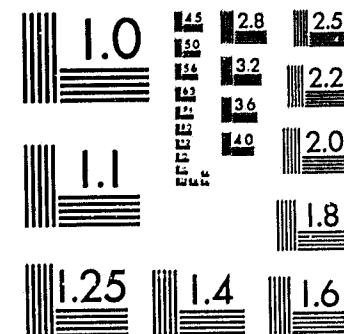


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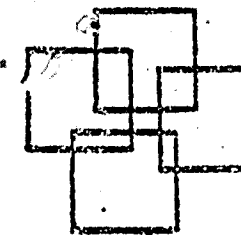
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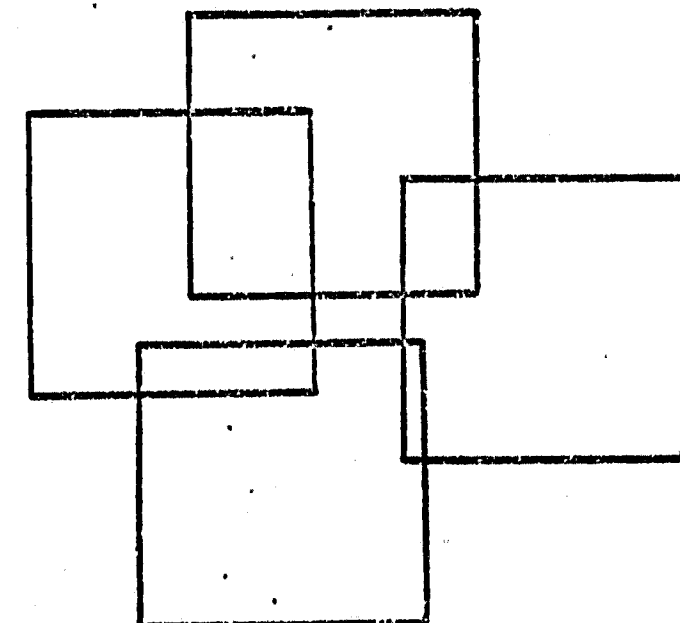
RESIDENTIAL

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SECURITY PROJECT

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

DRAFT



CITY OF CHICAGO
JANE M. BYRNE, MAYOR

THE INDUSTRIAL RESIDENTIAL SECURITY PROJECT

Executive Summary

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Department of Planning
City of Chicago

February, 1983

U.S. Department of Justice
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THE INDUSTRIAL RESIDENTIAL SECURITY PROJECT
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

The Industrial Residential Security Project (IRSP) was a multi-year project funded by the National Institute of Justice and designed to examine the impact of neighborhood conditions, particularly crime and related problems, on industrial flight from inner-city neighborhoods. Generally, governmental policies aimed at slowing industrial flight have concentrated on business factors such as tax rates and available labor pools. Recent research, however, indicates that the conditions of the surrounding neighborhood may be a critical factor in the locational decisions of industrial businesses. A major assumption of the project was that the reduction of crime and fear of crime was a crucial element in providing a stable neighborhood environment conducive to industrial development and retention. These changes were believed to be dependent upon basic alterations in the physical and social environments, as these define crime opportunities and serve as cues to individuals of dangerous or threatening situations. The purpose of the Industrial Residential Security Project was to identify those physical and social factors in the neighborhood related to fear of crime and crime opportunities and to develop strategies for altering those conditions, thereby reducing neighborhood decline and, ultimately, industrial flight.

The first major task of the project, then, was to obtain the information necessary to define the neighborhood problems, to identify specific areas in the neighborhood where the problems were prevalent, and to identify the environmental factors related to the neighborhood problems. After this information had been collected and analyzed, it would be used to plan strategies for the demonstration and, later, as comparative data during an evaluation which would attempt to assess the impact of the demonstration strategies. The initial research efforts have been completed and this report summarizes the findings and conclusions of that first phase.

Although any conclusions about the impact of neighborhood conditions on industrial flight are obviously tentative at this stage, neighborhood-related problems seemed to be an important factor in industrialists' dissatisfaction with their location and decisions to relocate. Not only were the industrialists concerned about the physical condition of the area and crime occurrences there, but they were also aware that these neighborhood problems exacerbated many of their business problems

such as obtaining financing for expansion or improvements and recruiting an adequate labor force. Furthermore, a substantial proportion of the industrialists thought that the physical and social environment of the neighborhood (e.g., abandoned buildings, vacant lots, people loitering outside taverns) heightened perceptions of the area as dangerous. This awareness of the importance of fear of crime as a problem distinct from crime itself and the influence of environmental factors on both was expressed by community leaders as well as industrialists. In short, it seems that neighborhood conditions (as distinct from business factors such as tax incentives) may be an important factor in industrial development and retention in inner-city areas and that the environmental approach to crime prevention may be a particularly useful means of approaching those issues.

The Environmental Approach to Crime Prevention

As already mentioned, the project assumed that neighborhood conditions - such as crime, fear of crime, and physical deterioration - were important factors to businessmen in deciding on the location of their firm (refer to Hamer, 1973; Mandell, 1975; Cutlert 1976; Nealon, 1977). In examining crime and related problems in the two selected neighborhoods and in developing demonstration strategies aimed at their reduction, the project used an environmental approach similar to that used in several recent crime prevention projects (Lavrakas, Normoyle and Wagenar, 1978; Hollander, Hartmann, Brown and Wiles, 1979; Frisbie, et al., 1978; Westinghouse Electric Corporation, Crime Prevention through Environmental Design). This approach focusses on the role of a neighborhood's physical and social environment in providing crime opportunities, rather than concentrating on the role of the criminal justice system in controlling crime or on the underlying "root causes" of crime, such as unemployment. By identifying the environmental factors which provided criminal opportunities (e.g., failure to use adequate locks on homes and businesses or inadequate lighting at building entrances) and which prohibited effective exercise of informal social controls by community members (e.g., insufficient number of people present on neighborhood streets to observe suspicious activities), more direct means for community residents to take preventive measures against crime can be developed.

To identify specific neighborhood problems related to crime, fear of crime, and physical deterioration, the project relied on both the perceptions of community members as well as more concrete information, such as crime data. The definition of neighborhood problems depends not only on the number of abandoned buildings or the number of robberies committed in an area. It is also dependent on the extent to which people who live and work in an area believe that these are serious problems. Such perceptions influence the use of the area by community members as well as

their decisions regarding such matters as property maintenance and can, therefore, have an important effect on the security and vitality of a neighborhood. For these reasons, both perceptual and objective information were used to define neighborhood problems.

In assessing the physical and social environments of the neighborhoods, the project focused mainly on those factors related to the primary forms of crime control: access control, surveillance, and activity support. These means of crime control are broadly defined and encompass considerably more than the locks, bolts, and security systems commonly thought of by citizens as means to prevent crime. The major extension of the concept is to include those factors related to the exercise of informal social controls by community members.

As defined in the Westinghouse Manuals for Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED), access control "operates to keep unauthorized persons out of a particular locale if they do not have legitimate reasons for being there" (CPTED), Vol. I, Ch. 2, p. 9). Access control would include such hardware as locks and alarm systems as well as social behaviors, such as the willingness to intervene when suspicious activity is observed. The purpose of surveillance is to keep users of the neighborhood under observation, but not to prohibit their presence. This form of crime control requires both the physical ability to oversee the area, including adequate lighting and the absence of structures which obscure the view of particular areas, and the presence of people to maintain fairly constant observation of the area. Activity support is the "method of reinforcing existing or new activities as a means of making effective use of the built environment" (CPTED), Vol. I, Ch. 9, pp. 9-10). Encouragement of the effective use of the environment can be accomplished through the provision and maintenance of facilities for diverse activities (which are reflected in the types of land use which are present in the neighborhood) and the development or strengthening of community organizations which can offer opportunities for participation and can mobilize residents to deal with neighborhood problems. As noted, these forms of crime control have both physical and social elements and are highly interdependent.

Although the Industrial Residential Security Project is primarily based on an environmental approach to crime prevention similar to that used in several other studies, there are a couple of factors which make the project distinct. First, the project examined the role of land uses on a blockface as a determinant of both crime and fear of crime. Jane Jacobs (1961), of course, has theorized extensively on the role of land use (particularly its diversity) in an area's security and vitality, but her supporting data were largely anecdotal. More quantitative research done on the topic has generally focused on the relationship between a particular

type of land use (such as commercial stores opened all night) and the incidence of specific crimes (such as robberies). In contrast, IRSP examined the effect of land use (both specific types and the degree of heterogeneity) of a blockface on people's perceptions of that blockface and the incidence of crimes occurring there. Second, the project examined both residents' fear of crime and employee's fear of crime. Most studies concerned with the issue of fear of crime have focused on individuals' fear while in the neighborhood in which they live. There has been no attempt (at least to the knowledge of the project staff) to assess individuals' fear of crime associated with their workplace and its surrounding neighborhood. The issue of employee (and also businessmen) fear of crime certainly has policy implications for neighborhood and city development plans, particularly in planning programs such as the urban enterprise zones. These two issues were of particular interest to the project and are considered more fully below.

In order to identify neighborhood problems and problem locations, assess the impact of environmental factors on these problems, and, in turn, to assess the importance of neighborhood conditions for industrial businesses, a variety of information was collected. The data sources for the environmental research included five interviews (with industrialists, employees, neighborhood pedestrians, community leaders, and beat police officers), several field observations (a land use inventory, physical assessment of blockfaces, and counts of vehicular and pedestrian traffic), police crime data, and other archival data. The ability to triangulate these different data sources in identifying neighborhood problems and the related neighborhood factors increased the reliability of the study's conclusions.

The IRSP Neighborhoods

One of the distinct characteristics of industrial businesses in inner-city neighborhoods is their relative proximity to residential and commercial land uses, in contrast to suburban locations which frequently isolate industrial businesses in parks. As the project was particularly interested in the impact of land uses on problems of crime, fear of crime and industrial flight, a major criterion for the two target neighborhoods was a mixture of industrial and residential land uses. The other criteria used in selecting the two neighborhoods from the fifteen potential sites included the following:

- recognized problems of physical deterioration, crime, and fear of crime in the area;

- concern over industrial relocations within the area;
- the potential for industrial expansion in the area; and
- location of the neighborhood within an Industrial Council area and a Neighborhood Strategy Area.

The two neighborhoods chosen (the NCI and Lawndale neighborhoods) satisfied most of the above criteria and provided some potentially interesting comparisons. They shared the same locational advantages and appeared to be similar in terms of the demographic characteristics of their residents. Judging by the responses of area industrialists during the Nealon study of Chicago's Industrial Council Areas (1977), however, NCI was one of the most troubled of the fifteen potential sites, while Lawndale tended to be more typical in the type and intensity of problems mentioned by the industrialists throughout the city. By contrasting the two areas, it was hoped that insights into the factors contributing to the problem differences between the two neighborhoods might be gained.

THE DEFINITION OF NEIGHBORHOOD PROBLEMS

Industrialists, employees, and residents were all asked whether hanging out, vandalism, abandoned buildings, litter (including abandoned cars), property crime, and personal crime were problems in the neighborhood and about the seriousness of these problems. (The responses of the community leaders were not included in the quantitative analyses, but information from those interviews will be included where appropriate.) In general, the differences between the respondent groups were stronger and more distinct than between the two neighborhoods.

In the identification of problems, there was general consensus among all groups (including the community leaders) that physical decline and crime occurrences were major problems in the neighborhoods. The industrial and residential communities, however, did tend to have different concerns. The industrialists and employees cited property crime and vandalism most frequently as neighborhood problems; social incivilities (hanging out) and personal crimes received the fewest mentions. Although there was less consensus among the residents than the industrialists and employees, residents were more likely to mention litter, social incivilities, and personal crime as being problems and were less likely to mention vandalism than the industrialists or employees.

In comparing the neighborhoods, the respondents in the NCI neighborhood were generally more likely to perceive each of the neighborhood characteristics as problematic. This difference was particularly strong among the industrialists and was moderate to small for the employees and residents.

When the intensity of the respondents' concerns is considered (that is, the perception of the issue as a "big problem" rather than "somewhat of a problem" or "almost no problem"), the residents of both neighborhoods expressed the most serious concern. The only exception is for property crime, which was perceived most seriously by the employees. Interestingly, the industrialists were the least likely of the respondents to identify any of the problems as a "big problem." This is particularly striking for the NCI industrialists; they were the most likely of all groups to identify crime and the neighborhood's physical condition as problems but they were also the least likely to consider these as serious ("big") problems.

In summary, the differences between the problem perceptions of the different respondents were greater than between those of the two neighborhoods. Industrialists and employees were primarily concerned about property crimes and vandalism. Residents were the group in both neighborhoods which was the most concerned about hanging out and personal crime, although these were not necessarily the top ranked problems for residents. Although industrialists and employees share similar types of concerns, the employees were more likely to perceive these problems as serious. The residents expressed more serious concern in general than any other respondent group.

These results were somewhat at variance with those anticipated. Past research has indicated that individuals who are socially integrated into the community are less fearful of crime and related problems. As industrialists and employees spend less time in the neighborhood than residents and are also less likely to become acquainted with other people in the area, it was expected that they would be less integrated into the community and would, therefore, express more concern about neighborhood problems than the residents. This was not true however, especially when the intensity of concern about the neighborhood problems was considered. In general, it was the residents who expressed the most concern about neighborhood problems. Given the responses of industrialists to questions regarding preventive measures and other comments volunteered during the interviews, it seems likely that their lower level of concern was due at least in part to their relative isolation from the neighborhood. Industrialists and employees may be hindered from becoming socially integrated into the community because of the types of activity in which they were involved while in the area. This is, other than traveling to and from the plant, most of their working day was necessarily spent inside the plant buildings, separate from the rest of the neighborhood and in many instances, unable even to see it through a window. Comments of the industrialists indicate that in order to minimize the impact of the neighborhood on themselves and their businesses, they frequently rely on their ability to isolate themselves from the community. A substantial proportion of the industrialists (about 25%) indicated that they

and their employees never go out into the neighborhood (other than for the unavoidable trip to and from the plant). Another 40% said that they (and their employees) avoid particular locations which they consider dangerous or threatening. For the residents, however, the neighborhood fulfills different functions and it would be considerably more difficult for them to use isolation as effectively as the industrialists and their employees in dealing with neighborhood problems. In short, neighborhood conditions are to some extent avoidable problems for industrialists and employees who are able to limit their contact with the surrounding community. (The use of avoidance behaviors as a reaction to crime problems by the industrialists and employees is considered further in a later section.)

Although the level of concern among industrialist and employees was not as high as anticipated, in comparison to the residents it should not be assumed that they were unaware of or unconcerned about neighborhood conditions. In fact, industrialists were more likely to cite neighborhood conditions as problems of their current location than business-related conditions. A majority of businesspeople in the two neighborhoods agreed that the following were problems.

- fear for personal safety
- vandalism
- property crime
- litter and trash
- abandoned cars
- dilapidated or abandoned buildings
- poorly maintained streets.

In contrast, of the six business-related problems which they were questioned about, only--difficulty attracting labor--came close to being identified as a problem by a majority of the industrialists.

The importance of the neighborhood conditions was highlighted in the discussions with industrialists regarding their business-related problems. The neighborhood's condition was perceived by many of the industrialists as impinging on their business problems. Businesses interested in upgrading their physical plant or expanding their facilities frequently reported difficulties in obtaining financial support and this was considered to be the result of the neighborhood's unfavorable reputation and uncertain future. A few industrialists commented that they were interested in making physical improvements but were hesitant due to declining property values in the area or long-term problems with vandalism. The impact of neighborhood

conditions was particularly salient in the recruitment of employees. Approximately one-half of the industrialists identified recruitment as one of the difficulties experienced by their firms. Of these, about one-fifth stated that the difficulty lay in the lack of skills and inability to meet other general standards (e.g., basic literacy and reliability) among available workers. The area's reputation, its unattractive appearance, and a related concern for personal safety, however, were more generally identified as the causes for the recruitment problem. The unattractive appearance of the neighborhood and the fear for one's personal safety were mentioned by 50% and 78% of the industrialists, respectively (respondents were allowed to mention more than one reason for their recruitment difficulties). It was frequently mentioned that the area's reputation was worse than what was actually deserved and this exacerbated the problem. When asked to identify the most important factor involved in recruitment, the majority of those who answered said it was both fear for personal safety and the unattractive appearance of the neighborhood; only a few mentioned the unsatisfactory nature of the available work force. In short, even the business-oriented factors which were perceived as problematic by the industrialists were considered to be closely related to neighborhood characteristics which exacerbated such problems as obtaining financial backing for expansion or recruiting adequate employees.

Even as the industrialists were aware that the poor physical condition of the neighborhood and its bad reputation unduly influenced other people's perception of the area as unsafe and unstable, the community leaders were aware that there were physical and social conditions in the neighborhoods which contributed to crime problems. They were particularly concerned about the number of abandoned buildings in the area, which they said offered ideal "hiding places" for offenders, explaining that victims were forced into these buildings where they were robbed, assaulted, or raped. Concern was also expressed for the presence of establishments in the area which attract "unsafe people" (e.g., taverns and liquor stores) and, at the same time, a lack of activity supports (i.e., the presence of facilities which attract legitimate users to the area). Although some leaders mentioned specific community facilities, such as parks or libraries, as assets while discussing the neighborhood as a place to buy a home, they also frequently mentioned that these neighborhoods lacked adequate community facilities, commercial stores, and banking facilities. In particular there was considerable concern about the lack of facilities and programs available to area youth, especially as several of the leaders had noted an upsurge in local gang activity. Although the industrialists did not express as much concern about these issues as the community leaders, they also were aware of the importance

of criminogenic conditions in the neighborhood, as indicated by their comments regarding unlit viaducts, taverns which frequently had loiterers outside, and other similar conditions. This awareness of the link between physical and social characteristics of the neighborhood and crime opportunities should facilitate the development of a demonstration program aimed at these factors.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF PROBLEM LOCATIONS

As the perceptions of problems (such as loitering and vandalism) are frequently related to specific locations, respondents were also asked to identify locations in the neighborhood where the problems were prevalent. For all three groups (industrialists, employees, and residents), the locations which were most frequently mentioned as problematic were the major thoroughfares (or blocks and intersections on those streets). Industrialists and employees also tended to identify the blockface on which the plant was located. It was not surprising that the major thoroughfares were identified as the problem locations as they were the locations most widely used by a variety of people and they also tended to have the types of locations which respondents felt were dangerous or threatening. The latter included taverns, liquor stores, and public transportation stops.

The blockfaces which were cited as having one type of problem were also likely to be mentioned as having the other problems. Thus, if the respondents identified a blockface as being a location where property crimes were a problem, they were also likely to mention personal crime, social incivilities (loitering, harassment, etc.), and physical decline. Furthermore, the blockfaces located on those major thoroughfares did tend to have more problems than the other blockfaces, as reflected in the more "objective" data, such as crime reports. Although the respondents did not seem to have particularly accurate perceptions of where specific types of crimes (e.g., predatory) were most likely to occur, the blockfaces which received more problem mentions from respondents did generally have a higher crime rate, especially for predatory and property crimes. They were more accurate in their perceptions of social incivilities: those blocks cited as locations where social incivilities were problematic tended to be blocks on which individuals loitered and engaged in other uncivil behaviors ($r = .34, p = .001$). There is no congruence, however, between respondents' perceptions of physical decline and the measures of physical decline (e.g., litter, abandoned buildings, deteriorated buildings). This may well be due to the fact that there was not much variation in the level of physical decline among the blockfaces. In short, although respondents' perceptions of locations of specific problems were not always accurate, those locations which were generally seen as having problems did have more crime incidents and more people present who were engaged in uncivil behaviors.

CRIME IN THE NEIGHBORHOODS

Crime was a serious problem in both neighborhoods. Not only was the crime rate higher than for the city as a whole but the crimes which occurred in these areas were also more serious. Generally, people are more concerned about those crimes which involve personal contact with the offender or threats or injury to the victim. As incidents of predatory and violent crimes increase in frequency relative to property crimes, then, the seriousness of crime in an area increases. The ratio of violent-to-property crimes and predatory-to-property crimes was considerably higher for these two neighborhoods than for either the city as a whole or even for the two police districts within which the neighborhoods are located. In short, crime was not only more frequent in these areas but it was also more serious in nature and more fear-provoking when compared to crime in the city as a whole.

Given the focus of the project, crimes which occurred in industrial locations were of particular interest. This set of crimes included any which occurred on industrial property, whether the victim was the business or an individual (such as an employee). Although there was substantial concern among industrialists and employees about victimization, crimes in industrial locations were relatively infrequent: in 1978, there were 64 crime incidents in industrial locations. In comparison with crimes in commercial locations, they occurred only one-third as frequently. This was not due to a difference in the number of available targets as there were approximately as many industrial as commercial businesses. Industrial crimes were also less serious than commercial incidents, as most were either property crimes (66%) or incidents of vandalism (22%). In the NCI neighborhood, a substantial proportion of the crimes were auto related thefts (44%). Almost one-third of commercial crimes were violent or predatory. Still, the dollar loss reported for property crimes was somewhat higher for the industrial locations than for the neighborhoods as a whole, averaging \$248 as compared to \$180 for the neighborhoods. The large proportion of property crimes and vandalism in these locations was congruent with the more frequent concern of industrialists and employees about these problems than the other four neighborhood problems. Crime prevention strategies aimed at reducing crime in industrial locations, therefore, should focus on property crimes and vandalism and be targeted more strongly on those streets where their occurrence was most frequent.

A large proportion of the victims in both neighborhoods were not neighborhood residents, a fact which is contrary to the usual assumption that both victims and offenders are usually close to home when an incident occurs. This was particularly true for the

NCI neighborhood and for crimes of theft. Unfortunately, the police data did not allow us to determine whether a victim was an industrial employee. The high proportion of nonresident victims, however, would be consistent with relatively frequent victimization of employees (including locations other than the plant). Given the information available from the police on crime in these neighborhoods, it would seem that inasmuch as crime was a problem for industrial firms located here it was not the victimization of the firm (e.g., burglaries or vandalism) which was the issue. Rather, it would seem, that it was primarily an issue of the victimization of their employees, frequently in locations outside the plant. This would include incidents such as thefts of or from employee vehicles parked on the street and pursenatchings or robberies while walking to/from the plant or while waiting for public transportation. Thus, strategies aimed at reducing employee victimization and employee fear of crime would be particularly useful. These could include more secured parking lots for employee vehicles and shuttle buses for those plants which are located some distance from public transportation stops.

Another important characteristic of crime incidents for planning crime prevention strategies is their visibility. If many of the incidents occur in visible locations, then increasing surveillance by community members (and their willingness to intervene either formally or informally) would be an effective means of crime prevention. A majority of the crimes on the problem locations in these two neighborhoods did occur in outside-visible locations, particularly for predatory crimes. (Outside visible locations included locations such as the street, sidewalk, parking lots, bus stops, or front porches. Alleys, el platforms, backyards, taxis, delivery trucks, and gas stations were classified as outside-nonvisible.) In addition, among those crimes which by definition occur inside (e.g., burglaries), approximately one-half of the points-of-entry were also visible. The visibility was somewhat lower for crimes in industrial locations (44%) and virtually none of the crimes in commercial locations were visible. Points-of-entry for those crimes which occurred inside were visible in 48% of commercial offenses and only 25% of industrial offenses. When crime incidents for the entire neighborhood are considered, the proportion of violent and property crimes which occurred in inside residential locations increased considerably (42% and 34%, respectively). Nonetheless, approximately half of the violent and property crimes and three-quarters of the predatory crimes in the neighborhoods occurred in outside-visible locations. Strategies aimed at increasing surveillance, therefore, should help reduce crime opportunities in the neighborhood. Given the lower visibility of commercial and industrial offenses, however, surveillance strategies should probably be combined with access control strategies at these locations.

Finally, the crime patterns varied across the problem locations. Crime was most serious (as measured by the ratio of property crime to violent or predatory crime) on Roosevelt road in Lawndale, Pulaski Road in both neighborhoods, and Lake Street in NCI. It was least serious on the two problem location streets which were primarily industrial; these locations also had the lowest total frequency. Industrial and commercial location crimes were also concentrated on specific streets. The former occurred primarily on Pulaski Road in NCI (34% of all industrial crimes), Kilbourn Avenue in Lawndale (18%), and 16th Street in Lawndale (14%); commercial crimes were most frequent on Cicero Avenue in NCI (21% of all commercial crimes) and Pulaski Road (42%) and 16th Street in Lawndale (13%). On those streets which had a high rate of commercial crimes, there was also a heavy concentration of offenses occurring in taverns and drinking establishments: one-third or more of the offenses in these locations happened in taverns.

In summary; crime was a serious problem for both neighborhoods, as indicated by the particularly high proportions of predatory and violent crimes. The concern among residents for personal crimes certainly seems justified by the police accounts of neighborhood crime. Industrialists and employees were more concerned about property crime and vandalism, which is also congruent with the high proportion of these crimes among those occurring in industrial locations. In comparison with other locations, however, industrial sites experienced relatively few crimes. It appears that to the extent that crime presented a problem for industrial firms, the more important issue was employee victimization and fear of crime rather than the victimization of the firm. In planning crime prevention strategies, several factors should be considered:

- the high proportion of predatory and violent crimes occurring in the neighborhoods;
- the visibility of the majority of crimes in the neighborhood, especially of predatory crimes;
- the high proportion of auto related offenses among property crimes, especially for industrial locations in the NCI neighborhood;
- the variation in types of crimes which occur on the problem blockfaces; and
- the problem of employee victimization and fear of crime.

REACTIONS TO CRIME

Individuals and firms can respond to perceived crime threats in a variety of ways: avoiding threatening situations by withdrawing, individual attempts to enhance security (e.g., adding deadbolt locks to doors), or working with other individuals or an organization to prevent crimes (e.g., blockwatches). In these two neighborhoods, it appeared that industrialists, employees, and residents reacted primarily through avoidance or individual attempts to reduce crime. There were few cooperative efforts aimed at preventing crime despite the relatively high levels of concern regarding the risk of victimization.

Community leaders reported wide range of precautions taken by residents to avoid crime victimization. Concern for burglaries prompted many residents to put bars or grills on doors and windows, to avoid delivery of new household purchases, and to use housesitters for any absence from home of more than a few hours duration. To minimize the risk of personal victimization, taverns, clubs, and parks and used more caution when outside at night. It was mentioned occasionally that parents kept children inside as they were concerned about their safety when they played outside, particularly in area parks.

Although crime impinged considerably on residents' activities and the community leaders were obviously familiar with this neighborhood problem, almost none of the community organizations in these two areas focused on crime prevention. Besides the city sponsored Beat Rep program, the umbrella organization of block clubs was the most involved in crime prevention. Generally, however, crime related programs were only tangential to the organizations' goals, to the extent that they existed at all.

This lack of crime prevention activities seemed due to two facts. First, the community leaders reported that residents took a basically acquiescent attitude toward crime. They seemed to consider fear of crime and victimization as simply a "part of life," probably with an underlying assumption that no effective action could be taken to prevent it. There was, then no perceived interest among residents in taking direct action against crime. Second, community leaders appeared to view crime as embedded within a complex, interrelated set of problems experienced by the neighborhoods. Rather than programs aimed directly at crime as an individual problem, these organizations tended to be more broadly concerned with the quality of life in the neighborhoods, with a focus on housing rehabilitation, job opportunities, and youth programs. Although it was not explicitly articulated, the underlying assumption appeared to be that improving the general quality of the neighborhood as a place to live was the most effective way of reducing crime. Workshops which demonstrated the effectiveness of strategies aimed directly at reducing crime opportunities, especially in combination with

programs focussed on the "root causes" of crime, could be useful in engaging the residents and community leaders in the issue of crime prevention.

Industrialists also reported a number of measures taken by themselves and their employees to prevent victimization. All the industrial buildings but one had two or more security measures; most buildings (55%) had a combination of from five to seven different security devices. The measures most commonly used were means of access control, including bricked-up windows, window and door bars and grills, and fences (particularly around parking lots); about half of the buildings also used electronic surveillance systems. Industrialists generally reported using these security measures as an attempt to deter burglaries and vandalism.

Several precautions were also used by industrialists and their employees to avoid personal victimization. Traveling by car (rather than public transportation) was the only preventive behavior engaged in by a majority of industrialists and employees, although a substantial proportion reported avoiding certain dangerous locations and many employees were said to travel with companions to enhance safety. An additional 25% of the industrialists reported that they and their employees never go out into the neighborhood and, therefore, precautions are unnecessary.

In addition to these specific measures for crime prevention, two more general and basically contradictory approaches were mentioned by the industrialist: interaction with residents, particularly hiring them as employees, and physical isolation of the firm from residential areas. A substantial proportion of the industrialists (in both neighborhoods) indicated that they believed that isolation of the plant from residential areas would help to reduce crime problems, particularly vandalism. One industrialist believed that the intermingling of industrial and residential land uses was the cause of the crime and vandalism problems experienced by the businesses. In the NCI neighborhood, one of the largest firms has worked in cooperation with the city to demolish several blocks of residential housing to provide the firm with additional parking lots as well as what the managers considered a safer and more pleasant environment for their employees. This preference for isolated industrial areas was echoed by several Lawndale industrialists who were planning a mini-industrial park for that neighborhood. Separation of the firms from the neighborhood, of course, not only was expected to divorce the firms from local crime problems but also to reduce the effect of physical deterioration and other neighborhood problems on the industrialists and their employees.

Although it seemed to be a less frequent response to perceived crime problems than isolation, interacting with and hiring residents was cited by some industrialists as a means of reducing crime problems. Several incidents were mentioned by industrialists and community leaders in which hiring area residents reduced vandalism or enabled the firm to locate stolen articles and identify offenders (usually in connection with auto thefts). Other interactions with residents (through donations to local groups, sponsoring a Little League team, etc.) also seemed to establish more cooperative efforts; industrialists reported that residents with whom they had interacted in this manner had reported "after hours" crime incidents and assisted in locating offenders. Although relatively few of the industrialists reported more than sporadic interaction with the residential community, they tended to perceive these intentions as a means of increasing neighborhood stability and of reducing their crime problems through cooperative efforts. This contrasted sharply with the isolation approach of other industrialists.

In summary, fear of crime has definitely affected the behaviors of industrialists, employees, and residents. There were few cooperative efforts among individuals or firms, however, aimed at crime prevention. An umbrella organization of block clubs dealt with crime and related issues and there were some scattered, ad hoc incidents of cooperation between industrialists and residents. Given the frequency and seriousness of crime in these neighborhoods and the potential effectiveness of increased surveillance in reducing neighborhood crime (especially on the problem locations), the development of organized, cooperative efforts at crime prevention should be stressed. In developing these crime prevention programs, the issue of industrial-residential cooperation obviously arises. In particular, the efficacy of such an approach (in comparison to isolation) and the willingness of both sides to be involved need to be considered.

The relative effectiveness of physically isolating the firm from the residential area in comparison with establishing networks of communication with residents is uncertain. There was only one industrial park in the neighborhoods and one semi-isolated strip of industrial businesses. With such a limited sample it is not possible to assess the effectiveness of industrial parks in alleviating crime and related problems. The data which are available, however, indicate that industrial parks are not a panacea for inner-city industrial businesses. The industrial park and the semi-isolated strip both had low crime frequencies when compared to the other problem locations, which would suggest that isolation does decrease crime. These areas, however, also had relatively few targets. As the buildings were relatively large (and the park had a substantial proportion of vacant land) and the industrial areas had considerably fewer pedestrians than

the other problem locations, the lower crime frequency was undoubtedly due in part to the lower number of available targets. There were relatively few crimes which occurred in any industrial location and whether isolating the firms from residential areas further reduces the number of crime incidents cannot be determined without a larger sample of both industrial locations and crime incidents. Judging from the responses of the industrialists, location in an industrial park did not reduce the impact of neighborhood problems on the businesses. The majority of the industrialists in the park expressed considerable dissatisfaction with their location and three firms were planning to relocate, largely due to neighborhood conditions. Problems cited by these businessmen included the physical maintenance of the park, the poor condition of the surrounding community, the long distance from public transportation stops to the plants, concern for the safety of their employees, thefts of and from autos in the park, and difficulties in recruiting employees for evening/night shifts. In addition, these industrialists and those located on the semi-isolated strip mentioned problems with dragracing, a problem which was unique to these two locations and was undoubtedly due to the good condition of those streets (unusual in these neighborhoods) and their relative isolation. The dragracing created obvious traffic problems as well as drawing numerous observers who were perceived as threatening by the industrialists and employees. Although industrial parks were considered a viable solution to problems of crime and vandalism by many industrialists, it is unclear whether firms (and their employees) located in the park experienced less crime than those located closer to residential areas. It did not reduce the concern about neighborhood problems among the industrialists nor, apparently, did it reduce the likelihood of relocation. In short, industrial parks do not seem to offer clear-cut advantages over cooperative efforts with residents as a means of dealing with neighborhood problems.

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS OF CRIME AND FEAR OF CRIME

A primary assumption of the project was that the physical and social characteristics of the environment serve as cues to people in the neighborhood regarding the existence and severity of certain problems as well as defining crime opportunities. In particular, we were interested in the effect of the types of land uses (particularly industrial land use), the heterogeneity of land use, the physical decline (litter, deteriorated buildings, abandoned buildings, and vacant lots) the social uses including the number of pedestrians and vehicles, and the number of young males and people engaged in uncivil behaviors of a blockface on the perceptions of that blockface among community members and the number of crime incidents on that blockface. Land uses and social uses of a blockface appear to be important determinants of

the perceptions of neighborhood problems among community members but are less important determinants of crime incidents. The physical decline of a blockface appears to have little impact on either perceptions or crime.

Both land uses and social uses of a blockface have a strong impact on community members' perceptions of that blockface. This impact was stronger for their perceptions of social incivilities and personal crime than for their perceptions of property crime or physical deterioration. Those blockfaces which were perceived as having problems of physical decline, social incivilities, personal crime and/or property crime tended to have the following characteristics:

- commercial buildings and community facilities;
- public transportation stops
- heterogeneous land use;
- abandoned buildings;
- heavier levels of pedestrian and vehicular traffic;
- more male youths; and
- more people observed in uncivil behaviors (e.g., loitering or drinking on the street).

There was some interaction, also, between these factors. Blockfaces which had commercial establishments, community facilities, bus stops, and a heterogeneous mix of land uses were also more likely to have not only higher levels of traffic but also more male youths (who are frequently perceived as more threatening than other pedestrians) and more people engaged in uncivil behaviors. In contrast, blockfaces with more industrial land use tend to have less traffic, fewer young males, and also fewer persons engaged in uncivil behaviors. They were also less likely to be perceived as problematic or threatening locations by community members. Although the land uses present on a blockface clearly had an impact on the social uses of that blockface, the multiple regression analyses confirmed that both the land uses and social uses of the blockface were important determinants of the perceptions of that blockface.

The land uses and social uses of a blockface are less important determinants of the crime incidents on that blockface. When all blockfaces in the neighborhoods were considered, crime (property, predatory and violent) was more likely to occur on those blockfaces having public transportation stops, mixed land use, and residential buildings. The presence of community facilities and commercial establishments were associated with a higher incidence of predatory crimes. Those blockfaces with more industrial establishments, however, were less likely to experience crime of any kind. Among those blockfaces which were identified as problem locations, those having abandoned buildings

were more likely to experience violent and predatory crimes. This is congruent with the strong concern of community leaders for the criminal opportunities presented by the numerous abandoned buildings in the neighborhoods. The relatively weak impact of social usage on crime incidents was unexpected. Property crimes were somewhat more likely to occur on those blockfaces with more vehicular and pedestrian traffic; predatory crimes were more likely to occur on blockfaces with heavy vehicular traffic. In particular, it is interesting to note that although "hanging out" and other incivilities are often perceived as signs of disorder and problems "waiting to happen," crime incidents on these blockfaces were not related to the observed presence of people engaged in such uncivil behaviors. Nor was the presence of young males more strongly associated with crime occurrences than was the overall level of traffic. In summary, the land uses and social uses of a blockface had a smaller impact on crime incidents than expected and their effect on crime was frequently different from that which was hypothesized. The presence of heterogeneous land uses (particularly including commercial establishments and community facilities), and of public transportation stops on a blockface were expected to act as activity supports--that is, increase the number of legitimate users in the area--and thereby be associated with a lower incidence of crime and lower levels of fear of crime. Those blockfaces did have a higher number of pedestrians, but they were also more likely to be perceived as threatening and somewhat more likely to experience crimes.

For those blockfaces which had been identified as problem locations, we also inventoried the physical crime controls present on each blockface and examined their impact on community members' perceptions and the occurrence of crime. The physical crime controls included six-foot fences, door and window grills (physical barriers), short fences, hedges, signs noting security signs, signs restricting access to certain individuals (symbolic barriers), buildings with little or no visibility onto the street, and parking lots with lights (surveillance). It was expected, of course, that the use or presence of physical crime controls on a blockface would be associated with a lower incidence of crime. Their anticipated impact on perceptions was less clear. For instance, the use of grills on most commercial establishments might be interpreted by pedestrians as a cue that the area is dangerous and has a high crime rate.

In the problem location blockfaces, the use of physical crime controls was strongly related to land uses, with distinct security measures associated with residential and industrial properties. Basically, residential properties used short fences and hedges (symbolic barriers) and industrial properties used physical barriers, security and restrictive signs (symbolic barriers), and lights in parking lots. Commercial businesses, commercial facilities, and buildings with mixed uses tended not to use security measures, with the exception of window and door grills.

The use of security measures, however, had little impact on either problem perceptions or crime incidents when the type of land use in a blockface is controlled. The one exception to this was a slight tendency for the presence of short fences and hedges (which were used primarily on residential properties) to reduce concern about physical decline and personal crimes. Any conclusions about the impact of physical crime controls is obviously tentative. Several factors may have suppressed possible relations with crime and perceptions. First, a large sample of blockfaces is needed in order to sort out the different effects of land use and physical crime controls. Second, a larger sample of crime incidents is needed to provide a more detailed analysis. Given the limited specificity of the crime categories and the crime-specific nature of some of the security measures, the impact of crime controls on crime incidents may have been obscured. Third, such analyses may need to be done at the building rather than the blockface level, as offenders (as well as owners/managers make decisions about particular establishments or buildings rather than about blockfaces.

In summary, the physical and social characteristics of the environment which we examined were stronger determinants of people's perceptions of a location than of the crime occurrences of a location. The characteristics of those blockfaces which were perceived as threatening or problematic seem to indicate that activity support strategies aimed at increasing the number and diversity of available facilities/establishments in the area and, thereby the number of people in the area would not be successful in reducing either crime or fear of crime. Such a conclusion should be cautiously drawn however. First, a substantial proportion of the commercial uses on these locations were bars and package liquor stores. Such establishments were considered dangerous by all four respondent groups, were frequently the "hangout" for loiterers, and accounted for a significant amount of crimes occurring at commercial locations. Second, those locations which had a higher number of pedestrians also had higher numbers of people engaged in uncivil behaviors making it impossible to separate out the effect of these two factors. These two factors could easily be expected to differ in other neighborhoods and thus, the impact of the land uses and social uses could also change. Our analysis indicates that the land uses and social uses are important determinants of people's perceptions of an area and, to a lesser extent, its crime occurrences. An examination of these issues in a wider variety of neighborhoods would provide useful information in more clearly specifying the role of land uses in generating neighborhood activity, both legitimate and criminal, and perceptions of the neighborhood.

THE PROBLEM OF INDUSTRIAL FLIGHT

A majority of the industrialists in these two neighborhoods clearly felt that the neighborhoods posed problems for their businesses. Of those who were interviewed, however, less than one-fifth were planning on (or seriously considering) relocating part or all of their businesses. Furthermore, almost a third were planning to expand at their current site and over half reported that they had made major capital improvements during the past five years. The loss of almost one-fifth of the firms would be significant, but the number of firms planning to expand indicates that a substantial proportion of the industrialists still consider the area sufficiently viable as an industrial location to warrant further investment.

Of the ten industrialists (15%) who said that they planned to relocate part or all of their operations, seven were from the NCI neighborhood and three from Lawndale. An additional three industrialists were seriously considering relocating but were still undecided. When asked about their reasons for relocating, three-quarters of these industrialists identified the neighborhood conditions as a motivating factor; and one-third mentioned the desire to be located in an area more attractive to employees. The other factors mentioned were business-related, including available space for expansion (31%), obsolete facilities (23%), availability of a better labor force (23%), lower taxes (23%), consolidation of dispersed operations (15%), and availability of cheaper labor (8%). In short, the poor condition of the neighborhood was cited by more industrialists than any other single factor. The importance of the neighborhood in making relocation decisions was confirmed when the industrialists were asked which of the reasons they gave for relocating was most important. Six industrialists identified neighborhood conditions as most critical to their decision. Another businessman said that the neighborhood conditions had contributed significantly; the firm needed to expand but the problems associated with the surrounding neighborhood precluded expansion at its present site. For slightly more than half of those industrialists relocating; then, neighborhood conditions was the critical factor in deciding to move out of the area.

In addition to questions about plans for relocation and expansion, the industrialists were asked about their projections for the area's future as an industrial location in the next five years. There was little consensus among the industrialists of either neighborhood about their area's long-range future. Industrialists in the NCI neighborhood were almost as likely to anticipate growth as decline (28% and 31%, respectively). Businessmen in Lawndale appeared to expect continuation of the

status quo unless positive actions were taken to stimulate further growth. Among the positive actions which they thought would enhance the area's prospects were a public relations campaign to upgrade its reputation and the development of an industrial park.

The comments of those industrialists planning to relocate are certainly suggestive of the problems which city policies aimed at industrial flight should address; but they are based on relatively few cases and, therefore, are not conclusive. To provide further information based on a larger sample of industrialists, the relationships between a firm's characteristics and the perceived advantages and disadvantages of the neighborhood with a general measure of dissatisfaction with current location were examined. The dissatisfaction of industrialists with their site included questions on the general satisfaction with their location, assessment of the neighborhood as an industrial investment opportunity, future plans for their own firms, (e.g., relocation, expansion) and projections of the area's long-term prospects as an industrial site.

Given the comments of the industrialists during the interviews, it was anticipated that some characteristics of the firm, especially the type of work force it employed, would strongly influence the industrialists' perceptions of the neighborhood's future as an industrial site. In general, it was expected that the industrialists' whose firms hired more women and more skilled or administrative employees would be more likely to perceive the physical condition of the area, the presence of social incivilities, and crime incidents as problems associated with the neighborhood and also be more likely to have a pessimistic outlook for the neighborhood. Membership in a locally based industrial organization was viewed as providing a means of dealing collectively with such problems and, therefore, was expected to mitigate the perceptions of local problems and be associated with a more positive view of the area's future. Finally, the identification of fewer advantages and more problems associated with the neighborhood were assumed to be important determinants of general dissatisfaction (as defined above).

As is usually the case, the results of the analysis were less clear-cut than expected. The characteristics of the firm had more impact on the identified problems of the area than on the perceived advantages; these relationships were usually only moderately strong. The pertinent characteristics varied somewhat with the problem being considered, but the proportion of the work force which was administrative, clerical, or semi-skilled appeared to have the most general impact, usually increasing the perception of problems (including public transportation, physical deterioration, social incivilities, and crime). The impact of

the firm's characteristics on crime perceptions varied according to the type of crime. Concern about property crime was less among those industrialists who ran more shifts and employed a larger proportion of men. During the interviews, several industrialists commented that since the firm had two or three shifts there were usually employees present at the plant and they were, therefore, less worried about being burglarized. The relevant characteristics of the work force for personal crime and concern about victimization were distinct from those related to property crime. Those industrialists with larger work forces and higher percentages of administrative and clerical workers were more likely to be concerned about personal crime and possible victimization. The number of shifts and proportion of male employees were again negatively related to crime related problems, but failed to reach significance. Finally, the reported use of preventive measures was associated with a larger proportion of female workers and a larger work force. The proportion of skilled or semi-skilled employees was apparently unrelated to crime concerns, although it showed some relation to the perception of other neighborhood problems.

Neither the firm's characteristics nor the perception of neighborhood advantages demonstrated much relationship with industrialists' dissatisfaction with their current location. Those industrialists whose firms hired more skilled employees and younger employees were more likely to be dissatisfied with their location. Although this offers some support for our earlier assumptions, none of the other characteristics of the work force (proportion of administrative, clerical, or female employees) was related to dissatisfaction as had been expected. Similarly, perceived advantages showed only limited relationships to general dissatisfaction and these were frequently contrary to expectations. In particular, ease of access was the advantage most frequently cited by industrialists and it was also strongly associated with site dissatisfaction and a pessimistic outlook for the neighborhood. Only the perception of municipal services as an advantage was positively related to satisfaction with current location.

Perceptions of neighborhood problems did increase the industrialists' tendency to have a pessimistic outlook for the neighborhood's future as an industrial site as expected, but they were generally unrelated to other measures of industrial dissatisfaction (see above). Among the business-related problems, only the lack of room to expand was associated with site dissatisfaction; problems of available labor, excessive taxes, and obsolete facilities failed to show significant relationships with any of the measures of industrial dissatisfaction. Of the neighborhood-related problems, concerns about crime and social incivilities were most clearly and strong-

ly related to a negative outlook. Although concern about personal crime and social incivilities were cited less frequently by industrialists than other problems and were less likely to be considered "serious" by them, they were important determinants of industrialist dissatisfaction. Fear of victimization (both property and personal), concern about criminogenic conditions, the use of preventive measures, and concern about public transportation also contributed to an industrialist's negative outlook for the area's future. The perceptions of physical deterioration and poor traffic conditions (i.e., bad streets, heavy traffic, and inadequate parking) apparently had no impact on their dissatisfaction.

The only active, locally-based industrial organization was in Lawndale and so the impact of organizational membership on site dissatisfaction was only examined for Lawndale industrialists. The effect of organizational membership on industrialists' perceptions of the neighborhood was mixed. Members of the local industrial council were less likely to consider municipal services as a benefit of their current location and were also more concerned about excessive taxes, traffic difficulties and social incivilities than nonmembers. Although none of the relationships reached significance, membership was also negatively related to perceptions of crime; that is, members were less likely to consider crime as a problem. Inasmuch as it demonstrated any impact on neighborhood perceptions, then, membership was generally related to heightened concern among industrialists, with the interesting possible exception of crime related problems. Membership did seem to mitigate the impact of these concerns, however, on industrialists' dissatisfaction.

It was positively related to recent capital improvements ($r = .23$) and negatively related to site dissatisfaction ($r = .21$) and a pessimistic outlook for the area's future as an industrial site ($r = .17$). Given the small number of industrialists included in this analysis (32), none of these relationships were significant, but the results do suggest that membership in a local industrial organization may provide needed resources and incentives for dealing with neighborhood-related problems. This conclusion is also consistent with the generally higher level of concern and dissatisfaction among NCI industrialists who lacked a locally-based industrial organization.

Industrial relocations were certainly a problem for the neighborhoods and neighborhood-related problems were an important factor in the relocation decisions of the industrialists and in the general dissatisfaction among the industrialists. The only business-related problem which seemed related to their dissatisfaction with their location was the lack of room to expand. Clearly, there are a number of policies within the ju-

risdiction of city governments which could be established to encourage industrial development and retention in inner-city neighborhoods. These would include the following:

- provision of good municipal services (e.g., street repair and street cleaning);
- improvement in the accessibility and safety of public transportation;
- reduction of crime and fear of crime, especially among industrial employees and the relevant labor pool;
- the alleviation of social incivilities (e.g., people loitering outside taverns);
- cooperation with industrial firms in locating and clearing available lands for industrial expansions; and
- the establishment of and cooperation with locally-based industrial organizations.

In developing land for industrial uses, the role of industrial parks should obviously be considered. Our information suggests that industrial parks may alleviate some problems associated with operating in an inner-city neighborhood (e.g., vandalism) but may also give rise to other problems unique to the park (e.g., dragracing). In planning such parks, these trade-offs and means for avoiding the new problems should be carefully considered. Furthermore, it appears that interacting with community organizations (e.g., supporting a local boy scout troop) and hiring local residents when possible may help significantly in reducing crime related problems. In short, perhaps a strategy combining a degree of physical isolation from the residential community and social interaction with it would mitigate the neighborhood-related problems impinging on industrial firms located in inner-city neighborhoods.

NOTES

1. For information on the development plan proposed as a result of the environmental research refer to the Industrial Residential Security Project Demonstration Plan. For information on the evaluation plan outlined for the demonstration project refer to the Industrial Residential Security Project Evaluation Plan, which includes the theoretical framework for the evaluation as well as specification of the data to be collected. More detailed information on the methodologies and the findings of the environmental research are available in the Industrial Residential Security Project Final Research Report.
2. This is not to suggest that the role of the criminal justice system or broader based social programs directed at the root causes of crime are not essential factors in society's attempts to deal with the problem of crime.

END