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Disorder and Community Decline

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National Institute of Justice

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Disorder and Community Decline

1   Introduction

This report explores the impact of disorder on the social and
economic forces which underlie stability and change in residen-
tial communities. "Disorders" are conditions and events widely
interpreted as signaling a breakdown in the realization of commu-
nity norms about public behavior. Their presence appears to
provide observable evidence of neighborhood decline. Disorder
includes both visual signs of physical deterioration and behav-
ioral evidence of social disorganization; it encompasses both
enduring conditions and episodic events. Disorder is apparent in
the widespread appearance of junk and trash in vacant lots,
poorly maintained homes, boarded-up buildings, vandalism of
public and private property, graffiti, and stripped and abandoned
cars in the streets and alleys. It is signaled by bands of teen-
agers congregating on street corners, public solicitation for
prostitution, panhandling, public drinking, verbal harassment of
women on the street, and open gambling and drug use.

Communities are troubled when they cannot realize their values
with respect to such conditions and events. Some of those values
clearly are protected by the criminal law and fall within the
purview of routine police operations. Other widely-approved
standards of conduct are not so clearly supported by statute, and
more seem to present intractable enforcement problems despite
their unlawful status. But those legal and operational distinct-

ions have little to do with the impact of these problems upon community life, which appears to be considerable.

Almost 20 years ago, Biderman et al (1967) argued that people's major impressions about area crime are derived from such "... highly visible signs of what they regard as disorderly and disreputable behavior in their community." Surveys and observational studies suggest that disorder may have numerous ill consequences for urban neighborhoods. Research indicates it sparks concern and fear of crime among neighborhood residents, and may actually increase the level of serious crime. Disorder appears to erode the mechanisms by which neighborhood residents exercise control over local events and conditions. It drives out those for whom stable community life is important, and undermines the local housing market. In this view, disorder is an engine of neighborhood destabilization and decline.

1.1   Disorder, Crime and Neighborhood Change

Unlike most research on neighborhood problems, this report treats disorder as an "independent" variable. Traditionally, researchers have focused upon the determinants of crime and disorder in urban areas, to understand when and where they arise. Section 2 below describes the social and economic correlates of disorder, but the primary focus of this report is upon the possible impact of disorder upon perhaps the most fundamental aspect of community life, the forces which lead to neighborhood stability or change.

In this study, disorder usually is treated as an "exogenous" factor; it is not "where it comes from," but "where it leads" that is of interest.

Most neighborhoods are stable social systems. This is why they are identifiable as "neighborhoods" and their names serve as useful labels, sometimes for generations. Their present condition generally resembles the past. At various times this stability may be threatened, but old patterns persist. Analytic models of stable systems feature "negative feedback loops," or sketches of mechanisms in the system which react to potentially upsetting events, set things right, retard change, and keep most problems within bounds. In the case of residential neighborhoods, these feedback mechanisms can include both "unconscious" (i.e, numerous and uncoordinated) market forces and conscious efforts toward community renewal. The vehicles for these efforts include govern-ment programs and community organizations. Through individual in-itiatives and collective action, residents find ways to retard unwanted change and preserve their community's character.

"Stability" does not mean that things are "the same." Dynamic social systems never remain the same. Even in places which on the surface appear tranquil, families move in and out, the building stock ages, and economic forces continually affect the price and demand for housing. However, if about the same number of people move into an area as move out, and if they resemble those who left, the area can be counted as stable. Areas are stable when the housing stock continually is repaired and renewed, and if people can sell and buy or rent homes there at prices appropriate

for the structures and the social class of the other residents. Stability means that the neighborhood as a social system reproduces itself.

However, when things happen which disrupt the processes by which neighborhoods renew themselves, dramatic changes can ensue. The factors which can trigger that disruption are numerous. They include large-scale construction and demolition projects of local governments, disinvestment by mortgage lending institutions, block-busting efforts by real estate entrepreneurs, political demagoguery, and the impact of regional and national macroeconomic forces on mortgage interest rates and local employment levels (cf, Skogan, 1986b). When stabilizing mechanisms stop working, forces can be set loose which stimulate further changes rather than dampen them. In such areas, one problem leads to another. Systems characterized by this "positive feedback" change rapidly. These changes do not necessarily make crime or the quality of life in those areas worse (see McDonald, 1986, on gentrification), but when they do, neighborhoods can quickly decline.

Once areas slip into the cycle of decline, feedback processes rapidly take control of neighborhood conditions. The problems which emerge include disorder and crime. These in turn further undermine the capacity of the community to deal with its problems. Disorder and crime stimulate physical and psychological withdrawal from the community. When communities grow unpleasant, encounters with strangers leave residents uneasy, and they feel unsafe, many leave. Measures of crime problems are strongly

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related to residential dissatisfaction and the desire to move (Kasl and Harburg, 1972; Droettboom, et al, 1971). However, moving is selective, and families and the middle class leave first, often to be replaced by unattached and transient individuals (Frey, 1980; Duncan and Newman, 1976). Those who cannot leave may psychologically withdraw, finding friends elsewhere or simply isolating themselves (Kidd and Chayet, 1984). This reduces supervision of youths, undermines any general sense of mutual responsibility which many have been felt by area residents, and weakens informal social control. This withdrawal limits participation in neighborhood organizations, presaging a decline in the organizational and political capacity of the community. It also contributes to the deterioration of the housing market and local business conditions, elements of the neighborhood already affected by population change. These problems feed upon themselves, spiraling neighborhoods deeper into decline. As Schuerman and Kobrin (1986) found in their time-series study of Los Angeles communities, in the worst areas crime shifts from being just a "dependent" variable to being an "independent" variable as well, in areas characterized by long periods of decline. Crime and disorder thus play an important independent role in stimulating urban change.

1.2   This Study

This study examines aspects of this argument about the relationship between urban disorder and neighborhood decline. It is based

on interviews with 13,000 residents of 40 neighborhoods in six

major cities: Philadelphia, Chicago, San Francisco, Houston,

Newark and Atlanta. Because it focuses upon neighborhood change,

the results of those surveys were aggregated to produce neighbor-

hood-level data on disorder, crime, fear, residential satisfact-

ion, and other key factors. Three general propositions about the

social and economic effects of disorder are examined using

measures drawn from this community data:

1. disorder erodes the capacity of communities to exercise
    control over local conditions;

2. disorder stimulates crime and fear; and

3. disorder sparks neighborhood dissatisfaction and undermines
    the residential housing market.

These issues are discussed in five major sections which follow.

Section 2 reviews the measures of disorder, and indicates how

frequently they occur and how they are distributed across the 40

study neighborhoods. Disorder proves to be most commonly a prob-

lem in poorer, unstable neighborhoods with large minority pop-

ulations.

Section 3 examines the relationship between disorder and the

capacity of neighborhoods to exercise control over events which

occur there. It focus upon the density of social relationships

among neighbors, community solidarity, informal arrangements

between neighbors to prevent crime, and household crime prevent-

ion efforts. The prevalence of disorder is strongly negatively

related to indicators of most of these social control mechanisms.

Section 4 examines the relationship between disorder, crime, and fear of crime. Indicators of the extent of disorder and neighborhood crime problems are closely linked, and both are strongly related to levels of fear.

Section 5 looks at the relationship between disorder and neighborhood stability, through its impact upon the housing market. Disorder appears to be linked to neighborhood dissatisfaction, plans to move, concern about in-migrants, and problems with landlords.

The final section reviews the findings and discusses their potential policy implications.

1.3 Aggregate Data on Neighborhoods

Most research on crime-related problems has been cast at the aggregate level. In these studies, official crime or arrest data are merged with census indicators for blocks, tracts, or even cities. Correlations between the data sets are used to test theories about crime causation. Those data usually can serve only as proxy indicators of the phenomena of real interest, however. Crime and arrest data greatly under represent and somewhat distort the true distribution of many types of incidents (Gove, et al, 1985). Police records are totally inadequate for under-standing problems -- like disorder -- which by their nature largely escape formal action. Census data typically are used as indicators of sociological concepts like social disorganization,

for lack of more direct and satisfactory measures of those concepts for numbers of neighborhoods large enough for statistical analysis.

To address these problems, this research is based upon the combined results of surveys of many urban neighborhoods. The surveys were conducted as part of five different studies of neighborhood crime problems, between 1977 and 1983. The use of survey data helped overcome the limitations of police figures on crime, for interviewers went directly to individuals and inquired about their victimization experiences (see Skogan, 1981). The interviews also asked people about the extent of various forms of disorder problems in their immediate area, neighborhood satis- faction, their moving intentions, and other factors more directly related to theories about neighborhood stability and change. Exactly 13,001 adults were interviewed in these surveys.

Their responses were combined to produce neighborhood-level data. While theories about disorder and crime are set at the neighbor- hood level, most survey-based studies of those problems have been conducted only in a few areas and analyzed at the individual level (for an exception, but with an "N" of only four neighbor- hoods, see Lewis and Maxfield, 1980). For example, there has been considerable interest in the finding that most people who report being fearful of crime have not themselves been victimized. At the individual level, the correlation between fear and victimi- zation is weak, perhaps +.07. However, when we think (or theorize) about victimization and fear, we usually think people are fearful because they live in high crime neighborhoods. In

this data, the correlation between neighborhood robbery victimization levels and fear of crime is +.81, an order of magnitude higher than other estimates.

The data could be combined in this fashion because researchers examining these problems have borrowed freely from one another's work. In particular, they have used many similar survey questions and survey procedures. While the fit of the five studies utilized here is far from perfect, many indicators of theoretically important concepts could be assembled for all or most of the 40 neighborhoods studied. However, because the surveys were conducted by different researchers, there is not always a perfect match between the original questionnaires and the ideas of interest here. Some important neighborhood factors, such as fear of crime, were not measured in consistent ways across the neighborhoods, so the number of cases with which they can be examined will be disappointingly small. Other concepts, like informal social control and community cohesion, were poorly measured in most of the surveys, so those theoretically important issues will have to be explored using inadequate indicators. As a result, this analysis can at best reveal general patterns of support (or not) for propositions concerning the consequences of disorder, rather than definitive test of hypotheses utilizing satisfactory indicators. It can suggest what clearly is supported by the data and what is not, what the strongest relationships are, and if they appear to be linear in form. The latter is important if the data point instead to the existence of "tipping points" and

other nonlinear relationships of theoretical and practical significance.

Appendix A to this report cites the survey questions which are examined and comments on their comparability. It details how responses to individual questions were combined to form general indicators. It also describes sample sizes and study methods, indicates how the surveys were weighted to produce neighborhood-level estimates for the variables of interest, and gives more detail about the individual studies.

Appendix A also describes the 40 neighborhoods which were surveyed. They were quite heterogeneous with regard to race and class, and to the extent to which they were troubled by disorder and crime. At the median the areas were 54 percent black or hispanic, 19 percent elderly, 51 percent renters, and 8 percent unemployed (see Figure 27). The areas are not, however, a "representative" sample of communities. Most studies of crime and disorder have been conducted since 1973 in northern industrial cities marked by racial transition, declining population, and shifting economic fortunes. Those are represented here by four of the six cities studied: Chicago, Philadelphia, Newark, and (except for the latitude) Atlanta. Much less is known about disorder, crime and neighborhood change in lower-density southeastern and southwestern cities which have prospered and grown during the same period, and those cities are represented here only by Houston.

However, the research reported here identified no strong city-specific patterns of _relationships_ between disorder or crime and other neighborhood factors. Cities differed with respect to the levels of those problems, with Newark often coming out worst, but they did not obviously differ with regard to how disorder and crime were related to other things. Perhaps the small-area processes which link disorder and neighborhood change are similar across US cities, with differences among them being confined to the magnitude of those problems, or the number of neighborhoods affected. This is suggested by the fact that national surveys reveal about the same relationships between fear of crime and other factors as do neighborhood studies, the only exceptions being related to distinctive "big city" effects (cf, Baumer, 1985). However, the generality of this research to neighborhoods and cities of all types and at other times is not certain.

1.4   Inferences About Change

The model of urban change presented here is a dynamic one, featuring factors which affect one another only over time. Some of the relationships theoretically are reciprocal in nature as well; that is, variables might affect each other -- or even them-selves -- over time. As noted above, it is the nature of stable systems that they include feedback mechanisms which retard change -- i.e, which set upper or lower bounds on the values their key elements may take. In a stable neighborhood system, an upward "blip" in disorder would be correlated with a lower level of

disorder in the near future, as elements of the system (other factors, such as informal social control or collective action) exert their influence. Unstable "positive feedback" systems, on the other hand, lack steering mechanisms to correct their course, and in such areas increases in disorder might be related (perhaps through their corrosive impact upon markets) to even higher levels of disorder in the immediate future.

However, there has been virtually no over-time research on disorder or individual reactions to crime, much less over-time studies in which people are linked to their neighborhood environment. A rare exception is Fowler and Mangione's (1982) extended evaluation of a crime-prevention program in Hartford, but it was confined to only two neighborhoods. Studies by Scheurman and Kobrin have utilized census data and officially recorded crime for areas of Los Angeles, which are available at different points in time. Their work suggests that in small urban areas important changes can take place rapidly. Neighborhoods apparently can move from low to high-crime status during the decade between censuses (Scheurman and Kobrin, 1986). Unfortunately, disorder, victimization, fear, deterioration of social relationships, residential dissatisfaction, and other factors which in theory provide the linkages between aspects of community change and levels of reported crime are better measured by sample surveys. Surveys concerning crime problems in cities or particular neighborhoods to date have provided only one-time, cross-sectional views of their resident's fears and intentions. As a result, this report will -- with trepidation -- make inferences about change within

neighborhoods from cross-sectional differences between neighbor-hoods. Differences between neighborhoods which are "low" or "high" on some factor will be taken as suggestive of what happens when areas go _from_ "low" _to_ "high." The best that can be said about this is that causal inference from observed covariation is common practice.

2 The Level of Disorder in Cities

Each of the surveys examined here asked about disorder in virtually identical fashion; people were asked, "How big a problem ..." various conditions or events were, "... in your neighborhood?". This approach implicitly combines questions about the presence of those conditions or events with respondents' judgments about them. Unlike systematic observations of neighborhood conditions by outsiders, these assessments reflect at least in part the standards and values of area residents, as well as "objective" conditions. Our respondents doubtless differed in the level at which their expectations about public conduct and conditions were set, and in the degree to which deviance from those standards was tolerable. Residents could report that public drinking was "no problem" if its frequency or character was not distressful, or that it was a "big problem" if they viewed its frequency or character with dismay.

In the surveys used for this study, fourteen different disorderly conditions and events were examined. The exact wording of questions used in the surveys is given in Appendix A. The specific problems are listed in Figure 1.

Figure 2 illustrates the frequency of each form of disorder. It charts the average neighborhood rating (ranging from 1, for "no problem," to 3, for "big problem") for each issue, for all 40 areas. Because one or a few areas could affect the average

Figure 1: Disorderly Conditions and Events

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        public drinking   vandalism
        street prostitution   littering
        loitering groups   - drug use
        poor garbage handling   dog litter
        insults to passers-by   gang activity
        abandoned buildings   noisy neighbors
        junk in vacant lots
        commercial sex establishments

----

considerably (if residents there gave a specific problem a very

high or low rating), Figure 2 also presents the median rating for

each problem. This is the value at the middle of each set of

neighborhood scores.

By-and-large, the means and medians tell the same story. Two of

the least frequently encountered neighborhood problems were

street prostitution and the presence of commercial sex

establishments (massage parlors; x-rated movies; adult bookstores

-- see Appendix A). Inspection of the original survey data

reveals that residents of most areas reported very little of

this, while in a few places many thought one or both of these

(the two usually went together) were "big problems."[1] This is in-

dicated by the relatively large difference between the mean and

median (which were lower) ratings for both problems.

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1. Questions about these problems were included in the Houston
   survey because this author, driving through one of the study
   neighborhoods, couldn't help noticing beerhalls with flashing
   neon signs announcing, "Naked Girls Dance!"

Figure 2: The Frequency of Disorder

Two other low-ranked problems were "noisy neighbors" and "people who say insulting things or bother people as they walk down the street." The latter are often offensive "street remarks" directed by men toward women, which function to mark power relations between them (Gardner, 1980).

Based on their mean scores, the four most highly-ranked problems in these areas all were components of the "social" disorders cluster: public drinking, loitering bands of males, drug use, and vandalism. Loitering males and public drinking all had lower medians than means, again reflecting the fact that a few neighborhoods had high scores on those items.

Those frequent social disorders were followed by four kinds of "physical" disorders: littering, dog litter, improper disposal of garbage, and junk or trash in vacant lots. Then, the presence of gang activity and abandoned buildings in the area both received about the same ratings.

There appears to be no reported research on the correspondence between perceived "social" disorder (see below) and independently observed neighborhood conditions. However, litter, graffiti, and building abandonment are easier to count, and Taylor, Schumaker and Gottfredson (1985) report that observational measures of these conditions for 66 Baltimore neighborhoods were very

Types of Disorder

median
mean
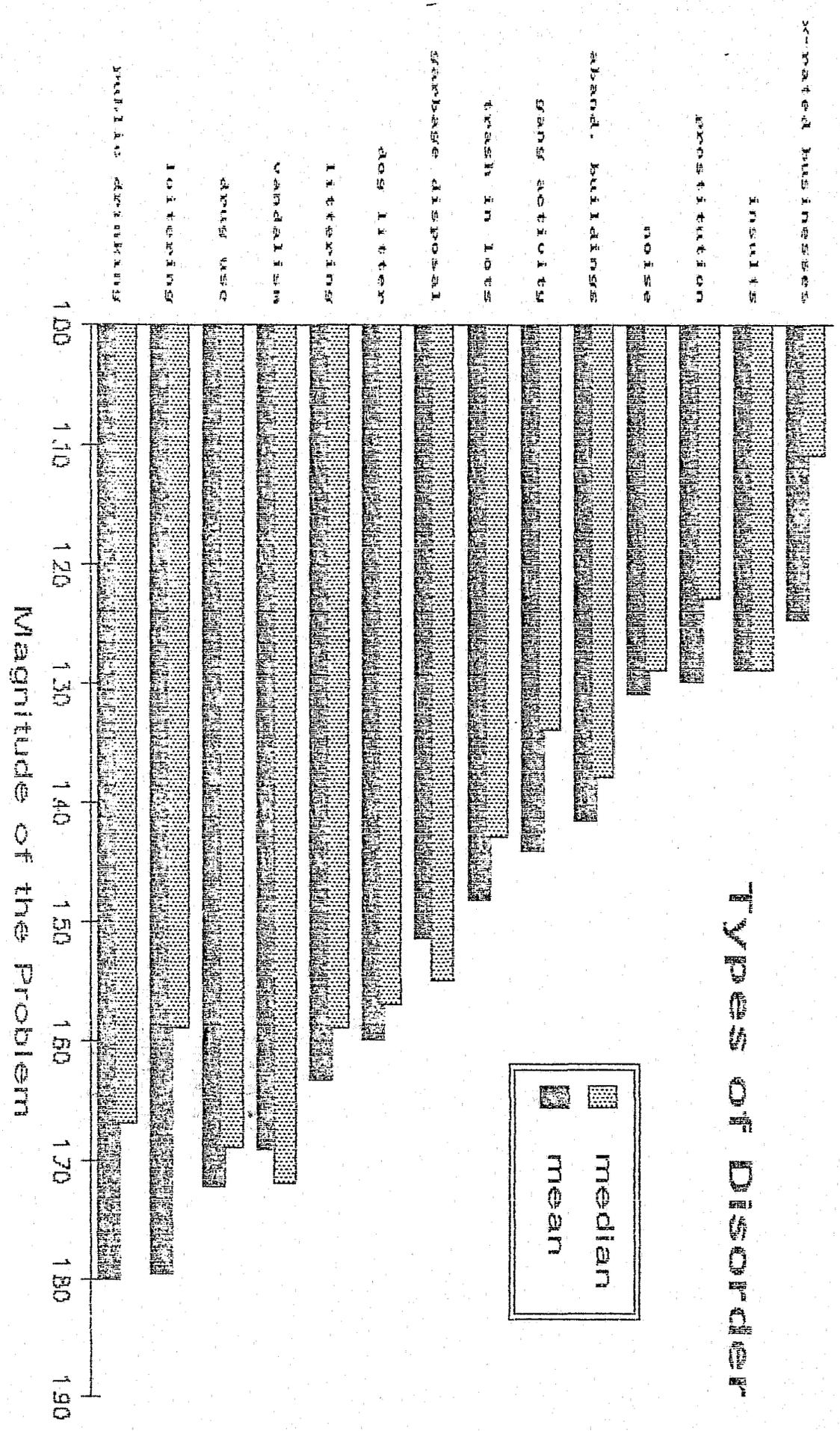
Magnitude of the Problem

x-rated businesses
insults
prostitution
noise
aband. buildings
gang activity
trash in lots
street litter
garbage disposal
littering
vandalism
drug use
loitering
public drinking

100 110 120 130 140 150 160 170 180 190

substantially correlated (+.62) with survey measures of the extent of litter, abandonment, and dilapidation perceived by residents.[2]

2.1 Measures of Disorder

Each study of neighborhood conditions asked about a different number and mix of these problems. In fact, only one question -- concerning abandoned buildings -- was used in all 40 neighborhoods. Most of the surveys asked about most of them, however, and people's assessments of conditions in their area were consistent enough that those which they did answer could be used to give each neighborhood a global "disorder problems" score.

Each area's global score is the average of two measures. One, an index of the extent of physical disorder, is based upon questions concerning littering, noise, junk in vacant lots, and abandoned buildings. A neighborhood's score on this measure was its average response to the physical disorder questions its residents were given. The measure of social disorder combined average responses to questions about public drinking, loitering, insults to passers-by, vandalism, and drug use. One earlier study indicated that physical and social disorders were distinct dimensions and differed somewhat in their impact on neighborhood residents

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2. Their analytic measure was a factor score which loaded most heavily on physical dilapidation counts, it but also reflected some components of social disorder.

(McPherson, et al, 1983). Factor analyses of the 40 individual-level data sets suggested that this distinction was a useful one in some of the areas. However, at the area level of interest here the two measures were highly correlated (see Appendix A), and did not notably differ in how they were related to other neighborhood characteristics. Because the surveys utilized here included mixed bags of questions, and generally asked more questions about social than about physical disorders, the over-all index was formed from separate measures of each in order to weight the two components equally.

An examination of patterns of disorder in these neighborhoods indicated that responses to questions about street prostitution and the prevalence of commercial sex establishments were different from the others. The two problems go together, but as indicated above they are distinctively either high or low in salience, with few areas falling "in-between." At the individual level, reactions to these problems formed a separate factor in every area in which they were included. A separate index of the extent of commercial sex problems was formed, but -- as the status of the items as a separate factor hints -- it was correlated only +.18 with the summary disorder measure and was not related to other neighborhood factors in the same fashion as either social or physical disorder. Also, questions about commercial sex were asked in only 16 areas. As a result, this cluster of (very interesting) problems will not be considered in any detail in this report.

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      Figure 3: Neighborhood Disorder Levels

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Finally, questions about dog litter, gangs, and the handling of

garbage were not included in enough studies to justify their

inclusion in an over-all index. Where they were asked, responses

to these questions were related to the same neighborhood factors

as those which were more widely employed.

2.2 The Social Distribution of Disorder

The areas varied considerably in the extent to which residents

were troubled by these problems. Figure 3 illustrates the average

disorder score for each of the 40 neighborhoods surveyed; more

details about them can be found in the references in Appendix A.

While this report principally is concerned with the consequences

of disorder for urban neighborhoods, it is important to under-

stand its social distribution as well. Some of the hypothesized

consequences of disorder (like, for example, levels of crime)

also could be strongly influenced by local demographic condi-

tions. Some research also suggests that neighborhood economic

status mediates the influence of disorder on the real estate

market (Taylor, et al, 1986). So, the analyses which follow will

control for important neighborhood social and economic factors.

This section first examines their direct connection to disorder.

Disorder Levels for
40 Neighborhoods

Chicago Portage Pk
Chicago Beverly
Atlanta Up. Virginia
Chicago Lincoln Pk
Chicago Northwest
Chicago Hyde Pk-Kenw
Chicago Aub-Gresham
San Fran Sunset
Chicago East Side
Chicago NoEast Austn
Chicago xxxxxxx
Atlanta Dixie
Chicago Edgewater
Chicago Back-yard 81
Houston Langwood
Houston Wood Bayou
San Fran Visit. Valy
Chicago Back-Yard 83
Chicago South Shore
Chicago Austin
Chicago Sheffield
Atlanta Pittsburgh
Atlanta Grove
Atlanta Lw. Virginia
Houston Shady Acres
San Fran The Mission
Houston Golforest
Houston Northline
Phila. West Phil
Chicago Back-Yard 78
Phila. Logan
Phila. South Phil
Atlanta Mechanicsvil
Chicago Woodlawn
Newark-West
Newark South-2
Newark South-4
Chicago Wicker Pk
Newark South-1
Newark North

Disorder Level

1   12   14   16   18   2   22

Figure 4: Neighborhood Social and Economic Factors

Principle Components Factor Analysis

Measures	Factor Loadings	
	stability	poverty
average length of residence	.862	.187
average age of respondents	.836	.087
pct single family homes	.711	-.041
percent rental.dwellings	-.811	.250
pct high school graduates	.123	-.710
pct working full/part time	.381	-.780
pct incomes over $20,000	-.020	-.799
percent unemployed	-.450	.532
pct of total variance explained by factor	37.1	28.6
eigenvalue	2.97	2.29

The surveys gathered information on a number of characteristics of area residents, including their education, income, race, employment status, and household organization. They all were related to disorder, but also they were related to each other. Because there are only 40 neighborhoods to examine, it was useful to reduce this list to a smaller number of summary measures which reflect the important elements of all of them. This was done using factor analysis. This statistical procedure extracted what the variables had in common, and gave each neighborhood a score on the common factor.

Figure 4 reports the results of a factor analysis of eight measures which were available for all 40 neighborhoods. It indicated there were two "dimensions" to the data. One cluster of

variables reflected <u>neighborhood</u> <u>stability</u>. Areas with a high
score on this factor had a larger proportion of long-term resi-
dents, more older people, a higher percentage of households which
were single family homes and owner-occupied, and relatively low
unemployment levels; those with a low score fell at the opposite
pole on each of those measures. The second cluster of variables
measured <u>neighborhood</u> <u>poverty</u>. Areas with a high score on the
resulting poverty measure had higher levels of unemployment,
fewer adults in the labor force, lower family incomes and fewer
high school graduates. Factor-score measures of stability and
poverty based upon these data reflect different aspects of the 40
communities, for by their nature the two scores are uncorrelated.
These two dimensions describe combinations of stable and unstable
areas which were both poor and better-off.

Figure 5 illustrates the relationship between neighborhood
poverty and the extent of disorder problems in 40 areas. Points
on the plot indicate how high or low each community lies on each
of two measures; in every figure the presumably "causal" factor
(here poverty) lies across the bottom, and its apparent "effect"
(here disorder) is presented up the side. When the two factors
are positively correlated, as they are here (+.58; p<.001+), the
neighborhood points go generally from the lower left to the upper
right-hand corner of the figure.[3] As in all the figures which

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3. With 40 cases, a correlation of .30 would be significant at
   the .05, if these are treated as a small sample of the
   universe of urban neighborhoods in the US. Because of the
   ambiguous causal ordering of many of the factors examined
   here, a conservative two-tailed test of statistical
   significance is employed throughout.

```
            Figure 5: Neighborhood Poverty and Disorder
Level of
Disorder
     .+------------+------------+------------+------------+------------+.
 2.2 +                                                N               +
     |                                             N                  |
     |                                                                |
 2.0 +                             N                    C             +
     |                          N     N                               |
     |                                                     C          |
 1.8 +                                                                +
     |                                                         A      |
     |                                   P       C P  P               |
 1.6 +              H                  HS                             +
     |                 A        C C   H  A              A             |
     |           H  H     C            S      C    C                  |
 1.4 +                 C              A                               +
     |                              C3    C                           |
     |         C        C                 C                           |
 1.2 +      C      A             C        C                           +
     |                                                                |
     |                                                                |
 1.0 +                                                                +
     .+------------+------------+------------+------------+------------+.
     -2           -1            0            1            2            3
            Neighborhood Poverty Factor Score
```
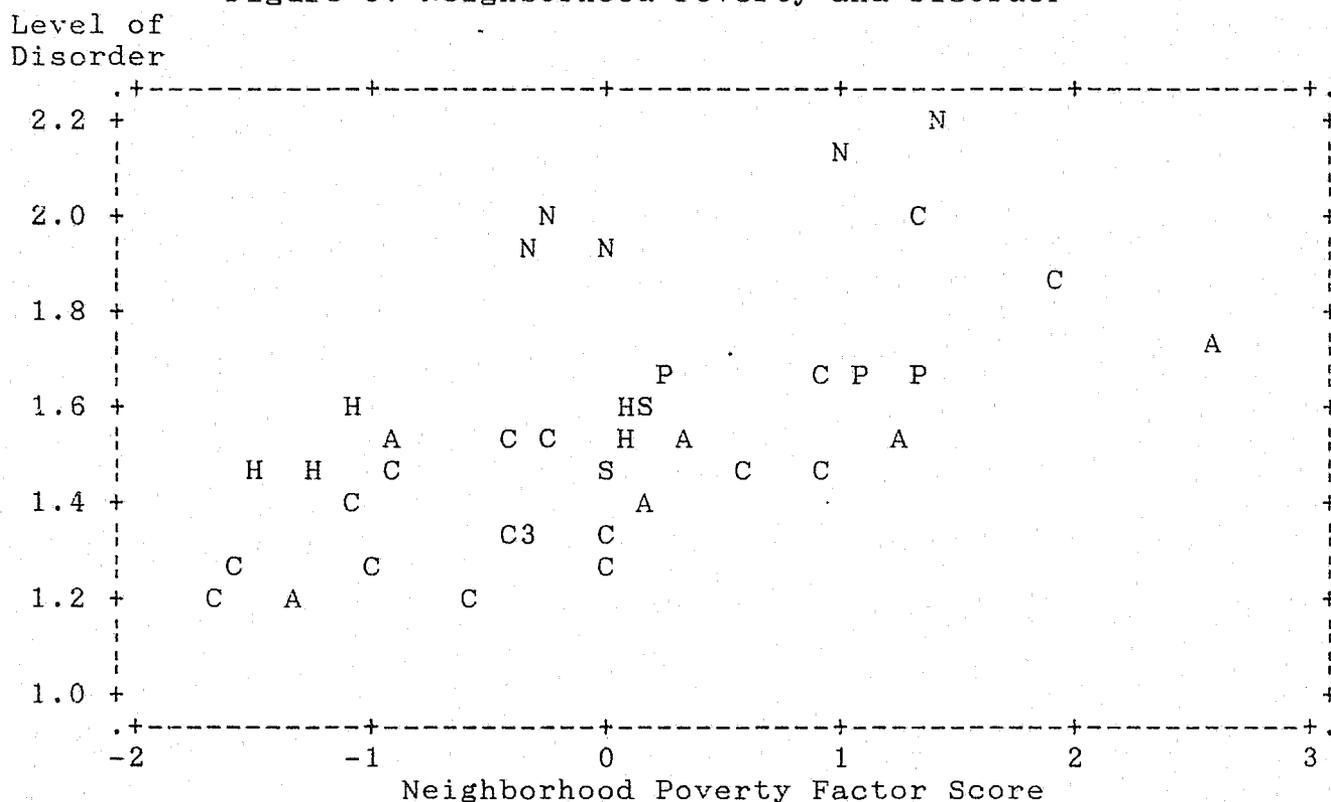
LEGEND

A Atlanta	P Philadelphia
C Chicago	S San Francisco
H Houston	n multiple sites
N Newark	

****

follow, Figure 5 also indicates the <u>city</u> in which each area was
located, identified in the Legend.

Figure 5 indicates that neighborhood poverty and disorder were
positively correlated, with most better-off neighborhoods
enjoying low levels of disorder. Hope and Hough (1986) found the
same pattern in British public housing estates. Areas toward the
right of Figure 5 are those with high unemployment, low income,
low levels of education, and fewer adults in the labor force,

measures which went together strongly in the factor analysis. Here they generally go with higher levels of disorder. However, there is considerable "scatter" in the plot; many areas are not locked in stair-step order, indicating that other factors may affect levels of disorder as well.

Figure 6 plots the relationship between neighborhood stability and levels of disorder. There was a negative (-.49; p<.001) relationship between stability and disorder in these 40 areas. At the right-hand side of the figure are areas with older, long-term residents, and more single family and owner-occupied homes. They apparently were more successful at maintaining acceptable standards of public conduct and housing conditions, perhaps because stability fosters neighborhood solidarity and informal social control by fostering long-term relationships between neighbors, local friendships, and identification with the community. However, there also is a cluster of low-stability but lower-disorder areas evident in Figure 6, in the lower left-hand quadrant. There was less disorder than we would expect, based upon their stability, in those areas in Chicago, Atlanta, Houston and San Francisco.

A third important correlate of levels of disorder in these 40 areas is race. Figure 7 illustrates the relationship between disorder and the concentration of racial and ethnic minorities in each of these communities. The latter measure combines blacks, some hispanic respondents, and a small scattering of Asians (many in San Francisco and Houston). It indicates that where racial and

```
                 Figure 6: Neighborhood Stability and Disorder
   Level of
   Disorder
      .+----------+-----------+-----------+-----------+-----------+.
   2. 2+                       N                                    +
      |                       N                                    |
      |                                                            |
   2.0 +                NC                                          +
      |                N           N                               |
      |                 C                                          |
   1.8 +                                                           +
      |                           A                               |
      |                        CP        P        P               |
   1.6 +        S          H     H                                 +
      |         C   A    C HA          A                           |
      | H              C        H     C SC                         |
   1.4 +                              C       A                    +
      |                         S          2        C  C           |
      |        C        C                        C                 |
   1.2 +                              A        C C                 +
      |                                                            |
      |                                                            |
   1.0 +                                                           +
      .+----------+-----------+-----------+-----------+-----------+.
      -2          -1           0           1           2           3
                 Neighborhood Stability Factor Score
```
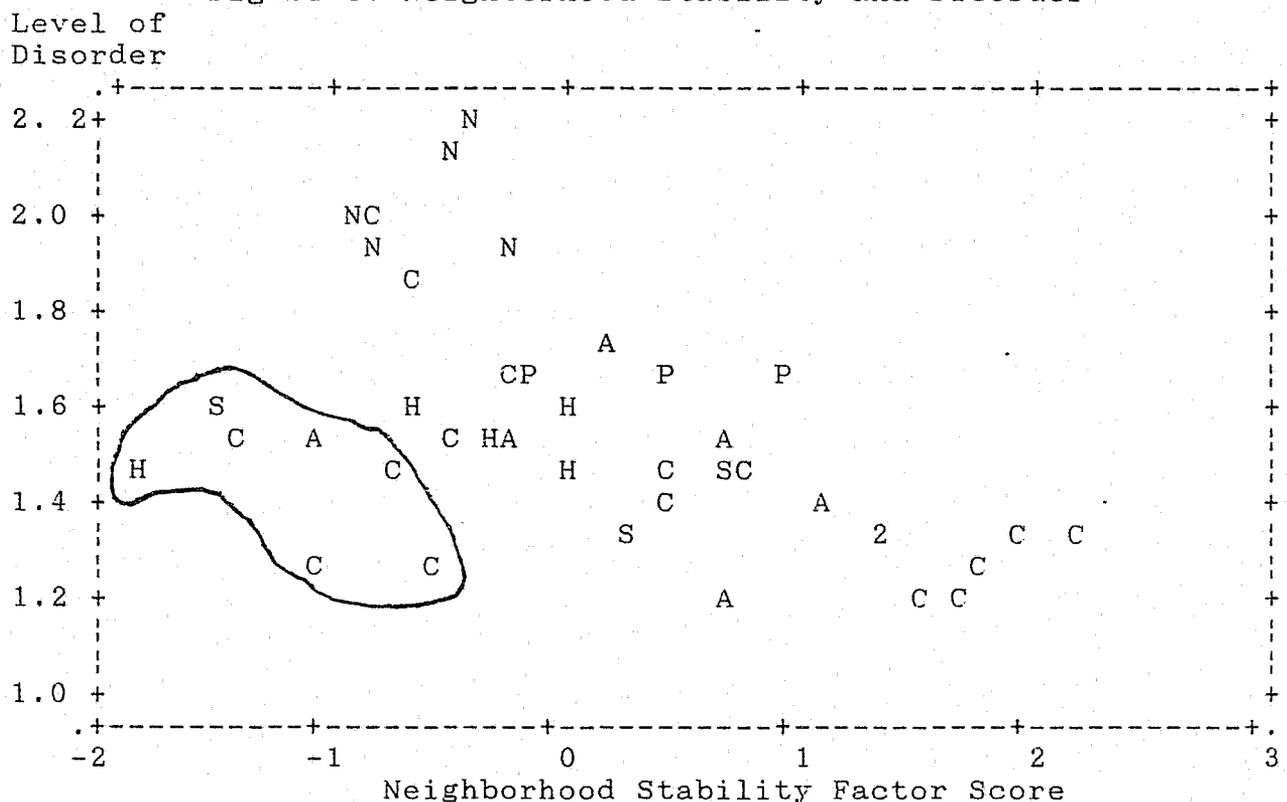
LEGEND

A Atlanta   P Philadelphia
C Chicago   S San Francisco
H Houston   n multiple sites
N Newark
****

linguistic minorities predominated, levels of disorder were

higher (+.62; p<.001+).

Partly this may reflect the fruits of geographical mobility.

Whites, who enjoy a wider range of residential location choices,

generally are more able to congregrate in patterns reflecting

their class, lifestyle, and family organizational preferences.

This leads to a wider range of shared values in those communi-

ties, and thus fewer "problems" concerning many forms of public

Figure 7: Neighborhood Ethnicity and Disorder
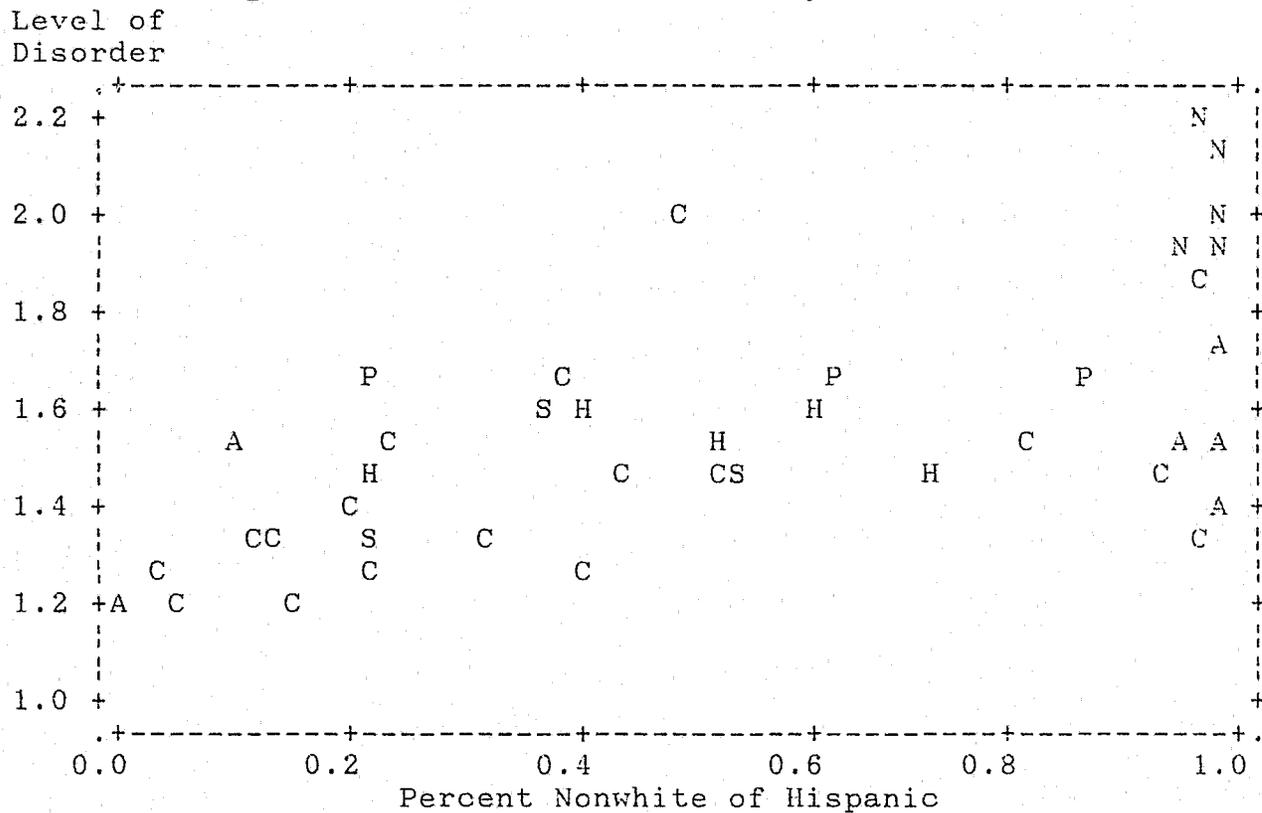
```
Level of
Disorder
    .+-----------+-----------+-----------+---------+-----------+.
2.2 +                                                       N    |
    |                                                        N    |
    |                                                             |
2.0 +                                  C                     N    +
    |                                                      N N    |
    |                                                        C    |
1.8 +                                                             +
    |                                                        A    |
    |             P             C              P           P      |
1.6 +                         S H             H                   +
    |        A        C               H               C      A A  |
    |                 H           C   CS          H       C       |
1.4 +               C                                          A  +
    |           CC    S       C                             C     |
    |        C        C           C                               |
1.2 +A   C        C                                               +
    |                                                             |
1.0 +                                                             +
    .+-----------+-----------+-----------+---------+-----------+.
   0.0         0.2         0.4         0.6       0.8         1.0
              Percent Nonwhite of Hispanic
```

LEGEND

A Atlanta   P Philadelphia
C Chicago   S San Francisco
H Houston   n multiple sites
N Newark
****

conduct, property maintenance, and control of children (Taub, et

al, 1984; Greenberg, et al, 1982; Taylor, et al, 1980). Black

neighborhoods, on the other hand, may have greater difficulty

developing a consensual set of norms because segregation in the

housing market leads to greater diversity of classes and family

organization in the same areas (Erbe, 1975). Faced with more

limited residential choices, many blacks cannot avoid living in propinquity to others with conflicting lifestyles.

It also should not be surprising that race and the economic and social factors examined here are interrelated. The two factor scores are independent of one another, but neighborhood minority concentration is positively related to poverty (+.47), and negatively related to neighborhood stability (-.30). This may explain in part why race seemingly is the strongest correlate of disorder; it may "carry with it" effects of those factors as well. Multiple regression analysis can be used to probe whether poverty, stability, and race all are independently linked to levels of disorder, or if one or two of the measures actually are reflecting the effect of a third. Figure 8 presents the results of this analysis. It indicates that each measure is independently and significantly related to disorder, even when relationships between them are taken into account.[4] The "standardized coefficients" can be interpreted as rough measures of the relative importance of each measure. They suggest that stability and poverty had effects on disorder of almost the same magnitude; racial composition also was significantly related to disorder, but its independent effect was somewhat smaller.

----

4. There are complex issues involving the use of regression analysis when the number of cases is as small as it is here (40). One or a few neighborhoods could exercise undue influence on the statistical findings, suggesting conclusions which would not describe most of the areas. Appendix A details how this problem was tackled.

Figure 8 : Socioeconomic Correlates of Disorder

Measure	Regression Coefficient	Standardized Coefficient	Signifi- cance	Simple r
Constant	1.40	--	.00+	--
Poverty Score	.11	.44	.00+	.58
Stability Score	-.10	-.40	.00+	-.49
Percent Minority	.21	.29	.01	.62

$R^2_{(adj)} = .60$
$N = 40$

NOTE: all regression analyses employ a conservative two-tailed test of singificance

These findings parallel those of one of the few observational studies of physical decay. In Taylor, Schumaker and Gottfredson's (1985) study of Baltimore neighborhoods, observed litter, delapidation, and abandonment was most common in black, lower-income, lower-education, and high rental areas. By far the strongest bivariate correlates of disorder in these survey data are area unemployment (+.84; p<.001) and educational level (-.53; p<.001). The proportions of households consisting of married couples (-.42) and living in single family homes (-.42) follow closely behind.

3 Community Capacity to Exercise Control

This section examines the impact of disorder upon the capacity of communities to exercise control over local conditions and events. There are at least two ways in which disorder might undermine this capacity. One potentially corrosive consequence of disorder is that it may erode the social "cement" which binds together neighborhood residents. Fostering suspicion and distrust, undermining faith and commitment to the area, and discouraging public and collective actitity, in the long run disorder could reduce the capacity of communities to preserve the conditions they value. Disorder also may undermine individual morale and the perceived efficacy of taking any positive action. Since there is little that individuals seemingly can do about many forms of disorder, they may be disheartened and frustrated rather than motivated to do more, even to protect themselves.

This section first examines the relationship between disorder and ordinary social interaction in these 40 neighborhoods; it also examines the frequency of sheer withdrawal from day-to-day community life as a reaction to disorder. This section then explores the relationship between disorder and community solidarity -- measured by the extent to which neighbors are helpful to one another and the frequency with which they cooperate informally to prevent crime in a "public minded" way. These social and collective actions all would seem to be particularly vulnerable to suspicion and distrust. This section also examines how

frequently people pursue more "private-minded," household-focused crime prevention efforts, and how those too may be affected by deterioration of the neighborhood environment. Presumably disorder could affect individual self-protective efforts by undermining even the apparent efficacy of self-help.

3.1 Social Relationships and Disorder

Ordinary social relations between neighbors are the precursers of social control (Fisher, 1977; Crenson, 1978). Neighbors' talking, visiting, and exchanging information with one another provides a mechanism for the operation of low-level forms of social control, including the impact of gossip, social exclusion, and fear of a damaged reputation. Wilson has referred to the "moral tutelage, reciprocal obligations, and public humiliations" which help maintain social order. Extensive social relationships also may help build neighborhood solidarity, and can even provide a mechanism for informal dispute resolution.

There also has been a great deal of research on the effect of the strength of "local social ties" on interventions (or intentions to intervene) of a variety of kinds, especially to control juveniles. In some neighborhoods residents supervise the activities of youths, watch over one another's property, and may challenge those who seem to be up to no good. However, surveys often find that the strength of local social ties are a strong and indep-

endent correlate of feelings of safety (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981). This suggests that social and physical disorder may serve to undermine the strength of those ties. Disorder may foster suspicion, and encourage people to keep to themselves and avoid potentially unpredictable people and circumstances whenever possible. Disorder may thus serve to decrease the scope of individual territoriality. As a consequence, neighborhoods may suffer from weak systems of informal social control and collective incapacity to deal with its problems.

There are other potential consequences of the erosion of social ties in city neighborhoods. Social interaction serves to cement identification to one's area, and encourages participation in organized community activity (Taylor, et al, 1984; DuBow and Emmons, 1981; Hunter, 1974). Kennedy (1978) finds that social ties (using measures very similar to those employed here) are related to neighborhood commitment, and may be linked to one's desire to move (Kennedy, 1984).

The surveys examined here included only a few measures of the density of social ties, and they proved to be only weakly related to neighborhood disorder. To examine the impact of disorder on social ties, responses to two questions concerning the frequency of talking with neighbors when encountering them on the street and of visiting neighbors at home in the evening were combined in standardized form (the two were correlated +.80) to create a measure of informal social activity. This index was available for only 14 Chicago neighborhoods. As hypothesized, it was negatively

Figure 9: Informal Social Activity and Disorder

```
Social Interaction
Between Neighbors
      .---------------+---------------+---------------+---------------.
   2 +                                                               +
     :                                                               :
     :           C                          C                        :
     :                                                               :
   1 +                      C     C                                  +
     :        C                                                      :
     :                                                  C            :
     :                              C                         C      :
   0 +                                                        C      +
     :                                                               :
     :                                                               :
     :                  C                          C                 :
  -1 +                              C                         C      +
     :                          C                                    :
     :                                                               :
     :                                                               :
  -2 +                                                               +
      .---------------+---------------+---------------+---------------+
       1.1            1.2            1.3            1.4            1.5
                          Level of Disorder
```
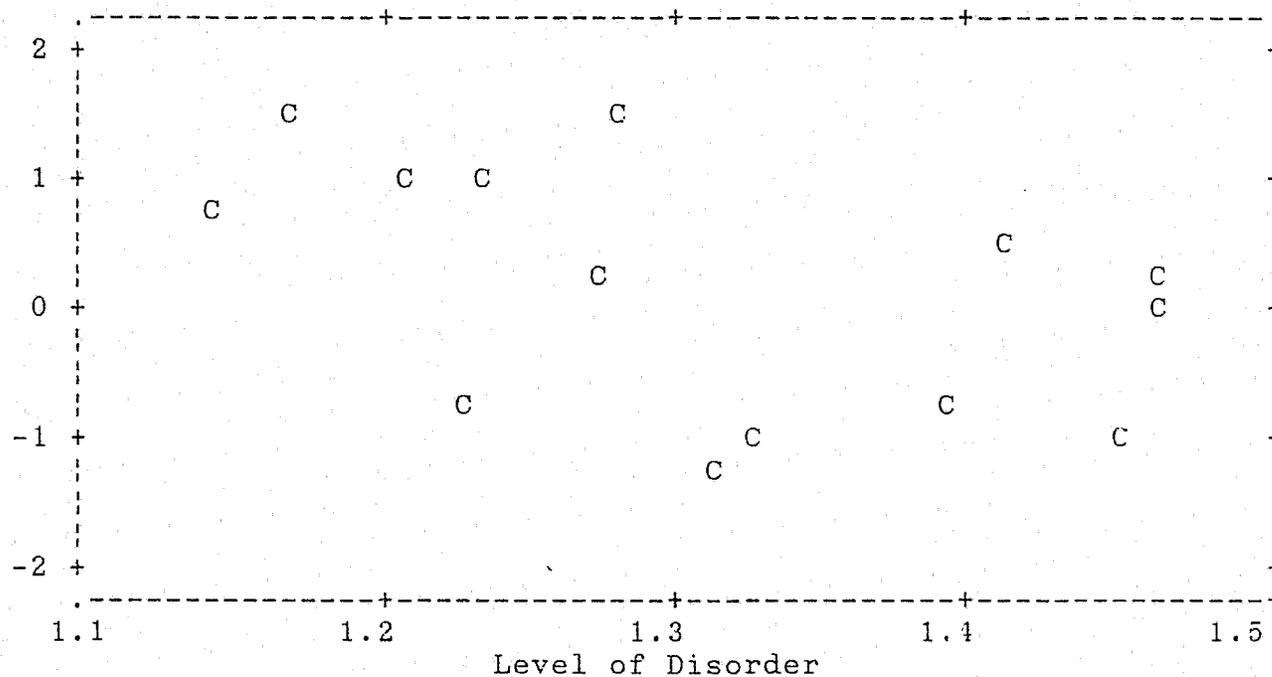
LEGEND

A Atlanta   P Philadelphia
C Chicago   S San Francisco
H Houston   n multiple sites
N Newark
****

correlated -.46 (p<.10) with disorder. The relationship between

the two measures is presented in Figure 9.

There are, of course, other important determinants of such every-

day social activities, and they may cloud the disorder - inter-

action nexus. The fear of crime and attendant withdrawal from

community life may affect relationships between neighborhood res-

idents independently of levels of public disorder. Those rela-

tionships also are shaped by the typical lifestyle and family

organization of the community. People living in single family

- 33 -

homes are more likely to have strong local contacts than are
those living in high-rise buildings (Kennedy, 1978). Informal
interaction generally is facilitated by social homogeneity and
lack of diversity (Gates and Rohe, 1987; Hunter, 1975). Kennedy
(1978) finds that with increasing neighborhood social diversity
comes fewer local friendships and less interaction between neigh-
bors. Across these 40 neighborhoods, social interaction was posi-
tively correlated with measures of such factors, but in a regres-
sion analysis (not shown) the relationship between disorder and
informal social activity was even stronger and more significant
($p < .05$, even with only 14 cases) when the neighborhood stability
factor score was controlled for. Thus, it is plausible to
conclude that, with higher levels of disorder, informal social
interaction decreases in frequency.

3.2 Withdrawal and Disorder

One of the most significant consequences of disorder may be to
encourage withdrawal from community life. Fearful people report
they stay at home more, especially after dark. When they go out,
they carefully avoid coming into contact with strangers or
potentially threatening situations, and they confine their path
to the safest times and routes (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981). They
avoid people they do not know, and "not getting involved" in
events seems the wisest course. Among women in particular, adopt-
ion of such defensive tactics is related to levels of neighbor-
hood disorder as well as to perceived risk of victimization

```
         Figure 10: Social Withdrawal and Disorder
Frequently Avoid Going
Out Alone After Dark
     .+-----------+-----------+-----------+-----------+-----------+.
 2.2 +                                                            +
     :                                                            :
     :                                H                           :
 2.1 +        C          C       H                         N   N  +
     :                        H                      N            :
     :                                            N               :
 2.0 +     C                                                      +
     :        C                                                   :
     :              H                                             :
 1.9 +                                            N               +
     :   C                                                        :
     :                                                            :
 1.8 +        CH                                                  +
     :                                                            :
     :                                                            :
 1.7 +                                                            +
     .+-----------+-----------+-----------+-----------+-----------+.
     1.2         1.4         1.6         1.8         2.0         2.2
                         Level of Disorder
```
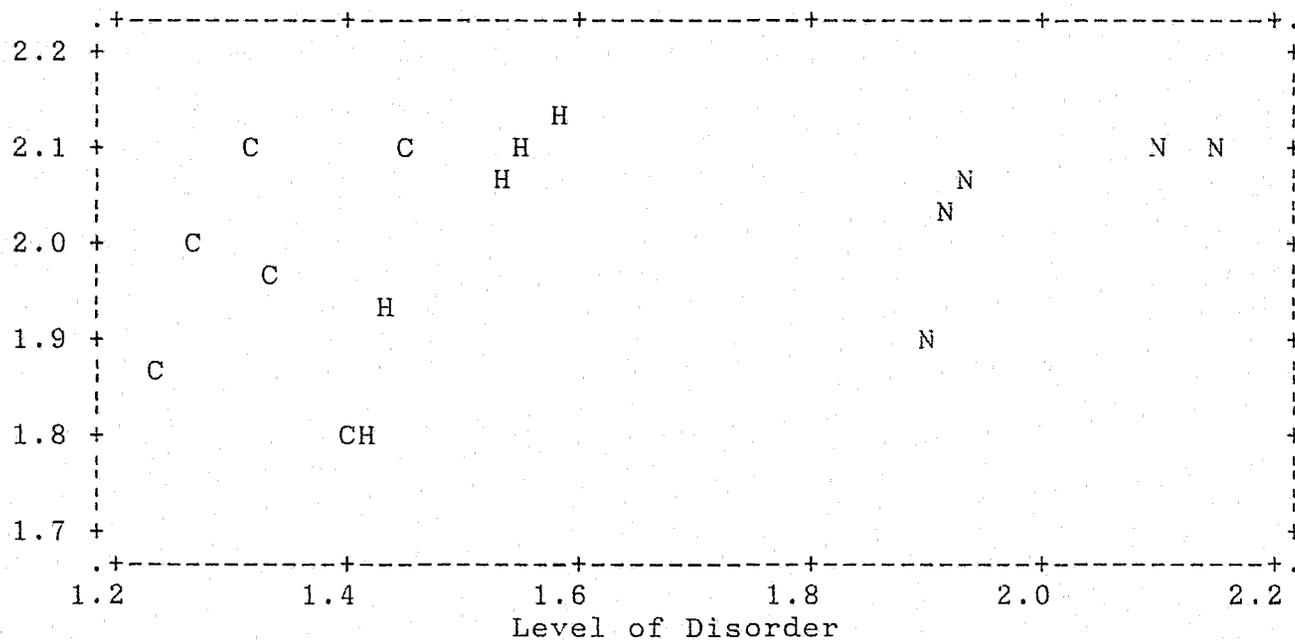
LEGEND

A Atlanta   P Philadelphia
C Chicago   S San Francisco
H Houston   n multiple sites
N Newark
****

(Riger, et al., 1982). At best this can result in a form of

"ordered segmentation" of the community which enables diverse and

potentially conflictful people to share the same turf without

coming into contact; they partition the area among themselves by

time and space, thus avoiding unsettling encounters (Merry, 1981;

Hannerz, 1969; Suttles, 1968). More often it atomizes the commu-

nity, and undermines its capacity to control its public spaces.

Figure 10 charts the relationship between a measure of withdrawal

-- people's (categorized) evaluations of how frequently they "...

avoid going out after dark in this area because of crime?" -- and

levels of disorder. The correlation between the two across 16 areas is fairly weak (+.39; p<.13). Research suggests that this form of withdrawal is greatly affected by such personal factors as age and gender, but it is difficult with only 16 cases to control for many other determinants of this behavior.

3.3   Mutual Support and Disorder

This report examines two measures of the extent of supportive "neighboring" between residents of these 40 areas. One is a general measure of support, while the other taps crime-specific cooperation between neighbors, in the form of surveillance of one another's homes to prevent crime.

Perceptions registered in surveys that "neighbors help each other" appear to be an important indicator of morale in urban communities, and are related to a variety of positive actions against crime (Lavrakas, 1981). On the other hand, without such support people can feel powerless, impotent, and vulnerable in the face of crime. High levels of disorder appear to undermine the belief that problems can be solved locally, increase resident's sense of personal isolation, and spread the perception that no one will come to their rescue when they find themselves in trouble (Lewis and Salem, 1986). The reduction in the number of legitimate users of the streets caused by fear, coupled with

Figure 11: Helping by Neighbors and Disorder

Percent Reporting Neighbors
Help Each Other
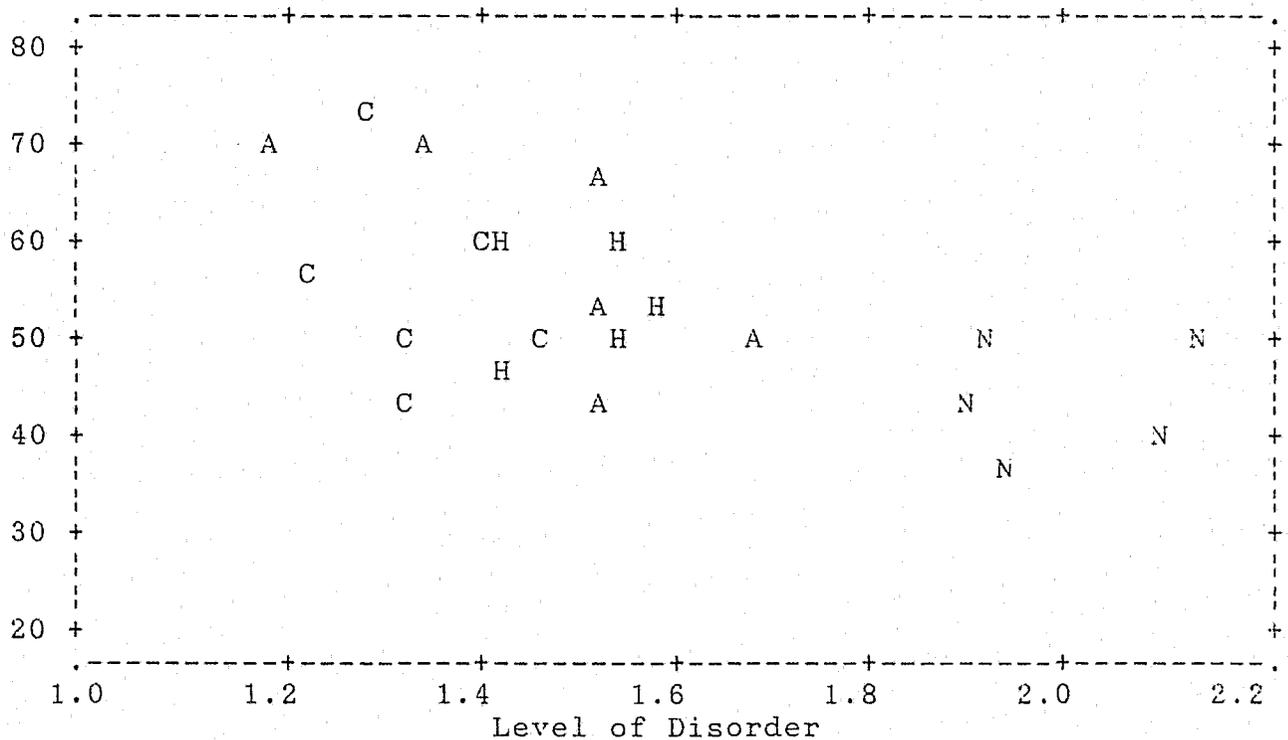
```
     .---------+---------+---------+---------+---------+--------.
 80 +                                                          +
    |
    |                 C
 70 +          A            A
    |                             A
    |
 60 +                 CH        H
    |          C
    |                         A   H
 50 +            C        C   H       A           N          N +
    |                   H
    |            C           A                 N
 40 +                                                    N      +
    |                                       N
    |
 30 +                                                          +
    |
    |
 20 +                                                          +
     .---------+---------+---------+---------+---------+--------.
    1.0       1.2       1.4       1.6       1.8       2.0      2.2
                          Level of Disorder
```

LEGEND

A Atlanta   P Philadelphia
C Chicago   S San Francisco
H Houston   n multiple sites
N Newark
****

the unwillingness of bystanders to intervene because they are

afraid, can create easy opportunities for predators.

Figure 11 illustrates the substantial negative (-.59; p<.004) re-

lationship between disorder and supportive neighboring in 22

areas. Where levels of disorder were high, respondents were more

likely to report that people in their area tended to "go their

own way."[5] This negative disorder-cooperation relationship was significant (p<.04) controlling for area poverty, stability, and racial composition.

Perceptions of disorder, like fear of crime, also may decrease the radius which individuals feel responsible for defending. When that boundary is expansive, individuals monitor more strangers, youths, and suspicious sounds and activities. Where territories encompass only people's own homes and families, untended persons and property are fair game for plunder. Territoriality is an important component of the larger process of surveillance, which may be an important mechanism for controlling crime. Surveillance entails both "watching" and "acting." Acting is facilitated by personal recognition, shared standards about appropriate public behavior, a sense of responsibility for events in the area, and identification with potential victims. There is some evidence (summarized in Shotland and Goodstein, 1984; Goodstein, 1980) that crime is encouraged by low levels of surveillance of public places, and reduced by people willing to act to challenge strangers, supervise youths, and step forward as witnesses.

However, in neighborhoods in decline, mutual distrust and hostility are rampant and antipathy between newcomers and long-term residents prevails. Residents of poor, heterogeneous areas tend

----

5. Note that much of the strength of this correlation is due to three areas in Newark. However, because two other Newark areas reported a somewhat-higher-than-expected levels of cooperative neighboring, the regression line linking disorder and neighboring shows an <u>almost</u> significant leveling-off at the highest levels of disorder.

to view each other with suspicion (Taub, Taylor and Dunham, 1984; Greenberg, et al, 1982; Taylor, et al, 1981). Boggs (1971) found that black central city residents were less likely than other Missourians to think their neighbors would take responsibility for neighborhood safety, and less likely to think their neighbors would call the police if they saw a crime. Hackler, et al (1974) found that residents of more affluent areas were most likely to indicate (in hypothetical questions) that they would intervene to control juvenile misconduct. This is perhaps why Titus' review (1984) of neighborhood burglary programs found participating areas had lower levels of crime. Greenberg (1983) concludes that crime prevention programs requiring social contact and neighbor-hood cooperation are less often found in heterogeneous areas and those with high levels of fear. Surveys indicate that respondents who think that local crime is carried out by "people in the neighborhood" are more fearful than those who think it is the responsibility of "outsiders" (author's computation). This perception is a corrosive one, for it undermines trust among neighbors. It certainly violates one of the assumptions behind Neighborhood Watch and other programs which attempt to promote mutual cooperation to prevent crime -- it may not seem wise to inform the neighbors that you will be out of town when it is their children whom you fear (Greenberg, 1983).

In 26 areas, respondents were asked if, the last time they had gone away for a period of time, they had asked a neighbor to watch their home. This measure of informal "surveillance" efforts is strongly related to the extent of neighborhood disorder.

```
        Figure 12: Surveillance by Neighbors and Disorder
Percent Who Ask Neighbors To Watch
Their Home While They Are Away
     .+---------+---------+---------+---------+---------+---------+.
 86 +                                   C                         +
    |                         S                                   |
    |                                 P P                         |
 78 +                   A             P               C           +
    |         A    S        H    C              C                 |
    |                            A   H                            |
 71 +                            H                                +
    |                            AS                               |
    |                            AH        A            N         |
 63 +                                                        N    +
    |                                                             |
    |                                                   N         |
 55 +          Wood--> H                       N                  +
    |          Bayou                                              |
    |                                                             |
 48 +                                              N              +
    |                                                             |
    |                                                             |
 40 +                                                             +
     .+---------+---------+---------+---------+---------+---------+.
     1.0       1.2       1.4       1.6       1.8       2.0       2.2
                         Level of Disorder

                            LEGEND

                   A Atlanta      P Philadelphia
                   C Chicago      S San Francisco
                   H Houston      n multiple sites
                   N Newark
                   *****************************
```
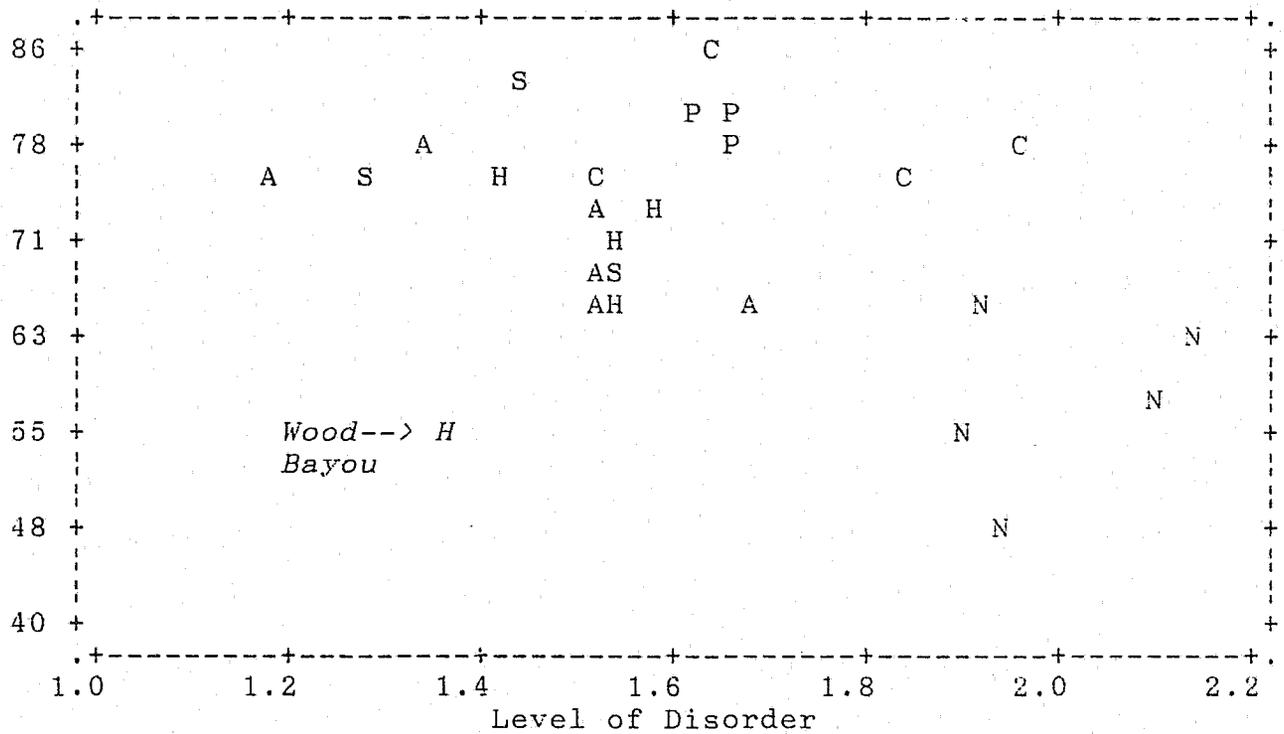
Figure 12 illustrates the relationship between disorder and

informal surveillance. The correlation between the two measures

is -.42; however, the Wood Bayou area of Houston is a clear

"outlyer", and when it is deleted the correlation between the two

is stronger and significant (-.51; p<.01). Where levels of

disorder are highest, fewer people reported engaging in cooper-

ative informal crime prevention arrangements of this sort. This

negative relationship between disorder and surveillance (which is

linear) remains essentially significant (p<.06) controlling for

the effects of area robbery victimization, but it is drowned out (p<.25) when the possible effects of area poverty, race, and (especially) stability are taken into account.

Not surprisingly, there also is a relationship between the perceived responsiveness of neighbors and the frequency of informal cooperative action in these areas. Hope (1986) examined the correlates of cooperative action using a national survey of Britain. Britains were asked whether or not they thought a somewhat more organized "neighborhood watch" scheme would be a good idea in their area. He found that the measure used above of the extent to which people thought their neighbors "helped each other" (he dubbed this "cohesiveness") was strongly related to support for neighborhood watch in Britain, even controlling for other factors.[6] The same is true in these 40 areas of the US. In a regression analysis (not shown), thinking that one's neighbors generally are helpful (and do not "go their own way") was positively related to neighborhood surveillance, even controlling for levels of disorder.

----

6. In Britain, perceived disorder and crime problems also were
   negatively related to support for neighborhood watch, just as
   they are negatively related to reports of informal surveil-
   lance efforts in the US.

3.4   Prevention and Disorder

There are three different views of the relationship between concern or worry about a problem and people's willingness to take action regarding it. One view is that concern stimluates action; another is that concern -- or at least _excessive_ concern -- actually depresses it; and a third is that moderate levels of concern are most productive of action. There has been little research on the consequences of disorder, but concern about crime does not appear to stimulate constructive, preventive responses to crime in linear fashion (Tyler, 1984; Lavrakas, 1981). In fact, surveys and experiments generally indicate that high levels of fear reduce people's willingness to take positive actions when they see crimes -- including simply calling the police. On the other hand, Hope (1986) found that in Britain _moderate_ levels of concern about both disorder and crime -- but not high or low levels of concern -- were conducive to support for neighborhood watch. This supports the "third view"; however, we have already seen in these data that disorder problems were linked to lower levels of informal cooperative actions between neighbors in linear fashion. This supports the view that disorder has an incapacitating effect.

The negative relationship between disorder and cooperative surveillance may be attributable to the atomizing, divisive nature of disorder or crime problems, however, and it may still

be that private, defensively-oriented actions are sparked by concern about neighborhood disorder. Our measure of "privatistic" action comes from responses to questions concerning property marking. Marking an identifying number on household goods is one of the most widely-advocated and practiced forms of crime prevention. "Operation ID" programs have been adopted by many community crime prevention organizations, and often have the active support of local police departments. The popularity of property marking is attested to by the fact that every study examined here included questions about it. Across these 40 areas, about 26 percent of respondents indicated they had marked household property.

As Figure 13 suggests, across the 40 areas there was again a negative correlation (-.34; p<.03) between preventive activity and disorder. Like cooperative surveillance, where disorder was common there also was less household-oriented preventive activity. The relationship between property marking and disorder remained significant controlling for the poverty, stability, and racial makeup of these communities (p<.05) and, controlling for the target of the program, the burglary victimization rate (p<.01). The relative (negative) effect of disorder was almost twice as large as the remaining (positive) relationship between area burglary and property marking. The extent of property marking also was significantly, negatively correlated with several measures of crime to be considered in detail below, including perceived crime problems and robbery victimization. Even controlling for other important correlates of household

```
                Figure 13: Property Marking and Disorder
Percent Marking
Household Property
       .+---------+---------+---------+---------+---------+---------+---------+.
       |                                                                      .
   50 +|+                                                                    +|
       |                                                                      |
       |                                                                      |
       |                          A                                           |
   40 +|                                                                     +|
       |             A                   C                                    |
       |                   C                                  C               |
       |          2          2     P 2             C               C          |
   30 +|    C A     C         SC                                              +|
       |.      C C    C     H     A                                           .
       |    C C    C     C   C       H                                        |
       |              2       H              N                                |
   20 +|              2        A                                             +|
       |                    '              N          N                       |
       |                              N          N                            |
       |                                                                      |
   10 +|                                                                     +|
       |                                                                      |
       |                                                                      |
       .+---------+---------+---------+---------+---------+---------+---------+.
      1.0       1.2       1.4       1.6       1.8       2.0       2.2
                            Level of Disorder


                                 LEGEND

                     A Atlanta      P Philadelphia
                     C Chicago      S San Francisco
                     H Houston      n multiple sites
                     N Newark
                     *****************************
```
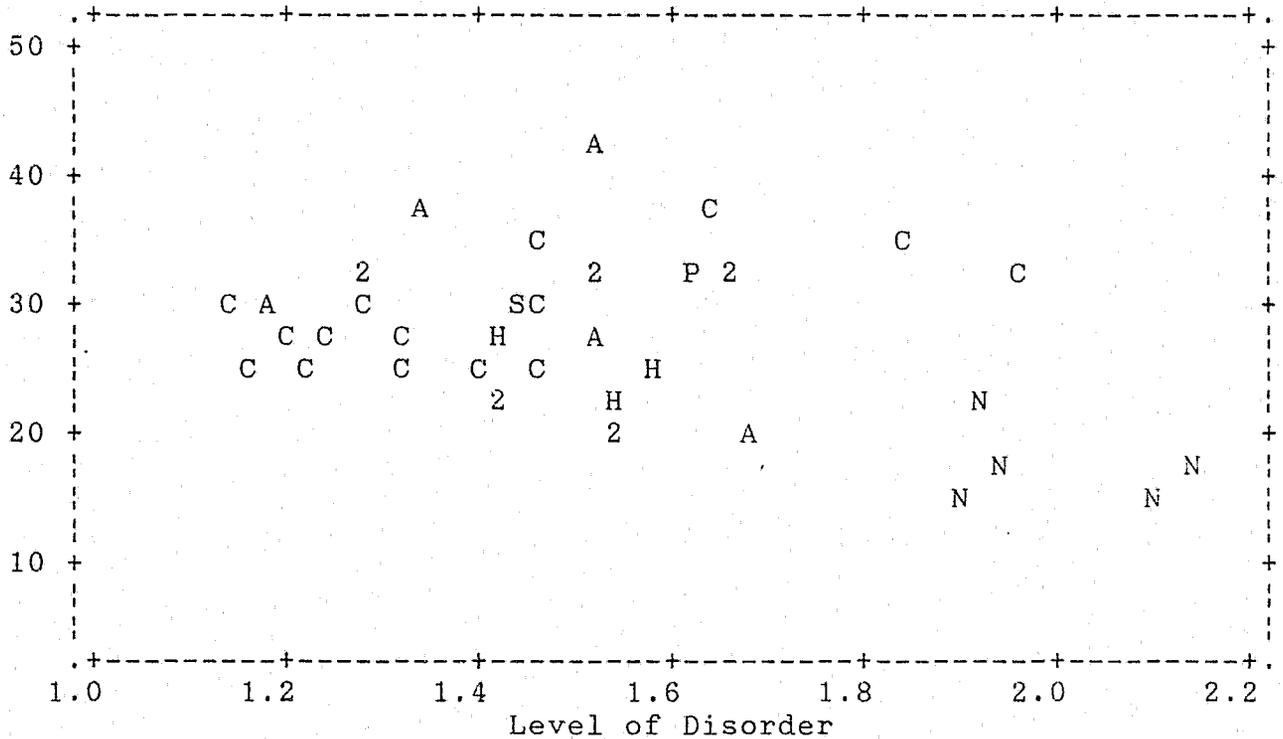
crime prevention efforts, including home ownership (which is a

very strong individual-level predictor of property marking), does

not affect the negative relationship between neighborhood-level

measures of crime and crime prevention behavior. Further, the

effect is persistently linear. There is no evidence here that, as

the magnitude of area problems increases the frequency of posi-

tive action increases as well, until some "inflection point"

after which preventive action begins to decline in the face of

mounting problems. Rather, these data all point to a simple

"depressive' view of the impact of disorder and crime on individual and collective prevention activity.

3.5   Groups and Disorder

A final mechanism through which residents of urban communities can act to solve their problems is organized group effort. Pluralistic democracies rely upon local organizations to build consensus around the norms communities wish to protect, and to articulate concern (when they have it) and even take direct action supporting the realization of those norms. Organized groups thus can attack neighborhood problems in two ways: by capturing outside resources, and by mobilizing community resources.

This suggests the importance of the existence of community organizations, which emerge or are energized to solve problems, in the maintenance of stable urban neighborhoods. However, concern about disorder and simple demographics both may work against organized community life in neighborhoods caught in the cycle of decline. Research indicates that fear of crime does not stimulate individual participation in organized efforts to act against crime; rather, it often has the effect of undermining commitment to an area and interest in participation (Lavrakas, et al, 1981). Where fear promotes suspicion in place of neighborliness, and detachment instead of local commitment, it can be difficult to

forge formal linkages between residents to attack neighborhood problems.

When neighborhoods spiral into decline, demographic factors related to participation in community organizations can shift unfavorably. In-movers tend to be harder to organize; they are more likely to be renters, single parent families, the poor and less educated, younger and unmarried persons and nonfamily households. They report having little economic or emotional commitment to the community, and usually expect to move again. These are all factors which are related to lower levels of participation in community activities (Lavrakas, et al, 1981; Podolefsky and DuBow, 1981).

As a result of these demographic changes, the political capacity of the area is diminished. This affects the ability of residents effectively to demand that landlords and governments act on their behalf. Where they are strong, organizations can provide a mechanism for combating crime and disorder. One important function of community organizations is to convey the image -- to residents and outsiders alike -- of a mobilized community which will resist unwelcome change (Unger and Wandersman, 1983). Organizations can restore or reinforce a local value consensus and emphasize the shared interests of people living together (DuBow and Emmons, 1981). Where informal organization is limited, there may be few other mechanisms for generating community cohesion around the issues of disorder, and decline. For example, Cohen (1980) finds that street prostitution flourishes only where community

consensus is weak and there is no organized resistance to deviant public behavior.

Despite the importance of organized neighborhood-level action concerning crime, the surveys examined here included no useful common measures of such efforts. The evaluation-focused surveys assessed awareness of specific programs ("Have you heard about ...?"), and participation in them. The research surveys included a mix of behavior questions ("Have you ever joined ...?") and general awareness questions ("Do you know of ...?"). But no two studies shared similar questions about either awareness or participation, so their relationship to disorder cannot be examined here.

4   Disorder, Crime and Fear

At the individual level, perceptions of the extent of disorder problems are closely related to fear of crime and the belief that serious crime is a neighborhood problem (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981). This could be because the relationship between perceived crime and disorder is a causal one, or because both are dependent upon some third set of factors (such as poverty or neighborhood stability). Wilson and Kelling (1982) have proposed the former: they argue that disorder actually spawns more serious crime. They allude to a "developmental sequence" by which unchecked rule-breaking fosters petty plundering and even more serious street crime and theft.   However, the nature of the relationship between crime and disorder is still unclear. Several studies report high correlations (+.45 to +.60) between official crime statistics and area-level measures of perceived disorder. Past research has not identified many high-disorder but low-crime neighborhoods, indicating the effect of one condition upon the other is either quite powerful or due to their strong joint association with some other factor (Skogan, 1983).

Wilson and Kelling actually argue that disorder generates crime in two ways -- it encourages both its domestic production and importation from other neighborhoods. As noted earlier, they argue that disorder undermines the processes by which communities ordinarily maintain social control.   Where disorder problems are frequent, no one takes responsibility for rowdy behavior in public places, residents' sense of "territoriality" shrinks to

include only their own households, and untended property is fair game for plunder or destruction. They also think that a neighborhood's reputation for being tolerant of social disorder serves as an invitation to outside troublemakers. Criminals are attracted into such areas because of the opportunities for crime they offer. Areas which tolerate (or cannot counter) rowdy taverns, sex-oriented paraphernalia shops, public drinking, prostitution, and other disorders, quickly will attract street robbers who prey upon the trade. Thieves will sense the limited surveillance capacity of the area, and that it presents easy pickings for burglars. Where disorder is common they feel their chances of being identified are low, and are more confident no one will intervene in their activities. Some disorderly activities also create their own criminal "sub-industries." Gambling and drinking lead to robberies and fights; prostitution and drug sales attract those who prey upon the consumers of vice. Wilson and Kelling suspect that the concentration of supposedly "victimless" activities can in short order inundate an area with serious and victimizing crime.

Ironically, the data from these 40 urban neighborhoods cannot shed a great deal of light on the details of the relationship between disorder and crime, for the measures all go together very strongly. The high correlation between measures of victimization, crime problems, and disorder make it difficult to tell if they have either separate "causes" or separate "effects" at the area level, with only 40 cases to untangle this covariance.

Figure 14: Major Crime Problems and Disorder
Problems With Robbery,
Assault and Burglary
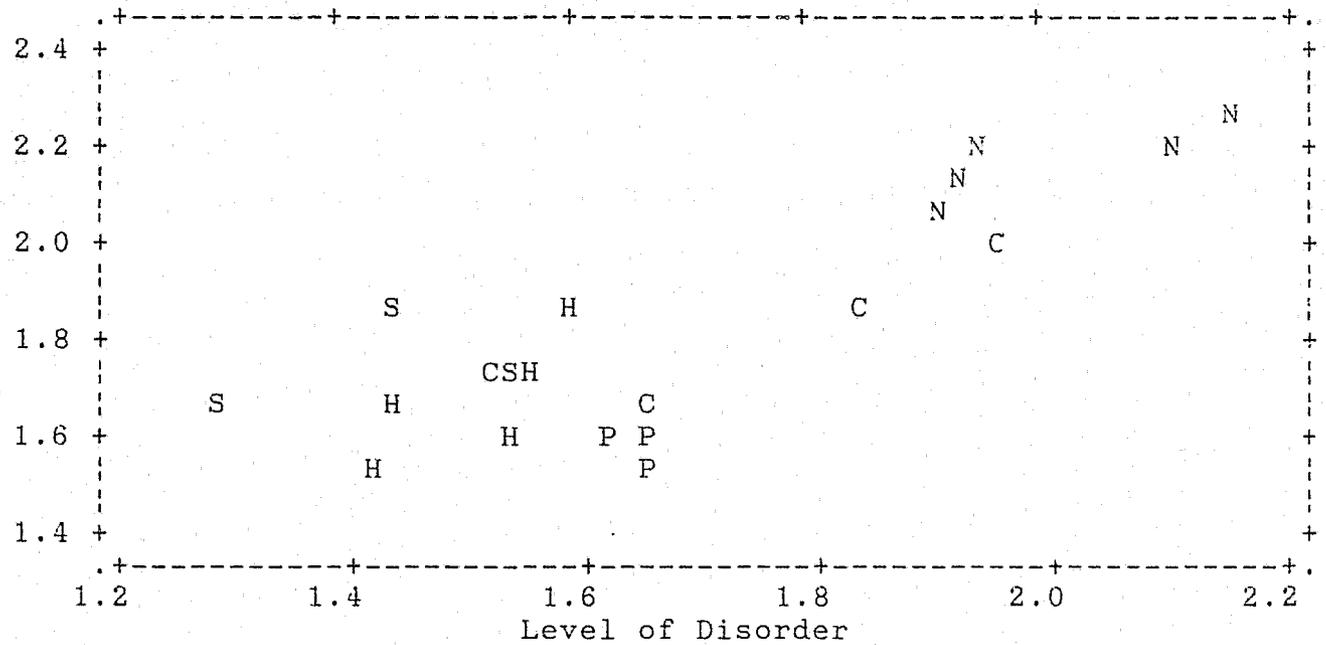
```
         .+----------+----------+----------~+----------+----------+.
  2.4  +                                                            +  !
         !                                                          !
         !                                                    N     !
  2.2  +                                    N              N        +  !
         !                                N                         !
         !                              N                           !
  2.0  +                                 C                          +  !
         !                                                          !
         !          S           H              C                    !
  1.8  +                                                            +  !
         !               CSH                                        !
         !     S        H        C                                  !
  1.6  +                   H    P P                                 +  !
         !           H              P                               !
  1.4  +                                                            +
         .+----------+----------+----------+----------+----------+.
        1.2        1.4        1.6        1.8        2.0        2.2
                          Level of Disorder
```

LEGEND

A Atlanta   P Philadelphia
C Chicago   S San Francisco
H Houston   n multiple sites
N Newark
****

4.1   Crime and Disorder

Figure 14 depicts the relationship between one indicator of the

magnitude of neighborhood crime problems -- how bad people think

they are -- and levels of disorder. This measure combines res-

ponses to questions about the extent of local problems with

robbery, assault, and burglary. Clearly, disorder and major crime

problems go together in a substantial way (+.82) in the 20 areas

- 50 -

Figure 15: Socioeconomic Factors, Disorder and Crime

| Measure	Crime Problems		Robbery Victimization	
	Standardized Coefficient	Signifi- cance	Standardized Coefficient	Signifi- cance
Poverty Score	-.33	.06	.04	.78
Stability Score	-.01	.95	-.04	.79
Percent Minority	.10	.61	.23	.19
Disorder	.93	.001	.60	.004
$R^2_{(adj)}$	.70		.62	
(N)	(20)		(30)	

where comparable questions about crime problems were asked. This pattern persisted even when three other correlates of perceived crime problems -- neighborhood stability, poverty, and racial composition -- were controlled for. Based upon the standardized regression coefficients presented in Figure 15, disorder was almost three times as influential as the strongest social factor in the analysis, poverty.

Exactly the same pattern appears if a measure of crime trends is used instead. Perceptions that area crime has been on the increase are correlated +.52 (p<.02) with neighborhood disorder, and that relationship persists when many demographic factors are taken into account.

Figure 16 probes the extent of crime problems in a different way, reporting the relationship between the prevalence of victimizat-

Figure 16: Robbery Victimization and Disorder

Percent Victims
of Robbery
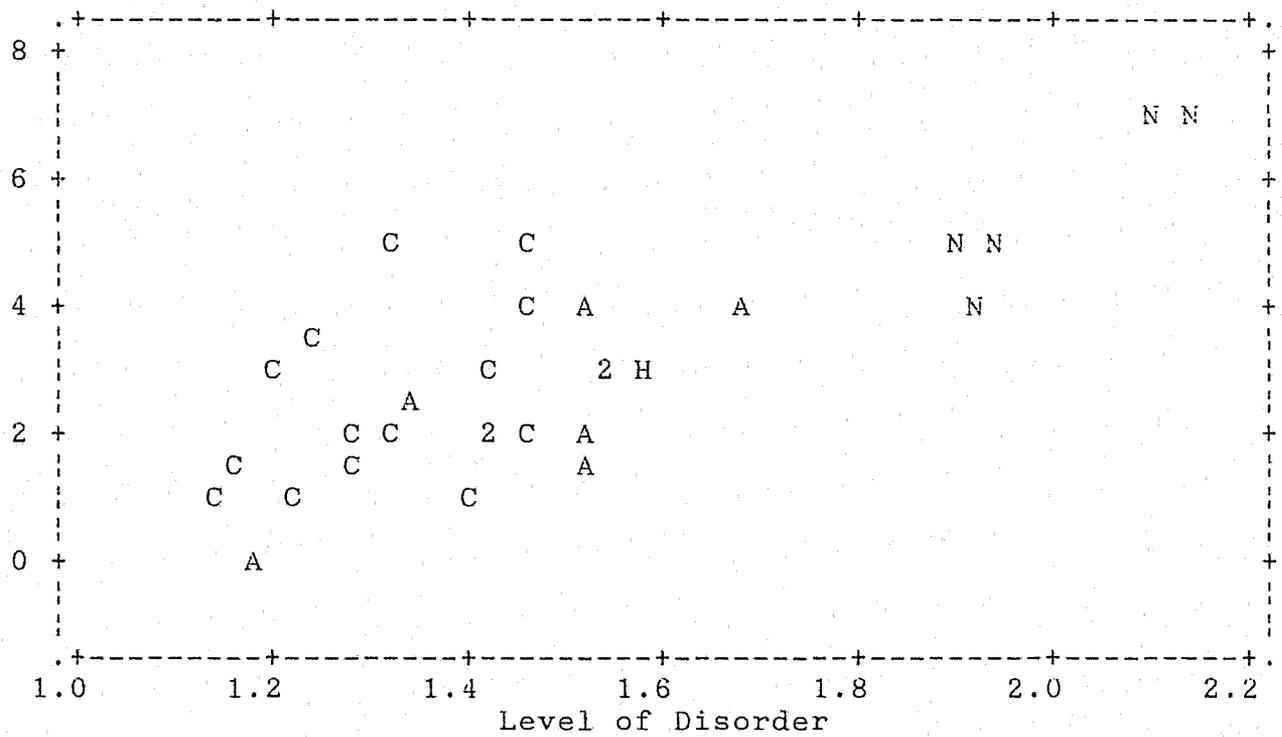
```
    .+---------+---------+---------+---------+---------+---------+.
  8 +                                                           +
    |                                                  N  N     |
  6 +                                                           +
    |            C        C                    N  N             |
  4 +                  C  A       A            N                +
    |            C                                              |
    |         C     C        C      2  H                        |
    |                A                                          |
  2 +            C  C     2  C  A                               +
    |         C     C           A                               |
    |      C     C        C                                     |
  0 +         A                                                 +
    |                                                           |
    .+---------+---------+---------+---------+---------+---------+.
   1.0       1.2       1.4       1.6       1.8       2.0       2.2
                    Level of Disorder
```

LEGEND

A Atlanta   P Philadelphia
C Chicago   S San Francisco
H Houston   n multiple sites
N Newark
****

ion and disorder problems. Victimization was measured by

questioning survey respondents about their recent experiences

with crime, in this case concerning robbery.[7]

----

7. Robbery victimization is used in this report to index local
   levels of crime for several reasons: methodological research
   suggests it is reliably measured (cf, Skogan, 1981); it tends
   to correspond better than many other victimization measures
   with comparable official crime statistics (Gove, et al, 1985);
   aggregate city-level studies indicate it is linked to fear of
   crime (Skogan, 1977); and comparable measures of robbery vic-
   timization were included in 30 of the areas surveyed.

Like the perceptual indicators examined above, levels of crime

victimization were strongly related (+.80) to levels of disorder

in the 30 areas for which robbery victimization was measured.

This relationship remained highly significant even when neighbor-

hood stability, poverty, and racial composition were taken into

account, as documented in Figure 15 above.[8] The correlation

between residual values for robbery victimization and disorder,

once the effects of poverty, stability, and racial composition

had been removed statistically from each, was +.54 -- net of

these demographic factors, there still was a strong tendency for

crime and disorder to "go together." This suggests that disorder

is at least causally more proximate to crime than these important

socio-economic factors, all of which are substantially correlated

with both measures of area crime problems.

4.2   Fear of Crime and Disorder

Levels of disorder also should be related to fear of crime. If

"social control" is the development and enforcement of norms

about public conduct, then visible evidence of anti-social behav-

----

8. Two areas exercised a great deal of "leverage" on the findings
   of the regression analysis of robbery rates, and one on the
   analysis of the crime problems index. However, when the off-
   ending areas were deleted the findings remained the same:
   disorder was a highly significant -- and by far the strongest
   -- correlate of both perceived crime problems and robbery vic-
   timization. For a further discussion of leverage, see
   methodological Appendix A.

ior, that local owners and landlords are not maintaining their property, and that the area is becoming a dumping ground, may seem sure signs that the area is <u>out</u> of control. In 1967, Biderman, et al reported:

> We have found that attitudes of citizens regarding crime are less affected by their past victimization experiences than by their ideas about what is going on in their community -- fears about a weakening of social controls on which they feel their safety and the broader fabric of social life is ultimately dependent (Biderman, et al, 1967: 160).

Lewis and Salem (1986) and others have argued that people take disorder as a sign of the disintegration of the standards which guide local public behavior. Where disorder is common, area residents may be distressed by continuous confrontations with obstreperous and unpredictable people, many of whom may seem hostile and potentially dangerous. Americans generally associate visible deterioration, gang graffiti, loitering teens and public drinkers, and other disorderly activities with a heightened risk of being victimized; they serve as what Stinchcombe, et al (1980) called "the signs of crime." The fact that visual and experiential evidence of disorder is much more <u>common</u> than encounters with serious crime led Lewis and Maxfield (1980) to argue that citizen's perceptions of local crime conditions are more shaped by disorder than by crime itself.

In these surveys, fear of crime was measured by a question concerning "how safe" people would be "out alone in your neighborhood at night." Responses to this question, ranging from 1 ("very safe") to 4 ("very unsafe"), are compared to levels of

Figure 17: Fear of Crime and Disorder

```
Fear of Going Out
Alone After Dark
      .+----------+----------+----------+----------+----------+.
  3.5 +                                                         +
      |
      |
      |
  3.0 +                                      NN          N      +
      |                                                    N
      |                   HH H                                  +
      |                                      C   N  C
      |          C        2                                     +
  2.5 +              H                                          +
      |                C        S
      |     CS  C   C                      P C                  +
      |   C                     C            P                  +
  2.0 +                                      P                  +
      |
      |
      |
  1.5 +                                                         +
      .+----------+----------+----------+----------+----------+.
       1.2        1.4        1.6        1.8        2.0        2.2
                        Level of Disorder
```
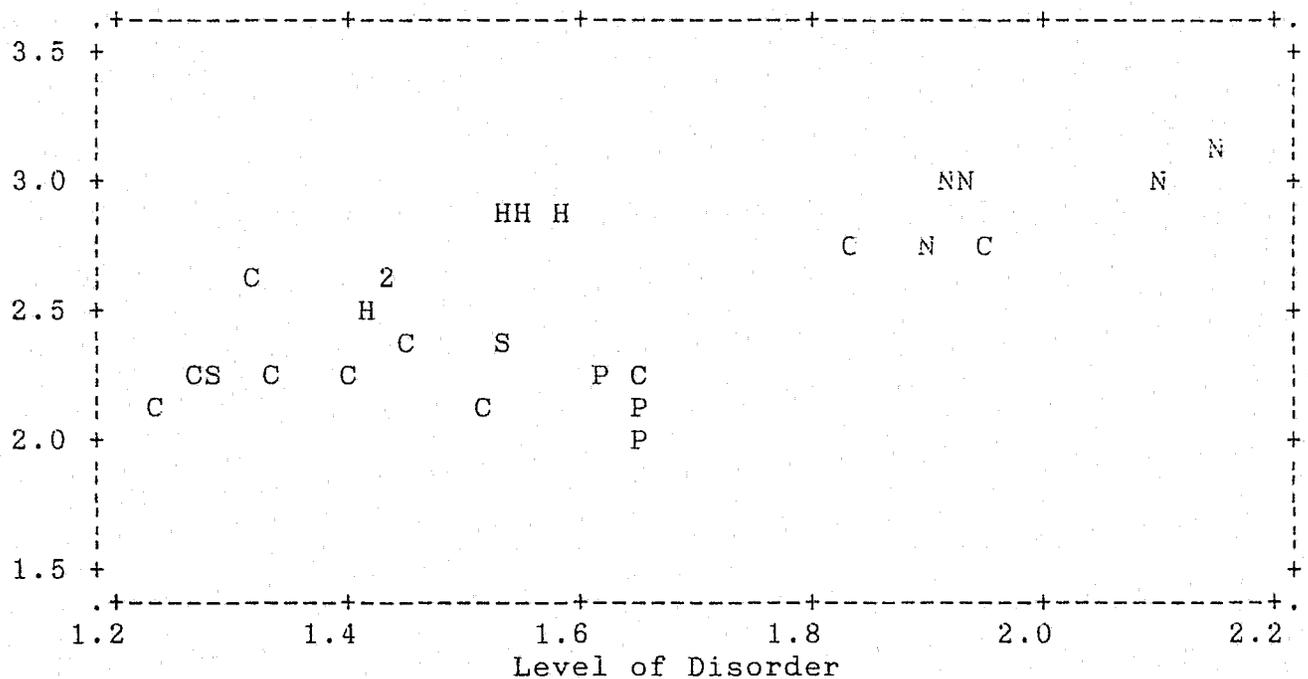
LEGEND

A Atlanta   P Philadelphia
C Chicago   S San Francisco
H Houston   n multiple sites
N Newark
****

disorder in 26 areas in Figure 17. The two measures are

correlated +.67 (p<.001); where disorder was high, so was fear.

The relationship between disorder and fear of crime found here

persists when some other factors affecting fear are taken into

account. As Figure 18 indicates, disorder and fear still are very

strongly linked when neighborhood stability, poverty, and racial

composition are controlled for. This is true despite the fact

that those factors also are correlated with fear in predictable

fashion. The link between disorder and fear is much stronger here

than in Taylor, Schumaker and Gottfredson's Baltimore study, in

Figure 18: Socioeconomic Factors, Disorder and Fear

                        Fear of Crime

                   Standardized Signifi-
        Measure   Coefficient   cance

        Poverty Score   -.40   .03

        Stability Score   -.00   .97

        Percent Minority   .30   .12

        Disorder   .68   .01

          $R^2_{(adj)}$ .63
          (N)   (26)
----

which physical decay and fear were not related to one another

once area race, income, and home ownership were brought into the

calculus.

However, disorder no longer appears to be as influential when

measures of area crime conditions are taken into account. Not

surprisingly, both the crime problems index (+.79; $p < .001$) and

area robbery victimization (+.81; $p < .001$) were stronger

correlates of fear of crime. Other aggregate-level studies of the

relationship between crime and fear for neighborhoods (McPherson,

1978) and cities (Krahn and Kennedy, 1985) also typically report

correlations of +.60 or more between the two. When these crime

measures are controlled for, the relationship between disorder

and fear no longer is significant. On the other hand, this also

is an unfair test of the disorder hypothesis. The disorder and

crime indicators are so substantially intercorrelated that it

Figure 19: A Model of Disorder, Crime and Fear

Zero-Order Correlations
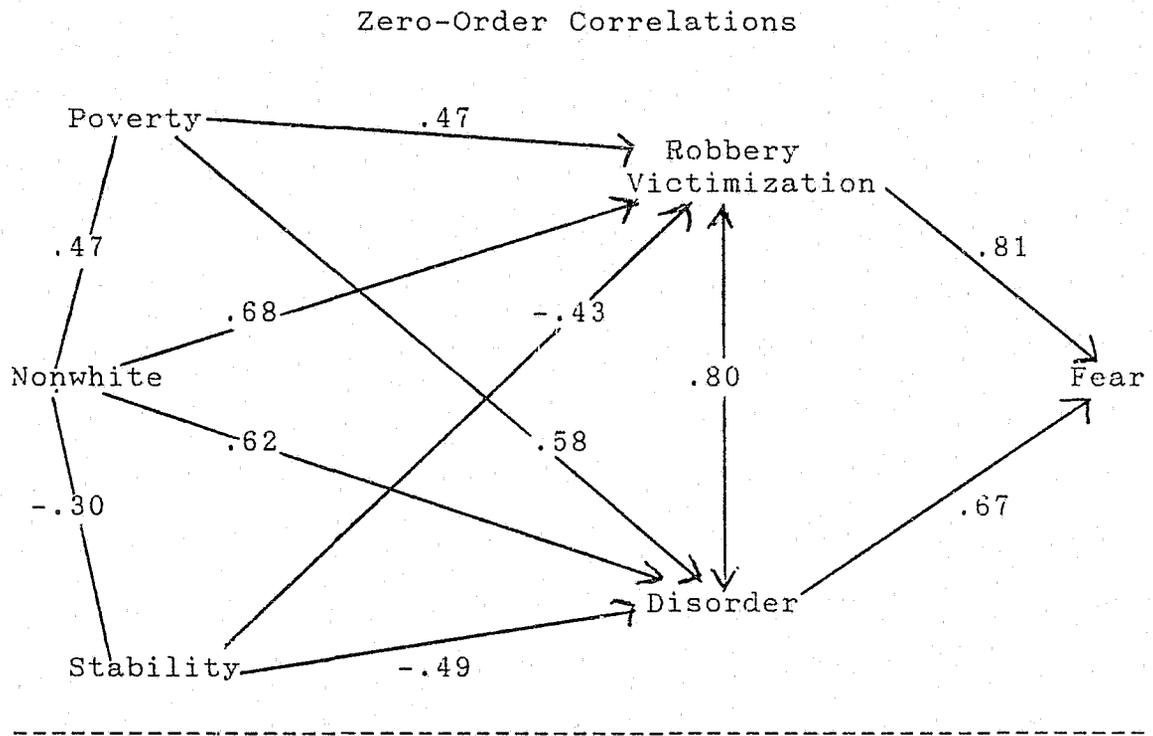
would take a much larger sample of neighborhoods to accurately
untangle their separate relationships with fear. Using individ-
ual-level data, Hope and Hough (1986) find that the relationship
between disorder and fear of crime is strong, even when
controlling for victimization levels and other features of commu-
nities in England and Wales. A summary description of the
bivariate correlations in these data can be found in Figure 19.

Lewis and Salem (1986) have hypothesized that the relationship
between disorder and fear should be low in areas with effective
levels of informal control, for there the capacity of the commu-
nity to control its more serious problems may still be in place,
while disorder and fear should be more strongly linked in low-
control areas. Our best measure of the strength of local control

is the extent of informal mutual surveillance described above in Figure 12. When they are both included in a regression analysis (not shown), both disorder and surveillance are significantly related to fear, but an additional disorder-surveillance interaction term (which tests the hypothesis that disorder affects fear more in low-control places) is not. This is in accord with Maxfield's finding (1984: Table 5), that the relationship between disorder and fear was the same in several different San Francisco neighborhoods, although levels of both differed from area to area.

5 Disorder and the Housing Market

A critical role of disorder and crime in urban ecology is their impact upon the number and mix of people moving into and out of a neighborhood. Selective out-migration may be the most fundamental source of neighborhood change (Frey, 1980). As noted earlier, "stable" neighborhoods are places where about the same number of people move in as move out, and they resemble those who left. Areas are stable when the housing stock is continually renewed, and people can sell and buy homes at appropriate prices.

However, many will not want to remain in areas characterized by crime and disorder, and fewer still will opt to move into them. Measures of perceived disorder and fear of crime are strongly related to residential dissatisfaction and the desire to move to a safer place (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981; Kasl and Harburg, 1972; Droettboom et al, 1971). However, studies of actual moving -- as opposed to residential dissatisfaction -- document the realities of economics and race (Duncan and Newman, 1976). In the US, middle-class and white residents actually move on, and their replacements are different. A comparison of "movers" and "stayers" in the Chicago metropolitan area indicates that households which left the central city were more often affluent, highly educated, and intact families. This was despite the fact that blacks, unmarried adults and the poor were far more likely to be unhappy about their neighborhood. Those who moved out were "pulled" by the attractiveness of safe suburban locations as well

as "pushed" by fear and other concerns (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981).

As this implies, flight from neighborhoods actually may carry away somewhat less fearful residents, leaving behind those who were more fearful to deal with the area's problems. Some elderly and long-time residents may remain behind after this transition because they are unwilling to move or cannot sell their homes for enough to buy another in a nicer neighborhood. They find them-selves surrounded by unfamiliar people whom they did not choose to live with. Loneliness and lack of community attachment are significant sources of fear among the urban elderly (Yin, 1980; Jaycox, 1978), especially among older women (Silverman and Kennedy, 1985). It also appears that perceived social diversity (measured by questions about whether neighbors are "the same" or "different" from the respondent) has a strong effect on fear only among the elderly (Kennedy and Silverman, 1985).

Demographic changes are very significant for the local housing market. If fewer or poorer people want to move in, real estate values shift. A soft demand for housing due to the undesirability of the area can be stimulated by reducing its price and changing standards for tenant selection, but this further effects the mix of in-movers. Declining neighborhood income probably is slowed at first by the inertia of housing prices and the nature of an area's housing stock. During this period, invasion-succession processes can produce a number of positive benefits for new resi-dents. For two decades after World War II, the flight of better-off families to the suburbs, combined with generally decreasing

Figure 20: Neighborhood Satisfaction and Disorder

Satisfaction with
the Neighborhood
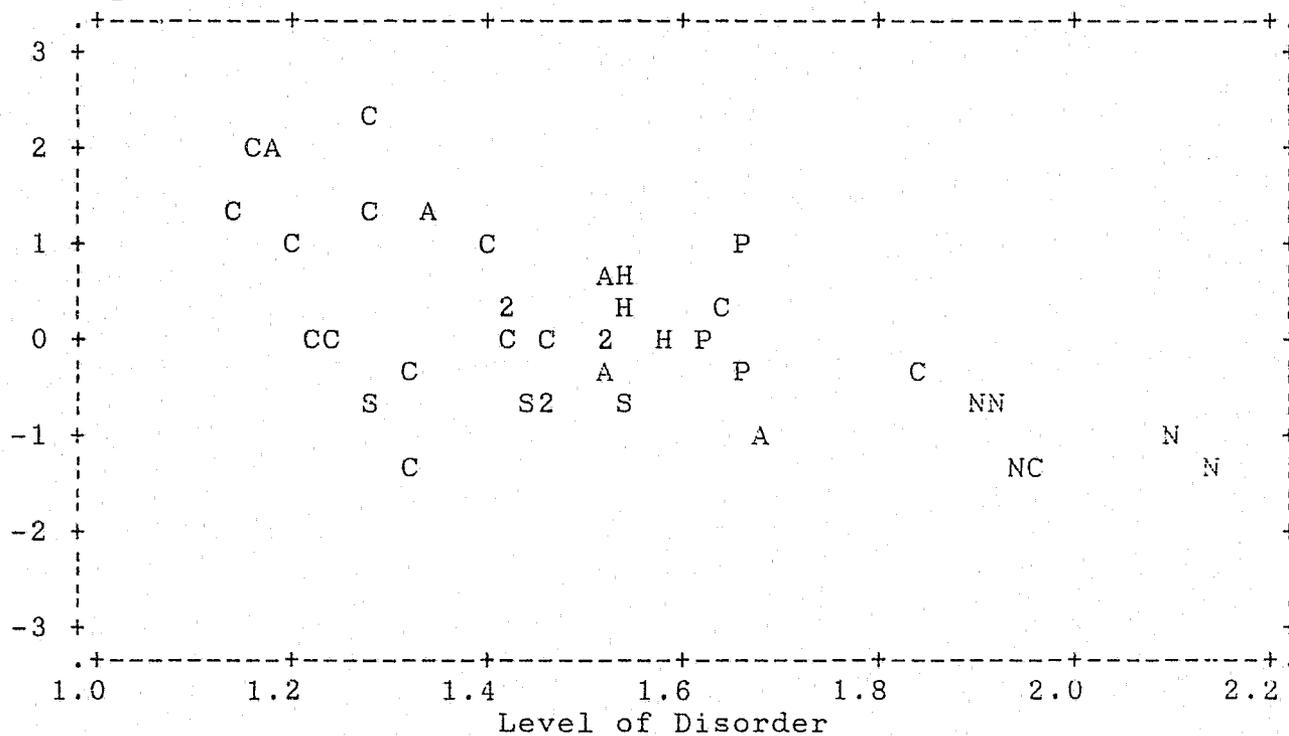
```
  .+---------+---------+---------+---------+---------+---------+.
3 +                                                            +
  |                                                            |
  |                    C                                       |
2 +         CA                                                 +
  |                                                            |
  |    C         C   A                                         |
1 +      C         C              P                            +
  |                        AH                                  |
  |                 2      H     C                             |
0 +         CC         C C 2   H P                             +
  |           C            A      P        C                   |
  |         S          S2   S              NN                  |
-1 +         C                      A              NC     N   N +
  |                                                            |
-2 +                                                            +
  |                                                            |
  |                                                            |
-3 +                                                            +
  .+---------+---------+---------+---------+---------+---------+.
  1.0       1.2       1.4       1.6       1.8       2.0       2.2
                    Level of Disorder
```

LEGEND

A Atlanta   P Philadelphia
C Chicago   S San Francisco
H Houston   n multiple sites
N Newark
****

rates of migration into northern industrial cities, allowed

blacks and others who remained behind to take advantage of the

softer housing market by moving into better-quality buildings in

nicer neighborhoods. Initially, it was the value of the

overcrowded, deteriorated tenements they abandoned as rapidly as

possible which was most affected by population shifts (Frey,

1984).

5.1 Residential Commitment and Disorder

This section examines the impact of disorder on residential commitment. Commitment is measured first by neighborhood satisfaction. Satisfaction is a consistent correlate of moving intentions (Kennedy, 1984), and a good predictor of actual residential moves (Bach and Smith, 1977; Speare, 1974). Past research indicates that general satisfaction is undermined by disorder and crime. Hope and Hough (1986) find in Britain that indicators of disorder are strong correlates of residential satisfaction and plans to remain in an area, and Taylor, Schumaker and Gottfredson (1985) report that neighborhood "confidence" is negatively related to officially reported crime (-.49) and observed physical decay (-.58).

The surveys examined here included two measures which were combined to produce an index of "neighborhood satisfaction" -- they asked whether respondents' felt their neighborhood was a "real home" rather than "just a place to live," and "how satisfied" they felt with their area, measured on a four-category scale. In the areas for which both were available, responses to these two items were correlated .85, and the resulting combined measure is available for all 40 areas. The relationship between the two measures is illustrated in Figure 20. The correlation between satisfaction and disorder is -.64 (p<.001); in areas plagued by disorder, levels of satisfaction were lower. This re-

Figure 21: Residential Commitment and Disorder

```
Percent Plan to Stay
in the Neighborhood
     .+-----------+-----------+-----------+-----------+-----------+.
  90 +             C         C                                      +
     |                        C                                     |
     |                                                              |
  80 +                                                              +
     |        C   A   C                              P              +
     |                     A       S                 2              |
  70 +             C   S   C       C             P                  +
     |                                                              |
     |                                 2                            |
     |             C             C     A                       C    |
  60 +                         C   C   AS                           +
     |                                       A                   C  |
     |                           C                                  |
  50 +                                                              +
     |                                                              |
     |                                                              |
  40 +     Northeast--> C                                           +
     |         Austin                                               |
     |                                                              |
  30 +                                                              +
     .+-----------+-----------+-----------+-----------+-----------+.
     1.0         1.2         1.4         1.6         1.8         2.0
                        Level of Disorder
```
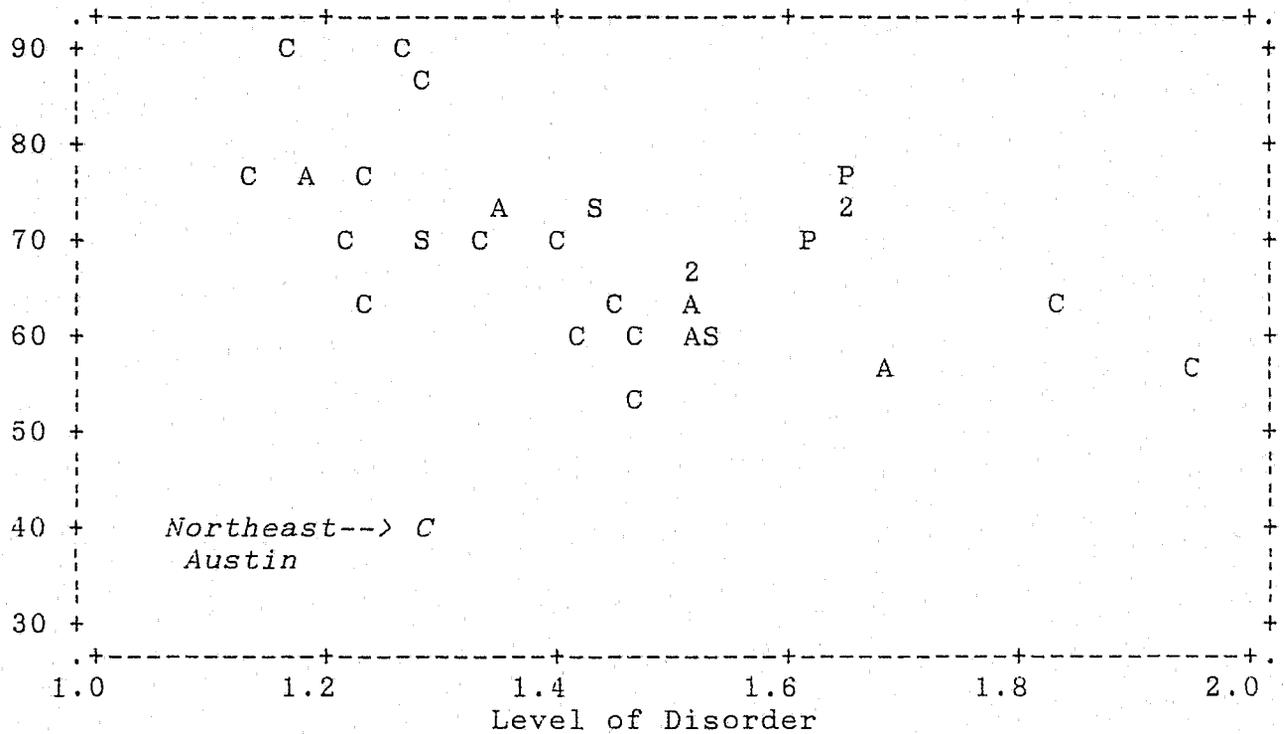
LEGEND

A Atlanta	P Philadelphia
C Chicago	S San Francisco
H Houston	n multiple sites
N Newark	

****

lationship remained significant (p<.05) when area poverty,

stability, and racial composition was controlled for, and was

still strong -- but insignificant (p<.15) -- when levels of

robbery victimization was controlled for.

In 30 areas, respondents were asked about their intention to

remain or move from the neighborhood in the next one or two

years. Figure 21 illustrates the link between moving intentions

and neighborhood disorder. The correlation between the two

measures is -.40; however, Northeast Austin in Chicago clearly is
an outlyer (and had undue statistical "influence" -- see Appendix
A). In the survey, residents of Northeast Austin reported
relatively low levels of disorder (Figure 3 put it in the bottom
quarter of all neighborhoods), but whites in the area perceive
considerable pressure from blacks migrating into the neighbor-
hood. When this area is excluded, the correlation jumps to -.54
(p<.002). Controlling for area robbery victimization does not
much affect the strength of the relationship (p<.01), but
poverty, stability, and racial composition did account for some
of its apparent effect (p<.11). This is in line with past
research, which indicates that moving intentions are greatly
affected by marital status, home ownership, age, and dwelling
unit type.

Some research suggests that the relationship between disorder and
neighborhood commitment is nonlinear, affected by neighborhood
social class. Physical and social disorder can be discomforting,
and run counter to many adults' expectations about proper public
conditions. However, they will vary in their tolerance of such
situations. Taylor, Schumaker and Gottfredson (1985) found that
observational measures of physical deterioration had the greatest
apparent effect on neighborhood confidence in blue collar, rather
than in poor or more well-to-do areas of Baltimore. They suggest
that in wealthy areas instances of these problems may be ignored
as atypical and non-threatening, and residents of poor areas have
many other things to worry about. However, in moderate income
areas of cities, where market conditions for housing often are

insecure, residents may be more sensitive to such barometers of decline. A test (not shown) for an interactive relationship between disorder and a desire to move, one which hypothesized that the two would be more strongly related in areas lying at the middle of the poverty (and, separately, stability) measure, failed to support this proposition, however.

We have seen that disorder is linked to both neighborhood satisfaction and moving intentions, undermining the former and stimulating the latter. Satisfaction is itself strongly related to moving intentions (and, in other research, actual residential moves), and in addition both satisfaction and moving intentions are linked to levels of crime as well as disorder. Figure 22 sketches a model of how all of these factors may be interrelated, and presents some estimates of the relative strength of each of its linkages.

Figure 22 tests the hypothesis that disorder and crime have both direct effects upon moving decisions (by provoking personal fear, concern for the safety of family members, etc.) and indirect effects, through their impact upon satisfaction with the neighborhood. As Figure 22 indicates, there are other important determinants of both satisfaction and moving intentions (modeled as "other factors") as well. Those are included in the model, which presents path coefficients ("p"s) estimating the relative strength of each of the linkages (cf, Asher, 1983). The importance of the satisfaction-moving path is apparent (p=.66), but so is the strong linkage between disorder and satisfaction (p=-.58).

Figure 22: A Model of Disorder, Crime and Moving Intention

Path Coefficients
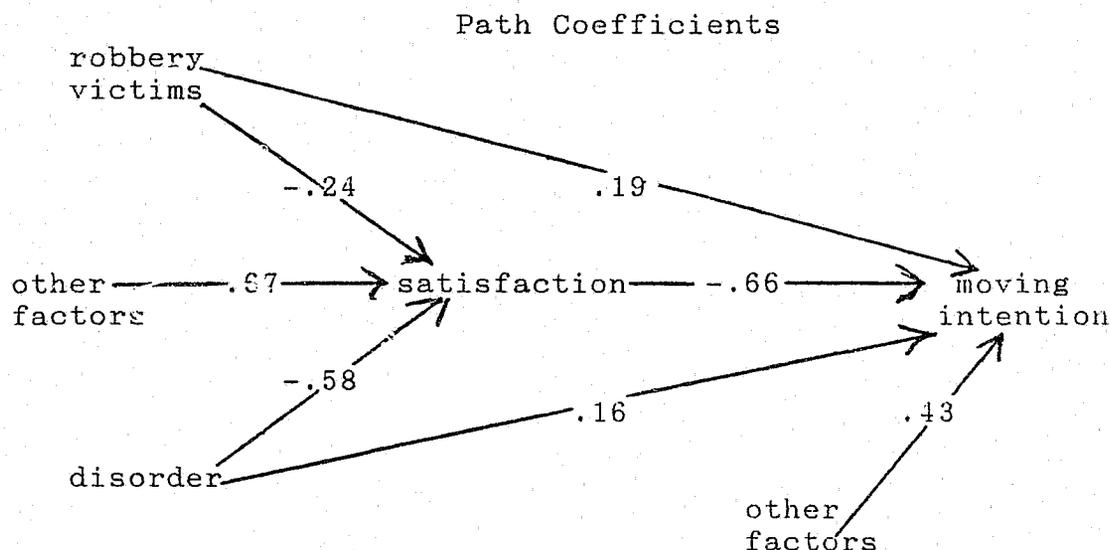
	direct effects	indirect effects	total effects
disorder	.16	.38	.54
robbery	.19	.16	.35
satisfaction	.66	.14	.80

NOTE: data from 29 areas excluding Chicago-Northeast Austin

This suggests that much of the effect of disorder on moving

intentions may be indirect, through satisfaction, for its direct

effect coefficient (p=-.16) is relatively small even though the

bivariate correlation between the two measures was substantial

(-.54). To examine this possibility, Figure 22 also presents

estimates of both the direct and indirect effects of each of the

three explanatory variables in the model. Disorder proves to have

a relatively large indirect effect via its impact on satisfact-

ion, and its estimated "total" effect -- while still less than

that of satisfaction and _its_ other determinants -- looms
relatively large in shaping moving intentions.

5.2 Population Succession and Disorder

Kobrin and Schuerman (1983; 1981), using census figures and
recorded crime, place demographic change near the beginning of
the decay process. Land use, housing, and population changes at
first lead shifts in crime rates. Changes in the socioeconomic
status of residents of destabilizing areas then follow population
turnover. Next, crime rates mount. The consequences which follow
stimulate even further economic and population change, leading to
yet higher levels of recorded crime, and perhaps disorder.

The data for these forty urban communities suggests that the se-
lective movement of people is indeed a disorder-related
phenomenon. In 16 areas, residents were asked about the problem
of "the wrong kind of people moving in." It may be that the pop-
ulation movement their answers reflect forms an important link
between between disorder and changes in neighborhood desirability
and housing market conditions.[9] From littering to street harass-
ment, the disorders examined here are the products of people.

----

9. While it is possible that responses to the question also
   reflect the fears of white residents of these areas with
   regard to racial succession, problems with new neighbors were
   highest in the virtually all-black areas in Newark, and in
   Houston and Chicago were unrelated to neighborhood racial
   composition. Overall, the correlation between neighborhood
   minority status and this measure of "wrong people" was +.63.

Figure 23: Disorder and Population Succession
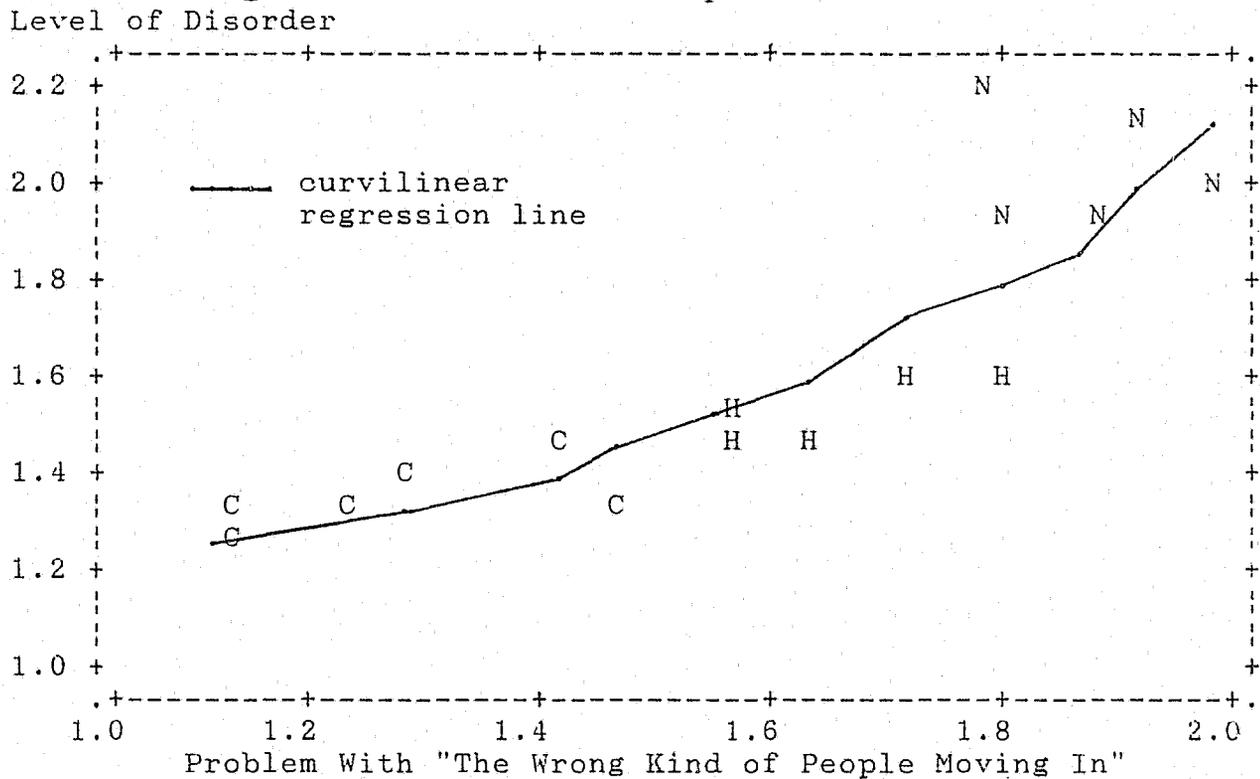
Level of Disorder

```
       .+----------+-----------+-----------+-----------+-----------+.
   2.2 +                                                N           +
       |                                                      N     |
       |                                                            .|
   2.0 +     ——————  curvilinear                                 N  +
       |             regression line                               |
       |                                        N        N         |
   1.8 +                                                     _____ +
       |                                                   /        |
       |                                               ___/         |
   1.6 +                                        H     / H           +
       |                        H             ___/                  |
       |                       C       H     / H                    |
   1.4 +           C     C    .___  _/       C                      +
       |     C    C     .___/                                       |
       |     C                                                      |
   1.2 +                                                            +
       |                                                            |
       |                                                            |
   1.0 +                                                            +
       .+----------+-----------+-----------+-----------+-----------+.
      1.0        1.2         1.4         1.6         1.8         2.0
        Problem With "The Wrong Kind of People Moving In"
```

LEGEND

```
A Atlanta     P Philadelphia
C Chicago     S San Francisco
H Houston     n multiple sites
N Newark
*****************************
```

From the point of view of long-time residents (which may not be correct), in-movers may be the principle cause of the problem, one which from our more analytic perspective reflects the social and economic forces which lie behind population succession.

Figure 23 plots the relationship between this measure of population succession and levels of disorder, for 16 areas. It reports, first, that as problems with new neighbors increase, so do levels of disorder; the correlation between the two measures is +.85. Second, the data suggest the relationship is nonlinear;

at the highest levels of problems with in-migrants disorder levels are much higher than otherwise (there is a significant upward bend in the regression line). However, this apparent "jump" in disorder at high levels of population succession is due to the five Newark neighborhoods, and may simply reflect the generally high levels of disorder in all of them. There was a positive relationship between population change and disorder just in the remaining areas in Houston and Chicago. The relationship between disorder and succession was strong and significant even when controlling for neighborhood stability, poverty, and racial composition (p<.002), and controlling just for area robbery victimization (p<.01). This also suggests that the link between the two is not spurious.

The widespread sense that "the wrong kind of people are moving in" was significantly related to many other area-level phenomena as well. It was correlated -.81 with the frequency of talking with neighbors, -.68 with being able easily to recognize strangers, -.52 with informal surveillance, and -.78 with thinking that one's neighbors were helpful. Disatisfaction with neighbors was linked to neighborhood dissatisfaction as well (-.62).

5.3 Deterioration and Disorder

Mounting levels of disorder and crime may have a negative impact on the housing market, and through this on the extent of neigh-

Figure 24: Landlord Problems and Disorder

```
Problem With Landlords
Not Caring About Neighborhood
      .+---------+---------+---------+---------+--------+--------+.
 1.8 +                                                            +
      |                                                           |
      |                                                         A |
      |                                      C                    |
 1.6 +                                      C       3             +
      |                                                           |
      |              C                   C                        |
      |                           A                               |
 1.4 +                                                            +
      |                                  C                        |
      |         C                              C                  |
      |       A                     C                             |
 1.2 +                                                            +
      |    C              C    CC    C                            |
      |       C                                                   |
      |                                                           |
 1.0 .+---------+---------+---------+---------+--------+--------+.
      1.1       1.2       1.3       1.4       1.5      1.6      1.7
                           Level of Disorder
```
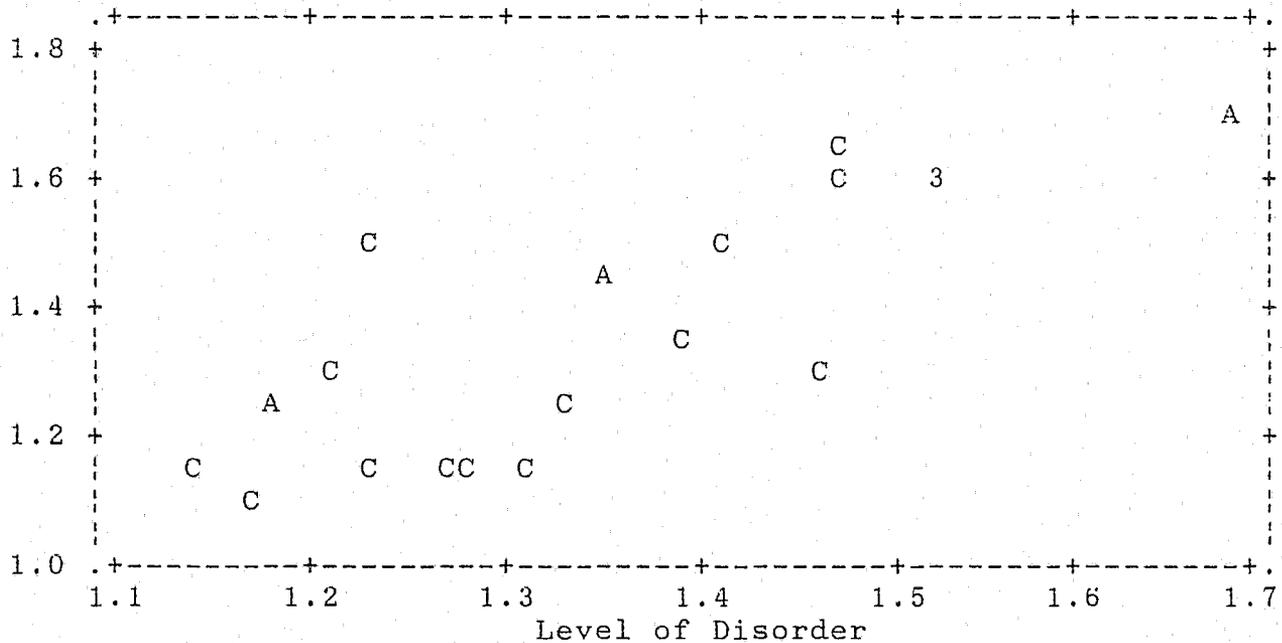
LEGEND

```
A Atlanta    P Philadelphia
C Chicago    S San Francisco
H Houston    n multiple sites
N Newark
************************************
```

borhood decay. Multiple regression models of the crime-property

value nexus typically find area-level official crime rates are so

highly correlated with other physical and social determinants of

property values that the independent effect of crime cannot be

estimated (Frisbie, 1977). However, Taub, Taylor and Dunham's

(1984) survey data indicates that individual market evaluations

and investment plans are affected by dissatisfaction with safety,

perceived risk of victimization in the area, and actual victimi-

zation. Crime affects the upkeep of the neighborhood, and

together the two affect perceptions that the neighborhood is

changing for the worse and desire by residents to move away.

If rented residential buildings are unprofitable, owners have few incentives to maintain them adequately or even to pay the real estate and utility bills. If there is no demand for apartments in the area they may sit boarded up. The arson rate reflects the same calculations (Sternlieb and Burchell, 1983). Residential fires are concentrated in cities sheltering the poor, unemployed, renters, and minorities (Munson and Oates, 1983), and where crime rates are higher (Pettiway, 1983). Future investments in a neighborhood appear to be affected by a relatively low level of building abandonment, perhaps 3 to 6 percent (Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1973).

Figure 24 illustrates the relationship between disorder and an indicator of housing market conditions, reports that "landlords who don't care about what happens to the neighborhood" are a problem. Across 20 areas, the two are strongly positively correlated (+.83; p<.001)[10] This relationship remains significant controlling for area demographics (p<.04) and robbery victimization (p<.01 -- and its effect is substantially greater than that of robbery).

----

10. The distinctive Atlanta neighborhood in Figure 24 (Mechanics-ville) contributes to the high correlation, but it is not statistically an outlyer.

6   Implications

6.1   Summary of Findings

This report argued that stable neighborhoods change only slowly.
When stabilizing mechanisms fail, however, areas can slip into
the cycle of decline and "feedback" processes may take control of
neighborhood conditions. The problems which emerge include
physical and social disorder. They undermine the capacity of com-
munities to maintain control of local conditions, foster deter-
ioration of the housing market, and stimulate further disorder
and crime.   These problems feed upon themselves, spiraling neigh-
borhoods deeper into decline.   As Schuerman and Kobrin (1986)
report, in the worst areas crime shifts from being just a
"dependent" variable to being an "independent" variable as well.

This report probed some of the specific hypotheses implied by
this model of urban decline. Using crosssectional data on 40
urban neighborhoods, it found:

1. disorder was more prevalent in poorer, less stable,
    minority neighborhoods;

2. disorder was related to less frequent social interaction
    between neighbors, withdrawal from community life, lower
    levels of community solidarity, less informal cooperation
    between neighbors to prevent crime, and less household
    crime prevention activity;

3. disorder was related to perceived neighborhood crime prob-
    lems, robbery victimization, and fear of crime;

4. disorder was related to lower levels of neighborhood satis-
    faction, a desire to move, problems with new neighbors, and
    lack of attention by area landlords.

6.2 Policy Implications

One important feature of recent interest in disorder is its

policy implications. Concern about the presence of deviant people

on city streets and the ill consequences of disorderly acts and

conditions for neighborhoods has led to calls for action to

suppress them. Early analysts merely found it interesting that

factors other than "real crime" were related community decline.

Now there is more interest in identifying which neighborhoods are

affected, why they are affected, and developing intervention

methods to break up disorderly activity and intervene in the

spiral of disorder, fear, crime, and neighborhood decline.

The research findings reported above cannot go very far with

regard to recommending specific policies, for it did not evaluate

any (in a formal sense) and the surveys yielded few measures of

the extent of formal or group activity in the 40 urban neighbor-

hoods examined here. However, a few general implications seem to

flow from the research literature and findings presented here.

6.2.1 "Tipping Points"

There is a great deal of interest in identifying which neighbor-
hoods are entering the cycle of decline. Kobrin and Scheurman
(1986) have some hope for what they dub "emerging crime areas."
These are "middle age" rather than old residential areas, with
changing populations but substantial pockets of middle class res-
idents. Here they recommend "deceleration of demographic and
socioeconomic change." Wilson and Kelling (1982) focus upon "the
ratio of respectable to disreputable people" in an area to fore-
see its fate. Neighborhoods not too far past their tipping point
(areas "in jeopardy") are those with substantial levels of
legitimate street use and a critical mass of residents interested
in keeping the area in good repair. Scheurman and Kobrin argue
that areas deeply in the cycle of decline -- characterized by at
least three decades of high crime -- are "lost territory" to the
rest of society. Wilson and Kelling would seem to write off
places somewhat more quickly. They all favor triage, consigning
areas mired in crime, disorder, and fear to some urban scrap heap
-- although, like nuclear waste, neighborhood problems have a
"half life" which will scar those who wander too close to them
for the foreseeable future.

In common parlance, a tipping points would be a level of disorder
beyond which the social and economic processes lying behind the
cycle of decline "take control" of an area in dramatic fashion.

Beyond this point, disorder and crime presumably would jump sharply.

Two diagnostics were employed for identifying tipping points in these data -- visual inspection of the relationship between disorder and indicators of the decline process, and a statistical search for non-linear relationships. However, in all of the relationships plotted above, only in one case was there a significant "bend" in a regression line: in Figure 23 there apparently was "extra" disorder associated with high levels of problems with "the wrong kind of people moving in." These data do not obviously point to a "critical zone" along the disorder dimension, within the range of variation these neighborhoods display.

6.2.2 Community Stability

The strong relationship between area disorder and the economic makeup of these communities indicates the potential importance of programs aimed at encouraging community stability.

By far the strongest correlate of disorder was area unemployment. It was in turn linked to measures of both area stability and poverty, with components "bridging" both factors. It was very strongly correlated with levels of drug sales and use (.80; p<.001+).

Other social and economic sources of neighborhood stability were apparent in these data. Housing arrangements were very important;

the concentration of low-rise, owner-occupied family housing
housing was conducive to low levels of disorder, as was long-term
residence. Indicators of family organization were available for
30 areas, and the proportion of households consisting of married
couples was strongly negatively correlated (-.42; p<.01) with
disorder.

While many aspects of community stability reflect social and
economic realities which are not easy to change, there are
factors affecting stability which fall within the purview of
state and local government and offer mechanisms for encouraging
home ownership, long term residence, local investment, and other
correlates of residential commitment. Briefly, these include:

- School Quality: the quality of public schools clearly is
  related to the willingness of families to move into city
  neighborhoods or to remain there, and for both incumbent
  upgrading and gentrification processes to maintain the
  character and quality of single family homes.

- Real Estate Sales Practices: many communities have exper-
  imented with new regulations affecting the marketing and
  purchase of homes. These include measures to discourage
  "panic peddling," a process by which unscrupulous real
  estate agents can reap enormous profits trading on fear.
  Stirring concern about crime and racial change, they
  frighten white residents into selling their homes at
  reduced prices; then the homes are resold at inflated
  prices to blacks and hispanics desperate for better and
  safer housing, a practice often knows as "block busting"
  (Goodwin, 1979).

- Housing Rehabilitation: decisions by landlords and home-
  owners to repair and rehabilitate their buildings are
  critical for maintaining the attractiveness of a neighbor-
  hood as a place to live. This is powerfully affected by
  economics, and has the object of local subsidies and
  national tax policy for almost a decade.

- Disinvestment: an important factor shaping the local real
  estate market is institutional decisions about the viabil-
  ity of particular neighborhoods. When mortgaging institut-
  ions and insurance companies refuse to make reasonable
  purchase or construction loans or to issue policies in

certain neighborhoods (when they "redline" it), this
effectively condemns those areas to decline (Bradford and
Rubinowitz, 1975; Urban-Suburban Investment Study Group,
1975). "It is a sign for all that the neighborhood is
'going.' Powerful and influential interests have lost faith
in it, and that stands as a warning to any home-seekers or
commercial investors to look elsewhere (Goodwin, 1979: 60).
There are federal and state regulations against redlining,
but its now-informal manifestations are more difficult to
document than in the past.

- <u>Demolition</u> <u>and</u> <u>Construction</u>: the residential quality of
  neighborhoods can be severely affected by nearby land-use
  patterns. Freeway networks driven through the hearts of
  many American cities in the 1950s greatly reduced the
  desirability of surrounding neighborhoods. Typically, they
  were channeled through -- and destroyed -- low income,
  minority neighborhoods where land was cheaper. This forced
  area residents into other neighborhoods, a consequence not
  appreciated by those already living there (Altschuler,
  1965). The planning and construction activities of govern-
  ment often create what Bursik (1986) dubbed "artificial
  neighborhoods," and upset the stability of areas of a
  variety of social class levels. Concentrating high-rise
  public housing in a few areas has had disastrous conseq-
  uences for those -- and nearby -- communities. Even locat-
  ing a few new community-based drug or mental health treat-
  ment centers in an area can arouse a storm of protest from
  area residents.

It should be clear that many of the destabilizing forces

discussed above stem from conscious, often corporate, decisions

by persons in positions of power. They reflect the interests of

banks, manufacturing firms, government agencies, and others with

large economic and political stakes in what they do. None is

"inexorable," although they obviously may be motivated by still

larger economic and demographic forces. The volitional nature of

these decisions has not been lost on community organizations that

have tackled redlining, blockbusting, zoning, and economic

development issues, and they highlight the larger -- but often

invisible -- political context in which disorder problems are

set. To the extent to which disorder is driven by these factors,

it can be seen as a manifestation of the American urban political economy, one which contributes to urban decline.

6.2.3   Community Institutions

Some of the disorders examined here reflect conflicts between area residents over what Wilson (1968) dubbed "standards of right and seemly conduct." Some often reflect intergenerational conflicts, including retaliatory vandalism of garages, trespassing on lawns, and deliberately "trashing" the lots of older people who complain about the rambunctious behavior of youths. Others mirror life style conflicts between intense users of public space ("stoop sitting" families; men repairing their cars at the curb) and those with preferances for more privatistic activity. Conflicts over outside noise and parties often is between 7:00am-to-3:30pm factory workers and 5:00pm-to-midnight building janitors and food service workers.

These conflicts are particular nettlesome in communities where informal mechanisms for solving them are in short supply. Where community institutions are strong and cross-cutting, gossip, social exclusion, negotiation, and even mediation or arbitration by trusted figures can resolve disputes or contain their consequences. However, Merry (1981) and others have identified communities which simply do not function in this way, and Felstiner (1974) has raised the objection that contemporary American society in general has lost its capacity for informal dispute

resolution. Where community solidarity is so low that there are no viable mechanisms for resolving disputes informally, or where they do not embrace all major local groups (cf, Merry, 1981), long-standing conflicts may undercut the social and economic forces underlying neighborhood stability.

In this light, the apparently destructive impact of disorder on neighborhood social activity, informal cooperative action, trust on one's neighbors, participation in local activities, and even self-help, does not bode well for the capacity of residents of problem-ridden neighborhoods to solve their own problems. Problem-solving mechanisms which rely upon self-initiated citizen action require community institutions which foster interaction and cooperation.

Reliance on strictly informal social control mechanisms also assumes that to a large extent it is residents of the area who are "the problem." This may often be the case. Surveys indicate that about one-third of city residents think that people from their neighborhood are at least partly responsible for area crime (Hindelang, et al, 1978). And, as we have seen above, where disorder is prevalent, "the wrong kinds of people moving in" is seen as a larger problem. But problems generated by "outsiders" are another story. People passing through the community, and even area businesses which generate litter and parked cars and attract a boisterous clientele (McPherson, et al, 1983) may fall beyond the reach of these informal mechansims for controlling disorder.

During the past decade there has been a great deal of interest in re-mobilizing communities to deal with disorder in more organized fashion. The perhaps-too-simple idea is that, since mounting disorder and crime reflect the declining strength of informal social controls in urban neighborhoods caught in the cycle of decline, efforts to reinvigorate those informal process of control may succeed in reversing the trend. While there might be other mechansism for doing this (for example, by attacking unemployment and family disorganization, and upgrading the quality of schools) organized community groups have emerged as our primary neighborhood-based hope for reshaping the destiny of urban areas.

The "theory" behind community-organization strategies for blunting the course of neighborhood decline is simple, and is well summarized by Rosenbaum, Lewis and Grant (1986). In essence, organizations attempt to control disorder and crime by setting in motion and supporting activities which will:

- improve residents' awareness of local opportunities to participate in crime prevention activities, and stimulate actual participation in these activities;

- enhance feelings of efficacy about individual and collective action, as well as increase personal responsibility for these actions;

- stimulate actions to regulate social behavior in the neighborhood by enhancing residents' feelings of "territoriality" and willingness to intervene in suspicious circumstances;

- act to prevent victimization via individual and household crime prevention efforts; and

- enhance neighboring, social interaction, and mutual helpfulness.

A wide variety of specific projects are pointed at these ends, including inspirational meetings, block watch, neighborhood patrols, property marking, security surveys, escort services, educational programs, leafletting, and marches to "take back the night."

The problems in actually carrying out these programs, and making them work, are monumental, and these are outlined in great detail by Garofalo and Mcleod (1986). One of the greatest of them is that programs like these are most difficult to field in low income, heterogeneous, high-turnover, high-crime neighborhoods. Whether they are "self-initiated" or fostered by outside agencies, the more an area needs these programs, the less likely it is to have them (Whitaker, 1986; Henig, 1984). This has even true when the organizing effort was directed more than proport-ionately toward areas in need (Silloway and McPherson, 1985).

While the surveys analyzed here did not ask consistent questions about the extent of community organization in our 40 neighbor-hoods, the analysis of "community capacities" above strongly suggests that the same would be true of them. As we have seen, both informal surveillance efforts and property marking -- two staples of organizing efforts -- were negatively related to levels of area disorder.

6.2.4 Policing Strategies

Wilson and Kelling (1982) have suggested police agencies should identify areas in jeopardy in their communities, places "... where public order is deteriorating but not unreclaimable" (p. 38). Having identified those areas, police officers could be assigned to order-maintenance tasks there which would support local efforts to maintain control of disorder. This would be in contrast to the usual practice in American cities, which is to concentrate police resources in traditional crime-fighting activities the highest-crime areas. They believe these areas may be beyond salvation.

But they just don't call for "more of the same" elsewhere. Wilson and Kelling also advocated that the police take the initiative in discovering and acting against disorder, on the basis of what they dubbed "communal needs." They admit that many of these needs would not be found in the criminal code, but rather would reflect what "... the neighborhood had decided was the appropriate level of public order" (p. 31). They lament that in the past, when the police acted more aggressively to assert their authority on behalf of the community, "the objective was order, an inherently ambiguous term, but a condition that people in a given community recognized when they saw it" (p. 34).

Wilson and Kelling do not clearly spell out just how the police would come to know just what various neighborhoods want in the

way of order (and police tactics to get it) in the absence of a guiding code, and Wilson has elsewhere spelled out how aggressive order maintenance activity by the police raises the specter of discretionary racial and class discrimination in "norm enforcement" (Wilson, 1968). However, an accumulating mound of research (summarized in Sherman, 1986) suggests that there are strategies which bring the police closer to the people. They seem to open informal channels for the flow of information and demands for action from the people to the police and facilitate police action on the basis of those inputs. These programs differ from traditional "community relations" activities because -- unlike almost all of those -- they involve an actual capacity to respond in significant ways to neighborhood problems. Finally, in the context of our concern with disorder, a correlary requirement for an effective policing strategy would be that this information flow and action must be broadly focused, and not just "crime prevention" oriented, for it is the nature of many disorder problems that they fall outside the traditional police mandate. This requirement somewhat reduces the number of attractive programs which seem to work (disqualifying, for example, offender-oriented patrols, decoy units, repeat complaint address policing tactics, and most traditional detective work), but at least four different approaches to community policing appear to be worth trying.

- Foot Patrol: Foot patrol, which makes sense in dense and high-activity areas, appears to reduce fear of crime and both physical and social disorder, and increase neighborhood satisfaction. It is also wildly popular among community groups and small merchants. It seems to have its widest range of consequences when linked to systematic efforts to gather information about local problems of all kinds, and to involve the police in mobilizing public and private resources to deal with those problems. The key

factor in foot patrol appears to be the easy flow of infor-
mation between police and ordinary citizens, and the
ability of officers to act informally yet responsibly on
the basis of what they hear. Downtown Newark's perhaps
archetypal Patrolman Kelly could act "... to protect what
the neighborhood had decided was the appropriate level of
public order" (Wilson and Kelling, 1982: 31) because he
knew and deferred to the regulars on the block, and rein-
forced their vision of appropriate public conduct by the
drunks, panhandlers, prostitutes, loiterers, and other
denizens of the area (cf, Skolnick and Bayley, 1986; Pate,
1986; Sherman, 1986; Trojanowicz, 1986; Pate, et al, 1985;
Wycoff, et al, 1985a).

- Storefront Offices: Storefront offices symbolize the de-
centralization (or perhaps the re-decentralization) of
policing into the neighborhoods. They can be reactive
(waiting for citizens to come in with problems), or centers
of proactive neighborhood operations in both a traditional
and community-oriented style. Recent evaluations suggest
they can become well-known by community residents, attract
reasonable (but not large) numbers of walk-ins, and serve
as a locus for highly visible neighborhood activities (cf,
Skolnick and Bayley, 1986; Garofalo and McLeod, 1986;
Sherman, 1986; Wycoff and Skogan, 1986).

- Organizing: Police have been involved in both successsful
and unsuccessful efforts to organize communities around
crime problems. Working in conjunction with civilian
specialists, they lend authority and visibility, and
perhaps some expertise, to such efforts. In principal, a
link to neighborhood organizations could guide and legit-
imate informal police action to control local disorder. But
this has never been tried successfully, and because
residents of high-disorder areas typically are not in
agreement about things and deeply suspicious of major
elements in the community, organizations often represent
only selected -- if vocal -- local factions. Departments
should be wary of lending armed assistance to one or
another group under these circumstances (cf, Sherman, 1986;
Wycoff, et al, 1985b).

- Team Policing: Team policing was one of the earliest mani-
festations of community policing. It is an organizational
structure congruent with a number of specific tactics, one
which decentralizes management and responsibility for those
tactics to small teams of officers assigned for long
periods of time to specific neighborhoods. This decentral-
ization is intended foster greater knowledge of the area on
their part, facilitate open communication with area
residents, and make it possible for teams to act flexibly
on the basis of local needs (cf, Sherman, 1986)

There is some evidence that programs like these can have positive consequences for city neighborhoods. Unpublished analyses (summarized in Pate, et al, 1985) of field quasi-experiments in Houston indicate that directed foot patrol there reduced both physical and social disorder and increased neighborhood satisfaction, and that a storefront office affected both fear and physical disorder. A project in Newark combining both programs affected physical and social disorder, fear of crime, neighborhood satisfaction, and self-protective efforts. A police community organizing effort in Houston appears to have reduced levels of both physical and social disorder, major targets of that particular program.

7 Epilog: The Systemic Consequences of Disorder

This report examined the role of disorder in the decline of urban neighborhoods. Disorder does not have its impact in isolation, but along with other closely-related factors it has destructive consequences for their very existence.

At the extreme end of the cycle of decline, areas may no longer be recognizable as "neighborhoods," but take on an entirely different social function. In areas on the edge of "collapse" (Skogan, 1986b), the population drops precipitously. Even street prostitutes have moved on, for the trade depended upon customers feeling they can cruise the area safely (Cohen, 1980). Uncollected litter blows in the wind. In cold weather, men gather

around fires in trash cans. Unattached males, the homeless, and the aimless live in boarded up buildings, seedy residential hotels and flophouses. "Skid row" saloons are the only commercial establishments open after dark. Abandoned buildings serve as "shooting galleries" where drugs are distributed and consumed. Vacant lots are filled with the clawed-out rubble of demolition. Residential and commercial buildings stand empty and scarred by arson, and when they burn the city develops a hollow core. Those areas have reached the bottom of the cycle of decline.

Individually disastrous as the cycle of decline is for the areas involved, when aggregated at the metropolitan level they are collectively even more important. They help explain (but do not completely determine) some central features of contemporary urban life. The most important of these is "white flight" from central cities. The massive and racially selective suburbanization of the United States following World War II may be the most conseq- uential impact of crime on American society. The suburban ring often swings the political balance of power in many "urban" states. Socially, it has driven another cleavage between whites and the blacks, browns, and asians who uneasily huddle together at the core; urban areas have divided into what Farley, et al (1978) dubbed "chocolate cities" and "vanilla suburbs." There has been a corresponding pattern of disinvestment in inner city areas. This includes a mammoth outward shift in the location of jobs, and concomitant changes in the ratio of services to taxes, which favors suburban over center-city locations. The growth of shopping centers at the expense of central business districts has

eroded city tax bases. Further, there is evidence that suburban rings cast a shadow back over the cities they surround. For example, the extent of suburbanization is correlated with higher central-city tax burdens, partially because of the volume of services and the maze of roadways required by those living outside the taxing jurisdiction of the city (Kasarda, 1972).

Thus, partially as a result of disorder, American society is faced with the concentration in inner cities of structurally unemployable public service consumers who are excluded from economic and social developments in the mainstream. (Another source of this tendency toward concentration has been the increasing flow of younger, more affluent blacks into the suburbs -- see Frey, 1984). Many cities are becoming "dumping grounds" for those locked out of other sectors. There is some evidence of a modest reversal of these processes, with a "return to the cities" affecting areas with locational advantages and housing suited to affluent, childless households (Laska and Spain, 1980). Gentrification can force up rents, increase the value of land, and upgrade the housing stock in small areas through economic pressures which act just in reverse of the more familiar trends described above. However, there is no evidence that the pace of such developments is outstripping the "hollowing out" of many city centers.

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9   Appendix A: Methodology

This report examined the findings of five different studies of the relationship between disorder, crime, fear, and community decline. They all involved surveys of the residents of several urban neighborhoods, sometimes in more than one city. The surveys examined were conducted in six US cities between 1977 and 1983, and included 40 areas. It was possible to combine the findings of these studies because they shared a large number of common survey questions and techniques. Since the evaluation surveys conducted for the National Institute of Justice by Fowler, McCalla and Mangione (1979), researchers investigating neighborhood crime problems have borrowed freely from one another's questionnaires, and usually have employed survey procedures which yield respondent samples of roughly comparable quality and size. Together, these surveys constitute a valuable "national" data base of some importance, one which deserves further analysis at both the individual and aggregate level.

Despite their rough similarity, the process of drawing together the data from all of these studies involved a number of strategic and analytic decisions. No two studies were identical in methodology, and some used similar but frustratingly different wordings for their questions or response categories. Because they had differing goals, the surveys covered the concepts of interest here in varying depth. Some were rich with disorder questions, while others included only a few. Interestingly, one central

topic of all the studies -- fear of crime -- yielded a very small set of remotely comparable measures. Finally, one of the central concepts in neighborhood research -- informal social control -- was represented in quite different ways in each study.

This appendix reviews the sources of the data, documents the survey questions which were examined here, indicates how they were weighted and processed to produce comparable neighborhood-level data, and describes how particular items were combined to produce the area indicators presented in this report. There also is a brief discussion of the analytic methods utilized for this study.

9.1 Survey Sources and Methods

Figures 25 and 26 present a brief summary of the studies, their substantive focus, how the areas were selected, and some of their methodological characteristics. It references the major book or report in which further details about the surveys may be found, and the study number (where available) for accessing the data from the Criminal Justice Archive and Information Network at the University of Michigan.

As Figure 26 indicates, two of these surveys ("Houston/Newark" and "Chicago 1983") served as pre-tests for large-scale field experiments. The former evaluated the effectiveness of policing strategies aimed at reducing crime, fear and disorder, and the

Figure 25: Summary of Survey Methods I

Study	City-Areas	Date of Collection	Method of Interview	Sample Frame	Respondent Selection	Estimation Weight Factors
Houston	5 Houston	1983	pesonal	address	random	adults
Newark	5 Newark			listing	adults	gender
Chicago 1979	8 Chicago	1979	telephone	RDD-screen for area	random adults	adults gender phones
Chicago 1983	6 Chicago	1983	telephone	blocks-then list numbers	heads	gender phones
Three Cities	4 Chicago 3 Phila. 3 San Fran.	1977	telephone	RDD-screen for area	random adults	gender phones
Atlanta	6 Atlanta	1979	personal	list address strata by block	random adults	adults gender

latter helped assess the impact of community organizations

pursuing the same goals. The remainder were research studies of

neighborhoods of varying race and class, and with differing

levels of crime. All were in the nation's largest cities. Re-

flecting their selection for study, this set of neighborhoods

probably underrepresents the relatively stable, family-oriented,

non-poor "run-of-the-mill" places which make up most of America's

urban areas. The collection of areas examined in detail are a far

from "random" sample of neighborhoods; their strength is that

Figure 26: Summary of Survey Methods II

Study	Area Selection	Focus of Study	CJAIN Number	Major Citation
Houston Newark	matched within city by ethnicity and income	evaluation of police-citizen programs	8496	Pate et al 1985
Chicago 1979	crime rate; race stability; value of property	race, crime and deterioration; disinvestment; racial change	7952	Taub et al 1985 Taub et al 1981
Chicago 1983	program parti- cipation; level of implementation; race-class variety	evaluation of neighborhood organizational efforts	none	Rosenbaum et al 1985
Three Cities	ethnicity; class; crime; activity	fear; behavior reactions to crime	8162	Skogan&Maxfield 1981
Atlanta	adjacent pairs-- differ on crime, same race-class	how areas maintain low crime levels	7951	Greenberg et al 1982

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they vary fairly widely on a number of theoretically important

dimensions.

The areas differ in the extent to which they would be considered

"neighborhoods" by their residents, and how that concept was

operationalized in each study. Some, like the ten areas included

in the three-city study, were defined on the basis of extensive

ethnographic research, and the sampling boundaries employed for

the survey might have resembled the cognitive maps respondents

had of their "neighborhood." On the other hand, the survey simply

asked them about "the neighborhood." Other studies, like that of

ten areas in Houston and Newark, were based on census tracts, and

tract boundaries were only slightly modified to take into account

expressways, major arterial streets, and housing projects. However, in that in-person study, respondents were given a sketch map and asked to respond concerning that specific area. It is hard to judge which was a better procedure.

The studies utilized a diverse mix of data collection methods. Three were conducted by telephone, two used personal interviews, and the five studies employed four different ways of selecting sample households. All but one selected an adult (usually nineteen years of age and older) to interview in random fashion, from an initial listing of eveyone who lived in each responding household. (The Chicago 1983 study interviewed "heads" of households, alternating between males and females where more than one was present.) These methodological features of the studies are also summarized in Figure 25

This report relies principally on neighborhood-level estimates of the frequency of disorder and other factors. These made up the variables, like "disorder" and "levels of fear," which are examined in detail below. The estimates were made from the individual-level survey data. To generate those estimates, the original survey samples were weighted to better reflect the population values of those variables.

First, all of the studies interviewed only one adult respondent, regardless of the size of the sample household. This under-represents persons living in households with two or more adults, in contrast to single-person dwellings, so the data were weighted

by the number of eligible adults in each responding household,
when available.

Next, several of the surveys were conducted using random-digit-
dialing telephone techniques. This involves calling randomly
scrambled telephone numbers, and then screening respondents to
make sure they live in the area of interest. In this case, house-
holds with more than one telephone number (or, for the
Chicago-1983 study, households with more than one listed number)
are more likely than others to fall into the sample. So, respon-
dents were weighted to equalize their probability of being
selected for study via telephone. Residents of households
selected at random from address lists (Houston/Newark and
Atlanta) did not need to be weighted in this fashion.

Finally, the surveys were weighted to standardize the sex dis-
tribution of the respondents. Almost all surveys over-represent
females, who are more likely to be found at home regardless of
sampling technique. This can be seen in Figure 27, which presents
the unweighted sex distribution for each neighborhood sample. In
addition, females were deliberately over-sampled in selected
areas for the Three City study, which focused to a large extent
on fear of sexual assault. However, gender is by far the strong-
est individual-level correlate of victimization, fear of crime,
and individual crime-related behaviors, so sex-distribution dif-
ferences by neighborhood could disguise other important, area-
level contrasts. To counter this, each area sample was weighted
to standardize it's sex distribution at 53 percent female, the

----

Figure 27: Description of Neighborhood Samples

Census Bureau's usual figure for the distribution of the urban population in the nation as a whole.

Each of the weights was calculated independently for each respondent. They then were combined to produce a master variable which weighted the survey data sets used to generate the area-level estimates.

9.2   Survey Measures

This section presents the wording of survey questions which are representative of those which were examined in detail in this report. The casual reader may pass over it quickly. As indicated above, there often were slight differences from study to study in the wording of questions or response categories. Where those differences were judged to be important, the analyses were conducted separately for major wording variants, and the various questions are presented here. Where responses to more than one substantial question variant were combined for analysis, the various versions of the questions are also presented here. Finally, this section also documents how neighborhood-level scores on individual items were combined to form composite indicators.

Figure 27: Description of Neighborhood Samples

Area ID Number, Study and City	Unweighted		Weighted for Estimation Percent Who Are:			
	Cases	Percent Female	NonAnglo	Elderly	Renters	Unemp.
Chicago 1983						
1 Northwest	395	58	3	46	34	5
2 Northside	194	57	14	42	38	4
3 Northeast Austin	191	54	31	36	27	2
4 Auburn-Gresham	245	58	96	28	13	9
5 Edgewater	255	54	20	27	55	2
6 Back-of-the-Yards	123	59	43	24	52	8
Newark, NJ						
7 Newark South-1	412	56	99	17	48	20
8 Newark South-2	347	59	98	20	43	13
9 Newark North	385	58	99	22	61	21
10 Newark West	418	58	95	11	44	16
11 Newark South-4	450	67	99	12	55	15
Houston						
12 Wood Bayou	518	52	72	3	71	11
13 Northline	406	52	40	13	34	8
14 Langwood	395	49	22	9	39	8
15 Golfcrest	543	53	60	13	56	11
16 Shady Acres	389	47	52	19	63	7
Chicago 1979						
17 Portage Park	395	70	4	25	25	1
18 Lincoln Park	433	63	22	7	74	3
19 Austin	395	71	82	8	55	3
20 Back-of-the-Yards	418	68	51	16	55	7
21 Beverly	401	70	15	19	11	1
22 Hyde Park-Kenwood	417	61	39	15	70	2
23 South Shore	441	67	94	10	69	3
24 East Side	410	66	12	25	21	0
ThreeCity-Philadelphia						
25 West Philadelphia	450	73	86	17	40	17
26 South Philadelphia	449	69	21	14	31	16
27 Logan	201	52	61	9	34	15
ThreeCity-Chicago						
28 Lincoln Park	450	59	23	7	78	9
29 Wicker Park	451	64	48	8	65	14
30 Woodlawn	200	68	96	18	83	16
31 Back-of-the-Yards	200	61	38	13	57	11
Three City-San Francisco						
32 Sunset	453	63	21	18	47	7
33 Visitacion Valley	448	67	53	15	33	9
34 The Mission	201	46	36	10	82	14

Figure 27: (Continued)

Area ID Number, Study and City	Unweighted Cases	Percent Female	Weighted for Estimation Percent Who Are: NonAnglo	Elderly	Renters	Unemp.
Atlanta						
35 Upper Virginia High.	80	58	0	22	38	4
36 Lower Virginia High.	83	60	9	10	73	7
37 Grove Park	86	57	95	16	49	5
38 Dixie Hills	93	66	98	25	36	2
39 Mechanicsville	87	58	98	21	74	8
40 Pitsburgh	93	62	98	29	66	3
Mean			54	20	50	8
Median			50	19	51	8

NOTE: for definitions of the variables, see text. For more details about the areas, see the sources cited in Figure 26.

Measures of Disorder

In every study these items were preceded by introductory statements asking respondents to react to "... things that you may think are problems in this area," or to assess the extent to which "... things that are sometimes problems in neighborhoods" were local problems. In every case respondents were to indicate if the stimulus was "a big problem" (scored 3), "some problem" (scored 2), or "no problem" (scored 1) in their area. The neighborhood-level data are mean scores on this 1-3 scale.

Loitering	Groups of teenagers hanging out on the streets?
	Goups of people hanging around on corners or in streets?
Drugs	People selling illegal drugs?
	People using illegial drugs in the neighborhood?
	Presence of drugs and drug users?
	Sale or use of drugs in public places?
Vandalism	Vandalism (like kids breaking windows or writing on walls or things like that)?
Noise	Noisy neighbors (people playing loud music or having late parties)?
	Noisy neighbors; people who play loud music, have late parties, or have noisy quarrels.
Gangs	Gang activity?
	Gangs?
Abandonment	Abandoned buildings or vehicles?
	Abandoned houses or other empty buildings in this area?
	Buildings or storefronts sitting abandoned or burned out?

Drinking	People drinking in public places like on corners or in streets?
	People drinking in public places like streets or playgrounds?
Littering	Garbage or litter on the streets and sidewalks?
	Dirty streets and sidewalks in this area?
Trash	Vacant lots filled with trash and junk? .
Insults	People who say insulting things or bother people as they walk down the street?
Prostitutes	Prostitutes?
	Prostitutes walking the streets or standing on corners?
Commercial Sex	Pornographic movie theaters or bookstores, massage parlors, topless bars?
	Adult movie theaters or adult bookstores?
Dogs	Dogs barking loudly or relieving themselves near your home?
Garbage	People not disposing of garbage properly or leaving litter around the area?

Constructing Disorder Scales

Three multi-item scales were constructed to indicate the area-level distribution of disorder. Social Disorder combined values for the loitering, drugs, vandalism, gangs, public drinking and insults items. Physical Disorder combined values for the noise, abandon, litter, and trash items. The summary Disorder scale averaged responses to the two, in effect equally weighting their contribution to the total score for each area. These measures are available for all 40 areas.

Figure 28: Relation Between Physical and Social Disorder
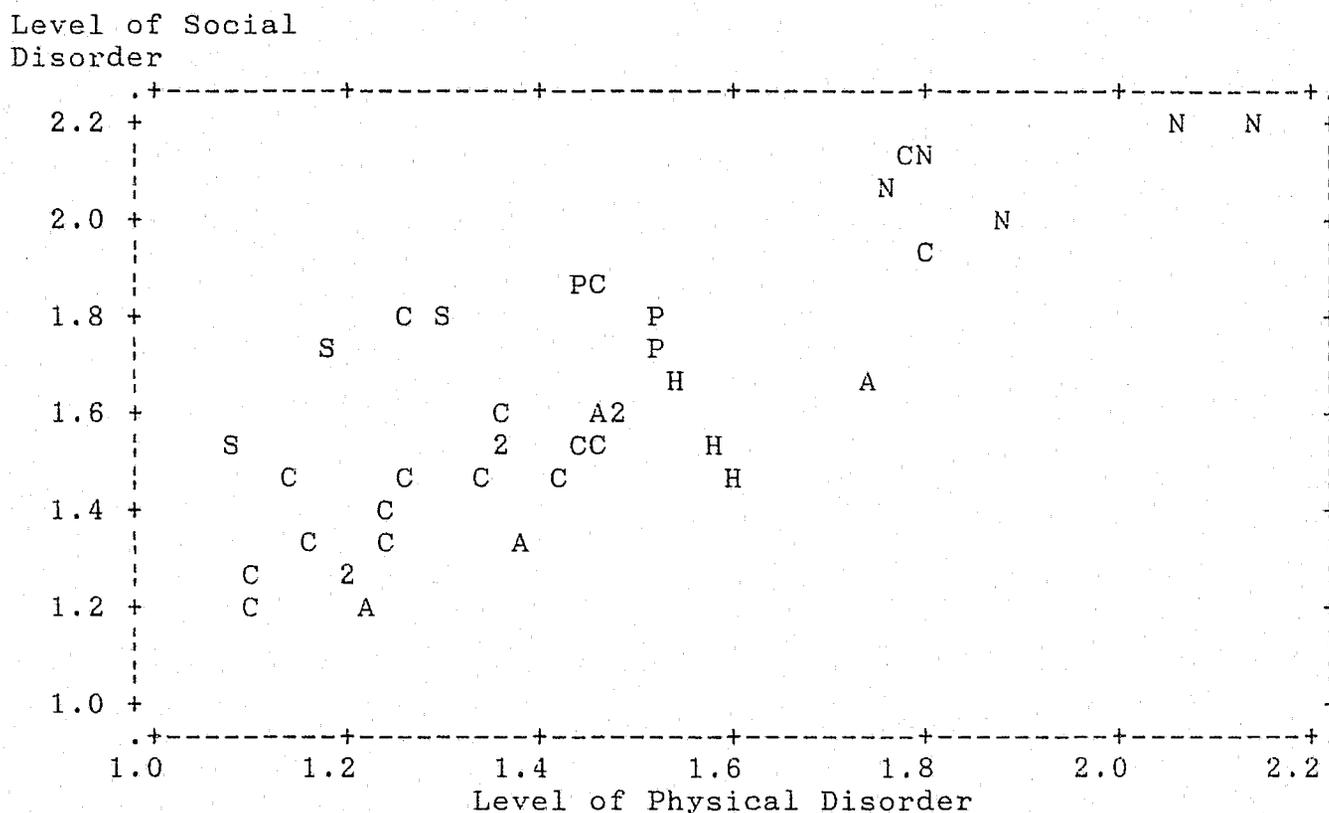
```
Level of Social
Disorder
      .+---------+---------+---------+---------+---------+---------+.
  2.2 +                                            CN          N    N   +
      |                                            CN
      |                                           N
  2.0 +                                                    N        +
      |                                              C
      |                      PC
  1.8 +           C  S                 P                            +
      |        S                       P
      |                                H            A
  1.6 +              C      A2                                      +
      |    S         2     CC          H                           |
      |       C      C    C    C             H                     |
  1.4 +            C                                               +
      |       C    C         A                                     |
      |    C      2                                                |
  1.2 +    C      A                                                +
      |
      |
  1.0 +                                                            +
      .+---------+---------+---------+---------+---------+---------+.
     1.0       1.2       1.4       1.6       1.8       2.0       2.2
                       Level of Physical Disorder
```

LEGEND

A Atlanta   P Philadelphia
C Chicago   S San Francisco
H Houston   n multiple sites
N Newark
****

The two original scales were constructed by summing the component

items which were available for each area and then dividing that

sum by the number of available items. Thus the scale scores for

each set of study areas could be made up of slightly different

combinations of particular items, although the component items

which were chosen for inclusion in the scales were available for

most of the areas. Each subset of items was substantially

intercorrelated, as were many items across sets. Figure 28

presents a plot of the relationship between the two measures. The

social and physical disorder measures are highly correlated (r=.81), and for most purposes there are few differences between them.

Measures of Fear of Crime

There are two standard single-item measures of fear of personal victimization. Unfortunately, they have different referents and different response formats, and they appear to be incommensurate. One survey (Atlanta) asked an extreme variant of the second question, and cannot easily be compared to the remainder.

- How safe do you feel or would you feel being out alone in your neighborhood at night? Do you feel very safe, somewhat safe, somewhat unsafe, or very unsafe?

- Is there any area right around here -- that is, within a mile -- where you would be afraid to walk alone at night? (yes-no)

Every survey included other "worry" and "concern" questions to measure fear of personal victimization, but none were comparable across enough studies to justify their analysis here.

Measures of Neighborhood Crime Problems

There were several different questions concerning neighborhood crime problems which were common across many studies. One set of questions asked about the extent to which various types of crime constituted problems in the respondents' neighborhoods. All were scored from 1-3, as "no problem," "some problem," or a "big problem." Others inquired about the extent (from "none" to "quite a lot") of local crime problems ("How much crime...?"), and about

recent trends. The latter is scored 1-3, from "decreased,"

through "about the same," to "increased."

Burglary	people breaking in or sneaking into homes to steal things?
Assault	People being attacked or beaten up by strangers?
Rape	Rape or other sexual attacks?
	Sexual assaults?
Robbery	People getting robbed or having their money, purses or wallets taken?
Purse Snatch	Purse snatching and other street crimes?
Extent	How much crime would you say there is on the few blocks right around your home?
	How much crime would you say there is in your own immediate neighborhood?
	How much crime would you say there is in the two block area around your home?
Trend	In the past year or so, has the amount of crime in your neighborhood increased, decreased, or stayed about the same?
	Within the past two years, do you think crime in your neighborhood has increased, decreased, or remained the same?

Constructing A Neighborhood Crime Problems Scale

Because of the small number of cases involved in this analysis,

it was desirable to move from specific measures to indicators of

more general constructs whenever possible. Of the items above,

three could be combined to form a more general measure of the

extent of neighborhood crime problems, one which referred to

several types of crime. Measures of concern about assault and

robbery were highly correlated (r=.89), and responses to the

burglary question were substantially related (.71 and .86) to both. The resulting crime problems scale is available for 20 neighborhoods. Measured concern about rape problems in these neighborhoods was much lower, and uncorrelated with most other factors. Other similar items were included only in a few studies.

Measures of Neighborhood Satisfaction

The items below all were scored so that a high value reflects satisfaction with or commitment to living in the area. The "area a home" questions were dichotomies, with a high score indicating satisfaction. Respondents to the "likelihood of moving" questions which did not employ "yes-no" response dichotomies were categorized as "not moving" if they rated themselves as "definitely" or "probably" not moving. The "past" and "future" trend questions were scored 1-3, with high values indicating positive changes in the area.

Satisfaction	On the whole, how do you feel about this area as a place to live? Are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?
Area a Home	Some people feel their neighborhood is a real home to them. Other people think of their neighborhood as just a place where they happen to be living. Which comes closest to the way you consider your neighborhood?
	Do you really feel a part of your neighborhood, or do you think of it more as just a place to live?
Moving Intent	Do you expect to be living in this neighborhood two years from now?
	Do you plan on moving from this neighborhood sometime soon, say within the next two years?

How likely is it that you might move out of
(AREA) within the next year?

Past Trend   Overall, in the past two years [in the past year
                or so], would you say your neighborhood has
                become a better place to live, has gotten worse,
                or is it about the same as it used to be?

                Would you say that your neighborhood has changed
                for the better or for the worse in the past
                couple of years, or has it stayed about the
                same?

Future Trend   All things considered, what do you think the
                neighborhood will be like two years from now?
                Will it be a better place to live, will it have
                gotten worse, or will it be about the same as it
                is now?

Scaling Neighborhood Satisfaction

A summary Neighborhood Satisfaction measure was created by sum-

ming standardized scores for the "area a home" and "satisfaction"

questions reproduced above, and dividing that sum by two for

areas for which both items were available. In those areas the two

measures were correlated r=.85. The resulting measure is

available for all 40 areas.

Measures of Neighborhood Cohesion

There were only four far-from-satisfactory measures of neighbor-

hood cohesion available for several sets of study areas.

Responsive   In some areas people do things together and help
                each other. In other areas people mostly go
                their own way. In general, what kind of area
                would you say this it, it it mostly one where
                people help each other, or one where people go
                their own way?

Sociable   About how often do you spend a social evening
                with one of your neighbors? (1-4; "never" to
                "once a week")

Friendly   How often do you chat with your neighbors when
                you run into them on the street? (1-4; "never"
                to "always")

Familiar   How hard is it to tell a stranger in your neigh-
                borhood from somebody who lives there? Is it
                pretty hard or pretty easy most of the time?
                [easy or difficult]

Scaling Social Interaction

To measure neighborhood social interaction, responses to the

"sociable" and "friendly" items above were combined in standard-

score fashion. In areas for which both measures were available

they were correlated .80.

Measures of Crime Avoidance Behavior

Except for the "avoid going out" questions, these items all

employed a "yes-no" response format. Together, they tap the

activities most commonly advocated by crime prevention organ-

izations.

Hardware   Have you installed an alarm system, window bars,
                or special locks to help prevent break-ins at
                your home?

                Have any special locks been installed in this
                home for security reasons?

                Have special windows or bars been installed for
                protection?

                Have you even installed a burglar alarm in your
                house? Have you even taken other security
                measures, such as using timers on your lights,
                putting bars on windows, or adding new locks?

Marking   Have you engraved any of your valuables to help
                recover them in case they are stolen?

                Have any valuables here been marked with your
                name or some number?

In order to avoid crime, have you ever engraved
identification numbers on valuables?

Have you engraved your valuables with your name
or some sort of identification, in case they are
stolen?

Avoidance   In general, how often do you avoid going out
after dark in this area because of crime? Do
you avoid going out most of the time, sometimes,
or never?

How often do you avoid being outside alone at
night because of crime?

Neighbors   Think about the last time when no one was home
for at least a day or so. Did you ask a neighbor
to watch your home?

To protect you and your belongings, have you had
a neighbor keep watch on your home while you
were away?

Measures of Victimization

All of the surveys examined here includes a separate and exten-

sive victimization "screener" section designed to identify recent

victims of personal and household crime. Each item included or

the context implied a "reference period" for the incident in

question, some period of the past which the respondent was to

review in answering the question. That period differed from study

to study. Some asked about "the past year," and others about

events since a stated date (eg, "... since the first of the year

..."). In principle, interviews employing longer reference

periods should identify a larger proportion of victims, but two

factors affecting incident recall -- forward telescoping and for-

getting (see Skogan, 1981) -- work against that difference in

practice, and in any event the recall periods varied only by a

few months among most of these surveys. Also, some surveys

combined questions about successful and attempted incidents (see

"assault" below"), while others asked separately about completed

and attempted events (see "burglary" below). Other surveys

utilized both approaches, depending upon the crime in question.

Vandalism	During the past year, in the neighborhood where you live now, did anyone deliberately damage or deface the building you live in, such as writing on the walls, breaking windows or tearing things up outside?
Purse Snatch	During the past year, in the neighborhood where you live now, has anyone picked your pocket or taken a bag or package directly from you without using force or threatening you?
Assault	During the past year, in the neighborhood where you live now, has anyone physically attacked you or has anyone threatened or tried to hurt you even though they did not actually hurt you?
Burglary	Since the first of this year, has anyone broken into your home, garage, or another building on your property to steal something? PLUS: Have you found any sign that someone tried to break into your home, garage, or another building on your property to steal something?
Robbery	Since the first of this year, has anyone stolen something directly from you by force or after threatening you with harm? PLUS: Other than that, has anyone tried to take something from you by force even though they did not get it?
Rape	Has anyone sexually attacked you, or tried to, since the first of this year?

Measures of Indirect Experience with Crime

Like the victimization questions, most surveys included or im-

plied a (varying) specific reference period with respect to

knowledge of the victimization of other people.

Burglary   Do you personally know of anyone, other than
                    yourself, whose home has been burglarized during
                    the past year?

Vandalism   Do you personally know of anyone, other than
                    yourself, whose property has been stolen,
                    destroyed, or damaged, such as breaking into
                    their home, slashing the tires on their car, or
                    stealing their bicycle, during the past year?

Robbery   Do you personally know of anyone, other than
                    yourself, who has been robbed or physically
                    attacked, or had someone threaten them or try to
                    harm them during the past year?

                    Do you personally know anyone in (CITY) who has
                    been robbed on the street or had their purse or
                    wallet taken since the first of the year?

Assault   Do you personally know anyone in (CITY) who has
                    been attacked by strangers since January 1st of
                    this year?

Other Measures

Other issues examined in this report include the impact of crime

and disorder on housing markets, and population succession. Three

studies included a "problems" measure (with responses ranging

from "no problem" to "big problem") concerning landlords in the

area. Residents of sixteen areas were asked about residential

succession.

Landlords   Landlords who don't care about what happens to
                    the neighborhood?

Succession   The wrong kind of people moving in?

9.3 Data Analysis Strategies

The small size of the neighborhood and project-level samples examined here raises the spectre that a few cases exercised excessive influence on the statistical findings. The first line of defense against this problem was illustrated throughout the report: all bivariate relationships were plotted and examined with care for both nonlinearity and the presence of extreme values. Measures which were "positively skewed" (evidenced a few high values) would be logged; those which were negatively skewed would be squared to normalize their distribution.

Bivariate relationships also were screened for the influence of outlyers using the "influence" measure in SYSTAT. It identifies cases which contribute disproportionately to the linear correlation between two measures.

The multivariate analyses included here demanded more complex treatment, for one cannot easily observe the joint distribution of three or more variables. Whenever multiple regression was used to control for "other" factors or to determine if two related variables each had an independent effect, a direct measure of the "leverage" of each case on the coefficients was calculated, as recommended by Velleman and Welsch (1981). If a case evidenced high leverage, the analysis was rerun excluding it. This is a more elegant version of the "jackknife test" procedure long employed in the examination of small data sets. For example, a

regression analysis (presented in Figure 8) suggested that resi-
dential stability, poverty, and race all independently were
related to levels of disorder. This equation should yield lever-
age values of about 0.1 for each case,[11] and any case with a
calculated leverage value of 0.2 would be exercising undue
influence on the analysis. Two cases had leverage values of 0.2
or higher, so the analysis was rerun excluding each of them, and
then excluding both cases. Figure 29 reports the effect of this
case exclusion on the coefficients and their significance levels
for each variable. This can be seen by comparing coefficients for
the variables across the rows. Figure 29 indicates that the high
leverage values for the two cases (Auburn-Gresham in Chicago and
Mechanicsville in Atlanta) would <u>not</u> lead us to false conclusions
concerning the over-all relationship between disorder, poverty
and residential stability. Leverage inspections like this were
conducted for each regression analysis in the report.

An addition, all regression analyses employed a conservative two-
tailed significance test, which does not assume a direction-of-
causality hypothesis.

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11. With the constant "a" for the equation, four parameters were
    estimated; across all cases the leverage value averages the
    number of parameters divided by the number of cases.

Figure 29: An Example of Leverage Analysis

Coefficients and Significance With Case Deletion

	Delete area-1		Delete area-2		Delete Both		All Cases	
	b	p	b	p	b	p	b	p
	----	---	----	---	----	---	----	---
constant	1.39	.00	1.41	.00	1.40	.00	1.40	.00
stability	-.10	.00	-.10	.00	-.09	.00	-.10	.00
poverty	.11	.00	.13	.00	.13	.00	.11	.00
minority	.24	.02	.22	.02	.25	.02	.21	.02