Incarceration, Surveillance, and Hyper-Segregation in Chicago

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Abstract

Chicago is a clearly segregated city, geographically separated by neighborhoods where the populations are mainly defined by ethno-racial constraints. The present geographic make up of the city is largely influence by both the history of the United States as well as the unique events in the city itself. Chattel slavery, Jim Crow laws in the South, and legally racist practices and policies in urban cities contributed to creating a unique conception of race in the United States that have been implemented and reaffirmed throughout different stages of development. The 'Great Migration' of antebellum African-Americans, moving thousands of Black people to northern cities, greatly affected the makeup of urban centers. Racially influenced anxieties created a divide between between Black migrants and their ethno-European counterparts, and many industries were limited to certain ethnic groups. The current state of incarceration in the United States, the country with the highest overall and per-capita rate of incarceration, combined with the overlap of carceral power in everyday life, has disproportionately affected Black communities and increasingly burdened 'hyper-ghettos' with the effects of a prison based society.

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Introduction

There are more people incarcerated in the United States than anywhere else in the world. Although the US is only 5% of the world's population, it has 25% of its prisoners, the most recent data from the World Prison Brief stating the total prison population at 2,217,947, compared to China (at 1.6 million) and Russia (with 650 thousand). Combining the number of people in prison and jail with those under parole or probation supervision, 1 in every 31 adults, or 3.2 percent of the population is under some form of correctional control. Incarceration has permeated all aspects of American culture, is normalized, and perpetuates racial stereotypes of criminality. The prison population is racially disproportionate to the ethnic makeup of the US. African Americans make up 1 million of the nearly 2.3 million incarcerated total and are incarcerated at six times the rate of whites (NAACP). Racialized incarceration is directly related to the historical circumstances that have constructed a concept of race and 'blackness' in the US.

The US has a unique historical construction of 'race', which elicits severe consequences in public opinion, policy, and the way we interact with incarceration on a daily basis. Chicago in particular is a clear example of racial segregation and its relationship to incarceration. Carceral power is evident in Chicago, where hyper-segregated neighborhoods and high crime rates characterize certain sections of the city in stark contrast to prosperous, white areas. Blacks are overrepresented in Illinois prisons and jails, while consisting of only 15% of the total population, they make up 56% of the prison population (Prison Policy).

Chicago played a critical role in the industrial revolution, which utilized and exploited black labor by employing large numbers of Black migrants fleeing the Jim Crow South in

factories and, after increasing mechanization of the industrial process and a reduction in the need for labor, left massive quantities of laborers without jobs and excluded from other industrials along racial lines. This employment, subsequent unemployment, and the geospatial segregation of neighborhoods set the stage for our current epoch of mass incarceration and the over-representation of people of color living under carceral power and the creation of the heavily segregated hyper-ghetto. Carceral power is not only the systems of prisons, jails, and detention centers, but can be further stretched to include living under official supervision like parole, or even living in a prisonized environment, such as housing projects.

Today, the high rates of black incarceration are related to the construction of a concept of blackness, the exploitation of black labor throughout the different stages of capitalism, and subsequent utilization of carceral power as a way to store an unneeded and excluded population. Chicago's highly segregated neighborhoods serve as a microcosm of the systemic processes that have led to the warehousing of redundant black labor in the carceral system and in hyper-ghettos.

The conception of race in the US, formed in chattel slavery and reconfirmed through institutional practices in the Jim Crow South and again in the industrial North, has created hyper-ghettos devoid of resources and condemned to cyclical poverty and violence. The hyper-ghetto is the current form of racial segregation, characterized by carceral power and institutionally confirmed racist practices. Prison-like practices and behaviors, reinforced through social conceptions of race and a in a prison-based society, has made carceral power the dominating and primary influence in modern American society. The purpose of incarceration in the US has changed from reform to retribution, carceral power has seeped into

neighborhoods and schools, and extreme levels of policing in all aspects of life have deepened and sustained hyper-ghettos, clearly seen in the city of Chicago.

The first section will describe the historical and structural context of race, class, and labor in the United States. The second section details the process of industrialization, the mass migration of African Americans to northern cities, and the institutional and social basis of segregation in Chicago. The last section discusses the current state of the carceral system in the United States and the relation of carceral power to the creation of hyper ghettos and racialized geography.

Historical and Structural Context- 'Peculiar Institutions' and Race

To begin, it is necessary to give a brief overview of the concept of race in the United States and the way this interplays with class, both of which are molded during the historical development of capitalism. Lois Wacquant argues that there are '4 peculiar institutions'; the first three being chattel slavery, the Jim Crow system, and the urban ghetto of the industrial north, all of which have served to "recruit, organize and extract labor out of African Americans on the one hand; and to demarcate and ultimately seclude them so that they would not 'contaminate' the surrounding white society". These institutions have first developed the conception of 'blackness' and subsequently exploited its labor.

It is impossible to continue without recognizing that the United States was founded in a system of slavery, developing a conception of race unlike anywhere else. Founded in coloniality and domination, slavery served to codify the new conception of race and connected it to labor. Slavery has been utilized in many societies throughout time, but never before has it

been used so violently for economic purposes along racial lines, spurred by the pre-industrial agricultural economy of the southern US.

Quijano and Wallerstein deepen the concept of race through their discussion of coloniality, in which they argue that the modern conception of race is created only through the creation of a biological differentiation, most easily by color, between the conquerors and the conquered (534). Forming a new idea of race served as "a way of granting legitimacy to the relations of domination imposed by the conquest", and to solidify the contrast between 'superior' Europeans against 'inferior.'

For Roediger, whiteness in the United States was formed in a "unique conjuncture of anti-colonial/bourgeois revolution, industrial takeoff, and continuing slavery, can only make the case for such peculiarity if these dramas are discussed with the scenes of subjection, racializations of property, and pursuit of happiness which accompanied United States expansion" (Roediger 600). Not only did the creation of a concept of blackness involved paternalistic and pseudo-scientific conceptions of race, placing people of African ethnicity in an inferior position to those of European descent, but it utilized socio-economic factors in codifying race.

Chattel slavery was used to form the conception of blackness. African slaves were brutally imported as cheap and abundant labor needed for the pre-industrial agricultural economy, focusing mainly on production of tobacco and cotton. This highly exploited and controlled labor force was not only necessary for creating a basis of wealth and setting the stage for industrialization, but was simultaneously separated and demarcated from other labor on the basis of race. Indentured servitude and slavery began on similar social terms, with

servitude being actually more profitable than slavery, but with the growth of the agricultural industry and the relatively small amount of European immigrants compared to the large potential quantities of captured slaves, slavery became more economically viable. The combination of labor shortages with an increasing demand for cotton increased the economic value of slaves in the South, despite being abolished in the North.

Lower-class whites (including ethnic groups such as Greeks and Italians who were still considered less socially-valued than other Europeans), seeking to get on the profitable side of industrialization, supported slavery along constructed biological and racial lines of inferiority in order to secure a spot in industrialization, which served to reinforce the relegation of black slaves to a lower social class and support slavery as an institution. Wacquant therefore speculates that the lines between white and black were reinforced through economic processes where "slavery as a system of unfree labor thus spawned a suffusive racial culture which, in turn, remade bondage into something it was not at its oust: a color-coded institution of ethnoracial division" (Wacquant 100). Chattel slavery in the South was the first step in solidifying a racial divide in the United States, utilized for its profitability and reaffirmed in its ability to raise the social and economic status of previously excluded lower-class whites.

The next institution, Jim Crow segregation, was the attempt of this newly created white social strata to combat the effects of the abolishment of slavery in order to reaffirm whiteness as the dominant social class. Throughout the 1880s, lower class whites joined forces with the plantation elite to "demand the political disenfranchisement and systematic exclusion of former slaves from all institutions" (Wacquant 100) in response to the pressures of capitalist industrialization and the racial lines drawn during slavery. Former slaves were socially

separated through legal segregation of public spaces combined with the relegation of the black

population to separate residential districts. Additionally, former slaves were confined to

specific economic sectors and industries, especially those characterized as labor-intensive and

dangerous, such as agriculture and mining. The most important aspect of this institution was

the reaction to slaves as free citizens and the response as a division along ethno-racial lines to

secure the profits of upper-class whites and the inclusion of lower-class whites during

industrialization.

This process of racializing labor is essential to understanding the current state of

segregation focused in urban settings. After slavery was abolished in the South, the following

Jim Crow era served to reinforce the contrast between blackness and whiteness both through

legal and extralegal means. Social, political, and economic systems of exclusion such as

'Separate but equal' facilities, violence against intermingling between black and white, and the

relegation of black populations to specific residential areas and sectors of employment served

to reaffirm whiteness as the dominant social strata.

The Jim Crow laws and practices contributed to geographically and economically

excluding former slaves from society's center, setting them apart from societal success through

their labor-codified ethnic heritage. David Roediger argues that often European immigrants

were hostile to Blacks because they recognized that Blacks were at the bottom of the racial

hierarchy, a place they did not want to be" (Shabazz 508-509). Therefore rather than banding

together in solidarity for their shared economic and social status, lower class ethno-European

immigrants participated in the violent behaviors practiced by wealthy plantation owners. This

coalition furthered deepened the divide between white and black, strengthened by

pseudo-scientific theories of the time that argued African ethnicity was biologically inferior to their European counterparts.

This complicity in anti-blackness was especially common among Irish and German workers. Shabazz argues that "this racial class formation, among many things, made it possible for ethnic whites to have unencumbered access to labor," (Shabazz 497-498) especially through public works like the police and fire departments. In Chicago particularly, German immigrants "not only received a better wage in their new positions but were also given "public deference" and admitted to the class of white Chicagoans. (Shabazz 497-498). Therefore we see lower-class immigrants banding together with the elite in order to secure a place in a higher economic strata than they would have otherwise attained, as although they were less desirable than other ethnic-groups, at least they were not bound together by a shared history of complete oppression through slavery.

The extreme violence and oppression of the Jim Crow South combined with the timely industrialization of the North motivated large populations of African Americans to migrate North, enticed by the promise of social freedom and economic opportunity. However, in the North, these groups found themselves facing a less openly violent but equally devastating form of segregation.

The Industrial North, the Black Belt, Segregation, and the Ghetto

In Chicago, black migrants found employment in industrial factories. Chicago was a the primary destination for Black people migrating from the extreme circumstances in Jim Crow states, with 277,000 arriving between 1900 and 1940. The majority of Black migrants "lived on

a small strip of land seven miles long and one-half mile wide on the South Side of the city,

which came to be known as the Black Belt. (Kindle Locations 159-160). The Black Belt was

situated near the Vice district, the 20 square block area between Halsted and LaSalle on the

South Side called the Levee. Pool halls, saloons, and prostitution flourished, separated from the

economic and mainly white areas in the center and north side of the city. The police, combined

with political machines, mainly concerned themselves with the policing and surveillance of the

Levee in order to prevent interracial mingling, especially in dance halls called "Black and

Tans".

Rashad Shabazz notes that the geography of Chicago stems from this policing of the vice

community and the use of policing to further deepen the lines between black and white in the

city, solidifying the status of black as inferior and associated with illegal activities. Shabazz

also notes that the policing of interracial sex in brothels and dance halls of the Vice district

"criminalized Black male-white female socializing and sex, reinforcing the sociospatial

boundaries between Blacks and whites" and also consolidating "European ethnic identity into

the expanding racial configuration of whiteness," the beginning of racialized policing in

Chicago.

These urban policies mirrored those that occurred under the Jim Crow South, unofficially

official social standards and practices that bolstered the racial divide and the perception of

criminality among African American communities. It is important to notice that European

ethnics in Chicago, especially the Irish and German, were able to transition from the

substandard status of wage-labor ethnic-immigrant to identifying as white in contrast to black,

often by becoming part of the police force and other public sector jobs that not only raised

them to the petit-bourgeoisie, but also enabled them to separate themselves socially from black industrial wage laborers along racial lines. Again, racial divides are defined by sectors of labor. David Roediger argues that many European immigrants adopted a hostile attitude towards Blacks because they "recognized that Blacks were at the bottom of the racial hierarchy" which Shabazz adds that this "racial consciousness" was practically a "prerequisite of citizenship".

According to Rashad Shabazz, carceral power is a key feature of the current geographic configuration of Chicago. Carceral power was "born out of transatlantic slavery, was expressed on the plantation and in the broader geography of the South." He argues that carceral power was enforced in order to maintain the "punitive economy of slavery and the legal codification of servitude" (Shabazz 242-246). Shabazz's recognition of slavery as the basis of the present legacy of carceral power in urban areas echoes the Wacquant's arguments. Racially dispersed carceral power holds its roots in slavery, were reconfirmed through Jim Crow segregation and violence, and are held over in urban areas through highly segregated 'communal ghettos' and reimagined in heavily policed 'hyper-ghettos'.

This carceral power was born in the system of slavery, establishing "technologies of cruelty that emerged to capture, hold, and transport' Black people and have not been "repackaged for the new carceral age" (Shabazz 242-246). Specifically in Chicago, Shabazz argues that this legacy of carceral power is racialized through the confinement of Black people to certain sections of the city and the lifestyle that was connected with it. This is apparent in Chicago's 'kitchenettes', or tiny one room apartments.

Though kitchenettes were marketed to all demographic populations in the city, including ethno-Europeans and in particular to women, the kitchenettes that were inhabited by Black

people more often held more families per unit, were less likely to be maintained by the landlord, and were rife with health and safety issues. The quality of life in the parts of the cities that were relegated to Black people was drastically lower than the rest of the city. This carceral power, expressed through confinement, excessive police surveillance, and low quality of social services translated in later years to public housing, urban planning, and the policing of the city.

The birth of modern policing in Chicago stemmed from the policing of interracial sex, and was used as "a mechanism to access and consolidate whiteness, organize the racial geography of the city, and regulate Black men's sexuality and that of the poor". (Kindle Locations 343-344). Like most large cities, Chicago had a 'vice district', a place where illegal or semi-legal activities could take place, such as gambling and prostitution, sequestered from the 'respectable' areas of town. Often, police forces were complicit in the survival of these vice districts, as "by regulating illicit businesses in cities like Chicago, police enabled political machines to extend their power into the underground, and police provided protection in exchange for a fee" (Kindle Locations 387-388).

However, the changing demographics of the city and the white anxiety about an influx of Black migrants led to the increased policing of vice districts, which often provided the opportunity of interracial mingling. Popular nightclubs called 'Black and Tans' offered both a place of exploration for white males to fulfill their fantasies through 'exoticising' Black women, and Black male/white female socializing. The policing of the vice district served to criminalize 'Black male-white female socializing and sex, reinforcing the sociospatial boundaries between Blacks and whites" while consolidating 'European ethnic identity into the expanding racial configuration of whiteness" (Kindle Locations 415-417).

Simultaneously there was increased segregation of African Americans in Chicago into a confined area, mainly on the South side and encompassing the Levee vice district, which came to be known as the Black Belt. These neighborhoods became increasingly separated from the other parts of the city through increasing racial hostility and the pressures of population growth. In the first half of the 20th century, the Black Belt was a self-sufficient community representing all levels of class, segregated only by race. Racial hostility and policing of crime in the Vice districts led to a split between the Black working class and the growing black middle-class who attempted to disassociate with the ghetto, fearful that they would lose their newly middle-class position by being racially connected with the crime and 'dishonor' that was occurring in the Black Belt. This split contributed to reaffirming the racial hierarchy, by associating crime, blackness, and the ghetto.

As the Black middle class moved out of the ghetto to nearby suburbs and the increasing mechanization of the industrial sector reduced the number of available jobs, unemployment spiked. The formerly thriving Black Belt, complete with its own grocery stores, services, churches, etc., was turned into a hyper-ghetto characterized by abandoned buildings and devoid of resources.. After the deindustrialization of Chicago, the Loop and North sides (through education and racial status) were able to access the influential and profitable service economy that was growing, but the South side was left devoid of economic opportunity. The remaining population, massively affected by a lack of resources and coupled with underfunded schools and social services, saw an increase in crime, and an increase in surveillance, as can be seen with the prison-like environment of the housing projects like Cabrini Green and Robert Taylor Homes.

In addition to the geographic isolation of African Americans in the Black Belt, the use of surveillance and policing, and the further consolidation of a concept of 'blackness' in relation to crime, the implementation of a carceral environment through housing helped to foment the modern 'projects to prison pipeline' that we hear about so often. Starting with slum housing, moving to 'kitchenettes' (tiny, one-room apartments where Black migrants were forced into), and then housing projects relegated the South Side community to housing that lacked privacy, was overcrowded, lack health or safety regulations, resulted in facilitated crime and its responding police involvement.

The Changing Purpose of Incarceration in the US

Although Chicago is a clear example of carceral power and hyper-segregation, incarceration on a national level interplayed with creating the heavily policed hyper-ghettos that are seen in urban centers. In the United States currently, 2.3 million people are incarcerated, the highest rate of incarceration in the world (Pew Charitable Trusts).One out of every 87 working-age white men is currently incarcerated, while the number for Black men is 1 in every 12. (Pew Charitable Trusts) There is a drastic difference in the level of incarceration between Black and white people. The increase in incarceration overall and specifically concentrated in Black populations is a legacy of the War on Drugs, with a more than 300% increase in the incarcerated population since the 1980's (Pew Charitable Trusts). Shabazz points out that there are "more Black people in prison today than there were slaves in the decade before the Civil War started." (Shabazz 174-175) which essentially translates to incarceration being the new form of labor control of Black Americans.

Incarceration itself has gone through a massive change, in Chicago, but also nationally. Incarceration has transformed from a system of rehabilitation to a system of confinement and control, with carceral power seeping from prisons into daily life, expressed most clearly through surveillance and policing. Before the 1950s, incarceration was considered a system of rehabilitation. Both incarceration and parole were utilized to correct what was seen as a temporary infraction, often caused by situations outside of the perpetrator's control such as economic hardship or lack of education. The focus of parole was to facilitate the reentry of prisoners into society. Parole officers were tied closely with the community in order to assist parolees in finding employment, housing, and resources that would help to stabilize them and prevent another lapse into the necessity of crime.

In the 1970s, with Richard Nixon's declaration of a War on Drugs, prison became a warehouse of nonviolent drug offenders. Public and political rhetoric shifted to containment, the necessity to keep criminals "off the streets" and the movement from crime as a result of social factors to its reputation as a conscious moral choice. With the increase of drug production and consumption in the 1980s, along with a 25% increase in the homicide rate attributed to rival gangs with economic interests in drugs, criminal activity increased in actuality if not at least in public perception (Marked 19). The impact of the drug trade on communities "already struggling with poverty, joblessness, and an array of social problems" (Marked 19) disproportionately affected the already excluded and mainly poor urban African-American populations.

Increasing the number of people incarcerated for drug-offenses was Nixon's initiative to contain the spike in crime and drug use. The proportion of drug offenders incarcerated in

federal prisons increased from 16% of the prison population in 1970 to 60% in 1993. By the start of the 21st century, twice as many African-American inmates were admitted to state prisons than white prisoners. Although the rate of drug use and homicide both stabilized and decreased in this time, incarceration continued at the high rates of the previous decades. By 2014, nearly 1 in every 35 US citizens were under control of the carceral system, whether physically incarcerated or under surveillance on probation or parole.

Incarceration on such a massive scale has severe consequences on communities, and the change in focus from rehabilitation to retribution has made it into an institution that serves to permanently disrupt the lives of those affected. Incarceration disproportionately affects Black communities which have often already been exploited and neglected, leaving them suffering from poverty and lack of resources. To go into urban communities and remove whole sections of the population, which mass incarceration does, is to disrupt already struggling economies and communities. Shabazz argues that "Mass incarceration not only places millions of Black people and their families under the jurisdiction of the state, but it also transforms their relationship to place by removing them from their communities, cutting them off from families and friends, and creating precarious housing conditions for former prisoners and their families. (Shabazz 176-177). There are more young Black men without a high school diploma incarcerated than employed, with 37% behind bars and only 26% employed (Pew Charitable Trusts). Incarceration disrupts communities already dealing with poverty by physically removing a part of the population, disrupting families, and shifting the responsibility of economic reintegration onto the individual.

While in the beginning of industrialization in Chicago, Black labor was necessary to fill the factories, causing racially segregated but self-sufficient Black neighborhoods, the economic changes that the city underwent in the second half of the 20th century led to the flight of Black middle class, leaving the formerly 'communal ghettos' devoid of businesses and community ties that had once made them sufficient. These new 'hyper-ghettos', or racially segregated neighborhoods that lacked basic necessities in both social resources like health and education but also were filled with empty storefronts and no economic development, were extremely impacted by the rise in incarceration.

By incarcerating sections of the urban population, Black men are forcibly displaced from an already difficult economic situation. The creation of the hyper-ghetto involved the flight of the middle-class to the suburbs and the disintegration of local businesses. Physically removing sections of the population further distresses this situation, as many jobs require an applicant to disclose whether they have been convicted of a felony, and subsequently discriminating against ex-felons. While the old system of parole helped to reintegrate prisoners into society through job placement and housing assistance, the current iteration of parole focuses mainly on surveillance, requiring parolees to meet arbitrary requirements in regards to housing and employment without providing the assistance that it once did. Post-incarceration is now an unstable situation, where missing a parole meeting often means being sent back behind bars. Not only is it difficult to find employment with a criminal record, but even those who do secure a job are affected in the long-term through decreasing potential earnings. Incarceration depresses the total earnings of white males by 2 percent, of Hispanic males by 6 percent, and of black males by 9 percent. (Pew Charitable Trusts) There are formal and informal barriers for

ex-inmates in employment. Laws have been passed that restrict certain industries from hiring people who have been incarcerated. Governmental assistance is also reduced for those who have been incarcerated, often being prohibited from received food stamps and educational benefits. Overall, people with a criminal record received half as many job offers than those without a record, with Black applicants receiving two-thirds less. (Pew Charitable Trusts)

The legacy of incarceration is more than just temporary. There are 2.7 million children in the US who have an incarcerated, two-thirds who have been incarcerated for nonviolent offenses (Pew Charitable Trusts). While 1 in 57 white children have an incarcerated parent, the number is 1 in 9 for Black children. Again we see a rise in incarceration greatly affecting Black populations. Hitting communities already struggling with poverty and a dearth of resources and removing parents from homes is condemning a new generation of Americans to a life of poverty, and a pre-existing likelihood of future incarceration that affects Black populations more than any other. Creating a hyper-ghetto and then heavily policing it, condemning large portions of it to the long-term effects of incarceration is one aspect of carceral power leaving the confines of the prison and moving into daily life.

Other crucial aspects of carceral power apparent in daily life are methods such as enclosure, surveillance, and policing, which Shabazz pulls from Michel Foucault's theories and calls "mechanisms of normalization". Foucault argues that forms of punishment and practices that "emerged from prison transgressed the space of prisons and penetrated the broader society. In doing this, the hope was to use containment, surveillance, and other prison practices to organize and discipline the masses" which means that essentially prisons are institutions that "produced disciplinary techniques that could be learned and appropriated by other institutions.

(Kindle Locations 211-217). These practices of punishment that were born and perfect in a prison environment spilled over into the space of Black Chicago, utilizing architecture, urban planning and surveillance in creating a prison-like environment.

The Black population of Chicago, through its shared history of violence and segregation stemming from slavery and codified into law and practice in the Jim Crow South and the urban North, began its antebellum story in segregated, policed, and resource-lacking areas of the cities. Through the War on Drugs and what is essentially the criminalization of poverty, the increase in punishment for nonviolent offenses combined with legal housing segregation, has led to the confinement of African-Americans in economically disadvantaged areas and disproportionate rate of incarceration. Through carceral power and 'mechanisms of normalization', prison practices have spilled over into daily life, apparent in the heavy police presence in ghetto-areas, surveillance practices in public housing and schools, and the frequence of arrest compared to other areas of the cities. This not only increases incarceration and economic hardship, but ensures that the system will be passed down to future generations, turning incarceration into a method of warehousing the poor and minorities.

Conclusion

The War on Drugs may have been the catalyzing force in the socially-driven changing purpose of incarceration and the accompanying policies that solidified and entrenched the system, but the history of African-Americans plays a crucial role in understanding the disproportionate focus on Black incarceration that came with the implementation of these policies. In a country founded on slavery, where legal segregation is a recent legacy, people of

color are often hyper-segregated in communities that are increasingly characterized by a void of economic opportunity and the surplus of violence and crime. In response, social programs, housing policies, and increased surveillance are active in these areas, both responding to and reaffirming crime and racial stereotypes.

At the core of this exclusion and segregation is the exploitation of labor. When there was a demand for agricultural laborers for plantation cotton, African slaves were violently forced to work the land. After the abolishment of slavery, former slaves and their descendents in the South were relegated to fill the demand for agricultural and other hard labor, explicitly excluded from most other forms of employment. The great migration to the North was spurred by the industrial revolution and the need for labor in industrial factories and other growing industries. Black labor was relegated to specific areas of the city, denied resources like education and decent housing that would elicit growth and adaptability, and were further relegated to the sub-proletariat level. While ethno-Europeans were able to work in the public service, creating and reinforcing their whiteness while elevating some of them to a higher economic class, African Americans were again explicitly excluded from these industries and opportunities.

As industrialization slowed and the mechanization of its processes reduced the demand for labor, the African American community, restricted to the ghetto and largely deprived of an equal education, were left unemployed and crime, predictably, rose. This, coupled with racialized policing and the flight of the black middle-class, further entrenched the self-perpetuating hyper-ghetto. The War on Drugs increased overall rates of incarceration, but

disproportionately fell on African Americans, essentially as a way to store a surplus population whose labor was no longer needed and devoid of market utility.

Chicago, with its special position at the heart of the industrial revolution, was implicit in employing and subsequently expelling mass quantities of black laborers coming from the South. This form of racial exclusion appears on the surface as less violent than that of the slavery or Jim Crow eras, however, it is even more vicious through its silent mechanisms of oppression. Incarceration in the US is no longer serving the purpose of rehabilitation. It severs social ties, disrupts family life, and marks those under its power in a way that later restricts their ability to obtain legal employment. The continued diversion of resources from the hyper-ghettos results in hugely underfunded schools and community resources, which fosters the necessity to turn to alternate means of survival, often through crime. The very landscape of the hyper-ghetto, with prison-like housing and policing practices, creates an atmosphere of carceral power. It is necessary to understand the historical circumstances leading to the formation of hyper-segregated urban areas like Chicago and the subsequent policing and incarceration that simultaneously creates, disrupts, and recreates the ghetto.

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