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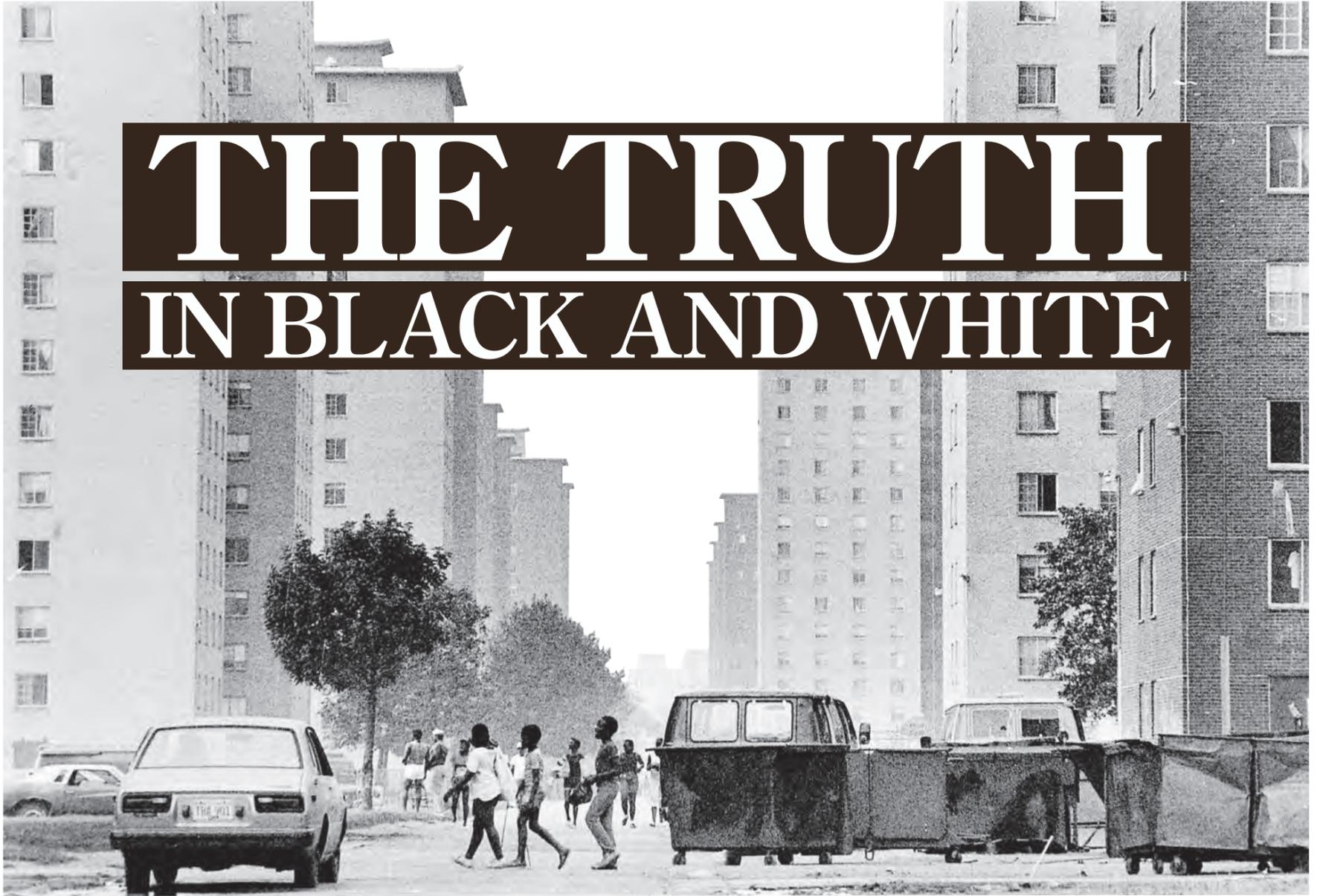
JOURNAL & COURIER

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 19, 2014

LAFAYETTE - WEST LAFAYETTE

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THE GREAT CHICAGO MYTH



THE TRUTH IN BLACK AND WHITE

1987 PHOTO BY OVIE CARTER/CHICAGO TRIBUNE

When the Robert Taylor Homes were cleared out and razed in Chicago, many residents received Section 8 vouchers. Few vouchers were ever transferred to Tippecanoe County.

For decades, local residents have clung to the belief that low-income African-Americans flooded into Lafayette when Chicago demolished its public housing projects. **But it's just not true.**

By Mikel Livingston
mlivingston@jconline.com

Two men were shot as they sat on a North 11th Street porch across the street from Teola Spindler's Lafayette home one evening in June.

Spindler mistook the gunshots for fireworks at first. By the time she went outside, Lafayette police officers and crime scene technicians were swarming the scene as an ambulance sped away with one of the victims.

To Spindler, the gunshots that interrupted an otherwise normal evening on her placid street were yet another indicator of local crime rates on the rise — a trend she blames partly on a wave of former Chicago public housing residents who moved to Lafayette.

"I don't want to be racist. However, they closed the projects down and they're all moving here," Spindler said. "They're sucking this town dry."

Call it the Great Chicago Myth. For decades, the belief has been

ubiquitous in Greater Lafayette that thousands of low-income African-American families packed up their belongings and headed down Interstate 65 straight to Lafayette, bringing with them rising crime and worsening drug problems and higher burdens on local social services.

By 2000, when Chicago officials began tearing down 51 high-rise public housing projects notorious for warehousing poor people in

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ABOUT THIS SERIES

Today: The truth about whether low-income African-American families leaving Chicago came to Lafayette. In Opinions, A14: Executive Editor Howard Witt explains the genesis of this project.

Monday: Statistics reveal partial truths about race and crime rates in Greater Lafayette.



Wednesday: A USA TODAY Special Project: "Changing Face of America" Plus an examination of the lack of diversity on

boards and commissions in Greater Lafayette.

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Dry, but that could change late tonight. DETAILS, PAGE C16.

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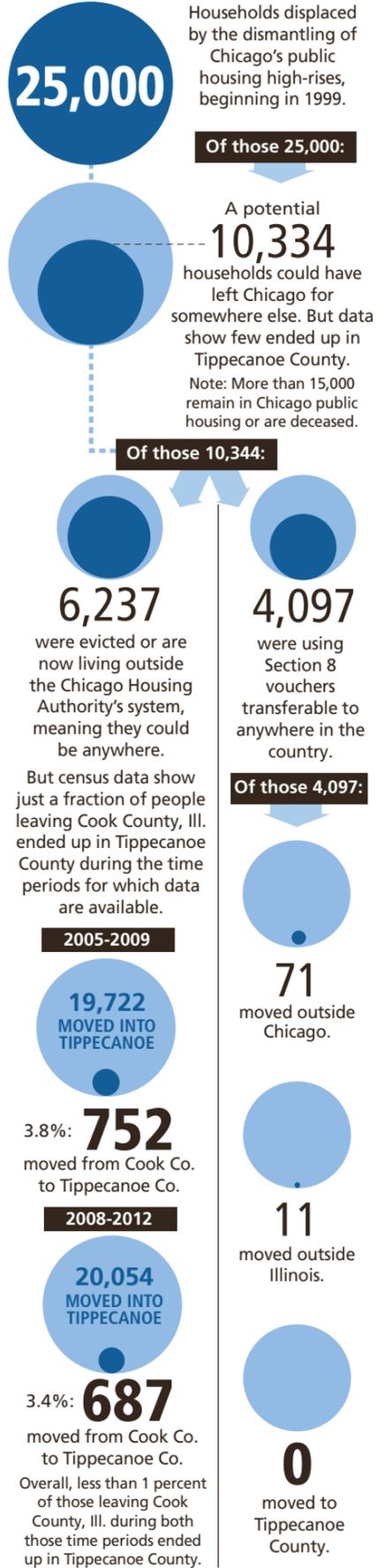
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THE GREAT CHICAGO MYTH

WHERE DID THEY GO?



The Robert Taylor Homes on Chicago's south side. The Chicago Housing Authority tore down 51 public housing projects, demolishing 25,000 units. "There's almost no evidence anyone, when the public housing came down, left the city," an Urban Institute expert says.

MYTH

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miserable conditions — eventually evicting 25,000 households in the process — the belief calcified into an unshakable conviction.

"There was a period where we did have a large influx of folks moving in from Chicago and the northwest Indiana region, primarily because that region in Chicago had closed its housing authority list for 10 years and got rid of some of its public housing," said Lafayette Mayor Tony Roswarski, expressing a theory that's common among area leaders.

"So we saw a large influx of people moving here looking for homes, looking for jobs, looking for a better way of life. And, unfortunately, you have some people that come because they don't want to do the right thing."

There are many problems with the Chicago Myth, starting with the suspicions and wariness so many black families report experiencing when they first move to Lafayette.

Most startling of all: The Chicago Myth turns out to be completely untrue.

A comprehensive four-month Journal & Courier analysis of data culled from the U.S. Census Bureau, the Chicago and Lafayette housing authorities and other sources shows that, while there has been some migration, relatively few people leaving Chicago end up in Tippecanoe County.

At most, using the most generous assumptions about the data, the figures show that the population moving into Tippecanoe County from Cook County, Illinois numbers in the hundreds — not thousands — each year. And those who do move from Cook County, which includes the City of Chicago, span the spectrum of race and income.

Furthermore, numerous experts agree that identifying former residents of Chicago public housing as a major contributor to rising crime levels is far from fair or accurate.

"We have no official poverty data, nor any data, to support the claim that public housing closures in Chicago led to an increase in crime or poverty in the Greater Lafayette area," said JoAnn Miller, a Purdue University associate dean and sociology professor.

"There is, however, no shortage of opinions, including prejudicial ones."

The available data make the Chicago Myth at best misguided and at worst racist, contends Aurelio Curbelo, director of Purdue's Latino Cultural Center.

"They can't say 'people of color' are moving because that term would make them feel racist," Curbelo said.

"So the new term is 'people from Chicago' are moving in. What kind of people are you saying when you use that term? It's an irresponsible term."



Cabrini-Green went up during Mayor Richard J. Daley's administration. Decades later, during the administration of his son, Richard M. Daley, it came down.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

» The Diversity Roundtable is a group of community members promoting a culture that values diversity in Greater Lafayette. The group meets at 11:30 a.m. the first Thursday of each month at the YWCA at 605 N. Sixth St. Meetings are open to the public. For more information, visit www.diversitytippecanoe.org.

» In the wake of racial tension in Ferguson, Missouri, Purdue University's Office of Diversity and Inclusion launched a multipart discussion series on the events in Ferguson and their implications. A discussion titled "Understanding Ferguson and What We Can Do" will take place from 4 to 6 p.m. Oct. 30 in Room 214 of Stewart Center at Purdue. The office will screen "Freedom Summer" — a 2014 documentary that examines a 1964 effort in which black and white activists launched a massive campaign to register black voters in segregated Mississippi — beginning at 7 p.m. Nov. 4 in Fowler Hall at Purdue.

No evidence that CHA residents left the city

In 1999, then-Chicago Mayor Richard M. Daley and the Chicago Housing Authority unveiled the Plan for Transformation, a \$1.5 billion, 10-year effort to demolish 25,000 public housing units that had become islands of crime and poverty inhabited predominantly by African-Americans.

Among the high-rises set to be demolished were the buildings comprising the infamous Robert Taylor Homes and Cabrini-Green complexes, two housing clusters that deteriorated into ill-maintained, overcrowded havens of gang violence and drug activity. Those

high-rises and others also had become pockets of segregation: 93 percent of the families affected by the plan were black.

The goal was to disperse those public housing residents across the city by integrating them into more stable neighborhoods. All clients in good standing living in CHA housing on Oct. 1, 1999, were given the "right to return," a promise that they could choose whether they wished to permanently live in new or rehabilitated public housing units or move elsewhere in the community via a Section 8 voucher. Section 8 clients also had the option of "porting," or transferring, their vouchers to other communities.

The ambitious plan, which would stretch far longer than its initial 10-year timeline, placed Chicago on the front lines of the national public housing debate; triggered similar initiatives in Atlanta, Philadelphia and St. Louis; and earned the CHA lasting scorn from residents and their advocates because of the forced relocation of tens of thousands of people.

Even before the CHA transformation plan launched in 2000, the perception that Chicago transplants were fueling Lafayette crime was widespread. It was one of the first things a young John Dennis, now West Lafayette's mayor, heard after joining the Lafayette Police Department as an officer in the late '80s.

Jennifer Layton, head of the Lafayette Transitional Housing Center, and Vida Hoyer, deputy director at the Lafayette Housing Authority, both said they heard of the perception soon after they assumed their respective roles in 1987.

But the CHA restructuring fanned the flames, giving residents of Greater Lafayette a concrete event to tie to the perceived influx. And Lafayette wasn't

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SOURCES: Chicago Housing Authority, Lafayette Housing Authority, U.S. Census Bureau American Community Study
THOMAS MAXFIELD, MIKEL LIVINGSTON/JOURNAL & COURIER

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alone. Communities in Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska and other states have all insisted they too received similar influxes of CHA transplants.

Susan Popkin is director of the Washington, D.C.-based Urban Institute's program on neighborhoods and youth development and a senior fellow at the institute's Metropolitan Housing and Communities Policy Center. She's studied Chicago public housing since the mid-'80s.

"The perception is very widespread, and I've been trying to debunk it for years with no success," Popkin said of the influx idea. "With the research we did in Chicago, there's almost no evidence anyone, when the public housing came down, left the city."

About 25,000 households were affected by the start of the Plan for Transformation. According to the Chicago Housing Authority's tracking, the vast majority of those people remained in Chicago.

Of that number, about 8,300 households were seniors, most of whom still live where they lived in 1999 or have since died. Of the 16,846 other households that had a right to return as of 2011, at most 10,334 households could have ended up outside Chicago. Those are households that no longer receive a CHA subsidy, were evicted from CHA programs or did not respond to the CHA's tracking survey.

The remaining 6,512 still live in Chicago's public housing system or are deceased.

Could some of those 10,334 households have ended up in Lafayette? Yes. But experts and the CHA agree that the vast majority remained in Chicago and that there was no sudden influx into surrounding areas.

Among those 10,334 households, 4,097 took Section 8 vouchers they could have transferred to other communities. Updated records provided by the CHA show just 71 of those clients relocated outside Chicago as of December 2013. Just 11 left the state of Illinois — and none of them came to Indiana.

The whereabouts of the remaining 6,237 households cannot be definitively determined. But U.S. census figures indicate that, between 2005-2012, at most about 1,400 people moved from Cook County, Illinois, into Tippecanoe County. And those figures encompass far more than just former residents of Chicago public housing.

Former CHA residents "are not in the south (Chicago) suburbs, for the most part," Popkin said. "They are not in other states, for the most part. For the most part, people moved to other poor minority communities in Chicago."

"People just wouldn't show up in Lafayette is my guess. (They) would have had some connection or family that was there."

CHA did not ship residents to Greater Lafayette

When the 2008 recession began, then-Chicago resident Mona Douglas and her husband found their respective full-time jobs slashed to part-time. At the same time, Douglas had her second child, making their \$1,100 monthly rent unaffordable.

She looked elsewhere — in Lafayette, where her cousin had moved several years before. Now she's working her way toward an associate degree in surgical technology at Ivy Tech Community College and watching her daughters thrive. Her oldest is an honor student at Jefferson High School and a leader in the school's African American Leaders of Tomorrow program.

"I wasn't really aware of how great a community it was," Douglas said. "I can see myself growing old here. Both of my daughters are safe."

Douglas is familiar with the Chicago Myth, but she said it's not easy dissecting truth from fiction.

There are people in Greater Lafayette on both sides of the law, Douglas said. It's when the perception of those individuals becomes a generalization about everyone from Chicago that the trouble starts, she said.

"Since I've been here in 2008, I haven't had an (encounter) with the criminal justice system," Douglas said. "But I do know a few people who have. I believe there is a lot of mistrust due to the fact that there isn't any racial diversity on the police force."

"I've seen racial profiling before. But I've also seen people from Chicago come down here and bring some of those



SCOTT OLSON/GETTY IMAGES

Cabrini-Green was cleared out in 2010. Of 403 Section 8 vouchers ported into Lafayette since 1996, just 42 originated from Cook County, Illinois.



JOHN TERHUNE/JOURNAL & COURIER

Available data make the Chicago Myth at best misguided, contends Aurelio Curbelo, director of Purdue University's Latino Cultural Center. "The new term is 'people from Chicago' are moving in. What kind of people are you saying when you use that term? It's an irresponsible term."

Chicago mentalities down here, those attitudes that maybe shouldn't be brought down here because this is a different city and a better place to live."

Douglas' family is one of about 1,200 families utilizing a Section 8 voucher through the Lafayette Housing Authority. It's unknown how many people like Douglas came from Chicago, became Tippecanoe County residents and subsequently applied for an LHA voucher.

Anyone who meets the income limit can apply for a voucher from the LHA if that person has proof he or she lives or works in Tippecanoe County. Alternatively, a Chicago resident could move to Tippecanoe County, become a resident or obtain proof of work and apply for a Tippecanoe voucher. That person could then port that voucher back to Chicago or elsewhere.

But no current Chicago residents, unless they work in Tippecanoe County, would be eligible for an LHA voucher.

At the J&C's request, Lafayette Housing Authority officials compiled all vouchers that were transferred into Tippecanoe County from elsewhere. The authority provided data back to 1996, four years prior to the start of the CHA's Plan for Transformation.

From that data, it's clear that few Section 8 recipients ever transferred their Chicago-issued vouchers to Tippecanoe County.

Of the 403 vouchers ported into Lafayette since 1996, just 42 vouchers — or 10 percent — originated from Chicago or Cook County. Twenty-nine other vouchers came from the Chicagoland area, including 18 from Gary, seven from East Chicago and four from Lake County, Indiana.

Overall, far more vouchers are transferred out of Tippecanoe to those communities than are transferred in. Out of 506 vouchers ported out of Tippecanoe

during that time period, 176 vouchers — or 35 percent — were transferred from Tippecanoe to Greater Chicago, including 111 to Chicago proper or Cook County.

"The myth is we have all this influx of crime because of all the people that have come from Chicago," said LHA executive director Michelle Reynolds.

"But based on the housing information we're able to see, that's not what this represents."

Local housing officials are frustrated when they hear the oft-repeated claim that the Lafayette Housing Authority at some point gave priority to Chicago families over local families when handing out vouchers.

"As long as you're a (Tippecanoe) resident, you can apply for our program," Reynolds said. "We don't have people that aren't residents on there. The waiting list does not reflect anyone who's officially living in Chicago."

As is the case with Douglas, there are some voucher holders formerly from Chicago, Hoyer said. But why should that be a problem?

"Yes, we have people from Chicago on our waiting list, but they live here now," Hoyer said. "There's that stigma and I feel bad for them because they're not all bad people. I think they do get treated a little bit different in the community."

Another myth holds that Lafayette was just one of many communities where the CHA directed families when it closed its waiting list for 10 years, beginning in 1999. Some contend that the CHA put up billboards advising clients to head to Lafayette, or that the CHA loaded residents onto buses and shipped them here. But no one has come forward who claims to have seen those billboards or buses firsthand.

Matthew Aguilar, spokesman for the CHA, denied all those claims, saying the organization refers clients only to

ABOUT THE AUTHORS



Mikel Livingston, a Journal & Courier reporter since 2010, covers social policy issues. Previously he covered K-12 education. In 2013, the Hoosier State Press Association awarded him its highest honor, "Story of the Year."



Steven Porter has covered the criminal justice system for the Journal & Courier since April. Previously he worked as a reporter at the Frankfort Times. He's a 2012 graduate of Indiana Wesleyan University.

THE BACKGROUND

Journal & Courier reporters Mikel Livingston and Steven Porter, assisted by data editor Jennifer Christos, spent more than four months reporting and researching this series. They conducted nearly 50 interviews; analyzed more than two dozen U.S. census databases containing demographic and migration data; reviewed usage data for Section 8 vouchers and local homeless shelters; parsed CHA reports and sociological research studies; and interpreted IRS migration data. In addition, they analyzed a massive crime data set compiled by Lafayette Police Department crime analyst Steven Hawthorne containing details of 165,490 arrests in Tippecanoe County from 1999 through Sept. 20, 2014.

communities within 77 miles of the City of Chicago. It has never, therefore, directed clients to transplant to Greater Lafayette.

Popkin has heard similar claims from other communities, too.

"There's no truth to that whatsoever," Popkin said. "It never happened."

Migration from Chicago just a fraction of the population

It was during the early 2000s when Curbelo, then a program coordinator at Iowa State University in Ames, first encountered the belief that an influx of former Chicago residents was wreaking havoc on local crime rates.

"That caused the police to start targeting minorities around town," Curbelo said. "It led to harassing the minority population in a town that didn't have a lot of diversity."

A public forum in 2008 helped the community confront and move past the issue. When Curbelo moved to Lafayette earlier this year, he was surprised to be confronted with the notion yet again.

"All people from Chicago are criminals, they're black, they're on welfare," Curbelo said, reciting the misconceptions. "No. They're hard-working people looking for better opportunities. That's part of the American dream, and nobody

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THE GREAT CHICAGO MYTH

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can judge you for moving to a place to better your family by the color you are.”

To say there hasn't been migration to Tippecanoe would be inaccurate. The question isn't whether people from Chicago came, but rather how many.

Census data provide the most expansive look at migration over time.

In 2005, the Census Bureau began the American Community Survey, an annual study that gives the most detailed look at migration patterns within the United States. Between 2005 and 2012, the survey shows in each five-year period how many former Cook County residents moved into Tippecanoe County.

» Between 2005 and 2009, 752 people migrated from Cook County to Tippecanoe. That's 3.8 percent of the total 19,722 movers into Tippecanoe and about 0.5 percent of Tippecanoe's total population those years.

» Between 2008 and 2012, 686 people migrated from Cook to Tippecanoe, 3.4 percent of the 20,054 total movers and about 0.4 percent of Tippecanoe's total population those years.

Therefore, by the most generous estimates — and not accounting for the single year of overlap in 2008 — there were no more than 1,438 people of all races and income levels who moved from Cook to Tippecanoe in that seven-year span.

It's true that Cook County had the second-highest number of movers coming into Tippecanoe County during those periods compared to other counties. But take into account the destinations of all those who moved out of Cook County during those periods and Tippecanoe received just a fraction — 0.32 percent of Chicago movers from 2005 to 2009 and 0.34 percent from 2008 to 2012.

Before the debut of the American Community Survey, the census tracked county-to-county migration just once every 10 years by asking citizens where they had lived five years ago. The result is riddled with gaps, but it shows that during the 1990 and 2000 censuses, the migration rate was identical in both years:

» Just 1,543 people — or 3.8 percent of



CHARLES REX ARBOGAST/AP

When Cabrini-Green and other high-rise housing projects were built in Chicago, the intention was to improve residents' prospects. It didn't work out that way.

the total 40,067 Tippecanoe residents who lived elsewhere five years prior — lived in Cook County, Illinois, in 1985 and had moved to Tippecanoe County by 1990.

» Similarly, 1,716 people — or 3.8 percent of the total 45,155 people who lived elsewhere five years prior — moved between Cook and Tippecanoe counties between 1995 and 2000.

False beliefs can lead to prejudice, discrimination

Clarinda Crawford, pastor at Congress Street Church, recently helped launch a series of small group discussions in partnership with Greater Lighthouse Apostolic Church. The goal is to get Lafayette residents talking more openly about race issues.

She argues that the Chicago perception is a self-fulfilling prophecy: Those who buy into the perception will take more notice of media reports in which the perpetrators or victims of a crime

AT JCONLINE

Video: Reporters Mikel Livingston and Steven Porter talk about their research for this series.

happen to be black or from the Chicago area.

“If you are of that stream of thought, then all you're going to hear are the Chicago stories,” Crawford said. “That's where your heightened awareness is. That's probably very much a trend within our sociology of today.”

A 2013 study co-authored by Popkin lays out the damage such perceptions can cause to a community.

“In particular, because many public housing developments were notoriously dangerous, communities fear that the receipt of relocated public housing residents will increase crime and reduce property values,” the study concluded.

“Fear of crime and the resulting change to evasive community behaviors

increases the social anxiety and isolation in that community, thus decreasing the collective efficacy of the community.”

Miller, the Purdue professor, agrees. “The dangers (of this perception) include false beliefs, an escalation in prejudice and discrimination and a distraction from the empirically documented problems in the community,” Miller said.

Lafayette police Chief Pat Flannelly and Roswarski, himself a former LPD officer, both said they believe an influx occurred to some degree. Prosecutor Pat Harrington said the same. Former LPD Chief Don Roush, who would have been chief during the influx, declined to comment.

Dennis said there's a “shred of truth to the idea” but not nearly as much as some might assume.

“Oftentimes when you look at a community, the last thing they want to do is hold a mirror up to themselves,” Dennis said. “So they look for some external excuses. ‘They're from Chicago, Indianapolis, Ohio.’”

“Law enforcement deals with such a small proportion of the overall population. So sometimes generalities are easy to draw from that small population.”

But the Greater Lafayette community would be “very naive to say there isn't an external element that comes through town and leaves havoc in its wake,” Dennis said. “That just happens, but it happens in every metropolitan area in the country.”

Matthew Koehler is trustee of Wea Township, the elected official responsible for administering township assistance to low-income residents. He said he's seen an increase in assistance requests from residents with a previous address in Chicago.

But in the end, Koehler said, who cares?

“People should be able to live where they want to live,” Koehler said. “And Lafayette's a good place to live. Jobs, housing and there are social service agencies. It seems like violent crime is up everywhere. I don't think the answer is as easy as saying it's this group or that group. People look for the easy answer. It's not always that apparent.”

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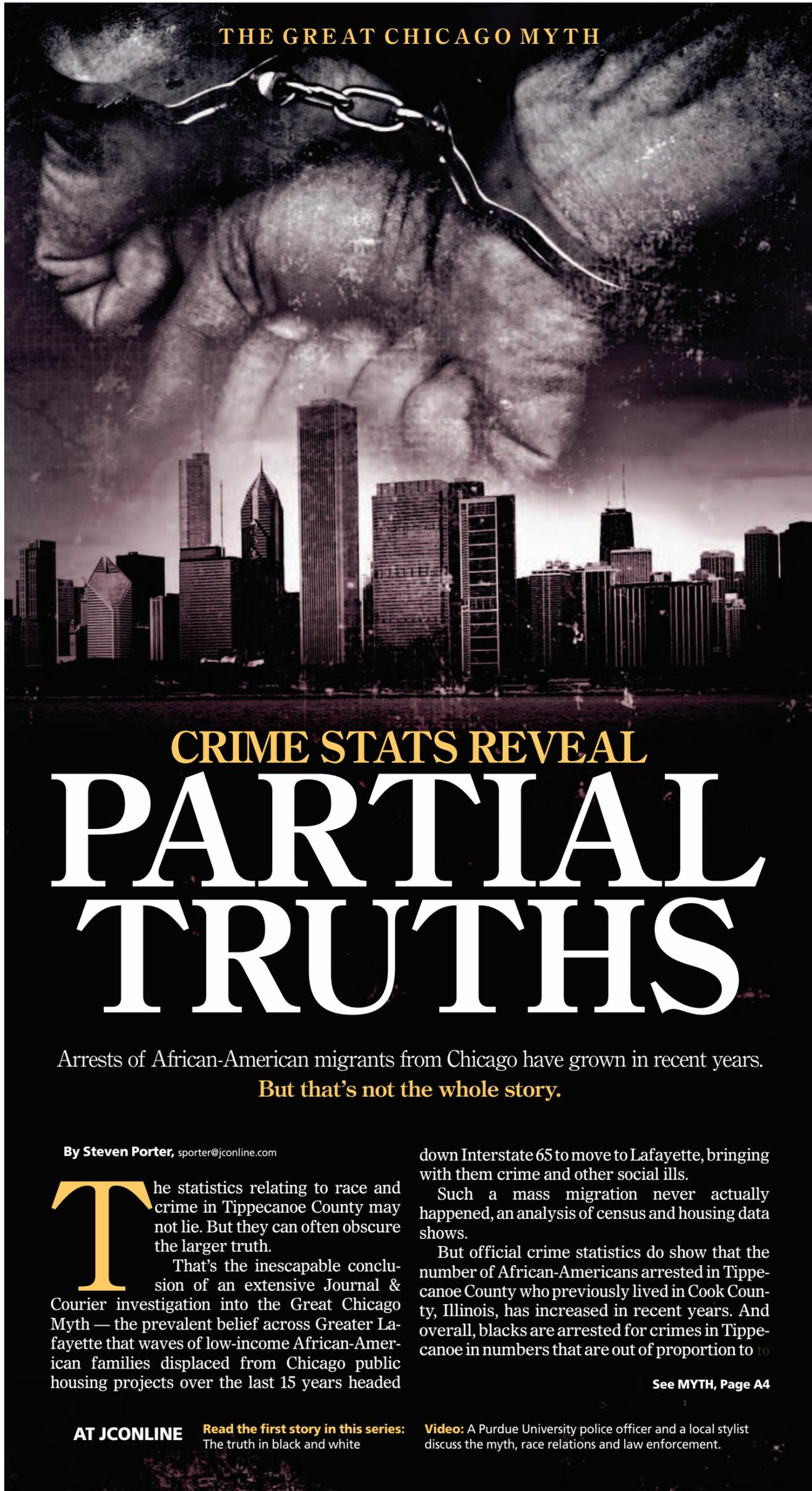
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THE GREAT CHICAGO MYTH

CRIME STATS REVEAL

PARTIAL TRUTHS

Arrests of African-American migrants from Chicago have grown in recent years.
But that's not the whole story.

By Steven Porter, sporter@jconline.com

The statistics relating to race and crime in Tippecanoe County may not lie. But they can often obscure the larger truth.

That's the inescapable conclusion of an extensive Journal & Courier investigation into the Great Chicago Myth — the prevalent belief across Greater Lafayette that waves of low-income African-American families displaced from Chicago public housing projects over the last 15 years headed

down Interstate 65 to move to Lafayette, bringing with them crime and other social ills.

Such a mass migration never actually happened, an analysis of census and housing data shows.

But official crime statistics do show that the number of African-Americans arrested in Tippecanoe County who previously lived in Cook County, Illinois, has increased in recent years. And overall, blacks are arrested for crimes in Tippecanoe in numbers that are out of proportion to

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AT JCONLINE

Read the first story in this series:
The truth in black and white

Video: A Purdue University police officer and a local stylist discuss the myth, race relations and law enforcement.

CLAY SISK / GANNETT

Lawmakers travel on our dimes

86 politicians, 188 trips in 26 months; 'a net positive' for Hoosiers, Bosma says

By Tony Cook

tony.cook@indystar.com

INDIANAPOLIS — How would you like to check out some of the most technologically advanced vehicles in the world? Or visit the White House with a championship basketball team? Or take an all-expense-paid trip to Alaska?

Indiana lawmakers have traveled across the country to do all of those things — and Hoosier taxpayers have picked up the tab.

An Indianapolis Star review of lawmakers' out-of-state travel records found that taxpayers have spent nearly a quarter of a million dollars during the past two years to send state lawmakers everywhere from Alaska to Florida. Most of that money was spent on government and legislative conferences — including those of a powerful and controversial conservative policy group.

In all, 86 Indiana lawmakers took 188 trips during the past 26 months, costing the public at least \$216,506. And that figure doesn't include a \$156 per diem for each day of travel intended to cover the cost of food and other incidental expenses. That brings the total to \$343,490.

In some cases, the trips included swanky hotel rooms and expensive flights to exotic locations. Freshman Rep. Casey Cox took the most expensive single trip: A weeklong visit to Anchorage, Alaska, for a National Council of State Governments conference in August. The excursion included a \$1,760 plane ticket and a \$300-a-night room at the Hilton Garden Inn, which boasts Neutroge-

See TRAVEL, Page A10



Colts pitch shutout

How dominant was the home team's defense? The Bengals ran eight plays in Colts territory.

Sports, C1

After the tragedy

An Indiana University freshman's death last year provides a lesson: You should look out for your friends. Page A6

USA TODAY

How CEO Satya Nadella will change Microsoft's culture: 1B

THE GREAT CHICAGO MYTH

MYTH

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their percentage of the county's total population.

Those facts have made it easier for some to typecast people moving here from Chicago as being prone to criminality, despite cautions from social policy experts, academics and local law enforcement officials that such typecasting is unfair.

"I believe certain people in our community see the Chicagoans here, then they see Chicago people commit a crime; therefore, they just jump to a conclusion, and that's wrong," said Tippecanoe County Prosecutor Pat Harrington. "It doesn't matter where you're from or who you are, you can't stereotype."

Four local police agencies arrested more than 59,500 people in Tippecanoe County between Jan. 1, 1999 and Sept. 20, 2014, according to arrest records released to the Journal & Courier by Lafayette Police Department Crime Analyst Steven Hawthorne.

More than 700 of those arrested over the last 15 years — 1.2 percent of the total — had migrated from Cook County, meaning they had a current address in Tippecanoe County at the time of their arrest and a previous address listed in Cook County, which includes the City of Chicago. Of those arrested, 79 percent were African-Americans.

But trend data show the number of arrests of those former Cook County residents has grown over that 15-year period, constituting less than 1 percent of the arrests made in Tippecanoe County from 2000 through 2003 but more than 3.5 percent of the arrests made locally each year since 2009.

By contrast, arrests in Tippecanoe County of migrants from the Indianapolis area have been stable over the same period, fluctuating between 1.6 and 2.7 percent of the total number of local arrests each year.

Another 1.4 percent of the arrests involved current Cook County residents — essentially those who drove down I-65 to allegedly commit crimes — and 2 percent of the arrests involved current Marion County residents.

The myth's racial undertones

Less than 4 percent of Tippecanoe County's residents in 2010 were black, according to U.S. census statistics, but more than 20 percent of those arrested by local police that year were black, according to the database released by Hawthorne.

The percentage of arrests of African-Americans has climbed even higher since, with African-Americans cuffed in 23.8 percent of the arrests made last year.

White suspects represented about 80 percent of the population in 2010 and 71 percent of the arrests that year.

Those figures mirror national racial trends in America's criminal justice system. Roughly 13 percent of the U.S. population is African-American, but in 2012, black Americans accounted for 29 percent of arrests for property crimes and 39 percent of those arrested for violent crimes, according to FBI statistics.

But just because members of one race are arrested more often than others doesn't necessarily mean they're committing more crimes, according to Michele Jawando, vice president of legal progress at the Center for American Progress, a public policy research and advocacy organization based in Washington, D.C.

For example, white and black Americans nationwide report using illegal drugs at about the same rates, but black people are 3.5 times more likely to be arrested on drug charges, she said.

That's partly due to the so-called "War on Drugs" that has been waged primarily in communities populated by racial minorities, Jawando said. The battle has created "vicious cycles" in which black men especially are jailed at disproportionately high rates, she said.

Studies have shown similar racial disparities in police traffic stops. The U.S. Justice Department reported in 2011 that while white, black and Hispanic drivers were stopped by police at similar rates across the country, black drivers were three times as likely as white drivers to be searched during a traffic stop and twice as likely as Hispanic drivers.

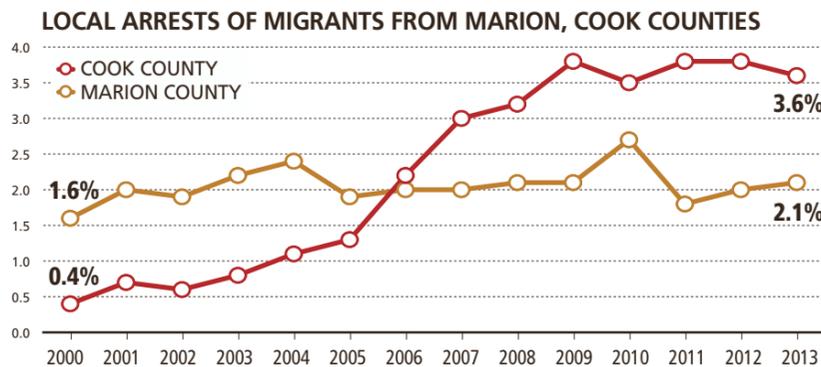
More men behind bars means fewer men at home taking care of their families, and even after convicts finish serving their sentences, they often continue to face economic and educational hurdles that confine them in a lower



FILE PHOTO/JOURNAL & COURIER
"It's not about race. It's about behavior," Chief Patrick Flannelly, right, says when discussing how Lafayette Police Department officers determine whether a crime was committed.

ARRESTS OF MIGRANTS BY YEAR

People who migrated to Tippecanoe County from Cook County, Illinois, have been arrested in increasing numbers by local law enforcement in recent years. Arrests of migrants from Marion County, by comparison, have held relatively steady. Numbers indicate percentage of total arrests made locally each year.



NOTE: Migrants are defined as persons arrested with current Tippecanoe County addresses and any previous address in Marion County or Cook County, respectively.
SOURCE: Arrest data for Lafayette Police Department, West Lafayette Police Department, the Tippecanoe County Sheriff's Office and Purdue University Police Department released by LPD Crime Analyst Steven Hawthorne.

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ARREST STATS FOR MIGRANTS FROM TWO METRO AREAS

Tippecanoe County is situated between the Indianapolis and Chicago metro areas. Arrest stats for individuals arrested locally with a current address in Tippecanoe County and any previous address in Marion County or Cook County, Illinois, yield some interesting comparisons.

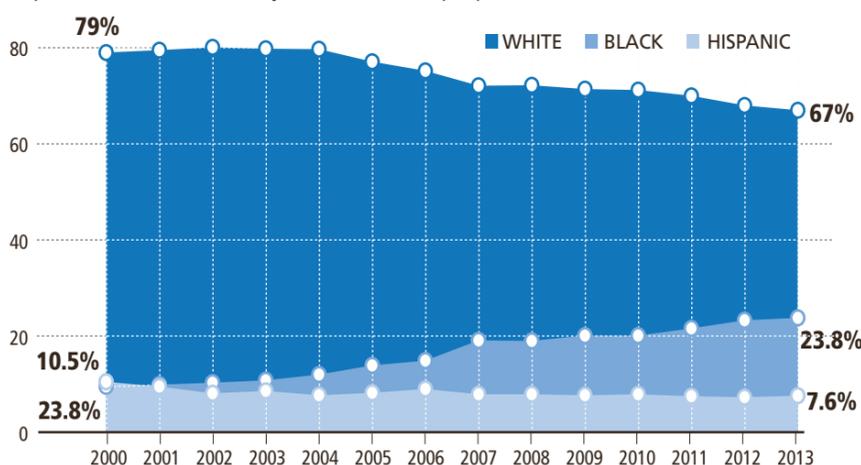
| | MIGRANTS FROM COOK COUNTY | MIGRANTS FROM MARION COUNTY |
|--------------------------|--|--|
| Migrants arrested | 704 | 611 |
| Arrests made | 3,703 | 3,316 |
| Race | 16 percent white 79 percent black 4 percent Hispanic | 65 percent white 27 percent black 6 percent Hispanic |
| County population | 5.2 million | 0.9 million |
| Distance from Tippecanoe | 124 miles | 53 miles |

SOURCES: Arrest data for Lafayette Police Department, West Lafayette Police Department, the Tippecanoe County Sheriff's Office and Purdue University Police Department from Jan. 1, 1999 through Sept. 20, 2014 released by LPD's Crime Analyst Steven Hawthorne; U.S. Census and Google Map data.

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RACIALLY DISPARATE ARREST TRENDS

The majority of arrests made by four law enforcement agencies in Tippecanoe County from 2000 through 2013 were of white people, but the percentage of arrests of white people has fallen consistently as the percentage of arrests of black people has climbed. Census data indicate that less than 4 percent of the county's residents were black in 2010, while more than 20 percent of the arrests that year were of black people.



NOTES: Hispanic defendants include all races. Black and white defendants are defined as non-Hispanic.
SOURCE: Arrest data from Lafayette Police Department, West Lafayette Police Department, Purdue University Police Department and Tippecanoe County Sheriff's Office released by LPD Data Analyst Steven Hawthorne.

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ABOUT THIS SERIES

Sunday: The truth about whether low-income African-American families leaving Chicago came to Lafayette.

Today: Statistics reveal partial truths about race and crime rates in Greater Lafayette.

Wednesday: A USA TODAY Special Project: "Changing Face of America" Plus an examination of the lack of diversity on boards and commissions in Greater Lafayette.



ABOUT THE AUTHORS



Mikel Livingston, a reporter at the Journal & Courier since 2010, covers social policy issues. Previously he covered K-12 education. In 2013, the Hoosier State Press Association awarded him its highest honor, "Story of the Year."



Steven Porter has covered the criminal justice system for the Journal & Courier since April. Previously he worked as a reporter at the Frankfort Times. He's a 2012 graduate of Indiana Wesleyan University.

THE BACKGROUND

Journal & Courier reporters Mikel Livingston and Steven Porter, assisted by data editor Jennifer Christos, spent more than four months reporting and researching this series. They conducted nearly 50 interviews; analyzed more than two dozen U.S. census databases containing demographic and migration data; reviewed usage data for Section 8 vouchers and local homeless shelters; parsed CHA reports and sociological research studies; and interpreted IRS migration data. In addition, they analyzed a massive crime data set compiled by Lafayette Police Department crime analyst Steven Hawthorne containing details of 165,490 arrests in Tippecanoe County from 1999 through Sept. 20, 2014.

socioeconomic class, perpetuating inequalities that continue to bog down racial minorities, Jawando said.

"The most important thing that we recognize is that there is a troubling association with blacks and criminality," she said, "and that bias affects how we think about crime and black people as a whole."

The Sentencing Project, a Washington, D.C.-based group that advocates for criminal justice reforms, reported in 2013 that socioeconomic factors are more relevant than race when interpreting crime statistics.

"Extremely disadvantaged neighborhoods experience higher rates of crime regardless of racial composition," the group reported. "Because African-Americans constitute a disproportionate share of those living in poverty in the United States, they are more likely to reside in low-income communities in which socioeconomic factors contribute to higher crime rates."

Jawando noted that "typically, we find that white Americans overestimate the proportion of crime committed by people of color and disproportionately associate people of color with criminality."

That exaggerated state of fear seems to be at the heart of Greater Lafayette's wariness of migrants from Chicago, according to Heather Cherie Moore, a doctoral candidate in American Studies at Purdue University.

Lafayette has historically been a predominantly white, working-class area, she said, while the Chicago Housing Authority's massive public housing projects, demolished beginning in 2000, had been inhabited predominantly by black families.

"I think that some people may shiver at the thought of people of color from Chicago or northwest Indiana relocating

THE GREAT CHICAGO MYTH

Continued from Page A4

in Lafayette,” she said.

Since most migrants are simply looking to better their lives, it doesn't make sense, Moore said, to differentiate their American dreams from those of families whose roots run a few generations deeper in Lafayette.

“What makes their story different,” she said, “is that they're coming from a larger, urban area that has a stereotype attached to black and brown bodies.”

Trust to be built

Debra Wilburn moved from Gary to West Lafayette in 1982 to follow her husband's job opportunity. A few years later, she opened Onyx Styling & Braiding Salon, a business she co-owns on North Earl Avenue in Lafayette that caters primarily to African-American clients.

Wilburn said she's heard plenty about the Chicago migration myth, but it doesn't bother her to hear people associate crime rates with migrants from urban areas because she stays out of trouble and instructs her loved ones and customers to behave as well.

The people who come from Chicago and northwest Indiana thinking they can get away with crime in Lafayette are in for a rude awakening, she said, thanks in part to the work of her client Tenecia Waddell, a patrol officer with the Purdue University Police Department — the sole African-American female commissioned as a law enforcement officer in Tippecanoe County.

Waddell, a native of Detroit who moved during middle school with her family to Lafayette in the early 1990s, said she's very active in the community today and feels welcome and connected — though that wasn't exactly the case when she first arrived.

One of her first memories in the city, she said, was having a man shout a racial slur out his truck window at her as he drove by, telling Waddell and her family to go back where they came from.

Waddell said she hasn't had to deal with much in the way of prejudicial attitudes over the years. But she'd like to see people of color step into more leadership and public service roles.

Having a diverse police force is an asset that builds trust with minority groups within the community it serves, she said.

“I think it does help when a person sees a reflection of himself in a position of power,” Waddell added.

The four police agencies serving Greater Lafayette have only a handful of black officers among them.

If area law enforcement agencies want to recruit youth of color, then they need to start young, Waddell said, noting that positive interactions she had with school resource officers as a student at Jefferson High School encouraged her to consider a career in law enforcement.

Threatening perceptions

Moore likewise invested time with Jefferson High School students. She launched a program at the school called Black E.L.M. through which she targeted young black males with holistic education opportunities and mentorship, until she left Lafayette in May to serve as a visiting faculty member at Trinity College in Connecticut.

She talked to her students about prepping for college and standardized tests, selecting a major and how to treat women and girls.

Moore said she also talked to her students about how to avoid seeming like a threat. As sociological studies have demonstrated, white Americans tend to misjudge the age of African American youth to be older than their white peers. That leads people to describe black boys as full-grown black men, which is problematic, Moore said, since African-American men are often perceived as intimidating.

“What is it about black male bodies that scares white people?” she said. “That's an issue that we really need to be addressing.”

Purdue doctoral student Jolivette Anderson-Douning said she sensed a lukewarm reception when she moved from a largely black area in Mississippi to Lafayette in 2003.

“It was a culture shock,” she said, noting that race relations have since been improving.

More African-Americans have moved to town, she said, but the lingering hesitancy to accept newcomers is just the latest example of some Americans telling others where to keep their bootstraps.

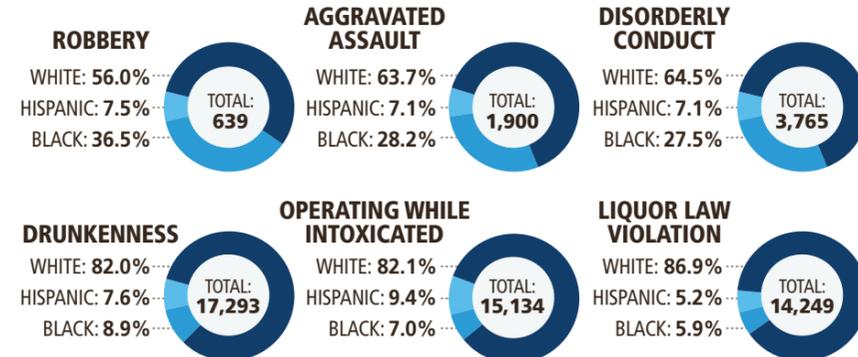
“What if moving to this area is part of



Debra Wilburn styles Tenecia Waddell's hair at Onyx Styling & Braiding Salon, 20 N. Earl Ave. Wilburn, who moved to West Lafayette from Gary in 1982, co-owns the salon. Waddell, a Detroit native, is a patrol officer with the Purdue University Police Department.

PRELIMINARY CHARGES BY RACE

Members of different races face preliminary charges for various types of crimes at different rates.



NOTE: White and black defendants were defined as non-Hispanic; Hispanic defendants were members of any race. Preliminary charges are filed by police, but formal charges filed by the prosecutor's office often differ from preliminary charges.

SOURCE: Arrest data for Lafayette Police Department, West Lafayette Police Department, the Tippecanoe County Sheriff's Office and Purdue University Police Department released from Jan. 1, 1999 through Sept. 20, 2014 by LPD's Crime Analyst Steven Hawthorne.

a person pulling themselves up?” she said.

Racial disparities in law enforcement

Despite the lack of racial diversity in their ranks, local police chiefs report that their departments undergo regular training to avoid racial bias in the line of work, and they say it seems to work.

Tippecanoe County Sheriff Tracy Brown said his office wants to hear from anyone who feels they've been treated unfairly.

“We just don't receive those types of complaints,” he said.

Lafayette police Chief Patrick Flannelly said cultural sensitivity efforts include annual diversity training programs, placing officers in schools, participating in diversity roundtable discussions and other forms of community outreach.

Brown and Flannelly said their officers respond to complaints and determine, based on the circumstances, whether probable cause exists to believe a crime was committed.

“It's not about race. It's about behavior,” Flannelly said.

His force conducts a “patrol allocation study” regularly, he said, to redistrict patrol areas based on call volumes.

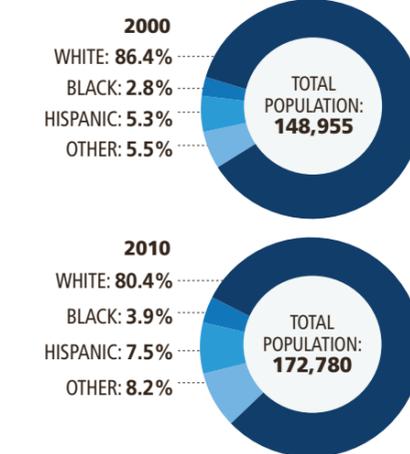
But this process of identifying high-crime areas and then patrolling them more vigorously can actually perpetuate variances in arrests by race, said Marc Schindler, executive director of the Justice Policy Institute in Washington, D.C.

“It's a little bit of a chicken-and-egg dynamic,” he said.

Police deploy to high-crime areas and make arrests there, contributing to the data set used to identify the area as high-crime in the first place.

Schindler said he was visiting a juvenile detention facility in D.C. when someone in his tour group commented that there appeared to be only black youths

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF TIPPECANOE COUNTY



Source: U.S. Census data.

Note: White and black populations defined as non-Hispanic; Hispanic populations are members of any race.

THOMAS MAXFIELD, STEVEN PORTER/
JOURNAL & COURIER

incarcerated and asked why there were no whites.

“The response to that is not that there are no white youth in Washington, D.C. who are engaged in behavior that would be in violation of the law,” Schindler said. “The reason is that the police in the District tend to deploy their resources in neighborhoods and communities that are populated by people of color, versus areas that are likely to have upper-class folks.”

The racial composition of D.C. neighborhoods closely correlates with the geographic distinction between upper- and lower-income areas, Schindler said, which explains one of many reasons why youth of color are overrepresented in the justice system.

But Schindler said police shouldn't be

singled out as the source of the dilemma.

“I don't think it's productive, quite frankly, to say, ‘Hey, cops, this is your fault,’” he said. “If we get into a blame game, I think nobody wins.”

Instead, key stakeholders and community leaders should have “data-informed discussions” designed to uncover and address the reasons why racial minorities are overrepresented throughout the justice system, he said.

Racial disparities in the courts

“The deeper you go into the system, the greater the disparities get,” Schindler said.

White youth who get taken to court often come with a variety of resources that youth of color are statistically less likely to have, he said.

It's as if America has two juvenile justice systems working simultaneously: one for predominantly white, upper-income youth and the other for poorer youth who are more often racial minorities.

The upper-income system “actually works quite well” with its access to mentoring, support and other opportunities, Schindler said.

“That type of response should be available to all youth,” he said, “not just youth who can afford that type of response.”

Schindler said a number of academic studies have shown that implicit biases play a significant role in how racial minorities are treated in the justice system and throughout society.

“If we don't do anything about this, knowing that there are racial disparities throughout our systems in the country, then I think we're getting close to the point where that's almost intentional,” he said.

Schindler cautioned, however, that police, judges, probation officers, public defenders and others can't reasonably be expected to address larger social issues such as poverty, education, segregated neighborhoods and other sources of inequality.

Tippecanoe County is already making progress to address these some of these disparities, according to a report compiled last year by the W. Haywood Burns Institute for Juvenile Justice Fairness & Equity.

But Mike Finley, the Burns Institute's director of site management, said racial tensions in Greater Lafayette seem to be inseparable from conversations about the migration myth. When he and a team of researchers came to Tippecanoe County and conducted interviews, they heard from many locals who expressed concerns about an influx of people from Chicago.

“I think it's really a proxy for other issues around race and ethnicity,” he said. “There's this feeling that there's this sort of influx of people ‘who don't look like who I grew up with.’”

Journal & Courier data editor Jennifer Christos contributed to this story.