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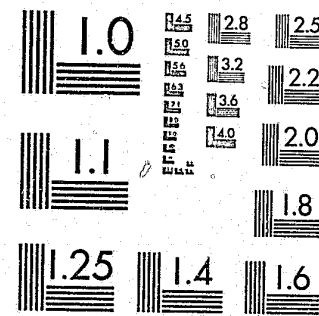
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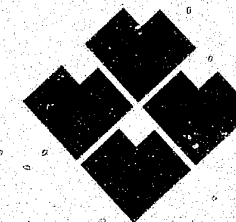the standards set forth in 41CFR 101-11.504.

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CRIME, FEAR, AND CONTROL IN
NEIGHBORHOOD COMMERCIAL CENTERS

An Executive Summary

By

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ABSTRACT

The Commercial Land Use Project was an exploratory research project
completed by the Minnesota Crime Prevention Center, Inc. that studied crime
and reactions to crime in and around urban neighborhood commercial centers in
Minneapolis and St. Paul. In addition to describing the patterns of various
crimes and the factors that accounted for them, the aim was to discover
individual characteristics and social processes that might produce greater
security in these areas. A variety of area-level data and individual-level
measures within areas was acquired and analyzed.

Several findings were especially useful. First, although both residents
and business people generally expressed a lack of control over the public
areas of the commercial center, there were indications of a willingness and
ability to increase it. Business people who belonged to business organiza-
tions were more optimistic about the future of their own business and the
commercial center, and expressed greater responsibility for control in the
public areas of the center, than unorganized people. This is the case even
where objective conditions, including crime, are poor. Also, residents who
live very near commercial centers express some responsibility for them.

Fear of crime and other reactions to crime in small commercial centers
are strongest in response to threats from people, such as harassment, public
drinking, or street crimes. Signs of disorder -- upkeep, litter, graffiti,
vandalism -- produce little or no fear or avoidance.

The results also replicate other studies in that personal crimes are
associated with area social characteristics such as race and income, while
commercial crimes, which occur at a much higher rate, are more related to
business type. For the most part, business people respond rationally to
commercial crime threats, with more precautions of the appropriate type taken
in more vulnerable businesses.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

INTRODUCTION

The Commercial Land Use Project was a two-stage research effort. The goal was to discover how commercial and residential characteristics affect crime and responses to crime in mixed commercial/residential neighborhoods. The subject of the study is the small commercial center that serves residents of the immediately surrounding urban neighborhood. These centers are common in all metropolitan areas in the United States, but little is known about how they may be related to crime and feelings of security. Because they are public spaces that perform economic functions, problems of crime and control require different responses than those found in residential areas. These commercial areas are important amenities for urban neighborhoods. What happens in them certainly affects the quality of life of nearby residents. It is probable, also, that what happens in them plays an important role in the continuing development of the neighborhood, for better or worse.

The central issue motivating this research was to discover how commercial centers in neighborhoods contribute to the public order. Serious crime -- robbery, burglary, assault -- indicates a lack of public order, but disorder at lower levels of threat, such as vandalism or loitering, may be considered dangerous by some citizens. The commercial center is an important source of information about the state of public order in a neighborhood because it involves public land uses. People are attracted to the commercial center for many reasons -- shopping, transportation, or recreation chief among them -- and how they behave there or what they believe the acceptable standards of behavior in the center to be indicates the kinds of individual and social controls they recognize as operating in the area.

The major research questions which have motivated this research include:

-- How are characteristics of the commercial centers, such as business type or use patterns, related to crime and people's reactions to crime?

-- What is the nature of the relationship between the commercial center and the surrounding residential neighborhood? That is, do conditions in the residential area affect crime rates or perceptions of order in the commercial center? Does the commercial center somehow alter crime or reactions to crime in the surrounding neighborhood?

-- Are there social processes operating in the commercial/residential areas that modify the effects of crime or problems on fear, avoidance, and other reactions to crime?

The focus in the research has been on commercial centers that serve a neighborhood market and which contain small retail goods and service businesses for the most part. These small centers -- mostly from about five to 30 businesses in size -- were selected because they are embedded within residential neighborhoods that permitted investigation of how the residential and commercial characteristics interacted. Prior to this research, no systematic investigation of the crime-related effects of small commercial centers on individuals in and around them existed, although work on particular types of commercial businesses or general descriptions of crime patterns did. Thus, this research was exploratory, and used broad measurement and analytical strategies which could produce results relevant for current policy applications as well as future research and explication.

The research summarized here is contained in two volumes: _An Empirical Analysis of the Relationships between Commercial Land Use and Crime_, and _Crime, Fear, and Control in Neighborhood Commercial Centers_.* The first report details the results of an empirical, area-level analysis of the relationships between commercial land use and crime. The analyses were on measures of the populations, environmental characteristics, and reported crime frequencies in the 93 selected study areas.

The second volume emphasizes the characteristics of individual business people and residents who live near or work in one of the 24 small centers selected from the initial group for more in-depth analysis in the second stage of the research. It also describes how these small commercial centers were used and by whom. Data collected for the first stage to describe the neighborhood context was also used in the second stage.

The objectives of the second volume were:

1) To confirm and extend findings from the first stage of the research regarding commercial functions and crime and the relationships between residential land uses and commercial centers;

2) To describe the relationship between small commercial centers and their surrounding residential neighborhoods from the point of view of the people who use them; and

3) To determine what kinds of social processes underlie variations in social control and how these affect reactions to crime.

This document summarizes findings from both reports. However, it relies most heavily on the second volume, in which empirical results of the first stage of the research were used to identify a set of problems and to select locations for more intensive study using survey data acquired from individuals as well as the measures of variables that describe the areas as wholes.

THE STUDY APPROACH

The issues of how commercial land uses affect crime and control in urban residential neighborhoods are complicated. Clearly, the residential and commercial land uses are linked together in the development of a city, so that over time, changes in the residential portion of a neighborhood affect the small commercial center, and vice versa. However, these processes have not been researched before with respect to crime and control. Thus, the problem confronting the Commercial Land Use Project was to develop a research strategy that would incorporate disparate findings about commercial businesses and crime, residential neighborhoods and crime, and reactions to crime into a single study that would begin to illuminate the precise issues of interest.

Again, the study was conceived to be _exploratory_: our intention was to cast a wide net to identify as many plausible and possibly policy-relevant relationships as possible. As an exploratory study, the research is empirical

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or inductive and hypothesis-generating as opposed to deductive and hypothesis-testing. Theories and research results were used as guides, but not, generally, as sources of hypotheses in a rigorous sense. Stemming from this commitment, the approach was designed to focus on several themes, rather than on one single over-riding question. These themes, or topics, all serve to illuminate the relationships between commercial and residential land uses and crime-related outcomes, but they are potentially worthy of full-scale research efforts in themselves. Our diverse interests led us to identify a number of different, but complementary data sets that would be needed to answer the series of questions posed. It was apparent that some relationships could be studied by looking at the commercial/residential areas as wholes, while others presupposed information about the individuals who lived or worked in them. In order to impose some analytical order on this complex mixture of ideas and information, some simplifying assumptions were made.

These assumptions were incorporated in an heuristic model that specified a logical order among major clusters of variables across time and across levels of analysis. The purpose of the model (presented in Figure 1) was to identify sets of variables that may be associated with each other, and to

FIGURE 1: A HEURISTIC MODEL OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COMMERCIAL LAND USE AND CRIME
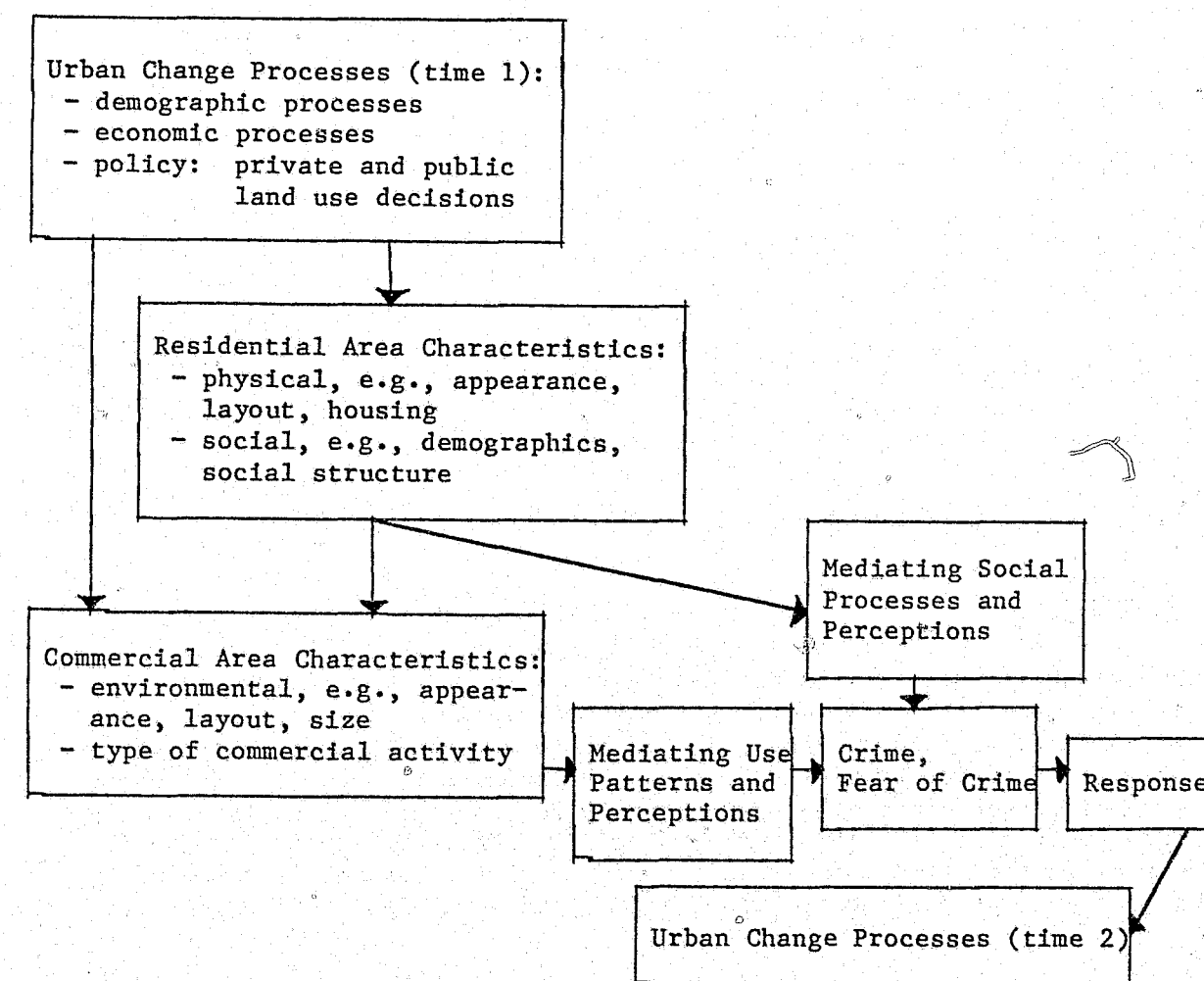
provide a preliminary basis for interpreting these associations if they were found in the data. Strictly speaking, data would have to be gathered at several points in time to test the causal implications of the model, which was not done in this research.

The model assumes that each commercial/residential area lies within a larger metropolitan context, and that changes over time in the metro region affect it. It is known that the geographical distribution of residents takes on regular patterns, as measured by variables such as race, income, and family status. For instance, there are areas within all central cities where lower income residents, or renters, tend to be concentrated. The types of commercial land uses in an area are assumed to depend on the characteristics of the people living in the surrounding residential neighborhood, partly due to market forces: the nearby residents are the primary market area for most businesses in the commercial center. The different kinds of land uses or businesses -- and the environmental and social variables they represent (e.g., the kinds of customers they attract and for what purposes) -- produce crime and reactions to crime among the individuals who work in and use the commercial areas. These crime-related outcomes may be mediated by social and psychological processes that operate to govern the interactions among residents, business people, and users of the commercial centers. For example, where business people and/or nearby residents feel a part of the neighborhood, they may be motivated to take the necessary initiatives to maintain order in the center.

The first stage of the research focused on the linkages between commercial and residential area characteristics and their impacts on crime. Commercial burglary and robbery, assault, personal theft, personal robbery, and rape were the crimes examined. For most analyses, these were combined into indexes of commercial crime and personal crime.

In the second stage, the research was extended to include the linkages in the model that connect background residential and commercial characteristics to reactions to crime via intervening social and psychological processes, such as social control or territoriality, and individual personal characteristics. Thus, the second stage of the research produced information about individuals' uses and perceptions of the commercial centers. The most important dependent variables in the second stage were fear of crime and security precautions taken by both residents and business people.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Stage I

The focus of our research in both stages was commercial centers that were completely surrounded by residential neighborhoods in the cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul. For the first stage, all commercial areas fitting these criteria were identified using land use and zoning maps, supplemented by information provided by city planners. The unit of analysis was the commercial center, each containing approximately 20 stores on the average, and the residential area immediately surrounding it. The majority of these units were small, "node-type" commercial centers with the businesses largely concentrated on a single intersection, and included the residences within .3 mile

of the center (25 to 30 square blocks). In addition, a sample of small segments of commercial strips were selected with the requirement that residential areas be adjacent to both sides of the street. A total of 93 commercial/residential areas, with an average residential population of 2,242, were identified and studied during the first stage.

A variety of different data types and sources were utilized during the course of the research. The following data was obtained for the first stage:

Commercial center physical characteristics inventory. This was a walk-through survey of the physical characteristics and conditions in each commercial center. To monitor area changes and update the data, this survey was repeated for the second stage of the research. The variables measured during this inventory included: type of businesses; store hours; building condition and upkeep; use of defensive modifications such as access barriers, alarm systems, and visible warning stickers; signs of disorder including litter, graffiti, and business vacancies; and number of residences located within the boundaries of the commercial center. Other environmental data gathered included: number of business turnovers, distance to the central business district and to the nearest freeway on-ramp, and vehicular traffic volume.

Crime data. Crime data for a one-year period was obtained from the Minneapolis and St. Paul police departments. This was address-level data for the six crime types listed above. The data was aggregated using a computerized address-matching procedure to coincide with the boundaries of the defined commercial/residential areas. This data was used in both research stages.

Demographic data. Data describing the characteristics of the residential portions of the study areas was gathered and used in both research phases. This demographic data was obtained from several sources, including the Minneapolis and St. Paul city assessors offices, R.L. Polk and Company, and U.S. census reports. This data provided contextual information for each area and included: number of residential dwelling units; average market value and age of residential units; average household size and income; proportion homeowners; proportion multi-family units; median rent; percent change in occupancy; total population; and the sex, age, race, and marital status of residents.

Stage II

During the second stage of the research, 24 commercial/residential areas were selected for intensive study. These areas were selected from a pool of 56 node-type small commercial centers. Three areas were randomly selected from each cell of an eight-celled matrix formed by assigning areas based on their median splits on three selection criteria. The three variables used as selection criteria were: percent minority change from 1970 to 1980, an observational measure of disorder in each commercial center, and personal crime rates for the entire commercial/residential area. These criteria were chosen because they are often associated with fear of crime and with the social disorganization of urban neighborhoods. In combination, they ensure that the 24 areas sampled for Stage II include a wide range of types of neighborhoods. This helps to clarify the analysis and increases the likelihood that the results will be appropriate for other neighborhoods in other cities.

In addition to using most of the area-level data collected for Stage I, three other types of data were gathered for each of the 24 study areas in Stage II. These data included interviews with residents and business people, and observations of how and by whom the commercial centers were used. Thus, the sampling acquired observations at the individual level within areas, permitting an assessment of the contextual effects on individuals' responses.

Resident interviews. A telephone survey of 870 residents living within the 25-30 square block area around each commercial center was conducted (approximately 35 interviews per area). This survey was designed to assess residents' attitudes and behaviors with reference to both their residential neighborhood and the commercial center. A disproportionate sampling plan was employed so as to ensure geographical distribution throughout each area, and demographic characteristics of respondents were monitored during the survey to ensure sample representativeness within each area. The major concepts measured included: fear of crime and perceived risk, both in the neighborhood and in the commercial center; crime victimization experiences, especially with regard to the center; perceived problems in the center; use of the center and its businesses; economic and social evaluations of the center and its businesses; use of security precautions in the center; perceived conflicts in the center; several dimensions of neighborhood/community integration; and territorial attitudes toward the home territory and the commercial center.

Business person interviews. In-person interviews were conducted with a random sample of 50% of the business people in each of the 24 commercial centers. A total of 213 interviews were completed. For statistical analyses, the sample of business people was weighted to compensate for differences in the number of businesses in the various areas. Many questionnaire items were the same as for residents to facilitate comparisons between the two groups, but others were unique to the role of the business person. The survey instrument was designed to measure a variety of crime-related attitudes and behaviors of business people regarding their own business, the commercial center as a whole, and the surrounding residential neighborhood. The major variables measured included: fear of crime and perceived risk of robbery and burglary; crime victimization experience; use of security precautions; perceived problems in the commercial center; satisfaction with the area as a place to do business; optimism about the area's future; organizational membership and collective actions; perceived conflicts among the business people; social and economic integration into the area; and territorial attitudes regarding their business and the whole commercial center.

Commercial center use pattern observations. The pedestrian activity in each commercial center was recorded for 15 minutes on six different occasions. The six visits to each center were scheduled on different days of the week and at different times of the day. Observers independently recorded several pieces of information on each pedestrian, including whether they were alone or with others, their sex, race, life-cycle stage (child, teen, adult, senior), their primary activity in the center, and type of business, if any, that was used. For purposes of analysis, the primary activity of users was categorized into "purposeful" (using a business, service, or bus stop, or working in the center) and "non-purposeful" (stationary, "hanging out," passing through, and other non-categorized activities). These use pattern observations provided independent and unobtrusive data useful for characterizing commercial centers

in terms of who uses them and for what purposes, as well as for assessing relationships between use patterns and the crime-related reactions of residents and business people.

Analysis

A variety of analytical methods were used in each stage of the research. Due to the multiple data sets and the large number of measures in several of them, much of the analysis was based on simple descriptive presentations or on associations between two variables. In a few places multiple-variable techniques were used, including multiple regression and multivariate analysis of variance. The analysis was conceived to explore a large amount of data taking advantage of the fact that many of the relationships of interest could be analyzed in more than one data set. Where results are convergent in different data, our confidence in them is increased.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The findings have been summarized and are presented here in four sections that represent the central themes of the inquiry. First, those findings pertaining to the commercial center -- types of businesses and aspects of its physical environment -- and its relationship to reported personal and commercial crimes are presented. In the second section, the relationship between the commercial center and its surrounding neighborhood is explored through the responses of business people and residents. Next, the reactions to crime of these two groups are compared. The crime reactions examined include fear of crime, risk of personal (and business) victimization, and actions taken to protect oneself from crime, including avoidance of the commercial center. Finally, questions relating to how order can be maintained in the public areas of the commercial center are discussed.

I. Patterns of Commercial Land Uses and Crime

One of the major topics that was investigated was how different types of commercial land uses -- business functions -- were associated with crime. However, the relationship between commercial land uses and crime had to be analyzed with respect to the characteristics of surrounding residential areas, according to the heuristic model outlined above. The model proposed three logical possibilities for these relationships. First, businesses of certain kinds may be associated with crime no matter where they are located. Second, crime may be associated with characteristics of the residential area regardless of the kinds of businesses in the area, in which case crime and business functions would be unrelated. Or, finally, some business types may be associated with crime, but only because they tend to locate in certain kinds of neighborhoods.

Most of the analyses that were done to explore these possibilities occurred during the first stage of the research using the commercial/residential areas as units of analysis, with either the full 93 cases or a subset of 56 node-type centers for some analyses. The survey of business people in the second stage provided confirmation of some of the findings from Stage I.

● The types of businesses that are located in commercial centers
   depend on the characteristics of the surrounding neighborhood.

A strong pattern emerged when businesses were classified by function and examined in relation to characteristics of the surrounding neighborhood.[1] The business categories were developed using the Standard Industrial Classification as a starting point, and then modified to create categories which were more appropriate in terms of the typical use patterns of businesses as inferred from the types of goods or services (products) they provide. Analysis of the data found that products that require discretionary income, including specialty goods and some financial services, were located more frequently in higher socio-economic residential areas. Products usually thought of as necessities, such as hardware, drugs, personal services and convenience goods, were unrelated to residential characteristics: they occurred with equal frequency in all types of neighborhoods. Entertainment businesses like bars and restaurants were found frequently in the sample and were related to residential characteristics: specifically, there were more entertainment businesses in neighborhoods where income was lower. Other non-retail land uses were associated with neighborhood factors, but these relationships were not due to market processes, i.e., social service agencies were located in low income areas. Vacancies are an economic indicator of the overall health of the commercial center, and accordingly were related to low income in the market area.

These associations can be seen as the outcome of market processes. They raise the possibility that relationships between businesses and crime may be due to the fact that certain kinds of businesses, e.g., entertainment functions, are found more often in those neighborhoods were crime is higher due to characteristics of the people living there, not caused by features of the business itself. The policy question posed is whether intervention in the market to change the location of businesses can be justified on the basis of crime. Analyses of the relationships between residential and business characteristics and crime were done to answer this question.

● Personal crime is highly related to neighborhood
   characteristics; commercial crime is only moderately so.

Analysis showed that assault, personal robbery and theft, commercial burglary and commercial robbery were all associated with characteristics of the neighborhood, but the relationships were generally much stronger for the personal crimes. Commercial robbery in particular was not well predicted by the socio-economic or racial composition of the neighborhood, whereas assault and personal robbery and theft were. The strongest predictors of personal crimes were racial composition and income.

If the occurrence of commercial crimes cannot be explained very well by neighborhood type, then variables describing the commercial center itself may be responsible for it.

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[1] These findings are consistent with those reported in the urban geography literature. See Brian J.L. Berry, Commercial Structure and Commercial Blight (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963).

● Commercial crimes are associated with specific business functions
   and tend to occur wherever those businesses are located.

The relationships between characteristics of individual businesses (including store-type, size, and profitability), as well as variables describing the environment of the commercial center as a whole, and crime victimization were examined. Using different measures of crime (reported versus victimization), and at different levels of analysis (area versus individual), the findings regarding the relationship between business function (store-type) and crime were remarkably similar. Convenience retail stores were by far the favorite target of commercial robbers; and burglars were much more likely to victimize general retail or entertainment establishments, in addition to convenience retail stores. Although we found statistical associations between the economic variables of size and profitability and the economic crimes, these relationships disappeared when business type was controlled. The most powerful predictor of economically-motivated commercial crimes is store-type.

Another important point about commercial crimes that deserves to be mentioned is that they happen very often in these small neighborhood commercial centers. In the police data (reported crime) examined in Stage I, more than one commercial burglary occurred for every two businesses, on the average. In the victimization data reported by business people in Stage II, nearly 60% had suffered burglary, robbery, vandalism, or shoplifting in the previous year. Furthermore, all but one of the convenience retail stores in the sample had been victimized at least one during the past year.

We conclude that the offender who commits commercial crimes acts rationally in choosing which businesses to victimize: the types of businesses which offer financially-rewarding targets and have operating procedures and use patterns that reduce the risks of detection and apprehension to the offender are victimized with much greater frequency. Vandalism, on the other hand, which is not economically motivated, was not related to store-type.

Other characteristics of the commercial centers' environments were examined, but their relationships to crime were not strong and did not form consistent patterns in the two stages of the research. Graffiti, litter, vehicular traffic volume, the presence of dwelling units in the center, building upkeep, defensive modifications to store, and other environmental attributed were measured. Only graffiti and litter were strongly predictive of personal crime in the first stage of the research, and this finding was not carried over into the second phase.

The results presented so far argue for a sharp distinction between personal and commercial crimes such that personal crimes are not at all related to commercial center factors. In fact, there are two results which modify this conclusion and which show that some personal crime is related to certain characteristics of the commercial center.

● The personal crime of assault is concentrated in small
   commercial centers.

On the average, more assaults occur in the small commercial centers than elsewhere in the neighborhood, measured in terms of crimes per unit of area. This finding is based on a distance decay analysis that evaluated the density of personal crimes in the commercial/residential areas at several distances from the commercial center. It may reflect the fact that there are more opportunities for these crimes in the centers because they are used by more people on a regular basis.

● Assaults occur more frequently in commercial areas where bars are located, but this relationship holds only in certain types of neighborhoods.

However, the quality of the people-to-people interactions produced by a business should also have an impact on crime. A consistent finding throughout this research has been that bars are associated with the personal crime of assault, and to a lesser extent personal robberies, a result which confirms the findings from other research projects.[2] But additional analyses show that this finding is modified by type of neighborhood. Distance decay analysis shows that assault is more frequent and is highly concentrated in centers where a bar is present and the surrounding residential area has low income or is high in minority composition.

The analyses reported suggest that all three of the logical possibilities for the relationship between residential and commercial land uses and crime occur, depending on the circumstances. Personal crimes are strongly associated with neighborhood conditions such as poverty, while commercial crimes are most accurately predicted by the type of business, regardless of where it is located. Yet commercial centers and some businesses do alter the amount and/or distribution of personal crimes in a center, depending on the conditions in the surrounding residential area. The clearest example of this is that in centers located in low income or racially heterogeneous areas, and where there is a bar, assault rates are higher and are more concentrated in the center.

II. Perceptions and Uses of the Commercial Centers

The small commercial centers in this study are arguably important elements in the development of neighborhoods in which they are located. Some texts call them "neighborhood shopping areas," referring to the typical market area they serve. If it is true that these centers reflect the market, then it is reasonable that business people and residents recognize the interdependence of the residential and commercial functions, and that evaluations of a neighborhood's quality of life would include assessments of the amenities and disamenities offered by the local center. In this sense, efforts to stabilize or revitalize urban neighborhoods ought to take the local commercial functions into account.

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[2] Marlys McPherson and Glenn Silloway, An Analysis of the Relationships Between Adult Entertainment, Crime, and Housing Values (Minneapolis: Minnesota Crime Prevention Center, Inc., 1980).

As indicated above, however, the commercial centers and some of the businesses within them may be sources of crime and other problems for the surrounding residents as well. Some of these problems stem from the very economic functions for which commercial zones exist, e.g., bars are the clearest example. Some of them arise because the commercial centers are public spaces in which strangers interact in relatively uncontrolled fashion, and casual users do not necessarily treat the area with the respect they might have for their own private property.

The relationship between the commercial center and its neighborhood. The primary role of the small commercial center is economic, and this fact is easily confirmed. In doing so, the degree of interdependence between the center and the surrounding residential population is illustrated. Exchange is the basis for most of the interactions between business people and residents, and it was the dominant source of the perceptions and uses of the commercial centers as observed in the data.

● Residents perceive and use the centers as economic amenities.

Over two-third of the residents reported using their local center "once or twice a week" or more often. Of the 79% of the residents who used the center, 95% said it was for economic exchange, and 94% liked it because it was convenient for shopping. The remainder of those who used their center did so for social reasons or to use public transportation.

Examination of the use pattern observation data confirmed these results. In most of the study areas, most of the time, the commercial centers were used exactly as intended ... primarily by customers of the businesses. When 1980 census data was compared to the use pattern data for each center, a statistically significant association was found between the race and age of nearby residents and the race and age of people using the center. The same was not the case for sex: fewer women used the commercial centers than their numbers in the population would suggest. In all but one of the centers the majority of users were men.

● Business people in small commercial centers are highly dependent on the surrounding neighborhood.

Most of the business people recognized their economic dependence on residents from the surrounding neighborhood. Over one-half of these businesses derived two-thirds or more of their customers from the immediate neighborhood, according to the storekeepers' own estimates.

The dependence of the businesses on their neighborhoods is congruent with the assumption that changes in the residential market areas (neighborhoods) will have subsequent impacts on the commercial centers. This suggests an asymmetrical relationship between business people and residents. The residents, who use the centers for convenience, spend small amounts of time and money there, and have alternative places to shop. But the business people generally have only one location which cannot be changed easily. This fact and their reliance on the residents for economic viability makes the business

people pay careful attention to the social characteristics of the surrounding neighborhood, whereas residents are relatively poorly informed about their local commercial center. The asymmetry in the ways the two groups relate to the centers is reflected in their attitudes toward the center generally, as shown below in several findings.

Although the role of the small centers is primarily economic, the businesses do serve a small, repeating clientele, so the possibility of personal or social relationships developing is present. This possibility was enhanced by the fact that, in our sample at least, most of the businesses in neighborhood centers were both very small and long-established. The median business had 2.4 full-time and 1.4 part-time employees, including the owner. The average number of years in the same location was 19, and 50% of the businesses had been in the same place 12 years or more. The survival rate of new businesses in these areas was low, but among those that survived were some which were practically neighborhood institutions, and thus sources of local identity.

● Business people in small commercial centers acquire social attachments to and concern for their business neighborhood.

The importance of the neighborhood to the business people in the sample is reflected in their attachments to it. Over 70% of the shopkeepers claimed to know most of their clients by name and to be concerned about the neighborhood. More than half of the business people disagreed with the statement that their location was "just a place to do business." These general attachments to the neighborhood are supplemented by personal ties among the business people, either informally or through business organizations.

Residents reciprocated these feelings somewhat. Over 90% of them believed that the business people "care about the neighborhood" and among those who use the local center, 56% said one reason was the friendliness of the shopkeepers. There is a reservoir of mutual good will between residents and business people in these urban areas.

● Social conditions in the surrounding neighborhood affect business people's _satisfaction_ with their location as a place to do business.

Yet it is not the case that social attachments among business people to the neighborhood are entirely divorced from economic considerations: over 60% of the business respondents said that "the quality of the neighborhood" was an important advantage to business in their present location. Business people had very accurate perceptions of current neighborhood conditions, and their expressions of satisfaction with the area as a place to do business were a direct result of what they perceived those conditions to be. If neighborhood income was high, the proportion of minorities was low or declining, the crime rate was low, there were few disorder problems in the commercial center, and there had been few negative business changes there, the business people were much more satisfied with the area.

● Business people's _optimism_ about the future of their center was based on their beliefs about the future of the neighborhood, independent of current conditions.

Optimism of business people about the _future_ of the area, however, turned out to be a very different sort of attitude. Optimism was not simply related to current objective conditions, but instead was a function of how people believed the area was going to change. In this regard, we found several areas where business people's commitment and optimism about the future were high, when the objective conditions in the neighborhood did not seem to warrant it. At the other extreme, there were several areas where neighborhood conditions were good, but the business people were pessimistic about the area's future. Examination of the cases where there was optimism but not satisfaction suggested that in centers where business people were organized, believed that the neighborhood was changing for the better, and where development assistance from some outside source was available, optimism was greater.

● Business optimism was significantly higher in centers where business organizations existed, and where participation in those organizations was greater.

Optimism was higher, on the average, in centers where organizations existed, but it was also higher among individual business people who participated more in the organizations. There was a steady increase in optimism as the frequency of business organizational meeting attendance increased. This relationship between optimism and organizational attendance occurred in centers regardless of the levels of crime or problems in the environment.

Perceptions of problems in the centers. The economic and social amenities provided by the small commercial centers are mixed with some problems in the eyes of our respondents. In general, business people and residents perceived problems in the centers in similar fashion, although the shopkeepers appeared to see the problems more clearly and made better distinctions among them.

Two kinds of problems (problems due to the center as a whole and problems due to a specific business) were measured using similar instruments in the surveys of residents and business people. Problems of order in the commercial center as a whole were measured by 12 items that asked about minor problems such as building upkeep or litter all the way to serious problems such as street crimes, drug use, and prostitution.

● Small proportions of business people and residents perceived problems in their local shopping center or with regard to general public order or to specific businesses.

About 15% to 30% of each sample responded positively to each of these items, saying they were "somewhat" or a "big" problem, with relatively less serious problems such as litter, vandalism, or loitering being mentioned.

somewhat more often than harassment, public drunkeness, or street crimes. The responses of most residents in most of the areas clustered at the low end of the problem scale, with the exception of a few areas where well-known, severe problems raised the residents' problem estimates to the high end of the scale.

> ● Business people perceived more problems in the commercial centers and were better able to distinguish among them than residents.

Although few residents and business people perceived serious problems in their local centers, the business people as a group perceived slightly more problems than residents. Also, there was more variation in responses across centers for the shopkeepers as compared to the residents, suggesting that business people make finer distinctions among events in the center. These comparisons indicate that business people have keener perceptions of what is going on in the centers than residents, and are consistent with the greater degree of economic dependence on the center and neighborhood that the business people have.

Both residents and shopkeepers distinguished between relatively minor disorder problems and more serious behaviors, such as street crimes, that might be personally threatening. Again, however, business people made finer distinctions than residents. For example, residents' perceptions of problems broke down into two dimensions, one which referred to litter, loitering, and teens, and a second which included specifically threatening events such as harassment, public drinking, street crimes, and prostitution. These two dimensions were strongly correlated (r = .66). In the case of business people, three dimensions emerged, one for upkeep and general appearances, one for "hanging out" behaviors, and one for more serious street crimes and harassment. The correlations among these types averaged r = .38.

> ● Where a "problem" business was mentioned, it was most often a bar. Bars were cited as problems in every center in which one was located.

The similarities in the ways business people and residents perceive problems was shown in their view of problem businesses. Slightly over 13% of the residents and 16% of business people mentioned one or more businesses in their local center as a problem. Of these mentions, large majorities in each case were for entertainment businesses -- bars, restaurants, movies, amusement halls -- and the single most frequently-mentioned type of business was bars. With a couple of exceptions, these mentions appeared to be tied to a business because of peculiar characteristics in its location, not to the business because of its type. For instance, two-thirds of the residents' mentions of a restaurant as a problem referred to a single business whose rapid growth forced severe traffic congestion onto residential streets. Bars, however, were mentioned as a problem by at least one respondent in every residential/commercial area in which they were located.

III. <u>Crime, Disorder, and Reactions to Crime in Small Commercial Centers</u>

Fear of crime and other reactions to crime are consequences of crime. Recent research has provided some support for the idea that these reactions are also products of the <u>appearance</u> of crime. Thus, social disorder and the "signs of disorder," such as a physically deteriorating environment (litter, vandalism, abandoned buildings) or "offensive" people (e.g., loiterers or teenagers standing around in groups), may induce fear independently of crime itself because people interpret these events to mean that the social system of which they are a part is not functioning to defend the values they hold.

Whether or not people interpret the signs of disorder as threatening (and therefore fear-producing) is thought to depend on the qualities of the community within which they are operating. Thus, in neighborhoods where people feel secure about their ability to defend their values, their safety, and their property investments, if they observe signs of disorder, the signs are not seen as threats to the underlying social system. However, where these signs are observed and people have reasons to believe the underlying social system is deteriorating, then they are fearful.[3]

The small commercial center is an especially interesting territory in terms of crime and "signs of disorder" because it is a public space which is not under the direct control of any one person. Commercial centers are heavily used by persons who have no stake in maintaining them, aside from their general interests in the importance of public order to promote economic exchange. Thus, the strength of norms and values which regulate conduct are especially important in public spaces such as commercial centers, and may have a major role in determining how fearful people working in, using, or living near them may be.

<u>Fear of crime</u>. The principal measures of fear were five-item scales used to construct indices for both samples. The residents were asked about their responses to the commercial center and to the residential neighborhood, while the business people were asked only about the commercial center. The items referring to the center were as similar as possible for the two groups to permit comparisons between them. Analysis confirmed the findings of other research that individuals' vulnerability to crime, as measured by age, sex, race, and income, was related to fear of crime. Thus, older people, women, minorities, and low income people were more fearful, with sex being by far the strongest predictor. The fear of these relatively more vulnerable people leads to greater avoidance of the commercial center. Furthermore, their greater avoidance remains after taking neighborhood crime rate and income level into account.

The analysis of use patterns in the centers yielded information about behaviors that confirmed the importance of these indicators of vulnerability in explaining reactions to crime. In centers where reported personal crime was higher, significantly fewer elderly people were observed using the centers. Likewise, where disorder was higher, fewer females were observed. These findings suggest that highly vulnerable persons react more strongly to threat stimuli of a given level.

[3]See Dan Lewis, <u>et al</u>., <u>Crime and Community: Understanding Fear of Crime in America</u>, Vol. III, Reactions to Crime Project (Evanston: Northwestern University, 1979).

Where appropriate, vulnerability to crime was taken into account in the analysis to permit looking at the effects of other variables on fear. These personal vulnerability variables were more potent predictors of fear among residents than among the business people, who were about 70% male, predominantly white, and economically independent.

The analysis of the distribution and sources of fear of crime in the two samples suggests a generalization that deserves further investigation.

- Among both residents and business people, fear of crime is a response to perceived or experienced threats from crime, not signs of disorder.

This generalization may seem intuitively obvious, but as noted above, some recent research has argued that fear is due to the state of community organization in a neighborhood rather than to crime per se. The findings reported below, using results from two separate samples, indicate that people perceive crime conditions in their areas fairly accurately and respond accordingly. This is especially clear in the case of the business people. For example, business optimists who are located in high crime neighborhoods don't fool themselves: they recognize the crime threat and have appropriately high levels of fear, even while they are also optimistic about the future of the area.

- Business people, who are more familiar with the centers than residents, are more fearful of them.

The frequency and duration of business people's use of the centers might suggest that they would be less fearful than residents, but this is not the case. The business people's fear of crime suggests that their fear stems from their familiarity with the commercial center and their connections to it.

When the 24 commercial centers in the Stage II sample were ranked according to the average levels of fear expressed, the rank orderings were similar for the business people and the residents. However, the correlation was moderate because there were a couple of centers which were ranked very differently by the two groups. The business people again made more distinctions among the centers than residents, since their average fear responses showed a great deal of variation, whereas residents' responses yielded a cluster of 18 areas with a fairly low and uniform level of fear. These findings reinforce the theme that business people's relatively greater involvement in the center enhances their ability to perceive and discriminate among events.

- Business people's fear of crime in the commercial center is tied to threatening events in the center.

Unlike residents, business people's fear of crime was not strongly related to personal crimes in the neighborhood, nor was it related to objective measures of disorder. Rather, their fear was most strongly predicted by

conditions in the center itself, and the experiences they had there. Thus, business victimization and perceptions of problems in the center were strongly related to business people's fear, with their perceptions of crime-related problems having more impact on fear than their perceptions of signs of disorder.

- Residents' fears are a response to personal threat -- personal crime and related problems -- and are strongly associated with conditions in the neighborhood as a whole.

Residents were more fearful in areas where the personal crime rate in the neighborhood was higher, and if they perceived more problems in the commercial center. These direct measures of threat were highly interrelated, and were correlated with certain facts about or perceptions of the neighborhood as a whole, such as low income or satisfaction. Although residents did recognize some problems or characteristics of their local commercial center, they appeared to generalize from neighborhood conditions in responding to the fear questions, even when the questions referred specifically to the commercial center. One indicator of their lack of responsiveness to events in the center is that residents were generally unaware of commercial crimes, even where they were frequent and serious. Commercial crime rates and business victimization reports were unrelated to residents' fear of the center or the neighborhood.

- Residents expressed greater fear of their neighborhood than they did of their local commercial center.

This finding was surprising at first because commercial centers are the kind of settings in which unfamiliar people interact with each other, a situation which may be threatening. However, it is the relatively well-known residential area which is the greater source of fear for the residents. Differing exposures to threat may be what explains these results: residents' fear stems from neighborhood factors not because neighborhoods pose greater threats, but because residents are exposed to them very often in comparison to the centers. Residents can avoid going to the local commercial center, but they can't avoid the areas right around where they live. The exposure hypothesis might also account for the low level of information residents have about the centers.

- Residents perceived some events in the commercial center as threatening which business people saw as routine or predictable.

Residents' lack of familiarity with the centers led them to have reactions to crime that were exaggerated, when compared to those of the business people. The best example is that residents expressed greater fear and were more likely to avoid centers where a disproportionately large number of people using the center had no discernible purpose there, i.e., were just passing through or standing around. Business people were not more fearful in centers with high concentrations of this type of user.

The crime-related responses of the residents and the business people to the ways in which the centers were used exhibited different patterns in general. The residents were more fearful, perceived their chances of becoming a victim to be greater, used more crime avoidance tactics, perceived more problems and conflict, and felt they had less control over unwanted encounters in centers where fewer of the users were female and/or alone, and where there was a higher proportion of minority users.

Again, the responses of the business people were more discriminating and showed greater differentiation. They were not personally more fearful, nor did they perceive higher crime risks or take more security precautions, in centers where a greater proportion of the users were racial minorities, although they did perceive more problems, higher conflict, greater risks to customers, and less control where minority use was higher.

Integration as a mediator between crime and fear. Over the past 50 years a rich tradition of theory has developed centering on the role of integration in controlling crime in communities. At the most general level, it is hypothesized that for individuals in communities that are more integrated -- that is, have greater informal social control resources -- the impact of a given level of crime or disorder on fear is moderated. Several indicators of integration among residents and business people were examined to see how integration was related to crime, disorder, and fear, not only within residential areas, but also in neighborhood commercial centers. With regard to the latter, the analysis drew upon the logic of residential integration and extended that theory to business people and the maintenance of order in small commercial areas.

● Social integration -- economic or social ties, attachment to or satisfaction with an area -- does not alter the relationship between crime or problems and fear of crime.

Three separate measures of integration among residents were included: residential ties (length of residence and tenure status); commitment/attachment; and a measure of general satisfaction that included an economic component. Highly significant associations were found suggesting that personal crime and fear were lower where integration was higher. However, neither sentiments of commitment/attachment nor strength of residential ties were related to fear after relevant demographic factors, in particular age and income, were taken into account.

Also, there was no support for integration as a conditional or mediating variable. None of the three dimensions of integration affected the relationship between perceived crime-related problems in the commercial center and residents' fear of crime. Residents were more fearful when they perceived a larger number of problems, regardless of their level of integration. As expected, the relationships between integration, and perceived problems and fear of the commercial center were almost identical to the ones found for personal crime and fear in residential areas, confirming results reported elsewhere in this report that the commercial center is an integral part of the neighborhood. Hence, the significant negative associations between integration and crime and fear in the residential setting are not found because integration causes decreased crime and fear, but rather residents who live in

low crime neighborhoods tend to be less fearful and more satisfied with the area (in addition to a tendency to be white, have a higher income, and be a homeowner).[4]

Using six alternative measures of integration -- both into the surrounding neighborhood and within the business community -- it was found that increased integration among the business people was not associated with desirable effects on crime and fear. Significant correlations were found for only two of the measures, and for one of these -- strength of local ties (measured in an identical fashion to the residents, length of time in area and tenure status) -- the relationship was in the opposite direction to what integration theory would predict. Business people who had been in their locations longer, and who were owners rather than renters, tended to be located in higher crime areas, and consequently they were more fearful. Crime and fear also were higher where business-to-business conflict was higher.

Analyses to investigate the effects of integration on the relationship between crime or problems and business people's fear produced results similar to those for residents. Fear increased with the level of crime or problems irrespective of the individual's integration into the business community.

Fear is not the only reaction to crime that was measured. Fear is a psychological reaction that may or may not be accompanied by changes in behavior. Precautionary behaviors among residents and business people were measured to determine what conditions in the commercial centers led them to take action to reduce their vulnerability.

Avoidance of the centers by residents. The numbers of residents who avoid their local commercial center because they are afraid of crime is very likely a critical element in the economic survival of small neighborhood commercial centers. To remain competitive with more modern shopping alternatives, most of which have very pleasant surroundings and an appearance of safety, these small neighborhood centers at a minimum must retain their local customers. It is imperative, therefore, that nearby residents view these centers as safe places to shop.

● The majority of residents try to reduce the threat of crime in their local commercial center through avoidance precautions.

Individuals can undertake a number of behavioral actions or restrictions to protect themselves from (or avoid) crime in public commercial spaces. The range of such behaviors, however, is more limited than is found in the residential setting where a variety of measures can be taken to protect one's home and property. Two indexes of behavioral precautions undertaken by residents as they pertained to their use of the local shopping area were examined. One was a "protective behavior" index which included carrying weapons or other devices to protect against possible personal harm. Less than 5% of the residents used any one of these protective devices. The second index consisted of

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[4]For similar results, see Wesley G. Skogan and Michael G. Maxfield, Coping with Crime: Individual and Neighborhood Reactions (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1981), chapter 7.

crime "avoidance" or restrictive behaviors which included going to the center with another person, avoiding the area or specific businesses located there, and concealing valuables. Most of the residents (58%) reported taking at least one such precaution, and one-third engaged in multiple actions.

> ●Avoidance of the center by residents is associated with
> personally threatening events, including crime and
> unknown or unruly people, but not necessarily signs
> of disorder.

As expected, the more personal crime and disorder present in a commercial center, the greater was the adoption of avoidance behaviors among nearby residents (and potential customers). The number of problems residents perceived to be present in the center was also an important predictor of avoidance behavior. However, not all kinds of problems were associated with increased avoidance and other precautionary actions. Where residents perceived problems representing potential threats to their well-being -- people harassing others, drunks, noisy or unruly teenagers, strangers and "outsiders," purse-snatching and street crimes -- a significantly greater proportion of the respondents engaged in significantly more avoidance behaviors. All of these conditions involve the presence of unknown people that could potentially lead to unwanted personal confrontations, possibly harmful ones.

Similarly, when the use patterns in the centers were examined, it was found that the number of potentially problem-causing types of users was related to people's crime-related responses. Residents' attitudes and perceptions were strongly related to the number of non-purposeful and bar/liquor store users. As these types of users in the commercial center increased, residents were more fearful, used more avoidance tactics, perceived more problems and conflict, and felt they had less control over intruders. Furthermore, the relationships between non-purposeful users and residents' attitudes remained significant after controlling for income and the minority proportion in the area.

Alternatively, avoidance was not highly related to physical conditions in the centers, such as litter, trash, upkeep, appearance of businesses, and evidence of vandalism. These residues of others' behavior are not dangerous in themselves, and do not lead to residents' avoidance or use of precautions while in the center to a great extent.

Avoidance was also found to be related to individuals' fear of crime and perceived risk. The more fear residents expressed, the more likely they were to report using crime avoidance tactics with respect to their local shopping area. In fact, fear of crime was still a highly potent predictor of avoidance behaviors after the situational and personal characteristics (vulnerability) described above were first controlled. Holding area conditions and personal vulnerability constant, if residents expressed greater fear of the commercial center, they were much more likely to engage in avoidance behaviors, including curtailing their use of the area.

The adoption of security precautions among business people. A model of security precautionary behavior among business people was used to structure the examination of the sources of the adoption of private-minded protective measures for the business. The model was analogous to one used in the residential context regarding the household protective actions taken by residents in their homes.[5] Because businesses have purposive economic functions, and the business people are not socially engaged in the commercial centers the way residents are in their neighborhoods, it was expected that the adoption of security measures by business people would strongly reflect a utilitarian perspective, i.e., that economic rationality would be the strongest predictor. It was also expected that victimization would alter perceptions of risk and, therefore, lead to adoption of more security precautions. The model also took into account other factors that might influence security decisions, such as perceived threat in the center (perceived problems), fear of crime, and attitudes toward control over territories in the centers.

> ●Businesses that were more frequently victimized and larger
> businesses adopted more security precautions.

At the most general level, the assumptions in the model were supported. The strongest predictors of security measures among business people included characteristics of the business ... type and business size. The finding for business size is rather straightforward in that larger businesses have more of an incentive to take precautions, and they can better afford them. This finding is analogous to the fact that higher income and home ownership are associated with more security precautions among residents.

It is reasonable that more vulnerable businesses would take more precautions, and the rationality of the process is reinforced by the fact that most businesses took precautions that were appropriate given the kinds of crime to which they are vulnerable. For instance, convenience chain stores are well-known robbery targets, and most of the precautions they took were clearly tailored with this risk in mind.

The apparent rationality of the adoption of security precautions by businesses is clouded by two observations. First, the data suggests that businesses adopted precautions at a greater rate after they had experienced victimization. Second, certain store types, such as financial services and specialty retail goods stores, took more precautions than their victimization rates would predict. Either of these facts may be interpretable as rational if more information about them were available, e.g., business people may view taking precautions to be analogous to insurance (even though the risks one insures against are small, the potential losses far outweigh the costs of the insurance).

"Non-rational" factors, including fear of crime and attitudes toward territorial control, were also expected to have effects on the adoption of security precautions. These effects were all relatively weak. Fear of crime does predict taking security, even after other, more rational considerations are accounted for, but its effect was small. Territorial control -- attitudes toward responsibility for the center and recognition of users -- also had weak, but significant, effects on increasing the number of precautions taken.

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[5]See Paul Lavrakas, et al., Factors Related to Citizen Involvement in Personal, Household and Neighborhood Anti-Crime Measures, Executive Summary (Washington, D. C.: U.S. Department of Justice, 1981).

In sum, the adoption of security measures by business people in small commercial centers is primarily a rational affair, reflecting both risk and the costs of adoption.

IV. Control and the Maintenance of Order in Commercial Centers

One of the major issues considered in this report was the problem of control in commercial centers: how much of it is there, who provides it, is there enough of it, and how can more of it be produced? "Control" is used here in a very general sense akin to the notion of order. When there is enough control in a commercial center, there is order; that is, control is necessary for the maintenance of order, which means that people behave "appropriately" toward others and within the confines of legality. Under most circumstances, this orderliness is a matter of course provided by the internalized controls of individuals who use the center. Thus, nearby residents in this study were quite uniform in perceiving that most of the small commercial centers were fairly orderly and fairly safe places, and no exceptional efforts to maintain control were found.

However, it is when threats to order are imminent that the basis and amount of control available in public areas becomes crucial. Clearly, there were a few centers in this study in which most individuals perceived an inadequate degree of control: the centers were disorderly, and probably dangerous. Under these circumstances, the fact that the centers are public territories becomes important because most people believe public areas are subject to formal control by the police, and not to informal control by the people using the center.

Theoretically, public territories are relatively less important to individuals than homes or businesses precisely because they are shared with others: control is divided among many temporary users. This tendency is exaggerated among the business people in the centers because their economic interests as a group lead them to desire higher control in the public areas of the centers, but their individual rational behavior makes it difficult for them to provide enough control without some form of organization or coercion. Consequently, when threats to order are strong in a public setting, control may be inadequate.

An influential statement of this problem argues that permitting even minor disorder to go unchecked can lead to increasingly frequent and serious disorderly behaviors, as potential offenders gain the impression that no one cares. Wilson and Kelling link this cycle of cumulative decline to the existence of community. If a community or neighborhood is to be preserved, it must show that disorderly behavior will not be tolerated, i.e., that it cares. Interestingly enough, Wilson and Kelling believe that the police are the key to order maintenance in public areas, in large part because they have the "aura" of authority and the sense of responsibility to do the job.[6]

One implication that can be drawn from Wilson and Kelling's argument is that in public territories that experience disorder either citizens or the

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[6]James Q. Wilson and George L. Kelling, "Broken Windows," The Atlantic Monthly, March, 1982, pp. 29-38.

police do not care about them. For the centers in this study, we did not find that to be true. It is the case that control is notable mostly for its absence in public urban areas, and it may be true that disorder proliferates at an increasing rate if left unchecked. But there was also rather abundant evidence in this study of caring and responsibility in and around the commercial centers, including several which had a disproportionate share of the crime and disorder problems. Furthermore, there were indications that attitudes of responsibility and commitment toward public territories can be increased. The task is to find whether or not a basis for informal control exists in them and determine how it may be used in the interests of safety and order. In this study, it was found that outside intervention may be effective in promoting locally-based social control, but at least in some public areas, this need not include the police.

The level of control in commercial areas. Attitudes toward control in three territories -- the business or home, near-business or near-home, and in the commercial center as a whole -- were measured. As theory and common knowledge would predict, the amount of control found in the public areas of the commercial center was quite low as compared to private territories in homes or businesses.[7] Business people expressed most control over their own businesses, and an intermediate amount in spaces adjacent to their stores; residents were most confident of control in home territories.

- Both business people and residents expressed low levels of control over the public territories of the commercial center.

The public parts of neighborhoods, represented in this study by the commercial centers, are places where relatively few people expressed a high degree of control on any of the three dimensions of territoriality that were measured: responsibility, ability to recognize those who belong from outsiders, or ability to control intruders. Public areas -- including parks and the like -- are territories where control is most difficult to establish precisely because they are public, to be used by everyone. Traditional responsibility for these areas lies with society as a whole, or the local community through the authority of the police, in particular.

- Responsibility for what happens in the home or business was very high, but declined rapidly with distance, with a low point in the commercial center.

This finding was clearly revealed in the gradient for responsibility over territories. It declined very sharply from the most central territory, where almost everyone expressed responsibility, to the public center, where very few did. This aspect of control is a normative concern: it reflects the

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[7]The investigation of territorial control depended heavily on Ralph Taylor, Stephen Gottfredson, and Sidney Brower, Informal Control in the Urban Residential Environment, Draft Final Report (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1980), especially chapters 5, 6, and 14.

rights and obligations of ownership or primary occupancy of property. Where problems are not severe, and the individual occupants have sufficient agreement on what constitutes "order," such privatistic responses probably aggregate to provide adequate control. However, public territories subject to heavy use belong to no one in particular, and responsibility for them is diffused.[8]

The other dimensions of control, especially the ability to control intruders in the area, also had gradients that declined from the central territory, but the slopes were very gentle compared to responsibility. The level of control over intruders, for example, was similar throughout the three territories asked about. It was based on perceptions of conditions in the area as a whole: among both business people and residents, control over intruders was lower where crime and problems were high and socio-economic conditions were poor, and this was true across territories.

> ● Perceived control over intruders was associated with objective
>   indicators of threat for both residents and business people.

To a large extent, the control problems in commercial centers are generated by conditions in the area as a whole, over which individual residents or business people have little real control. As individuals, business people have little incentive to intervene to promote order in public spaces because they risk a great deal to do so with little possibility of affecting long-term changes. This is especially the case where problems are produced by a local business as a side-effect of marketing a product, e.g., bars. When business people respond that they have little control over intruders in the center, it is a realistic appraisal of events over which they actually do have little control.

Does the lack of control in the centers imply a lack of concern? The lack of expressed control over the commercial centers does not necessarily imply a lack of concern for several reasons. The lack of control is a realistic appraisal of the level of problems in the neighborhood, and both business people and residents express some motivation to exercise control in the commercial centers. Whether these motivations can be channeled into the promotion of order and security appears to be an issue of organization -- of the presence of an effective mechanism for informal social control -- but not of the current prevailing level of threat in the neighborhood.

> ● Norms of responsibility for the commercial center were present
>   among nearby residents and business people. Business people's
>   sense of responsibility, however, did not depend on the
>   objective level of threat in the area.

[8]Julian J. Edney, "The Commons Problem," American Psychologist, 35 (1980), pp. 227-246.

As suggested, control over intruders was lower in areas where threat levels were higher. For residents only, similar relationships with area conditions held for the responsibility and recognition dimensions of control as well. However, residents who lived closest to the centers felt more responsibility for it than those living farther away, which suggests that in the immediate vicinity of the centers there is a group of people who are interested in what happens in the centers. This interest was utilized in one of the higher crime and higher disorder centers in the study, where the very active business organization invited nearby residents to participate in social activities with the business people. It was at this same center several years before that a group of residents organized to keep an X-rated movie theater out of the area. Some residents, under some circumstances, have spontaneously exhibited motivation to maintain order in their local commercial centers. There is reason to believe that this predisposition is fairly general among people who live near public areas.

Among business people, however, beliefs in responsibility for different territories were not contingent on conditions in the area, including measures of threat. Nearly all business respondents claimed a high degree of responsibility for their own businesses. Thus responsibility is a normative response, but it is also a pool of motivation that might be turned to the collective advantage of order in the public centers. Since sense of responsibility varied independently of threat levels, it follows that conditions which enhance it might be found or encouraged in centers where objective crime and disorder problems are high. In fact, there were several areas in our sample where this was the case.

Mobilizing the sense of concern. Among the business people in this study, there were signs that responsibility and commitment to an area could be increased, even though crime-related problems were high. The most important vehicle for this purpose is the business organization. In the second phase of the research these were found in slightly over half of the commercial centers (13 out of 24).

Business organizations occurred about equally often in commercial centers of different sizes, and in neighborhoods with different crime rates or levels of income. The same was true for organizational membership and business people's participation in joint-marketing forms of cooperative activities: they occurred equally in all types of areas. Socio-political cooperation, on the other hand, which consisted of collaborative efforts such as petitioning government for improved services, organized clean-ups, or crime prevention actions, was much more likely to occur in poorer neighborhoods with crime and disorder problems. It appears that these cooperative actions were a reaction, a means of coping with threatening conditions in an area.

> ● The presence of a business organization in a center was
>   associated with increased participation in collective action,
>   greater optimism, and higher levels of responsibility for
>   public territories among business people.

The existence of a business organization in a center greatly raised the level of all sorts of collective actions, including crime prevention meetings, by three to four times. Possibly as unintended consequences, organizations also

increased the business people's expressed optimism about the future of the commercial centers (as noted previously), and their feelings of responsibility for the public territories in the center as a whole. Optimism, as used here, includes beliefs about the economic future of both the center as a whole and the respondent's business, as well as plans to invest in the present location. Optimism was found to be high in two kinds of centers. In areas where neighborhood conditions were very good -- above average income and home ownership, below average crime, and so forth -- and where the center itself had prosperous businesses, optimism was very high.

But optimism was also high in areas where the objective conditions did not seem to warrant it, i.e., where the crime rates were among the highest in the sample. In these areas, business organizations existed, and there appeared to be extensive outside intervention in the development plans of the centers. The exact nature of the intervention differed among these centers, but in each case both public and private resources had been brought to bear on development efforts. Commitment to the area on the part of business people was forward-looking, and existed in spite of very poor security conditions. Notably, business people's fear of crime in these areas was high, as befitted the threat level, but it did not alter their sense of control or commitment to the area.

In similar fashion, organization was associated with higher levels of responsibility for the public territories in the centers. It is worth noting that organization had this effect only on the territorial control dimension called responsibility, and only for the commercial center as a whole. This is a crucial contribution, however, because it is precisely the lack of concern in the public areas of the center that is hypothesized by Wilson and Kelling to permit disorder to accumulate. These data suggest that concern does exist even where crime and disorder is high.

Can concern re-establish order? Increasing people's sense of responsibility is not synonomous with their taking actions to realize those responsibilities. Business people with higher responsibility for the centers as wholes took part in more collective actions, with both due primarily to the influence of business organizations. However, it is also the case that greater responsibility increased their expressed willingness to intervene in an argument in public parts of the center. These intentions are a restatement of the beliefs that business people can and ought to exercise control in public territories.

The increased willingness to intervene among people with greater expressed responsibility included the fact that more were willing to do something about a minor disorder problem themselves, at least on the walk near their business. But in the center as a whole, intervention, when it occured, generally entailed calling the police. Thus, greater responsibility for the center may presage a greater degree of cooperation between shopkeepers and police, extending to matters related to disorder as well as to outright crime. Even where control over public areas was exercised by citizens, they continued to recognize the social or public nature of official authority to enforce norms in those areas.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

For Neighborhood Development

The research summarized above shows that the small commercial centers of the type studied in this research are developmentally dependent on the surrounding residential areas, and policies aimed at improving security or revitalizing commercial centers in these areas should take this fact into account.

The jobs and services provided by neighborhood businesses are important to the quality of life in cities. Their preservation depends to a large extent on the vitality and developmental trends of the surrounding residential area which is the primary market for most businesses in these centers. The kinds of broad neighborhood preservation strategies that are called for present a host of well-known problems in themselves. While it is not possible to solve these problems easily, it appears equally inadvisable to attempt to refurbish business centers apart from attempting to improve conditions in the neighborhoods simultaneously. At the very least, neighborhood market analyses should be made a routine part of any planning efforts in urban neighborhoods in which commercial development is also contemplated. These analyses would help entrepreneurs make decisions about marketing, investments, or even alternative business functions which should be encouraged to locate there.

Organizational Strategies

Of all the implications of this research for policy, perhaps the strongest has to do with organizations. Business organizations promise to provide a number of desirable consequences for the business center as well as for the surrounding residential area. One of the beneficial consequences of organizations is to increase the beliefs of those with stakes in the centers on their right and ability to exercise control in the public areas of the centers. Therefore, encouraging their formation and fostering their continued cooperative activities is a clear policy recommendation that has implications for maintaining the economic viability of small commercial centers, as well as increasing security in them.

Business organizations. We cannot address directly the issue of the most appropriate form that a business organization should take. It is evident that there are numerous models. The two most common include umbrella organizations that cover several commercial areas -- some of which developed as part of governmentally-sponsored development programs -- and smaller, more informal groups which have arisen in response to purely local needs. Business associations are fairly common in small commercial centers, so there are models readily available for areas which are not already organized. It is probable that a center would have to include some minimal number of businesses to benefit from organization, but there is no point in guessing what that number may be. For centers too small to support indigenous collective activities, joining together with other small centers may be desirable.

Virtually all business organizations serve to increase the collective efforts of members to market their centers and products in more effective ways, and this suggests a basic confluence of motivations that can be utilized to establish organizations in other centers. The major obstacle to organization is probably not a lack of motivation; it is that the prevailing motives

of business people are individualistic. Organizing around common interests --
for example, to increase customer traffic volume or to improve customer satis-
faction -- is, therefore, a promising way to begin. These efforts in
themselves do not contribute to security, but they can enhance business
people's sense of commitment and responsibility to the center as a whole,
which subsequently can increase informal control attitudes and behaviors.

   Residential/business cooperation. One promising avenue of policy is to
encourage more extensive contacts between residents and business people in and
around small commercial centers. The interdependency and common setting of
these two groups suggest a set of common interests in maintaining order in the
commercial centers. The primary functions of such formalized exchanges would
be to increase the sense of appropriation of the public spaces in the centers,
and to improve information about how the center and its businesses are per-
ceived by the local residents. This kind of information would be a useful
alternative when there are disorder problems which might lead residents to
take their money someplace else rather than face possibly threatening
situations. When incompatibilities over desired uses arise -- over parking
problems or disorderly behavior outside a bar -- a channel for dispute resolu-
tion would exist if some formalized mechanism such as a resident-business
council already was present.

   It is unlikely that a high degree of motivation to join or maintain such
organized efforts would exist among residents if the center were the only
issue. However, the shared problems of the center and the neighborhood --
including but not limited to crime -- might provide the basis for a more
generalized organization that could include both business people and
residents. Existing organizations can be found in many neighborhoods which
are broad-based and multi-issue (a few of which already include businesses
among their members). These could include issues relating specifically to the
commercial centers on their agendas. Somewhat less formal mechanisms -- a
council of residents and business people -- may serve as a means to convey
complaints and information between the two groups when troublesome situations
arise. The policy implication is that existing business organizations should
explore ways to incorporate residents as members or advisors. Alternatively,
neighborhood organizations need to foster communication/information exchange
with their local business people.

   Outside Intervention

   Efforts to improve the security and vitality of small commercial centers
appear to require outside intervention, either by public agencies or private
ones. The problems found in neighborhoods are the results of broad changes in
urbanized areas, and they cannot generally be solved by independent actions
that arise within the neighborhoods themselves. Neighborhoods with more
serious problems usually also have fewer resources for collective action, or
relatively higher barriers to the formation of collective action groups.
Commercial centers located in neighborhoods with serious problems are also at
a disadvantage: they are less likely to have a major anchor tenant to serve
as a stimulus and rallying point for organization.

   All of the centers in our sample where business people's optimism about
the area's future was high, despite serious crime and disorder problems, were
ones where outside intervention had occurred or was occurring. The source and

degree of outside intervention varied; but it appears to be a necessary cata-
lyst for positive changes to happen. Governmental intervention can range from
large-scale capital development projects underwritten by tax increment
financing or bond sales, to organizing and information-dissemination via city-
sponsored community development agencies. These programs generally take the
form of public-private cooperative ventures. Direct grants to local commer-
cial organizations or neighborhood groups would not appear to be as useful
since part of the problem that outside intervention is intended to address is
how to manage the impacts of citywide changes on the local community. A
certain level of expertise and coordination is required for this exercise to
be successful.

   Private efforts at outside intervention are usually based on the expan-
sion of businesses into a new area. An example evident in our sample of areas
was the result of recent changes in banking regulations that permitted the
establishment of wholly subsidiary branch banks. Banks in particular provide
a source of capital, stability, and credibility to a commercial center, and
several examples of banks' involvement in helping to refurbish the commercial
centers where they are located were found in this study. Of course, marketing
criteria will ultimately prevail in the locational decisions for new branch
banks and for any other major tenants, but efforts can be made to influence
those decisions to maximize public benefits.

   Physical Characteristics of Commercial Centers

   The design characteristics of these centers did not differ sufficiently
from each other for information about design impacts to be assessed. However,
the typical design is a row of stores, sharing a common front, with doors on
the sidewalk, minimal set-back, and no transition zone from walk to store
interior. Secondarily, convenience goods stores typically have attached small
parking lots to encourage auto use. Experiments with designs to improve
definition of space, such as the separation of stores from public walks, may
encourage more control behaviors. Programs of this sort would be expensive,
however, and difficult to implement in built-up urban areas.

   Simple upkeep and maintenance, however, are not very expensive and may
contribute to the desirability of the center as a place to shop. The centers'
physical appearances are noticed and evaluated by users, even though they are
not associated with fear or avoidance. The fact that the market place
reflects the surrounding market area suggests that even minor visible improve-
ments could have positive impacts on the perceptions of users and nearby
residents in the long run. The impact of appearance is a subtle issue which
requires much more research before conclusions about it can be reached.

   Security in Commercial Establishments

   Efforts to improve commercial security should be highly targeted in two
respects: by business type, and within classes of businesses by crime type.
Location is less important regarding commercial crimes in small centers since
businesses of certain types in all kinds of locations are about equally
vulnerable to victimization. Crime risks to businesses are a function of
operating procedures and product, and crime prevention and/or coping strate-
gies have been designed with these differences in mind. Thus, businesses
which provide desirable robbery targets should concentrate on minimizing
losses, identifying the offender, and maintaining high visibility in the

store's interior. Industry leaders such as 7-11 have developed extensive security programs of this sort, which could be useful as a guide for others. In this vein, the role of premise security surveys should be to foster the adoption of <u>appropriate</u> security practices.

Because security practices are so widely adopted among businesses, and information about security practices and devices is so widespread, minimal formal intervention or policy effort is required of governmental bodies in the near future. The provision and diffusion of commercial security practices -- especially among larger businesses -- has become a growth industry which does not appear to require any further public stimulus. Exceptions to this rule may be found in commercial centers and businesses with fewer organizational or monetary resources. These centers or businesses would benefit from locally-based premise security checks and dissemination of crime prevention information.

Crime Prevention Programs

Many types of businesses face very low crime risks -- barber shops and other personal services, business-to-business services, wholesale goods, certain commercial services -- and businesses of these types in most cases need no exotic security precautions at all. For these, insurance and decent locks would be a minimal but prudent response to threat. Data in this study suggests that concern about security is unnecessarily high among certain low-risk business people. Crime prevention programs need to take this into account in structuring the content of their appeals and when targeting their organizing efforts.

The Police Role

The police role in small commercial centers is primarily reactive, and even the deterring presence of the police cruiser is perceived to be a relatively infrequent event in most of these centers, probably because patrols spend their limited time on larger streets. It is not feasible to have foot patrols in these neighborhood centers; they are too small to justify the expense. A program to encourage police to park and talk with residents in block clubs is being tried on an experimental basis in Minneapolis, and a similar approach may be useful in small commercial centers.

Other research implies that the reactive nature of the police presence depresses people's satisfaction with police services and suggests that more attention to issues of order maintenance would be beneficial both to the police and to the communities they serve. An alternative to foot patrols in small commercial centers would be to design car patrolling to take police into these centers on a regular basis, at which time they might get out of the car, talk to the shopkeepers on an informal basis, and generally be more accessible. Over a period of time, brief visits such as these might encourage better police-community relations and, more importantly, enhance the sense of responsibility or control over public spaces. This kind of police behavior occurred spontaneously in surprisingly few businesses in the small commercial centers examined in this study.

The police are not the only source of responsibility and sense of duty in the centers: the business organizations that already exist in some centers suggest otherwise. Informal police participation in business organizations should be encouraged.

Zoning Strategies

Zoning regulations are the traditional means of controlling land uses in American cities. These strategies have the force of law and are recognized in court decisions as a legitimate way to control uses in the public interest, even when that puts restrictions on the location or practices of certain businesses. However, in application, these regulations face stringent constitutional limitations as the history of attempts to limit the spread of sex businesses into residential neighborhoods illustrates. As mechanisms to support the local social order, zoning ordinances in general may not be very effective.

Part of the problem is that not all businesses of any given type will cause disorder. This is the case even for bars, which are more strongly associated with problems and conflict in small commercial centers than any other single business type. Businesses have a presumptive right to locate and do business in appropriately zoned areas. In many cases, the management of specific businesses can be identified as contributing to the disorder caused by the business in refusing to control clientele behavior (e.g., by providing parking, lighting, bouncers, policing parking lots, etc.), or by trying to exploit certain markets which draw clients susceptible to disorderly behavior. Resolution of problems caused by specific businesses tends to be political, whether accomplished by formal authority or informal control.

Zoning regulations include variances and conditional licensing agreements as part of their control over land uses. These mechanisms generally invoke decision-making processes, often including elected officials, that consider <u>public</u> interests. Strengthening these procedures is desirable, even though it is difficult to design general rules which can deal fairly with the interests of particular businesses in addition to the community as a whole simultaneously.

The most effective regulation is undoubedly provided by local community action, as spontaneous protests against bars and sex businesses have shown. These actions legitimize official intervention and can adversely affect businesses directly as well. Currently, citizen input to zoning decisions is sought in many jurisdictions, but this input is not systematic or widespread unless organized interests are involved. More effective communication with local groups in and around commercial centers could improve this process.

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