UNLV Theses, Dissertations, Professional Papers, and Capstones

May 2018

# Assessing the Potential for a Backfire Effect on Citizen Perceptions: A Test of Hot Spot Policing in Las Vegas

Steven Andrew Pace
metroexplorer2000@yahoo.com

Repository Citation

ASSESSING THE POTENTIAL FOR A BACKFIRE EFFECT ON CITIZEN PERCEPTIONS:
A TEST OF HOT SPOT POLICING IN LAS VEGAS


by


Steven Andrew Pace


Bachelor of Arts - Psychology
University of Nevada, Las Vegas
2007


Master of Arts – Criminal Justice
University of Nevada, Las Vegas
2010


A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the


Doctor of Philosophy – Sociology


Department of Sociology
College of Liberal Arts
The Graduate College


University of Nevada, Las Vegas
May 2018

# UNLV | GRADUATE COLLEGE

**Dissertation Approval**

The Graduate College
The University of Nevada, Las Vegas

May 7, 2018

This dissertation prepared by

Steven Andrew Pace

entitled

Assessing the Potential for a Backfire Effect on Citizen Perceptions: A Test of Hot Spot Policing in Las Vegas

is approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy – Sociology
Department of Sociology

Christie Batson, Ph.D.
*Examination Committee Chair*

Andrew Spivak, Ph.D.
*Examination Committee Co-Chair*

David Dickens, Ph.D.
*Examination Committee Member*

William Sousa, Ph.D.
*Graduate College Faculty Representative*

Kathryn Hausbeck Korgan, Ph.D.
*Graduate College Interim Dean*

ii

ABSTRACT

**Assessing the Potential for Backfire Effects on Citizen Perceptions: A Test of Hot Spot Policing in Las Vegas**
by
Steven Andrew Pace
Dr. Christie Batson, Examination Committee Chair
Associate Professor of Sociology, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

*Objects:* In this dissertation, I explore whether the use of motorized police saturation patrol in high crime neighborhoods negatively impacts citizen perceptions of police activity, opinions about the police, and perceived safety level. This research focuses on evaluating whether or not any backfire effects were attributed to the use of the hot spot policing tactic. *Methods:* I report on survey data from the Smart Policing Initiative (SPI), which entailed face-to-face interviews in 12 hot spot neighborhoods (n=1,005) (6 paired locations) as part of an evaluation from the SPI on the Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department Mobile Crime Saturation Team. The survey was administered immediately following the saturation team's sixty-day deployment to each hot spot neighborhood pairs. Twenty-four hot spot neighborhoods were randomly assigned to either treatment of control locations. The impact to community perceptions by the police saturation patrol was assessed via three indexes and analyzed using Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression models for each outcome measure. *Results:* Data analyzed from OLS regression models revealed no statistical significance concerning the association between saturation patrol and the outcome measures. With the addition of covariates, it was determined that saturation patrol made no difference concerning citizen perceptions on the outcome measures; rather, the results suggested that other factors served as better predictors. *Conclusion:* In this instance, police saturation patrol did not appear to be attributed to any backfire effects, as observed in Las Vegas.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION

Do efforts by police to reduce crime and disorder at specific places really matter? Since the early 1990s, a growing number of empirical studies have begun to more thoroughly examine this issue. Police serve an important societal role and function; however, until recently, their efforts were rarely assessed. What is the association between the police and reductions in crime and disorder? Do any unintended consequences or backfire effects develop as a result of policing disorder in urban neighborhoods? The American model of policing is very adept at discovering the who, when, where, and how concerning a criminal event; however, the why typically is neglected, perhaps an important indicator in developing long-term, place-based crime prevention solutions that arguably address root causes or generate effects of crime and deviance at specific places.

With the introduction of computer based statistical modeling (COMPSTAT) in the 1990s, police departments tended to deploy resources based on retrospective crime incident data. Subsequent police initiatives based on COMPSTAT data have often reflected short-term policing tactics such as "police-led crackdowns" and "zero-tolerance" initiatives. What has often been neglected is the subtle, place-based, or unique problems that may vary by area, as issues related to certain criminal events may not be the same even in different neighborhoods of the same city.

The notion that crime is not evenly distributed across places has only recently been the subject of serious empirical examination in criminology. Taking a step away from attempts to explain criminality, scholars have only recently examined such misconceptions concerning the distribution of crime across place. With a renewed interest in how the characteristics of place affect crime and disorder, scholars have attempted to understand how environment influences

such phenomenon. Recent research suggests that crime is tightly coupled in smaller places across cities (Weisburd et al., 2012). Furthermore, crime incidents may vary at smaller units of analysis, such as street intersections, rather than merely in neighborhoods, as previously suspected (Sampson and Wilson, 1995; Agnew, 1999; Brantingham and Brantingham, 1984; 1993).

Additionally, recent evidence suggests that crime concentrated in small places may show relative stability over time (Weisburd et al., 2004; 2012). This notion was previously explored when examining police calls-for-service (CFS) data. Sherman (1989) found that the vast majority of police CFS in Minneapolis were concentrated in a small minority of places. This presents critical questions concerning the factors contributing to the concentration and stability of crime in specific places.

Furthermore, the effectiveness of focused police interventions at specific places is still somewhat unclear. Previous research examining targeted police interventions in specific places has shown decreases in crime; however, these benefits may be limited (Wilson and Kelling, 1982; Skogan and Harnet, 1997, Kelling and Sousa, 2001; Weisburd and Eck, 2004; Braga 2007, 2009; 2010; 2012; Weisburd and Braga, 2007, 2010; Telep and Weisburd, 2012; Ratcliff et al. 2015). Although some scholars have suggested that sufficient empirical evidence exists to support the notion that place-based or hot spot policing may be effective, still others point to specific limitations (Rosenbaum, 2006; Mastrofski et al., 2010; Durlauf and Nagin, 2011).

As such, critiques of place-based or hot spot policing also remain prevalent, arguing that police may not have the impact in crime reduction as previously believed. As a matter of fact, scholars have argued that such strategies may have the opposite effect: increasing citizen perceptions of crime and disorder, decreasing police legitimacy, and making citizens feel less safe (Rosenbaum 2006; Hinkle and Weisburd, 2008; Weisburd et al., 2012). Subsequently,

scholars have suggested that hot spot policing may: (1) increase citizen perceptions that crime and disorder is on the rise: (2) decrease police legitimacy; and (3) increases fear of crime in high crime areas (Rosenbaum, 2006; Kochel, 2011). In addition to these potential backfire effects, neighborhoods labeled as hot spots by local officials may already have a large police presence. Further increases in police activity through aggressive hot spot policing tactics may further strain existing community/police relationships (Sampson and Bartusch, 1998, Brunson and Miller, 2006; Gau and Bratt, 2008; Ratecliff et al., 2015). This highlights the importance of selecting the appropriate place-based or hot spot policing tactics, as well as the necessity of considering community perceptions of such tactics, as cooperation and support of the police by community members is key in controlling crime in the long term (Sunshine and Taylor, 2003; Tyler and Fagen, 2003; Weisburd et al., 2011).

As previously mentioned, although empirical evidence is sparse, both scholars and police administrators have suggested that through place-based policy interventions, police may reduce crime and disorder by altering opportunity structure in crime hot spots (Cohen and Felson, 1979; Stark, 1987, Wilson and Kelling, 1982; Braga, 2007; Braga et al., 2014). Proponents of hot spot policing tactics argue that the police may be able to assist communities with reestablishing informal social control mechanisms in high crime areas and, thus, reduce serious crime, disorder, and residential fear of crime. Place-based or hot spot policing strategies take the form of different tactics, ranging from police-led crackdowns to proactive enforcement of minor incivilities (the broken-windows hypothesis), often producing mixed results (Rosenbaum, 2006; Lersch and Hart, 2011).

Examining deviance and its relation to place, scholars have long contended that places with higher levels of social control and collective efficacy may manage disorder better than

3

places with lower levels (Sampson et al., 1997). If characteristic of place affect deviance, then what factors may contribute to reducing opportunity for deviant or criminal acts? Does the function police are tasked with impact opportunity structure, crime, and fear of crime and disorder? Again, the question remains: What is the impact of place-based police interventions on crime? Also, how are citizen or community perceptions impacted as a result of place-based or hot spot policing tactics?

Previous research examining the impact of hot spot policing has relied heavily on official police level incident and CFS data, but this reveals only a limited understanding of the crime problem concerning a specific place or neighborhood. Also, citizen perceptions of increased police activity, the impact of the tactic on police legitimacy, and fear of crime have often been neglected in the literature and may serve as a gap when evaluating place-based or hot spot policing tactics (Braga 2001, 2006; Weisburd and Braga, 2005, 2010; Telep and Weisburd, 2012; Haberman et al., 2016; Ratcliff et al., 2015).

Perception of crime also has a crucial indirect effect on criminal behavior and crime prevention. In fact, how a community perceives crime in specific places can be just as important in the prevention of crime, regardless of police intervention. Consequently, the social and contextual characteristics of the place itself matter (Weisburd et al., 2012). For instance, people may refrain from purchasing a home in a particular neighborhood due to perceived level of crime and disorder. Also, such perceptions concerning crime and disorder may cause residents to further withdraw from the communities in which they currently reside, which ultimately serves to further weaken social control mechanisms in various spaces. Police tactics that focus on increased police activity may actually yield the opposite effect of reducing crime and disorder in the long term. As previously mentioned, a sudden increase in police activity may cause residents

to perceive an increase in crime. These tactics may, in turn, contribute to a backfire effect, leading citizens to believe crime is on the rise when it actually is not.

Community support by the police matters. Consequently, how police are perceived by citizens is extremely important for cooperation and long-term crime prevention. With increased public scrutiny on police practices, understanding the unique problems in specific places may require police officials to further incorporate strategies that encourage enhanced relationships with the community. Also, how community members perceive they are being treated by the police during encounters matters. Mazerolle et al. (2013) found that citizens generally maintained more positive views of the police when they felt they were treated in a just manner during such encounters. Survey data collected by Shaw (1995) found that citizens in "targeted hot spots" during increased police activity reported "better quality of life" in their neighborhood and generally supported the tactic (Shaw, 1995; Ratcliff et al., 2015). Several other scholars have reported similar findings, indicating that citizens were generally supportive of increases in police activity (Sherman and Rogan, 1995; Braga and Bond, 2008; Wood et al., 2013; Haberman et al., 2014; Ratcliff et al., 2015)

Several scholars have noted that serious crime, on average, is less prevalent than minor incivilities (disorder) such as vagrancy, neighbor disputes, and juvenile disturbances (Wilson and Kelling, 1982). Although this may be the case, citizen-perceived fear of crime may be higher than the actual rate of crime recorded in official crime statistics. Also, other demographic factors such as gender and race may mediate or serve as more accurate predictors in regard to this fear (Riger and Gordon, 1981; Ferraro and LaGrange, 1987; Ferraro, 1995; Rountree and Land, 1996a; Haynie, 1998; Rountree, 1998; Fisher and Sloan, 2003). Fear of crime may also serve to

promote social isolation within communities and, thus, contribute to a poorer quality of life and subsequently further weaken informal social control mechanisms, as mentioned above.

To illustrate this point, Wilson and Kelling (1982) contend that when a neighborhood allows an excessive amount of disorder to persist, a tipping point is reached, which may signal to would-be offenders that it is a safe area in which to commit more serious offenses. The issue with this hypothesis is, however, the lack of substantial empirical data to support the link between minor incivilities and serious offenses. As previously mentioned, critics of hot spot policing have argued that such tactics may increase fear of crime and alter perceived safety levels in hot spot neighborhoods (Weisburd et al., 2006; Hinkle and Weisburd, 2008). This factor highlights another potential backfire effect as a result of hot spot policing tactics.

It is crucial to emphasize that crime and disorder are a social phenomenon experienced in many communities all over the United States. As previously noted, fear of crime may have significant impacts on the quality of life experienced by neighborhoods, communities, and cities. Thus, in recent decades, policymakers have begun to pay special attention to developing crime prevention programs that assist neighborhoods in reestablishing social control over places through adopting place-based or hot spot policing tactics aimed at reducing violent crime and disorder (Wilson and Kelling, 1982; Kelling and Sousa, 2001; Braga, 2007; Pace, 2010; Wesiburd et al., 2011). Although several other programs and entities have been created to assist in reestablishing the social control and collective efficacy of neighborhoods, this dissertation primarily highlights the efforts of the police.

The notion that social control and crime (disorder) are associated has been the subject of much scholarly debate (Sampson and Groves, 1989). As noted previously, scholars have long noted that disorder and fear of crime may be more prevalent in neighborhoods that experience

6

low levels of social organization, specifically poor, urban, inner-city neighborhoods with high residential mobility (Park et al., 1925; Shaw and McKay, 1942; Sampson and Groves, 1989).

Additionally, victimization surveys often reveal that the perception of crime is greater than what is commonly found in official measures, such as the FBI Uniform Crime Report (UCR) or local police incident-level data (i.e. calls-for-services or police reports). In other words, not all crime is captured by official data. This phenomenon is commonly referred to as the dark figure of crime and serves as a limitation of official crime statistics.

This trend is not unique to any one city. That said, Las Vegas, Nevada is a metropolis unlike other cities. Images of the neon lights and the strip portrayed in media accounts reflect a place where anything goes. The illusions of public spaces as a somewhat private playground where elevated levels of disorder are tolerated have become synonymous with the popular advertising slogan, "What happens in Vegas stays in Vegas."[1]

Brents et al. (2012) further contends that Las Vegas thrives off the message and attitude of this ad campaign and suggests that Las Vegas's "moral resistance feeds the market for hedonistic freedom and helps keep the local economy alive" (Brents et al., 2012: 3). This image paints a rather inaccurate picture of the city though. Although Las Vegas does lack certain unifiers found in traditional gateway cities, it is nonetheless more than just the glitter and glow found under the neon landscape of the strip (Dickens, 2011). The commodification of disorder on the Las Vegas strip has become an economic asset, primarily controlled by corporate entities. Thus, the presumption that this is an area of elevated disorder and deviance is rather misleading. The real story lies outside the glitz and glamor of that neon strip.

---

[1] Slogan developed by Mark E. Brown.

Las Vegas, Nevada is a unique urban area characterized by vast and continual social and demographic change. During the late 1990s and early 2000s, Las Vegas was one of the fastest-growing cities in the nation. Additionally, Las Vegas developed industries that essentially called for an abundant demand for low-skill/low-wage labor force participation in the casino and entertainment fields to facilitate tourism. Due to high residential mobility and labor force turnover, it could be argued that Las Vegas continued to lack the unifiers commonly seen in other major metropolitan areas, such as official sports teams and stadiums or even a sense of a stable community.[2] These factors may be associated with larger macro issues observed in official crime statistics, as reported to police agencies.

Again, that lack of a stable sense of community, along with the other factors discussed above may further have served to cause social disorganization in various spaces in Las Vegas. Dickens et al. (1999) further contrives the "Las Vegas Experience" by suggesting that Las Vegas is like any other city, as its people "go to work, raise families, and go to the grocery store" (Dickens et al., 1999:192). However, they also take notice of the differences from other metropolitan communities as well, deeming Las Vegas "part gambling and entertainment mecca, part postindustrial sunbelt, part Old West frontier town, and part glorious desert setting" (Dickens et al., 1999:192).

They subsequently point out the various services offered in Las Vegas, to visitors and residents alike, such as the wide array of entertainment. They suggest there is a flamboyancy, with un-centered morality, yet the city also offers cultural wonders such as unique art pieces.

---

[2] I acknowledge that *community* can be extremely broad in context and definition; it will be further developed in forthcoming sections.

They further point out, "The quality of the Las Vegas culture…is found in its pastiche and juxtapositions" (Dickens et al., 1999:195).

Another factor that separates Las Vegas from other metropolitan areas is the number of tourists that flock to experience so-called Sin City firsthand each year. This influx may create an inflated crime picture, as captured by various official reporting mechanisms such as the FBI UCR. For example, according to 2009 UCR data, Nevada ranked second highest in the nation for violent offenses (Part 1 Index offenses) at 702.2 incidents per 100,000 residents (Pace et al., 2011). As a matter of fact, Nevada ranked just below Washington, DC (the area with the highest reported violent crime in the nation) in 2009 for violent crime rates. Still, these figures may reflect methodological flaws associated with the UCR. The UCR bases its calculations on residents living in these cities, but influxes of tourist who may be victimized are also counted in this figure. Again, this provides fuel to the theoretical debate that more is going on than what is officially recorded. Nevertheless, perception of crime and disorder still looms large, and this may affect the quality of life for residents. As a result of official reporting mechanisms, police agencies commonly use crime statistics to allocate resources and make decisions about policing strategies.

As a social construct, the measurement of crime and subsequent data used by police agencies can be complex (Mosher et al., 2002). This is critical to understand, due to the fact that police resources are general deployed to areas where crime is most prevalent. The fact of the matter remains that with the flaws in such reporting devices, police are commonly engaged in a continual cycle of re-deployment to historical crime hot spots throughout the Las Vegas valley. This continual re-deployment and cycle may be due to variety of factors, such as the limitations of police to address generate effects of neighborhood conditions. The question of police

effectiveness in reducing crime and disorder remains largely an empirical one. Place-based policing strategies in Las Vegas have been sparse, and the evaluation of their effectiveness has been even more limited in its scope.

In the mid-2000s, the Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department (LVMPD) began to implement more proactive police strategies through the introduction of a mobile crime saturation team comprised of uniformed patrol officers. This team was tasked with temporarily deploying to various areas (commonly referred to as "sector beats") that were identified as crime hot spots, with the purpose of addressing issues related to violent crime and disorder.

The team augmented area command patrol levels; however, these officers primarily only conducted proactive enforcement as means to deter potential criminal offending in the area. Experiential knowledge from police administrators and local police reporting data tended to indicate limited decreases (at times) in serious offenses, however sparse (if any) empirical support for this assumption could be demonstrated. Nonetheless, police administrators have deemed this strategy effective, and its use still persists today within the LVMPD. It should be noted that there has been a common theme: As mentioned above, these teams have continually been deployed and re-deployed to the same historic crime hot spots throughout the city. This may suggest that police have limited effects concerning their current strategy, which addresses more proximate rather than generate effects of crime and disorder. Several studies have demonstrated the effect of proactive police strategies, but few have assessed their efforts concerning citizen perceptions of fear of crime and disorder. Also, even fewer studies have addressed the potential of a backfire effect that may occur when police employ such proactive enforcement strategies (Weisburd et al., 2011, Haberman et al., 2014; Ratcliff et al., 2015).

Theoretical Framework:

To fully understand the implications concerning the concepts of social disorganization and broken windows and their subsequent implications for public policy, we must first examine their theoretical origins. Both theories essentially argue that place matters. Scholars anchoring themselves in various theoretical camps within sociology (primarily) and criminology have all cast doubt on the notion of social disorganization and more heavily the broken-windows hypothesis. Conversely, this has undoubtedly been an issue sharply debated in sociology (and, later, criminology) for well over seventy years.

Since the inception of the Chicago School, researchers have been drawn to the examination and development of why certain areas in cities exhibit higher rates of crime and deviant behavior than others. Subsequently, this focus of research and the notions of social disorganization, class, and crime have been the subject of much scholarly debate and scrutiny. As such, Sampson and Grove (1989) argued that macro-level policies that addressed core symptoms would reestablish order in areas plagued by higher crime rates. Alternatively, proponents of broken windows suggested that their approach was a direct strategy that police could employ to reduce violent crime. Proponents of broken windows suggest that the theory of social disorganization has limited the availability of direct policy strategies for police.

Because social disorganization, at least in its earliest conception, examines the macro-whole, it is considered to have roots in positivism; the methods of the Chicago School are often referred to as "soft positivism." Concerning the intellectual history of broken windows, these propositions fall more in line with modern theories associated with deterrence. This may be true, based on the underlying assumption of "sending a message" to would-be offenders to curb their criminal actions. The principles of both specific and general deterrence may be operating in the

backdrop of Wilson and Kelling's (1982) theoretical orientation concerning broken windows. This ultimately situates broken windows in the realm of "classical/neo-classical perspectives" while, again, social disorganization would be considered more on the positivists' side, due to its treatment of the "city as an organism" (Park et al., 1925). The fact of the matter remains, however, that social disorganization is intended to address more generate effects, while broken windows presumably addresses proximate effects of crime and disorder. As such, this dissertation borrows from both theories in an effort to assess if backfire effects can be attributed to hot spot policing tactics in urban areas.

### Current Study:

The primary objective of this study was to evaluate a hot pot policing tactic by assessing citizen perceptions of police activity, opinions about the police, and perceived safety levels in crime hot spot neighborhoods in Las Vegas, relying upon survey data. What distinguishes this research from previous studies is the emphasis on citizen perceptions as a means to assess the effects of hot spot policing tactics. More specifically, this research assesses the perceptions of police activity (crime and disorder), opinions about the police (police legitimacy), and perceived safety level (fear of crime) in twelve randomly selected hot spot neighborhoods within Las Vegas. A survey of citizen perceptions of crime, disorder, police legitimacy, and fear of crime are explored. This study draws primarily from literature related to social disorganization and hot spot policing (broken windows). Subsequently, this is a test of the impact of hot spot policing on citizen perceptions.

It is crucial to discuss the social and historical development of these perspectives in a parallel fashion to better describe the current focus of this study. It should be noted that this study departs from previous ones, as policing strategies may only be able to address proximate effects of crime

and disorder rather than the root or generate effects of deviance. Policymakers and scholars alike may also recognize this; however, several studies have continually examined the effects of such polices based on officer activity, official crime statistics, or CFS data.

Fewer studies, however, have attempted to assess such policies from the perception of citizens living in hot spot neighborhoods, utilizing both official measures of crime and survey data. In this study, the impact of a hot spot policing tactic is explored but is evaluated using survey data. It should be noted this dissertation does not evaluate whether the hot spot policing tactic reduced crime; rather, it discusses if the tactic contributed to a backfire effect concerning citizen perceptions related to perceived increase in police activity (crime and disorder), decreasing opinions about the police (police legitimacy), and increasing safety concerns (fear of crime) in hot spot neighborhoods.

Three research questions are explored. First, I explore if prolonged hot spot policing tactics are noticed by citizens in high crime neighborhoods. This question relates to dimensions of place-based policing strategies (the broken windows hypothesis and hot spot policing). If an association exists between place-based or hot spot policing tactics and citizen perceptions of police activity, does a backfire effect develop as a result of the tactic, thus contributing to an increased perception of crime and neighborhood disorder? I intend to predict that citizens receiving police intervention will notice more police activity in treatment versus control neighborhoods. This observation may also influence citizen perceptions of crime and disorder in hot spot neighborhoods, contributing to potential negative consequences associated with hot spot policing or potentially contributing to a backfire effect, as previously noted.

The second research question examined the relationship between hot spot policing tactics and opinions about the police. I subsequently examine if opinions about the police are altered as a

result of hot spot policing tactics and whether this contributes to a backfire effect due to the implementation of the tactic. Lastly, I explored how prolonged hot spot policing tactics influence citizen's perceptions of safety in high crime neighborhoods. Subsequently, I examine if hot spot policing influences perceptions of safety, thus contributing to a backfire effect as a result of the tactic. This dissertation builds on previous research evaluating hot spot policing, using survey data from residents in high crime neighborhoods to assess if backfire effects develop as a result of the use of hot spot policing tactics (Weisburd et al., 2011; Haberman et al., 2016, Ratcliff et al., 2015).

Chapter 2 explores the relevant literature pertaining to hot spot policing and discusses in a linearly fashion the intellectual histories of the theories that have guided this tactic. Additionally, I discuss various empirical studies that have examined hot spot policing tactics and their association with the dissertations outcome measures. Also, I include a review concerning the history of modern American policing and the development of the cities, as this is relevant to the general discussion of hot spot policing. Chapter 3 details the data collection process, outcome measures, treatment variable, and statistical analyses used to interpret the findings. Chapter 4 provides a detailed discussion of the findings as they relate to the three outcome measures: (1) perceived police activity: (2) opinions about the police; and (3) perceived safety level. Also presented in this chapter are univariate, bivariate, and multivariate analyses for each outcome measure. Chapter 5 interprets the findings presented in the previous chapter and attempts to draw conclusions that may be relevant to policymakers when considering the use of hot spot policing tactics. Chapter 5 also discusses the limitations of the current research and provides recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 2:

LITERATURE REVIEW

Crime is a social problem with real-world consequences, and it often at the center of public debate. Policymakers, police officials, and the public devote much attention to dealing with crime. Understanding potential crime prevention strategies requires a familiarity of a variety of perspectives. The following literature review encompasses a broad cross-section of scholarly work. This is due to the nature of the research questions, which cut across traditional boundaries within sociology and criminology. Included are theoretical perspectives concerning the criminology of place, social disorganization, urban sociology, public policy, fear of crime studies, and policing history. To fully understand the scope of place-based crime prevention, it is relevant to address these perspectives, even though they do not traditionally exhibit obvious links.

Urban Spaces, Deviance, and Criminal Opportunity:

The context of place, space, and time are important factors in considering the effects crime and potential crime prevention strategies. Criminal opportunities exist in many areas, but in specific places or certain times, offenses may be more likely to occur. For example, Cohen and Felson (1979) suggest that criminal opportunity persists when three factors exist: a suitable target, lack of capable guardianship, and a motivated offender. This shift is in contrast to the ideas that previously dominated criminology, which focused on the individual offender and criminality. Cohen and Felson (1979) did not ignore the offender, however; the emphasis was on place. For them, and many other scholars, place served as a starting point to examine ways to reduce the likelihood for criminal offending to persist. This raises many other questions, including: Are there hot spots of crime or hot spots of opportunity? (Weisburd et al., 2011).

To understand the argument surrounding place and crime, it is appropriate to discuss the intellectual histories of the perspectives associated with these areas. These include a history of the development of criminological theory as it later relates to crime and place. Also, there exists a board discussion concerning theories related to deterrence, positivism, social disorganization, opportunity structure, and social control. It is equally relevant to discuss ideas concerning the mapping of crime and how this was used to distinguish segments of a city in which crime appeared to be higher than in other places. This is important, as police would later develop sophisticated crime-mapping techniques that dictated resource deployment with targeted crime prevention initiates, such as proactive hot spot policing tactics. Defining *place* and *space* are also appropriate in this section as it relates to the criminology of place.

*Space, Time, and Crime:*

The mapping of crime and social problems can be traced to eighteenth-century Europe. Vital statistics were first utilized to show variances in crime and poverty in European countries such as Italy and France, and the latter was one of the first nations to rely on vital statistics and census data for such analysis. In 1827, the first crime statistics in France were released. Utilizing these and other rudimentary demographic data, Adriano Balbi and Andre-Michel Guerry published the first crime maps that illustrated sections of France where crime rates appeared to be higher (Weisburd and McEwen, 1998). Some variables included in their analysis from the newly released census data were: poverty level, education, and, of course, crime itself (Lersch and Hart, 2011). Their findings revealed that low-poverty areas in France experienced higher rates of property crime, while those with higher levels of poverty and low educational levels experienced elevated levels of violent crime (Vold et al., 2002). Early findings such as these

proved to have potentially important policy implications for government officials tasked with examining social problems.

Prior to an emphasis on place, offender-center explanations of crime and deviance were prevalent in sociology and criminology. Over the past several decades, scholars have noted the implications of the so-called classical perspective of criminology and its focus on deterrence and subsequent policies aimed at prevention. These classical concepts contributed a great deal to the ways modern punishment was administered and the structure of the criminal justice system. Prior to the Age of Enlightenment, punishment was considered harsh and Draconian. As philosophers and scholars began to examine the issue of deviant behavior and punishment, they began to advocate for the establishment of a new system for administering sanctions. Our modern criminal justice system is largely based on the principles advocated by Jeremy Bentham and Cesare Beccaria, which has its roots in the notion of deterrence. The next several sections provide a broad synthesis of work concerning the intellectual histories of sociological and criminological theory as it relates to the notion of the development of crime and its association with place.

*Positivism and Classical Explanations of Crime:*

Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) examined the nature and definition of crime as it related to the classical perspective. They noted that the "state" determined violations of law versus what was considered deviant as more generally shaped by social groups. The classical conception of crime was relatively based on deterrence and the idea that legal sanctions and the criminal justice system should design legislation based on that notion. The perspective further argued that legislative sanctions should be designed to discourage potential offenders and that the execution of such policies should be based on the application of the certainty, swiftness, and severity of punishment. Classicalists such as Bentham contended that people have a natural tendency to

17

pursue self-interest, and, in doing so, they may cause harm to others. Like Bentham, other writers of this period acknowledged that people enter in to a social contract[3] with each other within society, so as to place limits on an individual's pursuit of self-interest. This principle is based on the *hedonistic calculation*, an attempt to minimize pain and maximize pleasure in the pursuit of their own self-interest. Bentham suggested four sources of pleasure or pain, or social sanction systems: "physical, political, moral, and religious" (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990). The classical perspective asserts that actors are rational and utilize the principles of hedonistic calculation in the context of behavior that is considered deviant, criminal, or reckless (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990).

Cullen and Agnew (2011) argue similarly, suggesting that the majority of theories concerning crime have focused on factors that constrained individuals in crime. Cullen and Agnew note that some of these included various social factors, such as "individual traits, various strains, and disorganized communities" (Cullen and Agnew, 2011). Cullen and Agnew further contend that this view was very "deterministic" and largely purports that crime is beyond the control of the individual. They further suggest that individuals do not choose to commit crime; "rather, criminal behavior is determined by a variety of social factors." Cullen and Agnew (2011) offer an alternative idea, albeit a classical one, concerning crime and criminality. They suggest that individuals choose to engage in crime in the pursuit of self-interest, while maximizing pleasure and minimizing pain. This is part of the classical utilitarian explanation in regard to crime and criminality. Cullen and Agnew (2011) point to the importance and impact of deterrence, both general and specific. They note some of the problems associated with both concepts and provide various empirical studies to support why these concepts are largely

---

[3] See Thomas Hobbs's work on the social contract.

ineffective. Cullen and Agnew (2011) contend that criminals are more likely to modify their behavior based on the certainty of being apprehended or detected. They further note that studies of deviance have found that the certainty of being caught has the greatest deterrent effect as compared to severity and swiftness of punishment.

Roshier (1989) also discusses the issue of crime and deterrence, maintaining that various macro sociological forces such as; "social and economic arraignments" influence crime rates more than "individual differences." Roshier (1989) draws this conclusion from notions of the original classical argument concerning deterrence; however, he elaborates on this notion and proposes various strategies in a "post-classical" sense, providing various examples drawn from research findings.

Conversely, Stafford and Warr (1993) suggest that deterrence theories have devoted much attention to specific and general deterrence. They also note that previous theories on deterrence have failed because "people are most likely to have a mixture of indirect and direct experience with punishment avoidance" (Stafford and Warr, 1993). Stafford and Warr (1993) further suggest that it "is unnecessary to formulate separate theories of general and specific deterrence, but rather, develop a single theory that focuses on indirect experience with legal punishment and punishment avoidance."

Sherman (1993) similarly explores the conditions under which criminal sanctions may deter deviant behavior. He suggests that there exists a great disparity in knowing exactly how or under what conditions criminal sanctions may deter criminal conduct and discusses "defiance," contending that this variable may explain the conditions in which punishment actually increases crime rates. Sherman (1993) suggests that excessive punishment may lead to further acts of criminal conduct, thus resulting in the opposite intended effect. Sherman (1993) further

contends, "by implication, crime might be reduced more by police and courts treating all citizens with fairness and respect than by increasing punishments" (Sherman, 1993). Although early theories in sociology and criminology focused on punishment reform and deterrence, positivism and a move toward explaining criminality based on individual traits dominated the field early on. Some of the most notable scholars included Ceasear Lomborso and Charles Goring.

Lombroso (1915) provided a detailed description of "what criminals looked like" and why they engaged in acts of deviance. He argued that criminals are "atavistic" and suffer from physical traits that make them inferior to conforming to modern societal life. Lombroso further contended that criminals' behavioral patterns were more closely associated with early, primitive man. Lombroso (1915), often considered the "father of modern criminology," suggests that such individuals could be identified by physical characteristics that demonstrated the degenerative nature of the individual. This theory concerning individual deviance was widely accepted in the late nineteenth century. Although it might be considered absurd today, Lombroso's legacy, the identification of "trait level" causal mechanism, can be seen in subsequent research concerning intelligence, and this is closely associated with bio-social theory (Akers and Sellers, 2006).

Goring (1913) further elaborated on Lombroso's notion that some individual are "born criminal" and conducted one the first in-depth examination concerning the relationship between biology and offending utilizing statistical techniques and various physical measurements (Akers and Sellers, 2009). Goring compared prison inmates, university students, and other control groups to determine a comparison for rates of deviance. His conclusion was that there were "no statistically significant differences between inmates and each of these groups on thirty-seven physical traits" (Akers and Sellers, 2009). Goring found body weight and stature to be statistically significant. While he accepted Lombroso's notion of the "born criminal," he

ultimately concluded that Lombroso was incorrect concerning the association between physical traits and deviance.

These theories were later discarded in favor of a return to exploring the notion of deterrence and its association with place. This body of work, sometimes referred to as neo- or post-classical, tended to focus more generally on macro social forces that influenced causes of crime and delinquency. This period in criminology also produced alternative explanations of crime that related to associations between peer groups and rates of delinquency. Moreover, literature was observed in this era relating to theories employed to examine how "low impulse control" may affect one's decision to conform or engage in deviance. Some of these later theories centered on themes related to opportunity structures present in the environment and ways to reduce the likelihood of criminal offending. As discussed below, Robert Merton's conception of strain and Edwin Sutherland's work on differential association and their contributions are important to frame the perspective that later focused on place and deviance. This is followed by a discussion related to control theory and deterrence.

In the early 1930s, Robert K. Merton suggested that deviance was a result of strain or frustration associated with being denied the legitimate means to achieve success. Subsequently, individuals who engaged in crime or deviant behavior, those denied legitimate routes to success, developed innovative methods to achieve that success, though these were deemed illegitimate by the state. Merton's theoretical perspective is rooted in Durkheim's classic explanation on anomie and its relation to deviance. For Durkheim, *anomie* simply meant "a loss of way" or orientation to keep pace with changes in society.

Merton's theory on strain subsequently came under attack in the 1960s and 1970s, due to a series of studies that suggested that the strain to achieve so-called success was not merely

inclusive of lower-class groups. The same phenomenon was found in middle-class groups, but the original version of the theory failed to account for this. Researchers subsequently found that "crime is highest among those with both low aspirations and low expectations," not just one or the other (Agnew, 1992). Successive studies were published in the 1960s and 1970s concerning strain and anomie, and these suggested that delinquency was "not just concentrated among lower-class individuals, but rather, delinquency was also prevalent among middle-class individuals as well (Agnew, 1992). The overwhelming motivation for researchers to challenge the assumptions of the original strain/anomie theory was because the theory did not take into consideration or account for the delinquency that occurred in the middle class. The theory held that people who commit crimes are strained to achieve success but are denied any legitimate means to do so; therefore, to compensate, they turned to crime to bolster their economic success. Agnew (1992) further suggested that people "engage in crime because they experience strain or stressors." Negative emotions, fear, and depression are typical feelings associated with stressors and strains, and Agnew suggested that people "may develop mechanism to cope with their strains and negative emotions through crime" (Agnew 1992). Crime, therefore, becomes a means to reduce or escape from strains or stressors.

Around the same time, Edwin Sutherland argued that delinquency was associated with peer groups and modeling. Sutherland's theory essentially argued that people learned to engage in "criminal behavior much the same way they learn to engage in other sorts of behavior" (Agnew 2004; Akers and Sellers, 2009). Sutherland's differential association, published first in 1939 and later in 1947, served as the first micro-level learning theory. His theory consisted of nine propositions and proposed that "criminal behavior is learned in interactions with others, particularly intimate others like friends and family" (Cullen and Agnew, 2011). Sutherland

(1938) suggested that individuals engage in criminal behavior when they have an excess of definitions favorable to the violation of law. Sutherland and Cressey (1960) further contended that individuals are more likely to engage in deviance "if they are exposed to definitions favorable to law violation; early in life, on a relatively frequent basis, over a long period of time, and from sources they like or respect" (Cullen and Agnew, 2011).

Scholars note two major critiques of differential associations. First, Sutherland "did not present a comprehensive description of definitions concerning favorable or unfavorable to crime" (Agnew, 2004). Sykes and Matza (1957) attacked this notion and contended that "delinquents do not always unconditionally approve of crime" (Cullen and Agnew, 2011). Rather, they utilize various techniques of neutralization "that delinquents commonly used to justify or excuse their delinquency" (Cullen and Agnew, 2011). Cullen and Agnew (2011) noted that some studies have suggested "that few people unconditionally approve of crime." Another criticism of differential associations "is that it fails to fully describe the process by which crime is learned" (Cullen and Agnew, 2011: 119). Akers (1998) attempts to remedy this problem by arguing that crime is learned in three processes: "(1) individuals learn beliefs that define crime as desirable, justifiable, or excusable in certain situations: (2) individuals engage in crime because they are differentially reinforced for criminal behavior, and (3) individuals engage in crime because they imitate the criminal behavior of others, especially others whose own criminal behavior is reinforced" (Cullen and Agnew, 2011: 119).

*Post Classical Explanations of Crime:*

Cullen and Agnew (2006) explored Hirschi's (1969) assumption concerning control theories and noted that "control theories start out with a different premise about human nature: people will naturally break the law." For proponents of control theory, the question becomes not

"why people commit crime but why don't people commit crime" (Cullen and Agnew, 2011). For strain and learning theories, Cullen and Agnew (2006) suggested that motivation plays an important role in crime and criminality. For example, "for strain theory, the motivation is rooted in negative social relationships and experiences that expose people to strain; crime is a way of relieving or otherwise responding to this strain" (Cullen and Agnew (2011: 202).

On the other end of the spectrum, Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) noted that criminal acts provide immediate gratification for the individual. They suggested that low self-control may be related to the pursuit of an individual's desires (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990). Cullen and Agnew (2011) contended that this creates a "here-and-now orientation" for individuals with low self-control, and the opposite outcome is observed in individuals who exercise high self-restrain or control by "deferring gratification" (Cullen and Agnew 2011: 228). Cullen and Agnew (2011) suggested that "lack of self-control does not require crime and can be counteracted by situational conditions or other properties of the individual." Of further importance, they noted that "people lacking self-control tend to be adventurous, active, physical, or risk-takers" (Cullen and Agnew 2011: 228).

Thaxton and Agnew (2004) argued that both parental attachment and attachment to mentors (teachers, coaches, etc.) are important components in association with delinquency. They contended that these factors may act as predictors for general strain theory (GST). Thaxton and Agnew (2004) also noted the important role social control plays as a predictive measure for delinquency. They contended that greater attachments to conventional sources or bonds may be associated with a decrease in deviant behavior. Thaxton and Agnew (2004) utilized data from a national sample of adolescent males and contended that their results "support the GST prediction

and thereby shed important light on the relationship between two of the central variables in the field and delinquency" (Thaxton and Agnew, 2004: 763).

Cullen and Agnew (2011) further noted (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990) that that the chief cause of low self-control appears to be "ineffective parenting." They contended that there may be a relationship between family structure and delinquency (Cullen and Agnew, 2011:233). Furthermore, Cullen and Agnew (2011) noted that the association between family structure and delinquency is well established in the literature. They pointed to evidence that examined the relationship between delinquency and the "absence of supervision, discipline and affection in homes of delinquents."

Tittle (2004) provided a revision to his 1995 publication concerning control theory with an argument that control is essential in determining whether an individual will engage in deviance or conformity. Tittle (2004) further contended that a person's physical/social environment can actually limit opportunities for individuals to distance themselves from deviant behavior, due to a limited amount of options.

Tittle built on the classical notions surrounding various components of differential associations, anomie theory, and various subcultural explanations concerning why some individuals choose to engage in deviant behavior. Essential to Tittle's (2004) argument was the notion of imbalances of control. Tittle (2004) contended that if an imbalance exists in "motivation concerning deviance," coupled with the inability to escape such circumstances due to limited opportunities, then the likelihood of deviance is greater.

<div align="center">The Criminology of Place:</div>

It should first be noted that theories associated with the criminology of place differ in their approach to crime prevention, in that they do not focus on the structural factors that

allegedly make a criminal; rather, they look to remove opportunities, thus potentially having a direct impact on crime reduction in the environment. Also, aspects of social disorganization theory have largely been ignored in the discussions concerning the criminology of place. With social unrest in the 1960s mounting and violent crime on the rise, police/community relationships were the focus of much scrutiny (Cohen and Felson, 1979; Walker and Katz, 2008). As such, the traditional model of policing began to be challenged and new innovate approaches to dealing with crime and disorder that focused on a community-oriented approach were being adapted (Lerch and Hart, 2011).

*Deterrence and the Physical Environment:*

As crime and social unrest began to rise steadily in the mid to late 1960s, scholars, politicians, and policy experts began to examine crime reduction strategies more intensely. A move away from the failed policies of offender-centered explanations of crime and the treatment of criminality had to be explored. Alternative, new theories that focused on how the environment could be manipulated to reduce crime and fear of crime were slowly coming into the mainstream of academia. Many theories associated with rational choice and opportunity have their roots in earlier work produced by the Chicago School. The notion that certain areas of the city were more likely to experience higher crime and victimization rates was previously explored under the Chicago school, but putting theory into practice through policy-oriented strategies aimed at crime reduction and disorder at place were not common (Lersch and Hart, 2011).

In the early 1960s, Jane Jacobs began publishing research related to urban planning and its association with crime. Jacobs (1961) provided a number of critiques concerning the way cities were planned and designed. She further suggested that the environment or characteristics of place were the problem, not the people who resided in those areas. She argued that poor urban

design and planning encouraged deviance (Jacobs, 1961; Crowe and Zahm, 1994), then further suggested that through the implementation of practical strategies focused on better urban planning, crime and disorder could be reduced. Furthermore, Jacobs (1961) suggested that the quality of life for urban residents could be improved via that better urban planning and design. For example, improvements in the design and use of sidewalks, Jacobs (1961) purported, would have an impact on the behavior of local residents in urban areas.

Taking the concept originally theorized by Jacobs a step further, C. Wright Jeffery and Oscar Newman provided specific approaches to reducing crime through modifying the built environment (Jeffery, 1971; Newman, 1972). Jeffery presented wider-ranging solutions to reducing crime by focusing on both architectural and urban planning. Newman, on the other hand, presented more specific micro-solutions to reducing crime through manipulating structures to deter potential criminal behavior and thereby promote a sense of overall ownership of public and private by residents (Wortley and Mazerolle, 2008).

*Place, Rational Choice, and Criminal Opportunity:*

With a renewed interested in explaining why crime varied across place, scholars began to more closely examine how the built environment and opportunity (or lack thereof) influenced potential criminal offense. Subsequently, theories rooted in the notion of deterrence were explored in the literature. New ideas that focused on removing or reducing opportunity for criminal offending gained attention. These approaches acknowledged that offenders may be rational actors; however, they focused on reducing crime by identifying and limiting criminal opportunity to occur. Once such theory, situational crime prevention, suggested that crime could be reduced by increasing the amount of effort and risk associated with committing a crime while reducing the potential reward (Clarke, 1980).

Although situational crime prevention appears to be a simple, straightforward approach, several critiques suggest that it merely displaces crime to other areas (Wortley and Mazerolle, 2008). Essentially, understanding the complex factors that underlie why crime concentrated in specific places became the focus for proponents of crime pattern theory. Brantingham and Brantingham (1984) elaborated on potential contributing factors to crime clustering in specific places. Like previous scholars, they suggested that crime was not evenly distributed across time and space but, rather, clustered in hot spots. The questions became: What dynamic factors or routine activity and life patterns contributed to generating crime precipitators? Brantingham and Brantingham (1984) subsequently developed eight rules in an attempt to explain why crime clusters in specific places (see Brantingham and Brantingham, 1984)

Similarly, Cohen and Felson (1979) suggested that variations in the daily routines of individuals created opportunities for criminals to commit crime by further removing capable guardianship and providing an increase in access in suitable targets. Cohen and Felson noted that changes in size, weight, and durability have since World War II which they suggest has subsequently increased the availability in suitable targets for likely offenders. Cohen and Felson noted an apparent inverse relationship between the weight of a durable good and potential profit. For the sake of a modern example concerning this notion, it is more advantageous to steal an iPhone than to take a washing machine. Obviously, there would be inherent problems in concealing a large appliance. Cohen and Felson contended, that manufacturers' changes in durable goods made it easier (requiring less effort) for offenders to steal certain items. Because families were able to afford more durable goods, residences became more of an attractive target for offenders.

Cohen and Felson (1979) further suggested that robbery and burglary victimization rates varied across household size, due to the routine activities that take homeowners away from their properties, thus exposing homes to potential increased risk of being burglarized. Not only that, but there is a greater likelihood for single individuals to come into contact with a likely offender who may, in the absences of capable guardianship, commit a predatory act. Cohen and Felson contended that individuals with families were more likely to remain at home; thus, reducing the risk for victimization. Also, Cohen and Felson noted that elderly and married people were at a lower risk for victimization, due to their pattern of routine activities.

*Physical Spaces and Crime Prevention:*

In the early 1970s, scholars began to more closely examine the association between police tactics and crime prevention. With the introduction of police 911 systems and the use of motorized patrols, the notion that police omnipresence would serve as a deterrent to criminal activity was a common belief. Random police patrols across large geographic areas served as one of the chief aims of the reformed model of policing. For police administrators, the strategy seemed simple: Deploy limited amount of police resources to handle the maximum amount of crime over large geographic spaces.

The hope was that executing randomized patrols would convey to would-be offenders that the police were essentially everywhere, and apprehension of such potential offenders would be imminent. On the surface, it seemed like an effective strategy to control crime and would serve as a general deterrent; however, much like average citizens, potential offenders were generally unaware of the specific tactics police employed and were, therefore, unaffected by randomized patrols. Also, when police did increase randomized patrols in specific areas, it had only minimal impact as a deterrent and did little to reduce crime. Ultimately, the strategy

highlighted the limitations of randomized patrol and led to scholars examining how police could better reduce crime in urban areas. One early study that examined randomized patrols was the Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment.

In this experiment, Kelling et al., (1974) found that in both treatment and control locations, an increase in police activity (i.e. randomized patrols) had no impact on reducing crime. As a matter of fact, in some areas, crime incident reports increased. The researchers concluded that this may have been due to citizens' frequent access to police during the experiment and that it was not necessarily an accurate reflection of crime increases. Furthermore, the study suggested that simply increasing police activity did not reduce crime. Scholars later concluded that focused police intervention could reduce crime, but the specific tactic (motorized or foot patrol, problem-oriented, or offender-focused) had to be tailored to the unique crime problems in specific areas.

As such, both scholars and practitioners began to develop place-based approaches or models that focused on the unique characteristics and problems of specific areas. In 1979, Herman Goldstein published his seminal work, "Improving Policing: A Problem-Oriented Approach." In that piece, Goldstein argued that, as a consequence of the professionalization of policing, an emphasis on improving organizational and operating methods stifled the ability for the police to effectively deal with crime. This emphasis might have also distracted police administrators from the end goal of their efforts, which was to effectively deal with crime and disorder. Goldstein suggested that in order to move away from the traditional model, police administrators had to develop a systematic process for addressing crime and disorder, a process that was specific and uniquely focused. Goldstein further suggested that the process had to incorporate a mechanism to clearly identify the problem and develop a broad range of alternative

responses to address it that in turn, could be evaluated (Goldstein, 1979;1990). Ultimately, this required a thorough analysis of the crime problem and development of specific solutions to address such problems. As a result of this research, Goldstein suggested that a "problem-oriented" approach to policing may be an effective crime prevention strategy. Furthermore, Goldstein specifically noted the problem-solving process required: "identifying problems in more precise terms, researching each problem, documenting the nature of the current police response, assessing the adequacy of existing authority and resources, [and] engaging in a broad exploration" (Goldstein, 1979: 236). Since the introduction of this idea, several studies have been undertaken. Most suggested that problem-oriented policing is an effective strategy for reducing crime and disorder in specific places (Eck and Spelman, 1987; Hope, 1994; Braga and Bond, 2008).

*Crime, Disorder, and Police Responses*:

Since the early1980s, police have been more open to implementing alternative proactive crime prevention tactics as a means to reduce crime and disorder, improve police legitimacy, and reduce fear of crime experienced by citizens (Braga and Bond, 2008). Innovate research which focused on specific place-based strategies provided the genesis for hot spot policing tactics that would later become commonly used by the police. The notion that the police, with a high degree of discretion, could engage the community in dealing with disorder as means to reduce violent crime and ultimately improve quality of life was first introduced by James Q. Wilson and George Kelling in 1982, in their seminal essay, "Broken Windows: The Police and Neighborhood Safety."

Wilson, a policy analyst, contended that reducing opportunity is important, but the government should use all resources at its disposal to restore order. This will not only reduce

opportunities for crime but potentially reduce serious offenses as well. Wilson further suggested that the best way to deal with crime is for police to direct their efforts toward restoring order in neighborhoods, in an attempt to send a message to other would-be offenders that the area was no longer a place where they can engage in illicit activity unscathed. Furthermore, Wilson and Kelling suggested that restoring order would also assist in establishing mechanisms of informal social control within a neighborhood. This idea was the genesis for the hypothesis we now know as broken windows.

Concerning direct policy strategies aimed at reducing crime, Wilson and Kelling (1982) argued that disorder may lead to serious offenses. The two are often criticized for their broken windows propositions, because they ignored several sociological variables that may contribute to the problem of crime and disorder in urban areas. As such, the broken windows hypothesis is sometimes referred to as too conservative and only capable of "zero-tolerance police."

Although this concept may have some merit, it attacks the broken windows hypothesis on two fronts: (1) It is unable to establish a direct association between minor incivilities and serious offenses, and: (2) it employs strategies aimed only at addressing minor offenses, which may be misconstrued by the public as zero-tolerance policing. This, in turn, can create a backfire effect, inadvertently spawning the perception of a heightened level of crime and disorder in areas where police activity is increased. Furthermore, scholars quite explicitly state that Wilson and this theory were rather conservative, in stark contrast to prevalent sociological theories of the time (1982), which focused more on dealing with the root causes of crime such as poverty, inequality, and lack of education. In comparing broken windows to other, more traditional sociological theories, it should be noted that these differ in their approach to crime, as they do not focus on the structural factors that make a criminal (i.e. social disorganization does). Rather, these aim to

remove opportunities, which is assumed to make a direct impact on reducing crime and disorder in the environment.

Wilson and Kelling (1982) also pointed to a reduction in "perceived fear of crime" by citizens in neighborhoods who experience an increased presence of "foot patrol officers," regardless of whether or not actual crime rates were reduced.[4] One such example of this relationship between police and the community, in an effort to establish order, is the Robert Taylor Homes project in Chicago (Wilson and Kelling, 1982). Wilson and Kelling observed and discussed the impacts of police efforts in these areas and found that residents wanted to work in conjunction with police to "run gangs" out of their neighborhood. Both residents and police saw this as an opportunity to assist the neighborhood in strengthening informal social control mechanisms.

Wilson and Kelling (1982) acknowledged the relationship between disorder and serious offense during their observations. Stated again, they contended that elevated levels of disorder may signal to potential offenders that the area is tolerant of crime, thus making the area susceptible to further criminal invasion. Wilson and Kelling (1982) contended, "If minor offenses or disorder were more closely paid attention to, then the area would become less susceptible (or present fewer opportunities) for violent offenses because criminals would feel less comfortable in those areas to commit such offense." The broken windows hypothesis, therefore, is a policy strategy, the aim of which is to identify neighborhoods, public spaces, or places affected by a significant increase in disorder and/or serious crime. Concerning the spatial dynamics of crime in public spaces, Kelling and Coles (1996) contended, "Five elements that frequently interact and contribute to crime [are]: time, place, previous behavior by a disorderly

---

[4] See the Kansas City Foot Patrol Experiment.

person, the condition of the victim or observer of the disorderly behavior relative to the perpetrator, and the aggregation or clustering of the specific acts involved, particularly as it may affect the entire neighborhood or community." Furthermore, they suggest that "at some point, disorderly behavior reaches a critical mass so that fear on the part of the citizen turns to avoidance and retreat, and serious crime begins to make inroads into neighborhoods" (Kelling and Coles, 1996).

Kelling and Coles (1996) further elaborated on the process of disorder to serious offending by contending, "When the number of such acts reaches a point that a citizen can no longer exert some informal social control over the disorderly behavior due to fear, then this should be the basis for police intervention. The police response should aim to deter the unwanted behavior with legal action in an effort to assist neighborhoods in regaining informal social control and preventing the start of serious offenses stemmed from mass amounts of disorder related crime" (Kelling and Coles, 1996). Regardless of the critiques surrounding broken windows, there is empirical evidence to suggest that broken windows policing can be effective in reducing crime at specific places when order-maintenance is emphasized (Kelling and Sousa, 2001).

*Crime Decline of the 1990s:*

It is crucial to note that several historical, cultural, social, and demographic changes began to occur after World War II, and these had profound implications for American society and perceived crime rates. Zimring (2007) provided a description of the crime drop observed in the United States in the mid-1990s and examined various policy implications that may have contributed to reduction of violent crime during that era. Potential policy strategies such as increased rates of incarceration, the decline of the crack epidemic, and better policing tactics

were examined. Zimring noted that despite no major changes in demographic characteristics or urban life from the 1960s to the late 1980s, the crime rate still plummeted at an unprecedented rate. Concerning the 1990s, Zimring concluded that current criminological theories such as broken windows failed to explain and account for the sudden crime drop observed in the early 1990s. He further asserted that this is not the case for various prevention tactics. Stephen Levitt, an economist, elaborated on this notion by providing an alternative, albeit controversial hypothesis regarding the so-called great crime decline. Levitt and Dubner (2006) contended that unwanted children born into disadvantaged environments are more conductive to producing circumstances that render the adolescent more likely to engage in criminal conduct over their lifetime. The key, Levitt and Dubner (2006) noted, is unwanted pregnancy, with subsequent birth.

During the 1990s, the United States observed a great reduction in crime, in stark contrast to the predictions of several scholars of the day. James Q. Wilson, a celebrated criminologist and public policy expert, even warned, "Get ready. They are growing up," referring to adolescents about to hit their "peak crime age." Other scholars told of a bloodbath to come. However, as Levitt and Dubner (2006) noted, crime experienced an unexpected and sudden drop, and several subsequent theories were developed to explain it. As a result, several theories were developed to explain the crime drop. Levitt and Dubner note several, of which some include; (1) innovative policing strategies and (2) increased number of police officers. Wilson and Kelling (1982) gave much casual credence to these effects on reducing disorder in public spaces; however, Levitt and Dubner (2006) suggested that these two factors actually contributed less to the reduction in crime than previously suggested by Wilson and Kelling (1982).

Levitt and Dubner (2006) further noted that during the first half of the twentieth century, the United States experienced relatively low crime rates. From the 1960s until the late 1980s, America experienced a sustainable increase in both predatory offenses and property crimes. This trend began to turn around 1990. Arguments for the large success of then-Mayor Rudolf Giuliani and New York Police Department (NYPD)b Chief William Bratton's innovative policing strategies may have been grossly overestimated, as Levitt noted that crime in New York actually began to drop around 1991, three years prior to Giuliani or Bratton assuming office and instituting their versions of proactive policing strategies, such as broken windows and zero tolerance. Levitt noted other factors as well, such as an improved economy, but he contended that the landmark case of *Roe v. Wade*, which legalized abortion, contributed the most significantly to the crime reduction observed in the 1990s. The premise for this argument was that children would not be born into environments that would later shape deviance due to disadvantaged life circumstances. Levitt further noted that this "age cohort" never reached its crime peak age, because birth never occurred.

Wilson and Petersilia (1995) also discussed historical trend and crime rates in their book, *Crime*. They argued that crime rates and crime categories have varied considerably. Wilson and Petersilia also provided a description of the subsequent policy implications employed in response to that crime. They were quick to contend that research examining such social issues has shed light on the subject, but it has been routinely ignored by policymakers. They further provided accounts of what they believe to be the underlying causes of crime and how to control it.

<u>Hot Spot Policing:</u>

As previously mentioned, several empirical studies have demonstrated that crime is concentrated in specific places (Cohen and Felson, 1979; Sherman et al., 1989; Brantingham and

Brantingham, 1993). To this point, Sherman (1995) found that approximately 50 percent of police calls-for-service came from only 3 percent of the addresses in Minneapolis. Subsequently, a growing body of literature has examined efforts by the police to reduce crime in hot spot areas. Recent empirical evidence has suggested that police can be effective at reducing crime in specific focused areas (Sherman et al., 1989; Weisburd et al., 2011; Skogan and Frydl 2004; Weisburd and Eck 2004; Ratcliff et al., 2015). This approach is in stark contrast to the randomized routine patrols and increased rapid response approach, which demonstrated to be rather ineffective at reducing crime (Spelman and Brown, 1979).

Within existing literature, the term hot spot is used to describe areas or neighborhoods that exhibit generally higher levels of crime and disorder and serve to be chronic problems for the police (Weisburd et al., 2004; Weisburd et al., 2011; Ratcliff et al., 2015). The distinction between a hot spot and *high crime* area should be noted: "[high crime area] is a geographical area, typically larger than a hot spot, in which crime is concentrated. Examples might include a public housing project, a commercial business park or area, or a similar geographically bounded and distinct area." A hot spot, on the contrary, is specifically defined as "a small geographical unit in which crime is concentrated, such as a street intersection and up to one-half block in each direction, with variation in diameter according to context" (Farrell and Sousa, 2001:227). Previous evaluations of hot spot policing tactics have yielded generally promising findings, suggesting that such tactics can reduce crime and disorder in specific places (Kelling and Sousa, 2001; Weisburd and Braga, 2006; Braga et al., 2012). As such, a variety of hot spot policing tactics have been utilized by police, and subsequent evaluations have produced varying results concerning their effectiveness (Sherman, 1995; McGarrell et al., 2001; Braga et al., 2012; Haberman et al., 2016). Hot spot policing tactics commonly evaluated in the literature include:

(1) problem-oriented policing, (2) foot patrols, (3) offender-specific, and (4) broken windows/order-maintenance tactics.

Scholars note that each of the above tactics presents a varying degree of police response and subsequent results. For example, Braga and Bound (2008) found that a problem-oriented policing approach (a situational crime prevention tactic) demonstrated the most significant crime prevention benefit, as compared to accompanying hot spot policing tactics (broken windows). Similarly, Kennedy (1997) found that an offender-specific or "pulling-levers" approach significantly reduced youth gun violence and homicides in Boston. Also, Ratcliff et al. (2011) found, in a randomized trial, that focused police intervention in the form of foot patrols reduced violent crime by 23 percent in a targeted hot spot within Philadelphia. Alternatively, Kelling and Sousa (2001) found that a broken windows/order-maintenance approach reduced serious crime in specific areas in New York. Whatever the approach, it appears that hot spot policing tactics can reduce crime in specific places. Another question remains however: What impact do hot spot policing tactics play on citizen perceptions concerning crime and disorder, perceived police legitimacy, and fear of crime?

*Perception of Crime and Disorder:*

It is not a new idea that increased police activity in specific places may induce a belief by citizens that crime is on the rise, and this has been the subject of resent empirical research (Wesiburd et al., 2011; Ratcliff et al., 2015; Haberman, 2014). Unintended consequences that develop from hot spot policing tactics are primarily referred to as a backfire effect. One example is that increased police activity leads to increased perceptions of crime and disorder by residents. Higher levels of disorder have also been linked to decreases in satisfaction with the police (Dai and Johnson, 2009). Subsequently, disorder has routinely been characterized as either physical or

social. *Physical disorder* is generally associated with a deterioration in the overall physical structures of places. It manifests in the form of dilapidated or abandoned homes, graffiti-latent items or structures, and litter, etc. *Social disorder*, on the other hand, can best be characterized as observable actions or conditions, such as wayward youth engaging in gang activity, panhandling by street persons, or prostitution related activity. Both physical and social disorder signal to potential offenders that opportunities for criminal offending are acceptable in that particular place. In this section, we examine relevant literature associated with hot spot policing and perceived police activity as it relates to perceptions of crime and disorder.

Police routinely label hot spots with good reason. Subsequently, citizens are likely aware that crime is higher in their neighborhood, as compared to that in other neighborhoods (Braga et al., 2012). This is represented by the amount of physical and social disorder historically present in specific neighborhoods that are accustomed to stable dosage of police activity. A sudden increase and elevation in police activity may send an alternative message to citizens that the neighborhood is further decaying, thus isolating the community and subsequently further decreasing informal social control mechanisms (Wilson and Kelling, 1982; Rosenbaum 2006). Previous research suggested that communities with decreased informal social control mechanisms tend to have, on average, more problems associated with crime and disorder.

Recently, as a means to fully evaluate effectiveness, research has turned from evaluating the effectives of hot spot policing tactics in terms of crime control to examining the impact such tactics have on citizen perception. Sherman and Rogan (1995) evaluated citizen perception of increased directed patrol in Kansas City, Missouri. The experiment focused on increasing police activity through direct patrols on specific police beats to reduce gun violence, with one beat selected as the treatment location. For over six months, additional police units responded to the

treatment location, focusing exclusively on proactive officer self-initiated activity to detect and reduce gun violence. The directed patrol initiative resulted in a 65 percent increase in overall gun seizures and a 49 percent reduction in gun-related violence in or related to the control location. Citizen survey data revealed that, on average, residents of the treatment location reported better quality of life conditions after the experiment, as compared to the control location. Thus, Sherman concluded that the hot spot policing tactic was effective in reducing gun violence, and citizens generally welcomed the initiative (Sherman and Rogan, 1995).

Alternatively, Weisburd et al. (2011) evaluated a hot spot policing tactic in California and revealed slightly different findings concerning perceptions of disorder. The experiment measured pre- and post-deployment citizen perception concerning a disorder policing tactic that lasted approximately eight months. Treatment areas received an additional three hours of police intervention weekly. The experiment resulted in a significant increase in the police dealing with physical and social disorder problems. Citizens were surveyed with questions concerning perception of crime and disorder, perceived safety, police legitimacy, and collective efficacy. Findings revealed that citizens, on average, were no more fearful of crime in treatment locations as compared to control areas. Also, no significant decrease in police legitimacy or collective efficacy were observed as a result of the intervention. Perception of disorder revealed alternative findings. Although the perception of social disorder was not found to be significant, citizens did report a perceived increase in physical disorder in treatment areas. Weisburd et al. (2011) suggested that the broken windows tactic increased citizen perception of physical disorder in the target location and may have subsequently contributed to a backfire effect. Weisburd et al. (2011) acknowledged, however, that the study suggested that the backfire effect of the experiment may have been overestimated.

Ratcliff et al. (2015) found that citizens living in Philadelphia that received three different hot spot policing tactics generally were unaware of the increases in police activity. The study included an evaluation of citizen perception of crime, procedural justice, and perceived safety level associated with the use of "(1) foot patrols, (2) offender-focused strategies, and (3) problem-oriented policing hot spot policing tactics." Concerning perception of physical and social disorder, Ratcliff et al. (2015) found that the treatment variables had no significant impact on corresponding outcome measures and essentially made no difference. They concluded that other factors such as gender, race, age, and whether or not respondents were recent victims of crime served as better predictors. These factors differ slightly from the findings observed by Weisburd et al. (2011). Most of the remaining outcome measures revealed the same patterns; so once again, the treatment variables generally made no difference.

*Police Legitimacy:*

Developing an understanding of how various hot spot policing tactics impact citizen perception is crucial for police administrators who wish to effectively deal with crime and maintain good community/police relationships. In light of recent events and subsequent social movements such as Black Lives Matter, strained community/police relationships highlight the need for a more careful consideration of community perception and the impact of police tactics. Cooperation between the community and the police is essential in dealing with crime, and strained relationships may produce decreased levels of police satisfaction and police legitimacy (Sunshine and Taylor, 2003; Tyler and Fagen, 2003; Brunson and Miller, 2006; Gau and Brunson, 2010). As previously mentioned, hot spot policing tactics such as broken windows policing has often been criticized for employing aggressive enforcement against minor offenses, and this may lead to the community feeling harassed (Greene, 1999). In this section, we examine

relevant literature concerning hot spot policing tactics and their association with police legitimacy.

Empirical assessments concerning focused police action in hot spots and their association to police legitimacy are relatively new and have often produced mixed results (Hinkle and Wesiburd, 2008; Weisburd et al., 2011; Haberman et al., 2014; Ratcliff et al., 2015). Scholars note that police encounters with citizens and citizen perception of those interactions may affect citizen cooperation (Bayle, 1994; Sunshine and Taylor, 2003). Residents who feel they are treated in a more just manner are more likely to cooperate and experience higher levels of satisfaction with police (Mazerolle et al. 2013; Ratcliff et al., 2015). This is important, because hot spot policing is often criticized for its presumed negative impact on citizen perception and subsequent further strain to community/police relationships (Kochel, 2011; Telep et al., 2012; Haberman et al., 2014). The actions of police sometimes serve to undermine public trust. When police are perceived to be fair and procedurally just, cooperation and satisfaction increase (Skogan and Frydel, 2004; Tyler, 2003). This potentially encompasses both voluntary and involuntary encounters with police (Tyler and Folger, 1980).

As mentioned in the previous section, police action or perceived inaction are likely linked to citizen perception. Scholars note that citizens feel less satisfied with police when they perceive more crime and disorder in their neighborhoods (Reisig and Parks, 2000; Taylor, 2001; Weitzer and Tuch, 2005). Haberman et al. (2014) note that if we assume citizen perception and hot spot policing tactics to be exclusive of one another, any crime reduction resulting from the tactic will only increase police legitimacy (Haberman et al., 2014). As Haberman et al. (2014) pointed out, the scenario is more complex and may involve intermediate variables that serve as better predictors concerning satisfaction with the police.

Overall, how citizens perceive that they are treated by police matters in terms of promoting community/police cooperation to reduce crime and disorder. Understanding this relationship is crucial for police administrators faced with making operational decisions to deploy scarce resources to address crime and disorder. Kochel (2011) found that perception of police and estimating risk of victimization may foster cooperation and increase aspects of police legitimacy in high crime neighborhoods.

Highlighting this relationship, Brunson and Miller (2006) examined the impact of aggressive "proactive policing strategies" on African American youth and in St. Louis, Missouri. Through interviews and comparative analysis, they found that gender also played a role in the experiences and expectations the sample had concerning interactions with the police. Their research suggested that young men felt targeted by the police and treated as "suspects" regardless if they had any involvement in criminal activity. Conversely, young women described concerns related to potential sexual misconduct by the police. Gau and Brunson (2010) similarly examined the effects of proactive policing on young men in urban areas. They contended that an order-maintenance tactic had negative implications for police legitimacy.

Gau and Brunson (2010) further noted that police legitimacy and citizen views concerning procedural justice were associated. In other words, if citizens experienced a decreased feeling of police procedural justice, it follows that they also experienced decreased sentiment concerning police legitimacy. Although these studies contributed to the literature and highlighted the need to carefully consider the impact of policing tactics, they narrowly defined order-maintenance policing and equated it to a more zero-tolerance approach. Kelling and Coles (1996) noted that these are two distinct tactics and may impact the community in very different

43

ways. Furthermore, scholars note that hot spot policing may take place in communities where satisfaction with the police is already low (Sampson and Bartusch, 1998; Ratcliff et al., 2015).

Weisburd et al. (2011) examined the impact of a broken windows policing tactic on citizen ratings concerning fear of crime, police legitimacy, and collective efficacy in a randomized controlled experiment of fifty-five treatment hot spot street segments. Their results suggested that the broken windows policing tactic had no significant impact on fear of crime, police legitimacy, or collective efficacy, and increases in the outcome measures were not observed either. Taken together, this may suggest that although a backfire effect is not a certainty in broken windows policing, long-term crime control benefits or increases in police legitimacy and collective efficacy may remain unaffected by such tactics.

Similarly, Haberman et al. (2014) found that hot spot policing had no significant impact on police legitimacy when accounting for other covariates such as age and education level. Also, Ratcliff et al. (2015) evaluated three hot spot policing tactics (foot patrols, problem-oriented policing, and offender-focused) on citizen perceptions and found that the tactics were not significantly associated with police legitimacy. In other words, when accounting for other covariates, their analysis discovered that these hot spot policing tactics were not significantly associated with police legitimacy. Although the empirical evidence has produced mixed results, the evaluations that have assessed hot spot policing tactics on citizen perception of police legitimacy have shown that the tactic generally made no difference concerning such perceptions.

*Fear of Crime:*

For many people in the United States, fear of crime is a real concern. Scholars suggest that perception concerning fear of serious criminal events is largely exaggerated, and actual criminal victimization rates tend to be low as compared to minor incivilities. Fear is a unique,

complex emotion that is difficult to measure. From an evolutionary perspective, it has served

mankind well, acting as a guide and signaling us against potential dangers and risks in the

environment (Russell, 1979; Mayes, 1979; Warr, 2000). Fear of crime is not unique, however,

but it is a distinct social problem. Several questions arise as to why fear is more common than

actual criminal events. Scholars note that crime or criminal events are oftentimes sensationalized

in the media and film (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981; Warr, 1995a). In this section, we examine the

characteristics concerning fear of crime and the relevant literature as it pertains to hot spot

policing and that fear.

Coverage of crime in the media commonly generates a mass of public attention;

therefore, it may be artificially inflated in the collective consciousness and obscure actual

perceived rates of victimization. Warr (2000) noted that coverage of crime in mass media

disproportionately focuses on serious offenses such as murder and rape, crimes that are relatively

rare in comparison to minor incivilities that occur more frequently. A wide variety of factors

contribute to perception associated with fear of crime; however, the focus of this dissertation

largely remains to assess the impact of hot spot policing on citizen perception. An additional

purpose of this section is to discuss the empirical basis concerning fear of crime as a distinct

social problem and the factors that may contribute to a perceived inflated risk of crime events

versus actual rates of victimization.

As previously mentioned, fear or anxiety[5] may act as a signal against potential threats in

the environment. Subsequently, coverage of serious criminal events serves as a reminder that the

world is an unpredictable, potentially dangerous place. This can produce fear or anxiety over

perceived risk of victimization. Although fear may be associated with some positive

---

[5] The distinction between *fear* and *anxiety* is discussed later in this section.

consequences, fear of crime may produce changes in behavior that alter various aspects of social life. This, in turn, can have negative consequences. For example, fear avoidance behavior may be associated with the decision to not live in a particular neighborhood, and this can affect the local economy of that area (Warr, 1984; 2000). Additionally, fear of crime may serve to further isolate residents in high crime neighborhoods, potentially weakening social control within the community (Wilson and Kelling, 1982; Sampson and Grove, 1989).

Several empirical questions concerning fear of crime were largely ignored in the first half of the twentieth century, with scholars and policymakers largely equating fear with the frequency of criminal events. As Warr (2000) noted, scholars "commonly adopted the notion that fear was directly proportional to objective risk and assumed that strategies to control crime are the same as those used to control fear" (Warr, 2000: 452). Are fear of crime and crime frequency essentially interlinked? If so, if one is manipulated, is the other affected? The answer is not so simple, and many other factors may be operating in the background. Is risk perception or perceived risk the same as fear in regard to crime? Ultimately, what strategies or tactics, such as hot spot policing, can police employ to reduce fear of crime? Also, does the use of these tactics have unintentional consequences, such as contributing to increased fear of crime by citizens, thus contributing to a backfire effect?

In the mid-1960s, President Lyndon Johnson instituted a wide range of social policy reforms. Some of these reforms shed light on the lack of serious scientific research concerning fear of crime and risks perception by social scientists (Conklin 1971; Warr, 2000). In the wake of rising crime rates and new technology, it was not long before media accounts of sensationalized crime events became the norm. The ability to transmit graphic images via television, coupled with intriguing stories, allowed media exposure of crime to grow in frequency even in the early

1970s. For example, gruesome accounts of the infamous Tate murders by Charles Manson family members were seared into the collective consciousness of America through self-proclaimed compelling and continuous media coverage. The message concerning the decay of social order even spilled over to political races. Then-presidential candidate Richard Nixon capitalized on the "wave of fear" by promising to restore order. This sentiment has been echoed over the past several decades, most recently in the 2016 U.S. presidential race, as now-President Donald Trump ascribed to similar reactionary nostalgia rhetoric, touting his stance as the "law-and-order candidate." These platforms can almost certainly be tied to reactions based on media and film coverage of the perceived conditions of the day.

Warr (1994) found, through survey research, that "fear of crime was far more prevalent than actual rates of victimization in the United States" (Warr, 2000: 452). Subsequently, Warr argued, that fear of crime was so pervasive in American culture that a variety of "precautionary behaviors" emerged and became commonplace in American society. Regardless of many empirical studies conducted to examine fear and, more specifically, the fear of crime, defining the construct of fear and its measurement remains inconsistent in the literature.

Prior to examining how fear can be reduced, we must examine how fear is generally defined, as it relates to crime. Sluckin (1979) suggested that fear is an emotion that is aroused by stimuli present in the environment. LaGrange et al. (1992) contended that fear is associated with "negative emotional reactions" as it relates to exposure to crime. Ferraro and LaGrange went even further, noting that fear can result from indirect exposure to crime through symbols of incivility commonly associated with criminal events, such as graffiti or other signs of physical disorder. Warr (2000) suggested that "fear is not a perception but rather a reaction to stimuli in the perceived environment" (Warr, 2000: 453)**.**

47

Take for example an elderly person walking on the sidewalk at night in a dimly lit area. The person observes a crowd of what appears to be young wayward teens. The person might decide to alter their path due to the perception that danger may be present should they continue to walk on their current path. Some scholars have suggested, the emotion fear, may cause anxiety or precautionary behaviors that alter actions in routine activities. As psychologists note, anxiety may actually be associated with future or past events (Warr, 2000). Thus, fear and anxiety may also be distinct from one another as with fear and perceived risk.

In the hypothetical scenario detailed above, no immediate danger may have actually been present, however the individual may have anticipated that danger was imminent or apparent. Consequently, fear may produce actual physiological changes in the body, i.e. anxiety. For example, changes in heart rate may escalate or rapid breathing may occur when faced with fear provoking stimuli in the environment (Thomson, 1979). These physiological reactions coupled with a perceived risk in the environment may be associated with changes in behavior or the altering or routine activities as it relates to fear of crime or risk perception (Warr, 2000).

The *end-state*, a change in behavior due to perceived risk of victimization, is arguably more commonplace than actual victimization, as noted in the example above. Warr (1995a, 2000) suggested that for some, fear of crime may be hyper-inflated, due to a compounding of serious offenses. Several scholars note that fear and perceived risk of victimization are not necessarily the same thing; rather, "fear is a consequence of perceived risk" (Warr, 1984; Stafford and Warr, 1993; Warr, 2000).

Several studies in the field of cognitive psychology suggested that serious "lethal events" (such as environmental disasters) are widely exaggerated by the general public (Warr, 2000; Slovic, 1980; Tversky and Kahneman, 1982), similarly to the way serious criminal events are.

48

These lethal events, much like serious crime, are relatively rare, yet they are perceived to occur more frequently. Warr (2000) noted that this tendency may be due to the fact that serious events are easier to "recall or imagine" (Tversky and Kahneman, 1982; Warr, 2000). Evidence to further suggest the frequency of this tendency is seen in research examining public perception of serious events and the frequency of news/print coverage of accounts (Combs and Slovic, 1979). Newspapers, like all mass media, endeavor to select attention-grabbing stories and report the most sensationalized events of the day. Consistent bombardment with these sensationalized events can lead consumers to believe a false narrative.

Based on the above discussion, we can surmise that fear of crime is real, albeit grossly inflated. A such, when hot spot policing tactics are implemented in high crime areas that are already presumably sensitive to crime issues, do these tactics contribute to increased perceived fear of crime, or do they serve to reduce and regulate this fear?

Bennet (1991) studied the impact of a police initiative on quality of life and fear of crime. The experiment examined perception of elevated police presence and citizen contacts in one treatment area over a one-year period. Survey data suggested that the policing tactic did not reduce fear of crime, yet it did not increase it either. Bennet (1991) also found that citizens living in the treatment area reported better quality of life and satisfaction with the police. Similarly, Weisburd et al. (2012) suggested that a broken windows policing tactic had no significant impact on citizen perception concerning fear of crime. Ratcliff et al. (2015) also found that hot spot policing did not significantly change citizen perception of safety in treatment areas. In other words, hot spot policing did not make citizens report feeling any less safe. Ratcliff et al. (2015) did acknowledge however, that they were unable to determine if the tactic had the inverse effect by making citizen feel safer. Taken together, these sturdies tend to indicate that a backfire effect

from hot spot policing tactics concerning fear of crime may be overexaggerated when accounting for other factors.

<div align="center">A Brief History of Modern American Policing:</div>

Much of the following section was adapted from my master thesis[6] and explores a brief history of policing as a profession in the twentieth century. Scholars have noted three district eras in modern American police. These include the political, reform, and community policing eras. Each policing era served a distinct purpose, and associated tactics were sometimes a reflection of the times. It should be noted that the terms *law enforcement* and *crime fighting* are rather inaccurate in historical contexts.

*The Political, Reform, and Community Policing Eras:*

In America prior to the 1930s, police engaged in a variety of social services aimed at crime prevention and addressing the social problems of the day. This principal, that police were there help solve social problems and prevent crime was rooted in the Sir Robert Peels organization of the first major metropolitan police department in London, England. In America, the first modern policing era was known as the "political era". This era was marked by much turmoil surrounding public corruption scandals, nepotism, and political patronage (Kelling & Moore, 1988). Although this era was marked by much turmoil, the organization of police was situated in manner where community-police relationships were strong. This era also marked a high degree of discretion for police in making decisions on how to solve crime problems locally.

In the 1930s, policing was becoming more professionalized. With the introduction of federal law enforcement institutions such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation, an emphasis on crime fighting was predominant (Kelling and Moore, 1989; Ross, 2005). This model of police

---

[6] See Pace (2010).

focused more on centralizing police authority in an effort to establish independence from political influence and maintain autonomy. As a consequence of this shift, police based their mandates or tied their legitimacy almost entirely to the enforcement of laws. Thus, a reactionary approach to addressing crime problems ensued. Although the political era undoubtedly situated the police away from the direct control of local political leaders and helped to formalize policing as a profession, the benefits of certain consistent community/police interactions by known actors were lost. Police began to become anonymous strangers in the communities they protected and served, and the reform model was born.

This was further exacerbated by the implementation of 9-1-1 systems and motorized patrols, which further served to isolate police from the communities and situate them as purely reactive (Kelling and More, 1988). As a result of this shift, a move away from crime prevention was replaced with enforcing laws and crime fighting. Random patrols over large geographic spaces became the norm. Paralleling this shift were several historical social movements of the 1960s and 1970s, which led to increased tension between citizens and the police. Politicians became sensitive to the fact that policing tactics of the day were not sufficient to curb community concerns about crime and disorder. Additionally, there was new evidence to suggest that random preventative patrol was ineffective in preventing crime (Kelling et al., 1974). Although recommendations from President Johnson's 1967 Commission on Crime "The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society" upheld that the primary function of the police was to "fight crime" several other recommendations contributed to a shift toward the third era of policing. These recommendations included an emphasis on improving community/police relationships.

In light of the failures of the reform era to adequately address crime and disorder, an emphasis on strengthening community/police relationships and addressing the unique problems

51

of crime in specific places became a central focus in the community policing era. This third era was marked by the development of innovative strategies that examined the effects of focused police intervention in specific places. In essence, it was a page taken out of the political era playbook, and police began to place a reemphasis on solving local neighborhood crime problems through a variety of tailored and specific police interventions (Kelling and Moore, 1998; Pace, 2010). These approaches took the form of hot spot policing tactics such as directed patrols (foot or vehicle), problem-oriented policing, offender-specific, community-oriented, or order-maintenance policing approaches to reduce crime and disorder and strengthen community/police bonds.

### The City, Urbanism, and Social Disorganization:

Many arguments associated with social disorganization have their roots in earlier theories contrived to explain the rapid transition that was occurring in the way people lived and organized aspects of social life, such as the division of labor. Much of this is explored in literature common to urban sociology; however, many ideas concerning the transition from mechanical to organic solidarity can be traced to other scholars such as Tonnies, Marx, Engles, Durkheim, Simmel, and themes observed in the field of demography. Concerning the consequence of the transition, theorists such as Marx and Engles proposed radical ideas that were most notably associated with the conditions of city life, the division of labor, and the organization of social life and how these developed as a result of the Industrial Revolution and the rise of the capitalist class. We will explore some of these themes, but it is important to highlight the early observations of the Chicago School concerning the organization of social life in the city, which will be discussed later in this chapter. It could be argued that the transition had some positive and some negative consequences that may have contributed to some aspects of social disorganization in urban areas.

52

A discussion concerning this transition and the development of the city attempts to explore these consequences.

*The Rise of Cities:*

The transition from mechanical solidarity to the fast-paced, expansive city life drastically altered the social dynamic. As previously mentioned, a broad variety of work is explored for a better understanding of the context of crime, place, and polices constructed to address such issues. The field of demography explores the notion of societies transitioning from rural to urban life through an examination of changes in fertility, mortality, and immigration and their associations with changes in behavior and the routine activities of everyday life. Subsequently, literature exploring this transition from demography is explored, followed by a more traditional socio-intellectual history of the transition as observed in more mainstream sociology. These themes included factors such as population change over time, as well as its consequences on urban life.

Concerning the transition from pre-industrial to industrial societies, the field of demography referred to this as the demographic transition theory. The theory argues that changes in behavior follow as societies transitioned from pre-industrial to industrial. Behaviors such as nuptaility, family planning, and fertility were all believed to be affected by this transition (Kirk, 1996). As societies made this transition into the modern world, access to knowledge and technology became available, and family planning was facilitated. This change in the routine activities is another factor discussed concerning the notions associated the transition that occurs from pre-industrial to industrialization.

Kirk (1996), as well as other scholars, also noted that the establishment of certain institutions such as a police force to address public order have also assisted in mortality reduction. The development of institutions tasked with maintaining public order, along with a reduction in mass-casualty war, has been cited as an impacting factor on declining rates of mortality.

In Western Europe, the transition was deemed to occur in the latter part of the nineteenth century (Kirk, 1996), and there was a socio-historical dimension to it. In the mid-nineteenth century, the Industrial Revolution began to take hold. Various advancements in technology occurred, and cultural transition began to develop. As a consequence of families moving from rural to urban areas, certain key cultural shifts impacted the transition in reference to fertility decline. In addition to spatial displacement of populations to small, condensed urban areas, scholars also note that family dynamics began to change as well.

Exploring the transition from pre-industrial to industrial life is curial in understanding the consequences of urban city life. Engels (1845) examined the issue of urbanization and industrialization in the context of its effects on the classes in his *The Conditions of the Working Class.* During Engels's time in Manchester, he visited various parts of the city and examined class dynamics, specifically the urban plight of the proletarian.

Merrifield (2002) suggested that poverty was a consequence of the Industrial Revolution, which attracted people from rural areas to cities, where they hoped they could earn better wages. Engels noted, however, that the transition from rural to city life may have been one of necessity, since the expansion of capitalistic interest perhaps encroached on rural resources. Engels argued that the majority of the population growth was due to the transition and primarily consisted of the working class or poor people. Engels further discussed the physical space where the working

54

class resided, versus that of the rich. He defined "the working class as crowded together, while the wealth of the bourgeois continued to increase as distance from worker's housing increases" (Merrifield, 2002: 36).

Simmel (1903) continued the debate in his analysis of the transition from rural to urban life, connections to capitalism, the metropolis and its ties to the money economy and individualism. Simmel noted that the "deepest problem with modern life stems from the independence and individuality of his existence against sovereign powers of society" (Simmel, 1903: 11). Simmel noted that the original existence of man was characterized as a state of equality, but this slowly changed in the nineteenth century with division of labor and increased competition between individuals. Simmel further discussed the psychological effects of the city, a fast-paced, ever-changing environment. This contributed to a mass number of stimuli, both internal and external, which could intensify emotional life for those in the modern metropolis (Simmel, 1903: 12). Simmel essentially endeavored to examine the relationship between individuals and social structures. Subsequently, he made several distinctions between the stimuli of rural and city life. Ultimately, Simmel argued that social structures may "promote different varying degrees of relationships" and influence these relationships in different ways. Due to the fast pace of city life, Simmel argued that people tend to act more rationally and with a high degree of calculation in cities versus people who live in rural areas. Because people tend to act more rational in cities, they also tend to be more disconnected. Thus arrives the observation that even though city folk live in closer geographical proximity to one another, they are actually more isolated than those who reside in rural areas. One of the reasons for this rational calculation, or protective mechanism, within the metropolis is the impact of the money economy (Simmel,

1903: 12). The city itself may, in turn, serve to promote further isolation, thus contributing to a degree of social disorganization.

As Simmel suggested, city residents tend to have a more blasé outlook. Instead of relationships or exchanges containing a qualitative aspect, it is reduced to a quantitative exchange of value of things (Simmel, 1903: 14). Simmel also provided a brief historical account on the development of the city. One key characteristic of that development was the freedom of movement. We also see part of this logic in Simmel's, *The Stranger*. The idea of freedom of movement was associated with the limiting of an individual's exposure to "the outside world" (Simmel, 1903: 16). This contributes to the relatively homogeneous populations in rural areas. Simmel noted, "Cities are, above all, the seat of the most advanced economic division of labor" and "offer, to an increasing degree, the determining conditions for the division of labor" (Simmel, 1903: 17). Simmel, like many other scholars of the day, considered the city bittersweet, a bad thing but a good thing at the same time.

As was the case in Simmel's *The Stranger,* Weber (1921) presented a very detailed historical account of the development of the city and the social components of exchanges and relationships. Weber first discussed the notion of economic versatility and suggested, "The city constitutes an import part of the daily lives of its inhabitants, economically" (Weber, 1921). Weber discussed the development of the marketplace by explaining that local markets first developed because of stability; people felt secure enough or protected by their kingdom, prince, or state, to set up local village economies in which they could barter items and engage in exchanges, and this was viewed as advantageous to the state or monarch.

Weber concluded that kings often saw markets as a good thing, as they served as a source of income contributed to the monarchy's purchasing power. That purchasing power greatly

influenced the economic opportunities of local villagers (Weber, 1921). Weber also discussed the dynamics of the "urban structure" and subsequent "urban economic policies" that affected exchanges in both early rural settings and modern metropolises (Weber, 1921). This occurred through the "stable regulation" of the urban economy. This concept relates to what Weber contended, the politico-administrative concept of the city. Weber noted that the regulation of the city is different from the organization, which serves as a characteristic of more "feudal traditional relationships" of rural communities (Weber, 1921).

*Social Ecology and the Chicago School:*

As previously mentioned, some scholars have argued that crime is not evenly distributed across city areas (Lersch and Hart, 2011). In fact, crime may be highly concentrated in areas where there exists high residential mobility, unstable labor force participation, and disadvantaged neighborhood circumstances that can erode social control mechanisms. Since the inception of the Chicago School, researchers have been drawn to an examination and development of why certain areas of cities exhibit higher rates of crime, disorder, and deviant behavior. Subsequently, this focus of research and the notions of social disorganization, class, and crime have been the subject of much debate and scrutiny. Understanding human behavior in urban spaces was extensively explored by a collective of scholars whose perspective and work is commonly referred to as the Chicago School. The Chicago School primarily focused on the disparity in the distribution of social problems throughout Chicago and developed theories and methods to explain such variances. One such method was the ecological approach, or human ecology, and these scholars subsequently explored the social dynamic of the city through this lens.

Early theories of crime associated with cultural deviance, social class, and disorganization explanations were dominated by Chicago School scholars. One perspective that

served as a dominant theme among the scholars' research was social disorganization, a notion developed by the Chicago School in the late 1920s. It was primarily used a theoretical device to explain the disparity in crime and juvenile delinquency in Chicago (Park and Burgess, 1925; Shaw and McKay, 1942). The development of this perspective was a consequence of several factors: (1) a strong reaction against positivism, (2) waves of immigration coming into urban areas through gateway cities such as Chicago at an unprecedented rate, (3) unstable and rapid political and economic changes, and (4) various other socio-historical factors that impacted the development and subsequent use of this perspective.

Exploring the notion of rapid changes in urban areas, Chicago School scholars utilized the principles of human/urban ecology as a way to explain why certain social problems were heavily concentrated in various areas of the city. Their methods typically included fieldwork or observations that eventually led to the mapping of a myriad of social problems, including crime and delinquency rates, in the form of spatial maps. This was an innovating deviation concerning the examination of crime and deviance, which, for many years, was dominated strictly by positivism related to the individual and his or her criminal propensities. Now, environment and structural level social forces were considered in regard to how they shaped crime and deviance. As previously mentioned, one of the central themes upheld by the Chicago School was the notion of social disorganization.

This notion, in of itself, served as one of the limitations of the social disorganization perspective. Even though the Chicago School sought to conduct observations in the social world, their methods still contained elements of positivism, sometimes referred to as soft positivism (Hawley, 1950; 1981). Also, even though Chicago School scholars' motives were to understand

crime in communities, they typically ignored the notion of community and even the social actors who inhabited those communities.

Scholars such as Park and Burgess (1925) placed much emphasis on the social dynamic of the city and the influence of that dynamic on the population of urban areas. Concerning the city, Park and Burgess noted, "[It] is involved in the vital processes of the people who compose it; it is a product of nature and particularly of human nature" (Park and Burgess, 1925: 1). Both argued that the city is essentially a fluid, living organism, occupied by cultural forces that shape and influence residents in very real ways. For the sake of example, Park mentioned certain enclaves, such as Greenwich Village in New York. He also contended that technology shaped and changed the ways people interact, particularly within cities. This technology included upgrades in transportation, communication, and advertising (Park and Burgess, 1925: 2). Park detailed an array of social forces that served to segregate certain areas, thus generating prejudice against ethnic communities, such as African-Americans. Park subsequently discussed secondary relationships and changes in social control in urban spaces.

Further, Park suggested that various changes in technology accompanied corresponding changes in "habits, sentiments, and the character of the urban population" (Park and Burgess, 1925: 23). Furthermore, Park elaborates on this notion by explaining that the weakening of social controls is partly responsible for an increase in certain vises and crime in "great cities" (Park and Burgess, 1925: 25). In their early work, Park and his colleagues explored various aspects of the city by asking questions about the phenomenon that occurred within urban areas.

As previously mentioned, some of the early themes that characterized the Chicago School focus were social disorganization and "the decreasing influence of social rules of the behavior upon the individual members of the group" (Hannzer, 1980: 22). Of noteworthy importance,

Park and Burgess later moved their focus from qualitative toward a more quantitative approach; however, Park did not deemphasize the importance of ethnography. In fact, Park discussed the importance of anthropology and how its methods play in the investigation of urban sociology, sometimes referred to as urban anthropology. Chicago School scholars, particularly Park and Burgess, noted that anthropological methods and scope were both interesting and important. Yet, whereas anthropology focused on primitive societies, urban sociology offered unique insight into to modern society. Park argued that modern urban society is more interesting, due to the complex dynamics of human interactions, as well as their organization. He also contended that this is due, in part, to the division of labor and that interactions between people are different in modern times. There is an economic dimension, and this serves to illustrate, at least to some extent, various distributions of social characteristics that make up urban populations. One concern, however, is the extent to which Chicago School perspectives could be applied in other industrialized areas.

Concerning these changes in the organization of society, Park focused great attention on the nuances in the transition from rural to urban civilization and the dynamics of urban expansion (Park and Burgess, 1925: 47). Some of the same social problems that affect urban life, such as divorce and delinquency, were subsequently explored. A colleague of Park's and Burgess' further elaborated on this phenomenon, noting the expansion process of the city and discussing the spatial disruption of people in urban areas. The result was a loop diagram that lays out various city districts. This was also seen in the work of Shaw and McKay and even in earlier observations of urban life, via Engels's description of the city. Burgess's focus, however, was to make sense of urban expansion.

Wirth (1938) further expanded on the previous notions of the Chicago School focus on the changes observed in industrialized urban areas, but he also brought forth the question of defining the city within the realms of sociology, as a methodological way to developing insight into urban life. Wirth pointed out that the process of urbanization and industrialization changed virtually all aspects of social life. As previously mentioned, this has to do, in part, with the way people interact, communicate, live, and engage in exchanges. Wirth (1938) defined the city "as a large and dense permanent settlement consisting of very heterogeneous individuals." The recurring theme pertaining to the consequences of city life included debates that focused on the existences of superficial relationships, vast autonomy, and transitory loose associations.

Shaw and McKay (1942) discovered that "rates of delinquency in lower-class neighborhoods were highest in the inner city" (Akers and Sellers, 2009: 178). They also noted vast population changes in the racial dynamics of inner-city neighborhoods; however, crime rates remained relatively stable for years (Akers and Sellers, 2009: 118). In constructing the notion of social disorganization in urban areas, Shaw and McKay referred to the ecological analogy and proposed that the city was laid out in concentric zones that spanned outward, from the city center to the suburbs. The area just beyond downtown and the industrial areas was referred to as the "zone in transition" (Burgess, 1925). Akers and Sellers (2009) described this zone as one characterized by great social and physical disorder, such as "physical decay, incomplete or broken homes, and unstable heterogeneous populations" (Akers and Sellers, 2009: 178).

Proponents of social disorganization contend that deviance in these neighborhoods is "merely a response to abnormal conditions" (Akers and Sellers, 2009: 178). Furthermore, scholars suggested that "criminal and delinquent behaviors became traditions and were culturally transmitted from one generation to another" (Akers and Sellers, 2009: 178). Several rapid social

and physical changes occurred in early twentieth-century America. Akers and Sellers (2009) noted that components "of urbanization may have contributed to the loosing or breaking down of social control mechanism within communities" (Akers and Sellers, 2009: 179).

This narrows our discussion and returns our focus to research published by early Chicago School scholars, pointing to lingering questions that pertain to urbanism and the development of the social disorganization perspective. This perspective is best understood by examining the rich history surrounding the school's early research agenda. For example, Hannerz (1980) provided a more recent socio-historical account of the development of the Chicago School from its humble early beginnings, leading us through some of the ethnographic accounts of the scholars. These studies include Park and Burgess's (1925) *The City: Suggestion for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environmen*t and Anderson's (1923) examination of hobo culture in *The Hobo*. In the wake of continual change in Chicago, such as waves of immigration and racial inequality, scholars such as Robert Park took to investigating and making sense of the social world within the Windy City.

This debate was revisited later, by Sampson and Groves (1989), in an attempt to include community and actors within the framework of social disorganization in their research concerning collective efficacy and community structure. Concerning the original version of social disorganization, scholars proposed the "city as a mosaic," and this greatly influenced their position on human/urban ecology and perpetuated the lack of focus on the interactions between people. Although the Chicago School discussed the transition from rural to urban life, this perspective still failed to elaborate on what that really meant for the people who participated in that transition.

Further noting the problems associated with social disorganization, Cullen and Agnew (2011) contended that even other scholars, such as Sutherland (1939), did not entirely favor social disorganization as an adequate explanation for explaining crime rates, claiming that these "rates may not be consistent with the explanation of criminal behavior" as compared to the frequency of crimes committed by the group or community (Cullen and Agnew, 2011: 128). Furthermore, Sutherland (1939) argued that "social disorganization" should be substituted with "differential social disorganization," since "a group may have been organized for criminal or anti-criminal behavior" and "crime rates" were an expression of the differential group organization" (Cullen and Agnew, 2011: 129).

Sampson and Groves (1989) noted that social disorganization may be more conductive to deviant behavior when there "exists less solidarity, cohesion, and integration within a group or community" (Akers and Sellers, 2009: 117). The theory of social disorganization suggests that if these conditions are present, there will be higher crime rates and deviance, due to a lack of informal social controls or a breakdown of formal/informal social control mechanisms. One main issue with the previous research concerning social disorganization is the lack of direct measures of social disorganization.

Sampson and Groves (1989) subsequently proposed a direct measure of social disorganization by examining external measures of disorganization (social class, family disruption, residential mobility, etc.), along with more direct measures: "little supervision of teenage gangs, informal friendship networks, and participation in formal activities (Sampson and Groves, 1989: 180). They found that external measures were related to social disorganization as expected (Sampson and Groves, 1989: 180). Ultimately, Sampson and Groves (1989) suggested that social disorganization may affect rates of deviance in urban areas/communities, due to a lack

of informal and formal control mechanisms (Sampson and Groves, 1989: 181). Lowenkamp et al. (2003) replicated Sampson and Groves's (1989) test of social disorganization in urban areas. They confirmed the previous results of Sampson and Groves, suggesting that their "findings were not artificial" (Lowenkamp et al., 2003: 351). Further exploring the notion of social control mechanisms, Sampson (2006) discussed collective efficacy in much of his work. Sampson (2006) defined this as "the perceived ability of neighborhood residents to activate informal social controls" (Sampson, 2006:182). Sampson further suggested, "Collective efficacy [is] the key to understanding social cohesion and mutual support" (Sampson, 2006:182). He suggested two dimensions of it in "social cohesion and mutual support" (Sampson, 2006: 182). Sampson (2006) further argued that neighborhoods with high levels of collective efficacy maintain relatively low crime rates. An inverse relationship was presumed to exist in dense urban neighborhoods, where low levels of collective efficacy were expected to be correlated with higher rates of deviance or officially recorded crime events.

Sampson and Groves (1989) argued that crime would be high in areas that experience a lack of collective efficacy; that is, a willingness on the part of the community to exercise informal social control to "calm wayward conduct." Sampson and Groves (1989) further suggested, "Communities varied in their extent to regulate conduct and suppress criminal behavior" (Sampson and Groves, 1989:92). Sampson and Groves' (1989) approach to social disorganization built upon the research of Shaw and McKay, focusing on directly testing situational factors that may influence crime in neighborhoods and urban areas.

One thing that separated Sampson and Groves' (1989) theory was their conclusion that variations in social disorganization "across communities were ultimately linked to racial inequality" (Cullen and Agnew, 2011: 93). Sampson and Groves (1989) further noted, however,

that earlier versions of social disorganization were rather broad and difficult to test empirically, because it lacked a community level theory that supported the original hypothesis. Shaw and McKay (1942) contended that various sociological factors (poor socioeconomic status, high residential mobility, and unstable family environments) lead to social disorganization, which influenced delinquency rates. Although this may be true, Sampson and Groves (1989) attempted to develop a better understanding of what community is, and its structure became central to their hypothesis.

Sampson and Groves (1989) tested these original propositions, examining factors such as "friendship networks, control of street corner peer groups, and prevalence of organizational participation" (Sampson and Groves, 1989: 774). "Results from both surveys supported the theory and showed that between-community variations in social disorganization transmit much of the effect of community structural characteristics on rates of both criminal victimization and criminal offending (Sampson and Groves, 1989: 774).

As noted earlier, various sociological and criminological theories are rooted in the notion of social disorganization. Theories such as anomie, along with social disorganization, "propose that social order, stability, and integration are conductive to conformity, whereas disorder and mal-integration are conductive to crime and disorder" (Sampson, 2006: 177). We can more clearly see this connection with policy-orientated theories such routine activities and broken windows, which began to take form in within law enforcement in the early 1990s. Of importance to note, post-World War II America experienced a drastic alteration in daily routines and their hypothesized association with crime and delinquency (Cohen and Felson, 1979). However, Shaw and McKay contended that prior to World War II, an absence of adult supervision may have contributed to social disorganization. When parents are absent, youth are more susceptible to the

development of potentially negative peer associations, which may increase the risk of delinquency. Shaw and McKay, as well as Sampson and Groves (1989), found that family disruption is one variable that may contribute to the increased susceptibility of youth to engage in delinquent acts. This may also be indicative of poor informal social control networks in communities, which may further contribute to the lack of collective efficacy of various neighborhoods.

Stark (1987) further supported this notion by suggesting that disorder and high residential mobility in urban areas may decrease social control (Stark, 1987: 895). Stark further noted five aspects of urban neighborhoods that characterize high deviance areas: density, poverty, mixed use, transience, and dilapidation. This characterization of urban social and physical disorder contains propositions from both social disorganization and broken windows. Concerning racial inequality, Sampson and Williams (1995) further elaborated on the "macro-structural factors of residential inequality which may promote social isolation and ecological concentration of the urban poor, which leads to structural barriers and cultural adaptations that undermine social control of crime" (Sampson and Williams, 1995). They further suggested that social policies aimed at reducing incidents of violence and crime should be geared toward areas that suffered from poverty and other social ills. Both social disorganization and broken windows discuss the importance of how informal social control plays on quality of life in urban areas. These differ greatly in their conceptualization on how social control can be reestablished and, thus, potential policy implications.

Sampson and Groves (1989) noted that the root causes of the problem must be addressed. These include poverty and education to assist "community" in developing a sense of collective efficacy or social control. On the other end of the spectrum, Wilson and Kelling (1982)

suggested that order should be reestablished through the use of proactive government entities such as the police. They assert that a sense of order can be developed when residents feel safe and criminals no longer feel comfortable to commit crimes in certain areas. Wilson and Kelling (1982) attempted to link disorder with serious offenses and suggested that it can be treated with increased enforcement of disorderly behavior.

*Post Chicago School and Why Place Matters:*

As explained above, the transition from rural to urban living had both positive and negative consequences. Furthermore, I have discussed the possibility that specific places in urban areas may influence certain types of behavior or restrict others. This section discusses the notion that certain conditions or characteristics within places might have this effect. The specific focus here, however, is on social disorganization, neighborhood characteristics, and the association with deviance. As previously mentioned, aspects of social disorganization may be related to various social problems observed in urban spaces. Conversely, some dimensions of urban life likely serve to affect levels of social disorganization across areas in a particular city. One such dimension concerns neighborhood characteristics and their subsequent effect on the dynamics of place. Research suggests that certain characteristics of neighborhoods can influence a variety of social problems. These include disorderly or risky behavior, family formation/stability, and delinquency rates that influence social control mechanisms and collective efficacy.

Sampson et al. (2002) provided a synthesis concerning neighborhood studies "and the effects social and institutional processes play on problem behavior related to young people" (Sampson et al., 2002: 444). They examined over forty studies that spanned the decade from 1990 to 2000 and highlighted results pertaining to neighborhood effects. They went beyond focusing simply on concentrated poverty, which was traditionally the scope of studies that

examined neighborhood-level effects. Instead, they examined and evaluated "the salience of social-interactional and institutional mechanisms hypothesized to account for variations in a variety of neighborhood phenomenon," such as high-risk behavior and delinquency rates (Sampson et al., 2002: 443).

Alternatively, Sampson and Raundenbush (1998) examined public disorder and its subsequent sources and consequences on urban life. Sampson and Raundenbush (1998) utilized data collected from video footage of more than 23,000 street segments, to assess physical and social disorder using a systematic rating scale. They also tested collective efficacy and structural constraints of neighborhoods, utilizing census data, police reports, and surveys. They suggested that "cohesion among residents combined with shared expectations for the social control of public spaces" may explain higher rates of collective efficacy among neighborhoods. (Sampson and Raundenbush, 1998: 603).

Browning and Cagney (2003) examined the impact of neighborhood characteristics on self-related health from a sample of urban adults. They also examined the effects social disorganization and the role culture plays in neighborhood characteristics and self-reported health. Browning and Cagney (2003) contended that neighborhood affluence is a much more powerful predictor of better health outcomes than poverty. Additionally, they contended that "neighborhood affluence and residential stability interact in their association with health" (Browning and Cagney, 2003: 552). They also suggested that collective efficacy was a positive predictor of health; however, it did not mediate the effects of neighborhood structural factors.

Further exploring health and neighborhood characteristics, Browning and Olinger-Wliborn (2003) examined sexual partnering and union formation. The association between community/structural factors and their influences on sexual partnering or union formation has

not been well documented. Noting this gap, Browning and Olinger-Wliborn examined "neighborhood structural characteristics, social disorganization, and the sexual partnering practices of adults in urban areas" (Browning and Olinger-Wliborn, 2003: 730). They suggested that much research on neighborhood characteristics has focused primarily on the consequences concerning individual outcomes. Research indicates that these outcomes, as well as behavioral patterns, vary significantly from place to place. Browning and Olinger-Wliborn (2003) contended that it may be important to examine the association between "neighborhood structural characteristics of urban neighborhoods and patterns of sexual and union formation, including the timing of first intercourse" (Browning and Olinger-Wliborn, 2003: 730).

Browning and Olinger-Wliborn (2003) subsequently tested the notion that neighborhood structural characteristics, as well as the level of social disorganization, influence "patterns of sexual patterning among adults." Furthermore, they suggested that neighborhoods vary in degree of constraint or provision of opportunities for sexual patterning. Concerning moderates to sexual partnering, Browning and Olinger-Wliborn (2003) contended, "neighborhoods characterized by high levels of sociability, informal exchange, and frequent interactions may enhance the likelihood of sexual interaction in comparison with neighborhoods where social ties are weak" (Browning and Olinger-Wliborn, 2003: 730).

Concerning the extent of the influence of neighborhood characteristics, Browning and Olinger-Wliborn (2003) noted that informal social control mechanisms may be stronger in communities where poverty and residential stability are relatively low. They further suggested that these factors may allow for the community to better regulate and monitor "normatively proscribed behavior" (Browning and Olinger-Wliborn, 2003: 731). Also, they noted that

communities who experience higher levels of social control may influence patterns of sexual behavior.

It should be noted, however, that Browning and Olinger-Wliborn's (2003) results were mixed. They found that "concentrated disadvantage was not associated with short-term sexual partnering" for men (Browning and Olinger-Wliborn, 2003: 742). Results concerning ethnic heterogeneity also revealed a negative association with short-term sexual partnering. Browning and Olinger-Wliborn (2003) concluded, "collective efficacy operates, in part, indirectly through characteristics of social networks that have consequences for behavior at the microsocial level" (Browning and Olinger-Wliborn, 2003: 742). Highlighting the association between neighborhood conditions and sexual practices, South and Baumer (2002) explored the mechanisms associated with premarital childbearing for young women living in socioeconomically disadvantaged neighborhoods. South and Baumer (2002) also discussed Wilson's (1987) concept of racial differences in childbearing and the likelihood that this can "be attributed to the racial differences in neighborhood environments" (South and Baumer, 2002: 1379).

Focusing on neighborhood effects and potential health consequences, Ross et al. (2001) examined neighbor stability and its effects on residential wellbeing in poor neighborhoods. They specifically focused on the psychological wellbeing of residents and contended, "residential stability is good for communities" (Ross at al. 2000: 581). They referred to this as a "cohesive perspective."

Ross, et al. (2001) utilized census-track data from a sample of Illinois residents concerning attitudes toward poverty and neighborhood stability. They suggested their results provided support for a social isolation perspective. They further contend that, "in affluent

neighborhoods, stability is associated with low levels of distress" while poor neighborhoods experience the opposite" (Ross et al. 2000: 581). Furthermore, they suggested that "the negative effects of poor, stable neighborhoods on residents' psychological wellbeing do not stem from a lack of social ties among neighbors" (Ross et al., 2001). Besides potential risks for health disparities in disadvantaged neighborhoods, Ross et al. (2001) examined neighborhood disorder and the notion of trust as associated with such perceived levels.

The key argument was the association between characteristics of disadvantaged neighborhoods and the level of social organization within those neighborhoods. Trust may be one component to building stronger bonds with fellow neighbors which may tend to strengthen informal social control within a neighborhood. Ross at al. (2001) suggested that trust is low in neighborhoods with higher perceived levels of disorder, those characterized by, "mistrust, which develops in neighborhoods where resources are scarce and threats are common" (Ross et al., 2001: 568). Furthermore, Ross et al. (2001) contended that mistrust may influence, directly or indirectly, a sense of powerlessness, which may further contribute to mistrust in residents and

Utilizing data from the Community, Crime, and Health data (1995) survey, Ross et al., (2001) examine the association between residential mistrust and perceived level of disorder. They found that individuals who report living in disadvantaged neighborhoods also reveal feeling less trustworthy of neighbors which may be influenced by the perceived level of neighborhood disorder. Also, people who reported living "in neighborhoods with higher levels of perceived disorder" were reported as being more mistrusting of others. Finally, Ross et al., (2001) contended, "the sense of powerlessness, which is common in disadvantaged neighborhoods, amplifies the effect of neighborhood disorder on mistrust" or social disorganization associated with that area (Ross at al., 2001: 568).

Lofland (2007) discussed the city and urbanism, however, provided rich, depictive detail pertaining to the urban experience and life in the city. What separated this research from previous work was its attempt to add a dimension pertaining to culture and to take seriously the notion that social actors in cities were not simply responding to ambiguous stimuli. Lofland examined the notion that interactions in urban city life are seen as asocial. Of particular interest was Stanly Milgram's (1970) "The Experience of Living in Cities." In this essay, Milgram argued that, due to a vast number of sensations, humans tended to experience stimuli overload, which results in them shutting out others or turning off. Milgram further asserted that this turning off served as a defense mechanism against the over-stimulation inherent to city life. Like several other scholars, Lofland suggested that up until the past two centuries, the vast majority of people lived in rural settings characterized by simple exchanges between villages, tribes, and townsfolk (Lofland, 2007:1). These realms were primarily indicative of mostly primary relationships; however, Lofland later suggested that the majority of interactions between people then were in the public realm.

Lofland also referenced the fact that "as late as 1800, only 3 percent of the human population lived in cities of 100,000 or more" (Lofland, 2007: 140). This aided Lofland in building her argument that a shift occurred within modern urban life and, contrary to previous speculation, urban life was not as blasé as it once was thought. Lofland further noted that several scholars argued that public space within urban areas was characteristic of non-complex interactions between strangers, that were not really meaningful. Lofland mentioned various scholars who have contributed to that alternative argument, stating that public life is filled with rich, meaningful human interactions. Lofland discussed the work of Jane Jacobs, who examined the "organized complexity of the city" (Lofland, 2007: 3). Jacobs published *The Death and Life of*

72

*Great American Cities* in 1961, and that work examined how a city actually operated. Jacobs (1961) found that interactions within the city were comprised of "rich and complex acts, actions, and interactions that were both thoughtful and meaningful" (Lofland, 2007: 3). Finally, Lofland pointed out the contributions of Erving Goffman and William H. Whyte. Finally, Loftland pointed out the contributions of Erving Goffman and William H. Whyte. Goffman discussed "the interaction order" and further discredited the belief that city life or public space was primarily asocial. Goffman's major contribution on his observations of people in public spaces was the notion that interactions that occurred between strangers was just as meaningful as the interactions that occurred in people in private settings.

Whyte (1988) on the other hand, confirmed what previous authors had observed in publications such as; *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces (1980)* and *The City: Rediscovering the Center (1988).* What set Whyte apart for pervious scholars was the fact that he specifically intended to study "the public realm" and began to "construct a political argument for the indispensability of public space to the life of the city" (Loftland, 2007: 4).

Lofland (2007) noted that there were some problems associated with assigned a definition to the word "city". Lofland initially offered Louis Wirth's definition; "large, dense, and heterogeneous settlements" (Loftland, 2007:5). Lofland compared this definitional parameter with the characteristics of "small town" life; "low density, lightly populated, and homogeneity as a way to distinguish between city and rural life.

In her book, "*The Public Realm: Exploring the City's Quintessential Social Territor"* Lofland (2007) builds on the notion concerning interactions in "the public realm". Much of her research expands on the idea that interactions "between strangers" in the public realm are meaningful and thoughtful social actions. The ideas proposed by scholars' such as Simmel and

Millgram argued that interactions between strangers were rather "superficial" and without meaning. Millgram went a step further by explaining a somewhat biological interpretation of the "blasé attitude" by arguing that city life created a "stimulus overload" for people and as a consequence, individuals developed defense mechanisms (perhaps psychological) to deal with the mass amounts of stimulus invoked by urban life. Simmel's argument concerning interactions between strangers is further developed by Louis Wirth in 1938 and as mentioned earlier, with Milgrams' "stimulus overload" explanation (Loftland, 2007: 27). Lofland challenged these assumptions by advancing the idea that interactions in the public realm were meaningful and that people act in "cooperating behavior with one another" to a degree within the city (Loftland, 2007: 25).

Long (1958) provided a basis for Loftland's assumptions by noting that communities appeared to be ordered in a fashion in "which expectations were met, and functions were performed" (Long, 1958: 251). Long contended that a misconception is, at times, superimposed as to who (or as he later refers to as "they") is responsible for this illusion of flawless order. Long contended that "order was a product of history rather than the imposed effect of any central nervous system of the community" (Long, 1958:251). Long discussed the "games" in which individuals construct and become part of playing in the social world. The engagement in these games served the interest of the individual mostly as Long suggested. Particularly, Long discussed the notion of rationality and the impact structures played on the individual's "game". Furthermore, Long tied this notion into an explanation on how structures provide "members with goals, strategies, and roles that support rational action" (Long, 1958: 251).

Further exploring the context of interactions in urban areas, Anderson (2004) provided an insightful ethnography of the interactions that occur in certain public spaces ("canopies") that

served to promote civility and encourage contact between strangers within city life. This is in contrast to interactions that occurred between strangers outside of "canopies" as suggested by Anderson.

For Anderson, like many other scholars associated with the urbanism movement, "place" tended to matter and had the potential to shape interactions. For example, in a discussion on "new urbanism", Brian (2002) argued that place and the built environment mattered. He suggested that "place-based interactions" were an important part of the relationships developed within this perspective (new urbanism). Lofland (2007) further pointed to the reluctance of social scientists to commit to the notion that the built environment may shape the way in which people interact with each other in the public realm. Loftland noted, that for several decades, sociologists had often had "agoraphobia" concerning this issue and had refused to see the "built environment" as a potential cause variable. Instead, Loftland suggested, that sociologists had often contended that the built environment served as the dependent variables concerning interactions that occur between people in the public realm. This in sorts constituted "anti-urban" sentiments concerning interactions that may occur in the context of the public realm, in other words, place may actually matter.

Loftland (2007) further contended that people who designed the actual built environment saw interactions between individuals quite different. She contended that these designers saw spaces as rich places for interactions that may purposely be influenced by the design of the space. The notion of "design by control" played an important role in her work. Loftland highlighted research on Victorian lifestyles of the 19th century. Scholars noted that the design of certain places actually served to restrict or control interactions between people.  In relation to our discussion, Loftland noted that scholars had somewhat been discouraged from exploring this

notion in urban sociology for several decades. Many scholars from the Chicago School explored

aspects of this notion however contented that "pattering of spatial arraignments was shaped by

natural selection in a market forces type relationship" (Loftland, 2007: 180).

CHAPTER 3:

METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the data collection process, sources of data examined, coding schemes utilized to construct variables, and analytic plan. The primary source of data for this research was a residential survey that gauged several key constructs; (1) perceptions of police activity, (2) opinions about police (police legitimacy), and (3) perceptions of safety level (fear of crime). This dataset is distinctive in that it examines perceptions of hot spot policing strategies from residents using survey data, a relatively large sample size, and a comprehensive list of variables to assess attitudes towards frequent police activity, opinions about the police, and perceived safety level.

Data Collection:

All variables in the dataset were acquired from the responses of residents contained in the original Smart Policing Initiative (SPI) survey, which documented respondent attitudes toward the examined key constructs. The Las Vegas SPI examined place-based policing strategies. One such strategy was a hot spot policing tactic, police saturation patrol. The original evaluation utilized a random experimental design. Twenty-four hot spot neighborhoods were selected as intervention deployment sites for the police saturation team (the treatment), and these areas were selected based on two criteria. First, police administrators were asked to select three locations from their respective area commands which served as "historical high crime problem areas" based on official crime statistics (CAD data). At the time of the SPI survey (2012), LVMPD maintained eight area commands located in various geographic areas throughout Las Vegas.

Experiential knowledge, based on the law enforcement experience of the area command, was relied upon for initial filtering and identification of study focus locations. Calls-for-service frequency served as the second selection criterion. Once all twenty-four neighborhoods of

interest were selected, official calls-for-service data, for both serious and minor offenses, were used to match the locations in pairs, from those with the highest frequency of police calls-for-service to the lowest frequency. This resulted in twelve pairs of locations.

After the pairs were ranked in chronological order from one to twenty-four (twelve pairs), a randomization process was employed. Serious offenses included Part 1 index offenses from the FBI Uniformed Crime Report (UCR), while minor offenses included crimes such as vagrancy, neighborhood disputes, prostitution, and lesser offenses. Figure 1 geographically displays the distribution of all twenty-four neighborhood hot spots contained in the original SPI evaluation; Figure 2 geographically displays the distribution of the twelve-specific treatment and control neighborhood hot spots surveyed.[7]

**Figure 1:** Geographic Display of all Twenty-Four Hot Spot Neighborhoods in Las Vegas



---
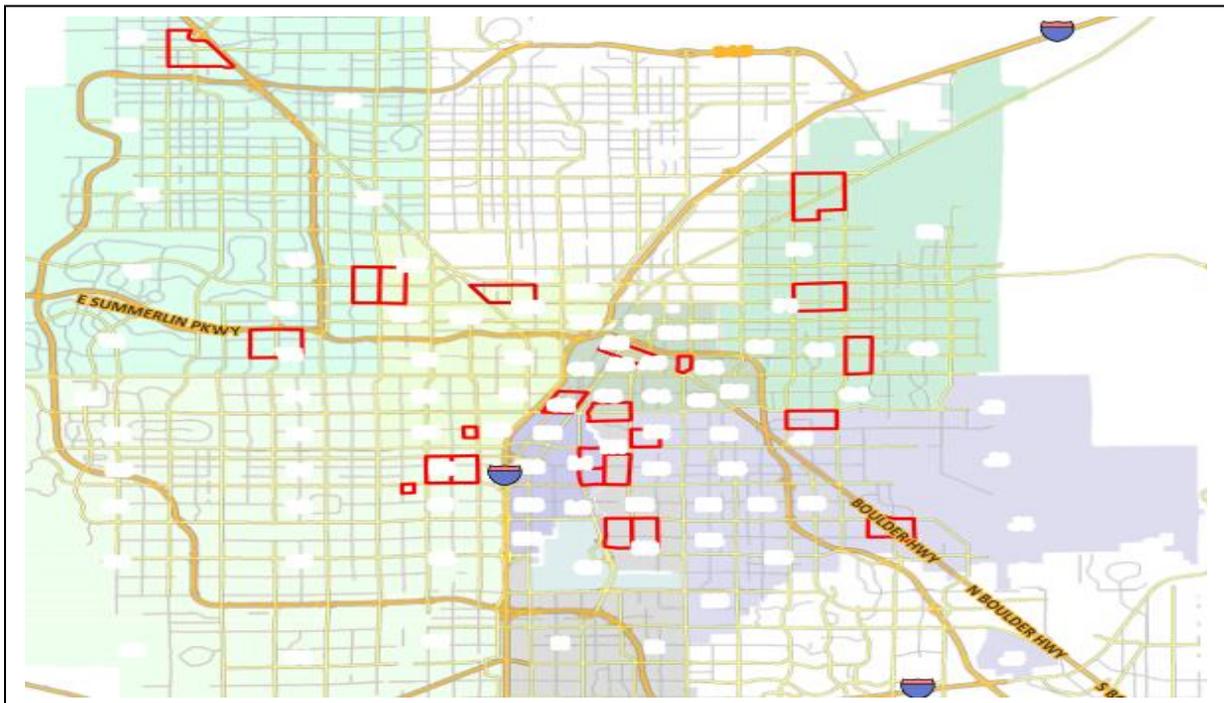
[7] These figures/images were pulled directly from the original SPI executive report authored by Batson et al. (2012).

**Figure 2:** Geographic Display of all Twelve Treatment/Control Hot Spot Neighborhoods in Las Vegas
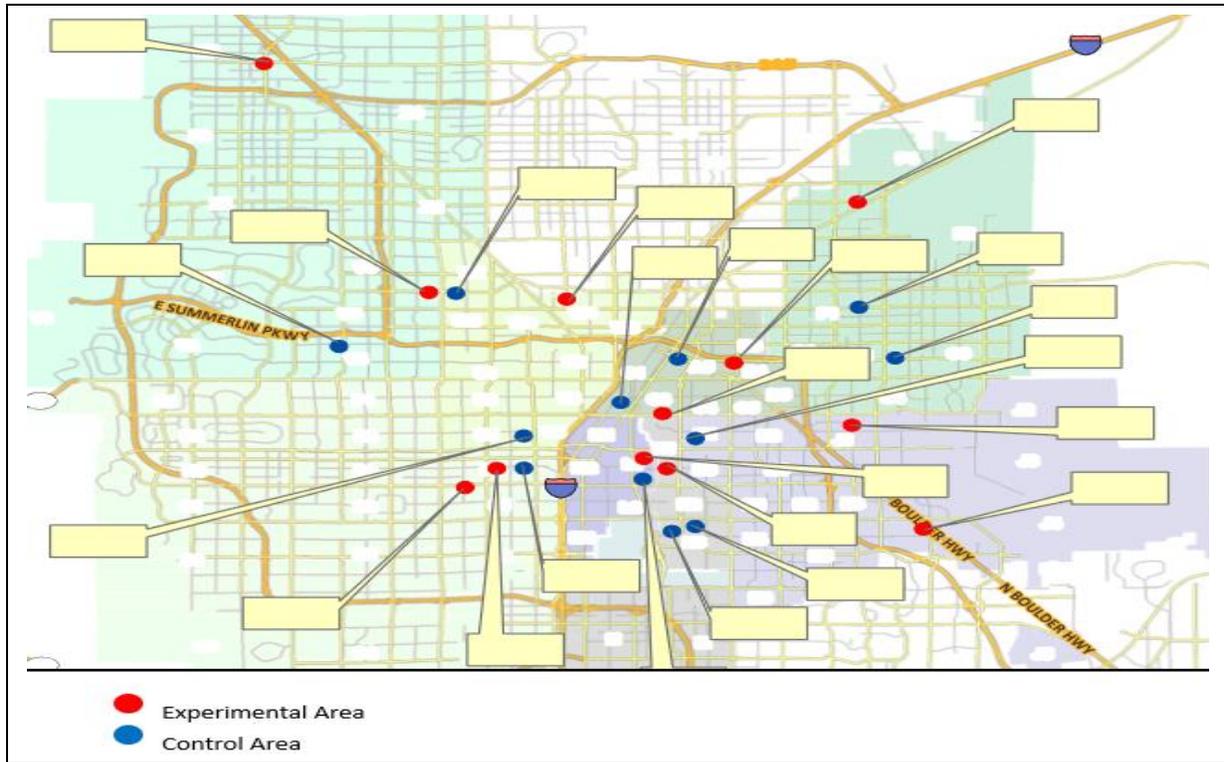


The saturation team deployed to twelve hot spot neighborhoods (experimental areas) in four waves, each of which lasted for approximately sixty days. Table 1 (displayed below) lists the dates that each wave occurred. Wave 1 occurred from March 1, 2012 to April 30, 2012. The saturation team deployed to areas 6, 10, and 16. Areas 5, 9, and15 served as the matched control pairs during Wave 1. Wave 2 occurred from May 1, 2012 to June 30, 2012. The saturation team deployed to areas 2, 4, and 20. Areas 1, 3, and 19 served as the matched control pairs during Wave 2. Wave 3 occurred from July 1, 2012 to August 30, 2012. The saturation team deployed to areas 11, 13, and 18. Areas 12, 14, and 17 served as the matched control pairs during Wave 3. Wave 4 occurred from September 1, 2012 to October 30, 2012. The saturation team deployed to areas 7, 21, and 24. Areas 8, 22, and 23 served as the matched control pairs during Wave 2.

**Table 1:** Wave Deployment Schedule

| Wave | Deployment Period | Treatment Areas | Control Areas |
|------|-------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| 1 | March 1, 2012 – April 30, 2012 | 6, 10, 16 | 5, 9, 15 |
| 2 | May 1, 2012 – June 30, 2012 | 2, 4, 20 | 1, 3, 19 |
| 3 | July 1, 2012 – August 31, 2012 | 11, 13, 18 | 12, 14, 17 |
| 4 | Sept. 1, 2012 – Oct. 31, 2012 | 7, 21, 24 | 8, 22, 23 |

The randomization process consisted primarily of coin toss to assign the matched pairs to either the treatment or control group. Each pair was then randomly assigned to either a control or experimental area which received the "police intervention" (i.e. police saturation patrol).  This ensured that each pair had the same probability of being assigned to the either treatment or control neighborhoods.

Randomization in social science research is sparse. Despite the methodological advantages to utilizing a randomized design, few empirical studies in criminology and sociology have "carried out randomized experiments" (Farrington, 1983).  Randomization further allows for the researcher to assess systematic difference due to the presence or absences of the intervention in treatment and control areas (Campbell and Stanley, 1963; Sechrest and Rosenblatt, 1987). Although there are several methods for evaluating the effects of any given treatment or initiative, researchers commonly point to the experimental design as the most valid and reliable (Farrington & Welsh, 2006; Fox and Farrington, 2013). Additionally, utilizing a randomized design significantly decreases most threats to internal validity (Losel, 2008).

Fox and Farrington (2013) suggested that experiments typically come in two forms: randomized control trials (RCT) or non-randomized experiments. Braga and Bond (2008)

utilized an RCT in which they examined the impact of a disorder policing strategy in seventeen matched homogeneous blocks in Lowell, Massachusetts. Through that study, they found that the most effective "crime prevention gains were associated with situational crime prevention strategies," as compared to more traditional proactive enforcement such as arrests and citations issued by police. They contended that several studies examining disorder policing strategies utilize non-experimental or quasi-experimental designs (Braga and Bond, 2008). Furthermore, Braga and Bond (2008) noted that many of the studies that have utilized non-randomized designs have suffered from limitations concerning inferences of causality. Additionally, previous research examining broken windows policing have relied heavily on the idea concerning the association between increased enforcement of misdemeanor offenses as a "proxy measure for policing disorder" (Braga and Bond, 2008). The SPI experiment utilized a similar design and generally conformed to the principals associated with RCTs. The SPI looked to assess the impact of saturation patrol at treatment locations as compared to control areas through policing disorder.

Concerning the SPI survey, Batson et al. (2014) contended, "the primary goal of the residential survey was to address several critical features of residential experience such as: (1) descriptions of residential attitudes about policing initiatives, (2) necessary baseline information about neighborhood composition, organization, satisfaction, and quality of life, (3) insight into relationships among neighborhood composition, LVMPD exposure, and resident opinions about crime; and (4) changing perceptions of crime and policing due to LVMPD intervention strategies" (Batson et al., 2014). As such, the survey was administered by a local survey company, hired by the SPI research team.

The survey organization, Organized Karma, a consulting firm in Las Vegas, was provided with very specific geographic boundaries, as well as names of streets and intersections in all

twenty-four hot spot neighborhoods. The survey team was deployed to each selected hot spot neighborhood immediately following the saturation team's sixty-day deployment. They conducted face-to-face interviews with respondents and were asked to obtain a response rate of approximately seventy-five surveys per hot spot neighborhood.

The survey team generally deployed with 4 to 6 personnel while administering surveys in the hot spot neighborhood. The SPI survey was comprised of 25 questions[8] and it was estimated that it took 20 minutes to complete. The survey was administered during Waves 2 through 4.  Table 2 (listed below) depicts the sample sizes and dates the survey was administered during Waves 2 through 4. To further protect the identity of respondent's anonymity taking the SPI survey, Table 2 displays the wave deployment for both the saturation patrol and neighborhoods that served as treatment and control locations.

---

[8] See appendix for complete SPI Survey

**Table 2:** Residential Survey Time Period, Dates, and Sample Size

| Wave | Neighborhood | Police Saturation Deployment Dates | Survey Administration Dates Date | Sample Size |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | | May 1, 2012 - June 30, 2012 | July 1, 2012 | |
| Treatment | 1 | | | n=82 |
| Control | 2 | | | n=82 |
| 3 | | July 1, 2012 - August 31, 2012 | September 1, 2012 | |
| Treatment | 11 | | | n=79 |
| Control | 12 | | | n=79 |
| Treatment | 18 | | | n=81 |
| Control | 17 | | | n=81 |
| 4 | | September 1, 2012 - October 31, 2012 | November 2, 2012 | |
| Treatment | 7 | | | n=81 |
| Control | 8 | | | n=80 |
| Treatment | 21 | | | n=77 |
| Control | 22 | | | n=77 |
| Treatment | 24 | | | n=77 |
| Control | 23 | | | n=99 |

Concerning measurements of crime, the original SPI study examined crime rates between the experimental and control areas as well as measurements of crime before and after the saturation team was deployed to hotspot neighborhoods in both experimental and control areas. Survey data on the other hand examined the respondents' perceptions, attitudes, and opinions concerning crime, police activity, opinions of police, and perceptions of safety in both experimental and control areas.

The original SPI study produced mixed results concerning official crime statistics and reductions in crime as it related to police saturation patrol. Batson et al. (2014) found inconsistent results concerning a reduction in both disorder and serious offenses in the treatment area. Furthermore, some categories of crime actually increased in some of the treatment neighborhoods. Although this may not be due to an actual increase in crime, Batson et al. (2014) noted that this may be a side effect of "the influence of police presence on citizens' willingness

to call the police" suggesting that a backfire effect may have developed (Batson et al., 2014), thus suggesting that a backfire effect may have developed as a result of police saturation patrol. A final component of the SPI evaluation included observational ride-alongs with police saturation patrol units, however these were too few in scope to produce a measurable qualitative picture of the contexts concerning interactions between the police and citizens.

Historically, LVMPD has employed directed patrol units (saturation teams or patrols) to neighborhoods that have higher crime incident reporting; however, these units rarely spend a substantial amount of time in any one area, so the chance of any measurable success has been limited. This research attempts to explore such speculated effects.

This dissertation is a test of place-based policing strategies, specifically hot spot policing. This research essentially examines elements of the broken widow hypothesis. The distinction in this study is the method by which the intervention is assessed. Rather than assessing the intervention purely on official measures of crime and officer self-initiated activity, police saturation patrol is examined through citizen perceptions of police activity, opinions about the police, and perceived level of safety, based on survey data. Additionally, the hot spot policing tactic (i.e. police saturation patrol) is not assessed by its potential to reduce crime but rather I evaluate whether this tactic can be attributed to backfire effects on the outcome measures.

<u>Data Source(s)/Description of the Dataset:</u>

The data originated from an earlier study supported by Bureau of Justice Assistance Grant 2011-DB-BX-0022. The SPI called for an evaluation of the LVMPD mobile crime saturation team's alleged impact on reducing crime and disorder in hot spot neighborhoods throughout the Las Vegas valley. As previously mentioned, the evaluation contained a survey

84

component that gauged citizen perceptions of police activity, opinions about the police, and perceived level of safety. The SPI survey component is the main source of data for this research.

The final sample size (N) resulted in 1,005 surveys, administered to residents in both control and treatment neighborhoods. As previously stated, this research comes from the larger SPI study; however, it focused primarily on the survey data component to assess how hot spot policing, in the form of police saturation patrol, may impact respondent perceptions of police activity, opinions about the police, and perceived safety level (fear of crime), thus contributing to the potential for a backfire effect as a result of the tactic. This study examines dimensions of the broken windows hypothesis.

After eliminating unnecessarily variables within the data set (the SPI survey), a total sample size (N) of approximately 1,005 surveys were utilized. There were three main outcome measures for this study: (1) perceptions of police activity (crime and disorder), (2) opinions about the police (police legitimacy); and (3) perceived level of safety (fear of crime). The main outcome measures came from the original SPI residential survey, which was administered to households in neighborhoods identified as high crime hot spots during the course of the SPI evaluation. The survey was completed in six hot spot neighborhoods that received police saturation patrol and six control hot spot neighborhoods that did not receive the police intervention.

The survey was administered immediately after the saturation team completed its 60-day deployment to the treatment neighborhoods (control pairs received the survey at this time interval as well). The survey was administered in "three waves" (see table 2[9]).  The SPI

---

[9] Table 2 is taken directly from the final grant document authored by Batson et al. (2014).

residential survey primarily measured attitudes towards police visibility (activity), opinions

about police (police legitimacy), and perceived level of safety (fear of crime).

<center>Outcome Measures, Hypothesis, and Treatment:</center>

*Predicting Perceived Police Activity (DV-1):*

> *Research Question 1: Are prolonged place-based policing strategies noticed by citizens in high crime neighborhoods? If an association exists between place-based policing (hot spot policing) strategies and citizen perception of police activity, does a backfire effect develop as a result of the tactic, thus contributing to an increased perception of crime and neighborhood disorder?*

> *Hypothesis 1: Police saturation patrol in high crime neighborhoods leads to increases in resident perception of police activity.*

The broken windows hypothesis is generally conceptualized as an order maintenance

strategy, with the chief aim of reducing violent crime through proactive police enforcement

initiatives by addressing minor offenses. Typically, analyses for such strategies rely heavily on

calls-for-service (CFS) data and police activity in an area. This study departs from this tradition

and focuses on citizen perceptions concerning the frequency, duration, and types of police

activity observed in crime hot spot neighborhoods.

Concerning the outcome measure for this model, "perceived police activity" was

constructed as an index. An index containing questions from the SPI survey was used to

construct the "perceived police activity" index.

<center>86</center>

*Perceived Police Presence/Activity Index:*

This outcome measure was an index compiled of four questions, including questions 8a-8d from the SPI survey.[10] The "perceived police activity" index ranged in scores from 4 (not at all) to 16 (every day). This index served as a "perceived police presences" measure. This outcome measure is defined as the "perceived presence" of police in crime hot spot neighborhoods, conducting some type of police activity. The set of questions probed respondents on how often they noticed police and police activity in their neighborhoods. Respondents were asked the following questions: (1) How often do you notice police on your block?; (2) How often have you seen the police talking to people in your neighborhood?; (3) How often have you seen the police searching people in your neighborhood?; and (4) How often have you seen the police arresting people in your neighborhood? Respondents were provided with the following response options, coded as ordinal values: (1) not at all, (2) once a month or less, (3) a few times a month, or (4) a few times a week.

After case-wise elimination of the data and respondents who selected "refused," a total of 483 cases remained, and the scaled index variable, as the sum of the four Likert scores, ranged from 4 through 16 (mean 9.2, med 9.0, std 3.2). A reliability analysis using Cronbach's alpha for the four items revealed a high level of internal consistency ($\alpha = 0.797$), with no improvement from deleting items. The index for this outcome measure was arraigned in a manner whereas higher values represented more perceived police activity by citizens.

*Predicting Opinions About the Police (DV-2):*

> *Research Question 2: What is the relationship between place-based policing strategies and opinions about the police? Are opinions about the police altered as a result of place-*

---

[10] See Appendix I for the original SPI survey.

*based policing (hot spot policing) strategies, and does implementation of the tactic contribute to a backfire effect?*

*Hypothesis 2: Police saturation patrol in high crime neighborhoods will alter opinions about the police in hot spot neighborhoods.*

The second outcome measure pertained to "opinions about the police" (police legitimacy) in crime hot spot neighborhoods (treatment and control neighborhoods). This measure sought to assess attitudes, opinions, and beliefs concerning the "performance of police." This study builds on previous research that examined similar outcome measures to assess if a backfire effect developed as a result of hot spot police tactics in crime hot spot neighborhoods (Weisburd et al., 2011; Ratcliff et al., 2015). I assessed opinions about the police through a series of survey questions from the SPI study administered to citizens in both control and treatment neighborhoods. These questions gauged citizen perceptions by asking overall how satisfied they were with the police.

*Opinions About Police Index:*

This outcome measure was an index/scale compiled of eight questions including questions 10a-10e and 11a-11c from the SPI survey. The "opinions about the police" index ranged in scores from 8 (strongly agree) to 32 (strongly disagree). Respondents were provided with question asking for them to choose how they felt about the specified issue with responses ranging from; "(1) strongly agree, (2) agree, (3) disagree, or (4) strongly disagree". These were a series of statements on a Likert scale which included; (1) "I have a lot of respect for police, (2) on the whole police officers are honest, (3) I feel proud of the police, (4) I am very supportive of the police, (5) the police treat people fairly, (6) If you had a complaint against someone on your block would you be more likely to use police services, (7) If you had an emergency situation would you be more likely to use police services, and (8) If you saw suspicious activity on your

block would you be more likely to use police services?  These questions were coded as ordinal variables.

After case-wise elimination of the data and respondents who selected refused, a total of 805 cases remained, and the scaled index variable, as the sum of the 8 Likert scores, ranged from 8 through 32 (mean 24.5, med 25, std 4.7). A reliability analysis using Cronbach's alpha for the 8 items revealed a high level of internal consistency ($\alpha = 0.690$), with no improvement in deleting items. The index for this outcome measure was arraigned in a manner whereas higher values represented more police legitimacy by citizens.

*Predicating Perceived Safety Level (DV-3):*

> *Research Question 3: How do prolonged place-based policing strategies influence citizen perception of safety in high crime neighborhoods? Does place-based policing (hot spot policing) influence perception of safety, thus contributing to backfire effect as a result of the tactic?*

> *Hypothesis 3: Police saturation patrol in high crime neighborhoods will alter citizen perception about safety in hot spot neighborhoods.*

This research also explores perception of safety level (fear of crime) and disorder perceived by citizens. This serves as a "perceived safety level" measure. This outcome measure was an index compiled of fourteen questions from the SPI survey. The "perceived safety level" index ranged in scores from 14 to 52.

*Perceived Safety Level Index:*

This outcome measure was an index/scale comprised of fourteen items, including SPI survey questions 3, 5, 6 and 4a-4k. The "perceived safety level" index ranged in scores from 14 (very frequent) to 52 (not very frequent). For question 3, respondents were asked to rate what they perceived the crime rate in their neighborhood to be. Respondents were provided with the following responses options: (1) very big problem, (2) somewhat of a problem, (3) not much of a

problem, and (4) no problem at all. For question 5, respondents were asked, "How safe do you feel when walking alone at night on your block?" Respondents were provided with the following responses options: (1) very safe, (2) somewhat safe, (3) somewhat unsafe, and (4) very unsafe. Question 6 probed respondents by asking, "Overall, how physically safe from crime do you feel in your neighborhood?" Respondents were provided with the following response options: (1) very safe, (2) somewhat safe, (3) somewhat unsafe, and (4) very unsafe. These questions were coded as ordinal.

This index also included questions 4a-4k, which probed respondents on their perceptions of neighborhood physical and social disorder (See table 6). Respondents were provided with the following response options: (1) not very often, (2) somewhat often, (3) very often, and (4) all the time. These questions were coded as ordinal variables.

After case wise elimination of the data and respondents who selected "refused", a total of 871 cases remained, and the scaled index variable, as the sum of the fourteen Likert scores, ranged from 14 through 52 (mean = 23.6, med 22, std 8.5). A reliability analysis using Cronbach's alpha for the eight items revealed a high level of internal consistency ($\alpha = 0.841$), with no improvement from deleting items. The index for this outcome measure was arraigned in a manner whereas higher values represented less perceived safety by citizens.

*Police Saturation Patrol (Treatment Variable):*

Police saturation patrol (i.e. LVMPD's saturation team) served as the main treatment variable. The saturation team consisted of two squads, approximately twenty-four uniformed police officers, operating in marked patrol units. A training session was conducted with the saturation team prior to their deployment to the treatment neighborhoods. The team was provided with lectures on broken windows policing, order maintenance, and the mandate under which they

would operate (conduct saturation patrols in treatment crime hot spot neighborhoods). Additionally, officers were provided with an overview of the study, its purpose, and proposed outcomes. Officers were also provided with the exact geographic areas (neighborhoods) in which they were to deploy to for each sixty-day rotation.

The mandate for the saturation team consisted of communicating to the officers that their purpose for being deployed to the treatment neighborhoods was to learn the unique problems of that area. The team was informed of some means to accomplish this task, including more frequent communication with citizens and attempting to learn of problem addresses where prolific offenders may frequent. The saturation team was also told that they did not have to meet a quota for arrests or citations.

The team was instructed on the difference between zero-tolerance and broken windows, and hot spot policing tactics in terms of appropriate enforcement actions. It was explained to the team that informal actions such as a warning would be appropriate for situations they deemed to use it in. They were also told that when conducting officer self-initiated field activity such as vehicle and person stops, informal as well as formal enforcement options should be considered prior to a resolution (Pace, 2010).

The saturation team was deployed to the twelve treatment neighborhoods from March 1, 2012 to October 31, 2012. During this time, four waves were constructed (see Table 1) to track the neighborhoods in which the saturation team operated. The saturation team was given the freedom to deploy to three of the randomly selected neighborhoods (assigned to the treatment locations) during that specific wave. The waves all had predetermined treatment neighborhoods prior to project commencement. For example, during Wave 1, the saturation team deployed to

neighborhoods 6, 10, and 16, while in Wave 2, they deployed to neighborhoods 2, 4, and 20.[11] The only caveat to this deployment discretion was that the saturation team was instructed to attempt to deploy an adequate amount of "police saturation patrol" (police intervention) across all three neighborhoods for that wave.

While deployed to the 12 treatment neighborhoods, the saturation team had numerous proactive encounters that included 6,531 car stops and 5,591 person stops. Their efforts resulted in 4,021 citations, 1,824 misdemeanor arrests, 77 gross misdemeanor arrests, 647 felony arrests, and 22 firearm confiscations (Batson et al., 2013). Although the saturation team followed their mandate closely and engaged in a high degree of proactive stops, evidence suggesting any long-term crime reduction efforts was sparse.

Pace (2010) found similar evidence for the impact of order maintenance teams on crime in the short term; however the primary focus was on major offenses, and there was a lack of residential perceptions of crime and police activity. The key question concerns the long-term effects of place-based policing strategies (hot spot policing); until this point, this question remained largely unanswered. Is this question best addressed though analysis of official crime data and police activity alone? This research attempts to address this issue by examining citizen perceptions of police activity, opinions about the police, and perceived level of safety and how these may be impacted by hot spot policing in crime hot spot neighborhoods. Saturation was coded as a dichotomous variable (treatment=1/no treatment=0). Table 6 depicts the distribution of police saturation patrol over the course of the evaluation. During the evaluation, approximately half of the hot spot neighborhoods received police saturation patrol (54.4 percent), creating a fairly even split between treatment and control areas.

---

[11] For a complete list of the control and experimental areas, please see Appendix 1.

| Received Treatment | Percentage |
|:---:|:---:|
| Yes | 50.40% |
| No | 49.60% |

*Control Variables:*

Control variables in the analysis included the following: (1) age, (2) gender, (3) race, (4) rent/own residence, (5) marital status, (6) employment/labor status, (7) highest level of education completed, and (8) whether or not the respondent was the victim of a crime within the last sixty days. Table 7 depicts the distribution of the sample control variables. Variables 4 through 8 were considered "neighborhood social characteristics," while age, gender, and race were considered more traditional controls.

Age was coded as an ordinal variable and organized into four categories: young adults (ages 17 to 25); adults (ages 26 to 45); middle aged (ages 44-65); and elderly (ages 66-99). Young adults accounted for 13.6 percent of the sample, while adults comprised 47.5 percent. Middle aged persons accounted for approximately 30 percent of respondents, while the elderly comprised only 8 percent. Both gender (1=male/0=not male) and rent/own residence (own=1/0=not own) were recoded into dichotomous variables. Over 51.3 percent of respondents in the SPI survey identified as male, while 48.7 percent identified as female. Concerning home ownership, 19.5 percent of respondents from the SPI survey indicated that they owned their homes, while an overwhelming number of respondents indicated that they did not own their residence.

The variable race was recoded into four dichotomous variables: non-Hispanic white (non-Hispanic white=1/not non-Hispanic white=0); black (black=1/not black=0); Hispanic (Hispanic=1/not Hispanic =0); and Asian/Native/other (Asian/Native/other =1/not Asian/Native/other =0). Of those surveyed, 32.2 percent identified as non-Hispanic white, as compared to 56.4 percent who did not identify as non-Hispanic white. Only 12.9 percent identified as black. Over half of those surveyed, 51.6 percent, identified as Hispanic, as compared to 48.4 percent who did not. Only 7.4 percent of those surveyed identified as Asian/Native/Other when questioned about their race and ethnicity.

Marital status was recoded into a dichotomous variable (married=1/not married=0). Of those surveyed, approximately 37.7 percent indicated they were married, while 60.6 percent reported they were not married. Employment/labor status was recoded into a dichotomous variable (employed =1/not employed =0). Of those administered the SPI survey, approximately 57.3 percent indicated some type of participation in the labor force, either full or part time, while 42.7 percent indicated they were not employed during the time while the survey was administered. Level of education was recoded into four separate dichotomous variables: less than high school (less than high school=1/not less than high school=0); high school (high school=1/ not high school=0); completed some college/associate's degree (associate's=1/no associate's =0) and bachelor's degree or higher (bachelor's or higher=1/no bachelor's or higher=0).

Approximately 20.8 percent of the sample indicated they had less than a high school education as compared to 79.2 percent of those surveyed who identified with the category not less than high school. Approximately 36.8 percent of respondents indicated they had completed high school. Of those surveyed, approximately 30 percent indicated they had completed some college or obtained an associate's degree, while only 9.9 percent of respondents reported

obtaining a bachelor's degree or higher The variable victim within the past 60 days was recoded

into a dichotomous variable (1=yes, victim/0=no, not victim). Of those surveyed, approximately

11.1 percent indicated that they were victimized within the past 60 days.

<u>Analytical Plan:</u>

Concerning the analysis between the outcome measures and police saturation patrol, I

computed a series of univariate, bivariate, and multivariate statistics. First, this included simple

univariate statistics that described the overall sample population. In addition to the descriptive

statistics for the overall sample, I described the different demographic factors within each hot

spot neighborhood. I then conducted bivariate analysis for each outcome measure and all

covariates to determine the preliminary associations between the variables. For multivariate

analysis, a series of ordinary least squares (OLS) regressions was utilized to examine the

association between treatment and outcome measures.

Concerning this dissertation, the primary objective was to predict the association

between police saturation patrol and the following outcome measures to assess if backfire effects

accompanied the implementation of the tactic. Consequently, I hypothesized that citizens

(respondents) who received the treatment (police saturation patrol) would experience different

perceptions of police activity in their neighborhood. Second, citizens (respondents) who received

the treatment would be different in terms of their opinions concerning the police. Lastly, citizens

(respondents) who received the treatment would be different in terms of their sensitivity toward

their perceived level of safety (fear of crime).

As previously mentioned, an OLS regression was utilized to examine three models

predicating the association between police saturation patrol and the outcome measures. For all

three outcome measures, each OLS regression was arranged in a stepwise format that followed the following parameters:

*OLS Regression 1: Predicting Perceived Police Activity:*

The first OLS regression examined the association between police saturation patrol (IV) and perceived police activity (DV-1). In Model 1, perceived police activity (DV-) and police saturation patrol were the only variables included. Model 2 included perceived police activity (DV-1), police saturation patrol, and traditional control variables: (1) age, (2) gender, and (3) race. Model 3 included the variables from Model 2, as well as "neighborhood social characteristics": (1) highest level of education completed, (2) employment, (3) rent/own residence, (4) marital status, and (5) victim within the past sixty days.

*OLS Regression 2: Predicting Opinions About the Police:*

The first OLS regression in this model examined the association between police saturation patrol (IV) and opinions about the police (DV-2). In Model 1, opinions about the police (DV-2) and police saturation patrol were the only variables included. Model 2 included opinions about the police (DV-2), police saturation patrol, and traditional control variables: (1) age, (2) gender, and (3) race. Model 3 included the variables from Model 2, as well as "neighborhood social characteristics": (1) highest level of education completed, (2) employment, (3) rent/own residence, (4) marital status, and (5) victim within the past sixty days.

*OLS Regression3: Predicting Perceived Safety Level:*

The first OLS regression examined the association between police saturation patrol (IV) and perceived safety level (DV-3). In Model 1, perceived safety level (DV-3) and police saturation patrol were the only variables included. Model 2 included perceived safety level (DV-3), police saturation patrol, and traditional control variables: (1) age, (2) gender, and (3) race.

Model 3 included the variables from Model 2, as well as neighborhood social characteristics: (1) highest level of education completed, (2) employment, (3) rent/own residence, (4) marital status, and (5) victim within the past sixty days.

In the results section, I present the findings of the OLS regression analysis for each outcome measure. For each model, I examine various predictors on the outcome measure to determine if such factors influence perceptions concerning perceived police activity, opinions about the police, and perceived safety level by citizens in hot spot neighborhoods. Results of the OLS regressions are presented in Tables 8, 11, and 14.

CHAPTER 4:

RESULTS

Chapter 3 detailed the methodology utilized in this dissertation to produce the findings

described in Chapter 4. In this chapter, I examine the relationship between the three dependent

variables (DV-1, perceived police activity; DV-2, opinions about police; and DV-3, perceived

safety level) and the presence of the treatment variable, police saturation patrol. This research

essentially sought to determine the extent to which the presence of police saturation patrol

predicted whether: (1) police activity was noticed by citizens where police saturation patrol was

implemented; (2) if opinions about police saturation patrol were favorable or unfavorable by

respondents; and (3) the extent to which police saturation patrol may have altered the perceived

level of safety by citizens where saturation patrol was implemented. With an increase in the

popularity of employing hot spot policing tactics, I utilized the survey data to gauge citizen

perceptions on the outcome measures to assess if a backfire effect developed as a result of the

treatment variable (police saturation patrol).

Additionally, I included various controls to determine if factors such as age, gender, and

race acted as mediators. Along with the inclusion of traditional controls, other variables were

included in the analysis: (1) marital status, (2) employment/labor force participation, (3) whether

respondent rented or owned their residence, (4) highest level of education completed, and (5)

whether the respondent had been the victim of a crime within the past sixty days. I categorized

the last set of variables as "neighborhood social characteristics," while the former served as

traditional control variables.

Chapter 4 is structured into two main sections, and both discuss the results of the study as

they pertain to each outcome measures. Section 1 provides a description concerning the

characteristics of the overall sample, including a review of the characteristics for each treatment

neighborhood. Various descriptive statistics were computed to describe the sample. Also detailed in Section 1 are univariate descriptive statistics for the independent and dependent variables. Section 2 provides a comprehensive review of the results concerning the hypothesized relationships between all outcome measures, and "police saturation patrol," the independent variable. An OLS regression was the main statistical analysis for each outcome measure (perceived police activity, opinions about the police, and perceived safety level). Within the analysis for all outcome measures, three regression models (Models 1, 2, and 3) are presented in a stepwise format to determine if a significant associate existed between the outcome measures and the independent variable.

This study builds on previous research, examining the relationship between hot spot policing tactics (police saturation patrol) and citizen perceptions of such tactics. In this chapter, I specifically examine the relationships between police saturation patrol and citizen perceptions of police activity, opinions about the police, and perceived safety level. As previously mentioned, Chapter 4 presents the findings of three OLS regression models to determine the association between the above discussed outcome measures and police saturation patrol. Descriptive statistics associated with the dependent variables are also discussed.

SPSS Version 24 was utilized to conduct all data analysis. Univariate descriptive statistics (frequencies, means, standard deviations, and frequency distributions) were computed to describe the sample. Descriptive statistics for the treatment and outcome measures are also discussed. Additionally, a cross-tabulation was computed to display the difference between the neighborhoods concerning police saturation patrol and all covariates. Bivariate analysis for all outcome measures and their relationship to police saturation patrol and all covariates is presented in this chapter as well.

Characteristics of the Sample:

The total final sample size (N) resulted in 1,005 surveys, administered to residents in both control and treatment neighborhoods. For perceived police activity (DV-1), after case-wise elimination of the data and respondents who selected refused, a total of 483 cases remained concerning treatment neighborhoods. The mean score for the scaled index variable perceived police activity was 9.2, with a median of 9.0 and standard deviation of 3.2 (this included the sum of the 4 Likert scores, which ranged from 4 through 16). Concerning opinions about the police (DV-2), after case-wise elimination of the data and respondents who selected refused, a total of 805 cases remained. The mean score for the scaled index variable opinions about police was 24.5, with a median of 25 and standard deviation of 4.7 (this included the sum of the 8 Likert scores, ranging from 8 through 32). Concerning perceived safety level (DV-3), after case-wise elimination of the data and respondents who selected refused, a total of 871 cases remained. The mean score for the scaled index variable opinions about police was 23.6, with a median of 22 and standard deviation of 8.5 (this included the sum of the 14 Likert scores, ranging from 14 through 52).

Table 4 describes the sample demographics for those surveyed in the control and treatment neighborhoods. Among those surveyed, just under half (49.6 percent) resided in neighborhoods that received police saturation patrol. Non-Hispanic whites accounted for 27.9 percent, while black respondents accounted for just over 14 percent. Non-Hispanic whites were not reflective of the reported 65.67 percent white population in Las Vegas. Among blacks, those surveyed were closer to the reported population (11.4 percent) in Las Vegas. Hispanic respondents accounted for the majority (51.6 percent) of those surveyed, while respondents in the other category (Asian/Native/Other) accounted for only 7.4 percent of the sample. These

populations were not necessarily reflective of reported respective populations in Las Vegas.[12] This may be due to the highly transitory nature of surveyed neighborhoods.

Of the 1,005 respondents, the entire sample, 48.7 percent were female, which reflects the reported population characteristics (49.6 percent) in Las Vegas. More than half of the respondents (68 percent) reported they either completed high school or possessed some post-secondary education. Only 9.9 percent reported possession of a bachelor's degree or higher.

More than half of the respondents indicated that they participated in the labor force during the time of the survey (57 percent). This is slightly higher than the city average of 49.8 percent of men and 50.2 percent of women participating in the labor force. Of the 1,005 respondents, only 19.8 percent reported that they owned their own. This is significantly lower than the cities reported 45 percent who reportedly own their homes. Again, this discrepancy may be due to the inherent transitory nature of the neighborhoods surveyed. It is worthy to note that most of the neighborhoods were close to the Las Vegas Strip and downtown industrial areas of the city.

Those who reported being married accounted for 38.4 percent of the sample. This was relatively reflective of the Las Vegas average (47 percent of men and 45 percent of women). Approximately 11 percent of respondents reported that they had been the victim of a crime within the past 60 days. The mean age of those who completed the SPI survey was 42.49.

In both the treatment and control neighborhoods, gender was relatively distributed. Men accounted for just under half of the sample (49.7 percent) in the treatment neighborhoods and just over half of all respondents (52.9 percent) in the control neighborhoods. Conversely, female

---

[12] Population/demographic statistics obtained from USA.com.

respondents accounted for over half (50.3 percent) in the treatment neighborhoods and just under half (47.1 percent) in the control neighborhoods.

Other control variables such as age and race were relatively similarly distributed across both treatment and control neighborhoods. For example, Non-Hispanic whites accounted for approximately 28 percent of the total sample in both treatment and control neighborhoods. A slightly different figure was observed for blacks. Overall, the population of black respondents within the sample was low, and only marginal variations were observed between treatment and control neighborhoods. For instance, blacks accounted for just over 19 percent of respondents in the treatment neighborhoods, while 9 percent of the sample in control areas identified as being black. By far, Hispanics encompassed the largest racial/ethnic group in the sample. In both treatment (42.8 percent) and control (44.7 percent) neighborhoods, those who identified as being of Hispanic origin accounted for nearly half the sample. As consistent with observations in the overall sample, the racial category Asian/Native/other accounted for the smallest percentage in both treatment (7.6 percent) and control (10.7 percent) neighborhoods.

There were slight variations in reported level of education between treatment and control neighborhoods. For example, those who reported they had attained less than high school accounted for approximately 14.7 percent in the treatment neighborhoods, while the figure was nearly double in control neighborhoods (26.9 percent). Educational attainment above less than high school was relatively evenly distributed between treatment and control neighborhoods. The same was observed for labor force participation with the sample relatively evenly distributed between treatment (53.4 percent) and control (46.9 percent) neighborhoods.

Many respondents indicated they rented versus owning their homes. Home ownership in both treatment (19.4 percent) and control (20.1 percent) neighborhoods accounted for less than

one-third of the entire of sample population. Marital status accounted for just over one-third of the sample (38 percent) in both treatment and control neighborhoods. Whether the respondent was the recent victim of a crime were also evenly distributed between both treatment (13.6%) and control (9.8%) neighborhoods.

**Table 4:** Sample Demographics: Frequencies and Percentages (Mean and Std. for Age) (N=1005)

| Variable | Sample Overall Frequency | Sample Overall Percentage | Treatment Overall Frequency | Treatment Overall Percentage | Control Overall Frequency | Control Overall Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Police Saturation | 498 | 49.6% | 498 | 100% | 0 | 0% |
| Female | 482 | 48.7% | 248 | 50.3% | 234 | 47.1% |
| Male | 508 | 51.3% | 245 | 49.7% | 263 | 52.9% |
| Non-Hispanic White | 262 | 27.9% | 135 | 27.9% | 127 | 28.0% |
| Black | 130 | 14.6% | 88 | 19.1% | 42 | 9.7% |
| Hispanic | 385 | 38.3% | 201 | 42.8% | 184 | 44.7% |
| Asian/Native/Other | 81 | 9.1% | 35 | 7.6% | 46 | 10.7% |
| Less than HS | 205 | 20.8% | 72 | 14.7% | 133 | 26.9% |
| Completed HS | 380 | 38.6% | 201 | 40.9% | 179 | 36.2% |
| Some College | 302 | 30.7% | 168 | 34.2% | 134 | 27.1% |
| Bachelor's or Higher | 98 | 9.9% | 50 | 10.2% | 48 | 9.7% |
| Employed | 558 | 57.3% | 298 | 53.4% | 260 | 46.9% |
| Own Home | 196 | 19.8% | 96 | 19.4% | 100 | 20.1% |
| Married | 379 | 38.4% | 186 | 38.0% | 193 | 38.8% |
| Victim in Past 60 Days | 110 | 11.1% | 67 | 13.60% | 43 | 9.8% |
| | Mean | Std. | Mean | Std. | Mean | Std. |
| Age | 42.49 | 15.1 | 40.37 | 14.13 | 44.5 | 15.7 |

Neighborhoods that received police saturation patrol were selected primarily because they were historically high crime neighborhoods. Out of the identified twenty-four crime hot spot neighborhoods, only twelve were ultimately surveyed, even though the twenty-four were randomly assigned to twelve matched pairs of either treatment or control neighborhoods. Although all the areas shared relatively higher crime rates as compared to other neighborhoods in Las Vegas, characteristics of the neighborhoods varied slightly. The neighborhoods that eventually received saturation patrol and/or were surveyed could be characterized mostly as inner-city urban areas. These neighborhoods were typically characterized this way due to their proximity to the downtown and industrial areas of Las Vegas. Some of the other surveyed neighborhoods were characterized as more suburban. These areas tended to be further from the downtown and industrial areas. The following neighborhoods were surveyed: 1, 2, 7, 8, 11, 12, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, and 24. Neighborhoods that received the treatment were: 2, 7, 11, 18, 21, and 24. Control areas included neighborhoods 1, 8, 12, 17, 22, and 23.

Tables 5 and 5a displays the cross-tabulation for demographic variables within each neighborhood. As depicted below, the sample size is evenly distributed among all neighborhoods. Gender was also evenly distributed. Race, however, revealed a slightly different picture. Although it appears that non-Hispanic whites accounted for the majority of respondents within neighborhoods surveyed, Hispanics still accounted for the majority of the entire sample population. On average, both blacks and Asian/Native/Other were fewer than those respondents who identified in the proceeding racial categories. Concerning education, within all neighborhoods, the majority of respondents indicated they either completed high school or attained some college. Overall, those who indicated that they attained less than a high school

education or achieved a bachelor's degree or higher were relatively fewer than the other educational attainment categories within neighborhoods. One of the few exceptions concerns Neighborhood 8. Within this neighborhood, 38 percent of the sample indicated they attained less than a high school degree. This figure was slightly higher than what was frequently observed within the other neighborhoods, although percentages varied, from as low as a reported 3 percent to 28 percent.

**Table 5**: Cross-tabulation of Demographics within Neighborhoods

|  | N1 (N=82) | N2 (N=82) | N 7 (N=79) | N8 (N=109) | N11 (N=81) | N12 (N=81) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Male | 50.0% | 43.8% | 50.6% | 54.1% | 56.8% | 53.8% |
| Female | 50.0% | 56.3% | 49.4% | 45.8% | 43.2% | 46.2% |
| Non-Hispanic White | 51.9% | 36.3% | 20.5% | 13.3% | 61.3% | 32.9% |
| Black | 13.6% | 21.5% | 26.6% | 9.0% | 20.5% | 12.3% |
| Hispanic | 13.6% | 21.5% | 26.6% | 9.0% | 20.5% | 12.3% |
| Asian/Native/Other | 22.0% | 28.4% | 35.7% | 50.9% | 3.8% | 24.7% |
| Less than High School | 18.3% | 11.0% | 25.6% | 38.3% | 3.7% | 30.8% |
| Completed High School | 30.5% | 32.9% | 34.6% | 36.4% | 22.2% | 38.5% |
| Associates Degree /Some College | 31.7% | 37.8% | 32.1% | 22.4% | 45.7% | 26.9% |
| Bachelors Degree or Higher | 19.5% | 18.3% | 7.7% | 2.8% | 28.4% | 3.8% |
| Own Home | 13.4% | 0.0% | 3.8% | 18.3% | 58.0% | 6.5% |
| Employed | 49.4% | 55.1% | 43.6% | 57.0% | 72.5% | 57.9% |
| Married | 15.9% | 24.7% | 17.7% | 53.2% | 52.5% | 39.0% |

| | N17 | N18 | N21 | N22 | N23 | N24 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | (N=81) | (N=80) | (N=77) | (N=77) | (N=77) | (N=99) |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Male | 62.0% | 53.2% | 40.0% | 50.0% | 46.7% | 52.5% |
| Female | 38.0% | 46.8% | 60.0% | 50.0% | 53.3% | 47.5% |
| Non-Hispanic White | 21.8% | 6.4% | 31.1% | 38.5% | 9.2% | 14.1% |
| Black | 6.7% | 24.3% | 15.2% | 6.8% | 9.2% | 10.1% |
| Hispanic | 6.7% | 24.3% | 15.2% | 6.8% | 9.2% | 10.1% |
| Asian/Native/Other | 57.9% | 67.1% | 39.7% | 32.0% | 78.9% | 74.7% |
| Less than High School | 17.9% | 17.1% | 28.0% | 23.3% | 28.9% | 6.1% |
| Completed High School | 35.9% | 48.7% | 32.0% | 24.7% | 51.3% | 68.7% |
| Associates Degree /Some College | 30.8% | 28.9% | 37.3% | 34.2% | 18.4% | 25.3% |
| Bachelors Degree or Higher | 15.4% | 5.3% | 2.7% | 17.8% | 1.3% | 0.0% |
| Own Home | 21.5% | 32.9% | 24.0% | 44.6% | 18.4% | 2.0% |
| Employed | 53.2% | 80.3% | 47.3% | 40.5% | 58.1% | 69.8% |
| Married | 29.1% | 53.2% | 35.1% | 41.3% | 50.0% | 43.3% |

## Results - Predicting Perceived Police Activity (DV-1):

In the first regression, police saturation patrol served as the main predictor variable, while perceived police presence/activity (DV-1) was the outcome measure. As previously mentioned, this outcome measure was defined as the perceived presence of police in crime hot spot neighborhoods, conducting some type of police activity. Perceived police active probed residents on the following: (1) whether residents noticed police on their block; (2) the frequency respondents observed police talking to people in their neighborhood; (3) the frequency respondents observed police searching people in their neighborhood; and (4) the frequency respondents observed the police arresting people in your neighborhood.

On average, among those respondents who completed the SPI survey, respondents tended to notice police presence on their block (neighborhood); however, observation of police activity (talking to people, conducting searches of neighborhood residents, and making arrests) was less frequent. Overall, when asked, "How often have you seen police officers on your block?" 42 percent of respondents indicated they observed some police presence at least a few times a week, while fewer than 36.6 percent reported that they rarely observed police on their block (once a month or not at all). This may have included observations from respondents who merely observed a police officer on their block or saw a patrol car driving through their neighborhood.

Overall, when asked about police activity or police action (talking to people, conducting searches of neighborhood residents, and making arrests), respondents tended to indicate the activity was less frequent. This may support the notion that police more frequently engage in some type of informal action that does not result in formal police responses (searches, citations, or arrests). For example, when asked, "How often have you seen police talking to people on your block?" respondents more frequently indicated that they observed this activity once a month or less (27 percent) or not at all (28.5 percent). Responses tended to be similar with other observed forms of police activity. When asked, "How often have you seen police searching people on your block?" over half the sample indicated this was a less frequent event, once a month or less (26.7 percent) or none at all (30.4 percent). This pattern of response is also observed when respondents were asked, "How often have you seen police arresting people on your block?" Over half of respondents indicated that they rarely observed this activity (31.6 percent) once a month or less and (27.8 percent) none at all). Table 6 displays the frequency of responses for the above seven SPI statements for the overall sample, treatment, and control neighborhoods.

**Table 6:** Perceived Police Activity Question Response Distribution

| SPI Question # | Question | Overall | Treatment | Control |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **8a** | **How often Have you seen police officers on your block?** | | | |
| | *A Few Times a Week* | 42.00% | 50.40% | 35.90% |
| | *A Few Times a Month* | 21.40% | 17.40% | 24.30% |
| | *Once a Month or Less* | 25.40% | 20.10% | 29.30% |
| | *Not at All* | 11.20% | 12.10% | 10.50% |
| **8b** | **How often have you seen police taking to people on your block?** | | | |
| | *A Few Times a Week* | 22.90% | 22.40% | 23.40% |
| | *A Few Times a Month* | 21.60% | 20.10% | 23.20% |
| | *Once a Month or Less* | 27.00% | 26.90% | 27.10% |
| | *Not at All* | 28.50% | 30.70% | 26.40% |
| **8c** | **How often have you seen police searching people on your block?** | | | |
| | *A Few Times a Week* | 22.50% | 24.80% | 20.40% |
| | *A Few Times a Month* | 20.50% | 21.00% | 20.00% |
| | *Once a Month or Less* | 26.70% | 26.70% | 26.60% |
| | *Not at All* | 30.40% | 27.50% | 33.00% |
| **8d** | **How often have you seen police arresting people on your block?** | | | |
| | *A Few Times a Week* | 20.40% | 23.10% | 17.90% |
| | *A Few Times a Month* | 20.30% | 21.10% | 19.50% |
| | *Once a Month or Less* | 31.60% | 31.90% | 31.30% |
| | *Not at All* | 27.80% | 23.90% | 31.30% |

Table 7 displays the bivariate correlation matrix between the treatment variable, all

covariates, and the outcome measure for perceived police activity (DV-1). Discussed below are

the correlations among this outcome measure, the treatment variable, and covariates that proved

to be statistically significant. It should first be noted that the main predictor variable, police

saturation patrol, was not significant (0.07). Concerning demographic variables, age and the

racial category Hispanics were significant. Age (**-.164) was negatively correlated with

perceived police activity, which suggested that older respondents were less likely to notice police

activity in their neighborhood. The racial category Hispanics was positively correlated with perceived police activity. This may suggest that race and perceptions of police activity are related.

The correlation between education and perceived police activity was not significant. Concerning neighborhood social characteristics, employment, marital status, and home ownership were all correlated with perceived police activity. Employment (*.101) was positively correlated. This suggested that respondents who reporting being employed tended to notice more frequent police activity, a finding which served to be counterintuitive.

Respondents who rented (**-.190) their homes were more likely to notice or perceive police activity, versus those who reported owning their homes. Respondents who were not married (*-.098) were more likely to notice or perceive police activity, versus those respondents who reported being married. Individually, covariates such as age, race, labor status, home ownership, and marital status were strong predictors of the perceived police activity. As a bivariate correlation, police saturation patrol was not strongly related to perceived police activity.

**Table 7:** Perceived Police Activity Bivariate Correlation Matrix

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Perceived Police Activity (1) | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Police Saturation (2) | 0.07 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Age (3) | **-.164 | **-.139 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Female (4) | 0.021 | 0.032 | -0.003 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Non-Hispanic White (5) | -0.091 | -0.001 | **.214 | -0.019 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Black (6) | -0.022 | **.133 | 0.031 | **-.090 | **-.279 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hispanic (7) | **.158 | -0.019 | **-.240 | 0.046 | **-.598 | **-.381 | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| Asian/Native/Other (8) | -0.061 | -0.053 | 0.020 | 0.033 | **-.214 | **-.131 | **-.291 | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| Less Than HS (9) | 0.031 | **-.151 | 0.052 | 0.041 | **-.190 | -0.044 | **.189 | -0.030 | 1 | | | | | | | |
| Completed HS (10) | 0.058 | 0.048 | **-.176 | 0.021 | **-.137 | -0.038 | **.224 | *-.080 | **-.406 | 1 | | | | | | |
| Some College (11) | -0.041 | *.077 | *.081 | -0.043 | **.208 | *.068 | **-.260 | 0.044 | **-.341 | **-.527 | 1 | | | | | |
| Bachelor's Degree/Higher (12) | -0.071 | 0.008 | **.090 | -0.025 | **.162 | 0.012 | **-.199 | **.098 | **-.170 | **-.263 | **-.221 | 1 | | | | |
| Employed (13) | *.101 | **.090 | **-.249 | **-.161 | *-.078 | **-.127 | **.175 | 0.018 | *-.081 | 0.040 | -0.014 | *.066 | 1 | | | |
| Own Home (14) | **-.190 | -0.009 | **.143 | -0.023 | **.181 | *-.078 | **-.098 | -0.030 | **-.115 | **-.116 | **.098 | **.195 | 0.042 | 1 | | |
| Married (15) | *-.098 | -0.008 | 0.010 | -0.021 | **-.090 | **-.109 | **.163 | -0.019 | **.090 | 0.047 | **-.132 | 0.004 | **.149 | **.165 | 1 | |
| Victim in Past 60 Days (16) | 0.075 | *.078 | *-.072 | -0.027 | -0.046 | -0.036 | **.089 | -0.025 | -0.047 | *.066 | -0.008 | -0.031 | -0.003 | -0.062 | -0.024 | 1 |

*p< .05, **p< .001

*Hypothesis 1:*

To test the hypothesis that the implementation of police saturation patrol in high crime neighborhoods would lead to increases in citizen perceptions of police activity, I conducted a series of OLS regressions. Table 8 displays the results of the first OLS regression for Models 1, 2, and 3. Model 1 included police saturation patrol (without covariates) and shows that police saturation patrol (0.455) alone is not closely associated with perceived police activity (DV-1); in other words, police saturation was not significantly associated with perceived police activity. This is similar to the finding observed in the bivariate correlation for perceived police activity and police saturation patrol. Police saturation patrol accounted for nearly .5 percent of the variation in the dependent variable in the first model. Model 1 served as a base from which to compare future models that included covariates and neighborhood social characteristics. Not surprisingly, the relationship between perceived police activity and police saturation patrol remained the same when adding demographic variables in the second regression (Model 2). Police saturation patrol remained an insignificant predictor of citizen perceptions of police activity.

Model 2 incorporated police saturation patrol (the IV), along with demographic controls: age, gender, and race (black, Hispanic, and Asian/Native/other). Concerning the addition of demographic variables, age was the only covariate that was statistically significant (*-0.031). Age was negatively associated with perceived police activity. This suggested that younger respondents were more likely to report observing police activity versus older respondents. As such, this suggested that as the age of the respondent increased, the chances one reported observing police activity decreased. Together with police saturation patrol and demographic variables, this accounted for just over 5 percent of the variation in the dependent variable. This

111

finding was very similar to the strong negative bivariate correlation observed between age and perceived police activity.

Model 3 incorporated the variables from Models 1 and 2, with the addition of neighborhood social characteristics. Neighborhood social characteristics included covariates such as education level, home ownership, marital status, labor force participation status, and whether the respondent was the victim of a crime within sixty days of undertaking the SPI survey.

With the addition of neighborhood social characteristics, age (-0.014) no longer remained significant. In fact, age, race, and education made no difference in terms of their association to perceived police activity in Model 3. Concerning the addition of neighborhood social characteristic, labor status (employment) and home ownership were the only covariates in Model 3 that reached significance. Being employed (*0.805) meant that a respondent was more likely to notice or perceive police activity, versus those who reported being unemployed. Employment was positively associated with perceived police activity. Homeowners (vs. renters) were significantly more likely to observe or report perceiving police activity in their neighborhood, versus those who reporting not owning their home.

As bivariate correlates, both employment and home ownership were significantly associated with perceived police activity. Thus, the data suggested that Hypothesis 1 was not confirmed. The results of the analysis on this outcome measure indicated that a backfire effect was not attributed to police saturation patrol. On the contrary, other factors besides police saturation patrol seemed to influence citizen perceptions of police activity. Coupled with police saturation patrol and all covariates, these accounted for 10.4 percent of the variation in the dependent variable. Accounting for all variables in the first regression, labor status and home

ownership served as the best predictors concerning perceived police activity. Table 8 displays the

first OLS regression (Models 1, 2, and 3) concerning the outcome measure perceived police

activity.

**Table 8:** Step-wise Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) Regression for Predicting Perceived Police Activity and Significance Levels.

|  |  | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Intercept | 8.961 | 10.152 | 9.504 |
| Independent Variable | Police Saturation | 0.455 | -0.042 | 0.006 |
|  | Age |  | *-0.031 | -0.014 |
|  | Female |  | 0.263 | 0.416 |
| Controls | White (ref) |  |  |  |
|  | Black |  | 0.205 | -0.219 |
|  | Hispanic |  | 0.643 | 0.122 |
|  | Asian/Native/Other |  | -0.399 | -0.765 |
|  | Less than HS |  |  | 0.236 |
|  | Completed HS (ref) |  |  |  |
|  | Some College |  |  | -2.857 |
| Neighborhood Social Characteristics | Bachelor's or Higher |  |  | -0.224 |
|  | Employed |  |  | *0.805 |
|  | Own Home |  |  | **-1.506 |
|  | Married |  |  | 0.043 |
|  | Victim in Past 60 Days |  |  | 0.87 |
|  | $R^2$ | 0.005 | 0.051 | 0.104 |
|  | Adjusted $R^2$ | 0.003 | 0.036 | 0.071 |

*p< .05, **p< .001,

<u>Results - Predicting Opinions About the Police (DV-2):</u>

The previous section presented the results of testing whether perceived police activity (DV-1) was associated with the implementation of LVMPD's police saturation patrol (the IV). The results largely suggested that police saturation patrol went unnoticed by residents where it was implemented. There were a few exceptions, but the findings were consistent with what has previously observed in the literature (Weisburd et al., 2011; Ratcliff et al., 2015).

The second regression examined the association between police saturation patrol and opinions about police. As such, police saturation patrol served as the main predictor variable, while opinions about the police was the outcome measure. As previously mentioned, this outcome measure was defined as "opinions about the police" (DV-2) in crime hot spot neighborhoods. This outcome measure sought to assess attitudes, opinions, and beliefs concerning the performance (satisfaction) of police and police services (police legitimacy).

For this outcome measure (DV-2), respondents were asked about their opinions concerning the police with the following statements from the SPI survey: (1) I have a lot of respect for police; (2) On the whole, police officers are honest; (3) I feel proud of the police; (4) I am very supportive of the police; (5) The police treat people fairly, (6) If you had a complaint against someone on your block, would you be more likely to use police services?; (7) If you had an emergency situation, would you be more likely to use police services?; and (8) If you saw suspicious activity on your block, would you be more likely to use police services? Table 9 and 9a displays the frequency of responses for the above seven SPI statements for the overall sample, treatment, and control neighborhoods.

On average, the vast majority of the respondents (81.2 percent) reported that they respected the police. Similarly, 72.6 percent of respondents either agreed or strongly agreed with

the statement, "on the whole, police are honest," while a modest amount (26.2 percent) of the sample either disagreed or strongly disagreed". Overall, the majority of respondents (74.2 percent) either agreed or strongly agreed with, "I feel proud of the police." Approximately 25.8 percent of respondents either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the above statement. The vast majority of respondents (81.1 percent) indicated that they supported the police, while only a small percentage of the sample (18.8 percent) either disagreed or strongly disagreed with, "I support the police." When asked whether or not police treat people fairly, over half the sample agreed that police treated people fairly. Less than half (36.9 percent) indicated that they either did not agree or strongly disagreed on the topic of police fairness.

On average, more than half (68.3 percent) of respondents reported that they would utilize police services if they had a complaint against someone on their block. Conversely, approximately 31.7 percent of respondents indicated that they would not utilize police services in such a case. When asked whether respondents would utilize police services for an emergency situation, an overwhelming majority (93 percent) of the sample indicated that they would. Only 11.7 percent of respondents either disagreed or strongly disagreed that they would not rely on police services in an emergency situation. Similarly, the majority (80.6 percent) of respondents reported that they would use police services if they observed suspicious activity on their block. Table 9 and 9a displays the distribution of response frequencies concerning opinions about the police.

**Table 9:** Opinions About the Police Question Response Distributions

| SPI Question # | Question | Overall | Treatment | Control |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **10a** | **"I have a lot of respect for the police"** | | | |
| | *Strongly agree* | 30.10% | 22.90% | 37.10% |
| | *Agree* | 51.10% | 54.70% | 47.70% |
| | *Disagree* | 13.50% | 15.50% | 11.60% |
| | *Strongly Disagree* | 5.30% | 5.60% | 3.70% |
| **10b** | **"On the whole police officers are honest"** | | | |
| | *Strongly agree* | 20.30% | 14.10% | 26.30% |
| | *Agree* | 52.30% | 57.80% | 47.00% |
| | *Disagree* | 20.50% | 20.20% | 20.90% |
| | *Strongly Disagree* | 6.80% | 7.80% | 5.90% |
| **10c** | **"I feel proud of the police"** | | | |
| | *Strongly agree* | 20.10% | 13.80% | 26.10% |
| | *Agree* | 54.10% | 57.20% | 51.10% |
| | *Disagree* | 19.50% | 21.90% | 17.20% |
| | *Strongly Disagree* | 6.30% | 7.10% | 5.50% |
| **10d** | **"I am very supportive of the police"** | | | |
| | *Strongly agree* | 26.50% | 21.00% | 31.90% |
| | *Agree* | 54.60% | 58.80% | 50.60% |
| | *Disagree* | 14.00% | 15.60% | 12.40% |
| | *Strongly Disagree* | 4.80% | 4.60% | 5.10% |
| **10e** | **"The police treat people fairly"** | | | |
| | *Strongly agree* | 19.70% | 13.50% | 25.70% |
| | *Agree* | 43.30% | 45.40% | 41.40% |
| | *Disagree* | 25.30% | 27.90% | 22.80% |
| | *Strongly Disagree* | 11.60% | 13.10% | 10.10% |

| SPI Question # | Question | Overall | Treatment | Control |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **11a** | **"If you had a complaint against someone on your block would you be more likely to use police services"** | | | |
| | *Strongly agree* | 34.40% | 33.30% | 35.50% |
| | *Agree* | 33.90% | 35.00% | 32.80% |
| | *Disagree* | 20.50% | 21.80% | 19.30% |
| | *Strongly Disagree* | 11.20% | 9.80% | 12.40% |
| **11b** | **"If you had an emergency situation would you be more likely to use police services"** | | | |
| | *Strongly agree* | 67.40% | 68.90% | 65.90% |
| | *Agree* | 20.90% | 19.60% | 22.20% |
| | *Disagree* | 7.90% | 21.80% | 6.60% |
| | *Strongly Disagree* | 3.80% | 9.80% | 5.30% |
| **11c** | **"If you saw suspicious activity on your block would you be more likely to use police services"** | | | |
| | *Strongly agree* | 49.00% | 50.20% | 47.80% |
| | *Agree* | 31.60% | 30.60% | 32.60% |
| | *Disagree* | 12.60% | 13.20% | 12.10% |
| | *Strongly Disagree* | 6.70% | 6.00% | 7.50% |

Table 10 displays the bivariate correlation matrix between the treatment variable, all covariates, and the outcome measure for opinions about the police. Discussed below are the correlations among this outcome measure, the treatment variable, and covariates that were statistically significant. Police saturation and opinions about the police were negatively correlated (*-.089). This suggested that as police saturation patrol was implemented, citizen opinions about the police became unfavorable. Not surprisingly, age (**.159) was correlated with opinions about the police. This observation suggested that older respondents tended to have more favorable versus non-favorable opinions of the police. Individually, these variables served as strong predictors concerning opinions about the police.

Among racial variables, black respondents (**-.116) comprised the only racial group significantly correlated with opinions about the police. The only other correlated variables were

home ownership, marital status, and whether the respondent was the victim of a crime within the previous sixty days. Home ownership (**.105) and marital status (**.110) were positively correlated with opinions about the police, presumably supporting the assumption that these lifestyle factors and social mobility might improve opinions about the police.

Being the recent victim of a crime (**-.105) was negatively correlated with opinions about the police. Considering this factor alone, this may suggest that a recent victim may have less favorable opinions about the police. Individually, covariates such as race, labor status, home ownership, marital status, and recent victimization were strong predictors of the outcome measure. As a bivariate correlation, police saturation patrol was moderately related to opinions about the police.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Table 10:** Opinions About the Police Bivariate Correlation Matrix | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Opinions About Police (1) | 1.00 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Police Saturation (2) | ** .089 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Age (3) | **.159 | **-.139 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Female (4) | 0.07 | 0.03 | 0.00 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Non-Hispanic White (5) | 0.04 | 0.00 | **.214 | -0.02 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Black (6) | ** -.116 | ** .133 | 0.03 | **-.090 | **-.279 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hispanic (7) | -0.01 | -0.02 | **-.240 | 0.05 | **-.598 | **-.381 | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| Asian/Native/Other (8) | 0.03 | -0.05 | 0.02 | 0.03 | **-.214 | **-.131 | **-.291 | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| Less Than HS (9) | -0.01 | **-.151 | 0.05 | 0.04 | **-.190 | -0.04 | **.189 | -0.03 | 1 | | | | | | | |
| Completed HS (10) | -0.06 | 0.05 | *-.176 | 0.02 | **-.137 | -0.04 | **.224 | *-.080 | **-.406 | 1 | | | | | | |
| Some College (11) | 0.07 | *.077 | *.081 | -0.04 | **.208 | *.068 | **-.260 | 0.04 | **-.341 | **-.527 | 1 | | | | | |
| Bachelor's/Higher(12) | 0.02 | 0.01 | **.090 | -0.03 | **.162 | 0.01 | **-.199 | **.098 | **-.170 | **-.263 | **-.221 | 1 | | | | |
| Employed (13) | 0.05 | **.090 | **-.249 | **-.161 | *-.078 | **-.127 | **.175 | 0.02 | *-.081 | 0.04 | -0.01 | *.066 | 1 | | | |
| Own Home (14) | **.105 | -0.01 | **.143 | -0.02 | **.181 | *-.078 | **-.098 | -0.03 | **-.115 | **-.116 | **.098 | **.195 | 0.04 | 1 | | |
| Married (15) | **.110 | -0.01 | 0.01 | -0.02 | **-.090 | **-.109 | **.163 | -0.02 | **.090 | 0.05 | **-.132 | 0.00 | *.149** | **.165 | 1 | |
| Vic 60 Days (16) | ** -.105 | *.078 | *-.072 | -0.03 | -0.05 | -0.04 | .089** | -0.02 | -0.05 | *.066 | -0.01 | -0.03 | 0.00 | -0.06 | -0.02 | 1 |
| *p< .05, **p< .001, | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

*Hypothesis 2:*

To test the hypothesis that the implementation of police saturation patrol in high crime neighborhoods would influence opinions about the police, I conducted a series of OLS regressions. The coefficients for the opinions about the police index can be interpreted as higher values represent more favorable opinions about the police. Table 11 displays the results of the second OLS regression for Models 1, 2, and 3. For the second OLS regression, Model 1 served as a base from which to compare Models 2 and 3, which included covariates and neighborhood social characteristics. Model 1 included police saturation (without covariates) and showed a negative association (*-.837) concerning opinions about the police (DV-2). This is similar to the finding observed in the bivariate correlation for this outcome measure and police saturation patrol. The relationship was significant and served to demonstrate in Model 1 that police saturation was a modest predictor variable for opinions about the police.

Considering that Model 1 only include police saturation patrol with this outcome measure, the data tended to suggest that as police saturation was implemented, respondents, on average, maintained less favorable opinions about the police. Police saturation patrol accounted for nearly .8 percent of the variation in the dependent variable. The relationship between police saturation patrol and opinions about the police changed, however, when adding demographic variables in Model 2. Model 2 incorporated the police saturation (the IV), along with demographic controls that included age, gender, and race (black, Hispanic, and Asian/Native/other). In Model 2, police saturation patrol lost its predictive power and was no longer significantly associated with opinions about the police (DV-2).

With the addition of demographic variables, age and whether the respondent identified as black were significant. The age (***.056) variable was positively association with opinions about the police which suggested that older respondents reported maintaining more favorable

120

opinions of police, as opposed to less favorable opinions where police saturation patrol was implemented. Consistent with previous research, race was associated with one's opinions about the police. Respondents who identified as black maintained less favorable (*-1.385) opinions. Other racial categories such as Hispanic and Asian/Native/Other were not statistically significant. Also, gender was not significantly associated with opinions about the police where police saturation patrol was implemented. Coupled with police saturation patrol and demographic variables, these accounted for nearly 5.4 percent of the variation in the dependent variable. Model 3 incorporated the variables from Models 1 and 2, with the addition of neighborhood social characteristics. Neighborhood social characteristics included variables such as education level, home ownership, marital status, labor force participation status, whether the respondent had been the victim of a crime within the previous 60 days of being administered the SPI survey.

With the addition of neighborhood social characteristics, police saturation patrol again was significantly associated with opinions about the police, however, age retained its predictive power (***.056). As in Model 2, age was positively associated with opinions about the police. As such, this suggested that older respondents maintained more favorable opinions about the police. As bivariate correlates, both age and race were strong predictors of opinions about the police.

In Model 3, the racial category black (*-1.138) showed a negative association with opinions about the police. This suggested that controlling for all other factors in the model, those who identified as black still maintained less favorable opinions of the police. Besides age, all other variables in Model 3 (neighborhood social characteristics) were not significantly associated with this outcome measure. Thus, the data suggested that Hypothesis 2 was not confirmed.

The results of the analysis on this outcome measure indicated that a backfire effect was likely not attributed to police saturation patrol. On the contrary, other factors besides police saturation patrol seemed to impact a citizen's sentiments concerning their opinions about the police. Coupled together with police saturation patrol and all covariates, these accounted for nearly 7.1 percent of the variation in the dependent variable. Accounting for all variables in the second regression, age and the racial variable black served as the best predictors concerning opinions about the police.

**Table 11:** Step-wise Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) Regression for Predicting Perceived Opinions About the Police and Significance Levels.

|  |  | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Intercept | 24.901 | 21.676 | 20.93 |
| Independent Variable | Police Saturation | *-0.0837 | 0.097 | 0.038 |
|  | Age |  | **0.056 | **0.056 |
|  | Female |  | 0.461 | 0.051 |
| Controls | White (ref) |  |  |  |
|  | Black |  | *-1.358 | *-1.138 |
|  | Hispanic |  | 0.129 | 0.230 |
|  | Asian/Native/Other |  | 0.318 | 0.753 |
|  | Less than HS |  |  | -0.090 |
|  | Completed HS (ref) |  |  |  |
|  | Some College |  |  | 0.567 |
| Neighborhood Social Characteristics | Bachelor's or Higher |  |  | 0.322 |
|  | Employed |  |  | 0.567 |
|  | Own Home |  |  | 0.366 |
|  | Married |  |  | 0.453 |
|  | Victim in Past 60 Days |  |  | -0.495 |
|  | R² | 0.008 | 0.055 | 0.071 |
|  | Adjusted R² | 0.007 | 0.045 | 0.052 |

*p< .05, **p< .001,

Results - Predicting Perceived Safety Level (DV-3):

The previous section presented the results of testing whether a respondent's opinions of police (DV-2) were significantly associated with the implementation of LVMPD's police saturation patrol (the IV). The results largely suggested that both age and identifying as black were significantly correlated with police saturation patrol. Age and the racial category black remained associated with opinions about the police even when factoring in neighborhood social characteristics. While age remained positively associated with the treatment variable, the racial category black remained negatively associated. This meant that older respondents were more likely report maintaining more favorable opinions of the police, while those who identified as black maintained generally less favorable opinions. Essentially, the data suggested that those respondents who were young or identified as black had, on average, reported maintaining less favorable opinions about police. Ratcliff et al. (2015) reported similar findings concerning the association between race and procedural justice.

The third regression examined the association between police saturation patrol and perceived level of safety (DV-3). As with the previous two OLS regression models, police saturation patrol served as the main predictor variable, while perceived level of safety was the dependence variable. As previously mentioned, this outcome measure was defined as perceived level of safety (DV-3) in crime hot spot neighborhoods. It sought to examine citizen assessments concerning their level of safety within their respective neighborhoods. Perceived level of safety largely relates to previous research examining fear of crime.

For this outcome measure, respondents were asked a series of questions that probed an assessment of issues concerning the following: overall neighborhood crime rate, perceived physical safety, and perceived neighborhood physical and social disorder.

On average, among those respondents who completed the SPI survey, nearly two-thirds (62 percent) of the sample agreed that crime was an issue in their neighborhood. Alternatively, approximately 38 percent indicated that crime was either not a problem at all or not much of a problem. When probed about perceived physical safety, i.e., "how safe do you feel when walking alone at night on your block", response patterns were fairly distributed. For example, approximately 61.1 percent of the sample indicated that they generally felt safe while walking alone at night on their block, while 38.9 percent reported they did not feel physical safety. Response patterns were generally similar when they were instructed to give an overall rating for how safe they felt from crime in their neighborhoods. Nearly half the sample (42.8 percent) indicated they felt somewhat safe. Only a small minority (12.7 percent) indicated that they felt very unsafe.

Concerning physical and social disorder, response patterns were not generally equally distributed amongst the various response categories. In most instance, respondents indicated that issues such as vandalism (50.8 percent), disorderly behavior (45.9 percent), car break-ins (59 percent), and home break-ins (63.1 percent) were not often a problem or observed frequently in their neighborhoods. Both minor incivilities and more serious offenses such as domestic assault (68 percent), assault outside the home (68.3 percent), gang activity (59 percent), drug activity (42.1 percent), sexual assault (85 percent), and robbery (52.1 percent) were reported similarly as not occurring very often in their neighborhood. Tables 12 though 12e display the frequency of responses for the above referenced SPI questions/statements for the overall sample, treatment, and control neighborhoods.

**Table 12:** Perceived Level of Crime in Neighborhood

| Response Frequency | Overall Sample | Treatment | Control |
|---|---|---|---|
| Not a Problem at all | 13.50% | 10.10% | 16.80% |
| Not Much of a Problem | 24.30% | 24.10% | 24.40% |
| Somewhat of a Problem | 39.90% | 38.50% | 41.30% |
| Very Big Problem | 22.40% | 27.30% | 17.40% |

**Table 12a:** How safe do you feel when walking alone at night on your block?

| Response Frequency | Overall Sample | Treatment | Control |
|---|---|---|---|
| Very Safe | 26.70% | 24.90% | 28.40% |
| Somewhat Safe | 34.40% | 34.00% | 34.70% |
| Not Very Safe | 19.30% | 18.10% | 20.50% |
| Not Safe at All | 19.60% | 22.90% | 16.40% |

**Table 12b:** Overall, how physical safe from crime do you feel in your neighborhood?

| Response Frequency | Overall Sample | Treatment | Control |
|---|---|---|---|
| Very Safe | 25.30% | 24.10% | 26.40% |
| Somewhat Safe | 42.80% | 39.00% | 46.60% |
| Not Very Safe | 19.30% | 20.60% | 17.90% |
| Not Safe at All | 12.70% | 16.30% | 9.10% |

**Table 12c:** Physical/Social Disorder Response Distribution-Overall Sample

| SPI Question # | Statement | Note Very Often | Somewhat Often | Very Often | All the Time |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4a | "Vandalism such as graffiti, slashing tires" | 50.80% | 24.60% | 15.70% | 8.90% |
| 4b | "Disorderly Behavior, such as rowdy, unsupervised teens" | 45.90% | 26.70% | 16.60% | 10.70% |
| 4c | "Car Break-ins" | 59.00% | 28.10% | 8.70% | 4.20% |
| 4e | "Home Break-ins" | 63.10% | 26.00% | 7.00% | 3.80% |
| 4f | "Domestic Assaults (in homes)" | 68.00% | 21.00% | 6.50% | 4.50% |
| 4g | "Assaults outside of homes" | 68.30% | 18.50% | 9.00% | 4.20% |
| 4h | "Gang activity" | 59.00% | 18.60% | 13.10% | 9.30% |
| 4i | "Drug activity" | 42.10% | 18.80% | 16.50% | 22.70% |
| 4j | "Sexual Assaults" | 85.00% | 10.70% | 2.00% | 2.30% |
| 4k | "Robbery" | 52.10% | 28.00% | 11.60% | 8.30% |

**Table 12d:** Physical/Social Disorder Response Distribution-Treatment

| SPI Question # | Statement | Note Very Often | Somewhat Often | Very Often | All the Time |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4a | "Vandalism such as graffiti, slashing tires" | 47.00% | 24.70% | 19.20% | 9.00% |
| 4b | "Disorderly Behavior, such as rowdy, unsupervised teens" | 40.90% | 29.90% | 19.20% | 10.00% |
| 4c | "Car Break-ins" | 57.90% | 31.40% | 8.00% | 2.70% |
| 4e | "Home Break-ins" | 61.50% | 27.30% | 8.10% | 3.10% |
| 4f | "Domestic Assaults (in homes)" | 64.00% | 24.20% | 2.70% | 4.20% |
| 4g | "Assaults outside of homes" | 64.60% | 21.10% | 10.80% | 3.50% |
| 4h | "Gang activity" | 54.30% | 20.40% | 14.80% | 10.60% |
| 4i | "Drug activity" | 39.30% | 15.60% | 18.50% | 26.60% |
| 4j | "Sexual Assaults" | 82.60% | 13.60% | 2.10% | 1.70% |
| 4k | "Robbery" | 50.50% | 28.00% | 13.00% | 8.50% |

**Table 12e:** Physical/Social Disorder Response Distribution-Control

| SPI Question # | Statement | Note Very Often | Somewhat Often | Very Often | All the Time |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4a | "Vandalism such as graffiti, slashing tires" | 50.40% | 24.50% | 12.20% | 8.80% |
| 4b | "Disorderly Behavior, such as rowdy, unsupervised teens" | 50.90% | 23.60% | 14.10% | 11.40% |
| 4c | "Car Break-ins" | 60.00% | 24.90% | 9.30% | 5.70% |
| 4e | "Home Break-ins" | 64.70% | 24.70% | 6.00% | 4.50% |
| 4f | "Domestic Assaults (in homes)" | 72.00% | 17.90% | 5.30% | 4.90% |
| 4g | "Assaults outside of homes" | 71.90% | 16.00% | 7.20% | 4.90% |
| 4h | "Gang activity" | 63.60% | 16.80% | 11.50% | 8.10% |
| 4i | "Drug activity" | 44.70% | 21.90% | 14.60% | 18.80% |
| 4j | "Sexual Assaults" | 87.30% | 8.00% | 1.80% | 2.90% |
| 4k | "Robbery" | 53.70% | 28.10% | 10.10% | 8.10% |

Table 13 displays the bivariate correlation matrix between the treatment variable, all covariates, and the outcome measure for perceived safety level. Discussed below are the correlations among this outcome measure, the treatment variable, and covariates that were statistically significant. Police saturation patrol and perceived safety level were positively correlated (*0.73). Age was not significantly associated with perceived safety level. On the other hand, gender (**.167), or being female, revealed a positive correlation with perceived safety level. Among racial variables, non-Hispanic whites (*-.074) and blacks (**-.126) were negatively correlated with perceived safety level. Alternatively, Hispanics (**.217) were the only racial category that was positively correlated with perceived safety level.

Concerning education, negative correlations were observed among those respondents who identified as having completed less than high school (*-.068), some college (*-0.70), and possessing a bachelor's degree or higher (**-.095). The only educational category positively associated with perceived safety level included respondents who indicated they completed high school (**.182). Home ownership (**-.158) and victimization within the last 60 days (**.278) were the only other variables that correlated with perceived safety level. Considering this factor alone (recent victimization), this may suggest that if someone was the recent victim of a crime, they felt less safe. This finding is generally supported by existing literature (Moore and Trojanowicz, 1988).

Neighborhoods with fixed residential stability (those who owned versus those who rented) may lend support to the notion that these neighborhoods have a higher degree of collective efficacy and, thus, a lower degree of social disorganization, and this may alter perceptions of safety (Sampson and Groves, 1989). Individually, covariates such as gender, race, level of education, home ownership, and being the recent victim of crime were strong predictors

128

of the outcome measure. As a bivariate correlation, police saturation patrol was moderately

related to perceived safety level.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Table 13:** Perceived Saftey Level Bivariate Correlation Matrix DV-3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Perceived Saftey Level (1) | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Police Saturation (2) | *.073 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Age (3) | -0.064 | **-.139 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Female (4) | **.167 | 0.032 | -0.003 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Non-Hispanic White (5) | *-.074 | -0.001 | **.214 | -0.019 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Black (6) | **-.126 | **.133 | 0.031 | **-.090 | **-.279 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hispanic (7) | **.217 | -0.019 | **-.240 | 0.046 | **-.598 | **-.381 | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| Asian/Native/Other (8) | -0.041 | -0.053 | 0.020 | 0.033 | **-.214 | **-.131 | **-.291 | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| Less Than HS (9) | *-.068 | **-.151 | 0.052 | 0.041 | **-.190 | -0.044 | **.189 | -0.030 | 1 | | | | | | | |
| Completed HS (10) | **.182 | 0.048 | **-.176 | 0.021 | **-.137 | -0.038 | **.224 | *-.080 | **-.406 | 1 | | | | | | |
| Some College (11) | *-.070 | *.077 | *.081 | -0.043 | **.208 | *.068 | **-.260 | 0.044 | **-.341 | **-.527 | 1 | | | | | |
| Bachelor's Degree of Higher (12) | **-.095 | 0.008 | **.090 | -0.025 | **.162 | 0.012 | **-.199 | **.098 | **-.170 | **-.263 | **-.221 | 1 | | | | |
| Employed (13) | -0.008 | **.090 | **-.249 | **-.161 | *-.078 | **-.127 | **.175 | 0.018 | *-.081 | 0.040 | -0.014 | *.066 | 1 | | | |
| Own Home (14) | **-.158 | -0.009 | **.143 | -0.023 | **.181 | *-.078 | **-.098 | -0.030 | **-.115 | **-.116 | **.098 | **.195 | 0.042 | | | |
| Married (15) | -0.058 | -0.008 | 0.010 | -0.021 | **-.090 | **-.109 | **.163 | -0.019 | **.090 | 0.047 | **-.132 | 0.004 | **.149 | **.165 | 1 | |
| Victim in Past 60 Days (16) | **.287 | *.078 | *-.072 | -0.027 | -0.046 | -0.036 | **.089 | -0.025 | -0.047 | *.066 | -0.008 | -0.031 | -0.003 | -0.062 | -0.024 | 1 |

*Hypothesis 3:*

To test the hypothesis that the implementation of police saturation patrol in crime hot spot neighborhoods influenced citizen perceptions of safety, I conducted a series of OLS regressions. The coefficients for the perceived safety index can be interpreted as higher values representing increased safety concerns. Table 14 displays the results of the third OLS regression for Models 1, 2, and 3. For the third OLS regression, Model 1 served as a base from which to compare Models 2 and 3, which included covariates and neighborhood social characteristics.

Model 1 included police saturation patrol (without covariates) and showed a positive association (*1.250) with perceived safety level (DV-3). The relationship was significant and served to demonstrate in Model 1 that police saturation patrol was a modest predictor variable for perceived safety level, without the inclusion of covariates and neighborhood social characteristics. As a bivariate correlate, police saturation patrol was moderately associated with perceived safety level. In Model 1, the data tended to suggest that as police saturation was implemented, respondents, on average, were more sensitive to or reported more issues concerning perceived safety. As such, respondents generally maintained the position that they were more aware of crime and associated physical/social disorder in neighborhoods that received police saturation patrol. Police saturation patrol accounted for nearly 5 percent of the variation in the dependent variable.

The relationship between police saturation patrol and perceived safety level changed, however, when demographic variables were added in Model 2. Model 2 incorporated the police saturation patrol (the IV), along with age, gender, and race (black, Hispanic, and Asian/Native/other). In Model 2, police saturation patrol was significantly associated with perceived safety level.

With the addition of demographic controls, gender (being female) and identifying as Hispanic were significant. Identification as female (**3.297) was positively associated with perceived safety level; this suggested that gender was important when considering its association with reported safety level. This finding is not surprising, given the depth of empirical studies that have examined the link between gender and fear of crime (LaGrange et al., 1992; Truman, 2007).

Alternatively, although some research indicated that race was not significantly associated with perceived level of safety or fear of crime, this study suggests an alternative finding (Chiricos et al., 1997). The racial category Hispanic was significantly associated with perceived safety level (**2.977) in neighborhoods where police saturation patrol was implemented, relative to control neighborhoods. As such, Hispanics reported more safety concerns as compared to Non-Hispanic Whites (the reference category). Other racial categories such as black and Asian/Native/Other were not statistically significant. Also, respondent age was not significantly associated with perceived safety level where police saturation patrol was implemented. Coupled with police saturation patrol and demographic variables, these accounted for nearly 9.5 percent of the variation in the dependent variable. As bivariate correlates, both gender and race were strong predictors of perceived safety level.

Model 3 incorporated the variables from Models 1 and 2, with the addition of neighborhood social characteristics. Neighborhood social characteristics included variables such as education level, home ownership, marital status, labor force participation status, and whether the respondent was victimized by crime within sixty days of the SPI survey.

With the addition of neighborhood social characteristics, police saturation patrol (.471) again was not significantly associated perceived safety level; however, gender retained its

predictive power (**3.373). As in Model 2, gender was positively associated with perceived

safety level. Subsequently, this suggested that those respondents who identified as female

reported more safety concerns as compared to respondents who identified as male. The racial

category Hispanic (**1.198) showed a positive association with perceived safety level. This

suggested that controlling for all other factors in the model, race or those who identified as

Hispanic reported more safety concerns as compared to Non-Hispanic Whites (the reference

category).

All education variables, less than high school (**-3.279); some college (*-1.649); and

bachelor's degree or higher (**-3.023), were negatively associated with police saturation patrol.

This suggested that level of education may have been a factor in determining respondent

perception of safety. Not surprisingly, recent victimization (**6.620) was associated with

perceived safety level. The data in Model 3 also suggested that home ownership (**-3.060) was

associated with perceived level of safety. Home ownership was negatively associated with

perceived safety level. This finding suggested that respondents who resided in neighborhoods

with a higher concentration of rental properties versus those who owned their homes may have

been more sensitive to issues concerns perceptions of safety where police saturation patrol was

implemented.

No other covariates in Model 3 (age, labor, and marital status) were significantly

associated with perceived safety level. Thus, the data suggested that Hypothesis 3 was not

confirmed. The results of the analysis on this outcome measure indicated that a backfire effect

was not be attributed to police saturation patrol. On the contrary, other factors besides police

saturation patrol seemed to impact perceived safety level. Coupled together with police

saturation patrol and all covariates, these accounted for nearly 22.9 percent of the variation in the

dependent variable. Accounting for all variables in the third regression, gender, identifying as

Hispanic, level of education, home ownership, and being the recent victim of a crime served as

the best predictors concerning perceived safety level.

**Table 14:** Step-wise Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) Regression for Predicting Perceived Safety Level and Significance Levels.

|  |  | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Intercept | 23.054 | 22.037 | 22.898 |
| Independent Variable | Police Saturation | *1.25 | -0.742 | 0.471 |
|  | Age |  | -0.026 | -0.004 |
|  | Female |  | **3.297 | **3.373 |
| Controls | White (ref) |  |  |  |
|  | Black |  | -1.169 | -1.629 |
|  | Hispanic |  | **2.972 | **1.918 |
|  | Asian/Native/Other |  | -0.226 | -0.970 |
|  | Less than HS |  |  | *-3.279 |
|  | Completed HS (ref) |  |  |  |
|  | Some College |  |  | *-1.649 |
| Neighborhood Social Characteristics | Bachelor's or Higher |  |  | **-3.023 |
|  | Employed |  |  | 0.492 |
|  | Own Home |  |  | **-3.060 |
|  | Married |  |  | -0.444 |
|  | Victim in Past 60 Days |  |  | **6.620 |
|  | $R^2$ | 0.005 | 0.098 | 0.229 |
|  | Adjusted $R^2$ | 0.003 | 0.087 | 0.216 |

*p< .05, **p< .001,

CHAPTER 5:

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The primary objective of this dissertation was to examine the association between police saturation patrol and citizen perception of police activity (crime and disorder), opinions about the police (police legitimacy), and perceived level of safety (fear of crime) in crime hot spot neighborhoods in Las Vegas. Specifically, the current study sought to assess possible backfire effects as a result of the implementation of an LVMPD's hot spot (police saturation patrol) policing tactic on citizen perceptions concerning the outcome measures. This was, in effect, an effort to determine if a backfire effect resulted because of the police saturation patrol. It should be noted that I did not directly assess whether police saturation patrol actually reduced crime and disorder in neighborhood hot spots; rather, I speculated on influences of the tactic on citizen perception and their association with the outcome measures. Additionally, it is important to make the distinction that although there are various forms of hot spot policing (problem-oriented policing, offender-focused, etc.), this study examined motorized police saturation patrol. I acknowledge that other hot spot policing tactics may have produced alternative findings. Police saturation patrol, as conceptualized by LVMPD, is the equivalent of hot spot policing and represents their established place-based crime reduction strategy.

The most basic finding in this study is that as a hot spot policing tactic, police saturation patrol did not significantly attribute to a backfire effect on citizen perceptions of perceived police activity, opinions about the police, or perceived safety level. The results of this dissertation support findings from previous studies and contribute to the growing body of empirical research that validate the use of citizen survey data as means to assess hot spot policing as an effective crime reduction tactic (Farrall and Gadd, 2004; Weisburd and Braga, 2006; Haberman et al., 2014; Ratcliff et al., 2015). The results further suggest that citizens residing in crime hot spot

135

neighborhoods who received police saturation patrol were generally unaware of the increase in police activity or unaffected by the tactic. Additionally, the concentration of police activity in treatment neighborhoods did not seem to make a difference concerning citizen opinions about police or their perceived level of safety relevant to control neighborhoods. It should be noted that these findings do not support the critiques surrounding hot spot policing or the broken windows hypothesis, nor do they provide any evidence concerning the effectiveness of the tactic in reducing crime and disorder or even improving informal social control mechanisms in hot spot neighborhoods. What can be concluded from the survey data is that police saturation patrol did not increase perception of crime and disorder, decrease police legitimacy, or increase fear of crime experienced by citizens in crime hot spot neighborhoods.

From a theoretical perspective, my goal was to utilize a broad cross-section of the literature from sociology and criminology to better inform on the impact of place-based crime prevention strategies such as hot spot policing in urban areas. Police saturation patrol is the mechanisms by which LVMPD conceptualizes hot spot policing. Chapter 5 discusses the potential policy implication of this research, draws conclusions from the observed results, and acknowledges the limitations of the current study.

As previously discussed, empirical research concerning place-based or hot spot policing tactics has emerged since the early 1990s, and a growing body of evidence suggests that the tactic may reduce crime and disorder in urban areas (Weisburd and Eck, 2004; Braga 2001, 2006; Weisburd and Braga, 2006; Telep and Weisburd, 2012; Ratcliff et al., 2015). Although empirical evidence exists to suggest that geographically focused police interventions may reduce violent crime, even fewer studies assessed the impact of such police tactics on citizen

perceptions of crime and disorder, opinions about the police, and perceived level of safety (Telep and Weisburd, 2012).

Hot spot policing is a place-based crime reduction tactic that addresses specific problem places and prolific offenders in focused geographic areas. In the early 1990s, a shift away from the rigid incarceration policies of the 1980s to a more place-based or problem-solving approach to crime reduction began to rapidly emerge (Durlauf and Nagin, 2011; Braga, 2007; Braga et al., 2014; Ratcliff et al., 2015). Because of the shift away from severity-based policies, hot spot policing in specific geographic locations became a popular strategy in many police departments and is now routinely utilized (Braga, 2001, 2006; Weisburd and Eck, 2004; Weisburd and Braga, 2006, 2010; Haberman et al., 2014; Ratcliff et al., 2015).

Although some studies have demonstrated the crime control benefits of hot spot policing, other scholars still point to mixed results, suggesting that such tactics may have unintended consequences such as increased perceptions of crime and disorder, further decreased police legitimacy, and decreased perception of safety (Weisburd, 2004; Weisburd and Braga, 2006; Rosenbaum 2006; Ratcliff et al., 2015).

Police departments all over the United States have utilized hot spot policing tactics as a strategy to reduce crime and disorder in neighborhoods; however, it could be argued that empirical data is not routinely utilized to guide decision makers. This serves to inform the larger issue of whether hot spot policing has limited or long-term effects. Whether or not citizens notice police activity in their neighborhood is important to this studies research questions. What distinguishes earlier studies of hot spot policing and more recent ones is the emphases on citizen perceptions. As I found, community perceptions of crime and disorder, opinions about the police,

and perceived levels of safety all matter and can better inform police administrators in guiding them on what crime reduction tactics are most appropriate.

These are not new ideas, and they are rooted in the traditions of environmental criminology and social disorganization theory (Wilson and Kelling, 1982; Sampson and Groves, 1989). Several theories associated with environmental criminology (situational crime prevention, routine activities theory, and the broken windows hypothesis) can been seen as a guide, something practitioners can apply when selecting the most appropriate policing tactics in crime hot spot neighborhoods and in determining how best to assess their speculated effects. These theories approach prevention by focusing on the environment, not specifically the offender. As such, they are a good fit in examining the influence of hot spot policing tactics on crime and disorder, opinions about the police, and perceived safety level.

As previously mentioned, the specific implications that actually occur as a result of hot spot policing and the duration of any suspected benefits in high crime neighborhoods still comprise a largely empirical question. Social disorganization theory informs us that neighborhood crime and disorder may weaken informal social control mechanisms. As a result of the weakening of informal social control mechanisms, community bonds begin to further erode. This, in turn, may create further neighborhood instability (Sampson and Groves, 1989; Browning and Cagney, 2003). The cycle subsequently perpetuates itself.

Neighborhood hot spots and their causes may have long-rooted, geographically specific, and multifaceted social problems which in-turn require place-based policing tactic to address issues related to crime, disorder, and perceptions of safety. The chief focus of any place-based crime prevention strategy should primarily be to offer community assistance and to reestablishing informal social control to produce increased collective efficacy, neighborhood

stability, and better community/police cooperation. Combining aspects of both theories may help to explain the unique underlying conditions of the suspected cause of the crime problems and subsequently better inform place-based policing strategies to address such issues.

The goal of this dissertation was to assess potential backfire effects as a result of the implementation a hot spot policing tactic on citizen perceptions of police activity (crime and disorder), opinions about the police (police legitimacy) and perceived safety level (fear of crime). As previously mentioned, past research examined the effects of hot spot policing on reducing crime by utilizing official measures such as police calls-for-services data. Even fewer assessed the impact of such tactics by gauging citizen perception and determining if any unintended consequences (backfire effect) developed as a result of the tactics. Also, the handful of studies that have assessed whether a backfire effect developed has primary evaluated foot patrols, not motorized vehicle patrol.

In order to address the goals of this research, I used data from the SPI survey. With a small handful of datasets that captured citizen perception of hot spot policing tactics, this survey offered a unique way to further assess citizen perception of such tactics and contribute to the growing body of hot spot policing literature. As such, the SPI survey served as a good measure to assess the potential development of a backfire effect as a result of the hot spot policing tactic. This dissertation does not measure whether the hot spot policing tactic actually reduced crime or disorder as captured by official measure of crime; rather, it examines whether or not the tactic altered citizen perceptions of police activity, opinions about the police, and perceived safety level. In the remainder of Chapter 5, I will discuss the relevant major findings from this study and examine the influence of hot spot policing, as well as assess the potential for backfire effects to develop.

Perceived Police Activity Summary Discussion/DV-1 (Crime and Disorder):

*Research Question 1: Are prolonged place-based policing strategies noticed by citizens in high crime neighborhoods? If an association exists between place-based policing (hot spot policing) strategies and citizen perception of police activity, does a backfire effect develop as a result of the tactic, thus contributing to an increased perception of crime and neighborhood disorder?*

*Hypothesis 1: Police saturation patrol in high crime neighborhoods would lead to increases in resident perception of police activity.*

*Outcome for Perceived Police Activity: Hypothesis 1 was not confirmed. The analysis revealed that police saturation patrol was not significantly associated with perceived police activity. Additionally, when accounting for covariates, it was observed that other factors (labor status and home ownership) served as better predictors for perceptions of perceived police activity relative to control locations.*

This question examined perceived police activity using the SPI dataset (N=1,005). Consistent with previous findings that examined hot spot policing tactics, respondents indicated that they largely did not notice or report perceiving increased police activity in their neighborhood (Weisburd et al., 2012; Haberman et al., 2014; Ratcliff et al., 2015). The notion that increased police activity may be linked to increases in perception of crime and neighborhood disorder is an important question. Even when isolating police situation patrol and perceived police activity (DV-1), no significant relationship was observed. Essentially, police saturation patrol as the treatment made no significant difference on perceived police activity in treatment neighborhoods. This suggested that Hypothesis 1 was not confirmed. Initial cross-tabulation for this dissertation revealed significant associations with perceived police activity. Covariates such as age, race, labor force participation, home ownership, and marital status were among the significant bivariate correlates.

Using survey data, Ratcliff et al. (2015) found similar results examining the association between three hot spot policing tactics (foot patrols, problem-oriented policing, and offender-

focused policing) and their relation to citizen perceptions of crime and disorder, police legitimacy, and fear of crime. Additionally, the routine actives of ordinary citizens may play a factor in why increases in police activity go largely unnoticed. On average, citizens often spend many hours of their day committed to work or other leisure activities that take them away from their neighborhoods. As suggested by Weisburd et al (2012) marginal increases in police activity may not be noticed by citizens due to the fact that they are not around to observe the activity.

As previously mentioned, police saturation patrol went largely unnoticed by citizens in treatment neighborhoods relevant to control neighborhoods. This finding could be interpreted as appealing based on the observation that increased police activity in specific places does not necessarily translate to increases in the perception of crime and disorder by citizens. The results cannot be misinterpreted as police saturation patrol having a strong impact on reducing crime and disorder. Instead, the data only suggested that citizens did not report noticing increases in police activity to the extent that it triggered respondents to perceive more crime and disorder. Subsequently, this dissertation cannot conclude that police saturation patrol implemented in this study was effective. What can be concluded from the data is that this style of hot spot policing did not appear to cause citizens in treatment neighborhoods to notice more police activity or perceive increased levels of disorder.

Alternatively, the results suggested that other factors served as better predictors when determining citizen perceptions of perceived police activity. For example, respondents who did not own their homes were more likely than others to perceive police activity in their neighborhoods. Again, these factors may suggest that respondents who met the above conditions perhaps resided in neighborhoods that were more structurally and socially disadvantaged. This, in turn, may have promoted a heightened awareness of police activity in their neighborhoods.

Renters might be less familiar with the neighborhood than homeowners, therefore any police presence might have been enough to alarm them in ways that they reported the increased presence while homeowners did not. Also, police might simply have been in their neighborhood more frequently due to historically higher crime rates (Wilson, 1987).

Labor force participation revealed findings that were not surprising. Those respondents who reported being employed were more likely to report noticing police activity. This finding may relate to social mobility status and suggest that respondents who report being employed or owning their homes perhaps had more access to resources that allowed them to choose neighborhoods that observed fewer police incidents. Also, being employed may have promoted different lifestyle restrictions, which reduced the opportunity for such respondents to either observe police activity or encounter situations that required frequent police response. Again, this finding was not surprising, and it suggested that both labor force participation status and home ownership may be closely coupled with social mobility and the neighborhood one could afford to live in.

The findings from the first OLS regression were consistent with observations from previous research that examined the relationship between hot spot policing and perceptions of police activity as they relate to a possible backfire effect (Haberman et al., 2014; Ratcliff et al., 2015). This study added to the body of hot spot policing literature by applying aspects of the broken windows hypothesis to an exploration of whether or not backfire effects resulted from the implementation of police saturation patrol. The findings from the first OLS regression generally revealed that police saturation patrol did not contribute to a backfire effect.

Opinions About the Police Summary Discussion/DV-2 (Police Legitimacy):

*Research Question 2: What is the relationship between place-based policing strategies and opinions about the police? Are opinions about the police altered as a result of place-based policing (hot spot policing) tactics, and does this contribute to a backfire effect due to the implementation of the tactic?*

*Hypothesis 2: Police saturation patrol in high crime neighborhoods will alter opinions about the police in hot spot neighborhoods.*

*Outcome for DV-2: Hypothesis 2 was not confirmed. The analysis revealed that police saturation patrol was not significantly associated with opinions about the police (DV-2). Opinions about the police were not significantly altered as a result of police saturation patrol. When accounting for covariates, it was observed that other factors such as race and age served as better predictors when considering factors that influence citizen opinions about the police.*

This question examined opinions about police using the SPI dataset (N=1,005). Consistent with previous findings about hot spot policing tactics, citizens generally reported having favorable opinions about the police; however, police saturation patrol did not appear to directly relate to this outcome measure. One important aspect for evaluating hot spot policing tactics such as police saturation patrol is its impact on citizen perceptions. As previously mentioned, several critiques of hot spot policing tactics, such as the use of aggressive order maintenance strategies (broken windows), have raised concerns in relations to their impact of citizen-police cooperative efforts. Initial cross-tabulation for this dissertation revealed several significant associations with opinions about the police (DV-2). Police saturation and covariates such as age, race, home ownership, and marital status were among the significant bivariate correlates.

Rosenbaum (2006) noted that such strategies may produce unintended consequences by making citizens "feel like targets," further straining the relationship between community members and the police (Rosenbaum, 2006; Weisburd et al., 2012). Other studies have drawn

143

different conclusions. For example, Shaw (1995) found that citizens welcomed an increased in

police activity, and survey data demonstrated that citizens in treatment areas reported better

quality of life conditions after police intervention (Shaw, 1995; Shaw and Rogan, 1995).

Additionally, Weisburd et al. (2012) found no evidence to suggest that police legitimacy

decreased as a consequence of broken windows.

In Model 1, police saturation patrol appeared to impact citizen opinions about police. On

the surface, this suggested that hot spot policing could be attributed to unfavorable opinions

about the police, which would suggest that a backfire effect resulted from the implementation of

the tactic. With the addition of other covariates, however, this assumption was ruled out and

demonstrated that although police saturation patrol and opinions about the police (DV-2) were

negatively correlated when isolated, police saturation patrol made no difference in terms of

opinions about police when considering other factors. Weisburd et al. (2012), Haberman et al.

(2014), and Ratcliff et al. (2015) reported similar findings, noting that hot spot policing tactics

showed no significant impact on how respondents rated the police concerning perceptions of

procedural justice. Furthermore, a meta-analysis of hot spot policing studies found that

community members generally had positive reactions to focused police intervention, specifically

problem-oriented policing (Braga et al., 2012).

Regardless of how police saturation patrol was analyzed in each model for this

dissertation, the treatment variable was not significant when considering other covariates in the

regression models. With the addition of controls, it was discovered that police saturation patrol

no longer made a difference concerning opinions about police. Age and race seemed to serve as

better predictors. Factors such as being younger and black appeared to influence opinions about

police. This finding was also observed in Philadelphia by Ratcliff et al. (2015).

Although this finding is not unexpected, it highlights the complicated relationship between race and community perceptions of the police. Cooperation between the police and the community is important for dealing with crime and disorder. These results suggested that a backfire effect was not attributed to police saturation patrol. This finding may be promising for law enforcement; however, it still highlights that factors such as race are important when considering cooperation with the police. Although police saturation patrol was not significantly associated with opinions about the police (DV-2) as the way LVMPD employed the tactic, this does not mean that police and community relationships were not intertwined. This finding may suggest that outside of the treatment, long-standing tensions between the police and the community remain. Additionally, this research does not conclude that hot spot policing has no impact on opinions about the police. Rather, I attempt to highlight that claims of a backfire effect may be overstated.

### Perceived Safety Level Summary Discussion/DV-3 (Fear of Crime):

*Research Question 3: How do prolonged place-based policing strategies influence citizen perceptions of safety in high crime neighborhoods? Does place-based policing (hot spot policing) tactics influence perception of safety, thus contributing to backfire effect as a result of the tactic?*

*Hypothesis 3: Police saturation patrol in high crime neighborhoods will alter citizen perceptions about safety in hot spot neighborhoods.*

*Outcome for DV-3: Hypothesis 3 was not confirmed. The analysis revealed that police saturation patrol was not significantly associated with perceived safety level. Perceived safety level was not significantly altered as a result of police saturation patrol. When accounting for covariates, it was observed that other factors such as gender, race, level of education, home ownership, and being the recent victim of a crime, which served as better predictors when considering factors that influence perceived safety level.*

This question examined opinions about police using the SPI dataset (N=1,005).

Perceptions of safety or fear of crime and its relationship to policing is critical when considering

145

how to reduce crime in hot spot neighborhoods. Again, the notion of cooperation between community members and police are key. Neighborhoods labeled as hot spots may have a history of crime. Increases in police activity may serve to further perpetuate this sentiment, thus contributing to a backfire effect. Ideally, hot spot policing or the use of a broken windows tactic would reduce crime and disorder through order maintenance by police. In return, it would be expected that community informal social control mechanisms would improve, and that fear of crime would decrease. Measurements to directly assess police efforts on fear of crime are complicated. Initial cross-tabulation for this dissertation revealed several significant associations with perceived safety level (DV-3). Police saturation and covariates such as gender, race, home ownership, and whether the respondent was the recent victim of a crime were among the significant bivariate correlates.

Although Model 1 demonstrated a modest association between the treatment and perceived safety level (DV-3), when considering all other covariates, police saturation patrol was not significantly associated with citizen perception of safety in treatment neighborhoods. This finding suggested that police saturation patrol did not contributed to a backfire effect as related to this outcome measure. When considering all covariates, several other factors (such as gender, race, level of education, and whether the respondent was the recent victim of a crime) served as better predictors of perceived safety level. Various other studies using survey data suggested similar findings (Weisburd et al., 2012; Ratcliff et al., 2015).

These finding were not unexpected, and they highlight the need to more thoroughly evaluate hot spot policing tactics and their association with fear of crime. Although it can be concluded that police saturation patrol did not decrease citizen perception of safety, we cannot conclude either that the treatment increased feeling of safety in crime hot spot neighborhoods.

146

The saturation team was instructed to evenly split their sixty-day deployment time throughout three treatment neighborhoods per wave. Uniformed officers from the team generally provided forty hours of additional police patrol in treatment neighborhoods to supplement existing area command patrol levels.

It is unclear whether police evenly distributed their activity over the treatment neighborhoods. This may explain why perceived safety level neither increased nor decreased in treatment neighborhoods relative to control locations. Some scholars argue that the lack of time committed by such tactics may impact observations, due to the fact that it may require an extended period of time for citizen attitudes toward the tactic to be affected (Wilson and Kelling, 1982; Kelling and Coles, 1996; Skogan and Frydl, 2003).

<div align="center">Limitations:</div>

First, this study relied exclusively on survey data from the original SPI study, as conducted by Batson et al. (2012). As with any survey administered to potential respondents, researchers strive to develop questions that accurately measure dimensions of the constructs being studied. The first limitation of this dissertation concerns measurement validity on the outcome measures. This dissertation examined citizen perceptions of perceived police activity (crime and disorder), opinions about the police (police legitimacy), and perceived safety level (fear of crime), which are complex constructs.

It may be difficult to fully assess these outcome measures and their association with hot spot policing tactics based on surveys alone. Also, no single question type can adequately capture all possible dimensions of a specific construct. Additionally, response rate is an important factor when drawing conclusions using survey data. Although the SPI survey was administered face to face by a trained survey team and response rate might not have been an

issue in the traditional sense, overall, the relatively low number of surveys administered for this research was a limitation. The survey team was asked to administer at least seventy-five surveys in each of the selected twelve hot spot neighborhoods. In most instances, the survey team exceeded this number. Although the sample size for this study (N=1,005) may have been sufficient and generally supported findings from previous research, increased sampling size would allow for better generalizability.

The original SPI experiment relied on randomization for selection of hot spot neighborhood pairs and subsequent deployment sequencing of the police saturation patrol. Although randomization assures a level confidence concerning the evenness of conditions of the neighborhoods sampled, this study still only employed surveys to hot spot neighborhoods post-deployment of the police saturation patrol. Considering that neighborhood conditions were relatively the same for both pre- and post-deployment, due to the methodological advantage of randomization, this is still not an absolute guarantee that some conditions were different or altered. As such, another limitation was the use of surveys only after the police saturation team deployed to hot spot neighborhoods. This limitation also highlights the lack of available data concerning the respondents' previous experiences with police (Brown and Benedict, 2002; Haberman et al., 2014). Although not necessarily relevant to the current study, omitting base-line perceptions of citizen experiences may complicate issues related to causality.

As previously mentioned, this study examined motorized police saturation patrol. This hot spot policing tactic and the mechanism by which the treatment was delivered modeled the tenets of the broken windows hypothesis. The use of one specific mechanism, in and of itself, serves as an additional limitation. I acknowledge that other hot spot policing tactics (foot patrols, problem-oriented, or offender-specific) may have yielded different results. Additionally, the use

of other statistical techniques involving multi-level modeling may have yielded more conclusive findings. These limitations further point to the need for more comprehensive hot spot policing tactics and accompanying evaluations of the impact of such tactics on citizen perceptions (Braga and Bond, 2008).

<u>Conclusions:</u>

I began this dissertation by asking, do police matter. I think unequivocally we can answer yes, police do matter. The police serve as an important social institution in our society and proved an essential function, i.e. maintaining order in a civilized society. The other important underling question concerns the impact of police actions, such as the case when police implement hot spot policing tactics. Although this research concluded that a backfire effect was not significantly associated with the outcome measures, this does not mean that the police and their actions do not "impact" the community. Had the focus of the research study employed an alternative hot spot policing tactic, conceptualized different outcome measures, or performed multi-level modeling/analysis, the findings may have reflected something different. What can be concluded from this research is that police saturation patrol as it was implemented in Las Vegas during the SPI evaluation was not necessarily attributed to any backfire effects as observed in the outcome measures.

In terms of examining the raw percentages between treatment and control neighborhoods concerning SPI question responses, one could tacitly be led to believe that perhaps a backfire effect may have developed in treatment neighborhoods. Although, the authors of the original SPI report suggested that a backfire effect may have developed as a result of police saturation patrol, regression analysis among this dissertation's outcomes measures suggested the alternative. In fact, the results largely suggest that there are other factors that may be more important in

149

determining perceptions concerning police activity, opinions about the police, and perceived safety level.

Community perception of police and their response to crime should be a factor for police administrations when selecting which crime reduction tactics to employ and how to subsequently define success. What is important to police and how they define success (decreases in violent crime, for example) may be different for those who live in policed communities. Police should strive to recognize the differences between crime fighting and crime prevention. Crime fighting can be interpreted as reactive and closed off to community input. The latter, crime prevention, may be seen as an attempt to recognize risk and organize collective efforts to address such risks. As previously discussed, these efforts may include alterations to the physical environment or engaging the community in problem-oriented policing to address specific neighborhood problems. Consequently, an evaluation of policing tactics continually warrants evaluations to assess the empirical bases of the tactic and whether the tactic influenced observable changes or made no difference at all. That was generally the case for this research.

Using survey data from the SPI, it was determined that police saturation patrol did not play an integral role in citizen perceptions about police activity, opinions about the police, or perceived safety level. Additionally, the results largely suggest that a backfire effect was not attributed to police saturation patrol. Several findings supported the notion that hot spot policing tactics in this study provided no significant negative outcomes, thus contributing to a backfire affect. Alternatively, I was unable to determine any significant positive effects as a result of the tactic.

As previously noted, place-based crime prevention has only been widely utilized in the United States since the early 1990s. This has been the primary mechanism by which the police

150

have employed this prevention model using hot spot policing tactics. Subsequently, evaluations of such tactics on reducing crime and disorder are still relatively new. Further, empirical research evaluating the impact of the such tactics on citizen perceptions is even more limited in scope. Overall, future research must further evaluate the impact of various hot spot policing tactics not only on reducing crime and disorder but also on assessing its impact on citizen perceptions of the factors previously discussed.

APPENDIX:

SMART POLICING INITATIVE SURVEY

NEIGHBORHOOD #_____          DATE_____

I would like to speak with a member of this household who is at least 18 years old. If there are multiple members over the age of 18, I would like to speak to the resident who most recently celebrated a birthday.

I'm here on behalf of a research project sponsored by the Sociology Department at the University of Nevada Las Vegas. We're interviewing residents about neighborhood issues, such as quality of life, crime, and disorder. We would really appreciate your participation in our survey. It should only take about 15 minutes.  Your participation in this survey is strictly voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate in this survey, you may stop at any time and may skip any questions you are not comfortable answering. All answers are strictly confidential and will be used solely for research purposes. Your name will not be attached to any research reports.

**LET ME BEGIN BY ASKING YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD.**

**[QUALITY OF LIFE/NEIGHBORHOOD]**

1.  Please rate the overall quality of life in your <u>neighborhood</u> today.
    1-  Very good
    2-  Fairly good
    3-  Not very good
    4-  Not at all good

2.  If you could live where you want, would you…
    1 – Stay at your current address
    2 – Move from your current address to another Las Vegas Valley location
    3 – Move to another location in Nevada
    4 – Move outside of Nevada

3.  Generally speaking, how would you rate crime as a problem in your neighborhood?
    1-  Very big problem
    2-  Somewhat of a problem
    3-  Not much of a problem
    4-  No problem at all

4.  Please indicate how much of each type of activity, as far as you can tell, seems to be taking place in your neighborhood.

|  | Not Very Often | Somewhat Often | Very Often | All the Time |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Vandalism, such as graffiti, slashing tires, etc. |  |  |  |  |
| Disorderly behavior, such as rowdy, unsupervised teens |  |  |  |  |
| Car break-ins |  |  |  |  |
| Home break-ins |  |  |  |  |
| Domestic assault (in homes) |  |  |  |  |
| Assault outside of homes |  |  |  |  |
| Gang activity |  |  |  |  |
| Drug activity |  |  |  |  |
| Sexual assaults |  |  |  |  |
| Robbery |  |  |  |  |

5. How safe do you feel when walking alone at night on your block?

Very safe ...........................................1

Somewhat safe ...................................2

Somewhat unsafe ...............................3

Very unsafe .......................................4

**DON'T KNOW**.................................-8

**REFUSED**.........................................-9

6. Overall, how physically safe from crime do you feel in your neighborhood?

1- Very safe
2- Somewhat safe
3- Not very safe
4- Not safe at all

7.   Okay, now I'm going to ask you some questions about the physical conditions of your block. For each question, please respond with none, a few, or many.

| | NONE | A FEW | MANY | DON'T KNOW | REFUSED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7a. Are there any homes or buildings with broken windows on your block? | 1 | 2 | 3 | -8 | -9 |
| 7b. Are there any homes, other buildings, or other places on your block that are marked with graffiti? | 1 | 2 | 3 | -8 | -9 |
| 7c. Are there any abandoned or boarded-up homes or buildings on your block? | 1 | 2 | 3 | -8 | -9 |
| 7d. Are there any vacant lots on your block? | 1 | 2 | 3 | -8 | -9 |
| 7e. Are there any abandoned cars on the street on your block? | 1 | 2 | 3 | -8 | -9 |
| 7f. Are there areas on your block where litter is a problem? | 1 | 2 | 3 | -8 | -9 |
| 7g  Are there areas on your block where the street or sidewalk needs repairs? | 1 | 2 | 3 | -8 | -9 |

| | ONCE A MONTH OR LESS | A FEW TIMES A MONTH | A FEW TIMES A WEEK | EVERYDAY | NOT AT ALL | DON'T KNOW | REFUSED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7h. Are there areas on your block that need better lighting? | 1 | 2 | 3 | | | -8 | -9 |

8. Okay, now I'm going to ask you some questions about the Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department.

**[READ QUESTION, THEN RESPONSE OPTIONS]**

**During the past 2 months… (OR IN THE PAST 60 DAYS)**

 Once a month or less, a few times a month, a few times a week, everyday, not at all]

| | ONCE A MONTH OR LESS | A FEW TIMES A MONTH | A FEW TIMES A WEEK | EVERYDAY | NOT AT ALL | DON'T KNOW | REFUSED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8a. How often have you seen [METRO] police officers in your neighborhood? [**PROBE**: DOING <u>ANYTHING</u>] | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 1 | -8 | -9 |
| 8b. How often have you seen [METRO] police talking to people in your neighborhood? | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 1 | -8 | -9 |
| 8c. How often have you seen [METRO] police searching people in your neighborhood? | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 1 | -8 | -9 |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8d. How often have you seen [METRO] police arresting people in your neighborhood? | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 1 | -8 | -9 |
| 8e. How often have you called [METRO] police to report something in your neighborhood? | | | | | | | |

9. Overall, do you think the [LAS VEGAS METRO] police are doing……

A very good job ..................................1

A good job...........................................2

A fair job.............................................3

A poor job ...........................................4

A very poor job ...................................5

**DON'T KNOW**..................................-8

**REFUSED**.........................................-9

10. Please tell me if you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements about the [LAS VEGAS METRO] police.

| | STRONGLY AGREE | AGREE | DISAGREE | STRONGLY DISAGREE | DON'T KNOW | REFUSED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10a. I have a lot of respect for [METRO] police. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | -8 | -9 |
| 10b. On the whole, [METRO] police officers are honest. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | -8 | -9 |
| 10c. I feel proud of [METRO] police. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | -8 | -9 |
| 10d. I am very supportive of [METRO] police. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | -8 | -9 |
| 10e. The [METRO] police treat people fairly. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | -8 | -9 |

11. How likely is it that you would call the police if each of the following situations

happened tomorrow? Do you think it is very likely, likely, unlikely or very unlikely.

| | VERY LIKELY | LIKELY | UNLIKELY | VERY UNLIKELY | DON'T KNOW | REFUSED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11a. You have a complaint against someone causing problems on your block. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | -8 | -9 |
| 11b. You have an emergency situation. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | -8 | -9 |
| 11c. You see suspicious activity on your block. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | -8 | -9 |

**The following questions are for descriptive (statistical) purposes.**

12.  First, in what year were you born? _____

13. How many years have you lived at your current address? If less than a year, enter the number of months; if more than a year, round up._____

14. How many years have you lived in Las Vegas, total? _____

15.  Please rate the overall quality of life in the Las Vegas Valley today.
   a.  Very good
   b.  Fairly good
   c.  Not very good
   d.  Not at all good

16. What is your current marital status?
   1   – Married
   2   – Single
   3   – Divorced
   4    – Widowed
   3   – Separated
   4    - Living with a partner

17. Which of the following best describes your current employment or labor force status? (CHOOSE ONLY ONE)
   1 – Work full time
   2 – Work part time
   3 – Unemployed, looking for work
   4 – Unemployed, not looking for work
   5 – Full-time student
   6 – Homemaker
   7 – Retired
   8 – Other
   9 – Refuse to answer

18. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
   1 – 0 to 11 years, no diploma
   2 – High school graduate (including GED)
   3 – Some college, no degree
   4 – Associate's degree
   5 – Bachelor's degree
   6 – Graduate or professional degree

19. Do you consider yourself to be Spanish/Hispanic/Latino?
   1 – No, not Spanish/Hispanic/Latino
   2 – Yes, Mexican

3 – Yes, Puerto Rican
4 – Yes, El Salvadorian
5 – Yes, other Spanish/Hispanic/Latino

20. With which racial group do you identify yourself?
   [ALLOW MULTIPLE RESPONSES]
   1 – White/Anglo
   2 – African American
   3 – Asian or Asian American
   4 – American Indian or Native American
   5 – Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
   5 – Other

21. Were you born…
   1 – In Las Vegas
   2 – In Nevada but not in Las Vegas
   3 – In the U.S. but not in Nevada
   4 – In another country outside the U.S.

22. Are you...
   1 – Male
   2 – Female

23. Do you have children under the age of 18 living in your home?
   1 – Yes
   2 – No

24. Do you own or rent your current home?
   1 – Own
   2 – Rent
   3 – Other

25. Have you or any member of your household been a victim of a crime in the past….
   **a.  60 days?**
   
   Yes ....................................................1
   
   No.....................................................0
   
   **DON'T KNOW**...............................-8
   **REFUSED**........................................-9

   **a.  6 months?**
   
   Yes ....................................................1
   
   No.....................................................0

**DON'T KNOW**.................................-8

**REFUSED**.........................................-9

REFERENCES

Akers, R. (1985). *Deviant behavior. Social learning and social structure: A general theory of crime and deviance*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Akers, R. and Sellers, C. (2009). *Criminological theories: Introduction, evaluation, and application*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Agnew, R. (1992), Foundations for a general strain theory of crime and delinquency. *Criminology*, 30, 47–88.

Agnew, R. (2004). *Why criminals offend: A general theory of crime and delinquency*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Anderson, N. (1923). *The hobo: The sociology of the homeless man*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Anderson, E. (2004). The cosmopolitan canopy. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.* 595 (1), 14-31.

Batson, C., Futrell, R., Pace, S., Spivak, A., and Sousa, W. (2012). Las Vegas smart policing initiative: Impact of police saturation. Bureau of Justice Assistance, U.S. Department of Justice.

Bayley, D. H. (1994). *Police for the future*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Bennett, T (1991). The effectiveness of a police-initiated fear-reducing strategy. *The British Journal of Criminology*, 31(1), 1–14.

Braga, A. (2005). Hot spots policing and crime prevention: A systematic review of randomized controlled trials. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 1, 317-342.

Braga, A. (2007). The effects of hot spots policing on crime. *Campbell Systematic Reviews*, 1, 1-36.

Braga, A. A., & Bond, B. J. (2008). Policing crime and disorder hot spots: A randomized controlled trial. *Criminology*, 46(3), 577-607.

Braga, A. A., & Bond, B. J. (2009). Community perceptions of police crime prevention efforts: Using interviews in small areas to evaluate crime reduction strategies. In J. Knutsson & N. Tilley (Eds.), *Crime Prevention Studies*, (Vol. 24, 87 - 119). Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.

Braga, A., and Weisburd, D. (2010). *Policing problem places: Crime hot spots and effective prevention*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Braga, A., Papachristos, A. V., and Hureau, D. M. (2012). The effects of hot spots policing on crime: An updated systematic review and meta-analysis. *Justice Quarterly*, 31(4), 633-663.

Braga, A., Papachristos, A.V. and Hureau, D.M. (2014). The effects of hot spots policing on crime: an updated systematic review and meta-analysis. *Campbell Systematic Reviews*, 31(4), 633–663.

Brantingham, P.J. and Brantingham, P.L. (1984). *Patterns in crime*. New York: MacMillan.

Brantingham, P. L., & Brantingham, P. (1993). *Environment, routine, and situation: Toward a pattern theory of crime*. In R. V. Clarke & M. Felson (Eds.), Routine activity and rational choice (pp. 2754). New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.

Brian, David. (2005). From good neighborhoods to sustainable cities: Social science and the social agenda of the new urbanisms. *International Regional Science Review,* 28(2), 217-238.

Brents, B., Borer, M., Orleck, A., Zukin, S., Wray, M. (2012). Learning from Las Vegas. *contexts*, 2012. Retrieved from, ctx.sagepub.com.

Brown, B. and Benedict, W. (2002). Perceptions of the police: Past findings, methodological issues, conceptual issues and policy implications. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 25(3), 543-580.

Browning, C. and Cagney, C. (2002). Moving beyond poverty: Neighborhood structure, social process, and health. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 44(4), 552-571.

Browning, C., and Olinger-Wilborn, M. (2003). Neighborhood structure, social organization, and number of short-term sexual partnerships. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 65, 730–45.

Brunson, R. K., and Miller, J. (2006b). Young black men and urban policing in the United States. *British Journal of Criminology*, 46, 613–640.

Campbell, D. and Stanley, J. (1963). *Experimental and quasi-experimental designs for research*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Chiricos, T., Eschholz, S. and M. Gertz. (1997). Crime, news and fear of crime: Toward an identification of audience effects. *Social Problems*, 44(3), 342-57.

Clarke, R. V. (1980). Situational crime prevention: Theory and practice. *British Journal of Criminology*, 20(2), 136-147.

Cohen, L and Felson, M. (1979). Social change and crime rate trends: A routine activity approach. *American Sociological Review*, 44, 588-608.

Combs, B. and Slovic, P. (1979). Newspaper coverage of causes of death. *Journalism Quarterly*, 56, 837-843.

Conklin, J. (1971). Dimensions of community response to the crime problem. *Social Problems*, 18, 373-385.

Cullen, F.T. and Agnew, R. (2011). *Criminological theory: Past to present*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Dai, M., and Johnson, R. R. (2009). Is neighborhood context a confounder? Exploring the effects

    of citizen race and neighborhood context on satisfaction with police. *Policing: An*

    *International Journal of Police Strategies and Management*, 32(4), 595-612.

Dickens, D, Gottdiener, M., and Collins, C. (1999). *Las Vegas: The social production of an all-*

    *American city*. Malden, Mass: Blackwell Publishers.

Dickens, D. (2011). Is las vegas a real city? *UNLV Gaming Research and Review Journal*, 15(2),

    119-120.

Durlauf, S. N., and Nagin, D. S. (2011). Imprisonment and crime: Can both be reduced?

    *Criminology & Public Policy*, 10(1), 13-54.

Eck, J. E., & Spelman, W. (1987). Who ya gonna call? The police as problem-busters. *Crime and*

    *Delinquency*, 33(1), 31-52.

Engels, F. (1845). The condition of the working class in England. Translated by Tim Delaney,

    Panther, 1891. Retrieved from, www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/condition-

    working-class/.

Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2009). Uniformed Crime Report. Washington, DC: Department

    of Justice.

Farrall, S. and Gadd, D. (2004), 'The frequency of the fear of crime'. *British Journal of*

    *Criminology*, 44(1), 127-132.

Ferraro, K.F. and Lagrange, R. (1987). The measurement of fear of crime. *Sociological Inquiry*

    57, 70-101.

Ferraro, K.F. (1995), *Fear of crime: Interpreting victimization risk*. Albany: State University of

    New York Press.

Farrell, G. and Sousa, W. (2001). Repeat victimization and hot spots: the overlap and its

    implications for crime control and problem-orientated policing. *Crime Prevention*

    *Studies*, 12, 221-240.

Farrington, D.P. (1989). Early predictors of adolescent aggression and adult violence. *Violence*

    *and Victims,* 4, 79–100.

Fisher, B. S., and Sloan, J. J., III. (2003). Unraveling the fear of victimization among college

    women: Is the Shadow of Sexual Assault Hypothesis supported? *Justice Quarterly*, 20,

    633-659.

Gau, J., and Pratt, T. C. (2008). Broken windows or window dressing? Citizens' (in)ability to tell

    the difference between disorder and crime. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 7(2),163-194.

Gau, J. and Brunson, R. (2010): Procedural justice and order maintenance policing: A study of

    inner-city young men's perceptions of police legitimacy. *Justice Quarterly*, 27(2), 255-

    279.

Goring, C. (1913). *The English convict*. Montclair, NJ: Patterson Smith.

Gottfredson, M. and Hirschi, T. (1990). *A general theory of crime*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford

    University Press.

Goldstein, H. (1979). Improving policing: a problem-oriented approach. *Crime and Delinquency*,

    25, 236 – 258.

Goldstein, H. (1990). *Problem-Oriented Policing*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Haberman, C., Groff, E., Ratcliffe, J and Sorg, E. (2014). Satisfaction with police in violent

    crime hot spots: Using community surveys as a guide for selecting hot spots policing

    tactics. *Crime and Delinquency*, 62(4), 525-557.

Hannerz, Ulf. (1980). *Exploring the city: Inquiries toward and urban anthropology*. Columbia University Press.

Hawley, A. H. (1950). *Human ecology: A theory of community structure*. New York: Ronald Press.

Hawley, A. H. (1981). Human ecology. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 24, 423-444.

Haynie, Dana L.  Explaining the gender gap in fear of crime over time, 1970 - 1995: A Methodological Approach." *Criminal Justice Review*, 23(1),29-50.

Hirschi, Travis. 1969. *Causes of delinquency*. Edison, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Hinkle, J. and Weisburd, D. (2008). The irony of broken windows policing: A micro-place study of the relationship between disorder, focused police crackdowns and fear of crime. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 36(6), 503-512.

Hope, T. (1994). Problem-oriented policing and drug market locations: Three case studies. In R. V. Clarke (Ed.). *Crime Prevention Studies* (Vol. 2, pp. 5 - 32). Monsey, NY: Criminal Justice Press.

Hutcheson, G. D. (2011). Ordinary Least-Squares Regression. In L. Moutinho and G. D. Hutcheson, *The SAGE Dictionary of Quantitative Management Research*, 224-228.

Jacobs, J. (1961). *The death and life of great American cities*. New York: Random House Publishing.

Jeffery, C. Ray. (1971). *Crime prevention through environmental design*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Kochel, T. R. (2011). Constructing hot spots policing: Unexamined consequences for disadvantaged populations and for police legitimacy. *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, 22(3), 350 - 374.

Kelling, G., Pate, A., Dieckman, D. and Brown, C. (1974). The Kansas City preventive patrol
 experiment: A summary report. Washington D.C. Police Foundation.

Kelling, G. and Moore, M. (1988). The evolving strategies of policing. *Perspectives on Policing*,
 (4), 1-16. National Institute of Justice. U.S. Department of Justice.

Kelling, G. and Coles, C. (1996). *Fixing broken windows: Restoring order and reducing crime
 in our communities.* New York: Free Press.

Kelling, G. and Sousa, W. (2001) Do police matter? An analysis of the impact of New York
 City's police reforms civic report 22. New York: Manhattan Institute for Policy Research.

Kennedy, D. (1997). Pulling levers: Chronic offenders, high-crime settings, and a theory of
 prevention. 31 Val. U. L. Rev. 449.

Kirk, D. (1996). The demographic transition. *Population Studies*, 50, 361-388.

Kochel, T. R. (2011). Constructing hot spots policing: Unexamined consequences for
 disadvantaged populations and for police legitimacy. *Criminal Justice Policy Review*,
 22(3), 350-374.

Kusenbach, Margarethe. (2006). Patterns of neighboring: Practicing community in the parochial
 realm. *Symbolic Interactionism*, 29(3), 279-306.

LaGrange, R., Ferraro, K., and Supancic, M. (1992). Perceived risk and fear of crime: Role of
 social and physical incivilities. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 29: 311–
 334.

Lersch, K. and Hart, T. (2011). *Space, time and crime. Third edition*. Durham, NC: Carolina
 Academic Press.

Levitt, S. and Dubner, S. (2006). *Freakonomics: A rogue economist explores the hidden side of
 everything*. Chicago: William Morrow.

Lofland, L. H. (1998). *The public realm: exploring the city's quintessential social territory*. Hawthorne, N.Y.: Aldine de Gruyter.

Long, Norton E. (1985). *American Journal of Sociology*, 64(3), 251.

Lombroso, C. (1915). *Crime, its causes and remedies*. Boston: Little Brown.

Lowenkamp, C.T., Cullen, T., and Pratt. T.C. (2003). Replicating Sampson and Groves' test of social disorganization theory: Revisiting a criminological classic. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 40(4), 351-373.

Mastrofski, S. D., Weisburd, D., & Braga, A. A. (2010). Rethinking policing: The policy implications of hot spots of crime. In N. A. Frost, J. D. Freilich & T. R. Clear (Eds.), *Contemporary Issues in Criminal Justice Policy* (pp. 251-264). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning.

Mayes, A. (1979). *The physiology of fear and anxiety. In Fear in animals and man*, edited by W. Sluckin. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Mazerolle, L., Antrobus, E., Bennett, S., and Tyler, T. R. (2013). Shaping citizen perceptions of police legitimacy: a randomized field trail of procedural justice. *Criminology*, 51(1), 33-63.

McGarrell, E. F., Chermak, S., Weiss, A., and Wilson, J. (2001). Reducing firearms violence through directed police patrol. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 1, 119-148.

Merrifield, A. (2002). *Metromarxism: A marxist tale of the city*. New York: Routledge.

Milgram S. (1970). The experience of living in cities. *Science*, 167, 1461-8.

Moore, M., Trojanowicz, R., and Kelling, G. (1988). Crime and police. Washington, DC: U.S. Department. of Justice, National Institute of Justice.

Mosher, C. J., Miethe, T., and Phillips, D. (2002). *The mismeasure of crime*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Newman, O. (1972). Defensible space: *Crime prevention through urban design*. New York: McMillian.

Pace, Steven. (2010). Assessing the impact of order maintenance units on crime: A test of the broken windows hypothesis. UNLV Thesis/Dissertation/Profession Paper/Capstones. Paper 372.

Pace, S., Spivak, A. and Krause, J. (2010). Violent crime in Nevada from 2005 – 2009: Making sense of the numbers. A Technical report presented to the Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department.

Park, R.E., Burgess, E.W., and McKenzie, R. D. (1925). *The City: suggestions for investigation of human behavior in the urban environment*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.

Ratcliffe, J., Taniguchi, T., Groff, E.R., and Wood, JD. (2011). The Philadelphia foot patrol experiment: A randomized controlled trial of police patrol effectiveness in violent crime hot spots. *Criminology*, 49(3), 795-831.

Ratcliffe, J., Groff, E., Sorg, E., and Haberman, C. (2015) Citizens' reactions to hot spots policing: Impacts on perceptions of crime, disorder, safety and police. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 11(3), 393-417.

Reisig, M. D., and Parks, R. B. (2000). Experience, quality of life, and neighborhood context: A hierarchical analysis of satisfaction with police. *Justice Quarterly*, 17(3), 607-630.

Riger, S. and Gordon, M. T. (1981), The Fear of rape: A study in social control. *Journal of Social Issues*, 37: 71–92.

Rosenbaum, D.P. (2006). The limits of hot spots policing. In D. Weisburd & A. A. Braga (Eds.). *Police Innovation: Contrasting Perspectives*. Cambridge University Press.

Ross, C. and Reyonlds, J. (2001). The contingent meaning of neighborhood stability for residents' psychological well-being. *American Sociological Review* 61:1-98.

Ross, C., Pribesh, S., and Mirowsky, J. (2001). Powerlessness and the amplification of threat: Neighborhood disadvantage, disorder and mistrust. *American Sociological Review* 66, 568–597.

Ross, C., Reynolds, J., and Geis, K. (2000). The contingent meaning of neighborhood stability for residents' psychological well-being. *American Sociological Review*, 65, 581–597.

Ross, N. (2005). Higher up on the food chain: Putting cops where they belong. Paper presented to the Problem Oriented Policing Conference 2005. Charlotte, NC: www.popcenter.org.

Roshier, B. (1989). *Controlling crime: The classical perspective in criminology*. Open University Press.

Rountree, P.W. and Land, K. (1996). Perceived risk versus fear of crime: Empirical evidence of conceptually distinct reactions in survey data. *Social Forces*, 74(4), 1353-1376.

Rountree, P.W. (1998). A reexamination of the crime-fear linkage. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 35(3), 341-372.

Russell, P.A. (1979). *Fear-evoking stimuli. In fear in animals and man*, edited by W. Sluckin. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Sampson, R. and Groves, B. (1989). Community structure and crime: Testing social disorganization theory. American Journal of Sociology 94: 774-802.

Sampson, R., and Wilson, W. (1995). Toward a theory of race, crime, and urban inequality. In J. Hogan and R. Peterson (eds.) *Crime and Inequality*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Sampson, R., Raudenbush, S., and Earls, F. (1997). Neighborhoods and violent crime: A multilevel study of collective efficacy. *Science*, 227(5328), 918-924.

Sampson, R. and Raudenbush, S. (1998). Systematic social observation

of public spaces: A new look at disorder in urban neighborhoods. *American Journal of Sociology*, 105, 603–51.

Sampson, R. and Bartusch, D. J. (1998). Legal cynicism and (subcultural?) tolerance of deviance: The neighborhood context of racial differences. *Law & Society Review*, 32(4), 777-804.

Sampson, R., Morenoff, J., and Gannon-Rowley, T. (2002). Assessing neighborhood effects: Social processes and new directions in research. *Annual Review of Sociology* 28,443-78.

Sampson, R. (2006). Collective efficacy theory: Lessons learned and directions for future inquiry. In Cullen, Francis T., John Paul Wright, and Kristie Blevins (eds.) Taking Stock: The Status of Criminological Theory, Pp. 149-167 (Advances in Criminological Theory, Vol. 15).

Sechrest, L., and Rosenblatt, A. (1987). Research methods. In H. C. Quay (Ed.), Handbook of juvenile delinquency (pp. 417-450). New York: Wiley.

Shaw, C., and McKay, H. (1942). *Juvenile delinquency and urban areas.* University of Chicago Press: Chicago.

Shaw, J. (1995.) Community policing against guns: Public opinion of the Kansas City gun experiment. *Justice Quarterly, 12*(4), 695-710.

Sherman, L., Gartin, P., and Buerger, M. (1989). Hot spots of predatory crime: Routine activities and the criminology of place. *Criminology*, 27(27).

Sherman, L. (1993). Defiance, deterrence, and irrelevance: A theory of the criminal sanction. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 30: 445-473.

Sherman, L and Rogan, D. (1995). Effects of gun seizures on gun violence: "Hot spot" patrol in Kansas City. *Justice Quarterly,* 12, 673-693.

Sherman, L., and Weisburd, D. (1995). General deterrent effects of police patrol in crime hot spots: A randomized controlled trial. *Justice Quarterly*, 12(4), 625-648.

Simmel, G. (1903). *The metropolis and mental life*. In Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, eds. The Blackwell City Reader. Oxford and Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2002.

Skogan, W. and Maxfield, M. (1981). *Coping with crime: Individual and neighborhood reactions*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Skogan, W. and Hartnett, S. (1997). *Community policing*: *Chicago style*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Skogan, W. and Frydl, K. (2003). Effectiveness of police activity in reducing crime, disorder and fear. In Wesley Skogan and Kathleen Frydl (eds.), *Fairness and Effectiveness in Policing*: *The Evidence*, 217-251. National Research Council.

Slovic, P. (1987). Perception of risk. *Science*, 236, 280-285.

South, S. and Baumer, E. (2000). Deciphering community and race effects on adolescent premarital childbearing. *Social Forces*, 78, 1379-408.

Sousa, W. (2010). Paying attention to minor offenses: order maintenance policing in practice. *Police Practice and Research*, 11, 45-49.

Spelman, W., and Brown, D. (1979) Calling the police: Citizen reporting of serious crime. Ann

      Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research.

Sutherland, E. (1939). *Principles of criminology*. Chicago, Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott

      Company.

Sutherland, E. and Cressey, D. (1960). *A theory of differential association. In Principles of*

      *Criminology* 6th ed. Alta Mira Press: Lanham, MD

Stafford, M. and Warr, M. (1993). A reconceptualization of general and specific deterrence.

      *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency,* 30(2),123-128,133-135.

Stark, R. (1987). Deviant places: A theory of the ecology of crime. *Criminology*, 25(1), 893-909.

Sluckin, W. (1979). *Fear in animals and man*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Sutherland, E. (1924). Principles of Criminology. Chicago, Lippincott.

Sunshine, J., and Tyler, T. (2003). The role of procedural justice and legitimacy in shaping

      public support for policing. *Law & Society Review*, 37(3), 513 - 547.

Sykes, G. and Matza, D. (1957). Techniques of neutralization: A theory of delinquency.

      *American Sociological Review*. 22(6),664-670.

Taylor, R. (2001). *Breaking away from broken windows: Baltimore neighborhoods and the*

      *nationwide fight against crime, grime, fear, and decline*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Telep, C. and Weisburd, D. (2012). What is known about the effectiveness of police practices in

      reducing crime and disorder? *Police Quarterly*, 1-27.

Telep, C., Mitchell, R., and Weisburd, D. (2012). How much time should the police spend at

      crime hot spots? Answers from a police agency directed randomized field trial in

      Sacramento, California. *Justice Quarterly*. 31(5), 905-933.

Thaxton, S. and Agnew, R. (2004). The nonlinear effects of parental and teacher attachment on

     delinquency: Disentangling strain from social control explanations. *Justice Quarterly* 21,

     763-92.

Thomson, R. (1979). *The concept of fear. In Fear in animals and man*. New York: Van Nostrand

     Reinhold.

Tittle, Charles R. (2004). Redefining control balance theory. *Theoretical Criminology*, 8(4), 395-

     428.

Truman, J. (2007). Fear of crime and perceived risk of victimization among college students.

     University of Central Florida Thesis/Dissertation/Professional/Capstone paper.

Tversky, A. and Kahneman, D. (1982). *Availability: A heuristic for judging frequency and*

     *probability*. In Judgment under uncertainty; Heuristics and biases, edited by Daniel

     Kahneman, Paul Slovic, and Amos Tversky. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tyler, T. and Folger, R. (1980). Distributional and procedural aspects of satisfaction with citizen-

     police encounters. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 1, 281-292.

Tyler, T. (2003). *Procedural justice, legitimacy, and the effective rule of law*. In M. H. Tonry

     (Ed.), Crime and Justice: A Review of Research (pp. 283-357). Chicago, IL: Chicago

     University Press.

Tyler, T. and Fagen, J. (2008). Legitimacy and cooperation: Why do people help the police fight

     crime in their communities? *Ohio State Journal of Criminal Law*, 231-275.

Vold, B., Bernand, T., and Snipes, J. (2002). *Theoretical criminology*. Oxford University Press.

Walker, S. and Katz, C. (2008). *The police in America*. Boston: McGraw Hill College.

Warr, M. (1980). The accuracy of public beliefs about crime. *Social Forces*, 59, 456-470.

Warr, M. (1984). Fear of victimization. Why are women and the elderly more afraid. *Social Science Quarterly*, 65(3), 681-702.

Warr, M. (1994). *Public perceptions and reactions to violent offending and victimization. In Consequences and control*, edited by Albert J. Reiss, Jr., and Jeffrey A. Roth. Vol. 4 of Understanding and preventing violence. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press.

Warr, M. (1995a). Poll trends: Public opinion on crime and punishment. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 59, 296–310.

Warr, M (2000). Fear of crime in the United States: Avenues for research and policy. *Criminal Justice* 4(4), 451–489.

Weber, M. (1921; 1922). *Economy and Society,* 2 volumes, G. Roth and C. Wittich (eds.) (1978), Berkeley: University of California Press.

Weisburd, D. and McEwen, T. (1998). *Crime mapping and crime prevention*. Monsey, New York. Criminal Justice Press.

Weisburd, David., Bushway, S., Lum, C., and Yang, SM. (2004). Trajectories of crime at places: A longitudinal study of street segments in the city of seattle. *Criminology*, 42(2), 283-322.

Weisburd, D. and Eck, J. (2004). What can police do to reduce crime, disorder and fear? *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 593(1), 42-65.

Weisburd, D., Wyckoff, L., Ready, J., Eck, J., Hinkle, J., and Gajewski, F. (2006). Does crime just move around the corner? A controlled study of spatial displacement and diffusion of crime control benefits. *Criminology*, 44, 548-592.

Weisburd, D. and Braga, A. (2006). *Police innovation: Contrasting perspectives. Cambridge Studies in Criminology*: Cambridge University Press.

Weisburd, D., Hinkle, J., Famega, C., and Ready, J. (2011). The possible "backfire" effects of
    hot spots policing: An experimental assessment of impacts on legitimacy, fear, and
    collective efficacy. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 7, 297-320.

Weisburd, D., Hinkle, J.C., Famega, C., and Ready, J. (2012). Legitimacy, fear and collective
    efficacy in crime hot spots. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.

Weitzer, R., and Tuch, S. (2005). Determinants of public satisfaction with the police. *Police
    Quarterly*, 8(3), 279-297.

Whyte, W. (1980). The social life of small urban spaces. Washington, DC: Conservation
    Foundation.

Whyte, W. (1988). *The city: Rediscovering the center*. New York: Doubleday.

Wilson, W. (1987). *The truly disadvantaged*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wilson, J. and Petersilia, J. (1995). *Crime*. San Francisco: ISC Press.

Wilson, J. and Kelling, G. (1982). Broken windows. *The Atlantic Monthly*, 249, 29-38.

Wirth, L. (1938). Urbanism as a way of life. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 44 (1), 1-24.

Wortley, R. and Mazerolle, L. (2002). *Environmental criminology and crime analysis*. Oregon:
    Willan Publishing.

Zimring, Franklin E. 2007. *The great American crime decline.* New York: Oxford University
    Press.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Steven Andrew Pace, M.A.

Department of Sociology
University of Nevada, Las Vegas
4505 S. Maryland Parkway
Las Vegas, Nevada 89145
Office Phone: (702) 895-3322
Email address: paces@unlv.nevada.edu

Education:

University of Nevada, Las Vegas
M.A., Criminal Justice, May 2010
B.A. Psychology, May 2007