs[23], comprised mostly of black men, were woven into the fabric of the southern judicial system. The profits earned from their free labor on dirt roads served as motivation to funnel more and more black men into the criminal justice system. Black men essentially transitioned from slaves on plantations to slaves on roadways. If one was unfortunate enough to be a young black male in the South during this time and was caught committing even a minor criminal act, they could be sentenced to shovel dirt at gunpoint (Lichtenstein 1996; Myers 1998; Perreault 2001).

> Convicts labored, ate, and slept with chains riveted around their ankles. Work was done "under the gun" from sun-up to sundown, shoveling dirt at fourteen shovelfuls a minute. Food was bug-infested, rotten, and unvarying; "rest" was taken in unwashed bedding, often in wheeled cages nine feet wide by twenty feet long containing eighteen beds. Medical treatment and bathing facilities were unsanitary, if available at all. And, above all, corporal punishment and outright torture - casual blows from rifle butts or clubs, whipping with a leather strap, confinement in a "sweat-box" under the southern sun, and hanging from stocks or bars – was meted out for the most insignificant transgressions, particularly to African-Americans who remained the majority of chain gang prisoners. (Lichtenstein 1996:183)

Because, as stated above, black male jail rates were considerably higher than any other group, including white men, the negative effect of jailing on employment was focused on

[23] Chain gangs were abolished in the 1950s as a result of the public outcry regarding how this institution was reducing job opportunities during the Great Depression. It re-emerged briefly in a few states during the mid-1990s (Myers 1998).

this demographic (Western & Beckett 1999). The inequalities of the penal system essentially reduced the likelihood of employment for an entire social group (Garland 2006). White males did not experience the negative labor market effects of jailing because their jail rates were considerably lower.

Communities in 1940 were comprised of two distinct economies divided along lines of race (i.e., the mainstream white labor market and ethnic enclaves). This has implications for how jailing influences unemployment rates. In the modern era there is a somewhat more unified labor market where blacks and whites regularly compete for jobs. In these circumstances, the increased jailing of blacks can allow the hoarding of employment opportunities for whites (Behrens, Uggen, & Manza 2003; King & Wheelock 2007; Western et al. 2001). However, semi-separate economies prevent interracial competition. In this system a racial group's unemployment rate cannot improve from the mass removal of another group because they are not competitors. A group's unemployment rate can only suffer from the jailing of its own members who return to the community with challenges that increase their likelihood of unemployment. Additionally, the unemployment rate will only be significantly impacted if the rate of jailing is substantial. Based on these theoretical rationales, I hypothesize that:

3) The jailing of black males is positively related to the black male standard unemployment rate and unrelated to the white unemployment rate. The jailing of white males is unrelated to the black and white male standard unemployment rates.

Adjusted Unemployment Rates

How do these relationships change when the unemployment rates are adjusted to be more accurate and reflect the presence of prisoners in the labor market? The adjusted

unemployment rate should increase the significance of the aforementioned hypothesized relationships for black males, while it should be inconsequential for white males. "The … prison system serves to warehouse blacks that cannot find employment due to a lack of skills, employer discrimination … or that they refuse to submit to the indignity of substandard work in the peripheral sectors of the service economy" (Wacquant 2003:52).

The standard unemployment rate completely ignores this prison population. This group is not recognized by the formula in any way. Consequently, imprisonment masks the actual severity of labor market inequality by cordoning able-bodied men, who are likely at risk for unemployment, behind prison walls (Western 2006; Western & Beckett 1999). Any research regarding the racial unemployment gap and its relationship with other variables must be re-evaluated with prisoners taken into consideration because this provides scholars with a better understanding of the labor market's underutilization of black men.

Scholars can gain a better understanding of the labor market's underutilization of black men in particular because this group was more likely to experience imprisonment than white men and any other demographic. Consequently, the inclusion of prisoners as work seekers creates a strikingly different unemployment rate for black men. The standard and adjusted white male unemployment rates are relatively similar for cases in the sample due to their low rate of imprisonment. Thus, I assert my last hypothesis:
4) The adjustment of the black male unemployment rate should increase the significance of the aforementioned hypothesized relationships and cause them to have more explanatory value than the relationships with the standard unemployment rates. But it should not alter the direction of these relationships. However, the adjustment of the

white unemployment rate should not intensify, weaken, or alter any of the hypotheses because the unadjusted and adjusted unemployment rates should prove to be very similar.

METHODS

Data

To better understand the factors associated with racial variance in unemployment for 1940, I draw on data compiled by the Census (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1940) that includes a variety of indicators of black proportion, jailing, region, retail employment, and the Talented Tenth. The economic sector data (i.e., retail employment) were the only data not collected specifically in 1940. This is because, prior to 1954, the Economic Census was collected and published piecemeal. The only data not collected from the Census were the segregation data. I collected these data from Taeuber and Taeuber's (1965) index of residential segregation.

Some of the variables had missing cases so multiple imputation (MI) was used to estimate these values. During the MI process, I included variables in the model if they could theoretically shed light on the actual values of the missing cases. The outcome variable was included for each imputation. Some variables not included in the analysis, yet had strong correlations with the missing predictors, were also included the imputations (He 2010).[24]

[24] All of the data with missing values are *not* missing at random (NMAR). That is, their missingness depends on the unobserved value of the variable. For example, the census did not record the number of inmates for counties that had less than 25 nonwhites in their institutions. This resulted in 41 missing cases out of a total sample of 136 counties (i.e., 30 percent missing). Some variables included in this analysis approached 60 percent missing. Despite the high percentage of missing cases it is possible to secure value estimates with smaller standard errors, even with a large proportion of the cases having missing data values. With data that are NMAR, MI only produces biased estimates when 80 percent of the values are missing. This biased estimate results from a large Root Mean Squared Error (RMSE), which is 1 standard deviation of the data. None of the variables used in this analysis approach 80 percent missing so RMSE

The nonwhite / white male unemployment rates serve as the outcome variables in my dissertation. It is commonly measured by the following formula:

$$u = (U/U+E) * 100$$

U is the number of unemployed and E is the number of civilian employees. The unemployed are commonly defined as those without paid employment actively seeking work. A more accurate measure of unemployment includes those who are imprisoned ("P") in the total unemployed:

$$u_1 = (U+P/U+P+E) * 100$$

Here u_1 describes the unemployment rate that would be obtained if the definition of unemployed were extended to include those who were imprisoned. I used this formula in addition to the standard unemployment rate to illustrate how the adjusted rate provides a more accurate portrayal of the able-bodied, working-age male population that did not have gainful employment (Western & Beckett 1999).[25] Although the adjusted rate (i.e., u_1) is more accurate than the standard rate (i.e., u), it is not measured without error. Western and Beckett (1999) admit that the formula is upwardly biased because some inmates are employed. The authors also note that these numbers are unknown but they should be relatively low.

Sample[26]

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does not pose a problem for the results. Given the strong reliability/validity of imputed values, the use of these values as predictors will not have adverse effects on the estimation accuracy of the regression models (Kenward and Carpenter 2007; Lee and Carlin 2010; Lee and Huber 2011; Osborne 2013; Siharay et al. 2001).

[25] My dissertation focuses on men because they represent the vast majority of prisoners and they are the primary economic contributors to most households, especially historically. Additionally, jail and prison data were not available for women in 1940. Female patterns of unemployment are likely to differ greatly from male patterns over time, and a detailed analysis of these patterns is beyond the scope of this current research.

[26] Please see the Data and Methods section of Chapter 1 for more details regarding the 1940 sample.

The data used to test the aforementioned arguments are primarily from the Census (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1940), which includes county-level information on: (1) unemployment for both nonwhite and white males; (2) the proportion of black residents; (3) the percentage increase / decrease in retail employment and (4) jailing for both nonwhite and white males. The Census also includes city-level information on the Talented Tenth. The segregation data, which were not collected by the Census but by Taeuber and Taeuber (1965), are also city-level data. I collected all of these data for a representative sample of 136 U.S. urban cases for the year 1940. I tested hypotheses using Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression, which helped identify the factors that had the most significant effect on inter-county variation in black and white male unemployment.

Dependent Variables

Both the standard nonwhite / white male unemployment rate as well as Western's (2006) adjusted nonwhite / white male unemployment rates serve as the outcome variables in this dissertation. The latter rate, described in detail under the "Analytic Strategy" section that follows, acknowledges those who were imprisoned as unemployed citizens. I used this formula as an alternative to the standard unemployment rate because it provides a more accurate portrayal of the able-bodied, working-age male population that did not have gainful employment.

There are several noteworthy descriptives for the dependent variables, which can be found in Table 2.1. The unadjusted means show that nearly one out of five nonwhite men were without a job in 1940, while only one out of ten white men were unemployed. When imprisoned men are counted among those seeking work, the unemployment rate

jumps almost 60 percentage points for nonwhite men. For white men, the impact of imprisonment on the overall unemployment rate is relatively small, moving up about 15 percentage point. Framing this discussion using one standard deviation above the mean, the unadjusted unemployment rates show that the majority of counties experienced nonwhite rates under 25 percent and white rates under 15 percent. When imprisoned men are counted among the unemployed, the ceiling for the unemployment rate of most counties jumps over 106 percent for nonwhite men. For white men, the impact of imprisonment on the unemployment rate ceiling for most counties remains relatively small, moving up about 19 percentage points. These data show a marked difference in the gap between these unadjusted and adjusted statistics for white men and those for nonwhite men. This is illustrated in Figures 2.1-2.4 by the similarity between the white graphs and dissimilarity between the nonwhite graphs. While the width of the curve representing the standard and adjusted white unemployment rates are both relatively thin, the curve representing the distribution of the sample for the adjusted unemployment rates for nonwhite men is much broader than the curve representing the standard unemployment rates for nonwhite men. The ratio of the mean to its standard deviation clearly demonstrates this difference. In the case of whites, the standard and adjusted ratios are 2.904 and 2.573 respectively; i.e., relatively tight distributions. Similar figures for the unemployment rate of African American men are 2.730 and 1.306, respectively. The white male ratio was reduced by only 11 percent by the adjustment (i.e., 2.573 is 89% of 2.904), while the African American ratio was cut in half. This exemplifies the extent of the racial disparity in the importance of imprisonment as a source of hidden unemployment.

Independent Variables

Descriptive statistics for these variables are located in Table 2.1. I considered each county's African American proportion to determine whether black presence elicited a sense of threat for whites and created an ethnic niche for blacks. These data were gathered from the 1940 census (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1940). I define African American proportion as the number of African Americans residing within a county's boundaries relative to the total population of that county. Because I expect the effect of black presence to level off at higher levels, the models also include a quadratic term for proportion black. Additionally, squaring demographic variables is a common technique used when evaluating aggregate level data. This determines if there was a curvilinear association between black presence and male unemployment (i.e., did the impact strengthen or weaken at different levels of black presence). Table 2.1 shows that, on average, blacks represented less than eight percent of counties in Depression era urban America. Most counties had black populations that were under 19 percent of the total population (one standard deviation above the mean).

Segregation is defined as the level of residential separation between whites and blacks. The dissimilarity index is used to measure the evenness with which whites and blacks were distributed across a city. Counties were represented by the major metropolis within its boundaries. I combined counties into one homogenous unit if a city with 25,000 or more residents was within two or more county boundaries.

The formula for the dissimilarity index is:

$$D = (0.5) \sum |b_i/B - w_i/W|$$

Here b_i and w_i represent the black and white populations of the census tract, respectively. B and W represent the black and white populations of the city, respectively. The bars "| |" signify that the absolute value should be used (i.e., disregard the sign). The summation is over the total number of census tracts (Taeuber & Taeuber 1965).

The values in the dissimilarity index range from 0 to 100. If blacks lived in exclusively black census tracts while whites lived in exclusive white census tracts, the city would have a dissimilarity index score of 100. If all of the black and white residents in a city were evenly distributed across all of the census tracts, the city would have a dissimilarity index score of 0. These values were gathered from Taeuber and Taeuber (1965:41), who only gathered data for cities with "1,000 or more non-white occupied dwelling units" in 1940. The dissimilarity index is used by some authors to measure hypersegregation. Hypersegregation exists when an area ranks highly (e.g. above 60 for the dissimilarity index) on four of the five dimensions of segregation[27] (Massey & Denton 1989; Wilkes & Iceland 2004). The average city in the sample has a dissimilarity index high enough to qualify as hypersegregated for this category. It is safe to note that over half of the cities would meet this requirement for hypersegregation (one standard deviation above and below the mean). Consequently, I can assert that a large number of cities had the capacity to build and sustain ethnic enclaves (i.e., communities with a high concentration of minority residents who gained income by providing goods and services for one another). Conversely, I can also assert that a large number of cities had the capacity to create systems of spatial mismatch where whites could hoard employment opportunities in their community.

[27] The five dimensions used to measure hypersegregation are evenness, clustering, exposure, centralization and concentration.

Jailing serves as one of the core predictors in this dissertation. Jailing refers to the incarceration of persons 14 years old and over in convict camps, penal farms, and other penal institutions that were not under Federal or State control (Sixteenth Census Of The United States: 1940 Population Special Report On Institutional Population). To determine the impact of jailing on unemployment, I measure the proportion of jailed inmates that were nonwhite men for each county. This variable was calculated by dividing the total number of nonwhite men in jail by the total number of men in jail for each county. I construct the same measure for white men. I use nonwhites as a proxy for blacks because according to the census, "The great majority of the nonwhite population [in 1940] consists of Negroes, except in the Pacific States, where there are many Chinese and Japanese, and in Oklahoma and certain Mountain States, where many of the nonwhites are Indians" (Sixteenth Census Of The United States: 1940 Population Special Report On Institutional Population:3). There were not many cases used for the sample in this dissertation that would be classified as Pacific or Mountain State counties. Consequently, the nonwhite proxy should provide a relatively accurate portrayal of the black experience in 1940.

These data were gathered from the 1940 U.S. Census for each county (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1940). The data include local male jail or workhouse inmates that were 14 years old and over. The majority of juvenile delinquents were 14 years old or over. Counties with fewer than 25 total nonwhites in their institutions (e.g., prisons, jails, mental institutions, etc.) were excluded from the sample in the Census.[28] These jailing predictors allowed me to explore if Pager's (2003) research on the relationship between race, incarceration, and employment has historical roots. Although blacks represented a

[28] I imputed estimates for the cases that did not meet this threshold.

relatively small portion of the population, on average they accounted for well over a third of those who were jailed. As stated above, blacks were typically only 8 percent of a counties' population and few counties were more than 19 percent black. This racially disproportionate jailing should have important implications for racial disparities in unemployment because it removes able-bodied workers from the labor force, places a social stigma on those who are released, hinders the development of social networks, etc.

Regional location is included to control for the influence of non-southern regions on black and white male unemployment. Different regions of the U.S. have experienced unique racial and economic histories, which can be reflected in the unemployment rates. The clearest distinctions were between the South and the non-South. These differences are captured using a regional dummy variable. This variable scores "1" for counties in the South and "0" for counties located in the Midwest, Northeast, or West.[29]

I control for percent change in retail employment. These data were recorded for 1935 and 1939, which are the relevant years when the Census of Business was taken (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1935, 1939). Employment reports were obtained for each retail place in every county in the United States. Retail store was defined as a place where business was conducted. Employment was defined as full-time and part-time paid employees. "The number of employees shown is an aggregate of the average employment of each establishment; this average was obtained by totaling the number reported monthly (full-time and part-time separately) for the period ended nearest the 15th

[29] With the exception of Washington D.C., Maryland, and Delaware, counties are classified according to the census regional classification. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, Washington D.C., Maryland, and Delaware are officially located in the South. I, however, reclassify them as part of the northeastern region. The Union army was commanded from Washington D.C. during the Civil War. To categorize it as a southern locale is inconsistent with American history. Since Maryland and Delaware are positioned even farther north and both were union states, I categorized them in the same manner.

of each month, and dividing the sum by 12" (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1939:3). The percentage change is measured for this variable to determine whether the relative pace of change was an important economic determinant. This was calculated by determining the difference between the total retail employment of each county in 1939 and 1935. This difference was divided by the total for 1935 and multiplied by 100. The census acknowledges that some retail stores may have been excluded from the sample for various reasons but that number is so minute that it should not make a difference in my analysis. According to Table 2.1, the majority of counties experienced some increase in retail employment (one standard deviation above and below the mean). This is surprising considering the time period that this variable was observed (i.e., 1935-1939). The 1930s was the heart of the Great Depression, which lasted from the late 1920s to the early 1940s. During this time in history many businesses lost a considerable amount of capital as a result of the Stock Market Crash, bank closures, and less consumer spending. As a result, they were forced to reduce the number of workers they employed or close their doors completely (Parker 2007; Robbins 2009). However, in the midst of this decline in employment, retail businesses in urban areas were one of the few occupational sectors hiring more workers. Who was benefitting from these employment opportunities? The regression results below will answer this question.

African American educational attainment is operationalized as the proportion of nonwhites with a college degree or higher (i.e., Talented Tenth). This variable was calculated by dividing the total number of nonwhites who attained a college degree or higher by the total number of nonwhite residents. These data were gathered from the 1940 U.S. Census for each city in the sample (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1940). Data are

included for cities with 50,000 or more total inhabitants and 10,000 or more nonwhite inhabitants. This was the first census that collected educational attainment data. The census asked people 20 years old and over "for the last full grade that the person had completed in the regular school system – public, private, or parochial school, college, or university" (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1940:4). This replaced the literacy based questions included in previous censuses. This information should help determine whether an increased local presence of the Talented Tenth, increased the likelihood of African American occupational success. The descriptives for the Talented Tenth variable elicited some interesting results. On average, only five percent of the black population would qualify to represent the Talented Tenth. The majority of cities had black college graduation rates below 15 percent (one standard deviation above the mean). This confirms that the sample was reflective of DuBois' estimate regarding the size of the Talented Tenth. Consequently, I should be able to appropriately measure the influence of this segment of the black populace on 1940 unemployment rates.

Analytic Strategy

I tested hypotheses using Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression, which helped identify the factors that had the most significant effect on inter-county variation in black and white male unemployment. This statistical technique accomplishes this by predicting unemployment values using variables that represent opportunity hoarding processes and various controls. OLS calculates the slope coefficients so that the difference between the predicted outcome and the actual outcome is minimized. It does this by determining the line that minimizes the sum of the distance between the sample regression line and the observed data point. This is the line that gives us the best fit. There are four OLS models

used in this analysis; one for each dependent variable: black male unemployment rate, white male unemployment rate, adjusted black male unemployment rate, and adjusted white male unemployment rate. Each of these unemployment rates are regressed on the aforementioned opportunity hoarding and control variables.

Several variables were considered including net black migration, manufacturing employment, race specific youth populations, etc. These variables were excluded due to issues with multicollinearity and weak relationships with the dependent variables. The analysis was narrowed down to eight indicators to improve generalizability and avoid "making the results too specific to the sample" (Hair, Anderson, Tatham, & Black 1995:105).

As stated above, I used four dependent variables in the analysis: black male unemployment rate, white male unemployment rate, adjusted black male unemployment rate, and adjusted white male unemployment rate. The two adjusted rates provide an alternative measure of labor market inactivity. They illustrate what these unemployment rates would be if our nation had zero percent incarceration. Unemployment is meant to capture the loss of "productive potential of the whole able-bodied adult population. This loss of productive potential is more accurately captured by the adjusted unemployment statistic" (Western & Beckett 1999:1040). Conversely, the standard rate artificially lowers labor inactivity, especially for black Americans who historically have been disproportionately represented in this overlooked inmate population. This can create misleading results in studies of racial inequality due to the wide racial disparities in incarceration rates.

RESULTS

An Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression technique was used to test the aforementioned hypotheses. Before testing these hypotheses, I evaluated the likelihood that multicollinearity was leading to unreliable estimates. The correlations among my independent variables shown in Table 2.2 are generally low, indicating that there were not any issues with multicollinearity.[30] The zero-order fit of the model elicited some interesting findings.

For example, the proportion of African Americans in an urban area is more strongly correlated with white unemployment than nonwhite unemployment for both the adjusted and unadjusted rates. White hoarding appears to be more strongly influenced by large black proportions than the development of ethnic enclaves regardless of which measure of unemployment is observed. Additionally, the adjustment process renders the negative significance of percent change in retail employment with unemployment non-significant for both blacks and whites. This suggests that the standard rate is misleading for both of these relationships. It implies that retail employment was beneficial across races in the Jim Crow era but in actuality it appears that it was inconsequential. It remains to be seen if these relationships hold true when these variables are considered simultaneously. The multivariate regression analyses will explore this and the results are detailed below.

After assessing descriptive statistics and completing collinearity diagnostics, a series of multivariate models were used to evaluate the hypothesized causal structures.

[30] One relationship that shares a high correlation is between "proportion black, 1940" and "proportion black squared, 1940". However, this is not a cause for concern because one indicator (i.e., proportion black squared, 1940) represents the quadratic of the linear variable (i.e., proportion black, 1940) and in these circumstances there are no adverse effects, so it can be ignored (Allison 2012). To confirm my regression coefficients were not unstable I also evaluated the presence of multicollinearity by exploring the variance inflation factor (VIF), which revealed similar results. The largest VIF for variables other than the quadratic and linear version of "proportion black, 1940" is 2.008, which is below the recommended cutoff of 2.5 (Allison 2012). This suggests that multicollinearity is not a problem in my model.

The multivariate models are estimated to determine which independent variables significantly influenced 1940 standard and adjusted unemployment rates for nonwhite and white men. Using OLS regression, these analyses help to identify the factors that had the most significant effect on inter-county variation in unemployment.

Table 2.3 presents the regression coefficients of the OLS models examining the effects of proportion black, segregation, region, retail employment, Talented Tenth presence, and jailing on interracial differences in unemployment. Four race-specific models are presented for 1940; one for each category of unemployment that was explored. Each unemployment category is regressed on the full set of independent variables. The following paragraphs assess the results for the opportunity hoarding predictors.

Proportion Black

Regarding one of the core concepts, proportion black, the results illustrate that nonwhite and white male unemployment rates are lower in counties where blacks constitute a larger representation of the residents. The reduction of black male unemployment ($b = -0.015$; $p < .01$) suggests that African Americans were able to develop ethnic economies that created jobs by providing services and goods for black residents (Bean, Van Hook, & Fossett 1999; Brown and Fuguitt 1972; Hewitt 2000; Fligstein 1981; Gottlieb 1987; Hout 1986; Lieberson 1980; Logan, Alba, & McNulty 1994; Steinberg 1981).

The reduction of white male unemployment ($b = -0.003$; $p < .05$) suggests that white employers hoarded employment opportunities for white residents when blacks represented large proportions of the populace. This can be explained by research that asserts that a large black presence in a community threatened local whites' position in the

labor market, and racial stereotypes and norms intensified this sense of threat, so that black visibility often led to increased discrimination (Albrecht et al. 2005; Beggs, Villemez, & Arnold 1997; Blalock 1956, 1957, 1967; Cassirer 1996; Cohen 1998; Dixon & Rosenbaum 2004; Glenn 1963; Kornrich 2009; McCall 2001; Reskin 2003; Tomaskovic-Devey & Roscigno 1996; Wilcox & Roof 1978).

It can also be explained by the increased racial discrimination that occurs during periods when there are slack labor markets, such as the Depression. During these times employers took advantage of the opportunity to replace black employees with unemployed whites, often due to pressure from white workers, customers, and community members. This pressure was heightened during the Depression. A series of reports on black unemployment issued by the National Urban League cited various instances of employers replacing black workers with unemployed whites (Thurow 1975; Reskin and Roos 1990; Sundstrom 1997).

"Realistic group conflict theory suggests that the perception that one group's gain is another group's loss translates into group threat, as groups perceive that they are locked into a zero-sum game over a set of resources (Bobo, 1988; Campbell 1965). This creates negative stereotyping of out-groups, discrimination, prejudice, and lack of support for racial redistributive initiatives" (Saenz, Oseguera, & Hurtado 2007:83). The economic fallacy that the labor market pie cannot grow also led to opportunity hoarding.

The null effect found for the black and white male standard rates is surprising considering the vast amount of research that supports the findings for the adjusted rates. This speaks to the lack of accuracy of the unadjusted rates. All of the relationships hold even when the segregation of a case is included.

Segregation

Segregation is also significantly and negatively related to unemployment for each unemployment category except the standard unemployment rate for black men. Although the unadjusted black male unemployment rate lacks significance, the effect of segregation is strongest for the adjusted black male unemployment rate ($t = -2.467$). A more inclusive representation of unemployment increases the predictive utility of "segregation". Cases with relatively higher levels of segregation tended to experience lower rates of black male unemployment. Acknowledging and including prisoners as "work seekers" in the unemployment rate illustrates the utility of ethnic niches and ethnogenic institutions as job creating mechanisms, which adds to the storyline articulated with "proportion black" (i.e., large proportions of blacks had the ability to create segregated communities where they could serve one another and create jobs) (Bean, Van Hook, & Fossett 1999; Brown & Fuguitt 1972; Hewitt 2000; Fligstein 1981; Gottlieb 1987; Hout 1986; Lieberson 1980; Logan, Alba, & McNulty 1994; Price-Spratlen 1999, 2008; Steinberg 1981).

Segregation also serves as a form of opportunity hoarding by creating spatial mismatch for minorities. It essentially prevents blacks from having access to social networks, viewing job postings, and being within a reasonable commute to businesses in predominantly white neighborhoods. This effectively allows whites to hoard jobs in their neighborhood and consequently reduces their unemployment rate (Fernandez & Su 2004; Fernandez 2008; Holzer, Ihlanfeldt, & Sjoquist 1994; Ihlanfeldt & Sjoquist 1998; Kirschenman & Neckerman 1991; Stoll 1999; Wright 1997).

Jailing

Hiding able-bodied, working age black men and removing them from the labor force formula underestimates the impact of jailing on the black male unemployment rate. However, the adjusted unemployment rate increases the predictive utility of the "black male jail proportion" variable. Counties with relatively higher proportions of black males in jail tended to experience higher rates of black male unemployment. This suggests that if one categorizes black prisoners as "work seekers" in the unemployment rate, the black male jail proportion magnifies the black male unemployment rate. This result can be explained by research that shows how black males released from jail are stigmatized as less trustworthy, display behavior that is frowned upon at conventional jobs, lack social networks, etc. Consequently, they are less likely to find employment (Donziger 1996; Irwin & Austin 1994; Pager 2003; Western 2007), which adds to the black male unemployment rate. Black jailing does not impact white unemployment because, as discussed in the Theory section, the two groups were limited to their respective semi-separate economies. So, whether blacks were warehoused in jails or ghettos, they were not in direct competition with whites for employment opportunities. Consequently, black male jailing was inconsequential to the white male unemployment rate.

This explanation is substantiated by results showing that none of the relationships for the "white male jail proportion" are significant. This suggests that the jailing (i.e., confinement for less than one year) of white men did not improve the employment prospects of black men. Incarceration theorist and economist would argue that it should improve black male employment prospects because white jailing should be associated with less competition for employment (Behrens, Uggen, & Manza 2003; King & Wheelock 2007; Western et al. 2001). However, the labor market of 1940 was racially

divided which limited interracial competition for employment opportunities. Although the majority of jails in the sample had higher proportions of white inmates than blacks, black male unemployment remained unchanged which further confirms that semi-separate economies made white male jailing inconsequential to the black male unemployment rate. Queuing theorists, such as Pager, may argue that unemployed white males, who were not incarcerated in 1940, could have been entering the labor market ahead of black males in counties with high proportions of white males in jail. This would also effectively leave the black male unemployment rate unchanged. However, this explanation is weaker than the one proposed above because white unemployment was not significantly reduced in these high white male jailing conditions.[31] Although, most county jails had higher proportions of white male inmates than black, the average jailing rate for black males was nearly seven times larger than the rate for white males.[32] Consequently, white male jailing did not impact white male unemployment because the number of white males in jail was not large enough to impact this unemployment rate. Relative to blacks, the white male populace is considerably larger than the white male jailing population.

The Difference Adjustment Makes

The model predicts the black male adjusted unemployment rate (adjusted $R^2 = 0.251$) more accurately than the black male unadjusted unemployment rate (adjusted $R^2 = 0.151$). This is almost a 50 percent difference of variance explained. This further confirms that including black men who are imprisoned as work seekers in the

[31] This may, in part, be a product of time lags. In other words, it may take longer than a one year jail period for men of color to experience increased job access from white incarceration.

[32] 818 / 121 = 6.76. I used the raw, unimputed data to calculate this, and it should approximate the imputed data.

unemployment rate provides a more accurate depiction of labor underutilization among working-age black men. Consequently, it more accurately captures the aforementioned variables' impact on black male unemployment. Both models are relatively efficacious for research involving occupational inequality. For example, Okamoto and England (1999) report adjusted R^2 values of 0.007 and 0.02, while Kornrich (2009) reports adjusted R^2 values of 0.01 and 0.16. Low adjusted R^2 values are common because there are numerous factors that influence unemployment. However, only so many variables can be included when the sample size is limited to 136. Bartlett, Kotrlik, and Higgins (2001:48) state that researchers should limit the number of independent variables to 1 for every 10 cases. Consequently, it is unrealistic to believe there will be high R^2 values in this field of research, especially when focusing on the major U.S. urban areas of the 20th century.

The model predicts the white male unadjusted unemployment rate (adjusted R^2 = 0.298) slightly more accurately than the white male adjusted unemployment rate (adjusted R^2 = 0.246). This suggests that the standard labor force data provides a more accurate measure of unemployment among working-age white men. It also suggests that the adjustment to the unemployment rate makes little difference in the depiction of labor underutilization among working-age white men. Comparatively speaking, the adjustment to the standard unemployment rate is less consequential for whites because the ratio of white men seeking work outnumbers white men in prison 20:1[33]. This ratio is substantially lower than it is for black men (10:1). Consequently, there is less of a difference between the white conventional unemployment rate and the adjusted rate than there is for the two black unemployment rates.

[33] The formula used to calculate this ratio is: total white men seeking work / total white men in prison.

Observing the differences between the adjusted R^2 values of the models focused on black males and white males is informative. Focusing on the alternative measure of unemployment, the R^2 value for black males (adjusted $R^2 = 0.251$) is larger than the R^2 value for white males (adjusted $R^2 = 0.246$) but the two are very similar. However, turning to the standard rate, the R^2 value for white males (adjusted $R^2 = 0.298$) is substantially larger than the R^2 value for black males (adjusted $R^2 = 0.151$). The adjustment to the black male unemployment rate increases the accuracy of the model to a more comparable level of both white models. It also reveals that, overall, the institutions responsible for the reduction in white unemployment (e.g., overt discrimination) were more comparable in strength to the institutions responsible for influencing black unemployment. This speaks volumes about how the standard rate can create a false appearance of relatively weak relationships between indicators and black male unemployment. Even in an era that was not defined by a prison industrial complex (e.g., post-Civil Rights era), a substantial difference is observed when the unemployment rate is calculated in a manner similar to population estimates (i.e., it includes prison inmates). This finding historicizes Western's critique of the standard unemployment rate by revealing multiple, layered, race-informed differences that result from using a more accurate measure of unemployment. Without this adjustment to the unemployment rate our understanding of, and conclusions about, racial differences in U.S. labor market participation may be incorrect.

Additional Considerations

During the process of developing the aforementioned regression model, many interactions were explored. One such interaction evaluated how male unemployment in

cases with large black proportions varied by the level of segregation. This would have allowed me to further explore theories of racial threat (Blalock 1956) and ethnic economies (Fligstein 1981; Lieberson 1980). However, within the framework of regression, the power seems to be unable to reach a statistically significant threshold. Another interaction that was assessed was how male unemployment in communities with large black proportions varied by the number of male youth in a county. Since young males were likely to pursue entry level jobs that black males were limited to, this would have allowed me to explore the level of labor market competition created when the two groups (i.e., blacks and young males) were residing in large numbers in the same county. However, this variable also did not elicit any significant results so it was omitted.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this study I explored predictors that are rarely considered simultaneously and an outcome that is often ignored in academia. The results reveal the importance of considering those who are imprisoned when studying unemployment. Penal expansion exacerbates racial inequalities while often simultaneously creating a guise that opportunity hoarding indicators and unemployment are unrelated. This research makes three primary contributions to the literature by adjusting the unemployment rate and extending the analysis of black proportion, segregation, and jailing to a different historical era.

In the first hypothesis I proposed that, according to racial threat and realistic group conflict theory as well as theories that explore ethnic enclaves and semi-separate economies, African American proportion was negatively related to both nonwhite and white male standard unemployment rates. The results were inconsistent with these

theories. African American proportion was not related to either nonwhite or white male standard unemployment rates. These findings were surprising given the vast amount of research that conflict with them (Blalock 1956, 1957, 1967; Lieberson 1980).[34]

In the second hypothesis I expected that, according to spatial mismatch theory as well as theories that explore ethnic enclaves and semi-separate economies, racial residential segregation was negatively related to both nonwhite and white male standard unemployment rates. The results offer mixed support for this hypothesis. Although there was a negative relationship between segregation and the white male standard unemployment rate, I failed to find any relationship between segregation and the nonwhite male standard unemployment rate. The relationship between segregation and white male unemployment indicates that racial segregation served as an effective strategy for the hoarding of jobs for white residents.

In the third hypothesis I predicted that the jailing of nonwhite males was positively related to the nonwhite male standard unemployment rate and unrelated to the white unemployment rate, while the jailing of white males was unrelated to the nonwhite and white male standard unemployment rates. This was informed by theories that detail the influence of incarceration on the likelihood of employment, semi-separate economies theories, and Pager's queuing theory. The hypothesis was only partially supported by my findings. Neither of the jailing variables was related to either of the unemployment variables. The lack of significance shown in the relationship between nonwhite jailing and the nonwhite standard unemployment rate is surprising considering the vast amount

[34] I measured the total number of blacks in 1940, total number of black males in 1940, the black percent proportion change from 1930 to 1940, etc. to explore alternative measures for theories such as racial threat, realistic group conflict, ethnic enclaves, etc. Some may argue that these would have served as stronger indicators for these theories. However, they were removed from the analysis due to issues with multicollinaerity and / or an inability to elicit significant results.

of research that details the impact incarceration has on their employment prospects (Donziger 1996; Irwin & Austin 1994; Pager 2003; Peck & Theodore 2008; Western 2007).

In the fourth hypothesis I asserted that the adjustment of the nonwhite male unemployment rate would increase the significance of the aforementioned hypothesized relationships and cause them to have more explanatory value than the relationships with the standard unemployment rates. But it would not alter the direction of these relationships. However, the adjustment of the white unemployment rate would not intensify, weaken, or alter any of the hypotheses because the unadjusted and adjusted white unemployment rates should prove to be very similar. This was informed by Western's (2007) theory regarding how imprisonment underestimates unemployment and creates flawed narratives of inequality. The results offer mixed evidence for Western's theory. The adjusted unemployment rate led to increased significance for all of the relationships with nonwhite unemployment except for the one with white jailing. Additionally, the adjusted unemployment rate did not significantly intensify, weaken, or alter any of the relationships with white unemployment except for the one with proportion black.[35] Failing to recognize prisoners in the standard unemployment rate hides the influence of ethnic enclaves and their capacity to develop semi-separate economies via relatively large black proportions and racial residential segregation. Using a more accurate measure of black male unemployment highlights the importance of these communities and their ability to partially bear the brunt of discrimination (i.e., opportunity hoarding) that took place in the semi-separate white labor market.

[35] Here I am focusing on the relationships of central interest to this study. These include the relationships shared by the unemployment variables with proportion black, segregation, and nonwhite / white jailing.

The analysis in this dissertation benefitted from a more inclusive measure of unemployment and a seminal theory in modern sociology. Although there are limitations to this study, to my knowledge there is no other quantitative study that extends the use of Western's (2007) adjusted measure or Tilly's (1999) DIT to the mid-20th century across a national sample of counties / cities. Arguments for these results could be strengthened by addressing the limitations of this research, which are primarily data related. First, my research did not include an indicator or proxy for female headed households. The presence of two parents in a household is a major deterrent for incarceration and should serve as a valuable control variable that would allow researchers to better determine the relative impact of opportunity hoarding practices on race specific unemployment rates. Second, in order to expand the number of predictors to include variables such as female headed households I would need to expand the sample size.[36] Future research should consider including more urban locations. Third, although the adjusted unemployment rate is more inclusive it is not a cure-all for the problems created by using the standard unemployment rate. Notably, the measure fails to account for citizens who are no longer seeking work, which likely also consists disproportionately of minorities. Still, the limitations of this study are far outweighed by the advances it makes in illustrating the influence of African American proportion, racial residential segregation, and jailing on rates of unemployment during the Jim Crow era.

This dissertation suggests that when studying racial theories and the labor market, researchers should not only use a more inclusive measure of unemployment but they should also note the circumstances of the time period and how they may be relevant to

[36] Bartlett, Kotrlik, and Higgins (2001:48) state that researchers should limit the number of independent variables to 1 for every 10 cases/respondents.

the relationship between a predictor and an outcome. The results from this chapter illustrate how opportunity hoarding variables operated in 1940. Will the variables that were relevant when Jim Crow was a strong force be relevant in an era in the midst of Civil Rights legislation[37]? I will explore this further in the upcoming chapter which addresses the influence of the temporal context of 1960 on methods of exclusion. These results will explore if and how the aforementioned hypotheses changed during this year and further underscore the importance of considering contextual characteristics when studying the aforementioned relationships.

[37] This critical period is in the middle of the Civil Rights Movement, six years after the Montgomery Bus Boycott, and eight years before Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated. The Brown v. Board of Education Supreme Court decision was made in 1954. The Civil Rights Act was passed in 1965 and the Voting Rights Act preceded it by a year in 1964.

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Dev.
Male Unemployment Rate				
NonWhite Standard	0.623	45.077	17.625	6.455
White Standard	3.145	27.577	10.069	3.467
Nonwhite Adjusted	0.623	97.272	28.107	21.531
White Adjusted	3.145	29.878	11.577	4.501
Proportion Black				
Squared	0.002	2510.849	180.570	442.550
Linear	0.041	50.108	7.670	11.075
Segregation	0.000	100.000	78.065	22.393
Male Jail Proportion				
Nonwhite	0.000	100.000	39.252	35.355
White	0.000	100.000	68.049	28.052
Control				
South	0.000	1.000	0.191	0.395
Retail employment (1935-39)	-15.203	54.848	16.436	11.544
Talented Tenth	0.000	44.700	5.803	9.207

Table 2.1. Minimum, Maximum, Mean, and Standard Deviation for Explanatory Variables (N=136)

	Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	NonWhite Male Standard Unemployment Rate											
2	White Male Standard Unemployment Rate	.576**										
3	Nonwhite Male Adjusted Unemployment Rate	.295**	.213*									
4	White Male Adjusted Unemployment Rate	.486**	.779**	.653**								
5	Proportion Black Squared	-.286**	-.369**	-.258**	-.344**							
6	Proportion Black	-.290**	-.404**	-.353**	-.424**	.946**						
7	Segregation	-.010	-.290**	-.309**	-.312**	.099	.193*					
8	Nonwhite Male Jail Proportion	-.135	-.092	.117	.025	.333**	.289**	.052				
9	White Male Jail Proportion	.178*	.067	.172*	.139	-.548**	-.577**	-.007	-.504**			
10	South	-.255**	-.313**	-.262**	-.302**	.667**	.739**	.146	.219*	-.478**		
11	Retail employment (1935-39)	-.251**	-.306**	.157	-.030	.103	.108	-.023	-.003	.100	.126	
12	Talented Tenth	.247**	.289**	.234**	.313**	-.178*	-.236**	-.284**	.054	.120	-.094	.086

Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 2.2. Intercorrelations of Dependent and Explanatory Variables (N=136)

	Nonwhite Unadj b (t)	White Unadj b (t)	Nonwhite Adj b (t)	White Adj b (t)
Proportion Black				
Squared	-0.002	-0.001	0.000	0.000
	(-0.518)	(-0.315)	(1.648)	(1.200)
Linear	0.020	-0.083	-0.015**	-0.003*
	(0.113)	(-0.975)	(-2.645)	(-2.543)
Segregation	0.026	-0.026*	-0.002*	-0.000*
	(1.014)	(-2.069)	(-2.467)	(-1.996)
Male Jail Proportion				
Nonwhite	-0.015	-0.008	0.001*	0.000
	(-0.880)	(-0.923)	(2.625)	(0.991)
White	0.004	-0.025	0.000	0.000
	(0.147)	(-1.953)	(0.587)	(-0.791)
Control Variables				
South	-1.947	-0.584	0.004	0.001
	(-0.982)	(-0.603)	(0.057)	(0.086)
Retail employment (1935-39)	-0.139**	-0.079**	0.003*	0.000
	(-3.009)	(-3.505)	(2.348)	(0.099)
Talented Tenth	0.188**	0.079**	0.001	0.001
	(3.096)	(2.668)	(0.463)	(1.899)
Adjusted R2	0.151	0.298	0.251	0.246

*p < .05; **p < .01, two-tailed significance tests
t statistic critical value = 1.97
N=136

Table 2.3. OLS Regression of Unadjusted and Adjusted Unemployment Rates on Demographics, Economics, Education, and Jailing

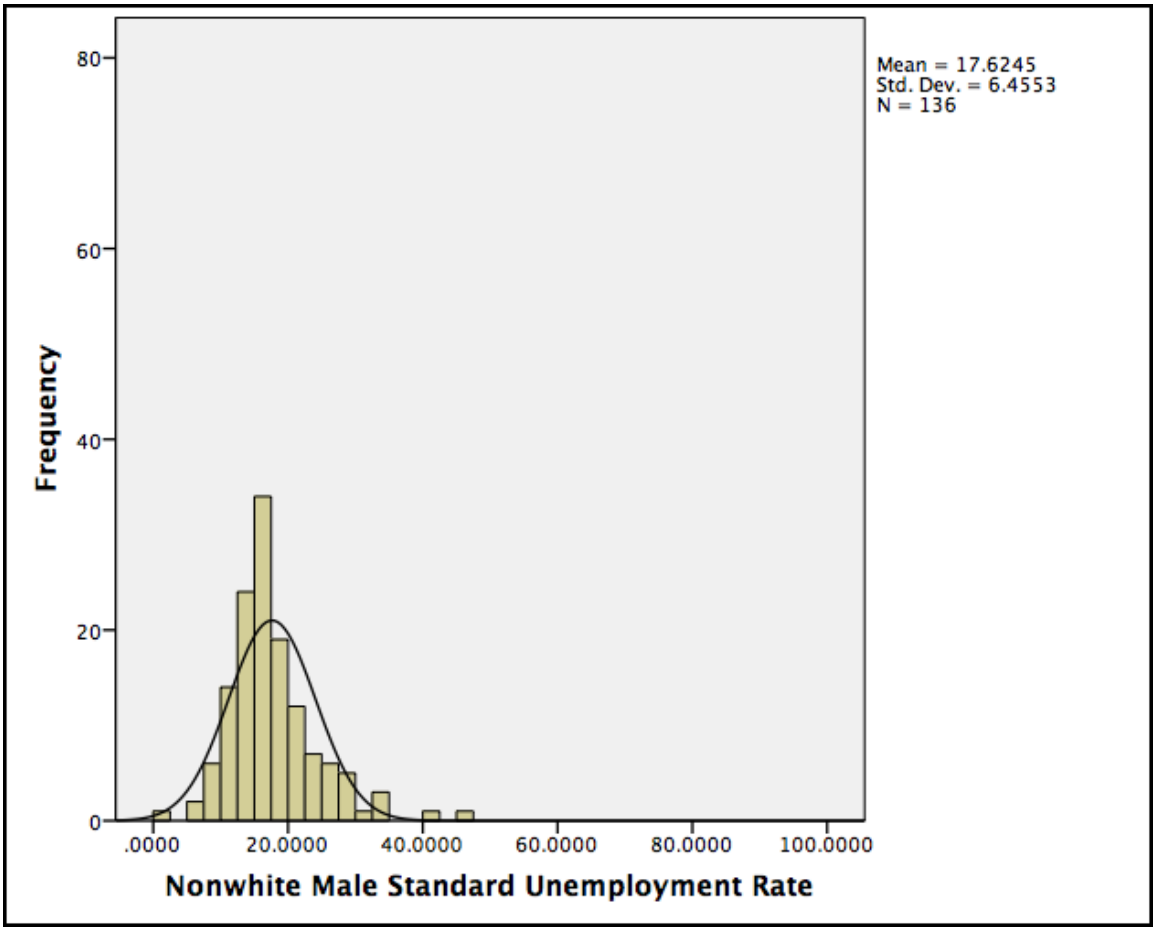

Figure 2.1. Nonwhite Male Standard Unemployment Rate Standard Deviation Distribution

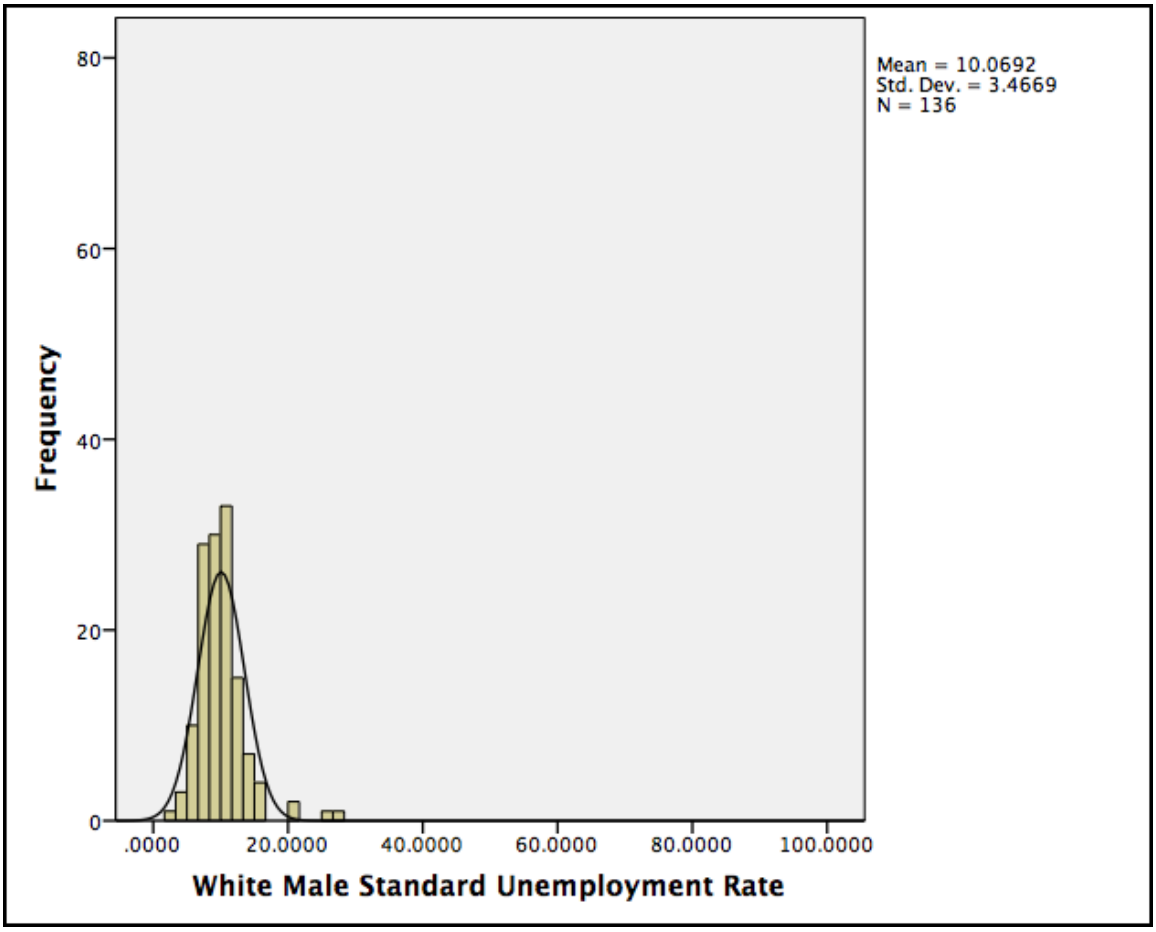

Figure 2.2. White Male Standard Unemployment Rate Standard Deviation Distribution

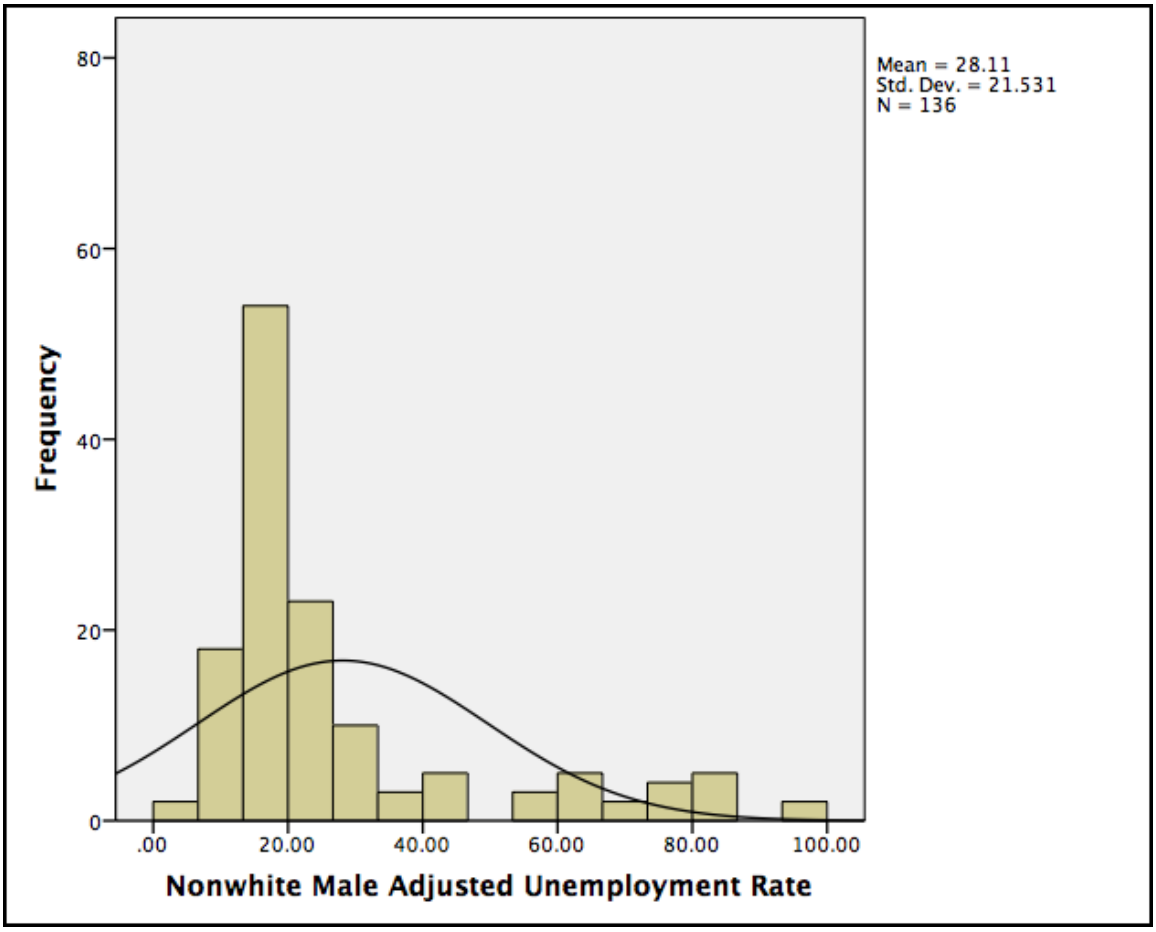

Figure 2.3. Nonwhite Male Adjusted Unemployment Rate Standard Deviation Distribution

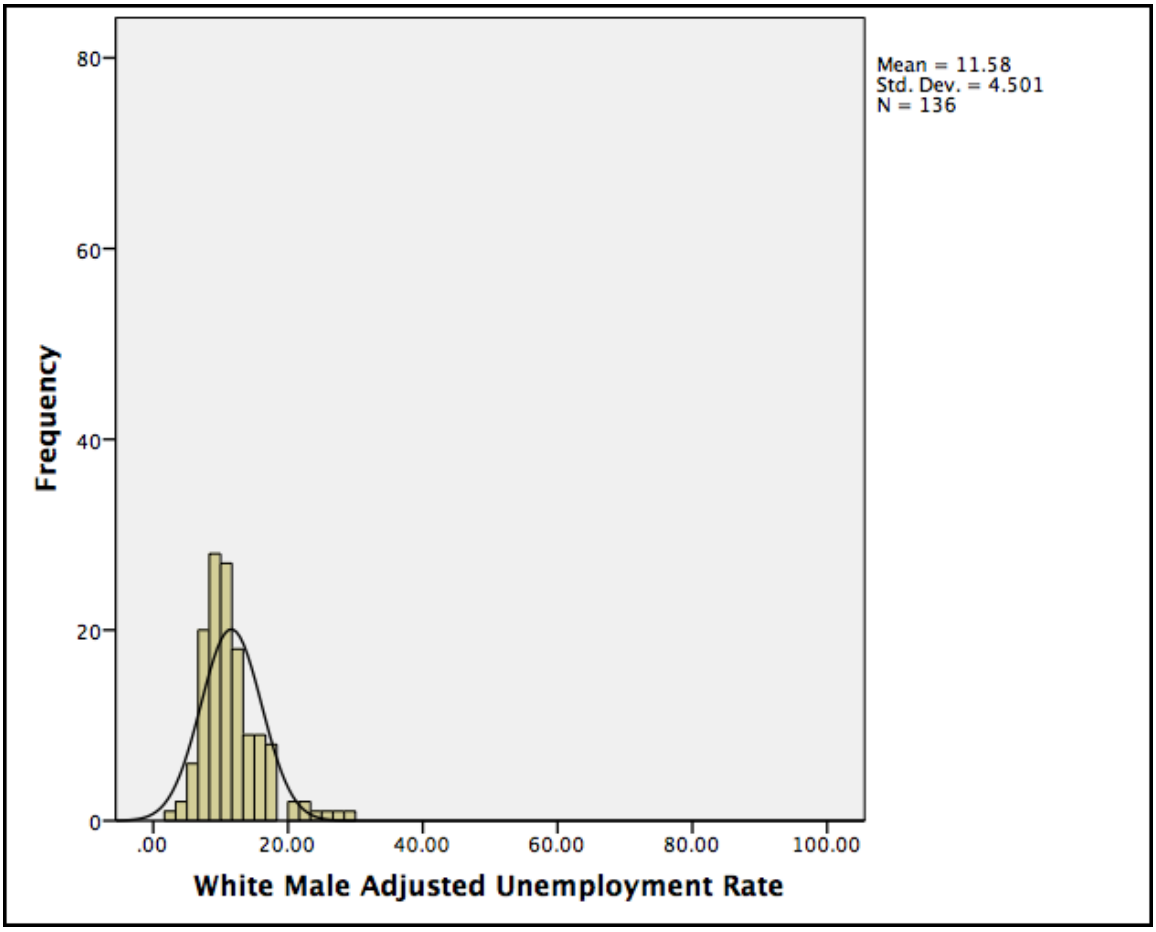

Figure 2.4. White Male Adjusted Unemployment Rate Standard Deviation Distribution

Chapter 3: 1960 – The Relative Influence of Black Proportion, Segregation, and Jailing on Race Specific Unemployment Rates in the Civil Rights Era

In this chapter I weave the context of 1960 with theories of social closure and Durable Inequality Theory (DIT) to explain how tactics of opportunity hoarding were used during this era.[38] I test hypotheses using data from the 1954, 1958, and 1960 censuses as well as Taeuber and Taeuber (1965) index of residential segregation for 1960. I estimate the relationship that proportion black, segregation, and jailing shared with unemployment and how this varied across 1960 U.S. urban labor markets using Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression. I also assess how a more inclusive accounting of unemployment changes the relationships between systems of exclusion (i.e., opportunity hoarding) and black / white male[39] labor participation, while controlling for variables such as region, retail employment, and the Talented Tenth.

THEORY

As stated in Chapter 2, my theoretical framework focuses on two questions. The first question is: How did common mechanisms of opportunity hoarding effectively marginalize black men from the labor market and monopolize employment for white men in 1960? The second question is: How does a more inclusive accounting of

[38] Please see the corresponding section of Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion of DIT and how it serves as the foundation of this study.
[39] Please see the Methods section of Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion of why women were excluded from the analysis.

unemployment[40] alter the relationships between methods of exclusion (i.e., opportunity hoarding) and black / white male labor utilization? Regarding the first question, this was a very unique and tumultuous period in time. In 1960, blacks were still legally marginalized in the labor market.[41] However, it was the eye of the storm in an attempt to radically change the racial hierarchy. It was six years after the Montgomery Bus Boycott, and eight years before Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated. The Brown v. Board of Education Supreme Court decision was made in 1954. The Civil Rights Act was passed in 1965 and the Voting Rights Act preceded it by a year in 1964. Like the Jim Crow era there were still strongly held perceptions that whites belonged atop the racial hierarchy during the Civil Rights era (Blumer 1965a, 1965b; Bobo 1999). However, for many these perceptions on race were changing. There was a considerable amount of social unrest with the state of race relations in America. Institutions were being challenged for racial injustice. How did this social context impact the effectiveness of the aforementioned opportunity hoarding mechanisms?

Additionally, as stated above, my second question explores how a more inclusive accounting of unemployment alters the relationships between mechanisms of exclusion (i.e., opportunity hoarding) and black / white male labor utilization. Western (2006)[42] argues that incarceration artificially underestimates our measures of inequality because standard unemployment rates conceal the actual loss of productive potential by not counting inmates. The severity of this underestimation varies by race and time. This chapter will explore the unique race specific incarceration rates of 1960; how they impact

[40] Please see the Data and Methods section of chapter 1 for details on how this was calculated.
[41] The Civil Rights Act was passed in 1965.
[42] This text is a comparison of the U.S. labor market with that of European countries in the 1980s and 90s. Western focuses on the scope of inaccuracies in measures of wages, earnings, and employment that result from the exclusion of the prison population.

the severity of this underestimation; and how this level of underestimation impacted the relationship between mechanisms of exclusion and black / white male labor utilization.

In the paragraphs that follow, I develop hypotheses about the impact specific opportunity hoarding tactics (i.e., overt discrimination, segregation, and jailing) have on unemployment rates for black and white men. Throughout this section of the text I utilize various theories of social closure. I then explain how a more inclusive measure of the unemployment rate likely influences these relationships.

Black Proportion

The reduction of nonwhite male unemployment supports the competition hypothesis. This hypothesis asserts that as the percentage of blacks increases they will have an increased chance of being hired. This is simply because there are fewer whites relative to blacks to select from the labor pool (Glenn 1964; Lieberson 1980; Semyonov 1984; Thurow 1975). This suggests that a high proportion of black residents reduced the likelihood that employers could find eligible and qualified whites to fill positions in the job market. These large black populations also allowed for the development of strong ethnogenic institutions that could provide occupational support and job placement resources for residents in these counties. For example, "race papers," or black community newspapers, that addressed issues in the black community often provided helpful information for black Americans seeking employment. These newspapers published lists of job opportunities for local black residents and mailed these lists to local churches. Additionally, these papers informed the community regarding which employers did and did not discriminate against black applicants (Grossman 1989). The NAACP had chapters in counties across the country that fought to decrease racial

inequality in the work force and monitored patterns of local employment discrimination. When racial discrimination was evident, these chapters lobbied for more employment opportunities, conducted protests, and took legal action (Meier and Bracey 1993). The NUL was the leader in African American job placement and occupational support. NUL branches cultivated relationships with local businesses and churches, which enabled them to efficiently connect a large group of black prospects to various employment opportunities because the black church often had the largest membership among the local African American institutions. Like race papers, the NUL gave lists of job openings to local churches. They also gave identification cards to blacks who they believed would be quality employees that businesses should hire (Price-Spratlen 1999; Sernett 1997).

The reduction in nonwhite male unemployment can also be explained by research that asserts that tight labor markets (i.e., more jobs than workers) experience relatively more occupational integration than slack labor markets (i.e., more workers than jobs) (Albelda 1986; Charles 1992; Ovadia 2003; Suk 2007; Thurow 1975; Reskin and Roos 1990). This suggests that where there was an increase in occupational opportunities (i.e., tight labor markets), employers were less likely to discriminate. Consequently, black residents experienced more occupational inclusion during temporal periods that experienced increased levels of economic growth.

Additionally, surplus populations (i.e., disposable industrial armies) are exploited when the economy needs them. When the economy expands, their human capital is utilized. When the economy contracts, the members of this surplus population are warehoused in impoverished corners of society, dependent on the state, until their services are needed again (Marx 1967; Spitzer 1975). Since the conception of this

country, blacks were positioned in the "lowest sediment" of the surplus population. This time period was an era of economic expansion where the surplus labor market was called upon to fill voids in new industries (e.g., electronics) (Myers and Sabol 1987). It was determined that the Wagner Act was unconstitutional in the late 1950s. Policies such as the Wagner Act (1935) empowered workers with the right to monopolize unions. This "allowed unions to establish closed shops that had the power to bar non-members from employment" (Williams 2011:92)[1]. This power was used by most unions to exclude blacks from gaining employment and hoard these opportunities for whites[1]. The laws changed in the late 1950s. Banning the Wagner act provided blacks with an opportunity to find a path to work. At times they would offer to work for lower wages or serve as strikebreakers (Williams 2011). Consequently, feelings of racial threat were not triggered with the large presence of African Americans and white communities were not as apt to hoard employment opportunities. Based on this research, I hypothesize that: *1) African American proportion is negatively related to black male standard unemployment rates and unrelated to the white male standard unemployment rate.*

Racial Residential Segregation

Acknowledging and including prisoners as "work seekers" in the black male unemployment rate illustrates the influence of segregation as a form of social closure by creating spatial mismatch for minorities. It essentially prevents blacks from having access to social networks, viewing job postings, and being within a reasonable commute to businesses in predominantly white neighborhoods. This effectively reduces the likelihood of employment for black residents (Fernandez 2008; Holzer, Ihlanfeldt, and Sjoquist 1994; Stoll 1999)**.**

Research has also revealed that segregation concentrates economic deprivation (Massey and Denton 1993; Krivo et al. 1998; Krivo, Peterson, & Kuhl 2009). "Although the [Federal Housing Administration] removed explicitly racist language from its manuals in the 1950s, private appraisal associations, real estate agents and firms, and banks continued to use such language through the 1970s" (Gotham 2000:626). "Thanks to the FHA, no bank would insure loans in [low-income African-American neighborhoods], and few African Americans could live outside [of them]" (Barlow 2003:37).

> Prior to residential segregation, residents did not interpret Black culture or behavior as connected to a particular place occupied exclusively by Blacks. However, key actors within the emerging real estate industry … helped nurture and promulgate a segregationist ideology and negative image of the emerging black ghetto as a pathological, dangerous and nefarious place, to be avoided by whites … The use of racially restrictive covenants helped nurture and reinforce emerging racial stereotypes that identified black living space and culture with deteriorating neighborhoods and dilapidated housing. Arguments that exclusion of Blacks was necessary to preserve property values perpetuated such restrictive covenants. Over time, the perceived connection between race, behavior and place [became] a justification for residential separation and disinvestment in … non-white areas. (powell 2007:392)

Consequently, black exclusion from the white neighborhoods and white disdain for black neighborhoods decreased the value of homes owned by African Americans.[43] As a result,

[43] "[A black home] is usually worth less than a comparable white-owned home. White flight and residential segregation lower the value of black homes. As blacks move into a neighborhood, whites move

the taxes black public schools received from these communities were diminished. The structure of the educational system created inferior schools for black children (Wright 2009). This set the stage for racial disparities in education and training that would have been conduits for more blacks to achieve labor market parity (Conley 1999; Galster and Killen 1995; Krivo et al 1998; Mincy 1994; Wilson 1987).

Taxes black public schools received were also relatively lower because African Americans were more likely to live in dilapidated communities, where there was little resistance to their in-migration (Park et al. 1925). The dilapidation made it difficult to receive loans to purchase and maintain properties, which led to declines in property values and tax dollars for schools. This process also directly impacted the employment opportunities in these communities because it was difficult to keep and attract businesses under these circumstances (Bursik and Grasmick 1993; Peterson and Krivo 2009a; Squires and O'Connor 2001; Velez 2002). Additionally, residents in these areas lacked the power to demand that their local government officials develop institutions that would provide stable access to jobs (stores, banks, libraries, etc.) (Covington 1999; Peterson et al. 2000; Velez 2002; Zahn 1998).

Another theory argues that individuals are allocated into positions in the structure of inequality through a system of social closure. The theory states that occupational elites agree on barriers to prevent outsiders from entering their occupation through social closure strategies (Coleman 1988). This limits the competitors to applicants who can afford the training, exam fees, or live in high property tax areas with quality schools (Grusky and Sorensen 1998; Tilly 1999; Weeden 2002). It also limits qualified

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out, fearing that property values will decline. The refusal of white Americans to live in neighborhoods with more than 20 percent blacks means that white-owned housing is implicitly more highly valued than black-owned housing" (Brown 2003:23).

applicants to those who have been properly socialized with the values, vocabulary, manners, and respect of hierarchy (i.e., soft skills) that is attained through the educational system or through a family's cultural capital. Employers are more likely to hire new members and key assistants who are "like" themselves (i.e., of the same status group) to promote group cohesion and avoid conflict (Collins 1971; Moss & Tilly 1996; Neckerman & Kirschenman 1991; Sites and Parks 2011). Segregation provides an effective method that prevents those who are "unlike" white employers from having an opportunity to compete for these occupations.

Areas with relatively lower levels of segregation likely also experienced lower levels white unemployment because jobs were created by providing goods and services for black residents in the community. Black residents had a unique set of needs and whites who took the initiative to meet the needs of black neighbors were able to create employment opportunities. Segregated whites were too isolated from black neighborhoods to take advantage of this market, which created relatively higher levels of unemployment for their communities (Boyd 1996; Massey 1990; Muth 1971). This leads me to my second hypothesis, which is:

2) *Racial residential segregation is positively related to both black and white male standard unemployment rates.*

Jailing

Although the mass incarceration of African Americans is considered a more recent phenomenon, blacks have been disproportionately jailed for decades. Blacks have been stereotyped as violent and deviant for centuries and the accumulation of racial bias in a variety of criminal justice decisions (e.g., policing, charging, sentencing, etc.) has

culminated in wide racial disparities in jailing (Devine and Elliott 1995; Kang, et al. 2012; Tittle 1994). Additionally, research has shown that crime and incarceration disproportionately occur in dilapidated and impoverished communities, which was primarily where blacks resided due to their limited options at the time. The physical disorder (e.g., abandon buildings) (Kelling & Coles 1996; Skogan 1992), density (Roneck 1981; Smith & Jarjoura 1988), and residential turnover (Bursik & Grasmick 1993; Katyal 2002; Sampson & Raudenbush 1999; Shaw & McKay 1969) commonly experienced in these communities lend itself to high rates of criminal activity and subsequent arrests (Park et al. 1925).

Previous research has shown a strong positive relationship between jailing and unemployment (Western, Kling and Weiman 2000). This is in part a consequence of the gangs that developed in the 1950s due to the increased numbers of inmates. Prior to the presence of gangs, inmates followed what was known as the "convict code". The three basic tenets of the code were to avoid prying into the affairs of others, informing authorities of unlawful activities, and conning other inmates. Inmates typically subscribed to these rules due to a fear of being ridiculed and ostracized by their peers. However, as the jail population began to grow the "convict code" became less effective. One could essentially hide in the crowd because there were too many inmates to be fully cognizant of everyone's reputation. Additionally, due to the increased numbers, officials and guards were less capable of protecting all of their inmates. Inmates formed gangs for self-protection and retaliation. Violence, extortion, and rape between inmates became more commonplace. Upon their release, many former inmates suffered from physical

and mental injuries that hindered their ability to find success in the labor market (Howell 2011; Skarbek 2014).

The strong positive relationship between jailing and unemployment is also a consequence of the overt legal discrimination that individuals with criminal records experienced and continue to experience in the labor market (Alexander 2010; Bursik 1993; Holzer & Stoll 2001; Sampson 1986). Employers often use an applicant's criminal background as an inexpensive screening technique, which leads them to assume the applicant is untrustworthy, unreliable, and less productive (Boshier & Johnson 1974; Buikhuisen & Dijksterhuis 1971; Nagin & Waldfogel 1998; Schwartz & Skolnick 1962; Western 2007). Employers also assume that ex-offenders are likely to commit additional crimes upon their release and the businesses that hire them will be liable for the crimes caused by this negligent hiring (Bushway 1996; Holzer et al. 2003). However, this is an extremely flawed and simplistic strategy that does not take into consideration the "wide range of circumstances that resulted in their incarceration, or for the equally wide range of motivations, skills and aptitudes within this heterogeneous population" (Peck & Theodore 2008:264).[44]

Jailing also hinders the development of human capital. Inmates are kept out of school, prevented from acquiring skills on the job, and the skills they had tend to erode behind bars (Braman 2007; Holzer et al. 2003; Waldfogel, 1994). Instead positive work habits deteriorate and they develop "certain attitudes, mannerisms, and behavioral

[44] The strong relationship between jailing and unemployment is also explained by a variety of other phenomena. Opportunities for networking are weakened and at times completely lost, not only because inmates are removed from society but because upon their re-entry, these contacts are less likely to recommend them for employment or make suggestions on where to apply (Granovetter 1995; Hagan 1993; Petersilia 2003[44]; Sullivan 1989; Western 2007). Ex-offenders are more likely to receive information about part-time and temporary jobs in the secondary market where employers are less critical of the "flaws" ex-offender applicants are assumed to bring to a business. This secondary market is very unstable and frequently leads to future unemployment for the applicant (Nagin and Waldfogel 1998).

practices that on 'the inside' function to enhance survival but are not compatible with success in the conventional job market" (Western & Beckett 1999:1045). For example, inmates may develop aggressive predatory behavior as a defense mechanism to prevent themselves from becoming victims. This aggressive temperament may lead to office conflicts, violence, and possible dismissal (Cabelguen 2006).

Research has shown that inmates are often released back into the communities where they were initially arrested (Alexander 2010; Rose & Clear 1998; Sabol & Lynch 1998). "The concentration of released [inmates] in the local population could affect firms' locational decisions and so reduce labor demands" (Western et al. 2001:415). This reduces economic opportunities due to spatial mismatch; a theory that was explored in previous paragraphs.

Because jail rates were highest amongst black men, the negative effect of jailing on employment was focused on this demographic (Western & Beckett 1999). The inequalities of the penal system essentially reduced the likelihood of employment for an entire social group (Garland 2006).

The impact of disproportionate jailing on unemployment is compounded by variance in the hiring practices of white and black ex-offenders. Research has shown that white ex-offenders are significantly more likely to be hired than black ex-offenders (Pager and Quillian 2005). Research suggests that black males with criminal records are often placed at the bottom of the hiring queue, while white males with a criminal record are more likely to be hired than black males without a criminal record (Pager 2003). Employers stereotype and discriminate against both blacks and criminals. When an applicant is a member of both demographics, this discrimination is intensified (Quillian

and Pager 2002; Darley and Gross 1983; Devine and Elliott 1995; Fiske and Neuberg 1990; Smith 1991; Sniderman and Piazza 1993). Based on these theoretical rationales, I hypothesize that:

3) The jailing of black males is positively related to the black standard unemployment rate and negatively related to the white rate, while the jailing of white males is unrelated to the black and white standard unemployment rates.

Adjusted Unemployment Rates

Please see the Adjusted Unemployment Rates section of Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion of Hypothesis 4. The context of 1960 should not change the influence expected for this hypothesis. The inclusion of 1960 prisoners should create a substantially different unemployment rate for black males while leaving the white male unemployment rate relatively unchanged. This is because the 1960 rate of black imprisonment adds to the disparity of black men seeking work versus those who are in the labor market. This disparity should increase the significance of the relationships observed between indicators and the standard rates of unemployment. The relatively lower rate of white imprisonment leads to a relatively smaller disparity of white men seeking work versus those who are in the labor market. Consequently, the relationships between indicators and the standard rates of unemployment should remain relatively unchanged.

METHODS

Data[45]

I draw on data compiled by the Census (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1960) that includes a variety of indicators of black proportion, jailing, region, retail employment, and the

[45] Please see the Methods section of Chapter 2 for more details regarding how these data were collected.

Talented Tenth to better understand the factors associated with racial variance in unemployment for 1960. The economic sector data (i.e., retail employment) were the only data not collected specifically in 1960. This is because, prior to 1954, the Economic Census was collected and published piecemeal. The only data not collected from the Census were the segregation data. I collected these data from the Taeuber and Taeuber's (1965) index of residential segregation.

Sample[46]

Dependent Variables[47]

There are several noteworthy descriptives for the dependent variables, which can be found in Table 3.1. The unadjusted means show that more than one out of ten black men were without a job in 1960, while only one out of twenty white men were unemployed. When imprisoned men are counted among those seeking work, the unemployment rate jumps over 91 percentage points for black men. For white men, the impact of imprisonment on the overall unemployment rate is relatively small, moving up about 18 percentage point. Framing this discussion using one standard deviation above the mean, the unadjusted unemployment rates show that the majority of counties experienced black rates under 15 percent and white rates under 8 percent. When imprisoned men are counted among the unemployed, the ceiling for the unemployment rate of most counties jumps about 177 percent for black men. For white men, the impact of imprisonment on the unemployment rate ceiling for most counties remains relatively small, moving up about 22 percentage points. These data show a marked difference in the gap between

[46] Please see the Data and Methods section of Chapter 1 and the Methods section of Chapter 2 for more details regarding the 1960 sample.
[47] Please see the Methods section of Chapter 2 for more details regarding how the dependent variable was measured.

these unadjusted and adjusted statistics for white men and those for black men. This is illustrated by the similarity between the white graphs and dissimilarity between the black graphs (see Figures 3.1-3.4). While the width of the curve representing the standard and adjusted white unemployment rates are both relatively thin, the curve representing the distribution of the sample for the adjusted unemployment rates for black men is much broader than the curve representing the standard unemployment rates for black men. The ratio of the mean to its standard deviation clearly demonstrates this difference. In the case of whites, the standard and adjusted ratios are 1.768 and 1.639 respectively; i.e., relatively tight distributions. Similar figures for the unemployment rate of African American men are 2.416 and 0.960, respectively. The white male ratio was reduced by only 7 percent by the adjustment, while the African American ratio was cut by over 60 percent. This exemplifies the extent of the racial disparity in the importance of imprisonment as a source of hidden unemployment.

Independent Variables

Descriptive statistics for these variables are located in Table 3.1. For details regarding how proportion black was calculated please see the corresponding section of Chapter 2.[48] This section of Chapter 2 also provides details regarding the quadratic term for proportion black including why it was included and what it measures. Table 3.1 shows that, on average, blacks represented less than ten percent of counties in the Civil Rights era urban America. Most counties had black populations that were under 20 percent of the total population (one standard deviation above the mean).

[48] To determine the relevance of racial threat and the competition hypothesis, each county's African American proportion was considered.

For details regarding where the segregation data are located and how this variables was calculated please see the corresponding section of Chapter 2.[49] As was the case for 1940, the average city in the sample for 1960 had a dissimilarity index high enough to qualify as hypersegregated for this category. It is safe to note that 95 percent of the cities would meet this requirement for hypersegregation (two standard deviations above and below the mean). Consequently, I can assert that a large number of black residents were isolated from white residents and likely suffered from deindustrialization and urban decay.

Jailing serves as the third and final core predictor in this dissertation.[50] I construct the same measure for white men. I use nonwhites as a proxy for blacks because according to the census, "Negroes constitute[d] 92 percent of all nonwhites" in 1960 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1960:xx).[51] Consequently, the nonwhite proxy should provide a relatively accurate portrayal of the black experience in 1960.

These data were gathered from the 1960 U.S. Census for each county (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1960). The data include local male jail or workhouse inmates that were 14 years old and over. The majority of juvenile delinquents were 14 years old or over. Counties with fewer than 800 total inmates and 50 nonwhites in their institutions (e.g., prisons, jails, mental institutions, etc.) were excluded from the sample. These predictors allowed me to explore if Pager's (2003) research on the relationship between

[49] The dissimilarity index was used to measure segregation and the relevance of theories such as spatial mismatch.
[50] To determine the impact of jailing on unemployment, I measure the proportion of jailed inmates that are nonwhite men for each county.
[51] The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 initiated the mass migration of immigrants from Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East. More immigrants from these areas were allowed entrance because this act replaced the national quota system that provided preference to certain countries over others with a system that focused on immigrant skills and familial relationships with U.S. citizens regardless of their country of origin (Keely 1971).

race, incarceration, and employment has historical roots. Although blacks represented a relatively small portion of the population, on average they accounted for about a third of those who were jailed. Most of the counties have black jail proportions that range between 10 and 55 percent of their respective total jail populations (one standard deviation below and above the mean). This illustrates marked variation in county jailing practices of African American men. It also suggests that while some counties' black jailing statistics reflected their corresponding black population, others were vastly inflated. Blacks were typically only 9 percent of a counties' population and few counties were more than 20 percent black. This racially disproportionate jailing should have important implications for racial disparities in unemployment because it removes able-bodied workers from the labor force, places a social stigma on those who are released, hinders the development of social networks, etc.

Regional location serves as one of three control variables used in this analysis. For details regarding why this variable was included and how it was calculated please see the corresponding section of Chapter 2.

I control for percent change in retail employment. These data were recorded for 1954 and 1958, which are the relevant years when the Census of Business was taken (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1954, 1958).[52] Details regarding how this variable was defined and calculated can be found in the corresponding section of Chapter 2. According to Table 3.1, the average county experienced an increase in retail employment. This is consistent with economic research that describes this era as a time of economic

[52] The data (and tabulations) utilized in this (publication) were made available (in part) by the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research. The data were originally collected by the (ICPSR, United States Census Bureau, other agencies or individuals). Neither the original collectors of the data nor the Consortium bear any responsibility for the analyses or interpretations presented here.

growth. During WWII, many feared that when the war ended the Great Depression would return. They were mistaken. The war's end coincided with the emergence of the electronics industry and a housing boom. The latter was spawned by the G.I. Bill of 1944. During the 1940s and 50s billions of dollars in grant money was allocated to veterans to purchase homes with affordable mortgages. Money was also allocated for education. This not only reduced potential labor market competition created by soldiers returning from war but it also boosted the economy by helping millions of workers acquire new skills and become more productive. This led to the explosion of the middle class and the gross national product (GNP). Defense spending for the Cold War also helped fuel this growth.

The Talented Tenth was the final control variable included in the analysis. Details regarding how the Talented Tenth was defined and calculated can be found in the corresponding section of Chapter 2. These data were gathered from the 1960 U.S. Census for each case (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1960). Data are included for cities with 10,000 or more total inhabitants. The Census asked people 25 years old and over "What is the highest grade (or year) of regular school this person has ever attended?" (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1960:xxiv). The descriptives for the Talented Tenth variable elicited some interesting results. The percentage of nonwhites with at least a college degree was calculated and included to assess the relevance of DuBois' (1969) diffusion theory during this era. On average, less than five percent of this population achieved a college degree or higher. The majority of cities have black college graduation rates below 7 percent (one standard deviation above the mean). This is slightly smaller than DuBois' estimate regarding the size of the Talented Tenth. Consequently, I should be

able to appropriately measure the influence of this segment of the black populace on 1960 unemployment rates.

Analytic Strategy

Please see the Methods section of Chapter 2 for details regarding multiple imputation and OLS regression.

RESULTS

An Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression technique was used to test the aforementioned hypotheses. Before testing these hypotheses, I evaluated the likelihood that multicollinearity was leading to unreliable estimates. The correlations among my independent variables shown in Table 3.2 are generally low, indicating that there were not any issues with multicollinearity. The direction of the correlations between the demographic variables and unemployment vary.

The proportion of African Americans in an urban area appears to reduce unemployment for black males regardless of if the adjusted or unadjusted unemployment rates are observed. However, segregation appears to increase unemployment for black males but only for the adjusted unemployment rate. This suggests that large black communities could experience relatively low levels of unemployment if they were residentially integrated with the surrounding white populace. Focusing on the non-race based demographic variable (i.e., region), I can conclude that researchers using the standard unemployment rate may be misled and conclude black men in the South had different unemployment experiences than those in the non-South. When prisoners are not included in the formula, black males seem to benefit from residing in the South. However, there is no significant relationship between the regional variable and the

adjusted unemployment rate. None of the other factors appear to have influenced the likelihood of unemployment for black or white males. It remains to be seen if these relationships hold true when these variables are considered simultaneously. The multivariate regression analyses will explore this and the results are detailed below.

After assessing descriptive statistics and completing collinearity diagnostics, a series of multivariate models were used to test the hypotheses. The multivariate models are estimated to determine which indicators significantly influenced 1960 unadjusted and adjusted unemployment rates for both black and white men. Using OLS regression, these analyses help to ascertain the factors that had an impact on inter-county variation in unemployment.

Table 3.3 presents the regression coefficients of the OLS models examining the effects of proportion black, segregation, region, retail employment, Talented Tenth presence, and jailing on interracial differences in male unemployment. Four race-specific models are presented for 1960; one for each category of unemployment that was explored. Each unemployment category is regressed on the full set of independent variables. The following paragraphs assess the results for the opportunity hoarding predictors.

Proportion Black

Regarding one of the core concepts, proportion black, the adjusted result illustrates that black male unemployment rates are lower in counties where blacks constitute a larger representation of the residents. The reduction of black male unemployment supports the competition hypothesis, which suggests that a high proportion of black residents reduced the likelihood that employers could find eligible and qualified whites to fill positions in

the job market (Glenn 1964; Lieberson 1980; Semyonov 1984; Thurow 1975). These large black populations also allowed for the development of strong ethnogenic institutions that could provide occupational support and job placement resources for residents in these counties (Drake and Cayton 1970; Grossman 1989; McAdam 1999; Price-Spratlen 1999, 2008; Spear 1967; Trotter 1991).

However, the proportion of blacks in an area had a diminishing impact on the black male unemployment rate. In other words, proportion black squared is positive and significant, which suggests that as the proportion of blacks in a county increases, black male unemployment (adjusted) declines at a decelerating rate. This suggests that the minority population could reach a point where the number of workers became oversaturated for the labor market (Frisbie & Niedert 1977; Price-Spratlen 1999). However, according to the regression line, the unemployment rate never increases regardless of how high the black population gets. This is possible because the relationship between population size and unemployment is not a zero-sum game. The number of jobs in a market is not static. Population size is frequently associated with an expansion of opportunities in the labor market (e.g., providing specialized goods for incoming migrants, providing services for new residents, new innovations spawned by the influx of a group, etc.). Jobs can also be gained and lost for reasons that are unrelated to the size of a county's population. Thus, virtual equilibrium in unemployment can be observed regardless of the proportion of blacks residing in an urban area. This is because jobs could have been created at a rate that was not high enough to reduce unemployment but not low enough to increase unemployment (Simon 1990, 1994; Sowell 2011).

Segregation

Segregation is significantly and positively related to both the black male unadjusted ($r = .169$, $p < .01$) and adjusted ($r = 1.005$, $p < .01$) unemployment rates. The effect of segregation is strongest for the adjusted black male unemployment rate ($t = 3.807$). A more inclusive representation of unemployment increases the influence of "segregation". Cases with relatively higher levels of segregation tended to experience higher rates of black male unemployment. This suggests that segregation served as a form of social closure by creating spatial mismatch for minorities. It essentially prevented blacks from having access to social networks, viewing job postings, and being within a reasonable commute to businesses in predominantly white neighborhoods. This effectively reduced the likelihood of employment for black residents (Fernandez and Su 2004; Fernandez 2008; Holzer, Ihlanfeldt, and Sjoquist 1994; Ihlanfeldt and Sjoquist 1998; Kirschenman and Neckerman 1991; Stoll 1999; Wright 1997).

Regardless of if prisoners are included in the formula or not, the white male unemployment rate was not impacted by the level of racial residential segregation. This suggests that the deindustrialization of America's cities disproportionately impacted blacks more than whites (Kornrich 2009). During the Great Migration, large numbers of blacks were funneled into small areas in urban centers[53]. This led to overcrowding[54] and a need for black neighborhoods to expand their boundaries (Kusmer 1976; Massey & Denton 2003). Two practices that resulted from this racial dynamic were redlining and

[53] Black migration from the South to the Northeast and Midwest represented a shift from rural to urban living. In 1900 only 16 percent of adult blacks, compared to 35 percent of whites, lived in a metropolitan area, as defined by the Census Bureau. But by 1960 blacks had become more urbanized than whites—a distinction they retained: in 2000, 86 percent of blacks and 78 percent of whites lived in metropolitan areas. Not only did blacks become more urban: over the course of the century, they concentrated in central cities more than whites did. In 1900, 26 percent of white and 12 percent of black adults lived in central cities. The situation reversed between 1940 and 1950. By 2000 the African American fraction had climbed to 52 percent while the white had dropped to 21 percent (Katz et al. 2005)

[54] It was common practice for homes to be divided prior to black in-migration and rented to multiple black families (Massey & Denton 1993).

blockbusting. Both were enforced and overlooked by the Federal Housing Agency (FHA). Redlining occurs when banks refuse to underwrite mortgage loans for integrated or black neighborhoods or they rate them at a higher risk. This leads to a higher interest rate for less valuable property. This local and national real estate board policy was based on the perception that black and integrated neighborhoods were inferior to homogenous white communities because blacks "were adverse to neighborhood stability … Bankers and local agents who violated this practice had their licenses revoked (Gotham 2002:98-99). Blacks were placed in the same category as bootleggers, prostitutes, and gangsters that would reduce the value of a neighborhood. A National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB) brochure from 1943 used racial language that would change by 1950. However, the spirit of the text remained consistent well past 1960.[55]

> The prospective buyer might be a bootlegger who would cause considerable annoyance to his neighbors, a madam who had a number of call girls on her string, a gangster who wants a screen for his activities by living in a better neighborhood, a colored man of means who was giving his children a college education and thought they were entitled to live among whites…No matter what the motive or character of the would-be purchaser, if the deal would institute a form of blight, then certainly the wellmeaning broker must work against its consummation. (Gordon 2014:83)

While redlining helped lay the groundwork for segregation, blockbusting helped accelerate the process of creating homogenous communities in suburban neighborhoods.

[55] The government attempted to end racial discrimination in the housing market via Kennedy's 1962 Executive Order and the 1968 Fair Housing Act. Neither made much of a difference. Real Estate boards continued to use race to determine the value of a neighborhood and agents continued to utilize practices such as redlining to discriminate against minorities. In 1988, laws addressing housing discrimination were amended so they could actually be enforced (Gordon 2014).

Blockbusting is a strategy used by real estate agents to increase fear of integration by telling white home owners that blacks were moving in and inquiring about selling their home. Sometimes real estate agencies would even have their black agents inquire to increase the fear of a "black invasion". These real estate agents would share information about redlining and how white neighborhoods would decline in value as the process of racial turnover began so it was in their best interest to sell immediately (Gotham 2002; Massey & Denton 1993).

These racially discriminatory practices in combination with tax deductions, federal mortgage guarantees, and highway construction led to the mass white exodus of whites from urban to suburban communities (Wacquant 1994). The suburban occupation relocation that followed during the 1940s and 50s detrimentally affected urban economies across the country. Segregation, in concert with deindustrialization, has been shown to be associated with a shortage of jobs in urban communities where blacks were confined. This concentrated unemployment for urban blacks while it had a negligible impact on whites, who were not motivated to use segregation as a tool for opportunity hoarding in the tight labor market of 1960 (Krivo et al. 1998; Massey & Denton 1993; Sugrue 1996; Tolnay 2003).

Jailing

Hiding able-bodied working age black men and removing them from the labor force formula underestimates the impact of jailing on the black male unemployment rate. However, the adjusted unemployment rate increases the predictive utility of the "black male jail proportion" variable. Counties with relatively higher proportions of black males in jail tended to experience higher rates of black male unemployment. This suggests that

if one categorizes black prisoners as "work seekers" in the unemployment rate, the black male jail proportion magnifies the black male unemployment rate. This result can be explained by research that shows how black males released from jail are stigmatized as less trustworthy, display behavior that is frowned upon at conventional jobs, lack social networks, etc. Consequently, they are often the least likely to be hired (Donziger 1996; Irwin & Austin 1994; Pager 2003; Western 2007), which adds to the black male unemployment rate.

This explanation is substantiated by the results showing that none of the relationships for the "white male jail proportion" are significant. This suggests that the jailing (i.e., confinement for less than one year) of white men did not improve the employment prospects of black men. Logic would suggest that it should improve black male employment prospects because white jailing should lead to less competition for employment. One explanation for this phenomenon is provided by Pager (2003). She argued that upon their release, white men in the modern era are still more likely to be hired than black men without a criminal record. These results empirically support a historical extension of this theory. Even when the jailing of white men is high, black male unemployment remains the same because white men released from jail are higher on the employment queue than black men and consequently can reenter the labor market ahead of them. This effectively leaves the black male unemployment rate unchanged. Some may argue that unemployed white males, who were not in jail in 1960, could have entered the labor market ahead of black males in counties with high proportions of white males in jail. This would also effectively leave the black male unemployment rate unchanged. However, this explanation is weaker than the one proposed above because

white unemployment is not significantly reduced in these high white male jailing conditions.

The Difference Adjustment Makes

The model predicts the black male adjusted unemployment rate (adjusted $R^2 = 0.252$) more accurately than the black male unadjusted unemployment rate (adjusted $R^2 = 0.166$). This over a 50 percent increase of variance explained. This further confirms that including black men who are incarcerated as work seekers in the unemployment rate provides a more accurate depiction of labor underutilization among working-age black men. Consequently, the adjusted model is the best fit as it more accurately captures the aforementioned variables' impact on black male unemployment. Please see the corresponding section of Chapter 2 for a rationale regarding why these R^2 values are efficacious.

The model predicts the white male adjusted unemployment rate (adjusted $R^2 = 0.001$) slightly less accurately than the white male unadjusted unemployment rate (adjusted $R^2 = 0.003$). This suggests that the adjusted labor force data provides a less accurate measure of unemployment among working-age white men. It also suggests that the adjustment to the unemployment rate makes little difference in the depiction of the labor underutilization among working-age white men. Comparatively speaking, the adjustment to the standard unemployment rate is less consequential for whites because the ratio of white men seeking work outnumbers white men in prison 20:1[56]. This ratio is substantially lower than it is for black men (6:1). Consequently, there is less of a difference between the white conventional unemployment rate and the adjusted rate than there is for the two black unemployment rates.

[56] Formula = total white men seeking work / total white men in prison

Observing the differences between the adjusted R^2 values of the models focused on black males and white males is informative. Both the adjusted and unadjusted R^2 values for the black male models are substantially larger than those of the white male models. This suggests that these indicators were more influential on black male unemployment during the Civil Rights era than they were for white male unemployment.

Additional Considerations

During the process of developing the aforementioned regression model, many interactions were explored. One such interaction evaluated how male unemployment in communities with high levels of black male jailing varied by region. Since the strength of opportunity hoarding mechanisms vary by regional context (Wacquant 2003), this would have allowed me to explore how black male jailing impacted southerners versus non-southerners. However, this variable did not elicit any significant results, which suggests that deindustrialization did not impact black southerners any more or less than it did for black northerners. Other interactions that were introduced to the model included segregation and the proportion of jailed inmates that were black, segregation and the percentage of Nonwhites with College Degree or higher, as well as proportion black residents and the percentage of Nonwhites with College Degree or higher. None of these variables elicited any significant coefficients so they were all omitted.

In addition to interactions, some other variables were also explored. Different variations of the Talented Tenth (e.g., blacks with some college experience) were introduced to the model. However, none of their coefficients were significant. This

indicates that even when the definition of Talented Tenth is expanded, this population was unable to have an impact on the employment prospects of the black community.[57]

Some indicators that capture the influence of the manufacturing sector on unemployment rates were also introduced to the model. A theme with the results (not shown) show that an increased presence of manufacturing establishments and employment reduced white unemployment, while an increased presence of manufacturing establishments and payroll increased black unemployment. This indicates that the effects of manufacturing benefitted white economic circumstances and simultaneously hindered black circumstances. This further confirms the aforementioned theories of deindustrialization. Counties experiencing an increased presence of manufacturing establishments, sent these plants to the suburbs where there were white residents and cheaper land (Glaeser 1998; Sassen 1990). Whites benefitted, while blacks were left in the inner cities to suffer from urban decay.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this study I explored predictors that are rarely considered simultaneously and an outcome that is often ignored in academia. The results reveal the importance of considering those who are imprisoned when studying unemployment. This research makes three primary contributions to the literature by adjusting the unemployment rate and extending the analysis of black proportion, segregation, and jailing to a different historical era.

[57] Slightly over 5 percent of blacks in the average county had some college experience. The majority of counties have black college graduation rates below 9 percent (one standard deviation above the mean). This is slightly smaller than the DuBois' estimate regarding the size of the Talented Tenth but larger than the size of the black college graduate population.

In the first hypothesis I proposed that, according to competition hypotheses, Marxist theories on the utilization of surplus populations, and theories on tight / slack labor markets, African American proportion was negatively related to the nonwhite male standard unemployment rate and unrelated to the white unemployment rate. The results offer mixed support for this hypothesis. Proportion black was unrelated to both standard unemployment variables. The lack of significance shown in the relationship between proportion black and the nonwhite standard unemployment rate is surprising considering the extensive amount of research that details the impact black communities have on their employment prospects (Lieberson 1980; Price-Spratlen 1999, 2008).

In the second hypothesis I expected that, according to spatial mismatch theory and other theories of social closure, racial residential segregation was positively related to both nonwhite and white male standard unemployment rates. As with Hypothesis 1, the results also offer mixed support for this hypothesis. Although there was a positive relationship between segregation and the nonwhite male standard unemployment rate, I failed to find any relationship between segregation and the white male standard unemployment rate. The relationship between segregation and nonwhite male unemployment indicates that racial segregation served as an effective strategy for excluding blacks from the labor market.

In the third hypothesis I predicted that the jailing of nonwhite males was positively related to the nonwhite male standard unemployment rate and negatively related to the white unemployment rate, while the jailing of white males was unrelated to the nonwhite and white male standard unemployment rates. This was informed by theories that detail the influence of jailing on the likelihood of employment and Pager's

queuing theory. The hypothesis was only partially supported by my findings. Neither of the jailing variables was related to either of the unemployment variables. The lack of significance shown in the relationship between nonwhite jailing and the nonwhite standard unemployment rate is surprising considering the vast amount of research that details the impact incarceration has on their employment prospects (Alexander 2010; Pager 2003; Western 2007).

In the fourth hypothesis I asserted that the adjustment of the nonwhite male unemployment rate would increase the significance of the aforementioned hypothesized relationships and cause them to have more explanatory value than the relationships with the standard unemployment rates. But it would not alter the direction of these relationships. However, the adjustment of the white unemployment rate would not intensify, weaken, or alter any of the hypotheses because the unadjusted and adjusted white unemployment rates should prove to be very similar. This was informed by Western's (2007) theory regarding how incarceration underestimates unemployment and creates flawed narratives of inequality. The results offer mixed evidence for Western's theory. The adjusted unemployment rate led to increased significance for all of the relationships with nonwhite unemployment excluding segregation and white jailing. Additionally, the adjusted unemployment rate did not significantly intensify, weaken, or alter any of the relationships with white unemployment.[58] Failing to recognize prisoners in the standard unemployment rate hides the relevance of Pager's queuing theory and its historical roots in the Civil Rights era. Using a more accurate measure of black male

[58] Here I am focusing on the relationships of central interest to this study. These include the relationships shared by the unemployment variables with proportion black, segregation, and nonwhite / white jailing.

unemployment highlights the relevance of this theory, which helps explain how race and crime intersect to determine one's likelihood of employment.

Arguments for these results could be strengthened by addressing the limitations of this research, which are primarily data related. First, my research used proportion black and segregation as a proxy for the presence of ethnogenic institutions. It would be worthwhile to specifically measure the local ethnogenic institutions' influence on unemployment rates. Second, as stated in Chapter 2, in order to expand the number of predictors to include variables such as ethnogenic institutions I would need to expand the sample size.[1] Future research should consider including more urban areas. Still, the limitations of this study are far outweighed by the advances it makes in illustrating the influence of African American proportion, racial residential segregation, and jailing on rates of unemployment during the Jim Crow era.

This dissertation suggests that when studying racial theories and the labor market, researchers should not only use a more accurate measure of unemployment but they should also note the circumstances of the time period and how they may be relevant to the relationship between a predictor and an outcome. The results from this chapter illustrate how different opportunity hoarding variables operated in 1960. Will the variables that were relevant in the midst of Civil Rights legislation be relevant 26 years after Brown v. Board of Education and 15 years after the Civil Rights Act[59]? I will explore this further in the upcoming chapter which addresses the influence of the temporal context of 1980 on methods of exclusion. These results will explore if and how the aforementioned hypotheses changed during this year and further underscore the

[59] The Brown v. Board of Education Supreme Court decision was made in 1954. The Civil Rights Act was passed in 1965 and the Voting Rights Act preceded it by a year in 1964.

importance of considering contextual characteristics when studying the aforementioned relationships.

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Dev.
Male Unemployment Rate				
NonWhite Standard	3.704	34.426	10.688	4.423
White Standard	1.844	27.326	4.826	2.730
Nonwhite Adjusted	0.000	91.992	20.511	21.356
White Adjusted	2.484	27.326	5.710	3.484
Proportion Black				
Squared	0.001	2904.712	187.058	390.942
Linear	0.034	53.895	9.157	10.196
Segregation	63.900	97.000	84.603	7.057
Male Jail Proportion				
Nonwhite	0.000	100.000	31.545	22.269
White	0.000	100.000	67.740	22.855
Control				
South	0.000	1.000	0.191	0.395
Retail employment (1954-58)	-94.320	902.910	12.222	78.863
Talented Tenth	0.000	18.805	3.817	2.669

Table 3.1. Minimum, Maximum, Mean, and Standard Deviation for Explanatory Variables (N=136)

	Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	NonWhite Male Standard Unemployment Rate											
2	White Male Standard Unemployment Rate	.316**										
3	Nonwhite Male Adjusted Unemployment Rate	.351**	.105									
4	White Male Adjusted Unemployment Rate	.271**	.749**	.449**								
5	Proportion Black Squared	-.236**	-.124	-.179*	-.040							
6	Proportion Black	-.264**	-.135	-.258**	-.050	.928**						
7	Segregation	.053	-.012	.172*	.131	.244**	.356**					
8	Nonwhite Male Jail Proportion	-.054	-.028	.091	.048	.426**	.547**	.355**				
9	White Male Jail Proportion	.023	-.026	-.054	-.080	-.400**	-.505**	-.324**	-.928**			
10	South	-.335**	-.157	-.121	-.028	.504**	.592**	.454**	.362**	-.338**		
11	Retail employment (1954-58)	-.039	-.032	-.076	-.094	-.005	.033	.058	.043	-.038	-.020	
12	Talented Tenth	-.151	-.082	-.036	-.067	.008	-.052	-.098	-.255**	.245**	-.053	-.038

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 3.2. Intercorrelations of Dependent and Explanatory Variables (N=136)

	Nonwhite Unadj	White Unadj	Nonwhite Adj	White Adj
	b	b	b	b
	(t)	(t)	(t)	(t)
Proportion Black				
Squared	0.002	0.000	0.045**	0.001
	(0.794)	(0.119)	(3.841)	(0.682)
Linear	-0.148	-0.032	-2.729**	-0.093
	(-1.335)	(-0.427)	(-5.386)	(-0.974)
Segregation	0.169**	0.030	1.005**	0.097
	(2.931)	(0.776)	(3.807)	(1.946)
Male Jail Proportion				
Nonwhite	-0.023	-0.038	0.564**	-0.025
	(-0.513)	(-1.292)	(2.803)	(-0.670)
White	-0.037	-0.045	0.234	-0.039
	(-0.897)	(-1.619)	(1.250)	(-1.097)
Control Variables				
South	-4.234**	-1.071	-2.328	-0.636
	(-3.644)	(-1.366)	(-0.438)	(-0.635)
Retail employment (1954-58)	-0.003	-0.001	-0.018	-0.004
	(-0.740)	(-0.457)	(-0.862)	(-1.169)
Talented Tenth	-0.245	-0.081	0.053	-0.065
	(-1.803)	(-0.878)	(0.085)	(-0.554)
Adjusted R2	0.166	0.003	0.252	0.001

*p < .05; **p < .01, two-tailed significance tests

t statistic critical value = 1.97

N=136

Table 3.3. OLS Regression of Unadjusted and Adjusted Unemployment Rates on Demographics, Economics, Education, and Jailing

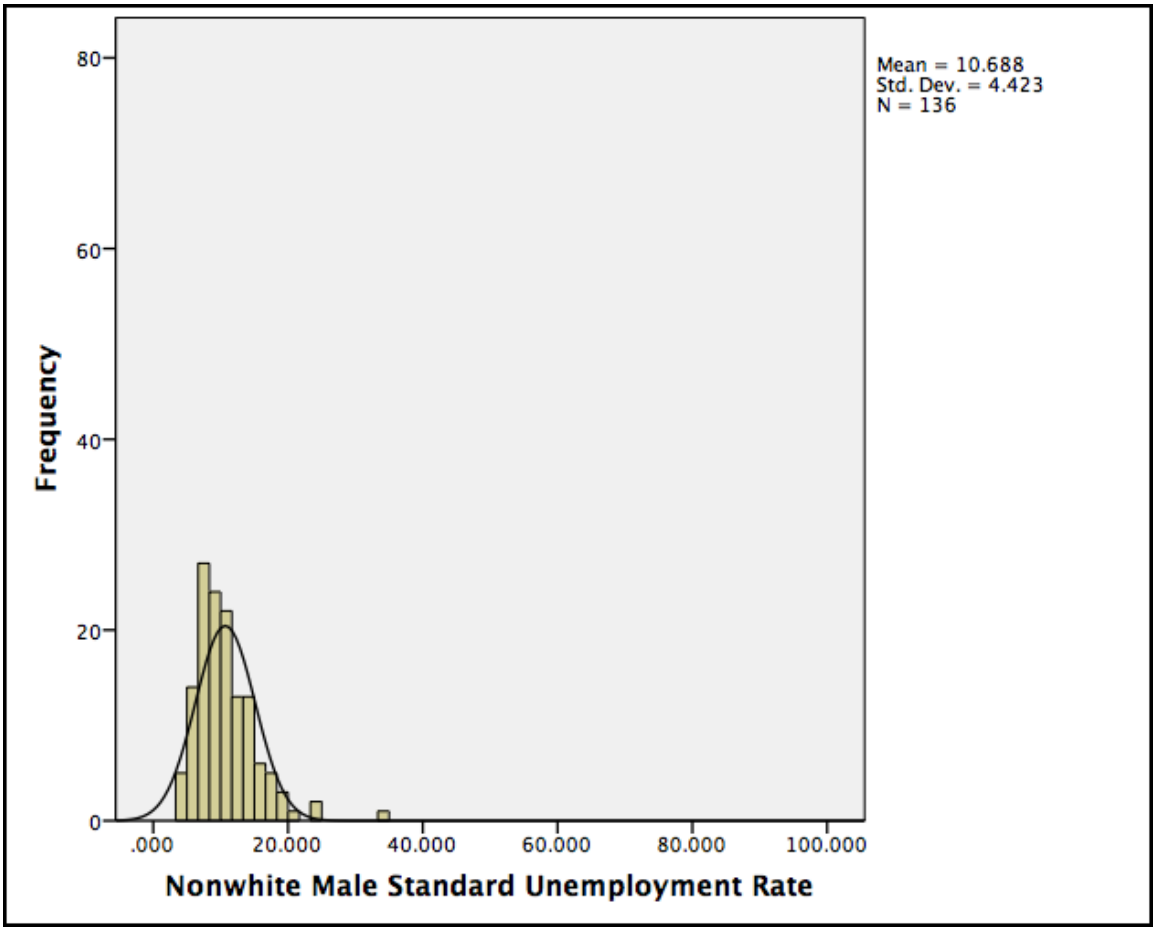

Figure 3.1. Nonwhite Male Standard Unemployment Rate Standard Deviation Distribution

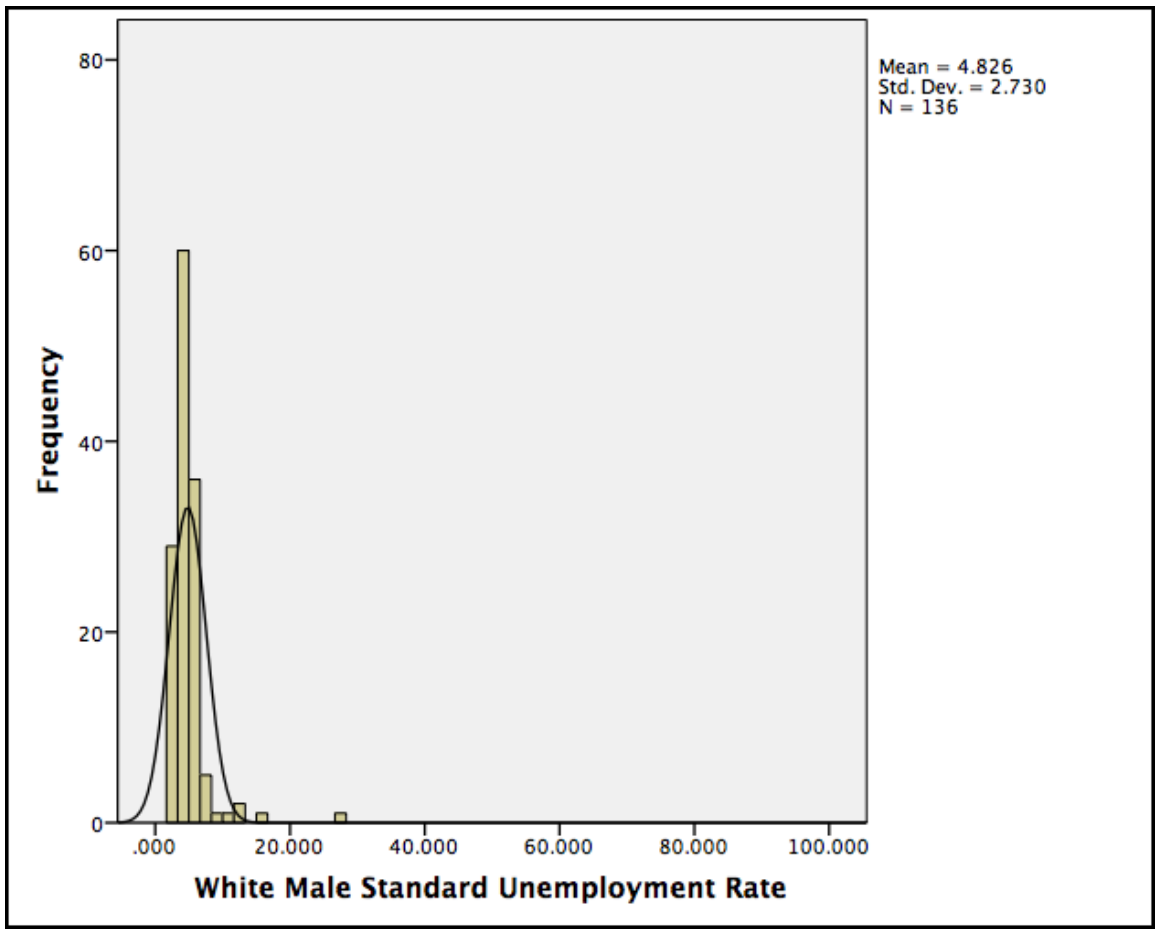

Figure 3.2. White Male Standard Unemployment Rate Standard Deviation Distribution

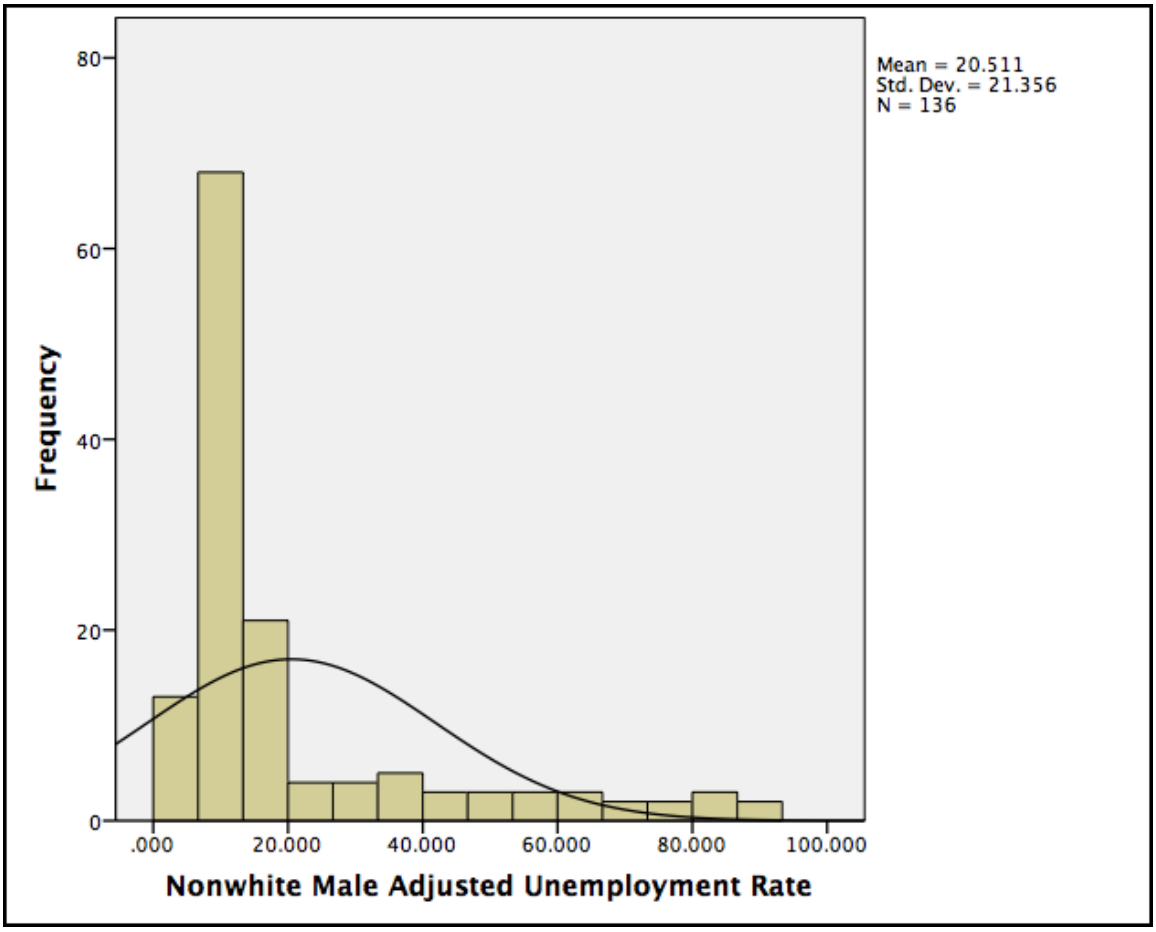

Figure 3.3. Nonwhite Male Adjusted Unemployment Rate Standard Deviation Distribution

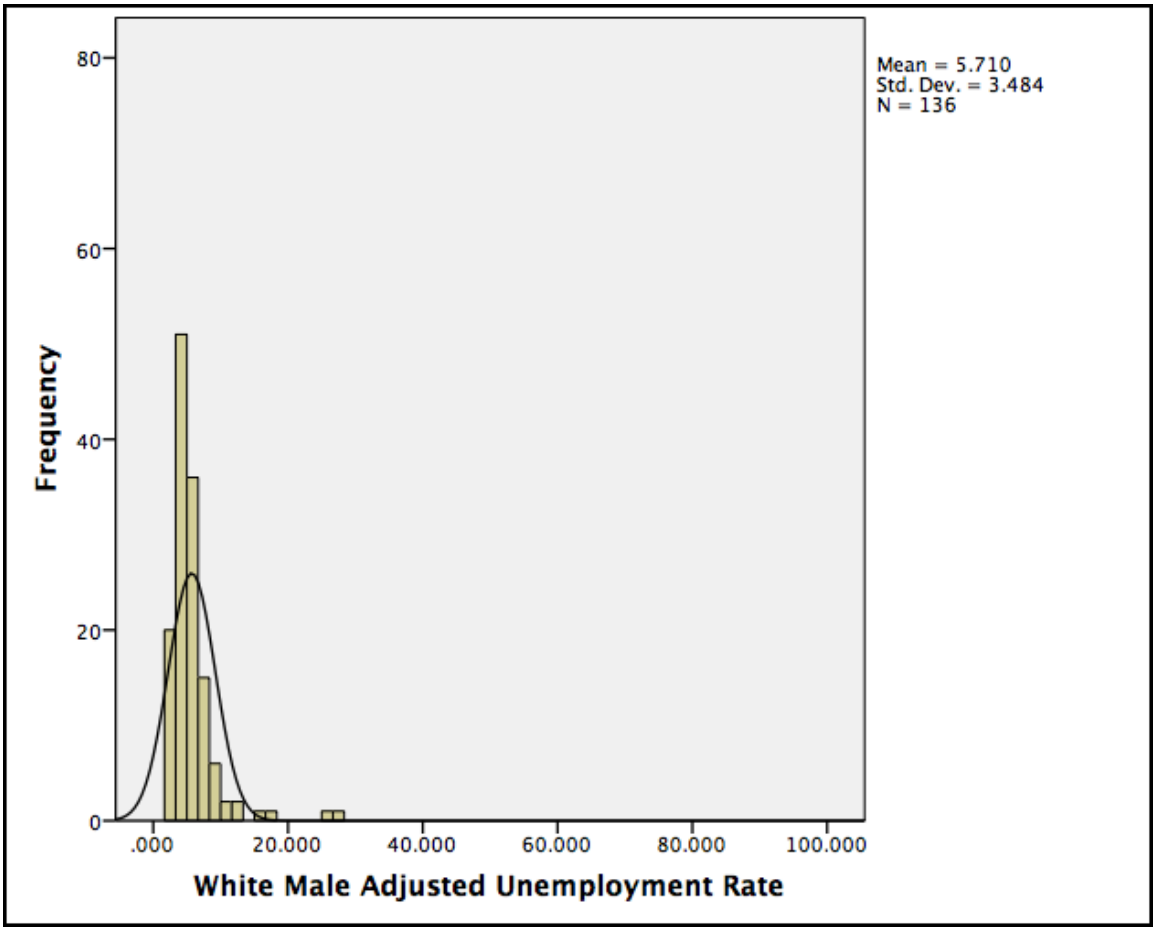

Figure 3.4. White Male Adjusted Unemployment Rate Standard Deviation Distribution

Chapter 4: 1980 – The Relative Influence of Black Proportion, Segregation, and Jailing on Race Specific Unemployment Rates in The Post-Civil Rights Era

In this chapter I weave the social context of 1980 with various theories of social closure and Durable Inequality Theory (DIT) to explain how mechanisms of opportunity hoarding were used during this time.[60] I test hypotheses using data from the 1972, 1977, and 1980 censuses. I estimate the relationship that proportion black, segregation, and jailing shared with unemployment and how this varied across 1980 U.S. urban labor markets using Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression. I also assess how a more accurate accounting of unemployment alters the relationships between mechanisms of exclusion (i.e., opportunity hoarding) and black / white male[61] labor underutilization, while controlling for variables such as region, retail employment, and the Talented Tenth.

THEORY

As stated in Chapter 2, my theoretical framework centers on two questions. The first question is: How did common mechanisms of opportunity hoarding effectively marginalize black men from the labor market and monopolize employment for white men in 1980? The second question is: How does a more inclusive accounting of

[60] Please see the corresponding section of Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion of DIT and how it serves as the foundation of this study.
[61] Please see the Methods section of Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion of why women were excluded from the analysis.

unemployment[62] alter the relationships between methods of exclusion (i.e., opportunity hoarding) and black / white male labor utilization? Regarding the first question, the year 1980 was a complicated period full of changes that would impact America for decades to come. In 1980, blacks were beginning to experience a new labor market that allowed them to be more competitive due to the Civil Rights Act, the Voting Rights Act, and Affirmative Action which were all passed about 15 years earlier.[63] Like the Civil Rights era, perceptions on race were evolving. Overt discrimination was more frowned upon by mainstream society and covert discrimination via mandatory-minimum sentences, "tough-on-crime" policies, anti-drug laws, etc. was becoming more prevalent (Alexander 2010; Hillinan 2001; Tittle 1994). How did this social context impact the effectiveness of the aforementioned opportunity hoarding mechanisms?

Additionally, as stated above, my second question explores how a more inclusive accounting of unemployment alters the relationships between strategies of exclusion (i.e., opportunity hoarding) and black / white male labor market participation. Western (2006)[64] argues that incarceration artificially underestimates our measures of inequality because standard unemployment rates conceal the actual loss of productive potential by not counting inmates. The severity of this underestimation varies with race and temporal context. This chapter will explore the unique race specific incarceration rates of 1980; how they impact the severity of this underestimation; and how this level of underestimation impacted the relationship between mechanisms of exclusion and black / white male labor utilization.

[62] Please see the Data and Methods section of chapter 1 for details on how this was calculated.
[63] The Civil Rights Act was passed in 1965.
[64] This text is a comparison of the U.S. labor market with that of European countries in the 1980s and 90s. Western focuses on the scope of inaccuracies in measures of wages, earnings, and employment that result from the exclusion of the prison population.

In the following paragraphs I explore hypotheses about how specific opportunity hoarding tactics (i.e., overt discrimination, segregation, and jailing) influence unemployment rates for black and white men. Throughout this section of the text I utilize various theories of social closure. I then explain how using a more inclusive account of the unemployment rate likely influences these relationships.

Black Proportion

Regarding one of the core concepts, proportion black, neither the unadjusted or adjusted black or white male unemployment rates should be influenced by a larger representation of black residents. This is because neither racial threat nor ethnogenesis should play a role in the likelihood of employment for males in the labor market during the post-Civil Rights era.

Authors have argued that racial threat was less of an issue after the 1970s because of Civil Rights legislation. Social pressures from the public mounted as whites responded to protests, sit-ins, and boycotts with violence that was covered by the national media. News outlets brought video into America's living rooms of whites beating African Americans, dogs biting protesters, fire hoses lifting marchers off of the sidewalk, and police controlling crowds with electric cattle prods. These highly publicized images led to Civil Rights legislation that forced the majority group to end strategies of maintaining racial order and opportunity hoarding through overt employment discrimination, intimidation, violence, etc. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 established that employment discrimination based on race was illegal, while the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 empowered the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

(EEOC) to actually sue labor organizations who violated this legislation. President Lyndon Johnson's 1965 executive order

> "required federal contractors to refrain from discriminating at every stage of the employment process and to take positive steps - that is, affirmative action - to ensure that they treated workers equally, regardless of their race … [H]is administration established an enforcement agency - the Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCC, later OFCCP) that could debar contractors who failed to comply with [Affirmative Action] requirements." (Harper & Reskin 2005:365)

However, other methods of social control continued because they achieved the goal of maintaining racial order while staying within the new rules as defined by Civil Rights legislation[65] (Alexander 2010).

It can also be explained by research that asserts that tight labor markets (i.e., more jobs than workers) experience relatively more occupational integration than slack labor markets (i.e., more workers than jobs) (Albelda 1986; Charles 1992; Ovadia 2003; Suk 2007; Thurow 1975; Reskin and Roos 1990). This suggests that where there was an increase in occupational opportunities (i.e., tight labor markets) employers were less likely to discriminate. Consequently, black residents experienced more occupational inclusion during temporal periods that experienced increased levels of economic growth.

Additionally, surplus populations (i.e., disposable industrial armies) are exploited when the economy needs them. When the economy expands, their human capital is utilized. When the economy contracts, the members of this surplus population are warehoused in impoverished corners of society, dependent on the state, until their services are needed again (Marx 1967; Spitzer 1975). Since the conception of this

[65] One such method, jailing, is explored below.

country, blacks were positioned in the "lowest sediment" of the surplus population. This time period was an era of economic expansion where the surplus labor market was called upon to fill voids in new industries (e.g., electronics and service) (Myers and Sabol 1987). Consequently, feelings of racial threat were not triggered with the large presence of African Americans.

Authors have also argued that the influence of ethnogenic institutions wanes as time progresses. Although ethnogenic institutions provided occupational support and job placement resources, they also developed a social structure of black employment that was self-perpetuating. This structure included social networks, increased work experience for African American workers, increased white acceptance of black employees, etc. (Price-Spratlen 1998; 1999). Each of these factors increased the likelihood of black employment. For example, each employee that was hired as a result of the work of the NUL, NAACP, black church, etc. became a potential contact for an unemployed black resident. Here we can note that black employment generates more black employment. This cumulative causation eventually reduced the influence of ethnogenic institutions on unemployment by 1980. Based on this research, I hypothesize that:

1) African American proportion is not related to the black or white male standard unemployment rates.

Racial Residential Segregation

During the 1960s and 70s, businesses continued to move away from urban areas and racial residential segregation persisted. Employers were drawn to the relatively cheaper suburban land that afforded them the opportunity to build single story plants. The urban loss of jobs is a clear consequence of deindustrialization (Glaeser, 1998; Goldfield 1997;

Sassen, 1990). And despite the Fair Housing Act of 1968, in the years leading up to 1980, blacks continued to experience segregation that resulted from racial steering (Ross and Yinger 2003; Yinger 1995), white disdain for black neighbors (Emerson, Yancey, and Chai 2001), racial discrimination in the distribution of subsidized housing in the suburbs (Brown 1999), etc. Middle class blacks, who could afford to live close to middle class white neighborhoods, were often prevented from integrating with whites. This developed a pattern of middle class black neighborhoods that lined the periphery of poor black ghettos (Pattillo 1999; 2005).

However, the effects of segregation and spatial mismatch were likely not as strong in the years leading up to 1980, as they were in previous decades. As was noted in previous chapters, spatial mismatch prevents blacks from having access to social networks, viewing job postings, and being within a reasonable commute to businesses in predominantly white neighborhoods (Fernandez 2008; Holzer, Ihlanfeldt, and Sjoquist 1994[1]; Stoll 1999). Affirmative Action legislation made spatial mismatch a less effective tool for opportunity hoarding. In 1971, the Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCC, later OFCCP) began to monitor employers and in 1972 Griggs v. Duke Power "expanded the legal meaning of discrimination to include neutral employment practices with an unjustified and adverse impact on protected groups" (Harper & Reskin 2005:369). This led to increased outreach and employment of black males because companies that did not at least make a "good faith effort" to at least "advertise openings broadly" could be sanctioned or lose out on incentives (Harper & Reskin 2005:367). "In the years from its birth to 1973, a period of weak enforcement, [Affirmative Action] raised black men's … employment in unskilled jobs in contractor firms … Enforcement

efforts escalated between 1974 and 1980 … Black men continued to be employed at higher rates by contractors" (Harper & Reskin 2005:368). This outreach and recruitment of minorities made spatial mismatch a less effective tool for preventing blacks from having access to social networks and viewing job postings. Those who were within a reasonable commute to suburban jobs likely had an increased chance of finding employment, which would have negated any advantage whites would have gained or any disadvantage blacks would have experienced from racial residential segregation.

Additionally, the successes of the Civil Rights Movement made it possible for blacks to translate segregation and racial residential density into political power. This political power opened the door to employment opportunities that were previously closed. For example, 1980 was 15 years after the Voting Rights Act of 1965. This allowed blacks to benefit on a local political level from their residential segregation. Black voters could elect representatives who would advocate for investments into their community businesses, which increased the likelihood of employment for local residents (Covington 1999; Valez 2002; Zahn 1998). Blacks used their new political power from the Voting Rights Act to advocate the enforcement of equal opportunity employment on a local level. This played a role in increasing the likelihood of black employment outside of ethnic enclaves (Fossett & Seibert 1997). Like Affirmative Action, the political gains of the Civil Rights era reduced the impact of the disadvantages that accompanied living in a predominantly black area. Consequently, segregation did not create a benefit or detriment to unemployment during this time. This leads me to my second hypothesis, which is:

2) Racial residential segregation is not related to the black or white male standard unemployment rates.

Jailing

Counties with relatively higher proportions of black males in jail likely tended to experience lower rates of white male unemployment. The incarceration of black men likely reduced labor market competition and created employment opportunities for white men. In the 1960s, jail sentences were indeterminate. Judges had the autonomy to tailor a punishment for an offender. One of the benefits of this system was that the state could control its jail population and avoid incarcerating those who were not a threat to civilians (Rothman 1980).

By the 1970s, this system was criticized by Democrats for discriminating against non-whites and by Republicans for being too lenient on drug offenders. On June 17, 1971 President Richard Nixon declared that "drug abuse" was "public enemy number one".[66] Less than two years later, New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller launched what he argued was the "toughest anti-drug program in the country". The policy established that those found with even small amounts of illegal drugs (i.e., possessing four ounces or selling two ounces) would serve a mandatory sentence of 15 years to life. Additionally, anyone convicted of a second felony would serve a mandatory prison sentence (Schlosser 1998). The policy tapped into middle-class fear of crime and was very popular. Consequently, other politicians seeking political gain soon followed suit and enacted their own variation of mandatory-minimum sentences. For example, in

[66] Richard Nixon: "Remarks About an Intensified Program for Drug Abuse Prevention and Control.," June 17, 1971. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=3047.

1976, California Governor Jerry Brown completely abandoned the idea of rehabilitation, indeterminate sentences, and parole (Hillinan 2001).

These law and order, "tough-on-crime" policies spread quickly throughout the country. Although illegal drug use was approximately the same for both black and white men, black men were much more likely to be arrested for a drug offense. This is a consequence of racial bias in the criminal justice system and the racial disparity in access to adequate legal representation (Alexander 2010; Devine and Elliott 1995; Kang, et al. 2012; Tittle 1994). Consequently, the new anti-drug policies widened the racial disparity of jailed inmates. The new anti-drug policies of the 1970s also mark the genesis of when companies in the industries of architecture, construction, plumbing, food supply, medical, transportation, telecommunication, security / surveillance, etc. began to profit from the growth of the criminal justice industry. Because of the racial queue of America's labor market, the majority of these newly created jobs were filled by white men (Hillinan 2001). This suggests that white men directly benefitted economically from the warehousing of black men.

The reduction in white unemployment likely also resulted from the difficulty black men experience finding employment after they are incarcerated. Research has shown that black males released from jail are stigmatized as less trustworthy, display behavior that is frowned upon at conventional jobs, lack social networks, etc. Consequently, they are often the least likely to be hired (Donziger 1996; Irwin & Austin 1994; Pager 2003; Western 2007), which increases employment opportunities for white males in a racially homogenous economy. However, black unemployment should not be impacted by black jailing because white males who were never jailed and those who were

recently released from jail should have a higher likelihood of taking these jobs due to their position in the racial queue.

Counties with relatively higher proportions of white males in jail should experience lower rates of white male unemployment due to growth of new and old industries affiliated with the criminal justice system. However, black unemployment should not be impacted by white jailing because white males who were never jailed and those who were recently released from jail were likely to be higher on the employment queue and more likely to be employed in these jobs as well as others (Pager 2003).

Although the mass incarceration of African Americans is considered a more recent phenomenon, blacks have been jailed at disproportionate rates for decades. Blacks have been stereotyped as violent and deviant for centuries. The accumulation of this racial bias in policing, charging, sentencing, etc. has culminated in wide racial disparities in jailing (Devine and Elliott 1995; Kang, et al. 2012; Tittle 1994). Additionally, research has shown that crime and incarceration disproportionately occur in poor communities, which was primarily where blacks resided due to their limited options at the time. The physical disorder (Kelling & Coles 1996; Skogan 1990), density (Roneck 1981; Smith & Jarjoura 1988), and residential turnover (Bursik & Grasmick 1993; Katyal 2002; Sampson & Raudenbush 1999; Shaw & McKay 1969) commonly found in these communities tend to create high rates of criminal activity and subsequent arrests (Park et al. 1925).

Previous research has shown a positive relationship between jailing and unemployment (Western, Kling and Weiman 2000). This is in part a result of the legal discrimination that people with criminal records experienced and continue to experience

when seeking employment (Alexander 2010; Bursik & Grasmick 1993; Holzer & Stoll 2001; Sampson 1986). Employers often use an applicant's criminal background as a dull measure of reliability and productivity (Boshier & Johnson 1974; Buikhuisen & Dijksterhuis 1971; Nagin & Waldfogel 1998; Schwartz & Skolnick 1962; Western 2007). Employers also assume that ex-offenders are likely to commit additional crimes (Bushway 1996; Holzer et al. 2003). However, this is an extremely flawed and simplistic strategy that does not take into consideration the "wide range of circumstances that resulted in their incarceration, or for the equally wide range of motivations, skills and aptitudes within this heterogeneous population" (Peck & Theodore 2008:264).

Jailing also hinders opportunities to gain and improve saleable skills (Braman 2007; Holzer et al. 2003; Waldfogel, 1994). Instead, positive work habits deteriorate behind bars and inmates develop "certain attitudes, mannerisms, and behavioral practices that on 'the inside' function to enhance survival but are not compatible with success in the conventional job market" (Western & Beckett 1999:1045).

Not only does jailing erode skills but it can lead to psychological conditions and physical disabilities that make it difficult for those released from jail to find work. The jail gangs that originated in the 1950s became more prevalent by 1980. The increase in gang membership was in part a result of law and order, "tough-on-crime" policies that crammed jails with new potential members who needed protection. This created a cycle of violence that criminal justice officials were unable to contain (Howell 2011; Skarbek 2014).

Research has shown that inmates are often released back into the neighborhoods where they were arrested (Alexander 2010; Rose & Clear 1998; Sabol & Lynch 1998).

"The concentration of released [inmates] in the local population could affect firms' locational decisions and so reduce labor demands" (Western et al. 2001:415). This reduces economic opportunities due to spatial mismatch; a theory explored in previous paragraphs.

Because jail rates were highest amongst black men, the negative effect of jailing on employment was focused on this demographic (Western & Beckett 1999). The inequalities of the penal system essentially reduced the likelihood of employment for an entire social group (Garland 2006).

The impact of disproportionate jailing on unemployment is compounded by variance in the hiring practices of white and black ex-offenders. Research has shown that white ex-offenders are significantly more likely to be hired than black ex-offenders (Pager and Quillian 2005). Research suggests that black males with criminal records are often placed at the bottom of the hiring queue, while white males with a criminal record are more likely to be hired than black males without a criminal record (Pager 2003). Employers stereotype and discriminate against both blacks and criminals. When an applicant is a member of both demographics, this discrimination is intensified (Quillian and Pager 2002; Darley and Gross 1983; Devine and Elliott 1995; Fiske and Neuberg 1990; Smith 1991; Sniderman and Piazza 1993). Based on these theoretical rationales, I hypothesize that:

3) The jailing of black males is positively related to the black standard unemployment rate and negatively related to the white standard unemployment rate. The jailing of white males is unrelated to the black standard unemployment rate and negatively related to the white standard unemployment rate.

Adjusted Unemployment Rates

Please see the Adjusted Unemployment Rates section of Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion of Hypothesis 4. The context of 1980 should not change the influence expected for this hypothesis. The inclusion of 1980 prisoners should create a substantially different unemployment rate for black males while leaving the white male unemployment rate relatively unchanged. This is because the 1980 rate of black imprisonment adds to the disparity of black men seeking work versus those who are in the labor market. This disparity should increase the significance of the relationships observed between indicators and the standard rates of unemployment. The relatively lower rate of white imprisonment leads to a relatively smaller disparity of white men seeking work versus those who are in the labor market. Consequently, the relationships between indicators and the standard rates of unemployment should remain relatively unchanged.

METHODS

Data[67]

In order to gain a better understanding of the predictors associated with racial variance in unemployment for 1980, I draw on data compiled by the Census (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1980) that includes a variety of indicators of black proportion, segregation, jailing, region, retail employment, and the Talented Tenth. The economic data (i.e., retail employment) were the only data not collected specifically in 1980. This is because, prior to 1954, the Economic Census was collected and published piecemeal.

Sample[68]

[67] Please see the Methods section of Chapter 2 for more details regarding how these data were collected.

Dependent Variables[69]

There are several noteworthy descriptives for the dependent variables, which can be found in Table 4.1. The unadjusted means show that close to one out of seven black men were without a job in 1980, while only one out of fifteen white men were unemployed. When imprisoned men are counted among those seeking work, the unemployment rate jumps over 32 percentage points for black men. For white men, the impact of imprisonment on the overall unemployment rate is relatively small, moving up about 3 percentage points. Framing this discussion using one standard deviation above the mean, the unadjusted unemployment rates show that the majority of counties experienced black rates of about 20 percent and white rates of about 10 percent. When imprisoned men are counted among the unemployed, the ceiling for the unemployment rate of most counties jumps about 70 percent for black men. For white men, the impact of imprisonment on the unemployment rate ceiling for most counties remains relatively small, moving up about 3 percentage points. These data show a marked difference in the gap between these unadjusted and adjusted statistics for white men and those for black men. This is illustrated by the similarity between the white graphs and dissimilarity between the black graphs (see Figures 4.1-4.4). While the width of the curve representing the standard and adjusted white unemployment rates are both relatively thin, the curve representing the distribution of the sample for the adjusted unemployment rates for black men is much broader than the curve representing the standard unemployment rates for black men. The ratio of the mean to its standard deviation clearly demonstrates

[68] Please see the Data and Methods section of Chapter 1 and the Methods section of Chapter 2 for more details regarding the 1980 sample.
[69] Please see the Methods section of Chapter 2 for more details regarding how the dependent variable was measured.

this difference. In the case of whites, the standard and adjusted ratios are 1.374 and 1.371 respectively; i.e., relatively tight distributions. Similar figures for the unemployment rate of African American men are 2.804 and 1.343, respectively. The white male ratio was reduced by only 0.2 percent by the adjustment, while the African American ratio was cut by over half. This exemplifies the extent of the racial disparity in the importance of imprisonment as a source of hidden unemployment.

Independent Variables

Descriptive statistics for these variables are also located in Table 4.1. For details regarding how proportion black was calculated please see the corresponding section of Chapter 2.[70] This section of Chapter 2 also provides details regarding the quadratic term for proportion black including why it was included and what it measures. Table 4.1 shows, on average, blacks represented slightly over ten percent of counties in the post-Civil Rights era urban America. Most counties had black populations that were under 25 percent of the total population (one standard deviation above the mean).

For details regarding where the segregation data are located and how this variables was calculated please see the corresponding section of Chapter 2.[71] As was the case for 1940 and 1960, the average city in the sample for 1980 had a dissimilarity index high enough to qualify as hypersegregated for this category. It is safe to note that well over half of the cities would meet this requirement for hypersegregation (one standard deviation above and below the mean). Consequently, I can assert that a large number of cities' black populations likely suffered from spatial mismatch but also had the capacity to acquire political power.

[70] To determine whether black presence elicited a sense of threat for whites and created an ethnic niche for blacks, each county's African American proportion was considered.
[71] The dissimilarity index was used to measure segregation and the influence of spatial mismatch.

Jailing serves as the third and final core predictor in this dissertation.[72] These data were gathered from the 1980 U.S. Census for each county (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1980). The data include local male jail or workhouse inmates that were 14 years old and over. The majority of juvenile delinquents were 14 years old or over. Counties with fewer than 1,000 total inmates in their institutions (e.g., prisons, jails, mental institutions, etc.) were excluded from the sample. These jailing predictors allowed me to explore if Pager's (2003) research on the relationship between race, incarceration, and employment has historical roots. Although blacks represented a relatively small portion of the population, on average they accounted for about a third of those who were jailed. Most of the counties have black jail proportions that range between 7 and 60 percent of their respective total jail populations (one standard deviation below and above the mean). This illustrates marked variation in county jailing practices of African American men. It also suggests that while some counties' black jailing statistics reflected their corresponding black population, others were vastly inflated. Blacks were typically only 12 percent of a counties' population and few counties were more than 25 percent black. This racially disproportionate jailing should have important implications for the race specific unemployment rates because it magnifies racial stereotypes (Quillian & Pager 2002), places a social stigma on those who are released, hinders the development of social networks, etc. (Donziger 1996; Irwin & Austin 1994; Pager 2003; Western 2007).

[72] To determine the impact of jailing on unemployment, I measure the proportion of jailed inmates that are black men for each county. I construct the same measure for white men.

Regional location serves as one of three control variables used in this analysis. For details regarding why it was included and how it was calculated please see the corresponding section of Chapter 2.[73]

I control for percent change in retail employment. These data were recorded for 1972 and 1977, which are the relevant years when the Census of Business was taken (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1972, 1977). Details regarding how this variable was defined and calculated can be found in the corresponding section of Chapter 2. According to Table 4.1, the majority of counties experienced some increase in retail employment (one standard deviation above and below the mean). This is surprising considering the time period that this variable was observed (i.e., 1972-1977). During the mid-1970s, America experienced a recession. During this time in history many businesses lost a considerable amount of capital as a result of the Stock Market Crash of 1973-1974. As a result, they were forced to reduce the number of workers they employed or close their doors completely (Parker 2007; Robbins 2009). However, in the midst of this decline in employment, retail businesses in urban areas were one of the few occupational sectors hiring more workers. Did either black or white men benefit from these employment opportunities? The regression results below will answer this question.

The Talented Tenth was the final control variable included in the analysis. Details regarding how the Talented Tenth was defined and calculated can be found in the corresponding section of Chapter 2. These data were gathered from the 1980 U.S. Census for each case (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1980). Data are included for cities with 50,000 or more total inhabitants. The census asked people 25 years old and over "What

[73] Regional location is included to control for the influence of non-southern regions on black and white male unemployment.

is the highest grade (or year) of regular school this person has ever attended?" (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1980:42). This information should help determine whether an increased local presence of college-educated blacks, or members of the Talented Tenth, increased the likelihood of African American occupational success. The descriptives for the Talented Tenth variable elicited some interesting results. The percentage of nonwhites with at least a college degree was calculated and included to assess the relevance of DuBois' (1969) diffusion theory during this era. On average, over 11 percent of this population achieved a college degree or higher.[74] This confirms that the sample is reflective of DuBois' estimate regarding the size of the Talented Tenth. Consequently, I should be able to appropriately measure the influence of this segment of the black populace on 1980 unemployment rates.

Analytic Strategy

Please see the Methods section of Chapter 2 for details regarding multiple imputation and OLS regression.

RESULTS

Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression was used to explore the aforementioned hypotheses. Before testing these hypotheses, I evaluated the likelihood that multicollinearity was leading to unreliable estimates. The correlations between my predictors, shown in Table 3.2 are generally low, indicating that there were not any issues

[74] Here, the reader can note that the mean for the Talented Tenth is 5.8 in 1940, 3.8 in 1960, and 11.4 in 1980. This suggests that it took some time after Brown v. Board of Education (1954) for the benefits of this legislation to take effect. This further supports my theoretical assertions regarding the delayed influence of Civil Rights legislation in 1980. It also supports Alexander's (2010) argument that "the state initially resist[ed]" the Civil Rights Movement and this manifested in overt discrimination that actually reduced black college enrollment. College integration was often resisted by local governments and met riots, injuries, and even deaths. My results suggest that this racial intimidation initially led to a decline in black college enrollment and subsequently reduced the number of black college graduates.

with multicollinearity. The direction and significance of the correlations between the independent and dependent variables reveal some interesting relationships.

The relationship between the proportion of African Americans in an urban area and black unemployment appears to be misleading. Researchers using the standard unemployment rate may conclude that black male unemployment was not impacted by the proportion of black residents. However, when prisoners are included in the unemployment formula, black males seem to benefit economically from living amongst a relatively high proportion of black residents. This was not the case for black proportion's relationship with white unemployment. Both the standard and adjusted white unemployment rates shared a negative relationship with black proportion. This same pattern was observed with black male jailing and unemployment. When prisoners are included in the formula, black males seem to benefit economically from the jailing of other black men. However, the relationships with both the standard and adjusted white unemployment rates were the same. In regards to the control variables, neither region or retail employment were impacted by the inclusion of prisoners in the unemployment rate. This was not the case for the Talented Tenth variable, which had a significant positive relationship with the adjusted black male unemployment rate that was not observed with the standard black male unemployment rate.

Similar to my analyses of 1940 and 1960, after assessing descriptive statistics and completing collinearity diagnostics, a series of multivariate models were used to evaluate the hypothesized relationships. The multivariate models are estimated to determine which independent variables significantly influenced 1980 unadjusted and adjusted

unemployment rates for black and white men. Using OLS regression, these analyses help identify factors that influenced inter-county variation in unemployment.

Table 3.3 presents the regression coefficients of the OLS models examining the effects of proportion black, segregation, region, retail employment, Talented Tenth presence, and jailing on interracial differences in unemployment. Four race-specific models are presented for 1980; one for each outcome that was explored. Each outcome is regressed on the full set of predictors. The following paragraphs assess the results for the opportunity hoarding predictors.

Proportion Black

Regarding proportion black, neither the standard or adjusted results suggest that black or white male unemployment rates were impacted by a larger representation of African Americans. In contrast with results of the prior periods, this suggests that neither racial threat nor ethnogenesis played a role in the likelihood of employment for males in the labor market during the post-Civil Rights era.

Authors have argued that racial threat was not an issue after the 1960s because of Civil Rights legislation. Civil Rights legislation forced the majority group to end strategies of maintaining racial order and opportunity hoarding through overt employment discrimination, intimidation, violence, etc. Some Civil Rights legislation, including executive orders for Affirmative Action, required the federal contractors to actively seek and include underrepresented groups such as African American men. However, other methods of social control arose because they achieved the goal of maintaining racial order while staying within the new rules as defined by Civil Rights legislation (Alexander 2010). One such method, jailing, is explored below.

Authors have also argued that the influence of ethnogenic institutions diminishes with time. Although ethnogenic institutions provided support and resources, they also developed a self-perpetuating system of black employment. This system included social networks, increased work experience for African American workers, increased white acceptance of black employees, etc. Each of these factors increased the likelihood of employment for blacks in the generations that would follow. For example, each employee that was hired with the assistance of an ethnogenic institution became a potential contact for an unemployed black resident. The growth of these social networks, increased black work experience, and increased tolerance for black employees made ethnogenic institutions relatively obsolete during this time period.

Segregation

When prisoners are not included in the formula, it appears that black males residing in segregated communities suffered from higher rates of unemployment. However, segregation's relationship with the adjusted unemployment rate reveals that those residing in segregated communities did not have significantly different unemployment experiences than those in integrated communities. In the years leading up to 1980, blacks experienced segregation that resulted from a variety of factors (Brown 1999; Emerson, Yancey, and Chai 2001; Ross and Yinger 2003; Yinger 1995). The impact of segregation seemed

Civil Rights legislation made it possible for blacks to gain political power from racial residential segregation. This political power created new employment opportunities. For example, after the Voting Rights Act of 1965 blacks could elect representatives who would advocate for investments in their community businesses

(Covington 1999; Valez 2002; Zahn 1998). Blacks used their new political power from the Voting Rights Act to advocate the enforcement of equal opportunity employment on a local level. This played a role in increasing the likelihood of black employment outside of ethnic enclaves (Fossett & Seibert 1997).[75]

Additionally, Affirmative Action legislation made spatial mismatch a less effective tool for opportunity hoarding. Sanctions and incentives were instrumental in increasing black male employment. These Affirmative Action strategies motivated employers to increase the demographic scope of their outreach and recruitment. They reduced the barriers created by spatial mismatch in previous decades such as an inability to access social networks or view postings for suburban jobs in predominantly white neighborhoods (Harper & Reskin 2005). My results suggest that the political gains of the Civil Rights era reduced the impact of the white advantages and black disadvantages that accompanied living in a racially segregated urban area. Consequently, segregation did not create a benefit or detriment to unemployment for either group during this time.

Jailing

Hiding able-bodied working age black men and removing them from the labor force formula underestimates the impact of jailing on the white male unemployment rate. However, the adjusted unemployment rate increases the predictive utility of the "black male jail proportion" variable. Counties with relatively higher proportions of black males in jail tended to experience lower rates of white male unemployment. This result can be

[75] While the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 appear to have reduced unemployment, my results suggest that the Brown v Board of Education decision (1954) increased unemployment (i.e., The Talented Tenth shared a positive relationship with the adjusted black male unemployment rate). This finding is supported by research that has shown that the number of educated blacks was related to increased black migration from the inner city, which led to the decaying of ethnic enclaves. Educated blacks left the inner city for black neighborhoods on the periphery of white suburbs (Pattillo 1999; 2005), which weakened the ethnic enclave's ability to serve as a semi-separate economy. Those who were left behind suffered from increased rates of unemployment (Wilson 1987, 1996).

explained by the new anti-drug policies that disproportionately jailed black males and created jobs for white males. It can also be explained by research that shows how black males released from jail are stigmatized as less trustworthy, display behavior that is frowned upon at conventional jobs, lack social networks, etc. Consequently, they are often the least likely to be hired (Donziger 1996; Irwin & Austin 1994; Pager 2003; Western 2007), which increases employment opportunities for white males. However, the black male unemployment rate was not impacted by relatively larger proportions of black males in jail. This null effect is surprising given the vast amount of research that claims otherwise (Pager 2003; Western 2007). It may be a result of my adjusted unemployment formula, which conceals the presence of jailed black men in the surplus labor market and may consequently underestimate the significance of this relationship. Jailed black men are excluded from my version of the adjusted unemployment formula to reduce issues with multicollinearity between black male jailing and black male unemployment. It could also be a result of unique gains the black community experienced in 1980 as a consequence of the Civil Rights Movement, which were detailed above.

Focusing attention on the "white male jail proportion" variable, hiding able-bodied working age black men and removing them from the labor force formula underestimates the impact of jailing on the black male unemployment rate. However, the adjusted unemployment rate increases the predictive utility of the "white male jail proportion" variable. Counties with relatively higher proportions of white males in jail tended to experience lower rates of white male unemployment, regardless of which formula for unemployment was used.

The black community seems unfazed by black jailing while the white community thrives with the jailing of both demographics. White civilians seem to experience increased employment regardless of who was jailed. This is likely the result of decreased competition in the labor market. Black employment only improves when whites are jailed. This suggests that it is more difficult for blacks to reintegrate into the labor market after being jailed and this inability to find employment dragged the employment rate down for black males as a whole. One explanation for this phenomenon is provided by Pager (2003). She argued that upon their release, white men in the modern era are more likely to be hired than black men WITH a criminal record. These results empirically support a historical extension of this portion of her theory into an era that that was on the cusp of the prison industrial complex and Reagan's presidency, and well before Clinton's Prison Build Southern Compromise[76].

Pager also argued that upon their release, white men at the beginning of the 21st century were more likely to be hired than black men WITHOUT a criminal record. It appears that this part of her theory cannot be extended to 1980. As stated above, my results reveal that white jailing was associated with reductions in black male unemployment. This implies that white former inmates were not higher on the labor market queue than black civilians who were never incarcerated.

The Difference Adjustment Makes

The model predicts the black male adjusted unemployment rate (adjusted $R^2 = 0.170$) more accurately than the black male unadjusted unemployment rate (adjusted $R^2 = 0.126$). This is almost a 35 percent increase of variance explained. This further confirms that including black men who are incarcerated as work seekers in the

[76] The experiment for Pager (2003) was conducted in 2001.

unemployment rate provides a more accurate depiction of labor underutilization among working-age black men. Consequently, it more accurately captures the aforementioned variables impact on black male unemployment. Please see the corresponding section of Chapter 2 for a rationale regarding why these R^2 values are efficacious.

The model predicts the white male adjusted unemployment rate (adjusted R^2 = 0.106) slightly more accurately than the white male unadjusted unemployment rate (adjusted R^2 = 0.098). The adjusted rate creates about an eight percent increase in variance explained. This suggests that the adjusted labor force data provides a more accurate measure of unemployment among working-age white men. It also suggests that the adjustment to the unemployment rate makes little difference in the depiction of the labor underutilization among working-age white men. Comparatively speaking, the adjustment to the standard unemployment rate is less consequential for whites because the ratio of white men seeking work outnumbers white men in prison almost 50:1[77]. This ratio is substantially lower than it is for black men (15:1). Consequently, there is less of a difference between the white conventional unemployment rate and the adjusted rate than there is for the two black unemployment rates.

Observing the differences between the adjusted R^2 values of the models focused on black males and white males is informative. Both the unadjusted and adjusted R^2 values for the black male models are substantially larger than those of the white male models. There is a 25 and 46 percent difference, respectively. This suggests that these indicators were more influential on black male unemployment during 1980 than they were for white male unemployment. It also highlights how using a more inclusive

[77] Formula = total white men seeking work / total white men in prison

measure of unemployment magnifies the gap in explanatory power for the white and black models.

Additional Considerations

During the process of developing the aforementioned regression model, other variables were considered. I contemplated using the West as the regional point of comparison rather than the South. This would have allowed me to explore a very unique region that experienced less racial threat and intraracial competition within the black community than the South and Midwest due to the slower and smaller stream of blacks moving to this region during the Great Migration, which ended in 1970. Using this region, at this time, would have allowed me to capture the unique consequence of this disparity in the Diaspora after the Great Migration was complete. However, using the South as the regional point of comparison rather than the West allows me to explore the juxtaposition of living within a region socialized by the history of slavery and the milieu of Jim Crow versus living in a region that observed it from a distance. Additionally, using the South as the regional measure rather than the West increased the significance of several relationships and the adjusted R^2 of each model.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this study I tested predictors that are rarely explored simultaneously and an outcome that is often ignored by researchers in the field of social stratification. The results unveil the importance of considering prisoners when studying unemployment. This research makes three primary contributions to the literature by adjusting the unemployment rate and extending the analysis of black proportion, segregation, and jailing to a different historical era.

In the first hypothesis I proposed that, as a result of the waning influence of racial threat and ethnogenic institutions, African American proportion was unrelated to the nonwhite and white male standard unemployment rates. The results were consistent with these hypotheses. Proportion black was unrelated to both standard unemployment variables. These findings further support the aforementioned research and add to the field of study on the influence of racial threat and ethnogenic institutions in the post-Civil Rights era.

In the second hypothesis I expected that, as a result of the unique context created by spatial mismatch and the Civil Rights Movement, racial residential segregation was unrelated to the nonwhite and white male standard unemployment rates. The hypothesis was only partially supported by my findings. Although segregation was unrelated to the white male standard unemployment rate, it shared a positive relationship with the nonwhite male standard unemployment rate. The relationship between segregation and black male unemployment suggests that the barriers created by spatial mismatch hindered black males' ability to gain access into the 1980 labor market.

In the third hypothesis I predicted that the jailing of black males is positively related to the black standard unemployment rate and negatively related to the white standard unemployment rate, while the jailing of white males is unrelated to the black standard unemployment rate and negatively related to the white standard unemployment rate. This was informed by theories that detail the influence of jailing on the likelihood of employment as well as competition in the labor market and Pager's queuing theory. The results offer mixed support for this hypothesis. Neither of the black jailing variables was related to either of the black or white unemployment variables. However, as

hypothesized, the jailing of white males is unrelated to the black standard unemployment rate and negatively related to the white standard unemployment rate. The lack of significance shown in the relationship between black jailing and the black standard unemployment rate is surprising considering the vast amount of research that details the impact incarceration of this era had on their employment prospects (Alexander 2010; Pager 2003; Western 2007). The lack of significance between these variables could be a consequence of the year I observed. Perhaps 1980 simply did not capture the marginality occupational avalanche that was to come in later years due to the lagged effect of black male jailing.

In the fourth hypothesis I asserted that the adjustment of the black male unemployment rate would increase the significance of the aforementioned hypothesized relationships and cause them to have more explanatory value than the relationships with the standard unemployment rates. But it would not alter the direction of these relationships. However, the adjustment of the white unemployment rate would not intensify, weaken, or alter any of the hypotheses because the unadjusted and adjusted white unemployment rates should prove to be very similar. This was informed by Western's (2007) theory regarding how incarceration underestimates unemployment and creates flawed narratives of inequality. The results offer mixed evidence for Western's theory. The adjusted unemployment rate only led to increased significance for the relationships between nonwhite unemployment and white jailing. Additionally, the adjusted unemployment rate only significantly intensified the relationship between white unemployment and black jailing. Failing to recognize prisoners in the standard unemployment rate hides insights into Pager's queuing theory and its historical roots into

an era that was on the cusp of the prison industrial complex and Reagan's presidency, and well before Clinton's Prison Build Southern Compromise[78]. Using a more accurate measure of black male unemployment informs us about the racial / criminal hierarchy of the 1980 labor market and how black civilians without a record were actually higher on the labor market queue than white ex-inmates.

Arguments for these results could be strengthened by addressing the limitations of this research, which are primarily data related. First, my research attempted to explore the influence of Affirmative Action on the unemployment rates of black and white men. Future research could more accurately capture the urban variance of this phenomenon by including a measure of suburban companies that advertised jobs in urban areas for each case. Second, as stated in Chapter 1, in order to increase the number of predictors to include variables such as this I would need to expand the sample size. Future research should consider including additional urban areas. However, the limitations are far outweighed by the advances this study makes in demonstrating the influence of African American proportion, racial residential segregation, and jailing on rates of unemployment during the post-Civil Rights era.

This dissertation suggests that when studying racial theories and the labor market, researchers should not only use a more accurate measure of unemployment but they should also note the circumstances of the time period and how they may be relevant to the relationship between a predictor and an outcome. The results from this chapter illustrate how different opportunity hoarding variables operated in 1980. Were the variables that were relevant in the post-Civil Rights era relevant in the Jim Crow era? Were they relevant in the Civil Rights era? How did they vary? Why did they vary? I

[78] The experiment for Pager (2003) was conducted in 2001.

will explore this further in the upcoming chapter, which specifically compares the influence of each era on methods of exclusion. These results will explore if, how, and why the hypotheses evolved and further underscore the importance of considering contextual characteristics when studying the aforementioned relationships.

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Dev.
Male Unemployment Rate				
Black Standard	1.558	27.749	14.231	5.075
White Standard	1.015	54.973	6.563	4.778
Black Adjusted	0.000	82.815	18.828	14.022
White Adjusted	0.000	55.446	6.760	4.932
Proportion Black				
Squared	0.012	4945.569	304.345	617.720
Linear	0.110	70.325	12.138	12.576
Segregation	33.500	87.800	67.364	10.159
Male Jail Proportion				
Black	0.000	100.000	33.698	26.764
White	0.000	100.000	54.983	29.238
Control				
South	0.000	1.000	0.191	0.395
Retail employment (1972-77)	-16.607	46.921	11.210	10.888
Talented Tenth	1.083	75.000	11.453	13.816

Table 4.1. Minimum, Maximum, Mean, and Standard Deviation for Explanatory Variables (N=136)

	Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	Black Male Standard Unemployment Rate											
2	White Male Standard Unemployment Rate	.369**										
3	Black Male Adjusted Unemployment Rate	.479**	.431**									
4	White Male Adjusted Unemployment Rate	.375**	.986**	.514**								
5	Proportion Black Squared	-.157	-.175*	-.181*	-.173*							
6	Proportion Black	-.155	-.229**	-.246**	-.226**	.914**						
7	Segregation	.198*	-.058	-.131	-.069	.157	.319**					
8	Black Male Jail Proportion	-.028	-.183*	-.189*	-.186*	.564**	.700**	.473**				
9	White Male Jail Proportion	-.092	-.090	-.099	-.111	-.379**	-.449**	-.302**	-.614**			
10	South	-.351**	-.235**	-.224**	-.227**	.368**	.463**	-.091	.159	-.065		
11	Retail employment (1972-77)	-.105	.022	-.097	-.001	-.194*	-.162	-.253**	-.259**	.272**	.281**	
12	Talented Tenth	.017	-.019	.272**	.000	-.044	-.114	-.249**	-.085	.031	.040	.016

Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 4.2. Intercorrelations of Dependent and Explanatory Variables (N=136)

	Black Unadj	White Unadj	Black Adj	White Adj
	b	b	b	b
	(t)	(t)	(t)	(t)
Proportion Black				
Squared	-0.001	0.001	0.000	0.001
	(-0.348)	(0.617)	(0.077)	(0.456)
Linear	0.017	-0.091	-0.138	-0.077
	(0.151)	(-0.822)	(-0.442)	(-0.680)
Segregation	0.108*	0.006	-0.047	-0.001
	(2.119)	(0.126)	(-0.344)	(-0.017)
Male Jail Proportion				
Black	-0.028	-0.046	-0.139	-0.054*
	(-1.050)	(-1.828)	(-1.954)	(-2.066)
White	-0.028	-0.054**	-0.154**	-0.062**
	(-1.551)	(-3.176)	(-3.183)	(-3.493)
Control Variables				
South	-4.140**	-2.168	-5.182	-2.087
	(-3.005)	(-1.645)	(-1.396)	(-1.541)
Retail employment (1972-77)	0.017	0.039	-0.086	0.026
	(0.389)	(0.955)	(-0.745)	(0.621)
Talented Tenth	0.028	-0.015	0.248**	-0.009
	(0.911)	(-0.504)	(2.971)	(-0.308)
Adjusted R2	0.126	0.098	0.170	0.106

*p < .05; **p < .01, two-tailed significance tests
t statistic critical value = 1.97
N=136

Table 4.3. OLS Regression of Unadjusted and Adjusted Unemployment Rates on Demographics, Economics, Education, and Jailing

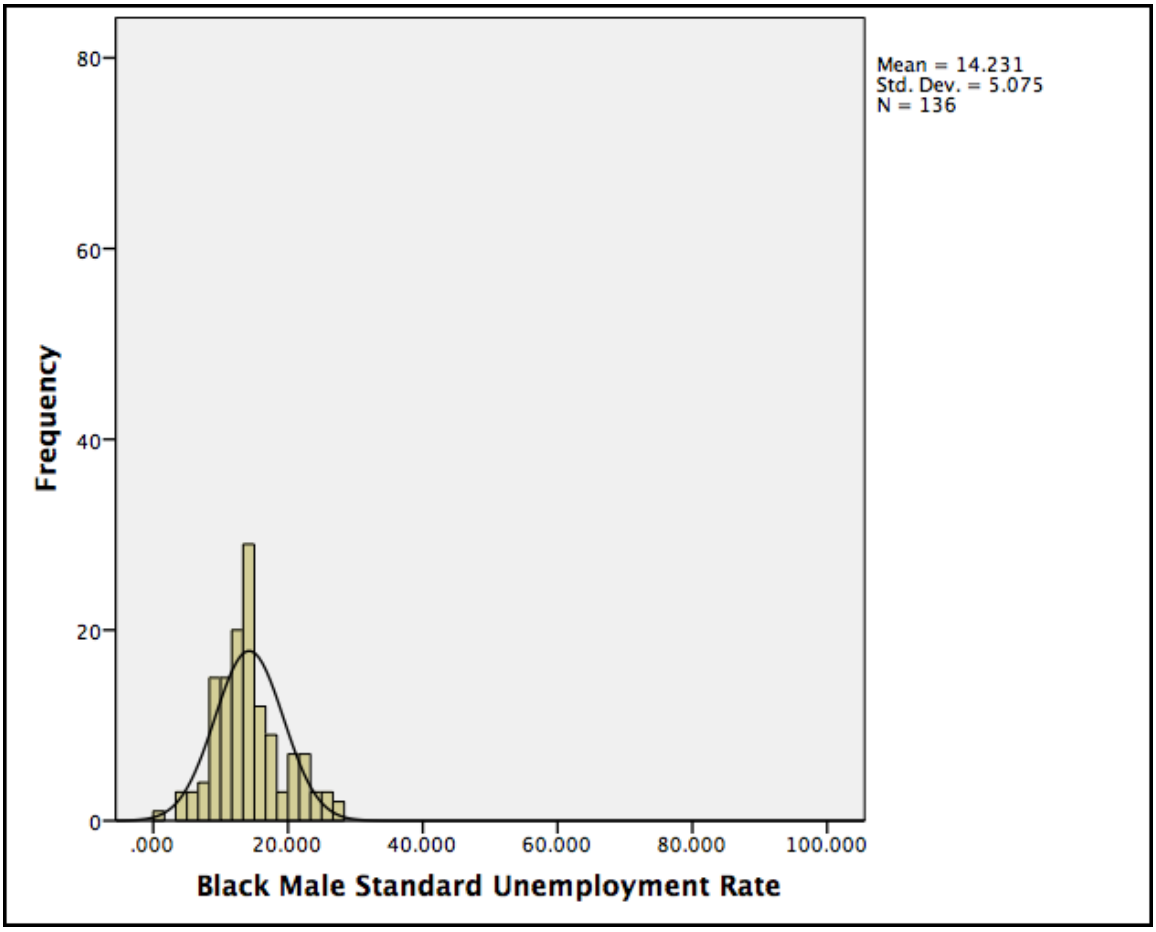

Figure 4.1. Black Male Standard Unemployment Rate Standard Deviation Distribution

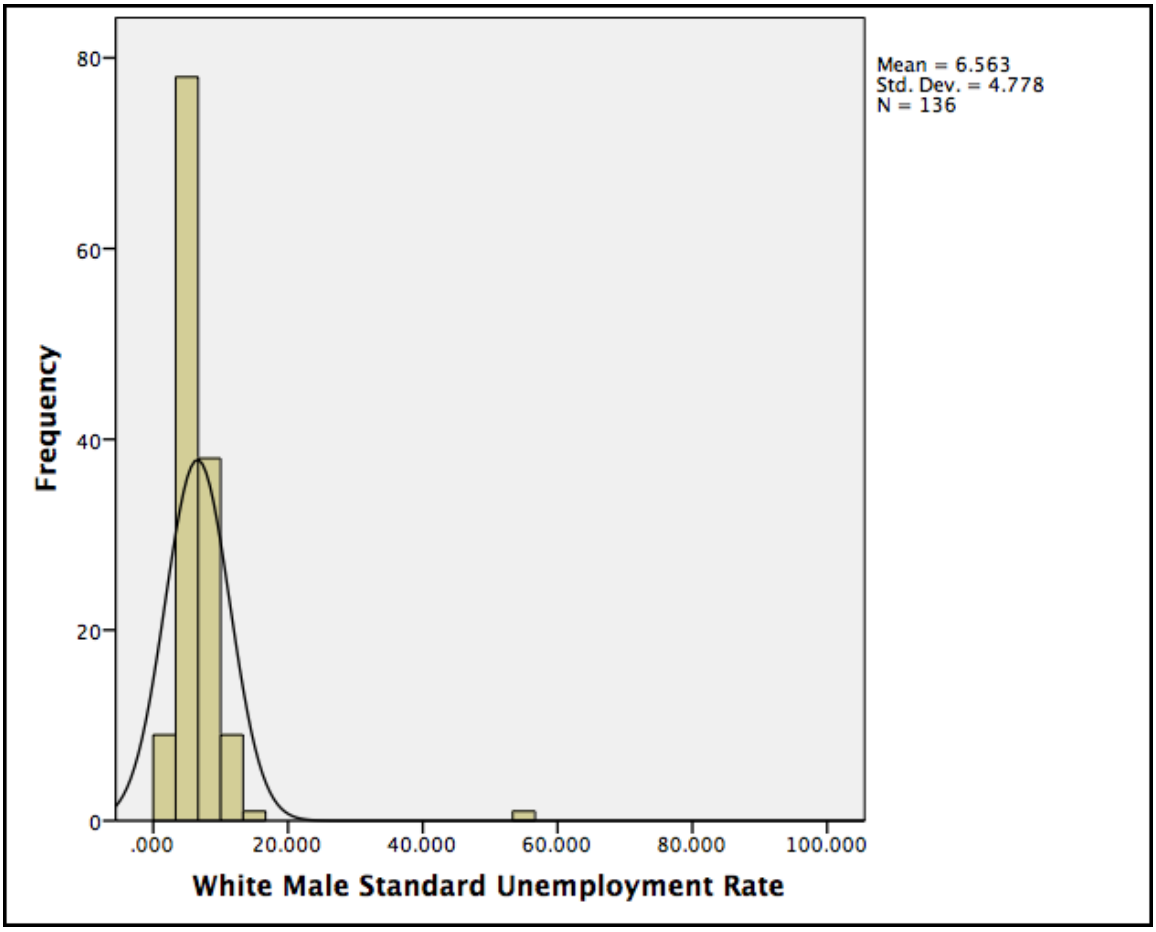

Figure 4.2. White Male Standard Unemployment Rate Standard Deviation Distribution

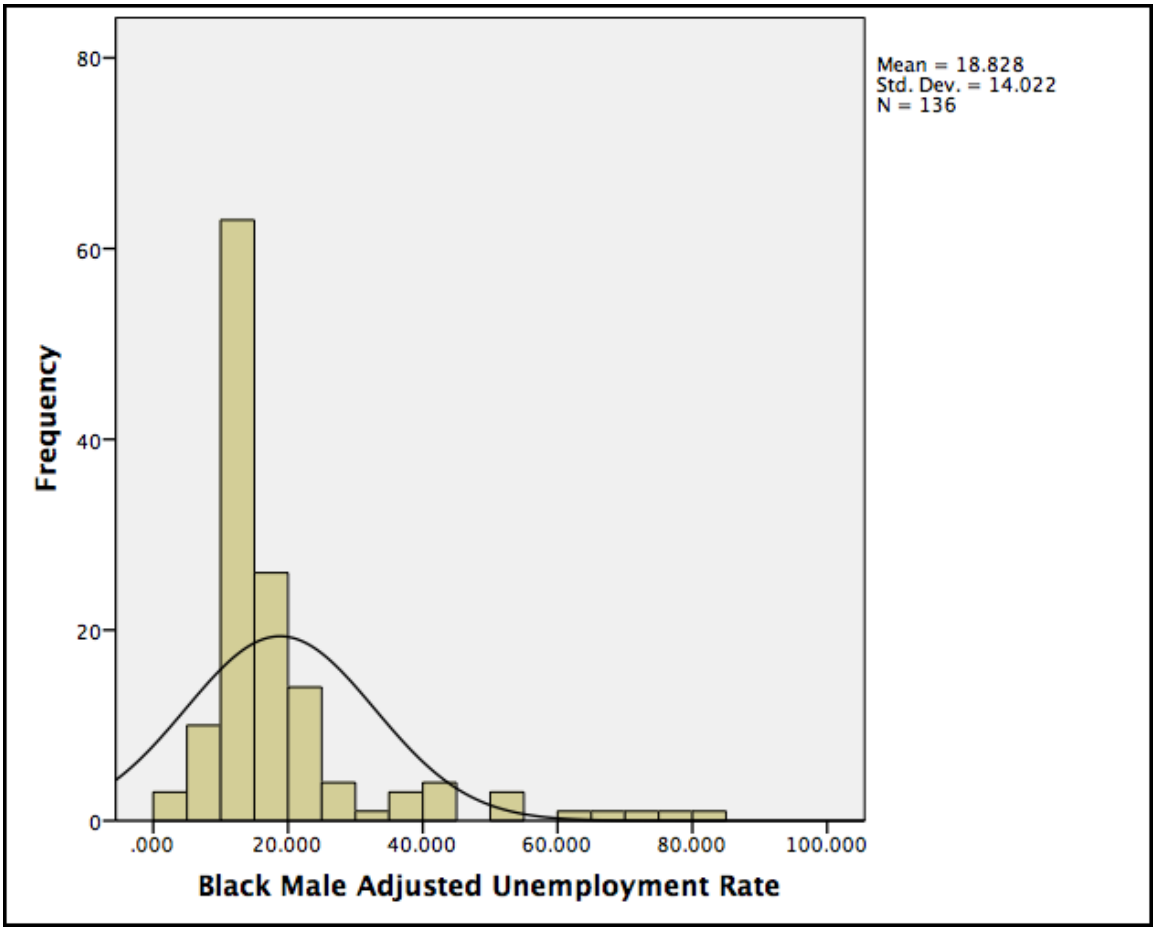

Figure 4.3. Black Male Adjusted Unemployment Rate Standard Deviation Distribution

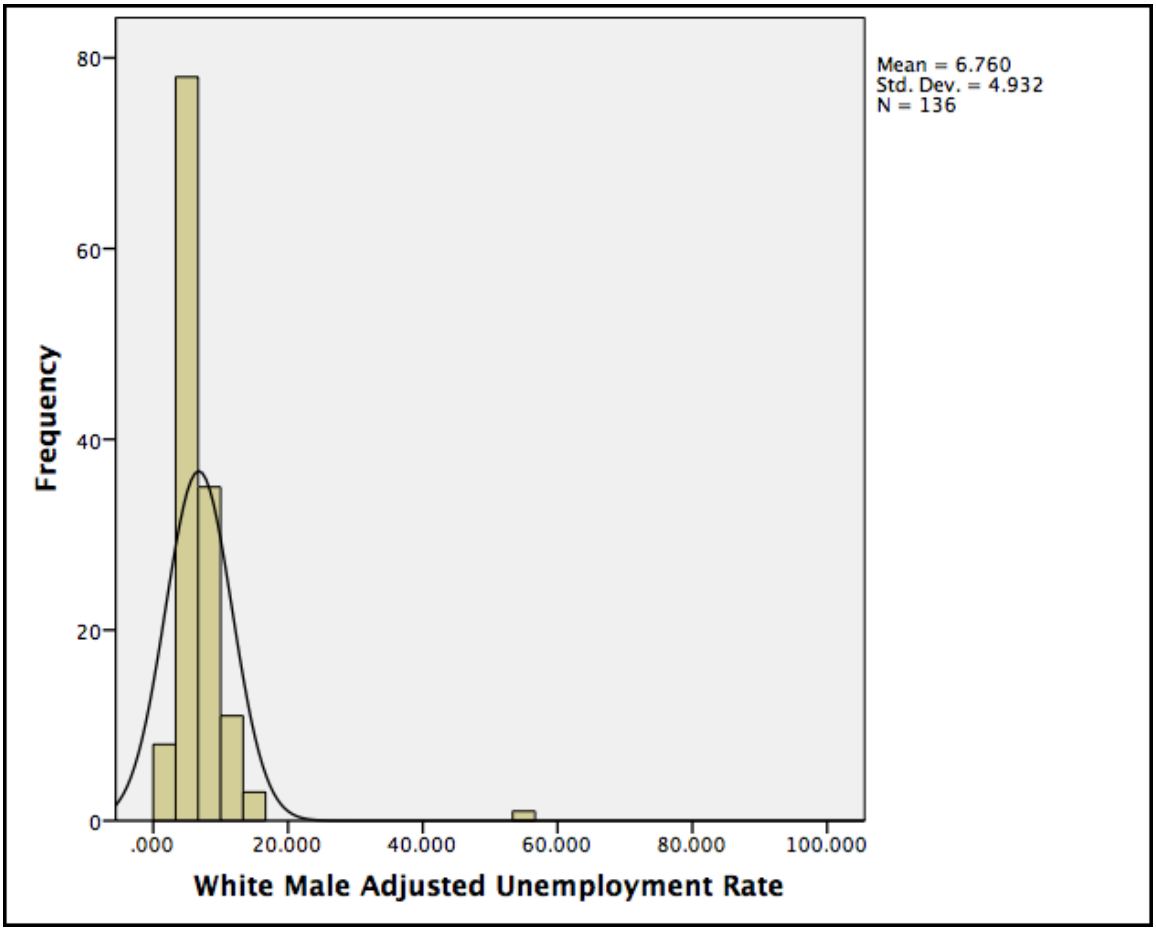

Figure 4.4. White Male Adjusted Unemployment Rate Standard Deviation Distribution

Chapter 5: Changing Relationships between Opportunity Hoarding and Unemployment in the 20th Century

The chapters above explored two general research questions: 1) How do common strategies of opportunity hoarding (i.e., overt discrimination, segregation, and jailing) influence black and white male[79] standard unemployment rates; 2) How does recognizing prisoners in unemployment rates alter these relationships? This chapter compares and contrasts all three decades. Here I explore the relative strength of each system between and within each decade as well as how each opportunity hoarding system evolved with history.

Weber's theory on social closure and Marx's theory on historical materialism are primarily used to address the first question. Tilly's (1999) work on Durable Inequality Theory (DIT), which fuses both of these theories, served as the foundation of my dissertation. Some research that accentuated this work on how opportunity hoarding generally operated was conducted by authors such as Alexander (2010), Wright (1997, 2009), and (Wacquant 2000, 2001, 2003). Opportunity hoarding addresses "access to and exclusion from certain economic opportunities" (Wright 2009:104). It refers to how those in power acquire and monopolize valuable resources (Tilly 1999). The process of systemically removing people from competing in a labor market is an example of this system at work. Social closure theories that focused on a specific measure of opportunity

[79] Please see the Methods section of Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion of why women were excluded from the analysis.

hoarding such as racial threat, which addressed the influence of proportion black; spatial mismatch, which addressed the influence of segregation; and Pager's queuing theory, which addressed the influence of jailing, also established a foundation for my research. Western's work on improving the standard unemployment rate by making it more inclusive categorizing is the primary theory used to address the second question. It accomplishes this goal of improved inclusiveness by categorizing prisoners as unemployed members of the workforce.[80]

Unemployment is a useful outcome that allowed me to explore one of the main postulates in DIT: opportunity hoarding. Employment is one of the few means through which one can gather valuable resources such as food, water, and shelter. Those who control access to the labor market, control who has access to these valuable resources. Consequently, unemployment serves as an ideal measure for opportunity hoarding.

I integrated classic archetype of opportunity hoarding that captured the influence of proportion black, segregation, and jailing on race specific unemployment rates. Most research merely focuses on one of these explanations. Integrating these explanations of opportunity hoarding provides a model that captures the relative impact of these variables across decades. Additionally, I added to Tilly's (1999) contribution to the field of social stratification by utilizing an empirical test to explore his theory in regards to race specific unemployment rates. This provides quantitative analysis to buttress his theoretical work. I also addressed the underestimation of inequality that results from using the standard unemployment rate by utilizing a more inclusive measure of unemployment that categorizes able-bodied, working-age prisoners as members of the labor market. This revealed the missing underclass of prisoners in a historical examination of labor market

[80] Please see the Methods section of Chapter 2 for details on how this was calculated.

inequality, which helped avoid overlooking some indicators of opportunity hoarding that influenced black / white male labor utilization (Western 2006). And lastly, I provided a contextual, historical extension to Pager's (2003) findings that also improved the generalizability of Pager's theory by using urban cases across the United States rather than individuals in a single city. My evaluation of economic and social inequality extends to an era prior to what other incarceration analyses have explored. The results reveal the importance of considering those who are imprisoned and jailed when studying unemployment.

However, more broadly, the primary contribution of this dissertation was the re-affirmation that researchers should note contextual circumstances and how they may be relevant to the likelihood of an outcome. The results from my dissertation illustrate how different opportunity hoarding variables were shaped by different eras. Context changes the relevance, strength, and direction of many of the relationships unemployment shared with black proportion, segregation, and jailing.

Focusing on the results for the adjusted unemployment rates, there are three primary conclusions of my dissertation. First, each year had a unique set of circumstances that influenced the relationship between institutional devices of opportunity hoarding and race specific unemployment rates. Second, the Civil Rights era served as a transitional period when America moved from overt strategies of opportunity hoarding to more covert strategies. Third, the covert discriminatory nature of jailing has allowed it to withstand and thrive in the midst of challenges to racialized social control. Each of these conclusions will be expanded upon below.

The years 1940, 1960, and 1980 are instructive when attempting to garner a better understanding of historical variations in race specific unemployment outcomes because of their relationship with some of the more pivotal moments in African American history. A 1940-1980 comparison centers my analysis in 1960; the epicenter of the Civil Rights Movement. This was six years after the Montgomery Bus Boycott and eight years before Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated. Additionally, 1940 and 1980 are almost equidistantly separated from two of the most pivotal Civil Rights policies in American history. The year 1940 was 14 years prior to the 1954 Brown v. Board of Education Supreme Court decision and 1980 was 16 years after the 1964 Civil Rights Act. This provides my analysis with a unique comparison of dates before, during, and after Civil Rights policies that changed how blacks were utilized in the mainstream labor market.

Focusing on the results for the adjusted unemployment rates illustrated in Table 5.1, whether observing white or black males, proportion black never increased unemployment. It only reduced it. This suggests that although a large black populace could initiate feelings of threat for the dominant group, which led to opportunity hoarding, even in these circumstances it served as a conduit for job creation within the black community. The only factors that increased black unemployment were segregation and black jailing. White unemployment was not increased by any of these factors regardless of the time period. They were either unfazed or experienced reductions in unemployment.

Focusing on the results for the adjusted unemployment rates, the year 1940 had the weakest significant coefficients of any year in the study. This is surprising considering this was the Jim Crow era and tolerance for discrimination was high and it

was the sole slack labor market observed in the study. Although the effects were weak, this year had the highest number of significant relationships, which illustrates tolerance for any form of discrimination (i.e., strategy for opportunity hoarding).

The year 1960 experienced the strongest significant coefficients of any year in the study. Black proportion reduced black unemployment in this year more than any other variable and segregation increased black unemployment more than any other variable. The second largest positive coefficient in the entire study was black jailing in 1960. These regression results provide empirical evidence that support Alexander (2010:222) and Tilly's (1999) claim that the "state initially resists" challenges of their racial hierarchy. In the midst of the Civil Rights Movement, whites used segregation and jailing to hoard opportunities and marginalize black males from the labor market. The black populace made strides in combating this by gaining employment power where they were large in number.

The year 1980 was the year of jailing. Nothing else was influential during this time period. This was very unique as both 1940 and 1960 experienced some form of unemployment reduction or increase from multiple indicators. Additionally, nothing during 1980 increased black unemployment. This was also unique to this year. None of the core factors increased black unemployment and white jailing reduced it. Both black and white males benefitted economically from the increased influence of the criminal justice system. Blacks did not benefit from their own jailing. They only experienced reductions in unemployment from relatively higher levels of white male jailing. However, whites benefitted from jailing regardless of who was behind bars.

The regressions confirm DIT's claim that opportunity hoarding practices shift when changes in society make continuing with these practices too costly. The results suggest that society shifted from overt strategies (i.e., discrimination motivated by racial threat and segregation) for opportunity hoarding to focus primarily on more covert strategies (i.e., jailing) after the Civil Rights era. Marx's theory of historical materialism acknowledged that this transition can occur when "the old relations of production become very costly to maintain [and] new alternative relations become … feasible (Wright 1999:14). Similarly, Tilly (1999:191-192) argued that "if an external authority … inhibits adoption of a well-known organizational design, if changes in overlapping … social arrangements render their articulation with unequal categories … more costly, a given system of categorical inequality loses force." In other words, systems of categorical inequality change when "benefits from … opportunity hoarding decline and/or costs … of opportunity hoarding … increase" (Tilly 1999:192).

Here Tilly states that social orders can adapt when institutions face significant pressures to adjust to the changes in social context. However, it is rarely a wholesale replacement. It often involves the partial renegotiation of some institutional elements. Often there are too many members with a stake in the old power bases to allow a complete dismantling.

Alexander (2010) adds that:

> When the equilibrium is disrupted, however, as in … the Civil Rights Movement, the state initially resists, then attempts to absorb the challenges through a series of reforms that are, if not entirely symbolic, at least not critical to the operation of the racial order. In the absence of a truly egalitarian racial consensus, these

predictable cycles inevitably give rise to new, extraordinarily comprehensive systems of racialized social control (222-223).

The passing of the Civil Rights Acts of 1964[81] and the Fair Housing Act of 1968 made overt forms of racial discrimination in the labor market and real estate market, respectively, too costly to pursue on a wide scale. Consequently, "those who [were] most committed to racial hierarchy search[ed] for new means to achieve their goals within the rules of the game as currently defined" (Alexander 2010:21). As others have argued, the "new means" they choose was the criminal justice system (Alexander 2010; Katz et al. 2005; Wacquant 2000, 2001, 2003; Western et al. 2006).

Wright (1997) offers another layer to this theory:

> In the case of labor power, a person can cease to have economic value in capitalism if it cannot be deployed productively. This is the essential condition of people in the "underclass." They are oppressed because they are denied access to various kinds of productive resources, above all the necessary means to acquire the skills needed to make their labor power saleable. As a result they are not consistently exploited. Understood this way, the underclass consists of human beings who are largely expendable from the point of view of the logic of capitalism. Like Native Americans who became a landless underclass in the nineteenth century, repression rather than incorporation is the central mode of social control directed toward them. Capitalism does not need the labor power of unemployed inner city youth. The material interests of the wealthy and privileged segments of American society would be better served if these people simply disappeared. However, unlike in the nineteenth century, the moral and political

[81] Civil Rights Act of 1964 forbade racial discrimination for hiring and firing.

> forces are such that direct genocide is no longer a viable strategy. The alternative, then, is to build prisons and cordon off the zones of cities in which the underclass lives. (Wright 1997:153)

Here Wright addresses how denying a group the opportunity to acquire skills (e.g., racial disparities in education created by racial residential segregation) can elicit the exclusion of certain groups from the labor market. As stated above, our society uses an amorphous system of social closure to achieve goals of social control and hoard opportunities. My results support this conclusion and illustrate that America has morphed into a society that utilizes jailing as its primary tool of opportunity hoarding.

Wacquant used similar arguments to support this thread of DIT and explain the transition from the Civil Rights to the post-Civil Rights era.

> In the 1970s, as the urban 'Black Belt' … proved unable to ensure ethnoracial closure, the [criminal justice system] was called upon to shore up caste division and help contain a dishonored and supernumerary population viewed as both deviant and dangerous … much is to be learned from the comparison between ghetto and [criminal justice system] as kindred institutions of forced confinement entrusted with enclosing a stigmatized category so as to neutralize the material and/or symbolic threat it poses for the surrounding society. (Wacquant 2000:377)
>
> [There has been an] astounding upsurge in black incarceration in the past three decades as a result of the obsolescence of the ghetto as a device for caste control and the correlative need for a substitute apparatus for keeping (unskilled) African Americans 'in their place', i.e. in a subordinate and confined position in physical, social, and symbolic space. (Wacquant 2001:97)

> [W]hites begrudgingly accepted 'integration' in principle, [but] in practice they strove to maintain an unbridgeable social and symbolic gulf with their compatriots of African descent. They abandoned public schools, shunned public space, and fled to the suburbs in their millions to avoid mixing and ward off the spectre of 'social equality' in the city … *A contrario*, they extended enthusiastic support for the 'law-and-order' policies that vowed to firmly repress urban disorders connately perceived as racial threats. Such policies pointed to yet another special institution capable of confining and controlling if not the entire African-American community, at least its most disruptive, disreputable and dangerous members: the [criminal justice system]. (Wacquant 2003:49)

Social closure operated differently at the midpoint of the twentieth century than it did at the end. The failure of pervasive, overt discrimination and the ghetto to effectively marginalize blacks led to the growth of the criminal justice system as the opportunity hoarding mechanism of choice for American society.

Focusing on the white benefit that resulted from opportunity hoarding provides clear empirical support for these assertions. My adjusted unemployment results suggest that in 1940 whites benefitted from the overt discrimination elicited by large black proportions and from racial residential segregation. These results also show that whites did not experience any gains in employment from the observed opportunity hoarding strategies when new rules of social control were being established by what Tilly refers to as an external authority (i.e., the Civil Rights Movement) in 1960. However, they benefitted from a completely different strategy of opportunity hoarding (i.e., the jailing of black and white men) in 1980. My results clearly illustrate an evolution from overt

strategies of opportunity hoarding, to a transitional period, to more covert strategies of opportunity hoarding. It appears that the external authority of the Civil Rights Movement and its challenge of racialized social control rendered overt strategies of opportunity hoarding too costly to continue their use.

Focusing on the black detriment that results from opportunity hoarding provides a slightly different narrative. It appears that the jailing of black men consistently was associated with increased black male unemployment. This was the case in both 1940 and 1960[82]. Although it was not associated with increased black male unemployment in 1980, research has shown that black jailing was associated with considerable reductions in black employment shortly afterwards (Pager 2003). It appears that the external authority of the Civil Rights Movement and its challenge of racialized social control did not render jailing too costly to impede its force. Not only did jailing survive after the Civil Rights Movement but it thrived due to its covert nature. It was one of the few viable strategies of opportunity hoarding not frowned upon by mainstream society.

Western's theory on the impact imprisonment has on measures of racial unemployment disparities is used to address my second research question.
The model predicts the black male adjusted unemployment rate more accurately than the black male unadjusted unemployment rate in every year. This further confirms that including black men who are incarcerated as work seekers in the unemployment rate provides a more accurate depiction of labor underutilization among working-age black men. Consequently, it more accurately captures the aforementioned variables' impact on black male unemployment. Both models are relatively efficacious for research involving

[82] In 1960, racial residential segregation also increased black male unemployment.

occupational inequality.[83] The adjusted models representing 1940 and 1960 are relatively similar in accuracy. Both are about 38 percent more accurate than the 1980 model. This is surprising because it suggests including prisoners in the unemployment rate was more beneficial prior to the era of mass imprisonment.

Comparing each year separately, the model predicts the white male unadjusted and adjusted unemployment rates with a similar level of accuracy in all three years. This suggests that the adjustment to the unemployment rate makes little difference in the depiction of labor underutilization among working-age white men. Comparatively speaking, the adjustment to the standard unemployment rate is less consequential for whites because the ratio of white men seeking work outnumbers white men in prison 20:1[84] for both 1940 and 1960. The ratio of white men seeking work outnumbers white men in prison 50:1 for 1980. These ratios are substantially lower than they are for black men in 1940 (10:1), 1960 (6:1), and 1980 (15:1), respectively. Consequently, there is less of a difference between the white conventional unemployment rate and the adjusted rate than there is for the two black unemployment rates.

Observing the differences between the adjusted R^2 values of the models focused on black males and white males is informative. Comparing the black and white models across years, the unadjusted and adjusted models for black males have relatively more comparable levels of explanatory power. This suggests that the collective influence of these indicators on black male unemployment did not vary as much across decades.[85]

[83] Please see Chapter 2 for more details regarding why these values should be considered efficacious.
[84] Formula = total white men seeking work / total white men in prison
[85] This further confirms the arguments made by Tilly (1999), Alexander (2010), Wright (1997, 2009), and (Wacquant 2000, 2001, 2003) that although methods of opportunity hoarding evolve with social contexts, their impact remains relatively consistent. In this way, systems of opportunity hoarding are like water. Their form depends on the environment. In some circumstances (e.g., the Jim Crow and Civil Rights eras)

Additionally, regardless of year, the adjusted R^2 value for black male adjusted unemployment is always larger than the respective adjusted R^2 value for white males. However, this is only true for the latter two years for the unadjusted values. This suggests that regardless of the era or formula that is observed, the indicators typically are more influential on black male unemployment than white male unemployment.

Arguments for these results could be strengthened by addressing the limitations of this research. First, I did not directly assess the relationship between the presence of overt discrimination and racial disparities in unemployment. My analyses used proportion black as a proxy for the prevalence of overt discrimination. Future research could include indicators that measure the presence of organized hate groups and / or instances of hate group activities (e.g., criminal acts, marches, public speeches, etc.). These groups and instances would have created a social milieu and fear that encouraged racial discrimination in the labor market that could both marginalize blacks from jobs and monopolize jobs for whites. Second, my research did not include a separate analysis to explore the labor market experiences of black and white women. Because males and females were funneled into different occupations, had different rates of educational attainment, different experiences with the criminal justice system, etc., they likely had different experiences with unemployment. Future research should include measures of unemployment for black and white women to explore whether women and men experienced opportunity hoarding in the labor market differently.[86] Third, I did not distinguish between the labor market experiences of black and white residents in the

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race is like ice. It is easy to see. In other circumstances (e.g., the post-Civil Rights era) race is like gas. It is generally invisible.

[86] Jail and prison data were not available for women in 1940. However, the analyses could be performed for 1960 and 1980.

South, Northeast, Midwest, and West. Each region has unique histories that played a role on the impact strategies of opportunity hoarding had on the underutilization of groups in the labor market. Still, the limitations of this study are far outweighed by the advances it makes in illustrating the influence of African American proportion, racial residential segregation, and jailing on rates of unemployment during the Jim Crow, Civil Rights, and post-Civil Rights eras.

This dissertation suggests that when studying racial theories and the labor market, researchers should not only use a more accurate measure of unemployment but they should also note the circumstances of the time period and how they may be relevant to the relationship between a predictor and an outcome. The results from my dissertation illustrate how different opportunity hoarding variables operated in different eras. Context changes the relevance, strength, and direction of all of the relationships unemployment shared with black proportion, segregation, and jailing.

Era	Primary Institution of Exclusion	Nonwhite / Black Unemployment	White Unemployment
Jim Crow (1940)	Overt Discrimination*	Unemployment Reduced	Unemployment Reduced
	Segregation	Unemployment Reduced	Unemployment Reduced
	Black Jailing	Unemployment Increased	Unrelated
	White Jailing	Unrelated	Unrelated
Civil Rights (1960)	Overt Discrimination*	Unemployment Reduced	Unrelated
	Segregation	Unemployment Increased	Unrelated
	Black Jailing	Unemployment Increased	Unrelated
	White Jailing	Unrelated	Unrelated
Post-Civil Rights (1980)	Overt Discrimination*	Unrelated	Unrelated
	Segregation	Unrelated	Unrelated
	Black Jailing	Unrelated	Unemployment Reduced
	White Jailing	Unemployment Reduced	Unemployment Reduced

*Proportion black serves as a proxy for overt discrimination

Table 5.1: The Impact of Institutions of Exclusion on the Adjusted Unemployment Rates

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