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**RASNE RAZLIKE I UDJELI U
KOJIMA SU PRIPADNICI RASA
SUDJELOVALI U PROHIBICIJI
ALKOHOLA I RATU DROGA¹**

**RACIAL DISCREPANCIES IN
THE PARTICIPATION BETWEEN
ALCOHOL PROHIBITION AND
THE DRUG WAR¹**

SAŽETAK: Zašto su mladi Amerikanci talijanskog porijekla pucali jedni na druge za vrijeme prohibicije alkohola u 20. stoljeću, a u 21. stoljeću to isto čine mladi Afroamerikanci? Je li to samo povijesna nesreća? Je li moglo biti drugačije? Ovaj članak će se pokušati pozabaviti ovim pitanjem.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: rasizam, rat drogom, prohibicija alkohola

ABSTRACT: Why is it that young Italian-American men were shooting each other over turf during the prohibition of alcohol in the 20th century, and young African-American men are shooting each other over turf in the 21st? Was this just a historical accident? Could it easily have been the other way around? That is the question with which the present paper attempts to wrestle.

KEY WORDS: racism, drug war, alcohol prohibition

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I. UVOD

Zašto se danas mladi crnci međusobno ubijaju radi ilegalne trgovine drogom, dok su to isto činili mladi bijelci za vrijeme Prohibicije od 1920. do 1933. radi ilegalne trgovine alkoholom? U ovom članku propitat ćemo brojne ekonomske čimbenike, uključujući siromaštvo (poglavlje II), prosječan prihod (III), ekonomsku mobilnost (IV), obiteljske strukture (V), oblike obitelji (VI), zaposlenost, odnosno sudjelovanje u ukupnoj radnoj snazi i stope nezaposlenosti (section VII). Zaključak donosimo u poglavlju VIII.

II. SIROMAŠTVO

Počnimo s analizom razina siromaštva bijelaca i crnaca na temelju statističkih podataka iz vremena prohibicije, dakle između 1920. i 1933. te statističkih podataka modernog doba, dakle 21. stoljeća. Polazimo od hipoteze, *ceteris paribus*, da što je društvo siromašnije, veća je vjerojatnost da će biti upleteno u zločinačko ponašanje.² Ranih godina 19. stoljeća počeo je golem imigracijski val južnoeuropskih naroda, od kojih su većina bili Talijani, naročito iz južne Italije.³ Čak 80 % imigranata nije posjedovalo nikakve specijalne vještine kojima bi bili od koristi na tržištu rada, a zbog svojeg porijekla iz ruralnog društva iz kojeg su i emigrirali. Stoga su oni ušli na tržište rada nekvalificiranih radnika. Brojni muškarci koji su potjecali iz obitelji talijanskih i irskih imigranata ili su bili iz bjelačkih radničkih obitelji starosjedilaca bili su frustrirani činjenicom da rade na tržištu nekvalificiranog rada; njihove su plaće bile ograničene njihovom vlastitom produktivnošću. Tada su počeli tražiti profitabilnija tržišta kojima bi pridonijeli svojim radom. Našli su ih na crnom tržištu alkohola. Alkohol je prije toga u cijeloj zemlji bio legalan, iako su ga lokalna i državna vlada ograničavale, sve do pojave Temperance Movement-a (društvenog pokreta koji je poticao uzdržavanje od konzumacije alkohola) na početku 19. stoljeća, a koji je utro put potpunoj ilegalizaciji tržišta i trgovine alkohola.

I. INTRODUCTION

Why today do young black youths kill each other over the illegal drug trade, while young white men did so over the illegal alcohol trade during Prohibition from 1920-1933? Numerous economic factors will be examined, including poverty (section II), median income (III), economic mobility (IV), family structure (V), family formation (VI), labor force participation and unemployment rates (section VII). We conclude in section VIII.

II. POVERTY

Let us begin with the examination of poverty levels of whites and blacks from their respective time periods of the prohibition era, 1920-1933, and modern day 21st century statistics. Our hypothesis here is that, *ceteris paribus*, a demographic of society is more likely to engage in criminal behavior the poorer it is.² In the early 19th century began the large immigration wave of peoples from southern Europe, a majority from Italy and southern Italy specifically.³ Of those who migrated, 80% had no specialized skills to contribute to the division of labor due to the rural society from which they migrated. Thus, they entered the unskilled labor market. Many men from backgrounds of recent Italian immigrants, Irish immigrants, and native born working class Caucasians would become disillusioned with contributing to the unskilled labor market; their wages were limited by their productivity. They then started looking for a more lucrative market to which they could contribute their labor. They found this in the black market for alcohol. Alcohol had previously been legal throughout the nation, but limited by local or state governments, until the Temperance Movement of the early 19th century set about a path to almost complete illegalization of the alcohol market and trade.

III. PROSJEČAN PRIHOD

Temperance Movement je bio društveni pokret u SAD-u protiv konzumacije alkohola koji je doveo do prohibicije. Prema podacima Instituta za američku povijest Gilder Lehrmen, prosječan prihod bijelaca je 1929. godine iznosio otprilike 2000 dolara godišnje.⁴ To je navelo bijelu radničku klasu, već otprije potaknutu nedavnim imigracijskim valom koji je došao iz Europe, na ilegalnu trgovinu alkoholom, što je njezine pripadnike učinilo produktivnijima te, sukladno tome, dovelo do porasta njihovih prihoda.

Još jedan čimbenik koji pridonosi rasnim razlikama po pitanju trgovanja na crnom tržištu u doba prohibicije i trgovine drogom⁵ danas je prihod domaćinstva prema rasi. Od 2014. prosječan prihod domaćinstva crnih Amerikanaca iznosi 35 481 dolar, što je najniži prihod među glavnim rasama, uključujući azijsku, bijelu, hispansku, rasu pacifičkih otoka te indijansku.⁶ Kao što je bio slučaj s europskim imigrantima i drugim pripadnicima bijele rase iz redova radničke klase u doba prohibicije, tako među crnačkim stanovništvom vlada manjak kvalificiranih radnika. To se može pripisati činjenici da i oni potječu iz ruralnih dijelova američkog Juga, gdje su radili kao nekvalificirani radnici sve do kraja Velike migracije 1970.⁷ Tome je pridonijelo i njihovo slabo obrazovanje te nizak broj fakultetski obrazovanih ljudi, o čemu će biti više riječi u sljedećim poglavljima ovog članka. Također ne smijemo zaboraviti da, kao što je slučaj sa svim etničkim skupinama, i ova skupina tvori svoje usko povezane zajednice, što sprečava slobodan protok vještina i znanja između ove i drugih zajednica koje vjerojatno posjeduju drukčija i raznolikija znanja i razine obrazovanja.

Trgovina drogom je u porastu otkad je 1937. donesen Zakon o porezu na marihuanu⁸, dakle nakon završetka prohibicije alkohola. Ona je dosegla povijesne visine nakon što je predsjednik Nixon objavio Rat protiv droge 1971. Ovo je prvenstveno utjecalo na manjinske grupe, najviše na crnačke zajednice u Americi. Sve do tog trenutka

III. MEDIAN INCOME

The Temperance Movement was a social movement in the U.S. against the consumption of alcohol that led to prohibition. According to the Gilder Lehrmen Institute of American History, white median income in 1929 was approximately \$2000 a year.⁴ This led the white working class, which was fueled by the recent waves of immigration from Europe, to enter the illegal trade of alcohol, where their productivity rate could increase, which in turn raised their wage levels.

Another contributing factor to the racial differences in participation with the black market trades of the prohibition era and the drug trade⁵ today is household income by race. As of 2014 the median household income of black Americans is \$35,481, which is lowest of all major races, including Asian, White, Hispanics, Pacific Islanders, and Native Americans.⁶ As with European immigrants and other working class whites in the prohibition era, there is a lack of skilled workers among the black population. This can be attributed to the fact that they too came from rural areas in the South where they were used as unskilled laborers and continued to be so until the Great Migration ended in 1970.⁷ Another contributing factor is their low education and college graduation rates which will be discussed in greater detail later in the paper. We also must not forget that, as with all ethnic groups, they form their own tight knit communities, which stymies the flow of skills and knowledge between other communities that may have diversified knowledge and education levels.

Since the Marihuana Tax Act of 1937⁸, which was after the end of alcohol prohibition, the drug trade grew. It reached historic highs when President Nixon initiated the War on Drugs in 1971. This primarily affected minority groups, mainly the black communities of America. By this time in history, the white working class had been able to increase its economic status through upward mobility during the boom times of the post-World War II era, which will also be discussed in greater depth later.

bijela radnička klasa bila je u stanju poboljšati svoj ekonomski status pomoću uzlazne ekonomske mobilnosti tijekom perioda procvata nakon drugog svjetskog rata, o čemu će također biti govora kasnije.

IV. EKONOMSKA MOBILNOST

Bijelci su shvatili da nekvalificiran rad i nizak nivo obrazovanja vode direktno ka lošoj produktivnosti, dok su se crnci okrenuli kanalima pomoću kojih su mogli povećati svoje prihode i svoju produktivnost. Drugi naziv za te kanale jest crno tržište, a ovaj put se oni odnose na trgovinu drogom. Kroz ovakvu vrstu trgovine dolazi do formiranja bandi, ubojstava unutar bandi te povećanog broja crnaca koji završe u zatvoru, što opet vodi porastu broja obitelji sa samohranim roditeljem, a to predstavlja iznimno velik problem njihovoj populaciji. Ono što mlade crnce najviše privlači ilegalnoj prodaji droge je činjenica da industrija zabave glorificira takav životni stil, zatim laka zarada velike količine novca u relativno kratkom vremenskom roku, te najvažnije, nemogućnost bijega od siromaštva radi svega gore navedenog.

Razlog zašto su bijelci bili glavni angažirani u ilegalnoj trgovini jest taj što oni žive u urbanim sredinama gradova u unutrašnjosti Amerike, gdje se odvija većina trgovine, zločina i ubojstava. Uzmimo za primjer Chicago, koji je povijesno bio angažiran i u doba prohibicije i danas u ratu droga, a koji ima utjecaj na crnu populaciju. Za vrijeme prohibicije, crnci su tek započinjali migraciju iz svojih tradicionalnih sredina na jugu SAD-a, tijekom vremena poznatog pod nazivom Velika migracija, između 1910. i 1970. Ova spora migracija omogućila je da bijela urbana populacija ostane u uvjerljivoj većini. Ukupno stanovništvo grada Chicaga je 1920. iznosilo 2,7 milijuna, prema podacima US Census Bureau-a, a crnog stanovništva 100 000, prema podacima Knjižnice za nezavisna istraživanja Newberry u Chicagu. Dakle, oni su činili oko 3,5% stanovništva. Bijelaca je bilo preko 90%. Migracija bijelaca u gradove

IV. ECONOMIC MOBILITY

As with whites who found that their unskilled labor and low education rates led to low productivity and thus low wage rates, blacks instead turned to a channel in which they could increase their wages and productivity. This channel is also called the black market, but this time for the drug trade. Through this trade they are increasingly prone to the formation on gangs, gang related killings, and the incarceration rates among blacks, which leads to single parent household, which is a huge detriment to their population. The appeal to young black youths of involvement in the illegal drug trade are glorification of the lifestyle by the entertainment industry, the ease of making a large amount of profit in a small window of time, and most importantly the lack of means to escape their poverty due to the aforementioned.

The focus on why whites were the main engagers in this illegal trade has to do with their population in the urban areas of the inner cities of America where the majority of the trade, crime, and killings took place. For example, note the city of Chicago, which has a history of engagement, in the prohibition era and today, in the war on drugs affecting the black community. During the prohibition era, blacks were only starting to migrate from their traditional areas in the Southern United States, during a period known as the Great Migration, which took place between 1910-1970. This slow migration allowed the white urban population to remain high and a large majority. The total population of Chicago was 2.7 million in 1920 according to the US Census Bureau, and the black community had accumulated to around 100,000, according to the Newberry, Chicago's Independent Research Library. This accounted for around 3.5% of the population. The white population was well over 90%. The white migration into cities in the early 20th century was a continuation of the 1800's due to the industrialization of cities, which became the

na početku 20. stoljeća bila je nastavak one iz 19. stoljeća zbog industrijalizacije gradova koji su postali mjesta u kojima je bilo posla i u kojima su se otvarale tvornice, što je sve dovelo do porasta broja radnih mjesta.⁹ To je navelo pripadnike bijele etničke skupine iz ruralnih krajeva da potraže posao u gradovima i povećaju svoje prihode, a osim toga gradovi su postali ciljani mjesta za imigrante iz Europe. Imigranti su dolazili u potrazi za boljim životom koji će ostvariti kroz posao i vjeru u ekonomsku mobilnost, koja je već bila dostupna u urbanim sredinama u unutrašnjosti. Problem kod gradova je da su oni rasadnici rasnih i etničkih napetosti te se u njima stvorilo najveće tržište ilegalne trgovine alkohola kao posljedica visoke potražnje radi velikog broja stanovnika. Ovi su faktori doveli do porasta zločina, nasilja i u konačnici smrtnih slučajeva, prema podacima Nacionalnog istraživanja žrtava zločina¹⁰, uz pomoć onih koji su sudjelovali u trgovini alkoholom, muških bijelaca iz redova radničke klase.

Chicago je jedan od gradova s najvećom stopom nasilja u suvremenoj Americi. Razlog tome su ponajviše bande i trgovina drogom, a najznačajniji predstavnici dolaze iz redova mlade crnačke zajednice. Od 2014., grad Chicago ima 2,7 milijuna stanovnika, jednako kao i 1920.¹¹ Crnci čine većinski dio etničkih skupina u gradu, te čine 32% ukupnog gradskog stanovništva, dok nehispanaska etnička skupina bijelaca čini 31,7%¹², što navodi na zaključak da u gradu živi veći broj crnaca nego bijelaca. Razlika u broju stanovnika u odnosu na doba prohibicije stoga iznosi 20,2%. Razlog tome je prije spomenuta Velika migracija u industrijalizirane gradove na sjeveru, iz istih razloga iz kojih su u doba prohibicije bijelci imali veći izbor poslova i bolje plaće. Nadalje, za neke je južnjake diskriminacija bijelaca bila od velike važnosti, kao i primjena Jim Crow segregacijskih zakona. Nakon ovog golemog porasta stanovništva Chicaga, relativna ponuda poslova usmjerila se više prema kvalificiranim radnicima ili onima koji su bili “rasno prihvatljivi”. To je dovelo do nedostatnog broja produktivnih kvalificiranih radnika te do viška nekvalificiranih

place where business grew and factories opened leading to an increase of jobs.⁹ This drew out the white ethnic group from the rural areas to attain a job and wages plus it became the targeted locations for immigrants that were coming from Europe. Immigrants came here for a better life through jobs and the belief of economic mobility, which was most readily available in the urban inner cities. The problem with the setting of inner cities is that they are hotbeds for racial and ethnic tensions, and also create the largest market for the illegal alcohol trade due to the high demand caused by the large population. These factors lead to crime, violence, and ultimately deaths, according to the National Crime Victimization Survey¹⁰, at the hands of those participating in the alcohol trade, working class white males.

Chicago is one of the most violent cities in modern America. This is mainly due to the gang and drug trade activity, which is heavily represented by the black youth community. As of 2014, the city of Chicago had a population of 2.7 million, the same as in 1920.¹¹ Blacks make up the majority of the city's ethnic groups, comprising 32% of the city's population, compared to the non-Hispanic white ethnic group of 31.7%¹², which shows a greater amount of blacks than whites in the city. This is a population percentage difference from the prohibition era by 20.2%. This is due to the aforementioned Great Migration to the industrialized cities of the north due to the same reasons that whites in the prohibition area did more jobs available and better wages. Also, for some southern white discrimination was a large factor, as was the practice of Jim Crow segregation laws. Upon this enormous increase in population in Chicago, the relative supply of jobs, with available employment slots going to either more skilled workers or to those who were “racially accepted”. This led to a lack of a supply of productive skilled workers and increased surplus of unskilled workers who wouldn't accept a wage equal to their productivity. The lack of sufficient jobs leaves the black ethnic group at its poor current economic status, which

radnika koji su odbijali plaće primjerene njihovoj produktivnosti. Nedostatak poslova rezultirao je slabim gospodarski statusom crnačke etničke skupine, što je onda posljedično uzrok njihovog angažmana na velikom crnom tržištu ilegalnih droga, čime su htjeli povećati svoje prihode.

Sada više bijelci nisu glavni sudionici ilegalne trgovine na crnom tržištu, u smislu prodaje i reguliranja, jer su napustili gradove iz dva razloga. Prvi je razlog preseljavanje bijelaca u predgrađa ili u ruralne krajeve kako bi razvili svoje vlastite segregirane zajednice. Drugi je razlog to što su sada mogli iskoristiti ekonomsku mobilnost koju je uzrokovao poslijeratni ekonomski procvat kako bi uštedjeli i uložili kapital dostatan za preseljenje. Posljedica toga je činjenica da je crnačko stanovništvo sada postalo većinsko u brojnim velegradovima, ali to stanovništvo nije imalo gospodarsku moć.

Možemo reći da je uzrok smanjene ekonomske mobilnosti ulaganje u obrazovanje. Imigranti su, povijesno gledano, uvijek ulagali i vjerovali u važnost obrazovanja. Njihov je najveći problem, prilikom pronalaska zakonitog posla uslijed niske produktivnosti (što je onda vodilo ka zločinu i nekvalificiranim poslovima) činjenica da su došli u stranu zemlju bez znanja jezika, pa je stoga stopa njihove pismenosti bila izrazito niska. Nažalost, većina crnih Amerikanaca nije imigrirala u ovu zemlju dobrovoljno ili slobodno. Robovlasnički zakoni su ih sprečavali da nauče čitati i pisati, pa su stope njihove pismenosti kontinuirano bile niže od onih autohtonih bijelaca; ali ne niže od stopa pismenosti imigranata, sudeći prema podacima Nacionalnog centra za statističke podatke u obrazovanju. Zanimljivo je da je, od 1920. – 1930. za vrijeme golemog imigracijskog vala imigranata koji nisu govorili engleski, stopa pismenosti crneog stanovništva porasla sa 77% na 83,7%, navode isti izvori NCES.¹³

Budući da crnci većinom žive u urbanism sredinama i nemaju financijskih sredstava da pošalju svoju djecu u privatnu školu, moraju se suočiti sa

causes them to engage in the large black market for illegal drugs to increase their income.

Whites are no longer the main participants in the illegal black market trade, in the selling and regulating sense, because they have left the cities for two main reasons. The first: white flight, or the movement of whites to the suburbs or rural areas to develop, in essence their own segregated communities. The second: They were able to use new economic mobility caused by the economic boom of the post war years to invest and save enough capital to move. This leaves the black population as a population majority in many major cities, but one lacking relative economic power.

We can say that this lack of economic mobility could be due to the investments in education. Immigrants historically invest and believe deeply in the importance of education. A main problem of theirs in finding legitimate employment and having a low productivity leading to their occupations in crime or unskilled labor work is the fact that they came to a foreign land without knowing the language, so their literacy rate was extremely low. Unfortunately for most black Americans, when they came to this country they were not immigrating voluntarily or freely. The laws of slavery stopped them from being able to read or write, and their literacy rates have historically continued to be lower than native-born whites; but, importantly not immigrants, according to the National Center for Education Statistics. Interestingly, between 1920-1930, during the massive non-English speaking immigration wave, the black population literacy rate went from 77% to 83.7% according to the same source, NCES.¹³

Since the majority of blacks reside in urban areas and don't have the funds to send children to private schools, they have to deal with the terrible state of city public schools. According to Thernstrom (2001), "The Racial Gap in Academic Achievement,"¹⁴ many black 12th-graders dealt with scientific problems at the level of whites

državnim školama u gradu, koje su u izrazito lošem stanju. Kako navodi Thernstrom u svom djelu (2001.), "Rasni jaz kod akademskih postignuća"¹⁴, mnogobrojni crni učenici koji pohađaju 12. razred su rješili znanstvene zadatke na razini bijelaca iz 6. razreda; a pisanje im je na nivou bijelaca koji idu u 8. razred. Matematičke vještine prosječnog srednjoškolca crne boje kože iz viših razreda jednake su matematičkim vještinama tipičnog bijelca iz 7. razreda. Prosječan crni 17-godišnjak čita kao dijete bijele rase koje još nije napunilo 13 godina. To znači da poslodavac koji zapošljava osobu crne rase sa srednjom stručnom spremom, zapravo zapošljava nekog tko je završio osam razreda. Što se tiče srednjoškolskih i fakultetskih diploma, statistički podaci tvrde da je 2008. bilo 19,6% crnaca sa završenim fakultetom. Razlika u upisnim stopama između bijelaca i crnaca se smanjila sa 23 boda, koliko je iznosila 1900. na 7 bodova 1940. To se može usporediti sa 72% bijelih učenika koji su maturirali i iste godine upisali fakultet te 44% crnih učenika koji su učinili to isto.¹⁵

V. OBITELJSKE STRUKTURE

Sljedeći razlog zašto se crnci i bijelci angažiraju u ilegalnoj trgovini tijekom određenih vremenskih perioda leži u strukturi njihovih obitelji. Brojni su imigranti tijekom ranih godina 20. stoljeća dolazili u SAD jedan po jedan iz iste obitelji. Jedan bi član obitelji stigao te prikupio određena sredstva kako bi ih poslao u svoj zavičaj ostatku obitelji ili bi ih pak iskoristio kao osnovu za osnivanje vlastite obitelji te poslao po njih da dođu u Ameriku. To je rezultiralo razorenim domovima u imigrantskim zajednicama unutar veće zajednice bijele radničke klase. Razoreni domovi imigrantskih obitelji doveli su do neodgovornosti pojedinaca te su omogućili da se sjeme kriminala razgrana. Važno je napomenuti da se ovaj generalni stav ne odnosi na čitav sektor bijele radničke klase.

Slično tome, sastav crnačkih obitelji, ili bolje rečeno, nedostatak sastava, glavni je uzrok njihova

u the sixth grade; they wrote about as well as whites in the eighth grade. The average black high-school senior had math skills on a par with a typical white student in the middle of seventh grade. The average 17-year-old black student could only read as well as the typical white child who had not yet reached age 13. That means an employer hiring the typical black high-school graduate is in effect hiring an eighth-grader. As far as high school and college statistics go, current education, as of 2008, are 19.6% college degree for blacks, The difference in the white and black enrollment rates narrowed from 23 points in 1900 to 7 points in 1940. This can be compared to the 72% of white students who have completed high school enrolled in college the same year, compared to 44% for black students.¹⁵

V. FAMILY STRUCTURE

Another reason for the majority participation by blacks and whites in their respective illegal trades during their respective time periods is the family structure. Many immigrants during the early 20th century came to the U.S. family member by family member. One member would come over and accumulate a portion of wealth to either send back to the rest of their family in the mother country, or to use it as a foundation build up their family and send for them to come to America. This created broken households in immigrant communities inside the greater white working class community. The broken home makeup of immigrant families provided a lack of accountability for individuals inside them and allowed the seed of criminality to grow. It is important to note that this cannot be generalized for the entire white working class sector.

Similarly, the black family household composition, or, rather, lack thereof, is a major reason for their participation in the illegal drug trade, and the violent deaths that come along with it. Many black families in America lack the two parent

sudjelovanja u nezakonitoj trgovini drogom te nasilnim smrtnim slučajevima koji su uslijedili. U brojnim crnačkim obiteljima u Americi nedostaje konvencionalni obiteljski sustav koji podrazumijeva oba roditelja, s time da onaj koji obično nedostaje je otac. Prema podacima CDC (2016.)¹⁶ 2014. godine je 72% crne djece odrastalo u obiteljima s jednim roditeljem. To se može dovesti u vezu s činjenicom da muški pripadnici crne rase čine 50% zatvorske populacije, a pritom samo 6% ukupne populacije SAD-a, sudeći prema podacima Američkog ureda za pravosuđe.¹⁷ 2010. su crnci (koji čine 13% američkog stanovništva) bili odgovorni za 48,7% svih hapšenja u slučajevima ubojstva, za 31,8% hapšenja u slučaju silovanja, 33,5% hapšenja u slučaju nanošenja teških tjelesnih ozljeda, te 55% hapšenja za pljačke. Isto tako 2010. je stopa siromaštva među crncima iznosila 27,4% (oko triput više od stope siromaštva bijelaca), što znači da je te godine 11,5 milijuna crnaca u SAD-u živjelo u siromaštvu.

VI. OBLICI OBITELJI

Iz kojeg razloga su crnačke obitelji ne samo razorene, već se u moderno doba niti ne uspiju formirati? To je povezano sa sustavom socijalne pomoći.¹⁸ Sve do pojave programa zvanog "Veliko društvo" čiji je začetnik bio Lynden Baines Johnson sredinom 1960-ih, isplate socijalne pomoći su bile vrlo skromne. Ali onda su drastično porasle. Za usporedbu, vladina velikodušnost u obliku monetarnih isplata, marka za hranu, doplatka za stanovanje, zdravstvenog osiguranja i sl. bila je puno izdašnija od svote koju je muškarac morao plaćati za dijete koje je dobio s neudanom ženom. Međutim, postojala je "kvaka": otac nezakonito rođenog djeteta nije mogao ostati u kući. Crnci su posebice bili podložni tom opasnom zovu budući da su bili siromašniji od bijelaca.¹⁹ Prije tog vremena, kultura je bila takva da je dijete rođeno izvan bračne zajednice bilo sramota. S vremenom je tome bilo sve manje tako; do te mjere da su u nekim gradovima čitavi razredi bili rezervirani za majke tinejdžerice.²⁰

conventional family system, with the father usually absent. In 2014, 72% of black children were raised in a one-parent household, according to the CDC (2016).¹⁶ This could be attributed, as previously stated, to the fact that black males compose 50% of the prison population, but only 6% of population of the entire US population, according to the US Bureau of Justice.¹⁷ In 2010, blacks (approximately 13% of the U.S. population) accounted for 48.7% of all arrests for homicide, 31.8% of arrests for forcible rape, 33.5% of arrests for aggravated assault, and 55% of arrests for robbery. Also as of 2010, the black poverty rate was 27.4% (about 3 times higher than the white rate), meaning that 11.5 million blacks in the U.S. were living in poverty.

VI. FAMILY FORMATION

Why is it that the black family not only has been broken up, but, in the modern era fails to form in the first place? It all has to do with the welfare system.¹⁸ Until the so-called "Great Society" of Lynden Baines Johnson in the mid-1960s, payments in this program were very modest. But then, under this rubric, disbursements were radically increased. So much so, what with direct monetary payouts, food stamps, housing allowances, medical coverage, etc., the government's largesse was far greater than that forthcoming from the male who impregnated an unmarried woman. There was one "catch," however: the father of the illegitimate child could not remain in the household. Blacks were particularly susceptible to this siren song since they were poorer than whites.¹⁹ Before that era, the culture was such that to bear a child out of wedlock was a disgrace. Afterward, gradually, this became less and less so; to such a great degree that in some inner cities entire school classes were reserved for teenaged mothers.²⁰

According to some, if you place a frog in boiling water, its metabolism is such that it will jump right

Prema nekim izvorima, ako staviš žabu u vrelu vodu, njezin metabolizam će ju natjerati da odmah iskoči van, neozlijeđena. Međutim, ako ju staviš u hladnu vodu i zagrijavaš vodu polako, žaba će umrijeti. Ropstvo je za crnačku obitelj poput vrele vode. Ne možemo zaniijekati da je taj “čudan sustav” devastirao formiranje obitelji u ovoj zajednici – ali samo dok je trajao. Nakon toga obitelj je reformirana.²¹ Nasuprot tome, pretjerano “velikodušne” isplate socijalne pomoći bile su kao sporo zagrijavanje vode do točke ključanja. Crnačke obitelji još se nisu oporavile od tog pogubnog iskustva.

VII. RADNA SNAGA I STOPE NEZAPOSLENOSTI

Još je jedan važan aspekt ovog pitanja kojeg vrijedi sagledati, a to je rad i nezaposlenost kod obiju rasnih skupina za svaki od navedenih perioda. Što se tiče bijelih muškaraca u doba prohibicije, njihova stopa zaposlenosti iznosila je 1920. god. 84.6%, sudeći prema podacima US Census Bureau-a²², ali se stopa nezaposlenosti povećala između 1929. i 1933. za više od 20 postotnih bodova, kako se navodi u Lebergott index series, ili za 17 postotnih bodova, prema Darby's series.²³ Ovaj golem porast nezaposlenosti u čitavoj populaciji može se pripisati Velikoj Depresiji koja se pojavila istovremeno kad i prohibicija, od 1929. – 1939. Ona je utjecala na sve etničke i spolne skupine, ali se na bijelce pripadnike radničke klase izrazito jako odrazila jer su oni predstavljali velik udio populacije. Nezaposlenost vodi u dokolicu te u nemogućnost pronalaska posla kojim bi se zaradila dostatna plaća ili plaća dovoljna za pokrivanje životnih troškova. To pak vodi u druge kanale zarađivanja prihoda, od kojih je najprofitabilniji crno tržište ilegalnog alkohola u doba prohibicije.

Kako bismo razmotrili u kolikoj su mjeri bijelci iz redova radničke klase sudjelovali u ilegalnoj trgovini alkohola i usporedili to sa stopom nezaposlenosti, moramo uzeti u obzir ironičnu

out, unharmed. However, if you locate it in cool water, and heat it up slowly, it will perish. Slavery, was like boiling water for the black family. It cannot be denied that this “curious institution” broke up the family formation of this community – but only while it lasted. Afterward, it reformed.²¹ In sharp contrast, overwhelmingly “generous” welfare payments were like boiling the water slowly. The black family as not yet recovered from that deleterious experience.

VII. LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT RATES

Another important aspect of this question we must look at is the labor participation and unemployment of both racial groups during their respective times. For white males during the prohibition era, their labor participation rate was 84.6% in 1920, according to the US Census Bureau²², but the unemployment rate between 1929-1933 rate increased by over 20 percentage points, according to the Lebergott index series, or by 17 percentage points, according to Darby's series.²³ This huge rise in unemployment across the entire population can be attributed to the Great Depression that overlapped with prohibition, 1929 - 1939. It affected all ethnic and gender groups, but affected working class whites in greater numbers because of the huge portion of the population they represented. Unemployment leads to idleness and the inability to find a job that earns sufficient wages or even subsistence wages. This in turn leads to other channels of wage attainment, the most lucrative being the black market for illegal alcohol during the prohibition era.

To consider white working class participation in the illegal alcohol trade with regards to unemployment, we must include the ironic social injustice of the welfare net. Welfare was implemented under Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1935 with the Social Security Act.²⁴ Take note that the implementation and prohibition never overlapped as prohibition

društvenu nepravdu mreže socijalne pomoći. Socijalna pomoć je uvedena 1935. za vrijeme vladavine Franklina Delana Roosevelta pod nazivom Zakon o socialnoj sigurnosti.²⁴ Valja primijetiti da implementiranje ovog zakona i prohibicija nikad nisu kolidirali budući da je prohibicija započela 1920. i završila 1933., a Rooseveltov Zakon o socialnoj sigurnosti je u potpunosti stupio na snagu tek 1939. Prije ovog zakona, socijalna pomoć koju je odobrala vlada SAD-a bila je vrlo ograničena.

Stopa nezaposlenosti crnih Amerikanaca u današnje vrijeme je vjerojatno najvažniji uzrok njihove uloge u ilegalnoj prodaji droge, smrtnim slučajevima i zločinima koji su iz nje proizašli. Stopa zaposlenosti Afroamerikanaca je u listopadu 2016. iznosila 61,8%²⁵, što znači da više od jedne trećine crne zajednice ne pridonosi svojim radom, već se oslanja na vladine socijalne programe, crno tržište trgovine droga, drugih roba i usluga ili kombinaciju svega ovoga.

Trenutna stopa nezaposlenosti crnih muškaraca u dobi od 16 godina starosti i starijih jest 8,6%, što znači da je u padu, ako znamo da je 2011. iznosila 16,5%, prema podacima Američkog ureda za statističke podatke o zaposlenima.²⁶ To je gotovo dvostruko više od stope nezaposlenosti bijelih muškaraca, koja je negdje oko 4,3%. Valja primijetiti da je ova stopa nezaposlenosti za crnce od gotovo devet posto skoro identična stopi nezaposlenih bijelih muškaraca za vrijeme Velike recesije. I što je još važnije, treba gledati stopu nezaposlenosti mladih crnaca, jer su oni glavni sudionici ilegalne trgovine drogom prije nego dospiju u zatvor ili budu ubijeni. Stopa zaposlenosti mladih crnaca trenutno iznosi 53,8%, dok je za bijelce ona 62,7%, prema podacima iz 2016. Ova je grupa druga najniža, uz azijske mladiće. Trenutno je samo 20,6% mladih crnaca zaposleno, dakle petina njihove populacije, dok je mladih nezaposlenih bijelaca 9,9%, što iznosi gotovo polovicu stope nezaposlenosti mladih crnaca. Stoga možemo zaključiti da je nezaposlenost među crnim tinejdžerima četiri puta vjerojatnija nego među odraslim bijelcima.²⁷

started in 1920 and ended in 1933, while FDR's Social Security Act didn't fully take effect until 1939. Prior to this act, United States government welfare was extremely limited.

Black Americans labor participation and unemployment rates in the modern day are perhaps the biggest reason for their large role in the illegal drug trade and the deaths and crimes that come out of it. The black American labor participation rate is at 61.8% as of October 2016²⁵, which leaves over one third of the black community not contributing to the labor force, rather relying on government social programs, the black market trade of drugs, other goods or services, or a combination of both.

The black unemployment rate for males 16 and over is currently at 8.6%, down from a high of 16.5% in 2011, according to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.²⁶ This is almost double the rate of white males, which hovers around 4.3%. Take note that the close to nine percent unemployment rate for blacks is almost equal to the rate of white males unemployed during the Great Recession. More importantly, we should look at the unemployment and participation rates for black male youth, which are the primary participants in the illegal drug trade, due to ones relatively short participation before incarceration or death. The labor participation rate for black youth is currently at 53.8%, compared to 62.7% for white youth, as of 2016. This group is second lowest only to Asian youth. While the employment rate for young blacks is currently at 20.6%, over a fifth of their population, compared to the white youth participation rate, which currently stands at 9.9%, almost half of the black youth unemployment. Therefore we can make the conclusion that black teens are almost four times as likely to be unemployed as white adults.²⁷

We can attribute the continued high unemployment, low labor participation rates, and their disproportionately that affects the black community on the welfare system implemented

Kontinuirano visoku nezaposlenost, niske stope zaposlenosti te njihovu neproporcionalnost koji se odražavaju na crnu zajednicu možemo pripisati sustavu socijalne pomoći koji je uveden kasnih 30-ih godina 20. stoljeća. Bijelci iz redova radničke klase koji su ilegalno trgovali alkoholom nisu imali pristupa ovoj mreži socijalne pomoći, niti su bili suočeni sa štetnim utjecajima koji su ometali njihovu ekonomsku mobilnost generacijama nakon njihovog dolaska u zemlju. Crnci su već bili u ekonomskom i socijalnom zaostatku zbog strašne povijesti zlostavljanja kojem su bili izloženi, zbog preseljavanja u gradove u unutrašnjosti tijekom Velike migracije te zbog kontinuirane rasne diskriminacije. I sustav socijalne pomoći ih je također opetovano zaobilazio. Sustav je znatno proširen za vrijeme Rata protiv siromaštva koji je vodio predsjednik Lyndon Johnson u 60-ima. Broj siromašnih crnih stanovnika se prepolovio između 1940. i 1960. Godine 2012. je u prosjeku bilo 41,6 posto Crnaca korisnika programa socijalne pomoći, dok je samo 13,2 posto bijelaca koristilo iste, prema podacima Census Bureau-a.²⁸ Budući da su odredbe unutar zakona o socijalnoj pomoći osiguravale sve veće ekonomske poticaje za izbjegavanje sklapanja braka i formiranja obitelji s dva roditelja, stope nezakonito rođene djece porasle su dramatično. Ostali programi podrazumijevali su markice za hranu, državne stanove i zdravstveno osiguranje. Kratkoročno je sustav socijalne pomoći povisio razinu nezakonito rođene djece i siromaštva, ali dugoročno je hendikepirao djecu rođenu u obiteljima koje su ovisile o socijalnoj pomoći.²⁹

VIII. ZAKLJUČAK

Odgovor na pitanje zašto se mladi crnci međusobno ubijaju zbog ilegalne trgovine drogom, u usporedbi s mladim bijelcima³⁰ koji su se ubijali zbog ilegalne trgovine alkoholom u doba Prohibicije je vrlo složen. Možemo ga sažeti ovako: za vrijeme Prohibicije bijelci nisu imali pristup mreži socijalne sigurnosti, ali su imali pristup ekonomskoj mobilnosti tako što su ulagali u obrazovanje i trgovinu kvalificiranim

in the late 1930's. The working class whites involved in the illegal liquor trade didn't have access to this welfare net, nor did they face the detrimental effects that stymied their upward economic mobility for generations after their arrival. Blacks were already at an economic and social disadvantage due to the uniquely horrific history of abuse they faced, their movement to the inner cities during the Great Migration, and continued racial discrimination. They also faced continued abuse by the welfare system. The system expanded enormously with President Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty in the 1960's. From 1940-1960, the black poverty level had been halved. In 2012, the average monthly participation rate for Blacks in social welfare programs was at 41.6 percent, compared to 13.2 for whites, according to the Census Bureau.²⁸ As provisions in welfare laws offered ever-increasing economic incentives for shunning marriage and avoiding the formation of two-parent families, illegitimacy rates rose dramatically. Other programs include food stamps, public housing, and Medicaid. Welfare increased illegitimacy and poverty in the short term, but it inflicts long-term handicaps on children who are raised in welfare-dependent homes.²⁹

VIII. CONCLUSION

The answer to the question of why young black youth are killing each other over the illegal drug trade, compared to young white³⁰ men killing each other over the illegal alcohol trade during Prohibition, is complex. We can summarize the answer thus: During Prohibition, whites did not have access to the welfare net, but did have access to upward economic mobility by means of investments in education and skilled trades, and were able to escape the pitfalls of criminality by gaining wealth. Blacks, on the other hand are at an economic and social disadvantage thanks to a unique history of abuse, movement to the inner cities during the Great Migration, racial

vještina, te su mogli izbjeći opasnosti zločina stjecanjem bogatstva. S druge strane, crnci su i ekonomski i društveno hendikepirani zahvaljujući čitavoj povijesti zlostavljanja, seobe u gradove u unutrašnjosti tijekom Velike migracije, zatim zahvaljujući rasnoj diskriminaciji te stalnom zaobilaženju od strane sustava socijalne pomoći. Vladine intervencije u sustav socijalnog osiguranja stvorile su nedostatak odgovornosti, smanjenu konkurentnost, izostanak porasta prihoda po domaćinstvu, te stimulansa za rad u crnoj zajednici. One su samo dovele do porasta broja osoba u zatvoru, siromaštva i razorenih obitelji. Ova kombinacija rezultirala je smanjenim postotkom zaposlenosti, odnosno povećanom stopom nezaposlenosti, što je u direktnoj vezi s brojem crnaca koji danas ilegalno trguju drogom, te disproportionalno izostavlja bijelce iz toga.

BILJEŠKE

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discrimination, and continued abuse by welfare systems. The government's intervention into social welfare created a lack of accountability, reduced competition, household income growth, and incentives to work in the black community. It only increased incarceration, poverty, and broken households. This combination led to a lack of labor participation and increased unemployment, directly correlating to the large black participation in the illegal drug trade today, and leaving white people disproportionately out of it.

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