SOCIAL CAPITAL AND CRIME: WHICH IS CAUSE AND WHICH IS EFFECT? A LONGITUDINAL ANAYLSIS OF U.S. CITIES

By

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To the Faculty of Washington State University:

The members of the Committee appointed to examine the Dissertation of DANIELLE ALEXANDRIA LIVELY find it satisfactory and recommend that it be accepted.

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Chair

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SOCIAL CAPITAL AND CRIME: WHICH IS CAUSE AND WHICH IS EFFECT? A LONGITUDINAL ANAYLSIS OF U.S. CITIES

Abstract

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Social capital is among the newest "buzzwords" in a variety of academic fields such as public health studies, urban planning, community development, criminal justice, political science, social psychology and sociology. Although social capital is often hailed as the *solution* to many of the societal problems present in America today, the literature reviewed in this dissertation indicates that this widely shared belief in the palliative effects of social capital may be somewhat misplaced, or at least partially mischaracterized. The literature also suggests, however, that the levels of social capital in a community affect the way members of the community interact with one another and may also impact the level of crime. To examine this connection, the research conducted in this dissertation utilizes a longitudinal case study comparison to examine levels crime in U.S. cities and metropolitan statistical areas over several years along with the levels of social capital that are present in these areas. The findings indicate that there is strong evidence of a correlation between social capital and crime; however it appears that a decrease in crime tends to precede increases in social capital rather than the other way around. This finding has important implications for public policy development and future research alike, and those implications are identified and discussed in the dissertation.

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my Mom and Dad, for everything

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Overview

Social capital is among the newest "buzzwords" in a variety of academic fields such as public health studies, urban planning, community development, criminal justice, political science, social psychology and sociology. The concept of social capital has also caught on in the broader American population with the release of such popular culture books as ***Bowling Alone*** (2000) written by Robert Putnam and ***The Greatest Generation*** (1998) penned by broadcast journalist, Peabody Award winner, Edward R. Murrow Award winner, and NBC anchorman Tom Brokaw. The phenomenon of social capital has its conceptual foundation in sociology, economics and criminology. Although social capital is often hailed as the *solution* to many of the societal problems present in America today [see, for example, Bill Milliken's ***The Last Dropout: Stop the Epidemic*** (2007) for a discussion of the "community in schools" movement and Chaskin et al. ***Building Community Capacity*** (2001) for a discussion of neighborhood-level social capital strengthening techniques], the literature reviewed in this dissertation indicates that this widely shared belief in the palliative effects of social capital may be somewhat misplaced, or at least partially mischaracterized.

The careful empirical examination of the relationship between social capital and crime provides us with a critical glimpse into the relationships existing among people, and how those relationships tend to affect the character of people's interactions with one another within their local communities, their interactions with their respective social institutions, their perceptions of their respective national governments, and the orientations they adopt to the rest of the world within the global community. Social capital, as it is commonly understood by social scientists to

entail trust-based relationships and diverse forms of civic engagement, certainly provides benefits to individuals, their families, their communities and their countries; however, as with some other important social science concepts, such as the celebration of individual rights and protection of private property, there is a potential dark side to social capital. The same elements that make it valuable in some social settings may also make it detrimental in others. The covariation between low social capital and violent crime is well established, but the causal link between the two societal phenomena is rather difficult to specify based on currently available studies. Much of the literature reviewed briefly here, and assessed more thoroughly in the next chapter, focuses on the definition of key terms and likely pattern of the relationship between the level of social capital and the incidence of crime within a community. Through a careful examination of the relevant literature it becomes quite clear that the case for and the case against the adoption of public policies designed to enhance social capital are both far from complete and convincing. Consequently, a research design is set forth following this overview of the literature which lays out a systematic longitudinal empirical examination of the relationship over time between social capital and the incidence of violent crime, property crime, and burglary at an appropriate, public police-relevant level of aggregation—namely, that of the American urban center.

Purpose of this Research

Social capital research offers an insightful window through which to investigate how the social organization of communities and countries can affect the levels of violence occurring in those political entities. It is clear that interpersonal and institutional trust in communities is exceptionally important, not only for the sake of community cohesion but possibly also for reducing violent crime. Social capital potentially offers a powerful palliative to the effects of

social disorganization, anomie, and strain in communities. However, how social capital and social support theory will help ameliorate these problems is not quite clear as of yet. It is clear, however, that more research on the role of social capital in the community needs to be conducted, and the longitudinal, multi-jurisdictional research design presented here will fill some troublesome gaps present in the contemporary social science literature.

It should be noted that a great deal of research has been done in the specific area of the exploration of the concept of social capital. The figure below (Figure 1.1) graphically illustrates the tremendous amount of social science activity being carried out in this area of research, highlighting the importance of contributing to our knowledge of how social capital and crime are related. The following table, constructed with the assistance of Yu-Sheng (Linus) Lin, sets forth a clear picture of that rich fund of ongoing research.

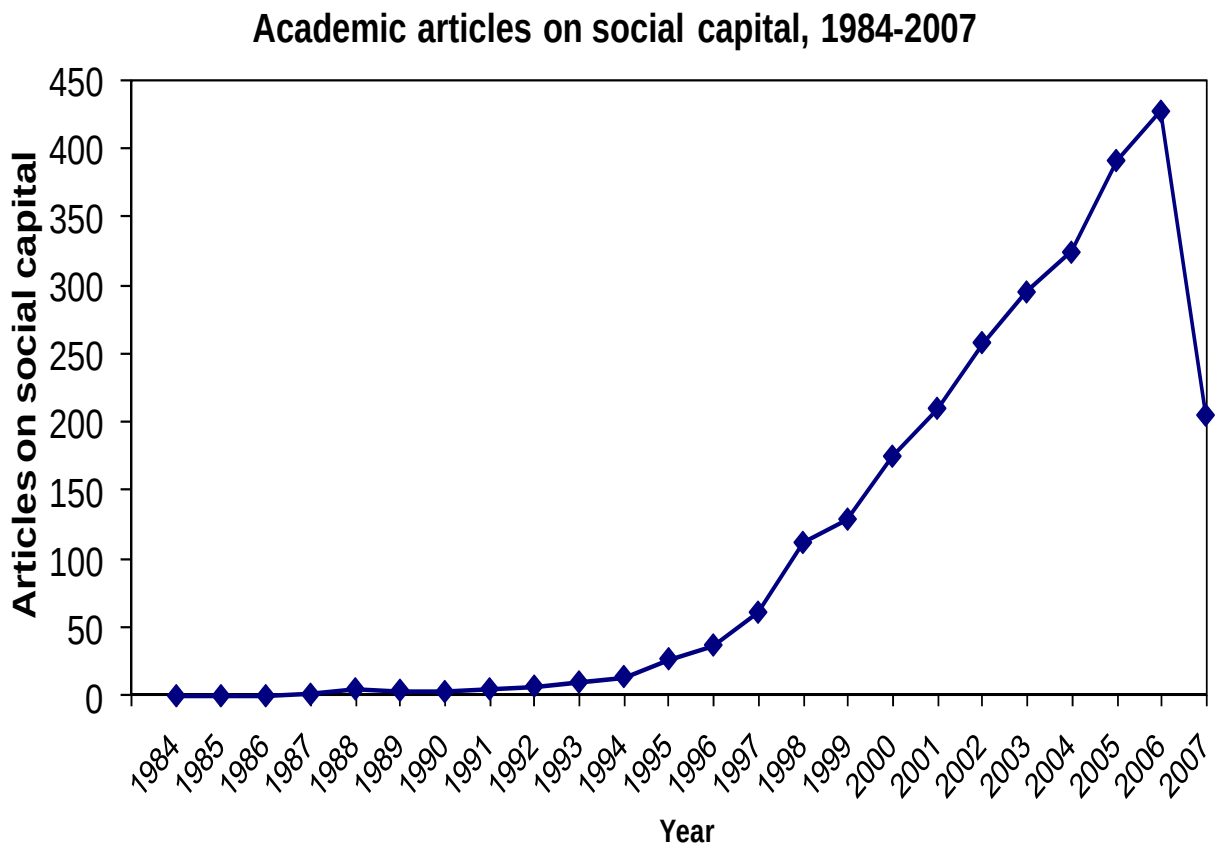

Figure 1.1 - Source: Figures for 1984-2007 on combined search of Econlit, PsychINFO, Criminal Justice Abstracts, and Medline; those for 2007 based on Web of Science.

More specifically, the research design presented here will be directed at gaining a deeper understanding of how social capital levels are associated with crime rates at the city or urban center level; it is the case, of course, that many more avenues social capital research are available to be taken at different levels of geographic aggregation. The city or urban area or county level of analysis, however, is a particularly important focus of research because so much "quality of life" public policymaking takes place at that level in the American federal system of government (Walker, 1999). The possibilities for research in this area of social capital effects along the lines proposed here are virtually endless with respect to other levels of analysis; as King, Keohane, and Verba (1994) argue convincingly in their classic book on research design, if a social science concept has "leverage" (a highly commendable trait of wide application), its effects ought to be demonstrable at varying levels of analysis and various cross-national settings.

We have the good fortune at Washington State University to make use of a unique set of archived studies conducted in many urban centers (major media markets) throughout the United States and Canada. The President of Leigh Stowell and Company, Inc. of Seattle donated to the Division of Governmental Studies and Services (D.G.S.S.) in the College of Liberal Arts fully documented datasets which include a wide range of social capital-related psychographic measures (behavioral predispositions and attitudes). Researchers associated with D.G.S.S. have standardized these measures across all cities at all points in time spanning dozens of cities over more than a decade of time. The psychometric reliability and validity of the datasets are well-established (Leigh Stowell and Co. Media Market Studies, 1989-2002), and these datasets have been used in a variety of studies (Brody and Lovrich, 2002; Budd, Lovrich, Pierce and

Chamberlain, in press; Grulke, 2008; Hendryx, Ahern, Lovrich and McCurdy, 2002; Moon, Pierce and Lovrich, 2000; Pierce and Lovrich, 2003; Simon and Lovrich, in press).

Importance of this Research

The research reported in this dissertation is important to our growing understanding of the connections between social capital and violent crime, property crime, and burglary. The development of the *Saguaro Seminar* at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University by Dr. Robert Putnam is just one example of how some major scholars and strategically placed practitioners alike view social capital to be an important aspect of the quality of life experienced in the United States. The Saguaro Seminar was developed by Robert Putnam to bring together academics, practitioners, religious leaders, street-level public agency workers, and government officials from all over the country, from big cities and small communities alike, in order to discuss the status of social capital in America and to promote the development of ideas and strategies for increasing levels and types of cross-class and cross-race connectedness ("bridging social capital") and civic engagement among Americans of all generations (John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, 2003).

From their many discussions a widely read advocacy book was produced entitled ***Better Together*** (2003), and a multitude of community resources were made available both in print and on-line to citizens and public leaders alike (John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, 2003). Although social capital itself is not a particularly new phenomenon, the recent social science scholarship of James Coleman and Robert Putnam have once again brought the importance of connectedness, trust, and civic engagement to the forefront of crucial research in sociology, psychology, political science, public health and criminal justice, with important implications for each field. Symposium issues of major social science journals such as ***Political***

Psychology (Vol. 19, No. 3, 1998), the ***Journal of Urban Affairs*** (Vol. 22, No. 2, 2000), and the ***Social Science Quarterly*** (Vol. 86, No. 1, 2005) attest to the widespread and ongoing interest in social capital research in the social sciences. It is to this literature that this dissertation seeks to add to in an important way.

Research Question and Hypothesis

The study proposed here offers the unique opportunity to examine social capital effects on crime through the study of psychographic measures collected at the community level, a level not often attempted by researchers due to the lack of available data on social capital at this relatively low level of aggregation. Obviously, the keys to social capital are those interpersonal and community bonds that develop in some settings and fail to develop in others; without these bonds being present at the local level, social capital at the national level would be nearly impossible to develop. Therefore, having the city as the primary unit of analysis will provide an important contribution to the social capital literature.

As the literature review to follow suggests, generalized interpersonal trust (even more so than civic engagement) is the most predictive measure for the amount of social capital present in a community, and therefore social trust is the component of social capital that will be used to measure the concept in this study [see Eric Uslaner ***The Moral Foundations of Trust*** (2002) for arguments as to why generalized trust is so critical to societal well-being]. Also a clear conclusion which can be drawn from the literature review to follow, the amount of violent and property crime present in a community offers a very important indicator of the state of social health of any community under study. Consequently, violent crime and property crime, as defined by the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reports, will be used as the measure of crime present in a community. It appears from the literature review to follow that the

amount of trust present in communities may be exceptionally important, not only for the sake of community cohesion but also for reducing the incidence of crime. There is good evidence assembled in the literature review that social capital potentially offers a powerful palliative to the detrimental effects of social disorganization, anomie, and strain in troubled communities. It is hoped that this doctoral dissertation contributes to a deeper understanding of both the palliative and "dark side" aspects of social capital in local communities.

As mentioned previously, most studies that have been conducted on the relationship between social capital and crime in the past have not been able to go below the American state level of aggregation for social capital measures. For example, in their research on social capital and violent crime, Sandro Galea, Adam Karpati, and Bruce Kennedy (2002) assessed the relationship between social capital and homicide rates in U.S. states over a period of twenty-one years. They found that interpersonal trust levels were inversely correlated with homicide rates, and strongly so. However, their research is limited in the sense that it only measures social capital through the General Social Survey at the state level and features only one type of crime; this dissertation will be able to take this examination to an even deeper level of understanding by examining the interaction of levels of social capital, violent crime and property crime at the city or urban community level with the archival Stowell datasets.

Based on the literature to be examined in considerable detail in the following chapter, it is predicted that cities with higher levels of social capital will have lower levels of crime when each city is viewed over a period of several years with respect to social capital and crime incidence levels. It is possible that some cities do indeed demonstrate such a palliative relationship between social capital indicators and incidence of crime over this period. It is possible, however, that some cities are clear "outliers" in this regard. There may be cases where the "dark side" of

social capital emerges and increasing levels of social trust among residents are accompanied by the greater incidence of violent and/or property crime. Similarly, it may prove to be the case that declining levels of social trust are accompanied by the reduction in crime in some set of cities. To the extent there are dominant patterns and outlier cases, the dissertation seeks to document the dominant pattern(s) and learn from the careful study of outlier cases.

Research Design

Independent Variables

Social Capital

The study proposed here offers the important opportunity to examine social capital through psychographic measures collected at the community level, a level not often attempted by researchers due to the lack of available data on social capital at this relatively low level of aggregation. The Stowell datasets to be used in this dissertation fill this gap in research by offering a wide variety of community (city) level variables obtained through telephone surveys completed in major media markets across the U.S. and Canada. Fortunately for the research reported here, along with the market-specific content collected in the surveys (e.g., purchasing habits, media consumption patterns, use of the Internet for purchases, price sensitivity, quality expectations, etc.) a comprehensive set of psychographic measures were also gathered in the Leigh Stowell and Co. random digit dialing-based telephone surveys.

The psychographic data elements gathered were common across most U.S. and Canadian major media markets, to a tune of 360 individual major media market surveys. Each of these telephone surveys featured on the average of 1,000 respondents for each media market study each year (Leigh Stowell and Co. Media Market Studies, 1989-2002). Among the psychographic (multi-item scales) information included in the media market datasets are: social and institutional

trust, self-esteem, liberalism/conservatism, open-minded/close-minded thinking, literal belief in the Bible, optimism/pessimism, risk averse/risk tolerant outlook, sophistication of tastes, and brand loyalty (Leigh Stowell and Co. Media Market Studies, 1989-2002). Demographic background variables are also included in the surveys (e.g., age, gender, marital status, number of children in the home, nature of dwelling unit, occupation, income, education and others). Market-specific content constitutes a rather substantial proportion of the Stowell surveys; information such as newspapers read and local media used, access to and extent of use of the Internet, patronization of principal local businesses and cultural attractions, and buying, leasing, renting and purchasing behaviors on a variety of goods and services was collected in the surveys and represents the major client-service aspect of the surveys (Leigh Stowell and Co. Media Market Studies, 1989-2002).

The Stowell media market datasets offer a significant number of respondent answers to psychographic survey questions, although the primary information that will be relevant to the research reported here are the questions that tap elements of social and institutional trust (Leigh Stowell and Co. Media Market Studies, 1989-2002). For example, other authors who have used the Stowell datasets have aggregated responses to certain survey questions that tap social and institutional trust such as: “Most public officials today are only interested in people with money,” “The best way to handle people is to tell them what they want to hear,” “Most people who don’t get ahead just don’t have enough will power,” and “Generally, I feel that life has not been fair to me” (Moon, Pierce, and Lovrich, 2001). Other questions that the Stowell datasets include and that may tap generalized trust are: “Generally speaking, most people these days can be trusted,” “Too many people are getting a free ride in today’s society,” and “People will be

honest with you as long as you are honest with them" (Leigh Stowell and Co. Media Market Studies, 1989-2002).

From the Stowell datasets, all American cities that contain the social trust-related questions of "Most politicians today are only interested in people with money" and "Too many people are getting a free ride in today's society" across five or more years will be examined. These two survey questions were selected as they correspond with two of Putnam's Social Capital Benchmark Survey data dimensions on *generalized trust* and *individual-interaction based trust* (The Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, 2008; Division of Governmental Studies and Services, Washington State University, official communication, November 27, 2008)[1]. At least twenty-five cities meet this standard. Of those, eight cities or urban centers have data available across a time span of seven to nine years (Leigh Stowell and Co. Media Market Studies, 1989-2002). In order to ensure that the social trust measures gained from the data are reliable, only cities with these two questions that tap core social trust measures, and correspond with Putnam's Social Capital Benchmark Survey (2000) data, will be analyzed.

Dependent Variables

Violent Crime, Property Crime, and Burglary

Violent crime will be measured as the violent crime rate per 100,000 inhabitants reported for each city as detailed in the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) for the years surrounding and during the span of data provided for each city selected from the Stowell datasets (Summary of the Uniform Crime Reporting Program, 1989-2003). The violent

[1] Based on an analysis conducted by researchers in the Division of Governmental Studies and Services at Washington State University, "It is clear that TWO of the Stowell items tap into the core dimensions of social capital as conceptualized by Robert Putnam. The generalized trust and the direct interaction-based experiential trust dimensions are each assessed in the Stowell datasets, and the two items in question – the Trust in Politicians item and the Free Rider item (items are correlated 0.637, $p < 0.001$, $n = 313$ counties) – are present in the vast majority of the Stowell major media markets for multiple years" (Division of Governmental Studies and Services, Washington State University, official communication, November 27, 2008, para. 3).

crimes that are included in the violent crime rate measure provided by the UCR are murder and non-negligent manslaughter, aggravated assault, robbery, and forcible rape (Summary of the Uniform Crime Reporting Program, 1989-2003).

In addition to the analysis of patterns for the incidence of violent crime, the study outlined here will also investigate the relationship between social capital and the incidence of property crime. It may be that the common patterns and outliers are similar with respect to violent crime, or they may be quite dissimilar. Previous research indicates that the predictors of these two types of crime tend to differ (Baron and Hartnagel, 2002; Cernkovich, Giordano, and Rudolph, 2000; Hochschild, 1995; Kornhauser, 1979; Rosenfeld, et al., 2001; Shaw and McKay, 1969; Sherman, Farrington, Welsh and MacKenzie, 2002). It is not known how social capital relates to this question of similar or dissimilar covariation. The property crimes that are included in the property crime rate measure provided by the UCR are burglary, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft, and arson (Summary of the Uniform Crime Reporting Program, 1989-2003). Some studies indicate that burglary, in particular, is a signal crime for most citizens (Cohen, Felson, and Lamb, 1980). Studies of crime rate over time suggest that burglary is one of the most accurately reported and recorded crimes by local law enforcement, and represents an important and reliable indicator of public safety for citizens (Cohen et al., 1980; Mosher, Miethe and Phillips, 2002). Because of these attributes burglary will be plotted and graphically displayed along with the measures of violent crime and property crime, and its relationship with the social capital measures will be carefully assessed.

Chapter Outline

Chapter 1 has introduced the dissertation and provided succinct coverage of the research that will be presented. It has established the importance and articulated the purpose of this type

of social science research, and described in broad terms the empirical data and specific variables that will be used in this dissertation. Chapter 2 explores the literature on the theoretical roots of social capital and attempts to examine the various issues that face those who conduct empirical research on social capital. The numerous methodological difficulties encountered in defining and in measuring social capital are examined in depth, and the complexities of the "dark side" of social capital are explored. Previous research conducted on the nexus between social capital and crime is discussed and evaluated, and the difficulties experienced by researchers in establishing the directionality of this relationship are noted. This chapter establishes the importance of the research being conducted in this dissertation – to wit, this dissertation examines social capital in a unique longitudinal way and at a more appropriate level of aggregation than has been attempted by social science researchers previously.

Chapter 3 introduces the methodology and the data that will be used to examine the relationship between social capital and crime in this dissertation. The research question and derivative hypotheses are discussed in this chapter. The data being used from the F.B.I. Uniform Crime Reports and the Stowell datasets are described, and the strengths and challenges of the data are also addressed. How the various measures were calculated and how the data were run with a time series design will be explained. Finally, how the levels of social capital and violent and property crime and burglary were plotted in a longitudinal graphical representation is discussed.

Chapter 4 will present the findings of the dissertation and will set forth a longitudinal graphical representation of the relationship between the social capital measures in the Stowell datasets and the FBI UCR violent crime index, FBI UCR property crime index, and FBI UCR burglary rates in 25 separate MSAs and cities over a decade of time. There are five potential

patterns that may emerge, and they are: (1) the fluctuation in the crime rate of a city/urban area is independent of the social trust dimension; (2) the crime rate does not affect the social trust dimension; (3) when crime rates fell over time, social trust grows; or, that as social trust grows the crime rate falls; (4) a declining or increasing level of social trust does not translate into a higher crime rate for a city; and (5) there is not variation in either social capital or crime over time. The implications of those patterns which are documented will be discussed and analyzed as to their adherence to the hypothesized relationship between social capital and crime, and outlier cases are examined for the insight they hold.

Chapter 5 discusses the all-important future research that will develop out of the findings of this study. In cases where counter-intuitive findings emerge in a city, future research using a qualitative analysis of these city cases will be discussed as this may reveal some exceptions that support the rule, or possibly some evidence of the darker side of social capital. This type of analysis can feature both a quantitative multi-city dimension and a selected outlier qualitative case study dimension that promises to more fully inform our understanding of the relationship between social capital and crime. Both those cities that fit the hypothesized relationship between social capital and crime and those that seem to reflect counter-intuitive findings will offer important lessons and implications for understanding social capital and its relationship with crime, as well as inform the potential policy implications of the research.

Finally, chapter 6 concludes the dissertation with a review of the principal findings, a discussion of the importance of the findings for the literature on the social capital and crime nexus, and a discussion of the potential implications for public policy stemming from the research presented. Much attention has been accorded to the promotion and building of community-based programs (e.g., community policing, restorative justice, juvenile and adult

drug courts, weed and seed programs, D.A.R.E., G.R.E.A.T., domestic violence partnerships, etc.), both to enhance citizen engagement and promote active citizenship as well as deal with manifest crime problems such as illicit drug trafficking, gang banging, and gun crime [see review of such programs in Correia, ***Citizen Involvement: How Community Factors Affect Progressive Policing*** (2000)]. All of these programs reflect a deep-seated belief in the power of social capital – particularly trust-based relations among people and between people and major public institutions – to overcome the social dislocations arising from persistent poverty, inadequate access to health and employment, and barriers to racial and ethnic integration into mainstream American life.

Despite the widespread faith in social capital to bring us the respite we seek from the occurrence of crime, from the fear of crime victimization, and from social disorder, it is the case that we do not know yet whether building social capital will ultimately reduce crime or achieve our collective desired goals. The research carried out for this dissertation will serve to promote our understanding and help us achieve our public safety goals more effectively. In addition, it is the hope of the author that the research set forth here, and the findings presented from the original research undertaken in this dissertation, will contribute to the larger literature on social capital at a lower level of aggregation than has been examined previously. Such research entailing the careful study of 25 urban areas in the United States offers important policy and research implications for state and local government officials making public policies aiming at the improvement of the quality of life for Americans within the local communities in which they reside.

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CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature that is reviewed here focuses on the various different ways in which social capital can be defined, the theoretical roots of social capital, and understanding the "dark side" of social capital. I will also review studies that have measured social capital and violent crime in the past, and develop an understanding through the assessment of existing literature as to how we can best analyze the direction of the relationship between social capital and violent crime. The studies presented and discussed here center on how social capital has been measured in previous studies, and summarizes the results of numerous studies conducted both in the United States and in other national settings. Particular attention will be directed toward those few studies that attempt to measure both rates of violent crime and levels of social capital simultaneously. The various methodological issues that researchers face when attempting to measure social capital and violent crime are identified, as well as the challenges to be overcome in seeking to document empirically the directionality of the relationship. Finally, the literature review set forth here attempts to identify the specific methodological issues the researcher will face in conducting the research proposed featuring the study of major urban areas in the United States, and it will demonstrate how the present study addresses some troublesome gaps in the extant social science research literature.

Defining Social Capital

Social capital is variously defined in the social science literature, however most existing contributions to the growing set of studies and commentaries in this area agree that the advent of the most current understanding and systematic conceptualization of social capital can be credited to the noted sociologist James Coleman in his *Foundations of Social Theory* (1990). Coleman

(1990) argued in that important work that there are three distinct types of capital in any human community – those being *physical* capital, *human* capital, and *social* capital. Physical capital represents the tools and technology with which tasks can be completed and performed, and human capital represents the people and the knowledge and skills possessed by those who are engaged in performing productive tasks. Social capital, in contrast, is "created when the relations among persons change in ways that facilitate action" (Coleman, 1990). Social capital is embodied in the relationships existing between and among individuals in the communities in which they live, and relate directly to the accomplishment of collective action.

Robert Putnam's book, *Bowling Alone* (2000), popularized the concept of social capital within mainstream American culture. Putnam's (2000) empirical study of values, norms and beliefs held by people in American society offers an informed discussion of the importance of civic engagement and interpersonal trust in any human community, and how the lack of those crucial elements of social capital can lead to such undesirable social outcomes as violent crime and juvenile delinquency, higher rates of mental and physical illness, poor performance of schools, suboptimal governmental performance, and lack of action on shared problems due to a "not in my backyard" attitude with respect to the sharing of burdens for the collective welfare. Putnam (2000) argues that there has been a dramatic decline in several societal conditions associated with social capital, such as voting participation, churchgoing, volunteering, and involvement in civic organizations in America since the 1960's.

Importantly, Putnam (2000) also argues that the decline in social capital in the United States has caused a loss of interpersonal trust among Americans, and that this flagging of trust has had and will continue to have adverse consequences for the quality of life in America and the well-being of American democratic institutions. Putnam argues that the deterioration in social

capital he documents led to an increase in violent crime; it is possible, of course, that an increase in violent crime occurring between the mid-1960s and the mid-1980s led to decreasing social capital. The directionality of this relationship between violent crime rates and levels of social capital is the principal focus of attention of this dissertation.

Theoretical Roots of Social Capital

Social capital has its roots in several economic, sociological and criminological theories with respect to its possible relationship to violent crime (Coleman, 1990). The literature in Criminology and Criminal Justice strongly reflects the view that social capital's main roots lie in the familiar theories of anomie, social disorganization, routine activities, and strain theory (Rosenfeld, Messner, and Baumer, 2001; Tremblay and Tremblay, 1998). Richard Rosenfeld, Steven Messner, and Eric Baumer (2001) specifically link social capital to anomie, social disorganization, and strain theory in their recent widely read work.

Social disorganization theory was developed by Shaw and McKay (1969) in an attempt to conceptualize delinquency as a feature of disorganized societies. Shaw and McKay (1969) argued that juvenile crime occurred more often in areas with lower economic status, featuring a racially and ethnically diverse population composition, and characterized by deteriorating physical conditions. Vold (2002) elaborates on the work done by Ruth Rosner Kornhauser (1978) and other American sociologists who have documented the fact that those local communities suffering high rates of juvenile delinquency are typically characterized by a high degree of social disorganization brought on by the breakdown of neighborhood interpersonal relationships and the weakening of informal social institutions. These troubled communities also tend to have somewhat of a sub-cultural predisposition towards crime in the sense that criminal activity has become a socially legitimated form of activity over time for people just trying to

"make it" in extremely tough circumstances. It is argued that legitimated criminality becomes a shared value and norm among the community's youth living within this powerful subculture (Vold, 2002).

Other scholars (Sampson and Groves, 1989; Markowitz, Bellair, Liska, and Liu, 2001; Warner, 2003) expand upon Shaw and McKay's (1969) social disorganization theory to include such elements as the ability of the community to supervise and control teenage groups, to nurture informal local friendship networks, and to inspire participation in local voluntary organizations. *Social disorganization* leads to a lack of social cohesion in the community and to the weakening of the *culture of caring* for the community's youth. Each of these elements, these various noted scholars argue, comes to play an important part in the "disorganization" of the community, and hence each is believed to contribute to the occurrence of juvenile crime.

As it pertains to social capital, however, *social disorganization theory* reflects the view that crime and violence are the result of "weak informal social controls" (Rosenfeld et al., 2001, 3). Rosenfeld et al. (2001) and other authors (e.g., Lederman, Loayza, and Menendez, 2002) contend that a socially disorganized community lacks the two most crucial elements of social capital -- namely, *civic engagement* and *trust* (3). Due to this lack of active engagement with one another and the absence of interpersonal trust, a socially disorganized community does not generate the informal social controls and the capacity for collective action that help to prevent violent crime, or suppress criminal conduct and delinquency in general.

Social strain theory represents an expansion of Durkheim's theory of anomie on the part of noted scholar Robert Merton (1938). Merton (1938) postulated that different *appetites* are present in society, and the gap between what people want, what people have, and the means accessible to people to achieve their wants causes *strain*. According to Merton (1938) there is

also a gap between the cultural values of a society and the institutional norms that are acceptable for achieving those values. In American society, an individualistic culture and strong attachment to free market capitalism have led to a culture which places a very high priority on accumulating wealth and achieving the outward signs of living the "American Dream" (Baron and Hartnagel, 2002; Cernkovich, Giordano, and Rudolph, 2000; Hochschild, 1995). Unfortunately, people of lower socioeconomic status often have quite limited means available to them to achieve these broadly held cultural values, and this gap between desired ends and actual state of living causes strain. Ultimately, this strain between prevailing values and norms and experienced life leads to a higher likelihood of crime because those under strain will tend to try to achieve the cultural values of society in ways that are not consistent with institutional norms by committing property crimes and various crimes of personal gain (e.g., fraud, embezzlement, forgery, etc.) based upon deception and the exploitation of others.

In *strain theory* social capital is viewed as a resource from which a community can draw when it is in need of the social attributes and strengths associated with a bonded, cohesive, and norm-driven community. However, in the case of dire poverty, pervasive lack of education, and prolonged joblessness, when there is a lack of social capital in a community strain theory holds that there will be more crime due to the "relative deprivation" of the community vis-à-vis the social capital resource (Rosenfeld et al., 2001, 4).

Since the initial development of social strain theory in the writings of Robert Merton, numerous scholars (e.g., see Messner and Rosenfeld, 1997; Agnew, 1992; Broidy, 2001) have worked to expand Merton's (1938) conception of strain. Agnew (1992) developed ***General Strain Theory*** to focus on the individual-level strain caused by negativity in individual and social relationships. The gaps between positive and negative stimuli, expectations and achievements,

and just and fair outcomes are what bring about strain in Agnew's theory, and make strain such a strong predisposition toward delinquency. Broidy (2001) tests Agnew's (1992) *General Strain Theory* and uses it to examine how anger affects the development of effective coping strategies in dealing with strain. Broidy (2001) finds the anger that strain causes has a significant effect upon the development of illegitimate (i.e., criminal or delinquent) coping strategies as opposed to the development of more legitimate and ameliorative coping strategies (e.g., physical exercise, counseling, support group involvement, etc.)

In contrast to *General Strain Theory*, Messner and Rosenfeld (1997) develop the concept of *Institutional Anomie Theory* in their examination of strain at the societal level. These scholars posit that *decommodification* in societies acts to decrease crime, and in their empirical study they make use of homicide as a measure of crime. According to Messner and Rosenfeld (1997) the decommodification of labor takes place when there is an increase in the number of public policies that promote economic and social insurance to serve as protection from the often alienating forces of the market. They argue that this is the case because the decommodification of labor reduces the amount of strain felt by an individual due to economic forces and their inability to attain economic cultural values legally. These resources, or cultural values, become more readily attainable to all persons regardless of social station with purposeful increases in the decommodification of labor.

According to Rosenfeld and his associates (2001), *anomie theory* holds that crime and violence increase in a community due to the weakening of the norms that govern behavior in a community (3). As also holds true for *social disorganization theory*, when the weakened informal social controls associated with anomie are present, this condition leads to more violent

crime, less interpersonal trust, and less civic engagement in communities where anomie is relatively commonplace (Rosenfeld et al., 2001).

Routine activities theory, as it is developed by Felson in *Crime and Everyday Life* (2002), holds that: "A criminal act has three elements almost always present: a likely offender, a suitable personal or property target, and the absence of a capable guardian against a crime" (35). In other words, any person is capable of crime, provided they have the motivation to achieve a particular goal and the opportunity presents itself at the right time and in the right place. *Routine activities theory* examines rationality from the offender's point of view. Although the larger society might view some criminal acts as irrational, *routine activities theory* would argue that the choice an offender makes to commit a particular crime is a rational one, based on the "almost always" elements presented previously, as well as their motivation and goal in committing the crime in question. Borrowing from the philosopher Bentham, *routine activities theory* incorporates the principle of limited rationality — in the sense that "the offender seeks to gain **quick** pleasure and avoid **imminent** pain" (Felson, 2002, 37). The offender also tends to make quick decisions (rather than long-pondered choices) based on that limited rationality.

Routine activities theory also holds important implications for the development and maintenance of social capital, as can be seen by some of the policy implications to which this theory leads. For example, taking simple preventative measures such as developing a local neighborhood watch program or purchasing or designing a home with windows that face other homes on the street can have measurable effects on the reduction of crime according to the advocates of *routine activities theory* (Felson, 2002). These examples are methods that attack the "almost always" element of a lack of guardian in routine activities theory. Simply by taking action to encourage neighbors to look out for one another and watch each other's homes for

intruders, some portion of crime can be pushed out of a residential area. In this case, the attractiveness and ease of crime in that area would be significantly reduced, hence reducing the occurrence of criminal activity. However, the attractiveness of conditions for crime commission is not the only beneficial impact on the neighborhood associated with this type of citizen action; by encouraging community residents to interact with one another in order to serve as "guardians" for their respective homes, the level of social capital in the community is also being increased by the resulting interpersonal trust-building taking place.

The relatively recent development of the integrated criminological theory of *social support*, however, appears to offer perhaps the most promising theoretical framework for current research into the dynamics associated with social capital. *Social support theory* pulls together concepts from various schools of criminology, and is in a sense the theoretical conceptualization of the idea of social capital developed by James Coleman applied to the phenomena of social deviance. The concept of *social support theory* is fairly straight-forward; essentially, crime and delinquency are reduced when individuals possess a strong social support system, regardless of the method or medium through which they receive that support. Social support can occur on many levels; it can occur through government social programs, or it can occur through becoming involved in community activities, or it can arise from social networks, or it can come from nuclear and extended families, or it can be enhanced through interpersonal relations, or it can come about as a consequence of the efforts of therapeutic jurisprudence or restorative justice in the criminal justice system (Cullen, 1994: 527; Colvin et al., 2002; Pratt and Godsey, 2002). Chamlin and Cochran (1997) also discuss the concept of *social altruism* within a community as a measure of how supportive of services to the disadvantaged a community tends to be; they argue that social altruism serves to reduce crime in line with the overall theory of social support.

An understanding of the theoretical roots of social capital is important for this dissertation study because this conceptual foundation gives us a context within which to speculate as to the possible effects of high and low levels of social capital in specific American communities. Through an understanding of strain theory, social disorganization theory, anomie theory, and social support theory it is possible to specify what the possible effects a low stock of social capital might be on a community. Similarly, it is easier to understand how that deficit in social capital may lead to inter-personal violence and vice versa—that is, how the incidence of violent crime might lead to a weakening of social capital over time.

The Dark Side of Social Capital

Although the benefits of social capital are relatively well explicated in the literature, the possible negative consequences are not nearly as well known or appreciated. The very same interpersonal ties that bind communities and families with high social capital may also bind those social groups together for negative (anti-social) purposes. In Alejandro Portes' (1998) insightful discussion of the origin and application of social capital, he lists four main qualities of social capital that can sometimes cause such negative results. First, the social capital ties that bind groups together may also exclude others from the benefits of that relationship (Portes, 1998; Coleman, 1990). Steven Durlauf (1999) provides a good example of this negative aspect of social capital in his discussion of racial discrimination in the American South. The social capital binding together racist whites in the South was important in bringing about and perpetuating racial discrimination against blacks (Durlauf, 1999, 2).

Second, the social capital of a group may prevent the "success of business initiatives by their members" (Portes, 1998, 8). This is essentially the notorious *group think* phenomenon (Janis and Mann, 1977). When a group or a community is so closed off from the outside due to

their strong within-group social capital, this closeness can stifle the ability of members of that group to go outside their zone of comfort to gather timely and relevant information and perspectives. This becomes a "free rider" problem as well. Ultimately, those who are less capable within the group can depend on the strong social capital of the group to keep more productive members from leaving and conducting business elsewhere. Clearly, this disincentive to moving beyond familiar and comfortable social circles can have negative effects on the ability of those individuals within the group who might benefit from broader social networks to flourish, both economically and with respect to social networks.

Third, the bonds of social capital existing within a group can exert strong pressure for behavioral conformity within the group (Portes, 1998). This group desire for conformity to established norms and mores can lead to oppressive social control among the group's members. For example, in a recent study Brody and Lovrich (2002) examined the dark side of social capital and the possible ill effects it might have on protecting the rights of accused criminals in the several U.S. states. They posit that it is possible that in a community where there is high social capital, those who commit criminal acts might come to be viewed as a threat to the community. They argue that it might follow that the constitutional provisions that protect the rights of those accused as criminal conduct could be viewed by this high social capital community as inhibiting the righteous community's ability to protect itself from behaviors that do not conform to their standards (Brody and Lovrich, 2002). In areas with high social capital there tend to be high levels of civic participation and voting, and this attribute gives the majority of the people in the area a large amount of political clout in limiting additional constitutional protections the courts might afford to defendants (Brody and Lovrich, 2002).

Brody and Lovrich (2002) write in this regard, “With this political clout, the dominant majority has the ability to select and reward governmental decision makers who favor the limitation of the rights of criminal defendants accused of offenses against the community and favor strong penalties for those convicted of crimes” (116). Through the examination of judicial decisions in the highest state courts in the United States on issues that would expand the rights of the accused beyond the Supreme Court’s rulings as well as the social capital levels present in states, Brody and Lovrich (2002) determined that the dark side of social capital is indeed demonstrably present and must not be overlooked when advocating the building of social capital in communities.

And fourth, a group with high social capital existing within the broader, less cohesive group may be a subgroup capable of subversive purposes, perpetuating harm against the larger community for the role of subgroup benefit (Portes, 1998). A good example of this particular type of problem would be the familiar phenomenon of gangs. Gangs often cause irreparable harm to the communities wherein they come about and operate, and they often decimate the social fabric and social capital of the community at-large. Daniel Lederman, Norman Loayza, and Ana Marie Menedez (2002) sum up the “dark side” of social capital in this area well, observing that “social capital has a beneficial, crime-reducing impact when the relationships that form social capital involve all society members…Conversely, social capital has the potential for inducing more crime and violence when it is concentrated in particular groups, such as gangs, ethnic clans, and closed neighborhoods, and is not disseminated throughout society” (5).

Durlauf (1999) also addresses the concept of social capital as a potential cause of or pre-condition to intergroup conflict and hostility. When those within a group strongly identify with one another, this shared identification may lead to the group carrying that mindset over into other

unrelated contexts. This may lead to mistrust of others and the poor treatment and stereotypical thinking of those outside of the group in various settings (e.g., schools, workplaces, churches, etc.). Durlauf (1999) ultimately concludes the following in this regard: "The research on race, and the case studies on social capital that have appeared, lead me to conjecture that ethnic homogeneity is a common feature of circumstances where social capital is strong" (3). He offers an interesting perspective on how social capital is frequently developed along **exclusivistic** lines, and also how social capital often can be quite damaging to "misfits" and "strangers" residing in homogenous settings.

Rodney Hero (2007) argues that current social capital research fails to take into proper account race and ethnicity, and as a consequence does a great disservice to the full understanding of social capital. He argues further that this oversight leads to a lack of appreciation of the real impact the social capital doctrine has on American life and the potential impact policies in this tradition tend to have on American minorities. Hero (2007) recognizes that some of this lack of examination is due to a paucity of comprehensive data, especially at low levels of aggregation (community level vs. state level). Data required to examine the impact of demographic diversity on the quality of life for all groups residing within American communities is too often in short supply. Hero raises questions as to how it is that social capital in the United States began declining at the very time when more equal opportunity provisions for minorities were being put into place as a result of the civil rights movement. In his research Hero (2003) reports finding that oftentimes blacks and whites were affected disproportionately by elevated levels of social capital; he notes that higher levels of social capital sometimes are beneficial for blacks and minorities, but that they were also often clearly detrimental. According to Hero (2003), higher levels of social capital are positive for some of the people some of the time, and those that are

disproportionately negatively affected or not helped by higher levels of social capital tended to be the most disadvantaged minorities. As a result, Hero (2007) argues that the racial and ethnic divisions with respect to social capital are critically important to factor into studies attempting to understand how and why varying levels of social capital affect local community conditions across the United States.

Social Capital and Violent Crime

Unfortunately, there are very few studies explicitly linking the two concepts of social capital and violent crime in the extant literature. On a more positive note, however, this area of the research literature is rapidly expanding with the development of the integrated criminological theory of social support (Pratt and Godsey, 2003). Most studies in this area use social capital measures obtained by collating responses to various trust and civic engagement questions extracted from the long-standing General Social Survey (GSS) and assessing their correlation with official F.B.I. Uniform Crime Report homicide rates. The GSS is an attitudinal survey conducted annually by the National Organization for Research at the University of Chicago. Begun in 1972 and conducted over 20 times since then, the GSS contains a variety of social and cultural questions administered through telephone surveys to English-speaking Americans (NORC, 2004).

Bruce Kennedy, Ichiro Kawachi, Deborah Prothrow-Stith, Kimberly Lochner, and Vanita Gupta (1998) examined the relationship between social capital, income inequality, and violent crime committed with firearms in the United States. The authors used income data for each state extracted from the 1990 census, and firearm homicide and violent crime data were taken from the National Center for Health Statistics. Firearm availability was estimated from the fraction of successful suicides committed with a firearm in each state. The social capital measures were

computed with data from the GSS, averaged over five years and aggregated at the state level. Items related to civic engagement and interpersonal trust were used as the measure of a state's social capital. Civic engagement was measured by the number of groups and associations, per capita, to which people belonged in each state, and trust in others was measured through the responses to two different social trust questions featured in the GSS. Kennedy et al. (1998) found that income equity was strongly negatively correlated with firearm violent crime, and that group membership and social trust were also correlated (negatively) with the occurrence of violent crime; however, the social capital measures were not as strongly correlated with violent crime as was income inequality (1). The authors also expressed the belief that income inequality is "powerfully related to the incidence of homicide and violent crimes via the depletion of social capital" (Kennedy et al. 1998, 16). Essentially, they believe that income inequality also has an impact on social capital, lowering levels of trust as income differentials rise. Another significant finding was that social trust levels seemed to have a stronger correlation with the occurrence of firearm-involved violent crime than civic engagement (group involvement), hence social trust possibly has a more important connection to levels of violent crime than civic engagement (as measured by group involvement). It will be seen in their studies reviewed below that the social trust discussion of social capital has a consistently stronger connection to crime than does the civic engagement discussion.

Rosenfeld, Messner, and Baumer (2001) also investigated the relationship between social capital and homicide; however, their measure of social capital (and specifically the civic engagement element) was a somewhat different index than that of Kennedy et al. (1998). In order to examine civic engagement, the authors made use of two separate measures, electoral participation and Elks Club membership in 99 geographic areas [GSS primary sampling units]

(Rosenfeld et al., 1998). In order to measure social trust, the authors also made use of the responses to three social trust questions contained in the GSS (Rosenfeld et al., 1998). Ultimately, Rosenfeld et al. (2001) concluded that lower levels of social capital are indeed correlated with higher levels of homicide. Rosenfeld and his associates (1998) also argued that not only was there a direct effect of social capital on homicide for the geographic areas utilized by the GSS, but that there was not a reciprocal effect of homicide on social capital. They were able to determine the direction of the social capital/homicide relationship and linkage using cross-sectional data by entering the variables into a path diagram summarizing a simultaneous equation model where social capital and homicide are allowed to influence one another (Rosenfeld et al., 1998, 296). While such statistical tests done with cross-sectional data are instructive, the strongest form of evidence of cause and effect phenomena is that of longitudinal data.

Sandro Galea, Adam Karpati, and Bruce Kennedy (2002) also find that trust levels were inversely correlated with homicide rates, and rather strongly so. Galea et al. (2002) also used perceptions of social trust drawn from the GSS data in combination with data from membership in voluntary organizations as a measure of civic engagement for their composite measure of social capital. They assessed the relationship between social capital and homicide rates in American states over a period of twenty-one years. The authors concluded their study with the following observation: “There is a likely impact of violence on levels of perceived trust in communities that complements the hypothesized effect of social capital on homicide” (Galea et al., 2002, 1), thus raising the plausible possibility of a *reciprocal effect phenomenon*.

In order to fully understand the link of social capital and violent crime, cross-national comparisons may also prove somewhat valuable to American researchers; two such studies

conducted across nations are presented here. In their examination of violent crime, Lederman, Loayza, and Menendez (2002) tried to determine whether or not social capital comes into play. As with the previously mentioned studies, these authors performed a longitudinal study on the prevalence of trust and the importance of religion on intentional homicide rates in 39 countries. In their analysis they controlled for such intervening variables as the region of the world in which the country was located, the number of telephones and radios per capita (to assess communication availability), income inequality, and per capita growth in gross domestic product (GDP). Lederman et al. (2002) found in their study that cross-national differences in the level of organizational involvement and religiosity are not strong predictors of homicide rates, but income inequality and per capita GDP growth rate are relatively strong predictors of homicide rates. As with previous studies, the trust measure again correlated significantly with homicide rates—namely, the higher the social trust in a country, the lower the levels of intentional homicides. In order to measure trust, the authors of this study used a compilation of answers to social trust questions extracted from the *World Values Survey* (World Values Survey, 2006).

Another cross-national study examined the connection between violence and social capital in Colombia and Guatemala (McIlwaine and Moser, 2001). This study offered a rather unique opportunity to peer into the "dark side" of social capital. Both Colombia and Guatemala are rife with gangs and militaristic factions among their respective populations, both of which are causing widespread fear and social mistrust in those countries. Notwithstanding these mistrust-generating social conditions, McIlwaine and Moser (2001) did find that for the most part in both countries women's groups and children's organizations were the most trusted groups of all organizations present in those societies. In these countries, though, the high levels of mistrust associated with most groups led to intense citizen involvement in these groups exclusively; their

communities remained distrustful because individuals were looking for the social capital present *within* these groups. Ultimately, these countries have witnessed an erosion of societal social capital due to the perverse social capital of the gangs and militaristic groups.

Overall, the literature that examines social capital with respect to its effects on violent crime concludes that trust, as a component of social capital, has the most direct effect on either reducing or preventing interpersonal violence. In contrast, the other aspects of social capital used in these studies, such as organizational involvement and religiosity, have lesser effects and weaker correlations with the incidence of violent crime. Unfortunately, despite the availability of a number of recent cross-sectional studies at various levels of geographic aggregation it is not yet conclusively known whether or not high levels of social capital reduce violent crime, or whether the high occurrence of violent crime reduces social capital in a community. This is precisely the focus of this dissertation.

Are Low Levels of Social Capital the Cause of Violence, or Vice Versa?

Based on the research literature reviewed, it can be postulated that the connection between low levels of social capital with high levels of violent crime can go in either direction or both ways, perhaps depending on the circumstances or the area being studied. For example, in the case of Guatemala and Colombia the violence was originally state-sanctioned and ultimately that has led to declining social capital in local communities throughout those two Latin American countries. It is important to recognize that trust, as a key component of social capital, is a profoundly two-way street (McIlwaine and Moser, 2001). It is just as important that the government is able to trust citizens as it is for citizens to be able to trust government. If either party lacks trust in the other, then the implications for a community or a country are rather dire.

A government that does not trust its citizens may use more coercive tactics for the enforcement of laws, rules and regulations, and in turn the citizenry will increasingly reduce their trust in the government. This cycle of mutual doubt can become a downward spiral of mistrust. Ultimately, violence, in the case of both Colombia and Guatemala, began with political goals and the violence led to a decline in social capital in local communities (McIlwaine and Moser, 2001). In turn, the lack of trust of the citizens for the government will be very difficult to overcome for the government should they attempt genuine political reform in the direction of democratic self-government. In these two cases, violent crime was most likely the direct cause of progressively lower levels of societal social capital.

However, another side to this argument can be explicated, that being that low levels of social capital tend to cause violent crime. Putnam (2000) argues that the increasing destruction of the American family unit through rising levels of divorce and increasing numbers of single-parent households, as well as the increasing prevalence of nuclear families as opposed to extended families, has led to a decline in the levels of social capital present in most American communities. Putnam (2000) documents this serious and sustained decline in social capital through the exhaustive assembly of social statistics and attitudinal surveys on declining levels of civic engagement and interpersonal trust in most American communities.

An alternative examination is offered by Dina Rose and Todd Clear (1998), who argue that low levels of social capital both increase levels of violent crime and are caused by the occurrence of violent crime. Rose and Clear (1998) use the example of frequent incarceration in socially disorganized communities to make their point. What they found in their research in sentencing laws and corrections policy was that crime in socially disorganized areas was more prevalent than in socially organized areas, as was the level of incarceration of those citizens who

committed crimes in these areas. Geographic areas with high levels of social disorganization usually suffer from lower levels of social capital as well. Rose and Clear (1998) found that the high levels of social disorganization were perpetuated, however, by the frequent and lengthy incarceration of the individuals who do commit crimes in those areas. Essentially, their arrest was breaking apart their families.

In the Rose and Clear (1998) study it was shown that low levels of social capital were contributing to the levels of violent crime; however, violent crime and decreasing levels of social capital were perpetuated because of the effects of incarceration of individuals from the troubled communities studied. Rose and Clear (1998) argue that this pernicious downward spiral occurs because state social controls (incarceration) were weakening the development of community informal social controls, and essentially forcing the community to rely on the state's official social controls instead of strengthening and/or developing their own community-based controls. In this case it becomes a *self-reinforcing cycle*, where violent crime and social capital continue to influence one another in systematic ways. James Lynch, William Sabol, Michael Planty, and Mary Shelly (2002) find evidence of much the same phenomenon their study of "Crime, Coercion and Community." The main effect that Lynch et al. (2002) find, however, is that high levels of arrest and incarceration in a local community lead to greatly reduced levels of civic engagement. These particular studies offer examples of where social capital and violent crime influence one another in different directions, depending on the circumstances and the level of social aggregation under study.

Fortunately, American crime levels have been decreasing in recent years. This desirable state of affairs may be due to the efforts of police departments across the country to implement community-policing approaches which often seek to rebuild levels of trust between citizens and

the police in American communities (Pino, 2001). For example, the advent of community policing in many towns, cities and counties has led to the creation of a variety of partnerships between the citizenry and the police at the community level. In essence, the police in many cities across the country are actively strengthening their relationship with the citizens they serve, and vice versa, in an effort to help control crime in communities that desperately need assistance with the prevention, detection, and prosecution of crime (Johnson, Roth, 2003; Pino, 2001; Skogan, Hartnett, 1997). This relationship builds trust bonds between the government (in this case the police) and the citizenry of a community. The more that the police assist citizens in controlling crime in their own communities, the more likely citizens will be to see this recurring action and their levels of trust in the police will improve. From the opposite perspective, the police officers engaged in these outreach activities will also be building their levels of trust among the citizens they serve based upon their favorable interactions directed toward crime prevention in their homes, neighborhoods, and communities (Garcia, Gu, Pattavina and Pierce, 2003; Greene, 2000; Johnson and Roth, 2003).

Levels of social trust will be increased through the interactions of police officers and citizens working together on a frequent basis and the building of emotional and social bonds between the two resulting from those interactions. This partnership helps to foster the growth of trust between an agency of government and the citizens the agency is supposed to serve. While this is only a small-scale example, it nonetheless illustrates the noteworthy benefits of trust in the development of social capital and, in this case, in keeping order in a community that may have a legacy of high levels of crime. This example also shows that there are methods for increasing citizen trust of government and of government trust in citizens, a mutually beneficial relationship

that may increase social capital levels in a community and lead to the effective co-production of public safety.

One national initiative of Robert Putnam and the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University is the *Saguaro Seminar*. The Saguaro Seminar focuses its attention on civic engagement in the United States, and "focuses on expanding what we know about our levels of trust and community engagement and on developing strategies and efforts to increase this engagement" (Saguaro Seminar, 2007, para. 1). The Saguaro Seminar (2007) has supported and participated in social science research directed to understanding the societal role of the bonds of trust in communities and workplaces. It is also a rich resource for those academics and community-based leaders who want to study social capital and develop initiatives to build social capital in a complex and diverse world.

Ultimately, the reason that the issue of the direction of the relationship between social capital and violent crime is undecided is because, depending on the circumstances, it might be that the causal arrows can go either way; the research literature reviewed above shows this may well be the case. I would agree with the literature, both those that claim the relationship goes one way and those that claim the relationship is the opposite. The variety of circumstances in which social capital is studied provides us with varied results. The question of the directionality of the effect in the relations between social capital and crime at the level of contemporary American metropolitan areas is the specific circumstance that constitutes the focus of this dissertation.

Methodological Issues in Defining Social Capital

Even more interesting and important to the discussion set out here is not necessarily how social capital is defined in the abstract, but rather how social capital is typically operationalized

in the noteworthy empirical studies examined above. As is seen from the several important studies discussed, there are different ways to operationalize the construct of social capital. The majority of the studies discussed here used two dimensions of social capital, social trust (attitudes) and some form of civic engagement (behavior). The most common way social trust has been measured is through the summation of data from a variety of different social trust questions in the U.S. General Social Survey (Kennedy et al., 1998; Rosenfeld et al., 2001; Galea et al., 2002), or in one case from the World Values Survey (Lederman et al., 2002). The authors of the various studies measure civic engagement in a variety of ways as well. Clearly a full reconciliation of the variety of measures of social capital and their effects on violent crime (namely homicide) and other types of crime is a rather difficult task.

Essentially, the authors of each article reviewed have a distinct idea of how social capital should be measured. For the most part, each scholar or team of scholars contributing to this literature review includes some form of the important elements of civic engagement and social trust as core elements of a summative measure of social capital; however, the slight nuance in their conceptions may cause methodological and inferential differences in results when violent crime, property crime, and burglary measures are added to the analytical mix in this dissertation. But there are also various kinds of social capital that can be measured in a number of ways not using the trust measures present in the GSS or, as we have seen here, using various alternative methods to measure civic engagement behaviors.

Pamela Paxton (1999) argues that many of the measures of social capital used by social science researchers are inadequate for one reason or another, and she offers her very own (albeit similar) method for measuring social capital. Paxton (1999) argues that the typical problems with the measurement of social capital are as follows: “First, there is a large gap between the

concept of social capital and its measurement…The second problem with previous assessments of social capital is that they rely on single indicators" (89). In order to determine whether or not social capital is declining in the United States, Paxton (1999) uses measures of both trust in others and trust in institutions. For measures of association, also known as civic engagement, she examines memberships in groups. Trust in others and in institutions was measured through the compilation to responses gained from the GSS. Measures of association were gained through responses from the GSS as to the amount of time spent with neighbors, with friends, and being involved in group membership(s). Paxton (1999) offers a compelling account of the systematic way she operationalized social capital. Finding additional measures to document and measure social capital should be an important component of every study that attempts to enhance our understanding of social capital and identify its relationship to other concepts, especially in its relationship with violent crime, property crime, and burglary. Although Paxton (1999) is not examining the relationship between social capital and crime, her clear and articulate discussion, careful conceptualization and practical operationalization of social capital offers important implications for the study of social capital and the many ways it can be studied in systematic empirical research.

Methodological Issues in Social Capital Research

Unfortunately, there are not many studies that specifically examine the connection between social capital and violent crime. Essentially, social capital is just beginning to be understood as a concept all its own, never mind its effects on violent crime, property crime, community trust, delinquency, public health, and income inequality, among other social conditions. Although there are not very many studies available, some clear methodological

issues do arise in the current limited research available that will have implications for future research, including this doctoral dissertation.

Studies involving several nations have been discussed here; however the difficulty with using cross-national research is that crime data may not necessarily be comparable across countries (Lederman et al., 2002). As is the case with some studies done in the United States that suffer from geographical limitations and the limitations of the data available and the uniformity of data across states, cross-national studies suffer from even more severe limitations, as Lederman et al. (2002) correctly note. It is important for researchers working in this area to not only recognize these limitations in comparative studies, but to also take care so that those studies undertaken may be generalized across cultures and provide an understanding of social capital across cultures.

Although many of the surveys described here were able to examine social capital and its effect on violent crime cross-sectionally, ultimately **longitudinal** research is required to assess causal patterns. Of course, longitudinal research tends to be relatively rare owing to its usual high expense and difficulty of execution. This paucity of longitudinal studies limits our ability to claim true insight in the social dynamics associated with social capital. Scholars John Paul Wright, Francis Cullen, and Jeremy Miller (2001) explain why longitudinal research is of the utmost importance for understanding social capital. However, limited funding and a shortage of appropriate data collected over the span of several years in multiple geographic locations serve as serious constraints on longitudinal social science research in this area. The principal reason most researchers use national level data from the GSS and extrapolate to smaller geographic units of analysis with relatively small numbers of cases for each unit is due to the ready availability of that data; community- or group-level data of substantial number of observations is

not readily available. A national longitudinal study using GSS measures of social capital will obviously be much less expensive than an original database and study developed to assess the levels of social capital in a number of specific communities. Unfortunately, lack of appropriate funding does play a major part in the availability of data that are accessible for researching the causal connection between social capital and major social system outcomes such as crime, economic development and public health (Halpern, 2005).

The United States General Social Survey (GSS) offers researchers studying social capital some of the most important data available regarding social trust. There are very few national longitudinal social surveys reporting on measures of trust in others and in public institutions in communities; the GSS is virtually the only source of such data. However, the GSS suffers from methodological complications of its own. For example, the GSS is a self-report survey completed by English-speaking adult Americans. Obviously, increasing numbers of Americans do not speak English fluently and therefore have been and will be excluded from this periodic survey. Self-report surveys also have inherent limitations. For example, one person's conception of trust and how they feel about their neighbors may be very different than another person's conception; even if the level of social trust is the same it may be measured as different. Fortunately, the magnitude and longitudinal aspects of the GSS help restore some of the validity and reliability of the GSS in providing acceptable measures of social capital and social trust. The most serious constraint of the GSS data, however, is the limited number of cases available for analysis within smaller geographic areas such as cities and counties. The goal of the GSS is to estimate national conditions; it is NOT to document the character of attitudes and beliefs in any one local community. The research presented here will attempt to overcome some of the methodological problems present within the GSS by using the Leigh Stowell and Company, Inc.

media market databases available for the years 1989 to 2005 and digitally archived with the Division of Governmental Studies and Services at Washington State University and Dataverse at Harvard University.

Another significant methodological issue present in attempting to quantify the effect of social capital on crime has to do with the nature of the cause/effect relationship between the two. As mentioned previously, the direction of the relationship between social capital and crime can be argued both ways in a "chicken or the egg" manner. However, many of the studies examined here did not even examine this component of the relationship between social capital and criminality. The relationship between the two may very well swing both ways; however, each study needs to specifically address the direction of that relationship in their analysis. Without such attention to directionality, those who examine the literature on social capital and crime might not fully understand how the dynamic relationship between the two variables is playing out in their specific analytical setting.

Unfortunately, the literature on the relationship between social capital and crime is rather limited and is mostly done at the state and national level. For researchers, that large of a geographic area of focus in prior research precludes an understanding of how social capital operates at the metropolitan or city community level. We know from prior cross-sectional studies that social capital is important at the state and national level, so it would seem reasonable to assume that social capital is also important at the local community level as well. An understanding of community-level measures of social capital may be even more beneficial than national measures in helping policy makers understand how social capital affects populations and how public policies fare differentially in high and low social capital settings. Both state legislators and local officials in their roles of policy makers can make better decisions for

individual communities to the extent they properly understand the potential role of social capital in their policy development, and come to see that the degree of policy implementation success differs widely across communities in part due to varying levels of social capital.

Addressing the Gaps in Presently Available Research

The need for continued research is omnipresent in the literature on the relationship between social capital and the various types of crime. More systematic information is needed on the effective operationalization of the social capital concept, and how social capital, or lack thereof, affects communities and certain groups within those communities. In addition, more research is needed on what changes can be made to increase levels of social capital within a specific jurisdiction. As noted, numerous methodological issues exist in attempting to define social capital. Some researchers recommend using more measures (Paxton, 1998) rather than fewer (Putnam, 2000), and there are various methodologies available for measuring civic engagement. What will be important for future research, however, is determining what methods measure social capital most fully according to most researchers and systematically comparing results across studies conducted in communities, regions, and countries. This "meta-analysis" effort will have important implications because we need to understand the nature and levels of social capital present over time and how changes in that level relate to social conditions such as criminal activity if we care to increase or change the nature of social capital in the future as a goal of public policy.

Also important for future research is how social capital affects certain groups within the United States, as well as across the world. Lederman et al. (2002) write: "A major challenge for future research in this area is to discriminate, precisely and quantitatively, the effects of each of group-specific and society-wide social capital" (12).

At the heart of every study of social capital and its relationship with crime is not just the nature of the relationship itself, but also how policy makers or communities can make use of that knowledge to reduce the incidence of crime and delinquency. The advent of tactics such as community policing is clearly a manifestation of the perceived need to reduce violence and property crime in socially disorganized communities, and to enhance levels of trust (as a key component of social capital) in the community with respect to fellow citizens and with respect to police officers. Tactics such as these are apparently beneficial to many communities seeking to enhance civic engagement in public safety-related problem-solving and stimulating the coproduction of public safety. Understanding more about the components of social capital and knowing more about its relationship to violent and property crime will aid in the development of similar strategies.

Coming to a clear understanding of the social capital and crime connection in American cities, and knowing the direction of their effects on one another is clearly an important goal that needs to be part of the research agenda of social science. The policies that would be formulated if violent crime causes a reduction in social capital versus if low social capital causes violent crime would be dramatically different. The nature of that relationship needs to be more clearly understood if municipal, county, and state policy makers are going to be able to develop and implement effective public policies for troubled communities (Baron, Field, Schuller, 2000; Halpern, 2005).

What must also be understood more fully is the contributions that current policies and programs are making in the effort to reduce the occurrence of violent crime and property crime and rebuild the social capital of American communities. A good many of the public policies and programs in question are government-sanctioned, such as community policing, weed and seed,

and restorative justice efforts, while others such as neighborhood watch programs, police volunteer programs, and recreational programs for at risk youth are more citizen-developed and grassroots-based. Understanding the effects of these various types of activities on communities may allow researchers to gain a better idea of the range of actions that can be undertaken to increase the level of trust within communities, a contextual factor that many researchers have found to reduce levels of violent crime across nations and across American states (Kennedy et al., 1998; Rosenfeld et al., 2001; Lederman et al., 2002; McIwaine and Moser, 2001; Galea et al., 2002).

Conclusion

Clearly, the literature review presented here suggests that additional research is needed to more fully understand the relationship between social capital and violent crime and property crime. At the present time it appears from cross-sectional studies conducted across nations and across American states that social capital does have a direct connection to violent forms of crime; however, there are certain components of social capital (e.g., interpersonal trust and trust in public institutions) that seem to have a stronger correlation with violent crime than other components (e.g., organizational involvement). The nature of the components of social capital must be examined more fully in order for researchers to fully understand what the underlying reasons are behind some measures predicting violent and property crime more strongly than others. The more we know about the dynamics of social capital, the easier it will be for policy makers to formulate policies and plans to increase the positive aspects of social capital in entire civic communities instead of having it relegated to singular, homogenous, and too often detrimental groups.

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CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The study presented here offers the unique opportunity to examine social capital through psychographic measures collected at the metropolitan statistical area level and at the city level, levels of geographic aggregation not often attempted by researchers due to the lack of available data on social capital at this relatively low level of population aggregation. Clearly, the key social dynamics related to social capital are **community-based** interpersonal bonds that develop; without these bonds being present at the local level, social capital at the state and national level would have little meaning. Therefore, having the city and the metropolitan statistical area as the primary units of analysis will provide an important contribution to the existing social capital literature which currently reflects principally cross-national and state-level comparisons.

As the literature reviewed previously suggests, trust (over civic engagement) has been shown in prior research to be the most salient indicator of the amount of social capital present in a community, and as a consequence social trust is the component of social capital that will be used to measure the level of social capital present across cities and metropolitan statistical areas in this study. Also clear from the literature review set forth in prior chapters, the amount of crime present in a community offers an important test for the hypothesized benefit of social capital in a community. Therefore, violent crime, property crime, and burglary, as documented by the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reports, will be used as the measure of the frequency of occurrence of crime in a community. It is clear that the amount of trust present in communities may be exceptionally important, not only for the sake of community cohesion but also for reducing the incidence of crime. The building of social capital potentially offers a

powerful countermeasure to the effects of social disorganization, anomie, and strain in communities, and it is hoped that the research presented here deepens our understanding of that relationship. While there are known problems with the FBI Uniform Crime Report data (FBI, 2005; Lanier and Henry, 1998; Cohen and Lichbach, 1982; Hindelang, Hirchi, and Weis, 1979), these data are sufficiently sound that they are routinely employed in studies conducted by criminologists and other social scientists, including Robert Putnam (2000, 144, 146, 308-310, 318).

King, Keohane, and Verba (1994) recommend forcefully that researchers gather as many "observable implications" as possible when trying to test a theory seeking to explain social phenomena (24). "Each additional implication of our theory which we observe provides another context in which to evaluate its veracity. The more observable implications which are found to be consistent with the theory, the more powerful the explanation and the more certain the results" (King, Keohane, and Verba, 1994, 24). For example, in Robert Putnam, Robert Leonardi, and Raffaella Nonetti's *Making Democracy Work* (1993), the authors use twelve indictors of performance to assess institutional performance in each of the different regional governments of Italy. By using these twelve indicators, versus just a few, and by using multiple regional governments the authors offer many observable implications, as espoused by King, Keohane, and Verba (1994). As a consequence, the research reported offers great leverage in understanding the relationship between social capital and local government performance in Italy. Lijphart (1971) argues that there are a number of ways to carry out the comparative method, however in most cases increasing the number of cases being examined is highly desirable. This work attempts to follow these prescriptions with respect to understanding the social capital and crime nexus. Instead of just looking at one city, or even a few cities, we are able to examine 25

metropolitan statistical areas and/or cities with multiple measures of crime and social capital measured over a decade or more of time in order to develop a deeper understanding of the relationship which exists between social capital and crime.

Research Question and Hypothesis

Based on the literature examined in the prior chapters, it is predicted that cities with higher levels of social capital will have lower levels of crime across each city over the period of ten years. Future research will also attempt to find the underlying reasons for any correlation between the variables of social capital and crime documented, and to examine if the "dark side" of social capital emerges at all in the data available through the Stowell datasets and the Uniform Crime Reports.

Comparative Case Study Method

The use of qualitative and quantitative research in conjunction with one another is one aspect of analysis that makes this particular study noteworthy. This research uses quantitative methods to generate social capital measures and crime rates, and then uses a comparative case study method to analyze the graphs developed from a simultaneous plotting of social capital and crime incidence measures in multiple locations over a decade of time. Once a common pattern or patterns, as well as outlier cases, are identified, future research will incorporate both qualitative and quantitative methods in examining those patterns and outlier cases in greater depth through case studies and more globally through large scale multivariate statistical methods that will incorporate a number of other potentially critical community variables that a may help to explain the relationship between social capital and crime more fully in a variety of social contexts.

As King, Keohane, and Verba (1994) explain, "If we can accurately explain what at first appears to be a complicated effect with a single causal variable or a few variables, the *leverage* (emphasis added) we have over a problem is very high" (p. 29). They go on to note the following in this regard: "Areas conventionally studied qualitatively are often those in which leverage is low. Explanation of anything seems to require a host of explanatory variables: we use a lot to explain a little. In such cases, our goal should be to design research with more leverage" (King, Keohane and Verba, 1994, p. 29). This is exactly what is being attempted through the research reported here. This dissertation attempts to use a large number of survey responses present in each city or MSA to enable us to derive empirical estimates regarding the level of social capital present at the community level, and those estimates are used to determine the nature of the relationship between social capital with the amount of crime present in U.S. urban communities. By examining two different types of social capital (generalized and particularized trust), along with three different types of crime (violent crime, property crime, and burglary), we are offering a study with multiple measures on multiple levels in multiple settings, thus maximizing the tests made of a potentially high leverage concept (social capital) in an area of social science (criminal justice) where the applications of such insight to practical problem-solving in the area of public safety promotion are both numerous and of potential widespread social benefit.

The data gathered for this research features measures of social capital, violent crime, property crime, and burglary from 19 Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs) and 6 major cities, for a total of 25 urban area cases offering longitudinal comparisons of the relationship between social capital and crime. The MSAs that are examined herein are: Albuquerque, Atlanta, Colorado Springs, Columbus, Dallas, Ft. Worth, Dayton, Denver, Houston, Jacksonville, Las

Vegas, Minneapolis, Nashville, Norfolk, Reno, Roanoke, Seattle, Washington, D.C., and West Palm Beach. The cities that are examined here are: Cincinnati, Knoxville, Kansas City, Louisville, Palms Springs and St. Louis. In this study, MSAs were chosen as the original unit of analysis because they compare most closely with the population boundaries of the "media market" surveys used in compiling the Leigh Stowell and Co. datasets which constitute the base data for the social capital measures developed. Although the original unit of analysis was only going to be MSAs, these major cities were added to the dataset to follow the comparative method *dictum* to offer **more cases** so a more thorough picture of the connection between social capital and crime could be constructed.

Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs) are a delineation of certain population centers around the United States that the U.S. Census Bureau uses in order to aggregate data about the populations in these areas for use by governmental entities at the federal, state and local levels. The U.S. Census Bureau (2009) explains the MSA aggregation, the geographic rubric, thusly: "The general concept of a metropolitan or micropolitan statistical area is that of a core area containing a substantial population nucleus, together with adjacent communities having a high degree of economic and social integration with that core" (para.1). MSAs must consist of at least one urbanized area with a minimum of 50,000 or more residents (United States Census Bureau, 2009). The concept of the U.S. metropolitan area was first developed in 1949, and it was designated as "standard metropolitan areas," or SMAs. These areas were changed to "standard metropolitan statistical areas," or SMSAs, in 1959, and finally were changed to MSAs in 1983 (United States Census Bureau, 2009, para.2). The largest city in an MSA is considered to be the "principal city," with other cities (up to three) being included in the MSA title if they are large

urban areas (United States Census Bureau, 2009, para.2). In some cases county names are used to designate the MSA (United States Census Bureau, 2009, para.2).

As with the United States Census Bureau, the FBI Uniform Crime reports also aggregate urbanized populations in the United States along MSA boundaries; the FBI sets its aggregation boundaries and reports the incidence of crime in an MSA based on U.S. Census Bureau geographic designations (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2005). As noted above, since the MSA delineation first came about in 1983 the crime rate data used in this analysis commences in 1983 so that comparable figures are used across MSAs. In some circumstances, there have been changes in a few of the MSA boundaries over time. This is chiefly due to "the recognition of new areas as they reached the minimum required city or urbanized area population," "the addition of counties (or cities and towns in New England) to existing areas as new decennial census data showed them to qualify," when "formerly separate areas have been merged," or when "components of an area have been transferred from one area to another, or components have been dropped from an area" (United States Census Bureau, 2009, para.10-11). That being said, when there were changes in the MSAs boundaries these relatively minor changes are noted in the data. [Information on how to access the raw data used for crime rates are reported in Appendix B, the raw data contains such notes on MSA boundary adjustments.]

For six areas for which Stowell data were available, MSA data were not available in the FBI Uniform Crime Report data, due to either non-reporting or incomplete data. In those areas, the city was used as the level of analysis for the crime rates reported in the FBI crime reports. These figures represent crimes that are reported by city or town law enforcement agencies; the FBI also sets its boundaries and reports the population in a city based on U.S. Census Bureau data (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2005). Comparable within city limits attitudinal data were

generated from the Stowell datasets for social capital measures to compare with these city-based crime rates over time.

Crime across the years of 1983 to 2006 is examined here. In the literature reviewed in the prior chapter, it is clear that social capital is seen as a relatively persistent cultural characteristic of a community. One would expect to see gradual changes in levels of social capital over crime rather than sudden changes, either upward or downward. That being said, it makes sense to track crime across a relatively long period of time to see if the more changeable crime levels show any sign of covariation with long term trends in social capital at the level of MSAs and cities in the U.S. during a historical period during which significant reductions in crime were experienced in many such areas. The reason we selected 1983 as the starting point for the collection of data on violent crime, property crime, and burglary was that there was a significant restructuring of MSAs prior to the collection of data in 1983 for the F.B.I.'s Uniform Crime Reports (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1984). In light of this rather dramatic restructuring, many MSAs included either more or less geographic area depending on the MSA for many of the locations that were being examined. Given this fact, it was prudent to begin our analysis where the areas and locations would be highly comparable across the entire period of study.

Data Comparison

Leigh Stowell and Company, Inc. Media Market Datasets[2]

The study reported here makes use of a digital archive of survey data collected in many areas of the country over a substantial period of time. The Stowell datasets (MSA, city, or

[2] Digital Archive maintained by the Division of Governmental Studies and Service at WSU Libraries at Washington State University, Pullman. Datasets are also available through "Dataverse" at Harvard University, a social science dataset repository funded by the National Science Foundation and maintained by staff directed by Professor Gary King. The Stowell datasets were made available to Dataverse through the helpful assistance of Professor Travis Ridout at Washington State University.

county) offer researchers the ability to track a wide variety of community-level variables obtained through telephone interviews conducted in major U.S. and Canadian media market surveys. Fortunately for the research reported here, and for other social science research yet to be undertaken, along with the market-specific content gathered a rich set of "psychographic" measures were also gathered during the course of the Stowell survey interviews.

The psychographic data elements gathered were common across most major North American media markets; a total of 360 individual major media market surveys are available for study, with each media market survey featuring approximately 1,000 respondents for each market each year it was studied (Leigh Stowell and Co. Media Market Studies, 1989-2002). Stowell datasets are available for 80 different media markets containing sufficient observations for 90+ cities and 300+ U.S. counties. Among the numerous psychographic measures (multi-item scales) information included in the media market datasets are: social and institutional trust, self-esteem, liberalism/conservatism, open-minded/close-minded thinking, optimism/pessimism, sophistication of tastes, price sensitivity, and brand loyalty (Leigh Stowell and Co. Media Market Studies, 1989-2002). Demographic and personal background variables such as level of education, family income, gender, race and ethnicity, family unit composition, occupational status, and location of residence (zip code) are also measured and provided along with market-specific content such as: newspapers read and local media used, access to and extent of use of the Internet, patronization of principal local businesses and cultural attractions, and buying, leasing, renting and purchasing behaviors on a variety of goods and services (Leigh Stowell and Co. Media Market Studies, 1989-2002).

The questionnaire design and pre-test, interviewer selection and training, sampling procedures, respondent screening, interviewer rotation, internal consistency checks, validation

procedures, coding verification, and programmed data collection all conformed to conventionally accepted quality control procedures and provided reliable and valid data.[3]

Independent Variable

The data that are being used to generate a reliable and valid social trust measure are based on two of the psychographic items included in the social and institutional trust measures collected in the Leigh Stowell and Company Major Media Market Study datasets.

Social Capital

The Stowell media market datasets offer a large number of respondent answers to psychographic survey questions (approximately fifty items), although the primary information that will be relevant to the research reported here are the questions that directly tap elements of social and institutional trust (Leigh Stowell and Co. Media Market Studies, 1989-2002). For example, other authors who have used the Stowell datasets have aggregated responses to certain survey questions that tap social and institutional trust such as: "Most public officials today are only interested in people with money," "The best way to handle people is to tell them what they want to hear," "Most people who don't get ahead just don't have enough will power," and "Generally, I feel that life has not been fair to me" (Moon, Pierce, and Lovrich, 2001). Other questions that the Stowell datasets include and that may tap generalized trust are: "Generally speaking, most people these days can be trusted," "Too many people are getting a free ride in today's society," and "People will be honest with you as long as you are honest with them" (Leigh Stowell and Co. Media Market Studies, 1989-2002).

[3] Reliability coefficients for Stowell dataset measures (multi-item scales for trust/cynicism, liberalism/conservatism, etc.) are available from the staff of Division of Governmental Studies and Services at Washington State University, Pullman. Full documentation for the data were provided to the University by Leigh Stowell and Company upon the bestowal of the gift of archival studies, and this information is provided in metadata documentation on the Dataverse digital archive site.

From the Stowell datasets, all U.S. cities or Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs) that contain relevant attitudinal data across five or more years were examined. At least nineteen MSAs and six cities meet this standard. Of those, ten of these cities and MSAs have data available across a time span of seven to nine years (Leigh Stowell and Co. Media Market Studies, 1989-2002).[4] From those datasets two questions that tap *generalized trust* and *individual interaction-based trust* will be compared across time to the level of violent crime, property crime, and burglary in a city or MSA prevailing across the period 1983 to 2002.

Two specific questions were selected from the Stowell datasets to serve as measures of social trust, those being: "Too many people are getting a free ride in today's society" and "Most politicians today are only interested in people with money" (Leigh Stowell and Co. Media Market Studies, 1989-2002). These particular two survey questions were selected because they correlate strongly with two of Putnam's Social Capital Benchmark Survey data dimensions for *generalized trust* and *individual interaction-based trust* (The Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, 2008; Division of Governmental Studies and Services, Washington State University, official communication, November 27, 2008). The Stowell datasets were collected in a wide range of U.S. media markets from 1989-2006, whereas the Putnam Social Capital Benchmark data (n=50,000+) were collected in 40 geographic areas in 2000.[5] The comparison of these two datasets presents us with **58 overlapping counties** where enough observations exist (45+) in both datasets to compare the means of the Putnam data and the Stowell data in the same counties in about the same years (The Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, 2008; Division of

[4] Cities listed in Appendix A.

[5] The Putnam Social Capital Benchmark Study dataset was purchased from the Roper Center, under strict conditions of use, including prior approval from the Saguaro Institute at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. The objective stated for access to the geographically-located dataset was the determination of the correspondence between the Stowell dataset psychographic items and the Social Capital Benchmark Survey measures of generalized trust and individual interaction-based trust.

Governmental Studies and Services, Washington State University, official communication, November 27, 2008).

Based on an analysis conducted by researchers associated with the Division of Governmental Studies and Services at Washington State University, "It is clear that TWO of the Stowell items tap into the core dimensions of social capital as conceptualized by Robert Putnam. The generalized trust and the direct interaction-based experiential trust dimensions are each assessed in the Stowell datasets, and the two items in question – the *Trust in Politicians* item and the *Free Rider* item (items have a rank order correlation of .637, $p < .001$, $n = 313$ counties) – are present in the vast majority of the Stowell major media markets for multiple years" (Division of Governmental Studies and Services, Washington State University, official communication, November 27, 2008, para. 3).

This correspondence between the Stowell dataset items and Putnam's survey-based measures of the trust dimensions of social capital is important because it offers strength to the utility of the Stowell data being used for the study of social capital phenomena. In the 58 overlapping counties the correspondence between the trust in politicians question and the Putnam multi-item index of generalized trust anchored by the General Social Survey question "Some say you can place trust in others, while others believe you can't be too careful" was very strong ($r = .57$, $p<.001$); a rank order coefficient calculation shows a strong correlation between these two measures in these 58 counties. Similarly, the free rider Stowell item and the Putnam index for individual interaction-based trust produce highly similar rank orders for mean measures in these 58 counties. The rank order coefficients between the Stowell item and the items for trust in **neighbors** (.44, $p<.002$), trust in persons in your **church** (.38, $p<.008$) and trust in your **local police** (.47, $p<.001$) were all strong. By "using Stowell dataset **means** for those items in those

counties aggregated over the studies collected there it is possible to construct a dataset which allows us to test the degree of correspondence between the two datasets with respect to the survey-based measurement of social capital at the county level" (Division of Governmental Studies and Services, Washington State University, official communication, November 27, 2008, para.2). This analysis offers us two validated measures of social capital collected over a decade of time which can be used to compare against similar periodic measures of violent crime, property crime and burglary rates in MSAs and cities across the U.S.

Dependent Variables

The incidence of crime in a metropolitan statistical area or city, viewed as the dependent variable, will be compared and tracked using three separate measures: the violent crime index, the property crime index, and the incidence of burglary as reported in the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports. Each of these indices will be tracked separately over time, and each will be compared to the trajectories of mean levels for the two Stowell dataset questions that measure generalized and interpersonal interaction-based social trust in a large municipality or MSA.

Violent Crime

Violent crime will be measured as the violent crime rate per 100,000 inhabitants reported for each city or MSA as detailed in the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) from 1983 to 2003 or 2006 (Summary of the Uniform Crime Reporting Program, 1989-2003). The violent crimes that are included in the violent crime rate measure provided by the UCR are murder and nonnegligent manslaughter, aggravated assault, robbery, and forcible rape (Summary of the Uniform Crime Reporting Program, 1989-2003). In the relatively few years where the problem of missing data was encountered the method of linear interpolation was employed; this entails calculating an estimation for cases that come between those observed and

known in the two years surrounding the year of missing data (Babbie, 2004). Such estimations were made in only 5.3% of the FBI UCR violent crime rate data. [See Lederman et al. (2002) for an excellent cross-sectional analysis on the connection between social capital and violent crime.]

Property Crime

In addition to the analysis of patterns of association with social capital trends for violent crime, the analysis reported in this dissertation will also investigate the relationship over time between social capital and property crime. Property crime will be measured as the property crime rate per 100,000 inhabitants reported for each city and MSA as detailed in the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) from 1983 to 2003 or 2006 (Summary of the Uniform Crime Reporting Program, 1989-2003). The property crimes that are included in the property crime rate measure provided by the UCR are burglary, larceny-theft, and motor vehicle theft (Summary of the Uniform Crime Reporting Program, 1989-2003). In the few years where missing data occur we again used the method of linear interpolation, an estimation of rates for those few cases that come between those observed and known in the two years surrounding the year of missing data (Babbie, 2004). Such estimations were made in only 4.9% of the FBI UCR property crime rate data entries.

Burglary

Another dependent variable that will be considered to offer some reliability to the results is that of burglary. Some studies indicate that the crime of burglary is a signal crime for most citizens (Cohen, Felson, and Lamb, 1980). Studies of crime rates over time suggest that burglary is one of the most accurately treated crimes by local law enforcement, and because of this fact represents an important indicator of public safety for citizens (Cohen et al., 1980). Thus, the examination of the burglary rate per 100,000 inhabitants along with the violent and property

crime rates will offer the opportunity to enhance the reliability of those two measures of crime. In the few years where the missing data problem arose we once more used the method of linear interpolation, an estimation of cases that come between those observed and known in the two years surrounding the year of missing data (Babbie, 2004). Such estimations were made in only 4.9% of the FBI UCR burglary crime rate data.

Innovative Simultaneous Graphing Technique

In order to analyze the data compiled on crime rates and levels of social capital, the measures of social capital and crime rates for each city or MSA will be plotted simultaneously in five concurrent graphs. The first graph for each city or MSA will show the level of individual interaction-based trust from the Stowell datasets. The question used to measure this type of trust from the Stowell dataset was "Too many people are getting a free ride in today's society" (Leigh Stowell and Co. Media Market Studies, 1989-2002). In the graph, the higher the plotted point for social capital, the more social capital is present in a city or MSA.

The second graph for each city or MSA will show the level of generalized trust estimated from the Stowell datasets. The question used to measure this type of trust from the Stowell dataset was "Most politicians today are only interested in people with money" (Leigh Stowell and Co. Media Market Studies, 1989-2002). In this graph as well, the higher the plotted point for social capital, the more social capital present in a city or MSA. Both the graphs showing individual interaction-based trust and generalized trust from the Stowell datasets are also plotted along with the norm for each of those measures across all cities and MSAs included in this research. It is important to note, however, that the norm generated for the various MSAs included in this research is the norm for only the MSA's included in the research, not the cities; the norm plotted on the social trust graphs for the cities is the norm for only the cities included in

the research, not the MSAs. This use of MSA and city group norms in each set of simultaneous graphs of social capital and crime rates was done to maintain comparability of the norms and graphed crime data.

The third graph for each city or MSA shows the FBI UCR violent crime rate in that city or MSA for the years spanning the period 1983 to 2006. Violent crime is measured as the rate per 100,000 inhabitants in that city or MSA. The fourth graph for each city or MSA shows the FBI UCR property crime rate in that city or MSA for the years spanning the period 1988 to 2006. Property crime is measured as the rate per 100,000 inhabitants in that city or MSA. Finally, the fifth graph for each city or MSA shows the FBI UCR burglary rate in that city or MSA from 1999 to 2006. Burglary is measured as the rate per 100,000 inhabitants in that city or MSA.

Having multiple graphs on the same page to measure social trust along with the norms for social trust for those questions across the entire data set for the cities and MSAs being examined will allow a rich interpretation of each case. Not only will the researcher be able to compare the levels of individual interaction-based trust and generalized trust across the years for each city and MSA individually, but the researcher will also be able to see how those levels of trust vary across all of the cities and MSAs as an aggregate, and detect if the levels of social trust in a community are higher or lower than the plotted norm.

Having multiple measures of crime on the three different crime graphs also allows for a cross-crime type of analysis. Although having a single measure of crime, such as violent crime, is informative, clearly having multiple measures of crime is more desirable. This allows the social science researcher to examine the relationship of violent crime, property crime, and burglary across cities and MSAs along with social capital levels. This type of simultaneous

graphing also allows the researcher to see whether or not social capital varies differently over time with the different types of crime being plotted.

This graphing technique featuring multiple MSAs and cities allows for the identification of common pattern(s) and outlier cases at a lower level of aggregation than has been accomplished in the past. By examining cities and MSAs in the research, two levels of analysis are added to our understanding of the relationship between social capital and crime in urban areas.

Identification of Most Common Pattern(s) and Outliers

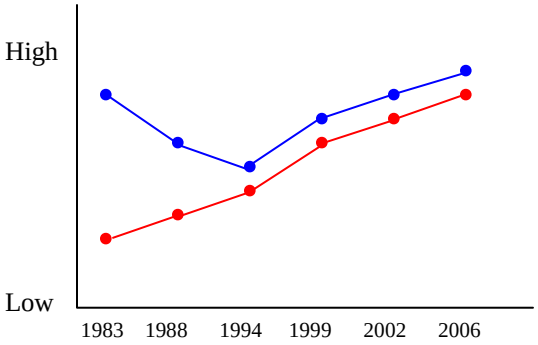
The final product of the analysis will be a unique insight into the causal connection between social capital and crime. Once a number of cities and MSAs have their social trust record plotted simultaneously with the social trust norm across cities, along with their respective UCR violent crime, property crime, and burglary crime rates, it will be possible to identify the most common pattern(s) and outliers present in the research. It is expected that cities with higher levels of social capital will also feature lower levels of violent crime, property crime, and burglary; however, it is also expected that some outliers will emerge along with common patterns identified across the cities and the MSAs.

From this innovative simultaneous graphing technique, at least five patterns involving each of the potential measures of crime (violent crime, property crime, and burglary) may emerge, as are evidenced in Graph 1. The first pattern that may emerge is simulated in Graph 1a. This pattern would be interpreted as such: a fluctuation in the crime rate of a city or MSA is independent of the social trust dimension. Graph 1b evidences a second possible pattern, interpreted as such: the crime rate varies over time while the social trust dimension remains largely invariant. A third possible pattern (1c) may be interpreted as follows: when the crime

rate fell, social trust grew; or, that as social trust grows, the crime rate fell (the most commonly hypothesized pattern). The fourth possible pattern (1d) that may result from this comparison is that a declining level of social trust did not translate into a higher crime rate for a city or MSA. The final possible pattern (1e) that may emerge from this comparison is that both the levels of social trust and crime rates may remain rather invariant or stable across the years of observation.

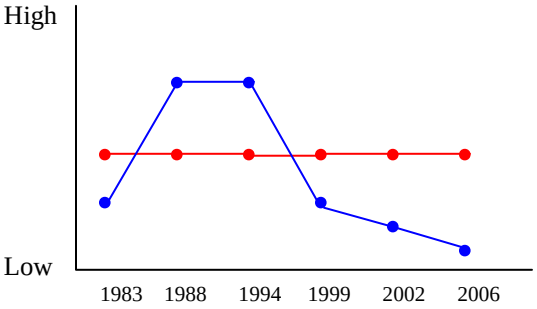
Figure 3.1: Possible Patterns That May Exist in the Relationship Between Social Capital and Crime

3.1a. Possible Pattern #1: No Systematic Connection, High Independent Variation



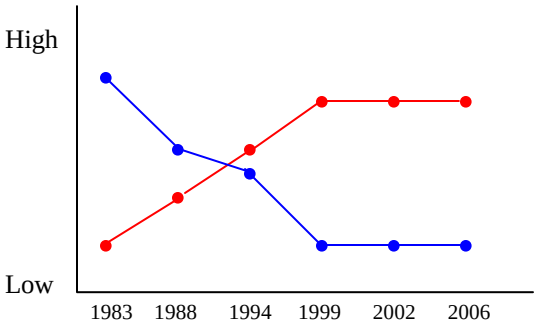
Any City U.S.A., 1983-2006

3.1b. Possible Pattern #2: No Systematic Connection, Invariant Social Capital and Both Rising and Declining Crime Rates



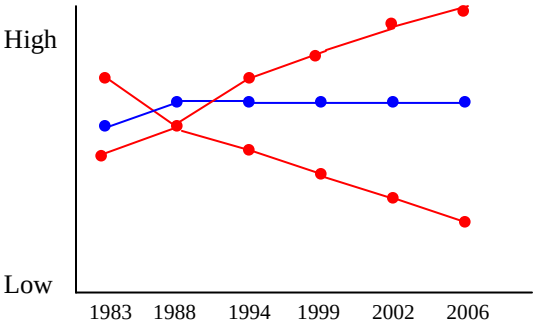
Any City U.S.A., 1983-2006

3.1c. Possible Pattern #3: Systematic Inverse Relationship Between Social Capital and Crime



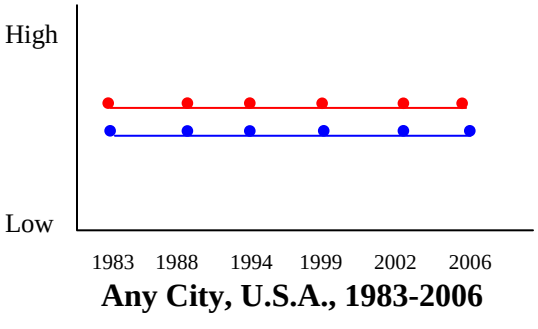
Any City, U.S.A., 1983-2006

3.1d. Possible Pattern #4: No Systematic Connection, Invariant Crime and Declining or Increasing Social Capital



Any City U.S.A., 1983-2006

3.1e. Possible Pattern #5: No Systematic Connection, Invariant Crime and Invariant Social Capital



Any City, U.S.A., 1983-2006

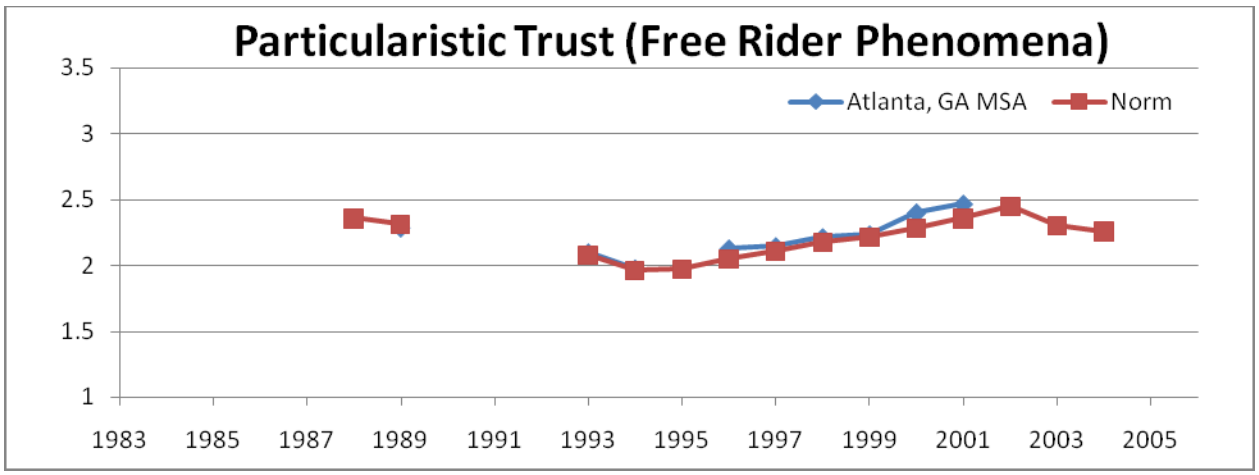
Key
Social Trust
UCR Crime Rate

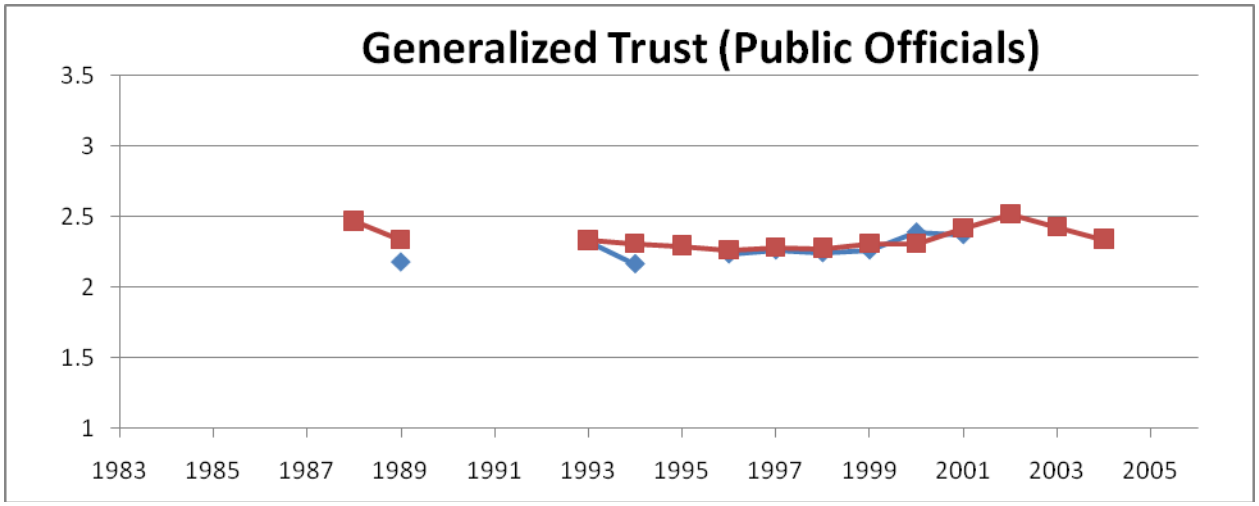
However, in outlier city cases where counter-intuitive findings emerge, a qualitative analysis of these city cases in the future may reveal some exceptions that support the rule or possibly some evidence of the darker side of social capital. This type of analysis can feature both a quantitative multi-city dimension and a selected outlier qualitative case study dimension that promises to more fully inform our understanding of the relationship between social capital and crime.

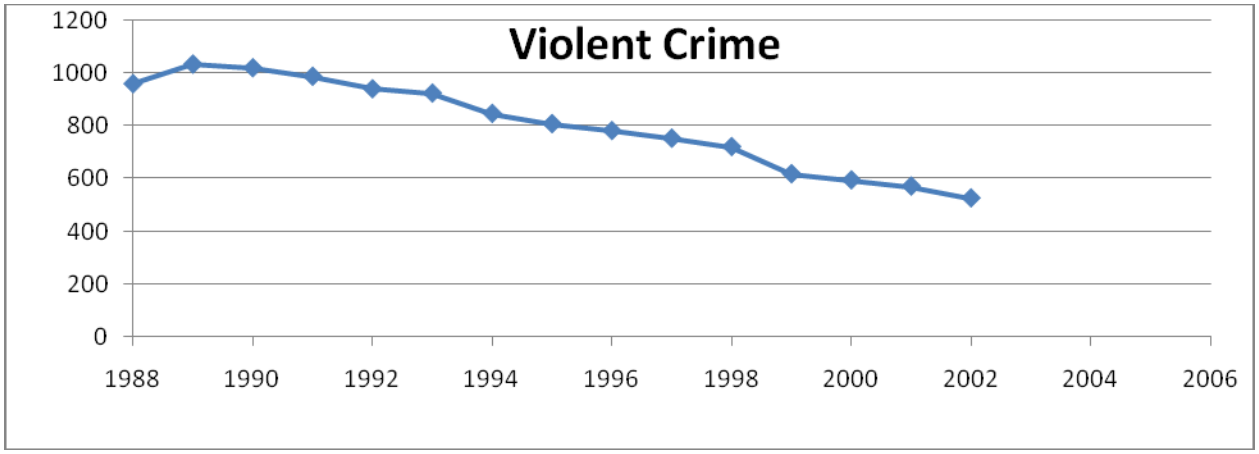
Example Case Graph and Graphic Analysis Summary

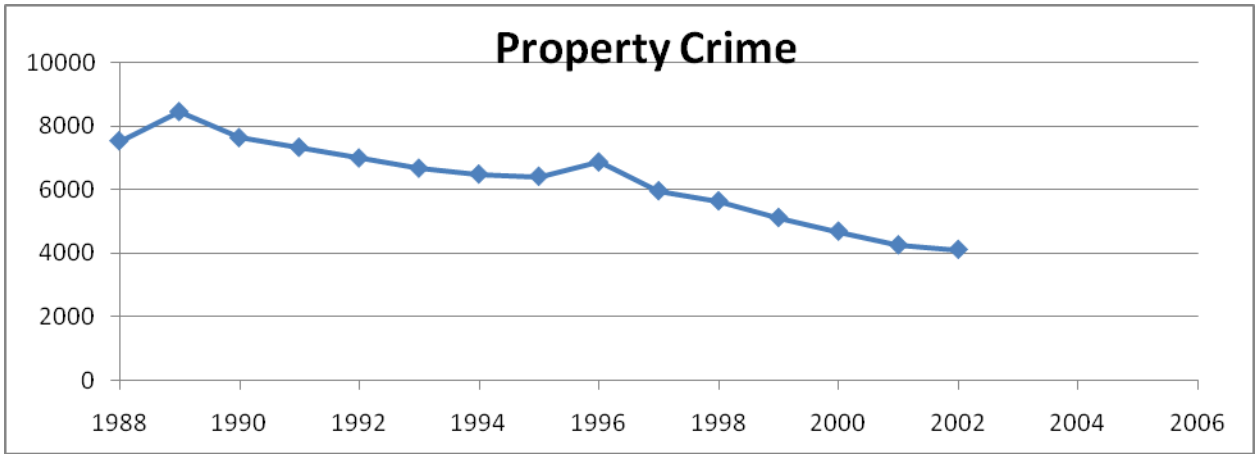
In what follows it will be shown how the results for each city or MSA will be simultaneously graphed and interpreted, using the example of the results for Case #2, the Atlanta, Georgia Metropolitan Statistical Area.

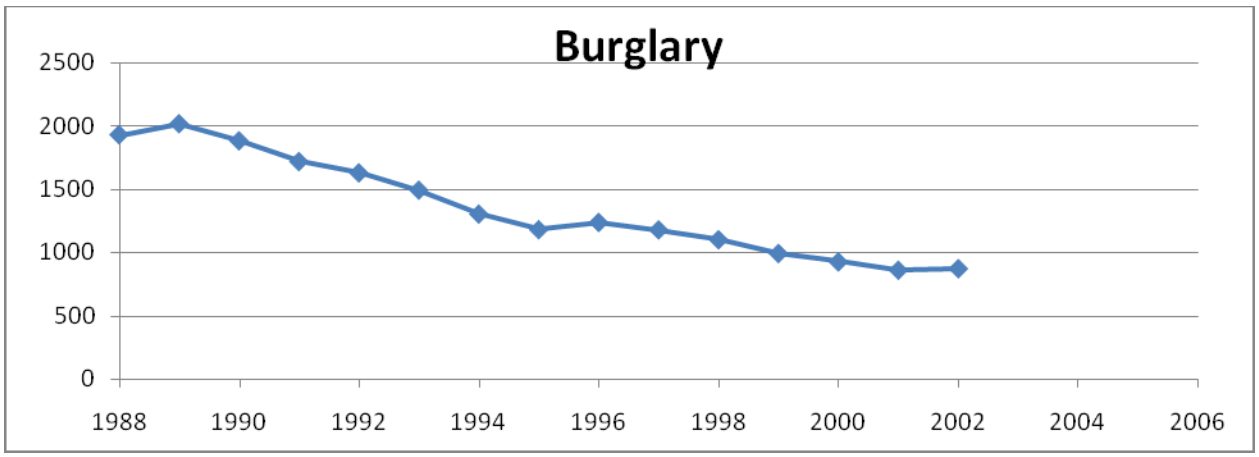
Figure 3.2*: Example Case Graph and Graphic Analysis Summary: Case 2: Atlanta, GA MSA*




Generalized Trust (Public Officials)
3.5
3
2.5
2
1.5
1
1983
1985
1987
1989
1991
1993
1995
1997
1999
2001
2003
2005


Violent Crime
1200
1000
800
600
400
200
0
1988
1990
1992
1994
1996
1998
2000
2002
2004
2006


Property Crime
10000
8000
6000
4000
2000
0
1988
1990
1992
1994
1996
1998
2000
2002
2004
2006



- Relation of Atlanta Social Capital Trust Measures to Norms Based on All Stowell Media Markets Surveyed in Each Year Graphed:
    - Particularistic trust (free rider phenomenon) decreases from 1989 to 1994 and then increased steadily over the remaining years measured, staying close to the norm over all years for which data are available – with slightly above norm readings being registered in 2000 and 2001.
    - Generalized trust (public officials) remained rather constant and stayed close to the norm over all years, with slightly sub-norm readings being recorded in 1989 and 1994.
- Violent Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with violent crime;** violent crime rises slightly, then steadily declines to a noteworthy extent from 1989 onward, whereas the social capital measure for generalized trust decreases from 1989 to 1994 and then increased steadily over the remaining years measured.
    - Generalized trust **appears to correlate weakly with violent crime**, as violent crime rises slightly and then steadily declines from 1989 onward, whereas the

social capital measure for particularized trust appears relatively stable over years, with a slight rise being recorded in 2000.

- Property Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with property crime**, as property crime rises sharply and then steadily declines from 1989 to 1995, with another rise noted in 1996 and then another steady decline registered, whereas the social capital measure for generalized trust declines until 1993, and then rises until 2001.
    - Generalized trust **appears to correlate weakly with property crime**, as property crime rises sharply and then steadily declines from 1989 to 1995, with another rise in 1996 and then another steady decline, whereas the social capital measure for the dimension particularized trust appears relatively stable over years, with a slight rise registered in 2000.
- Burglary Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with burglary**, as burglary rises slightly and then steadily declines from 1989 until 1995, with a slight rise in 1996, and then a steady decline thereafter, whereas the social capital measure for generalized trust declines until 1993, and then rises until 2001.
    - Generalized trust **appears to correlate weakly with burglary**, as burglary rises slightly and then steadily declines from 1989 until 1995, with a slight rise in 1996, whereas the social capital measure for particularized trust appears relatively stable over years, with a slight rise in 2000.

OVERALL PATTERN: Social capital varies only slightly over time in an upward direction, while all three measures of crime – violent, property, and burglary – show considerable variation, including a dramatic decline over the target time period. There appears to be some evidence in the Atlanta case that social capital might be "driving" crime rates, or that declining crime rates have the effect of increasing trust and social capital. The extent to which this pattern is replicated in the other MSAs and cities will provide a great deal of insight into the extent to which and how social capital and crime are related in American urban centers.

Conclusion

This chapter has explicated the research question and set forth the principal hypotheses to be investigated here, and it has detailed the methodology to be employed, identified the key variables to be measured, and outlined the types of analyses that will be undertaken in order to better understand the causal relationship between social capital and crime at the local community level. The use of the Leigh Stowell and Company datasets, their conceptual and empirical connection to Putnam's Social Capital Benchmark Survey items measuring generalized trust and particularistic trust, and use of the data from the FBI Uniform Crime Reports were explained, along with how simultaneous graphing of these data over the period 1983 to 2003 can offer important insight into the crime and social capital nexus. The comparative case study method that is used is explained in some depth, along with the innovative graphing techniques employed to document the trends present in each of the numerous cases under investigation. Finally, a sample case graph and graphic analysis is provided to illustrate how the social capital and crime data will be analyzed in depth in the cities and MSAs studied here.

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CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

Introduction

The data analysis, interpretation and presentation of the principal findings from the research presented in this dissertation are contained within this chapter. As noted in the previous chapter, an innovative simultaneous time series graphing technique was used to examine the relationship between social capital and crime in 25 American urban centers over the period of more than a decade. Each city or MSA was examined by comparing five individual graphs. Both social capital measures (particularistic trust and generalized trust) were plotted with the corresponding norm across all cities and MSAs, along with that particular city's or MSA's measure for that specific social capital question over time. The variation over time of these two social capital measures was then compared with the three measures of crime (violent, property, and burglary) across more than a decade of time during which the nation experienced a substantial reduction in crime.

At least five patterns of association between crime and social capital emerged, as suspected, involving each of the potential measures of crime (violent crime, property crime, and burglary) and the two social capital measures. The first pattern is simulated in Graph 1a. This pattern would be interpreted as follows: a fluctuation in the crime rate of a city or MSA is entirely independent of the social trust dimension. Graph 1b simulates a second pattern, interpreted as follows: the crime rate varies over time while the social trust dimension remains largely invariant. A third pattern (1c) may be interpreted as follows: when the crime rate fell, social trust grew or, alternatively, that as social trust grew the crime rate fell. This pattern represents the relationship most frequently hypothesized in the research literature. The fourth

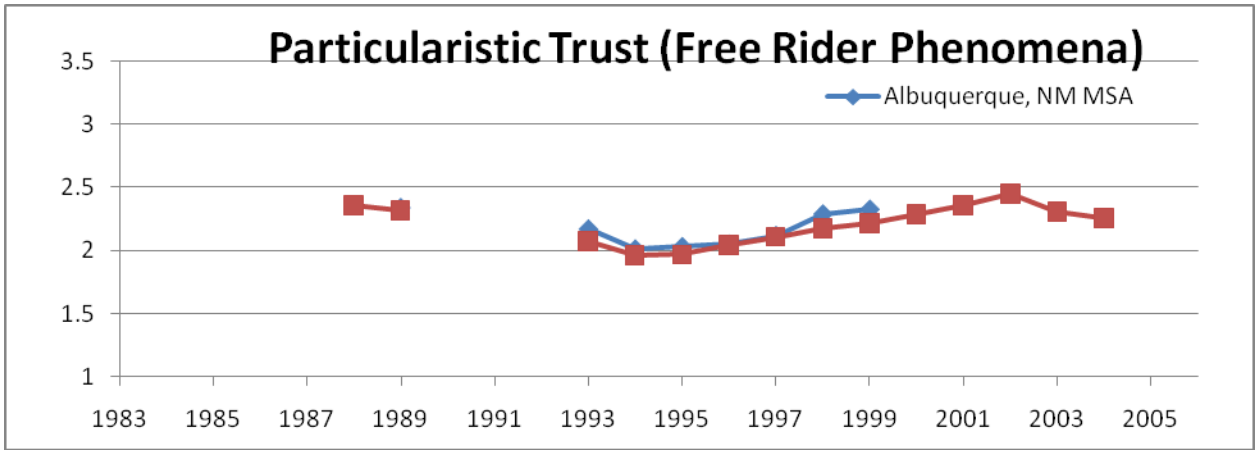
pattern (1d) that resulted from this comparison is that a declining level of social trust did not translate into a higher crime rate for a city or MSA. The final pattern (1e) that resulted from this comparison is that both social trust and the crime rate were relatively invariant for a city or MSA [see graph 3.1 in previous chapter].

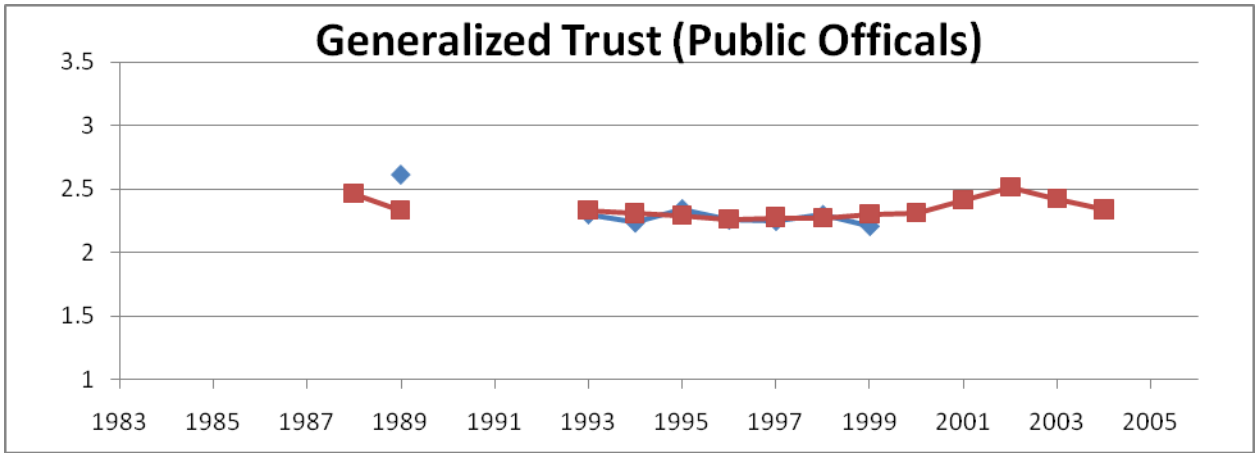
This chapter will present findings for each case of a city or an MSA included in the study, and discuss several components of the relationships, or lack thereof, observed between the two measures of social trust dimensions and social capital and the three types of crime reported to police. First, each case MSA and city will be examined with respect to its deviation or adherence to the norm measure for all cities and MSAs for both particularistic trust and generalized trust. Next, each case will be examined as to the relationship between both social capital measures and each of the measures of crime: violent crime, property crime, and burglary.

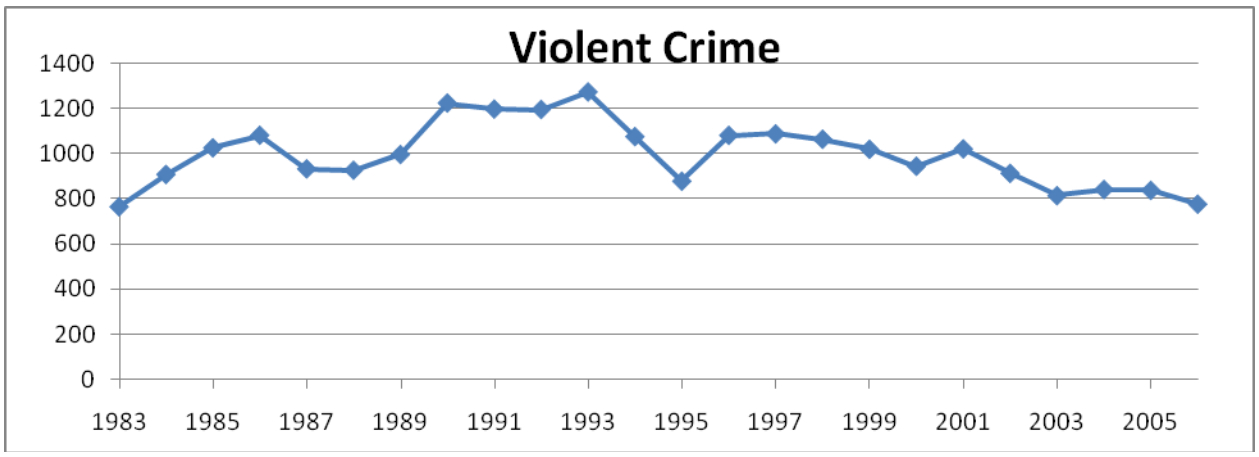
Once that particular analysis is complete and the findings are presented for each case, an overall pattern of findings will be identified from this simultaneous plotting of social capital and crime over time as derived from a summary matrix of case study results. This chapter will conclude with a discussion of how the variation of patterns across urban areas and the overall pattern of connection between social capital and crime relate to the question of causality -- that is, can it be said that low social capital “causes” crime to occur, and high social capital serves as protection against crime from the evidence assembled in this study? The following concluding chapters will address the implications of these findings for both research and practice, and offer suggestions for future research in this important area of social science inquiry.

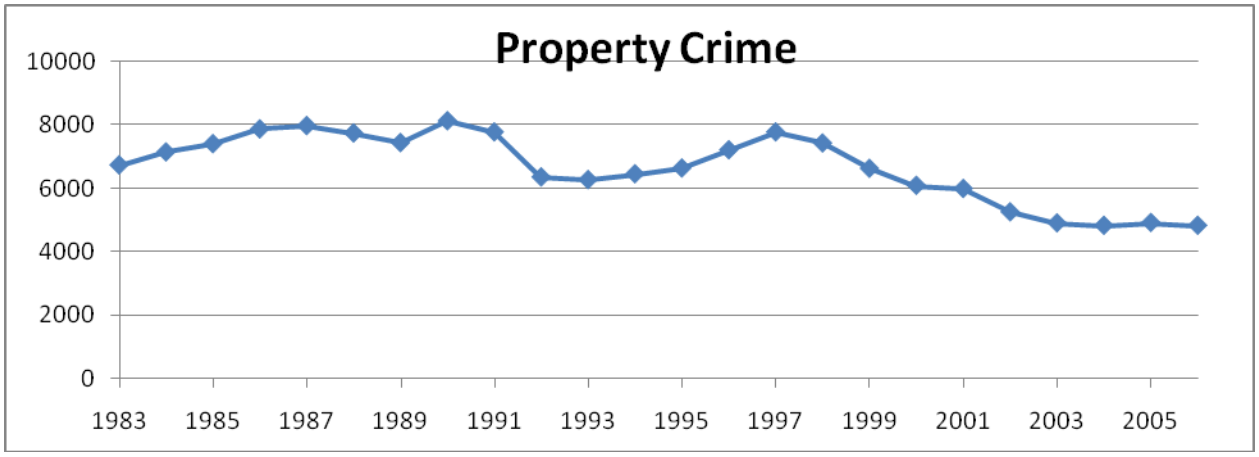
Findings

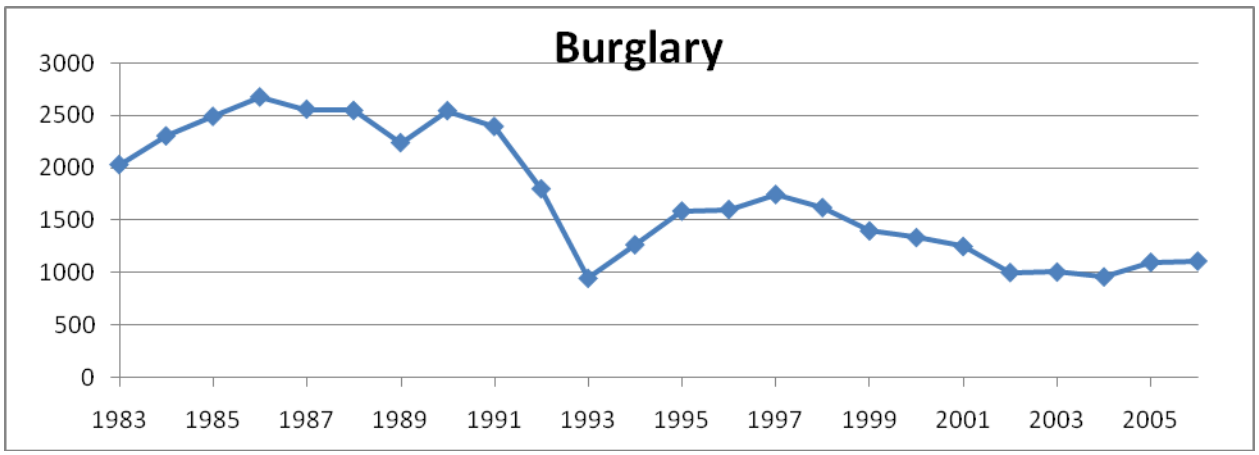
Figure: 4.1 - Case 1: Albuquerque, NM MSA











- Relation of Albuquerque Social Capital Trust Measures to Norms Based on All Stowell Media Markets Surveyed in Each Year Graphed:
    - Particularistic trust (free rider phenomenon) appeared to decrease from 1989 to 1994, and began to rise again until 1999. The measure appeared to stay close to the norm over all years for which data are available.
    - Generalized trust (public officials) also appeared to decrease from 1989 to 1994 and began to rise again until 1995, when it proceeded to slightly increase again from 1996 to 1998, and slightly decrease again in 1999. The measures stayed relatively close to the norm over all years, with slightly sub-norm readings registered in 1994 and 1999.

- Violent Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **does not appear to correlate with violent crime.** Violent crime rises to a noteworthy extent from 1983 until 1993, with a few decreases (from 1986 to 1988, and from 1990 to 1992) and recurring upswings during that time period. Then violent crime takes a dramatic downturn from 1993 to 1995, and then jumps up again in 1996, decreases slightly through 2000, spikes again in 2001, and begins to steadily decrease again with another slight spike in 2003. During this same period the social capital measure for particularistic trust declines from 1993 to 1994, and then rises steadily until 1999.
    - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with violent crime**. Violent crime rises to a noteworthy extent from 1983 until 1993, with a few decreases (from 1986 to 1988 and 1990 to 1992) and recurring upswings during that time period. Then violent crime takes a dramatic downturn from 1993 to 1995, and then jumps up again in 1996, decreases slightly through 2000, spikes again in 2001, and begins to steadily decrease again with another slight spike in 2003. During the same time period the social capital measure for generalized trust appears relatively stable over years, with a slight decrease from 1989 to 1994, a peak in 1995, a slight decrease again in 1996, and a fairly consistent level with a slight downturn in 1999 after that.
- Property Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **does not appear to correlate with property crime.** Property crime rises slightly from 1983 to 1987, slightly decreases until 1989, peaks in 1990, sharply decreases until 1992, steadily rises through 1997, and

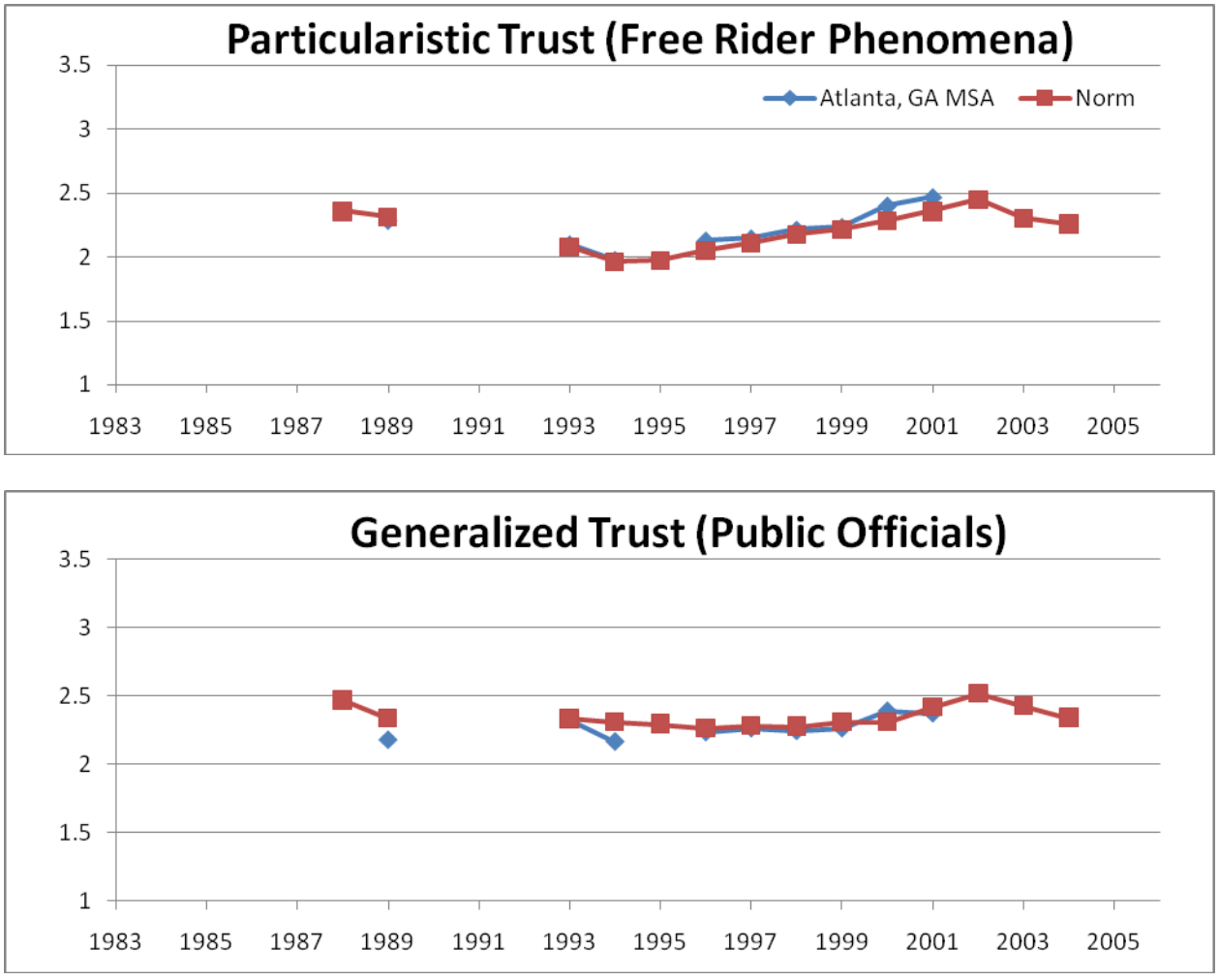
then decreases until 2006. Duirng the same time period the Stowell-based social capital measure for particularistic trust declines from 1993 to 1994, and then rises steadily until 1999.

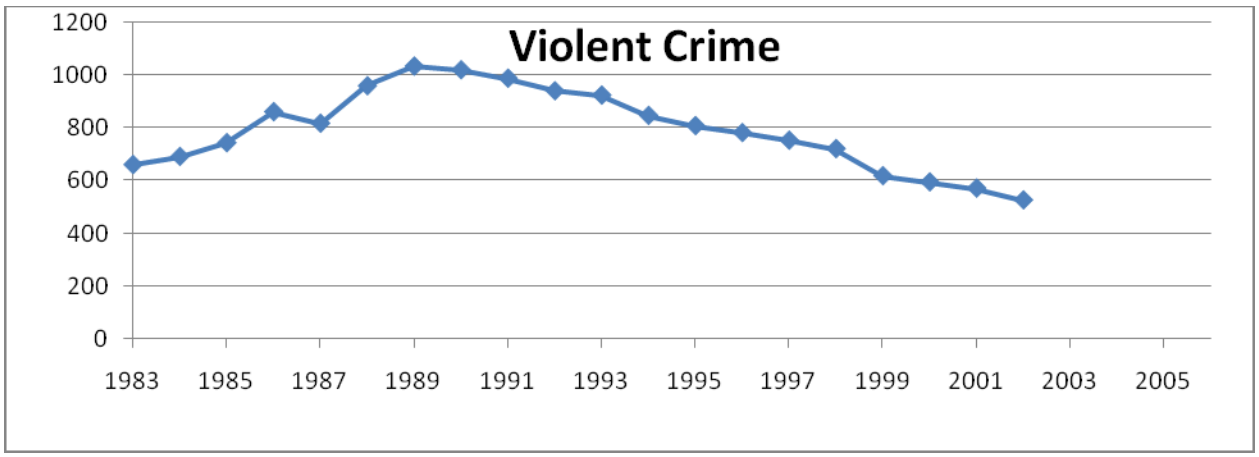
- Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with property crime.** Property crime rises slightly over the period 1983 to 1987, slightly decreases until 1989, peaks in 1990, sharply decreases until 1992, steadily rises through 1997, and then decreases until 2006. During the same time period the social capital measure for generalized trust declines from 1993 to 1994, and then rises steadily until 1999.

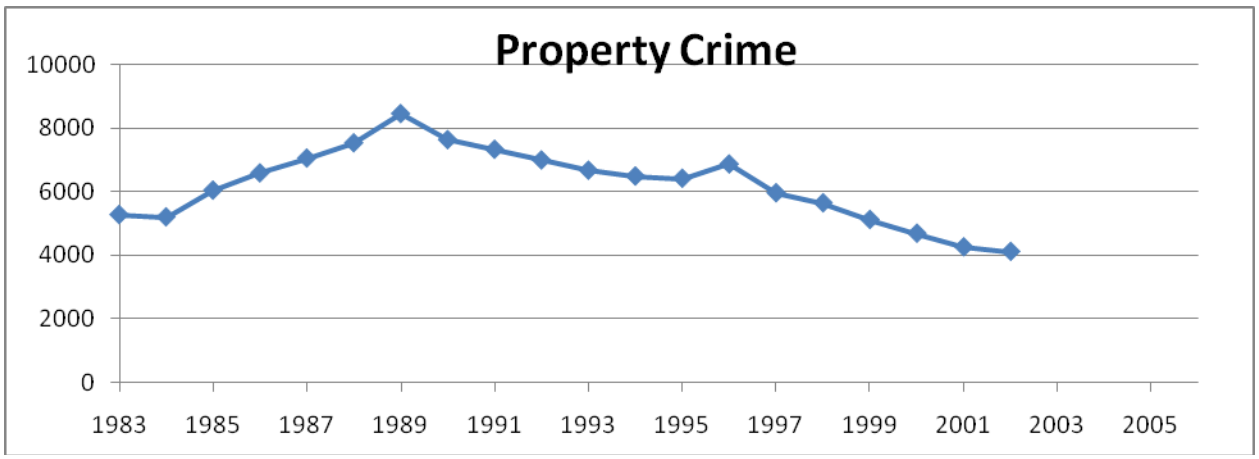
- Burglary Relationship:
  - Particularized trust **appears to correlate weakly with burglary.** Burglary rises steadily from 1982 until 1986, decreases until 1989, rises sharply from 1989 to 1990, with a sharp decrease until 1993 and a sharp rise thereafter until 1997, and from there a gradual decrease takes place until 2004 when the rates appear to even out. During the same time period the social capital measure for particularistic trust declines from 1993 to 1994, and then rises steadily until 1999.
  - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with burglary.** Burglary rises steadily from 1982 until 1986, decreases until 1989, rises sharply from 1989 to 1990, registers a sharp decrease until 1993, and takes a sharp rise thereafter until 1997, and from there a gradual decrease occurs until 2004 when the rates appear to even out. During the same time period the social capital measure for generalized trust declines from 1993 to 1994, and then rises steadily until 1999.

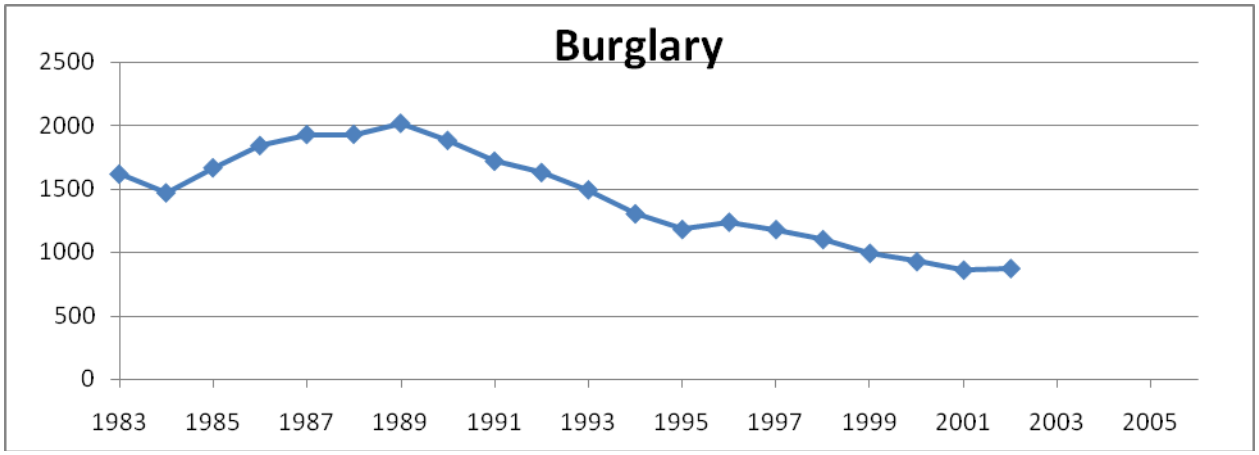
OVERALL PATTERN: Social capital varies slightly over time while all three measures of crime – violent, property, and burglary – show considerable variation, including a series of rather dramatic declines and increases over the target time period. There appears to be little evidence in the Albuquerque MSA case that social capital is "driving" crime rates, and that declining crime rates have the effect of increasing trust and social capital.

Figure 4.2 - Case 2: Atlanta, GA MSA









- Relation of Atlanta Social Capital Trust Measures to Norms Based on All Stowell Media Markets Surveyed in Each Year Graphed:
    - Particularistic trust (free rider phenomenon) decreases from 1989 to 1994 and then increased steadily over the remaining years measured and stayed close to the

norm over all years for which data are available, registering slightly above norm readings in 2000 and 2001.

- Generalized trust (public officials) remained rather constant and stayed close to the norm over all years, with slightly sub-norm readings being recorded in 1989 and 1994

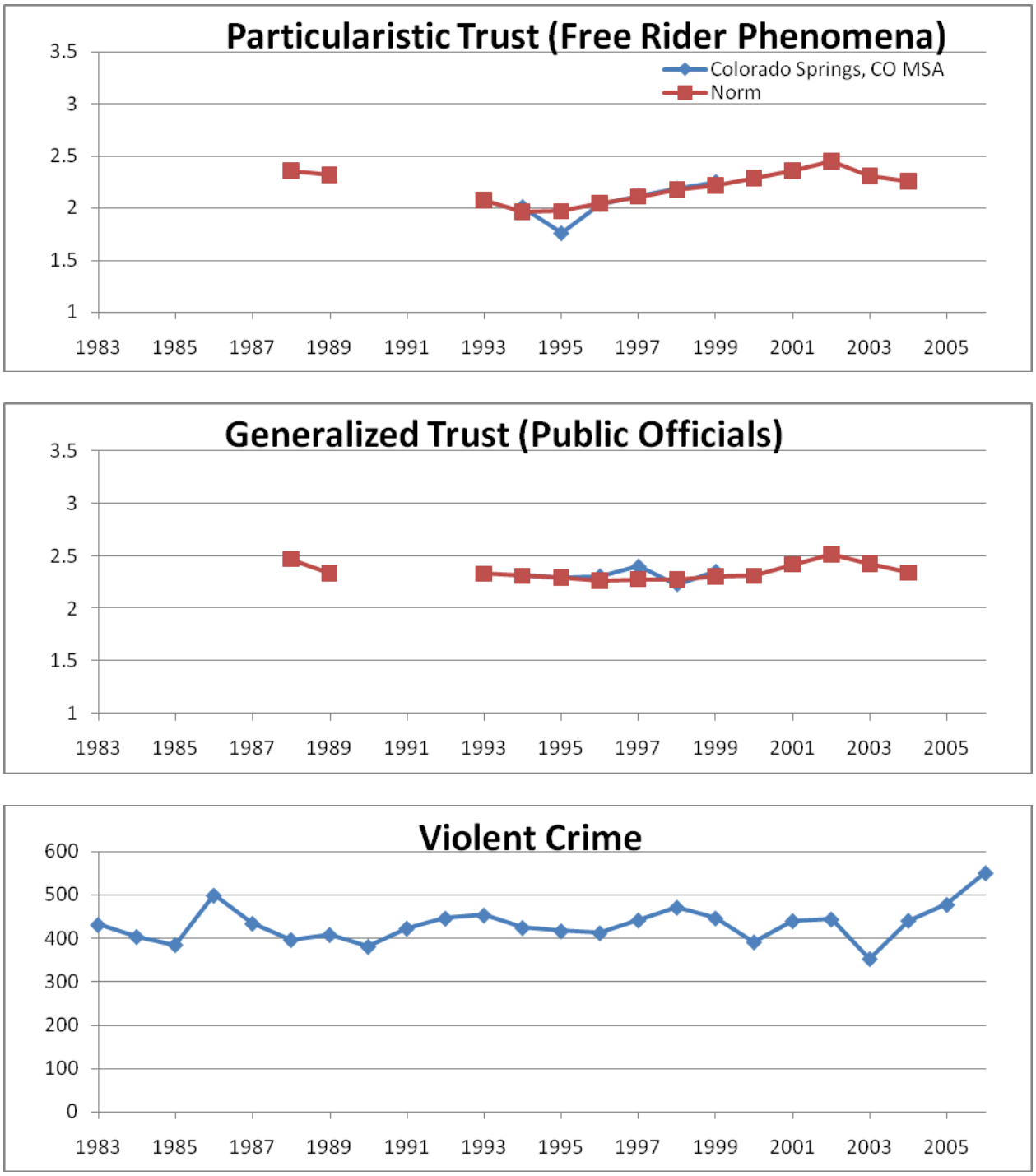
- Violent Crime Relationship:
  - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with violent crime;** violent crime rises slightly, then steadily declines to a noteworthy extent from 1989 onward, while concomitantly the social capital measure for particularistic trust decreases from 1989 to 1994, and then increases steadily over the remaining years during which it was measured.
  - Generalized trust **appears to correlate weakly with violent crime.** Violent crime rises slightly and then steadily declines from 1989 onward, and the social capital measure for generalized trust appears relatively stable over the years, with a slight rise being recorded in 2000.
- Property Crime Relationship:
  - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with property crime.** Property crime rises sharply and then steadily declines from 1989 to 1995, with another rise noted in 1996 and then another steady decline being witnessed. During this same period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust declines until 1993, and then rises until 2001.
  - Generalized trust **appears to correlate weakly with property crime.** Property crime rises sharply and then steadily declines from 1989 to 1995, with another

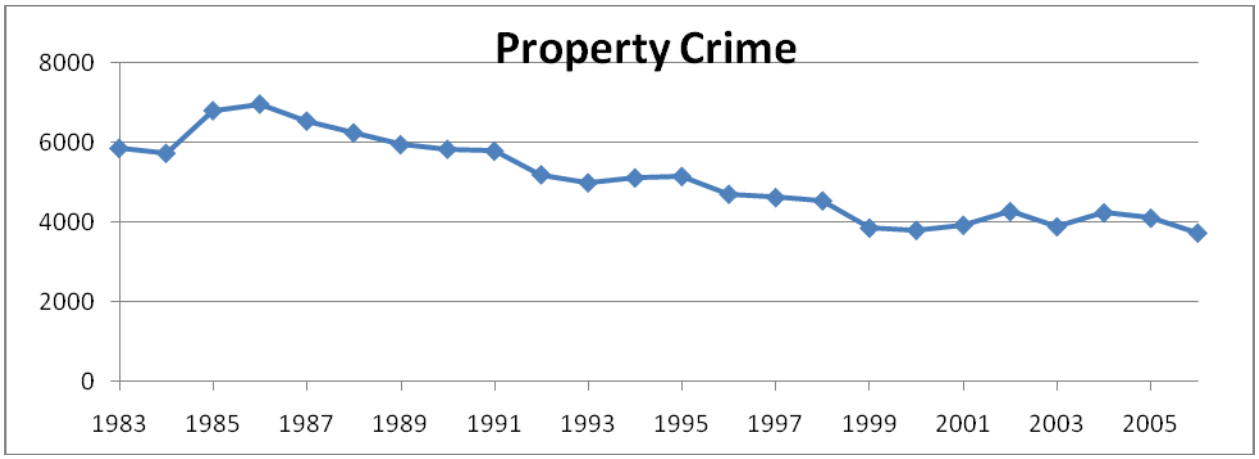
rise in 1996 and then another steady decline. During this same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust appears relatively stable over years, with a slight rise being recorded in 2000.

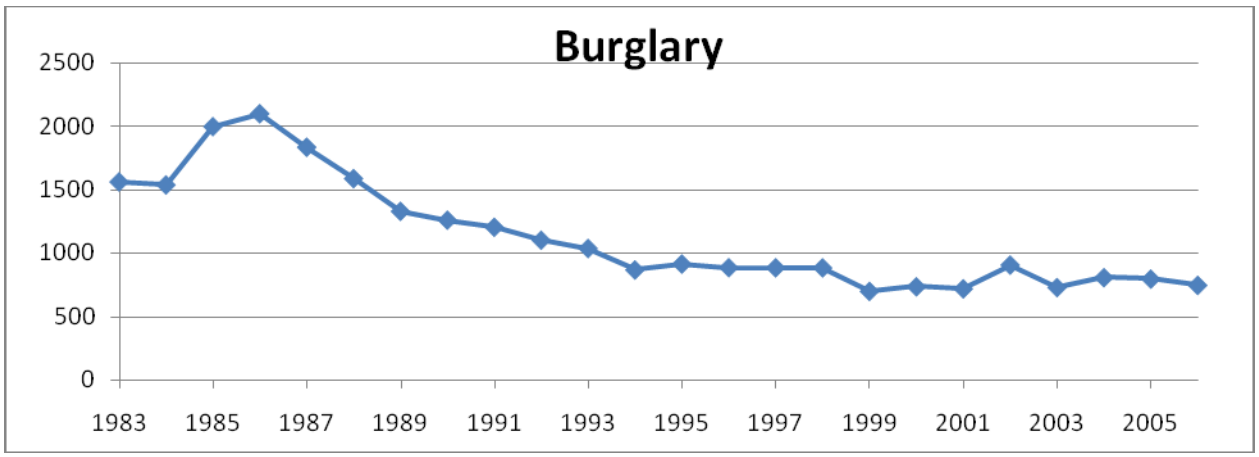
- Burglary Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with burglary**. Burglary rises slightly and then steadily declines from 1989 until 1995, with a slight rise noted in 1996, and then a steady decline being registered thereafter. During the same period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust declines until 1993, and then rises until 2001.
    - Generalized trust **appears to correlate weakly with burglary.** Burglary rises slightly and then steadily declines from 1989 until 1995, with a slight rise being documented in 1996. During this same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust appears relatively stable over years, with a slight rise being recorded in 2000.

OVERALL PATTERN: Social capital increases slightly over time while all three measures of crime – violent, property, and burglary – show considerable variation, including a dramatic decline over the target time period. There appears to be evidence in the Atlanta MSA case that social capital could be "driving" crime rates, and that declining crime rates might have the effect of increasing trust and social capital as broadly hypothesized.

Figure 4.3 - Case 3: Colorado Springs, CO MSA







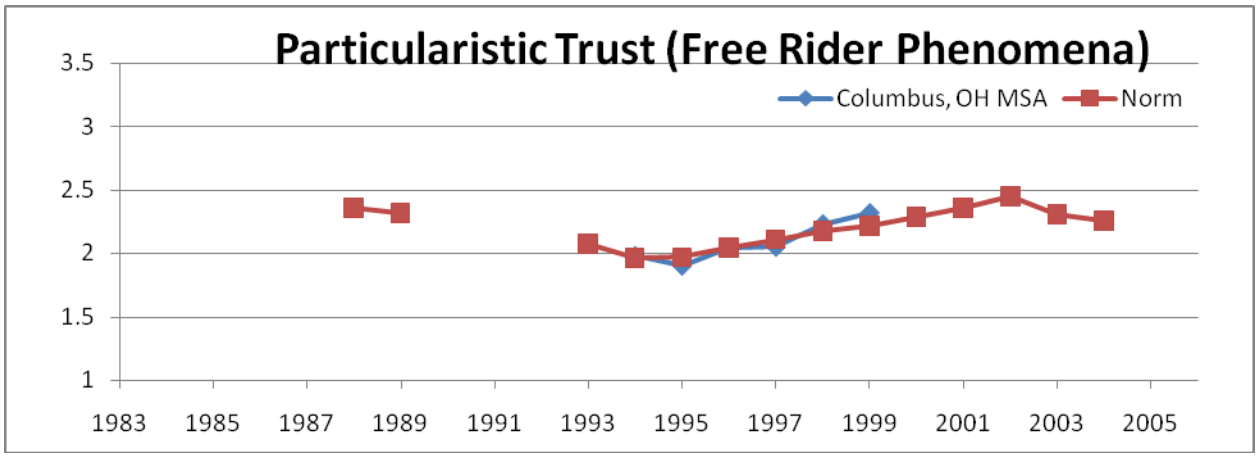
- Relation of Colorado Springs Social Capital Trust Measures to Norms Based on All Stowell Media Markets Surveyed in Each Year Graphed:
    - Particularistic trust (the belief in the free rider phenomenon) decreased from 1994 to 1995, and then steadily increased for the remaining years measured and stayed close to the MSA norm over all years except for 1995 when it was well below the norm.
    - Generalized trust (as applied to public officials as a specific group) remained rather constant and stayed close to the norm over all years, with a slightly above norm reading in 1997.

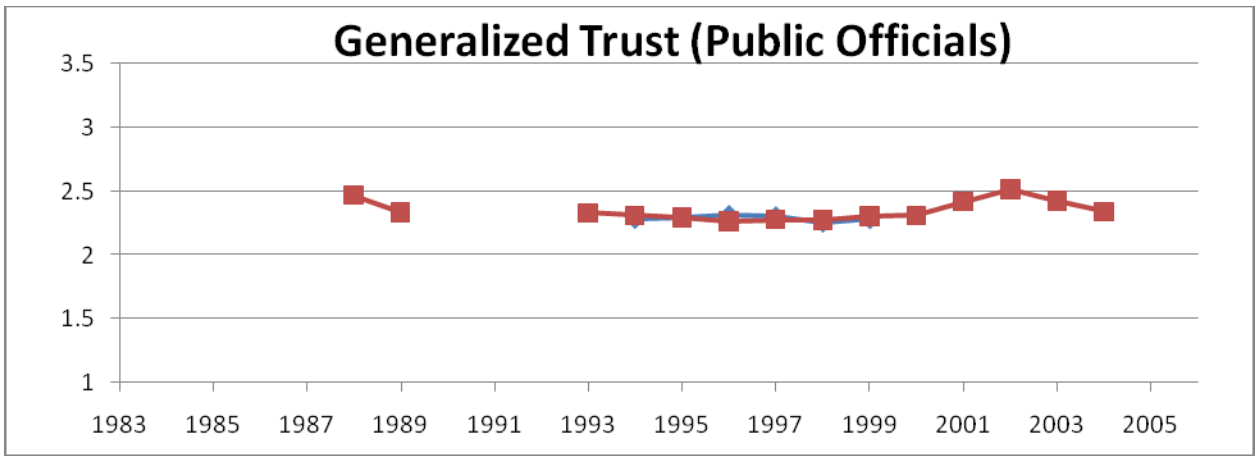
- Violent Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **does not appear to correlate with violent crime;** violent crime appears to be quite variable, with peaks noted in 1986 and 2006, with lower levels of violent crime in 1985, 1990, 2000, and 2003; in contrast, during this period the social capital measure for particularistic trust declines from 1994 to 1995, and then rises steadily until 1999.
    - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with violent crime**; violent crime appears to be quite variable over the period in question, with peaks noted in 1986 and 2006, with lower levels of violent crime being registered in 1985, 1990, 2000, and 2003; in contrast, during this period the social capital measure for generalized trust rises slightly from 1995 to 1997, and then decreases in 1998 and rises again in 1999.
- Property Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with property crime.** Property crime rises from 1984 to 1986, and then steadily declines, with few increases from 1986 to 2006. In this same time period the social capital measure for particularistic trust declines from 1994 to 1995, and then rises steadily until 1999.
    - Generalized trust **appears to correlate with property crime.** Property crime rises from 1984 to 1986, and then steadily declines, with few increases from 1986 to 2006. During this time period the social capital measure for particularized trust rises slightly from 1995 to 1997, then decreases in 1998, and then rises again in 1999.

- Burglary Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with burglary.** Burglary peaks in 1986, and then steadily declines thereafter with few increases; during this same time period the social capital measure for particularistic trust declines from 1994 to 1995, and then rises steadily until 1999.
    - Generalized trust **appears to correlate with burglary.** Burglary peaks in 1986, and then steadily declines thereafter with few increases: during this same time period the social capital measure for generalized trust rises slightly from 1995 to 1997, decreases in 1998, and then rises again in 1999.

OVERALL PATTERN: Social capital varies slightly over time and two measures of crime – property, and burglary – show considerable variation, including a dramatic decline over the target time period. There appears to be evidence in the Colorado Springs MSA case that social capital could be "driving" crime rates, specifically property crime and burglary rates, and that declining crime rates may have the effect of increasing trust and social capital in the case of property crime and burglary.

Figure 4.4 - Case 4: Columbus, OH MSA




Generalized Trust (Public Officials)
3.5
3
2.5
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1.5
1
1983
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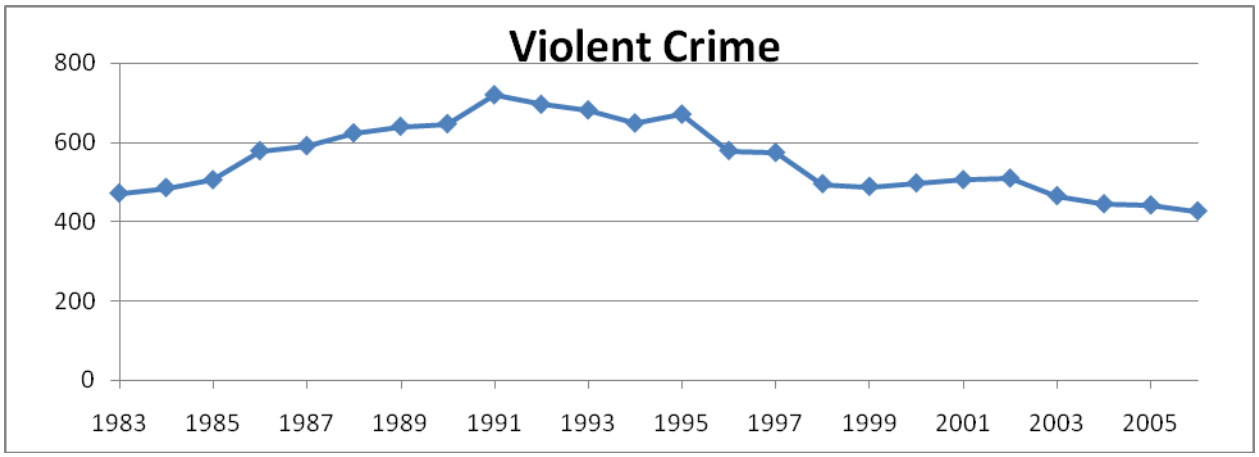
Violent Crime
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600
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200
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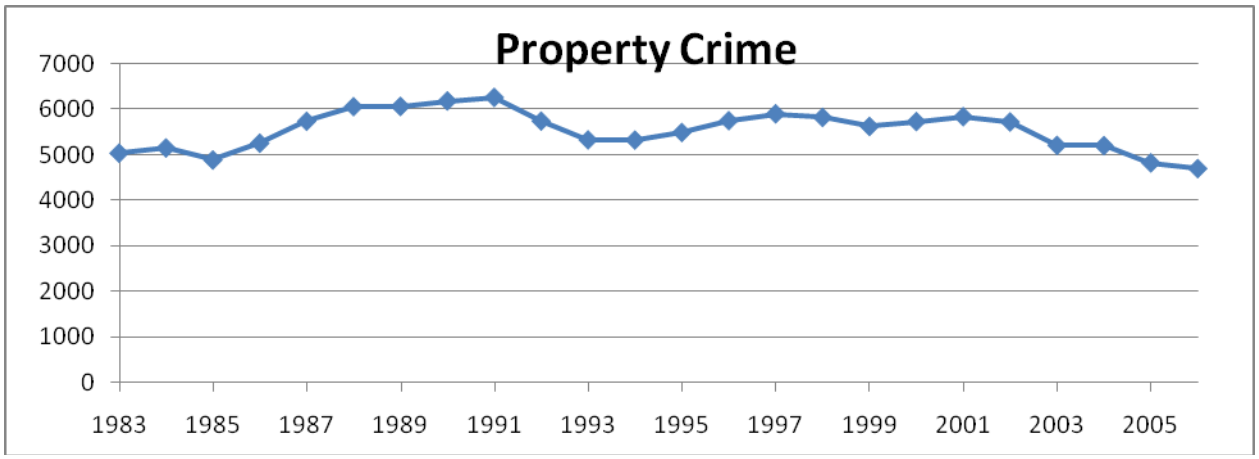
Property Crime
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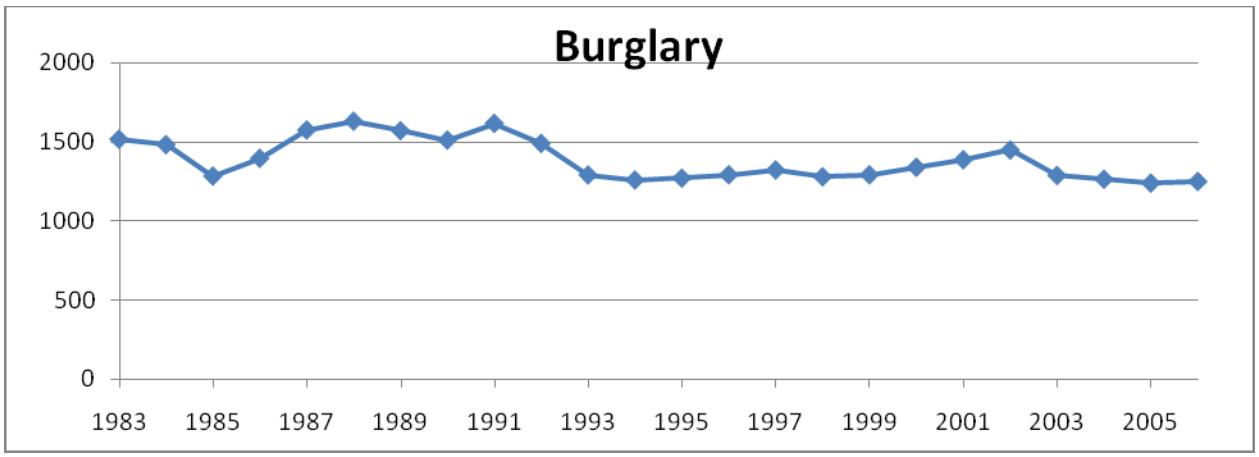


- Relation of Columbus Social Capital Trust Measures to Norms Based on All Stowell Media Markets Surveyed in Each Year Graphed:
    - Particularistic trust (free rider phenomenon) decreased slightly from 1994 to 1995 and then increased steadily thereafter and remained close to the norm over all years for which data are available, with slightly sub-norm readings in 1995 and 1997 and slightly above norm readings in 1998 and 1999.
    - Generalized trust (as applied to public officials) remained rather constant and stayed close to the norm over all years, with a slightly above norm readings in 1996.
- Violent Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with violent crime.** Violent crime steadily increases from 1983 to 1991, and then steadily declines to from 1991 onward with few increases or leveling out of violent crime levels; during this same period the social capital measure for generalized trust declines from 1994 to 1995, and then steadily increases until 1999.
    - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with violent crime**. Violent crime steadily increases from 1983 to 1991, and then steadily declines from 1991

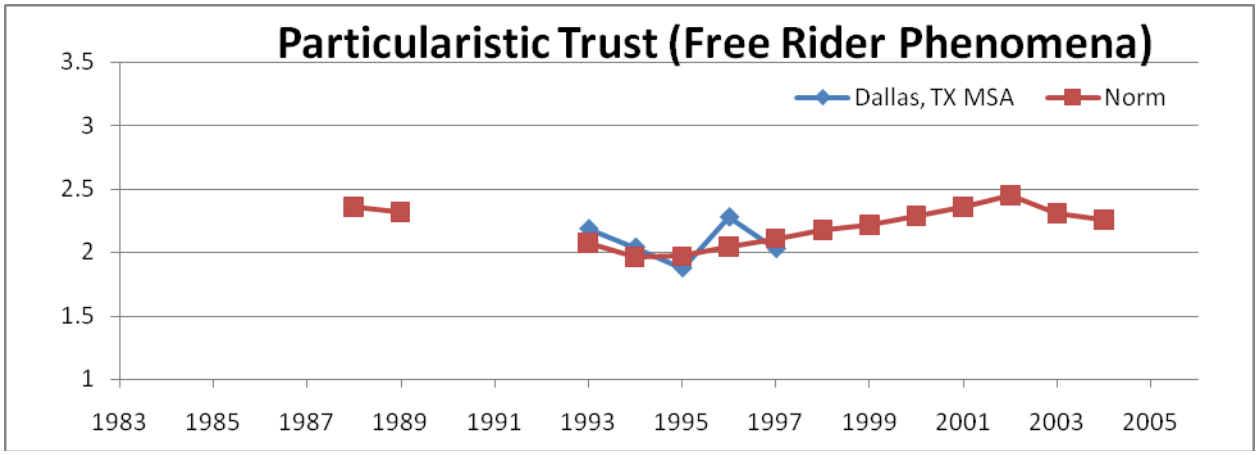
onward with few increases or leveling out of violent crime levels. During this time frame the social capital measure for generalized trust appears relatively stable over years with no significant increases or decreases.

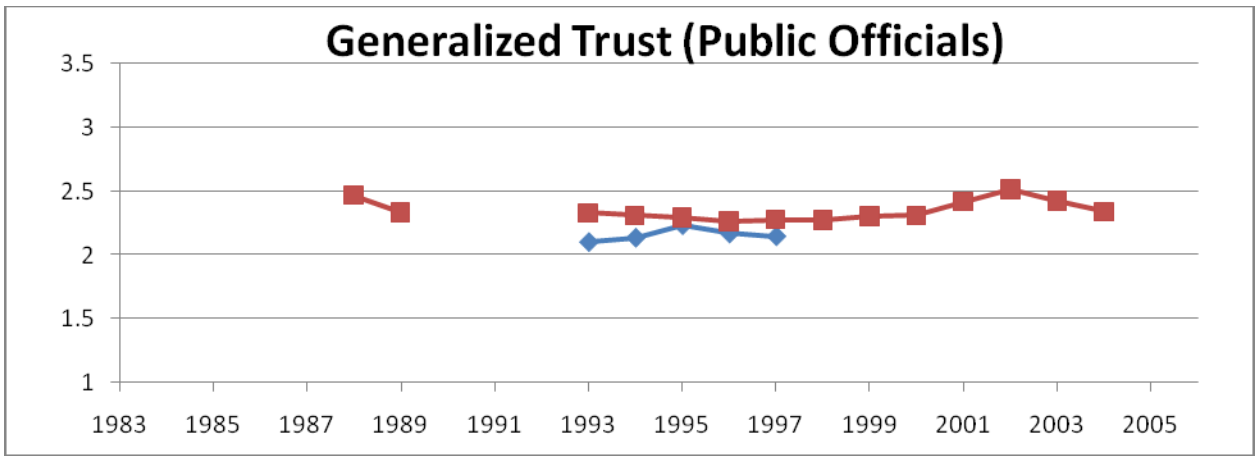
- Property Crime Relationship:
  - Particularistic trust **does not appear to correlate with property crime.** Property crime remains fairly steady over the time period, with lows noted in 1985 and 2005 and a peak being registered in 1991. During this period the social capital measure for particularistic trust declines from 1994 to 1995, and then steadily increases until 1999.
    - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with property crime.** Property crime rates remain fairly steady over the time period, with lows being noted in 1985 and 2005 and a peak being registered in 1991; during this same time period the social capital measure for generalized trust appears relatively stable over the years in question, with no significant increases or decreases.
- Burglary Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **does not appear to correlate with burglary**. Burglary remains fairly steady over the time period, with a low being noted in 1985 and peaks being registered in 1991 and 2002. During this same time period the social capital measure for particularistic trust declines from 1994 to 1995, and then steadily increases until 1999.
    - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with burglary.** Burglary remains fairly steady of the time period, with a low noted in 1985 and peaks being registered in 1991 and 2002; during this same time period the social capital

measure for particularized trust appears relatively stable over the years in question, with no significant increases or decreases being documented.

OVERALL PATTERN: The particularistic trust measure of social capital increases slightly over time while one measure of crime – violent crime – shows considerable variation, including a dramatic decline over the target time period. There appears to be only slight evidence in the Columbus MSA case that particularistic trust, as a form of social capital, may be "driving" violent crime rates, and that declining violent crime rates may have the effect of increasing trust and social capital. However, this observation does not hold true with respect to property crime rates and burglary in connection to the generalized trust measure of social capital, a measure that did not vary very much over time.

Figure 4.5 - Case 5: Dallas, TX MSA




Generalized Trust (Public Officials)
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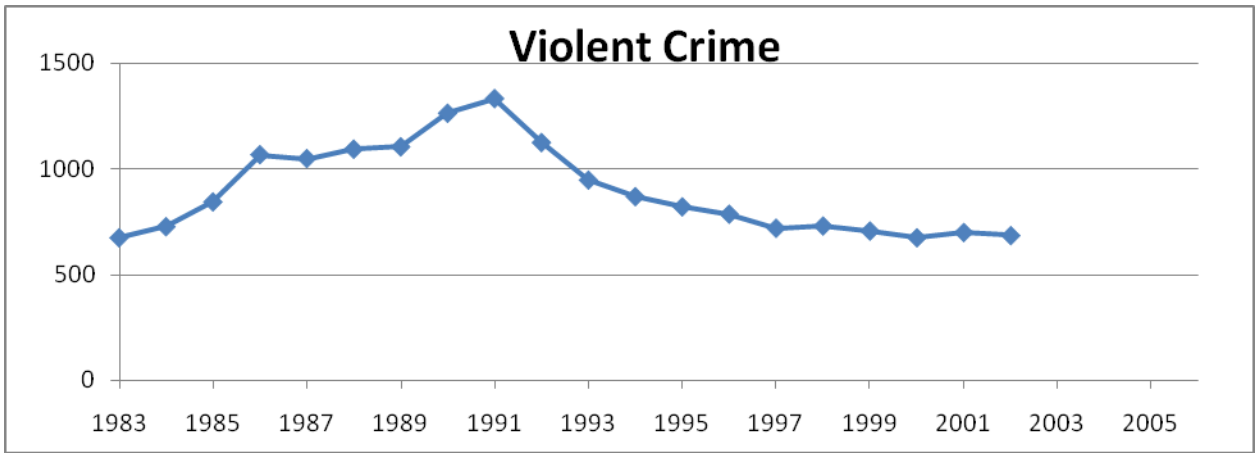
Violent Crime
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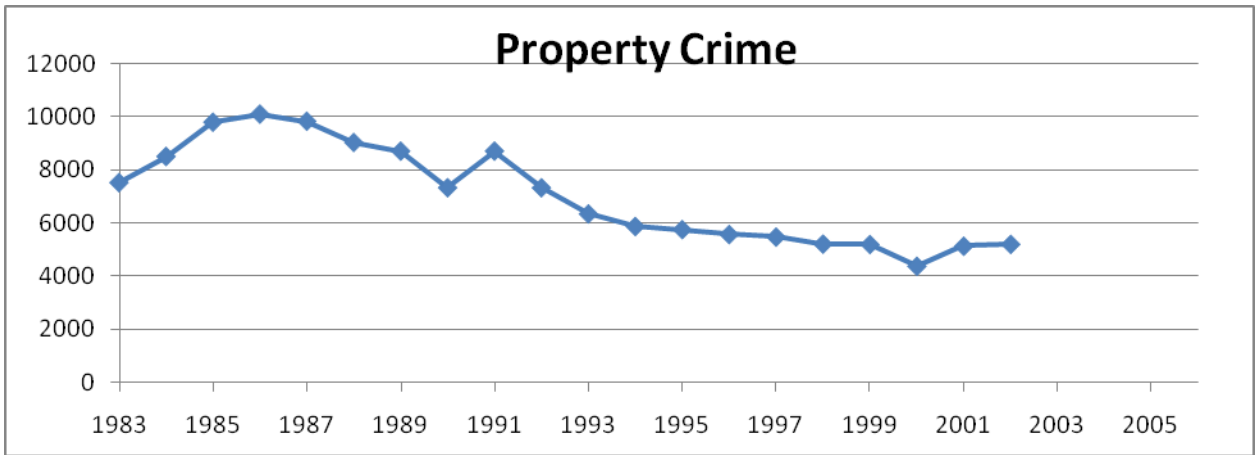
Property Crime
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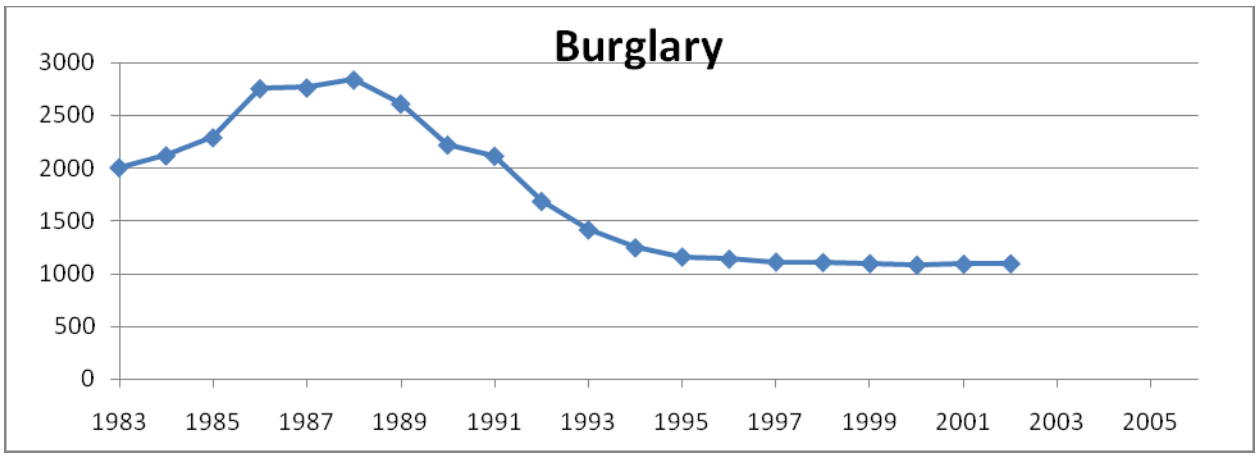


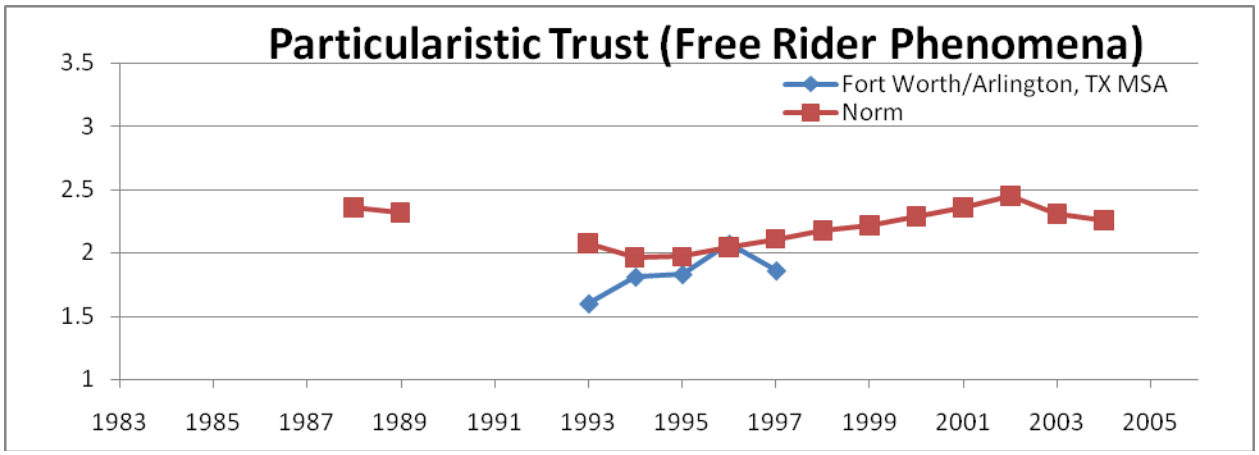
- Relation of Dallas Social Capital Trust Measures to Norms Based on All Stowell Media Markets Surveyed in Each Year Graphed:
    - Particularistic trust (free rider phenomenon) varied slightly above and below the norm over all years for which data are available, with slightly sub-norm readings noted in 1995 and 1997 and slightly above norm readings being registered in 1993, 1994, and 1996.
    - Generalized trust (public officials) increases from 1993 to 1995, and then decreases again thereafter, and varied significantly from the norm over all years for which data are available, with sub-norm readings each year.
- Violent Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **does not appear to correlate with violent crime.** Violent crime rises steadily to a noteworthy extent from 1983 to 1991, where it peaks and begins a noteworthy and steady decline through 2002; during the same time period the social capital measure for particularistic trust declines until 1995, and then peaks in 1996 when it starts to decrease once again.
    - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with violent crime.** Violent crime rises steadily to a noteworthy extent from 1983 to 1991, where it peaks and

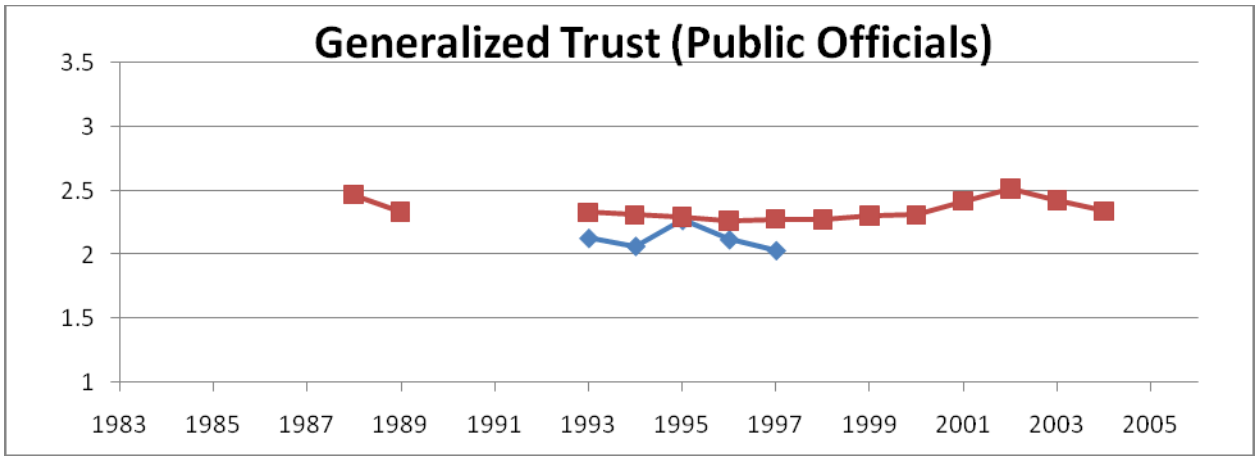
begins a noteworthy and steady decline through 2002. During the same time period the social capital measure for generalized trust increases from 1993 to 1995, and then decreases again.

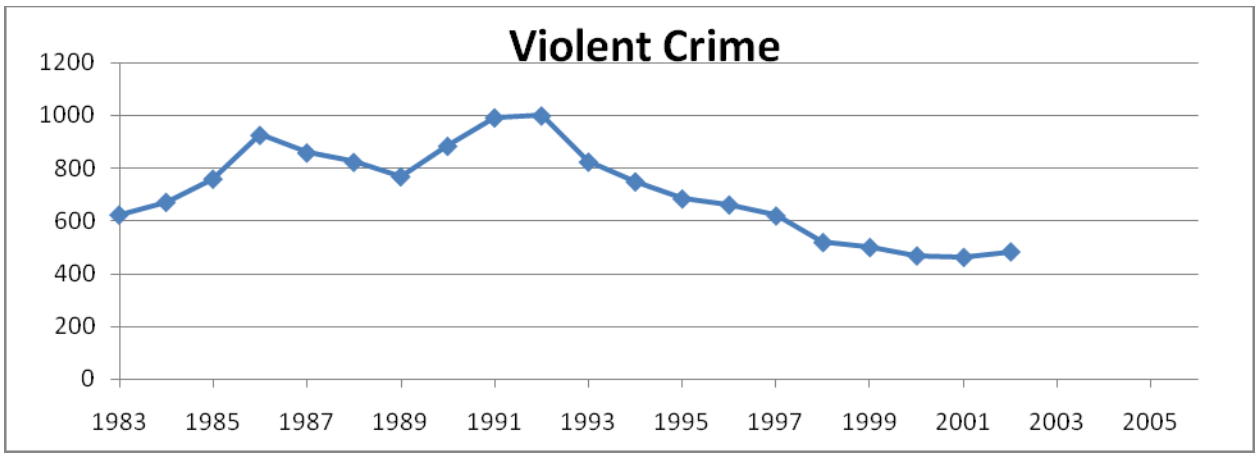
- Property Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **does not appear to correlate with property crime.** Property crime steadily increases from 1983 to 1988, and then decreases steadily until 1990 where it peaks again in 1991, and then continues to decline steadily. During the same time period the social capital measure for particularistic trust declines until 1995, and then peaks in 1996 when it starts to decrease again.
    - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with property crime.** Property crime steadily increases from 1983 to 1988, and then decreases steadily until 1990 where it peaks again in 1991, and then continues to decline steadily. During the same time period the social capital measure for generalized trust increases from 1993 to 1995, and then decreases again.
- Burglary Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **does not appear to correlate with burglary.** Burglary rises steadily from 1983 until 1988, and then steadily declines thereafter; during this time period the social capital measure for particularistic trust declines until 1995, and then peaks in 1996 when it starts to decrease once again.
    - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with burglary**, as burglary rises steadily from 1983 until 1988, and then steadily declines thereafter. During this time period the social capital measure for generalized trust increases from 1993 to 1995, and then decreases again.

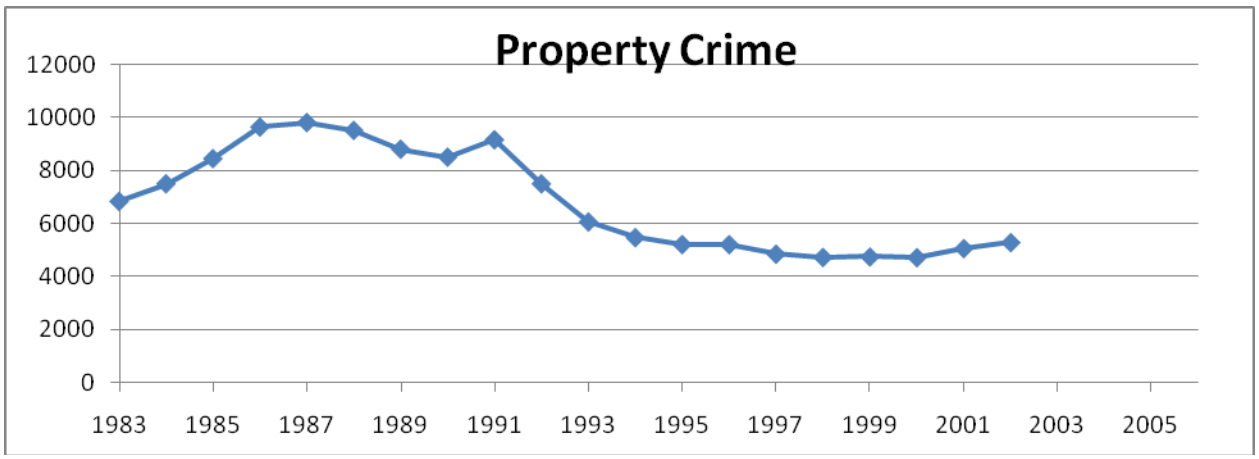
OVERALL PATTERN: Social capital varies only slightly over time while all three measures of crime – violent, property, and burglary – show considerable variation, including a dramatic decline over the target time period. There does not appear to be evidence in the Dallas MSA case that social capital is "driving" crime rates, but rather that dramatically declining crime rates have in fact been shown to occur at the same time as decreasing and increasing levels of social capital are taking place, thus making a connection between the two improbable.

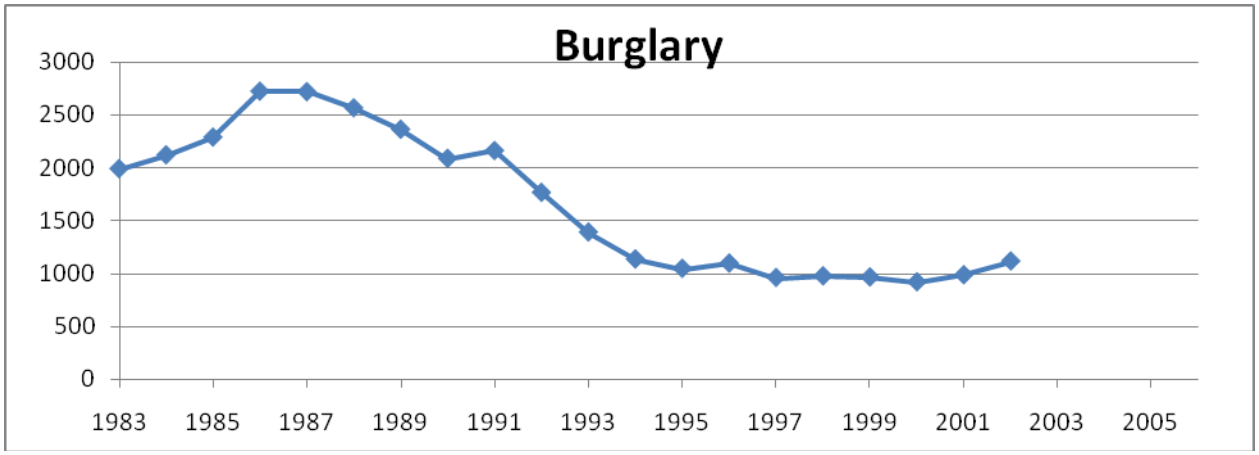
Figure 4.6 - Case 6: Fort Worth/Arlington, TX MSA











- Relation of Fort Worth/Arlington Social Capital Trust Measures to Norms Based on All Stowell Media Markets Surveyed in Each Year Graphed:

- Particularistic trust (free rider phenomenon) increased from 1993 to 1996, and varied well below the norm over all years for which data are available, with the exception of 1996 where the reading was on par with the norm.
- Generalized trust (public officials) decreased slightly from 1993 to 1994, increased from 1994 to 1995, and then decreased steadily thereafter; the readings varied well below the norm over all years for which data are available, with the sole exception of 1995 where the reading was on par with the norm.

- Violent Crime Relationship:
  - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate slightly with violent crime.** Violent crime rises from 1983 to 1986, then decreases slightly, and then rises again with a peak in 1992, then steadily declines to a noteworthy extent from 1992 onward. During this same time period the social capital measure for particularistic trust rises significantly from 1993 to 1996, when it begins to decline once more.
  - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with violent crime**. Violent crime rises from 1983 to 1986, then decreases slightly, and then rises again with a peak being noted in 1992, then steadily declines to a noteworthy extent from 1992 onward. During this time period the social capital measure for generalized trust decreases from 1993 to 1994, at which point it begins to rise again in 1995, and then begins a steady decline.
- Property Crime Relationship:
  - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with property crime.** Property crime rises sharply and then steadily declines from 1987 to 1990, with another peak noted in 1991 and then a steady decline that evens out thereafter. During this

same time period the social capital measure for particularistic trust rises significantly from 1993 to 1996, a which point it begins to decline again.

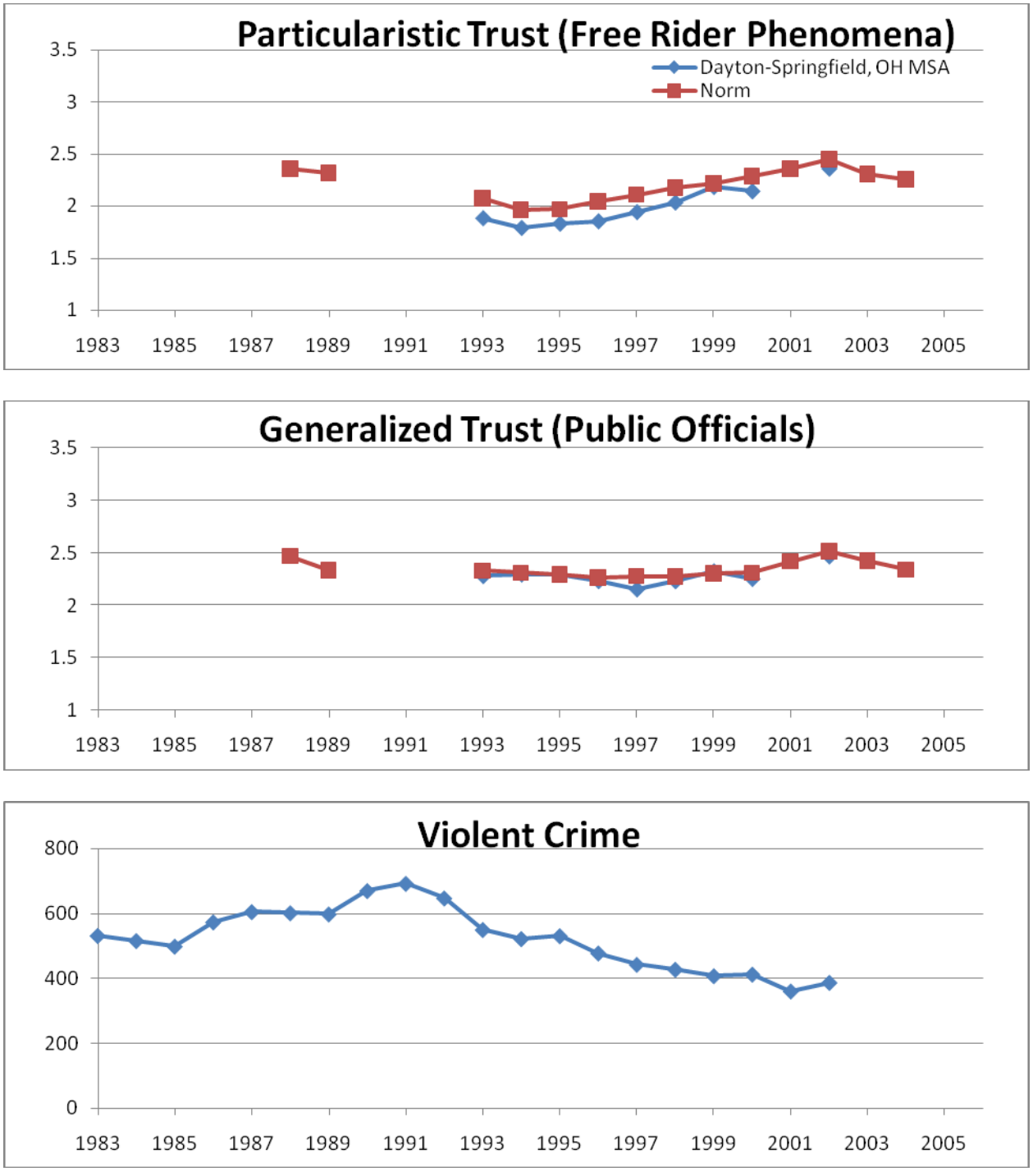
- Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with property crime.** Property crime rises sharply and then steadily declines from 1987 to 1990, with another peak being noted in 1991 and then a steady decline that evens out thereafter. During this time period the social capital measure for generalized trust decreases from 1993 to 1994, at which point it begins to rise again in 1995, and then begins a steady decline.

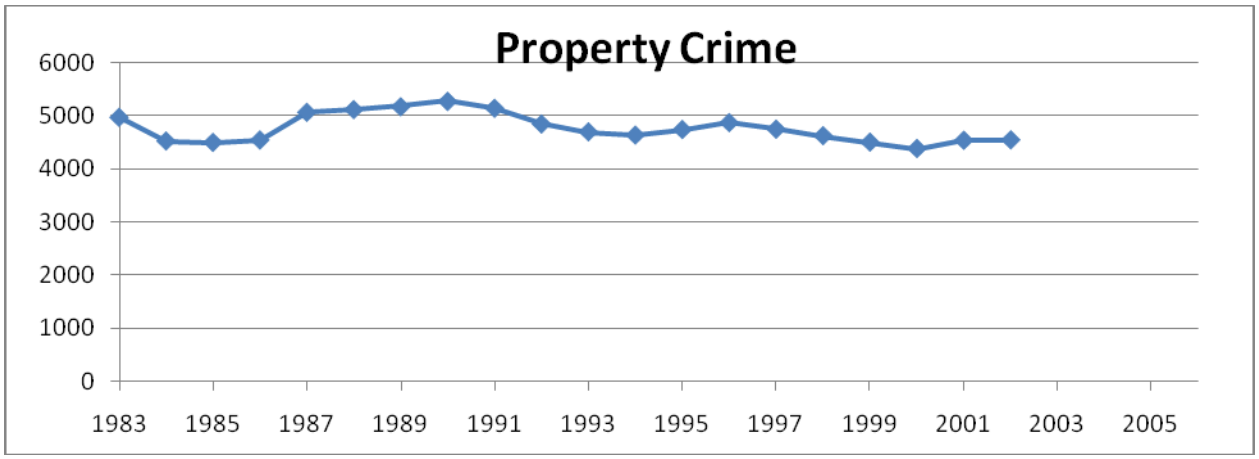
- Burglary Relationship:
  - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with burglary.** Burglary rises steadily from 1983 until 1986, then steadily declines thereafter with a few minor increases, whereas the social capital measure for particularistic trust rises significantly from 1993 to 1996 where it begins to decline again.
  - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with violent crime.** Burglary rises steadily from 1983 until 1986, then it steadily declines thereafter with a few minor increases. During this same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust decreases from 1993 to 1994, at which point it begins to rise again in 1995 and then begins a steady decline.

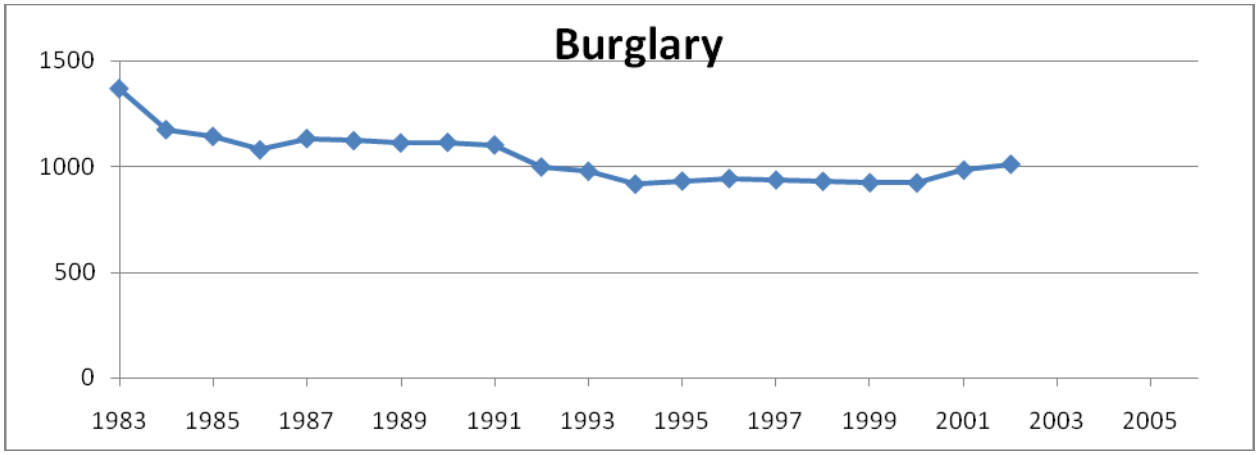
OVERALL PATTERN: The particularistic trust measure of social capital increases significantly over time while all three measures of crime – violent, property, and burglary – show considerable variation, including a dramatic decline over the target time period. There appears to be very slight evidence in the Fort Worth/Arlington MSA case that social capital can be said to be "driving" crime rates, at least in terms of particularistic trust, and that declining crime rates

have the clear effect of increasing trust and social capital. Not even this quite modest association holds for the generalized trust measure.

Figure 4.7 - Case 7: Dayton-Springfield, OH MSA







- <u>Relation of Dayton-Springfield Social Capital Trust Measures to Norms Based on All Stowell Media Markets Surveyed in Each Year Graphed</u>:
    - Particularistic trust (free rider phenomenon) declines from 1993 to 1994, and then steadily rises; the readings for this item remained sub-norm over all years for which data are available.
    - Generalized trust (public officials) appears to steadily decrease from 1993 to 1997, and then increases thereafter. The reading for this item remained rather constant and stayed close to the norm over all years, with a slightly sub-norm reading being registered in 1997.

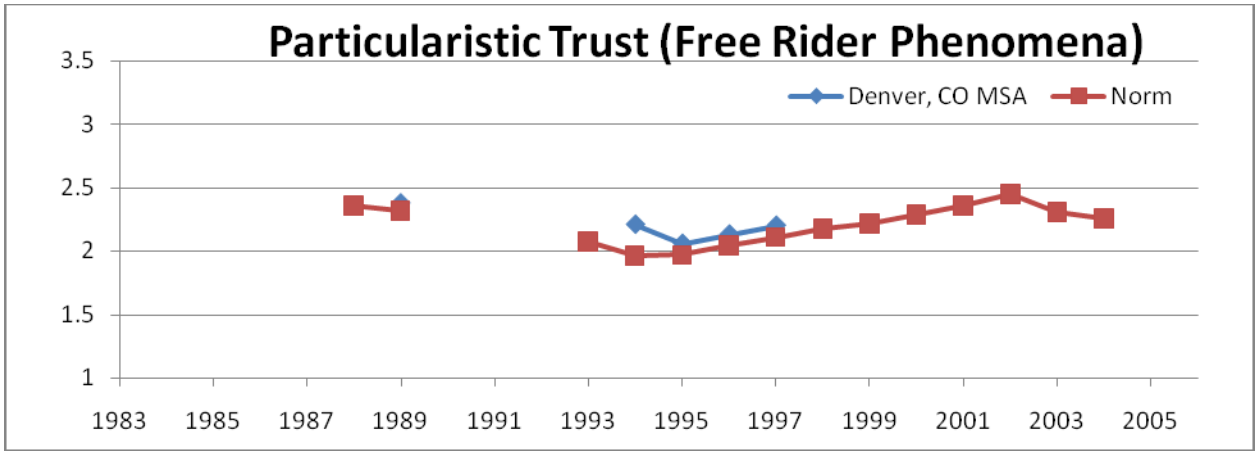
- Violent Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with violent crime.** Violent crime rises steadily rises from 1985 to 1991, then steadily declines thereafter; during this same period the social capital measure for particularistic trust declines from 1993 to 1994, and then steadily rises.
    - Generalized trust also **appears to correlate with violent crime.** Violent crime rises steadily rises from 1985 to 1991, then steadily declines thereafter; in this same time period the social capital measure for generalized trust appears to steadily decrease from 1993 to 1997, and then increases thereafter.
- Property Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **does not appear to correlate with property crime**. Property crime remains relatively stable over time, rising slightly until 1990 and decreasing slightly until 2000. During this same period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust declines from 1993 to 1994, and then steadily rises.
    - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with property crime.** Property crime remains relatively stable over time, rising slightly until 1990 and decreasing slightly until 2000. In this same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust appears to steadily decrease from 1993 to 1997, and then increases thereafter.
- Burglary Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **does not appear to correlate with burglary**. Burglary decreases slightly from 1983 to 1991 and then remains fairly constant over the remaining years measured. During this same period of time the social capital

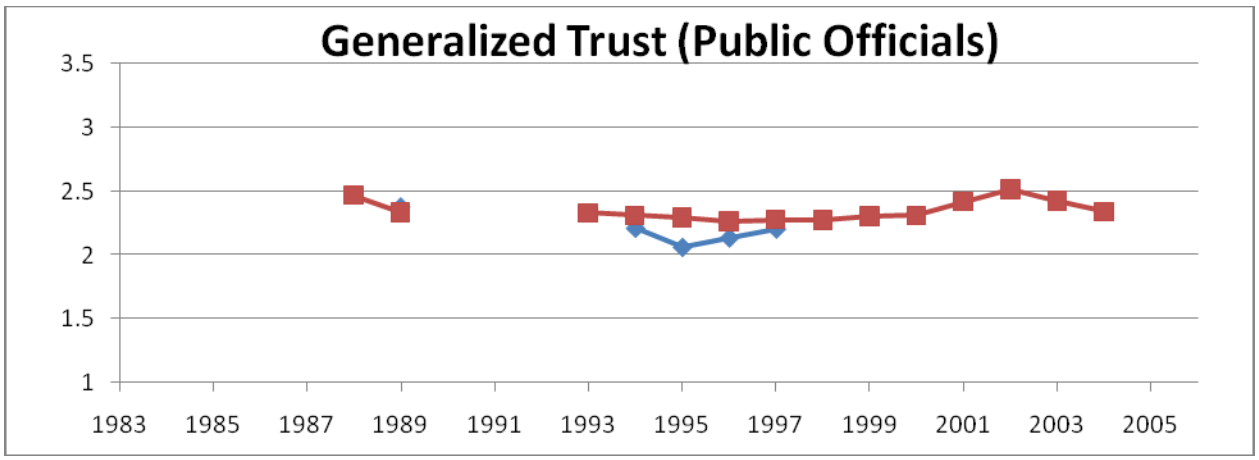
measure for particularistic trust declines from 1993 to 1994, and then steadily rises thereafter.

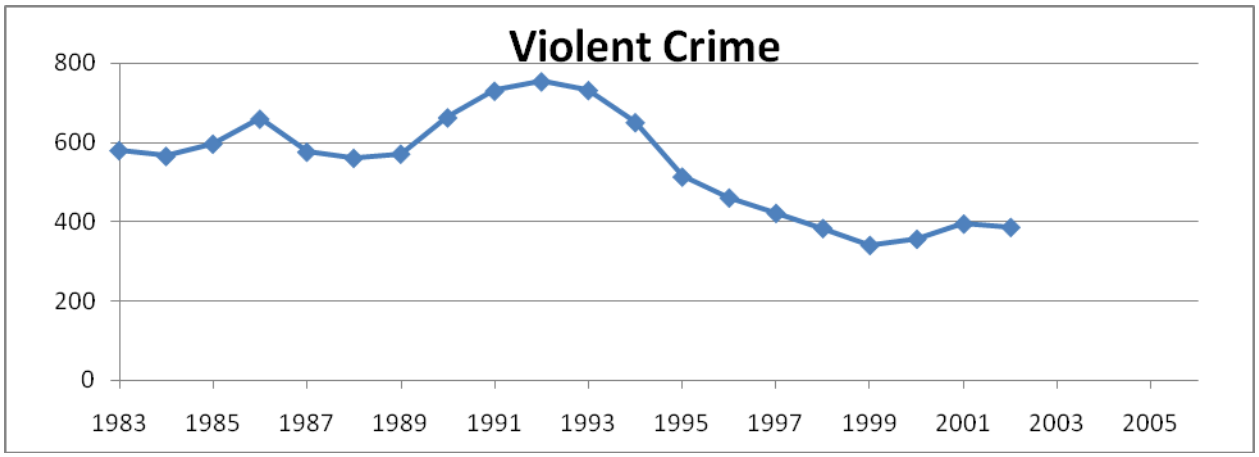
- Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with burglary**. Burglary decreases slightly from 1983 to 1991, and then remains fairly constant over the remaining years measured. Over this same period the social capital measure for generalized trust is shown to steadily decrease from 1993 to 1997, and then it increases thereafter.

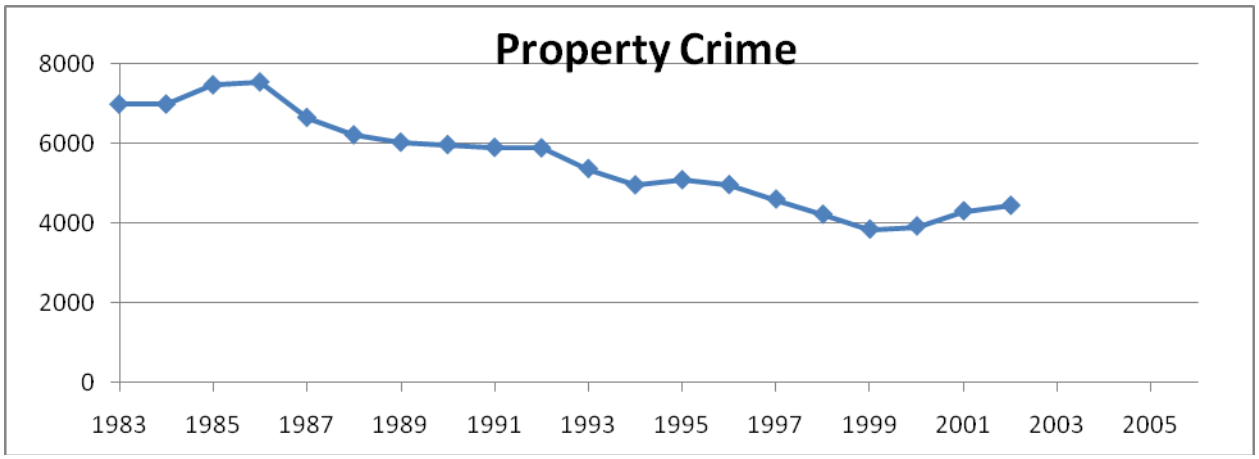
OVERALL PATTERN: Social capital increases over time while violent crime shows considerable variation, including a dramatic decline over the time period under consideration here. Property crime and burglary, however, remain relatively constant over time. There appears to be weak evidence in the Dayton MSA case that social capital is "driving" crime rates, at least in terms of violent crime, and likewise that declining violent crime rates have the effect of increasing trust and social capital. This observation does not hold true, however, for property crime and burglary rates for which no pattern of association is in evidence.

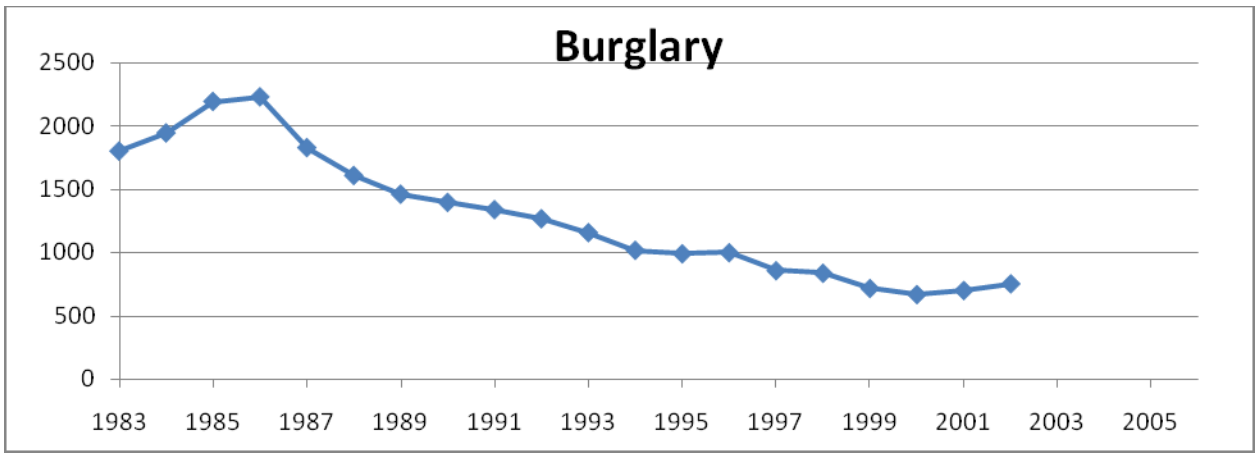
Figure 4.8 - Case 8: Denver, CO MSA




Generalized Trust (Public Officials)
3.5
3
2.5
2
1.5
1
1983
1985
1987
1989
1991
1993
1995
1997
1999
2001
2003
2005


Violent Crime
800
600
400
200
0
1983
1985
1987
1989
1991
1993
1995
1997
1999
2001
2003
2005


Property Crime
8000
6000
4000
2000
0
1983
1985
1987
1989
1991
1993
1995
1997
1999
2001
2003
2005



- Relation of Denver Social Capital Trust Measures to Norms Based on All Stowell Media Markets Surveyed in Each Year Graphed:
    - Particularistic trust (the belief in the free rider phenomenon taking place) declines from 1989 to 1995, and then increases steadily for the remaining years under consideration; the trust readings remained above the MSA norm for all years measured.
    - Generalized trust (public officials) declines from 1989 to 1995, and then increases steadily for the remaining years measured; the readings remained sub-norm for all years measured.
- Violent Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with violent crime.** Violent crime rises steadily from 1984 until 1986, then decreases steadily declines until 1988, where it begins to rise again and peaks in 1992, where it declines to a noteworthy extent thereafter. During this period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust declines from 1989 to 1995, and then increases steadily for the remaining years measured.

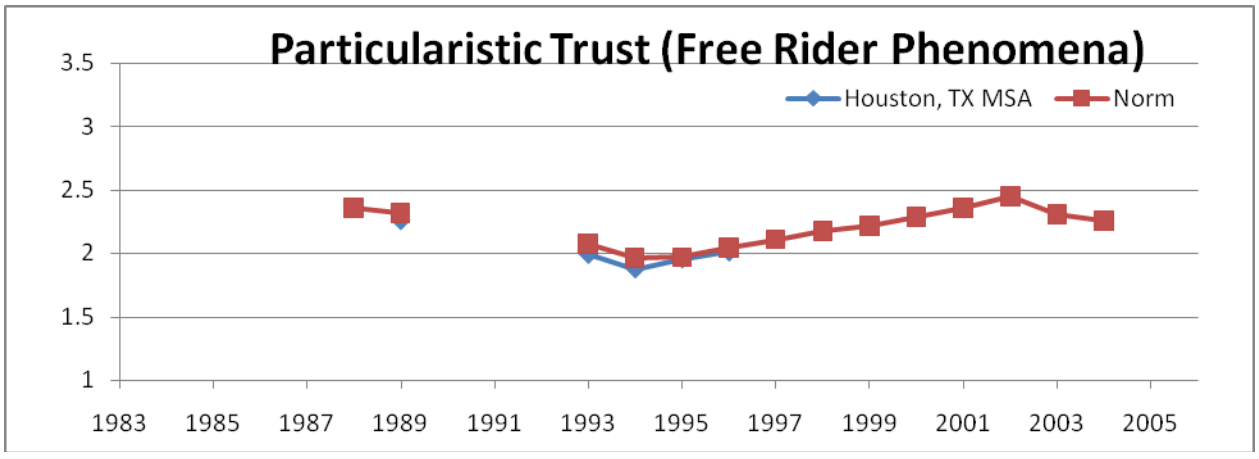
- Generalized trust **appears to correlate with violent crime**. In the Denver area violent crime rises steadily from 1984 until 1986, then steadily declines until 1988 when it begins to rise again and peaks in 1992, where it declines to a noteworthy extent thereafter. During this same time period the social capital measure for generalized trust declines from 1989 to 1995, and then increases steadily for the remaining years studied.

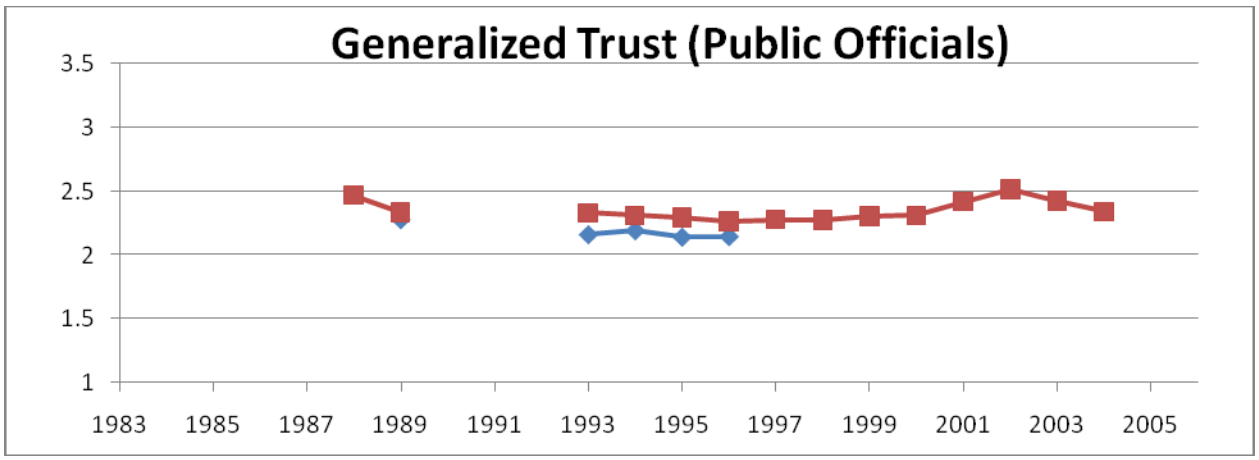
- Property Crime Relationship:
  - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with property crime.** Property crime increases until 1986, and then decreases to a noteworthy extent thereafter; during this same period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust declines from 1989 to 1995, and then increases steadily for the remaining years measured.
  - Generalized trust **appears to correlate with property crime.** Property crime increases until 1986 and then decreases to a noteworthy extent thereafter. During this same time period the social capital measure for particularized trust declines from 1989 to 1995, and then increases steadily for the remaining years measured.
- Burglary Relationship:
  - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with property crime.** It is clear that property crime increases until 1986 and then decreases to a noteworthy extent thereafter; in a parallel manner the social capital measure for particularistic trust declines from 1989 to 1995, and then increases steadily for the remaining years measured.

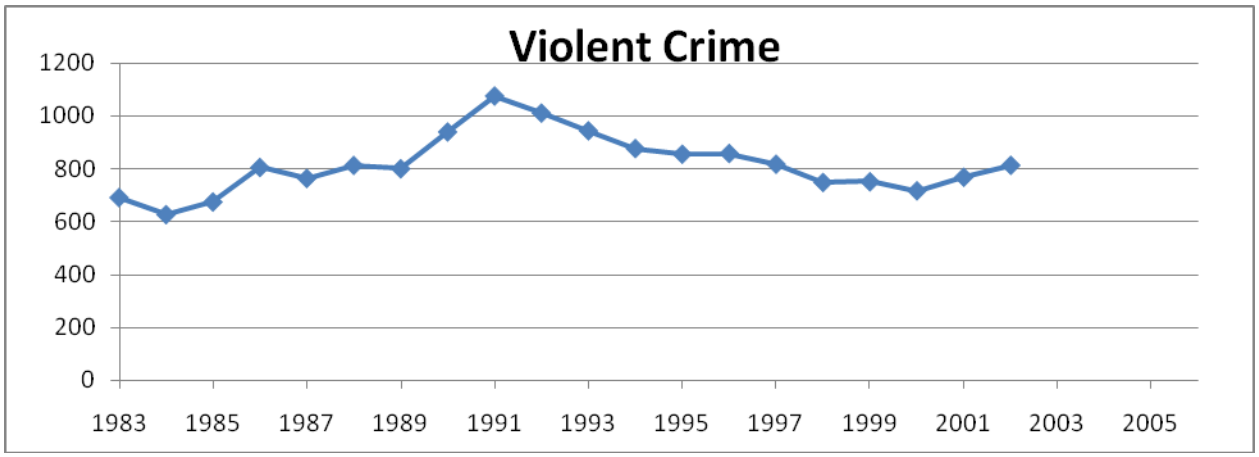
- Generalized trust **appears to correlate with property crime**. It is evident that property crime increases until 1986 and then decreases to a noteworthy extent thereafter, and in a parallel manner the social capital measure for generalized trust declines from 1989 to 1995 and then increases steadily for the remaining years measured.

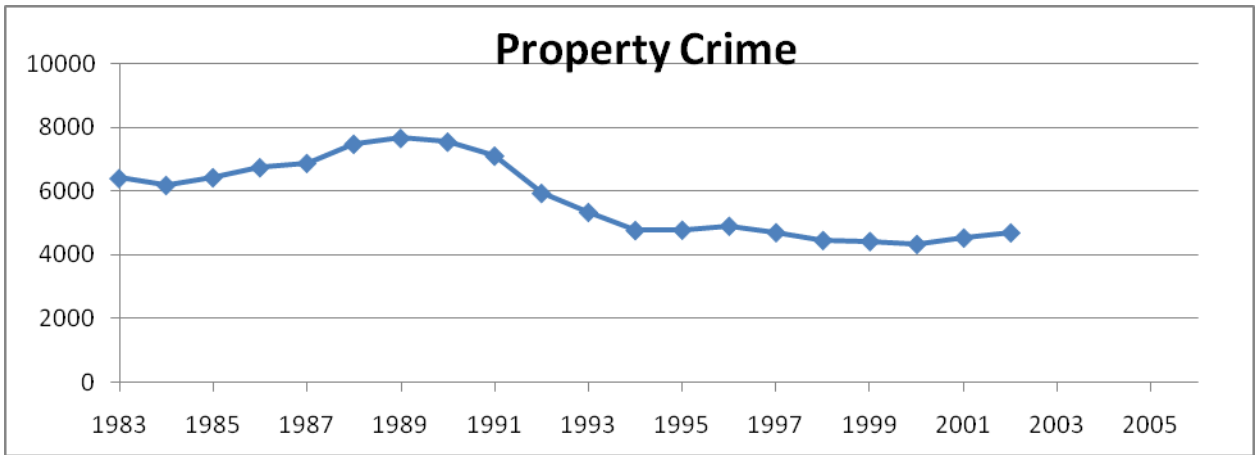
OVERALL PATTERN: In this case study it was shown that social capital, as measured by both particularistic trust and generalized trust, increases over time while all three measures of crime – violent, property, and burglary – show considerable variation, including a dramatic decline over the target time period. There appears to be some evidence in the Denver MSA case that social capital might be "driving" crime rates, and that declining crime rates might have the effect of increasing trust and social capital.

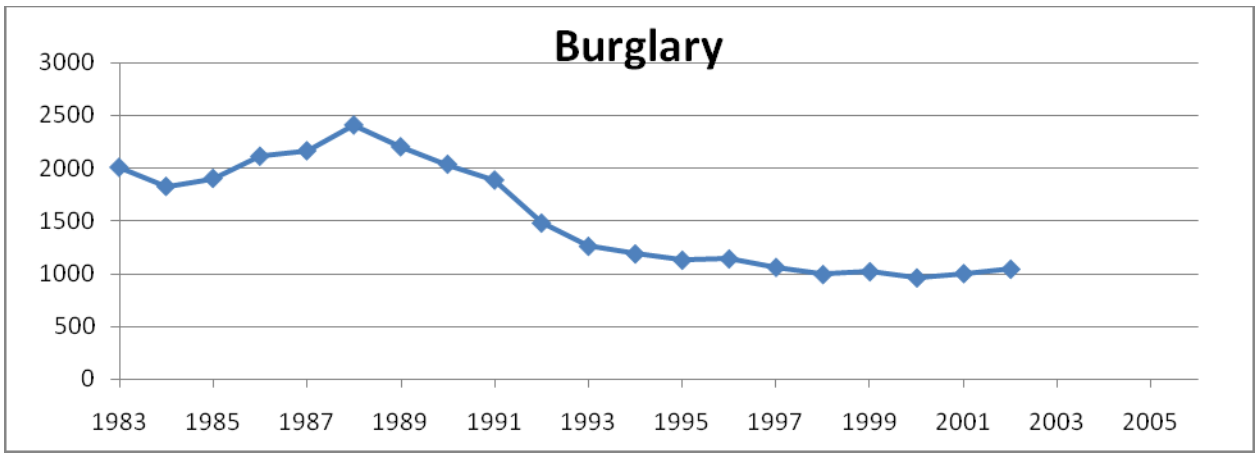
Figure 4.9 - Case 9: Houston, TX MSA




Generalized Trust (Public Officials)
3.5
3
2.5
2
1.5
1
1983
1985
1987
1989
1991
1993
1995
1997
1999
2001
2003
2005


Violent Crime
1200
1000
800
600
400
200
0
1983
1985
1987
1989
1991
1993
1995
1997
1999
2001
2003
2005


Property Crime
10000
8000
6000
4000
2000
0
1983
1985
1987
1989
1991
1993
1995
1997
1999
2001
2003
2005



- Relation of Houston Social Capital Trust Measures to Norms Based on All Stowell Media Markets Surveyed in Each Year Graphed:
    - Particularistic trust (free rider phenomenon) decreased from 1989 to 1994 and increased thereafter. The readings on this item stayed relatively close to the norm over all years for which data are available, with slightly sub-norm readings being registered in 1993 and 1994.
    - Generalized trust (as reflected in trust of public officials) remained rather constant throughout the period of time in question. Those trust readings were sub-norm over all years.
- Violent Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with violent crime.** Violent crime rises steadily until 1991, and then steadily declines thereafter. At the same time the social capital measure for particularistic trust declines from 1989 to 1994, and then rises steadily after that period.
    - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with violent crime.** Violent crime rises steadily until 1991 and then steadily declines thereafter. At the same

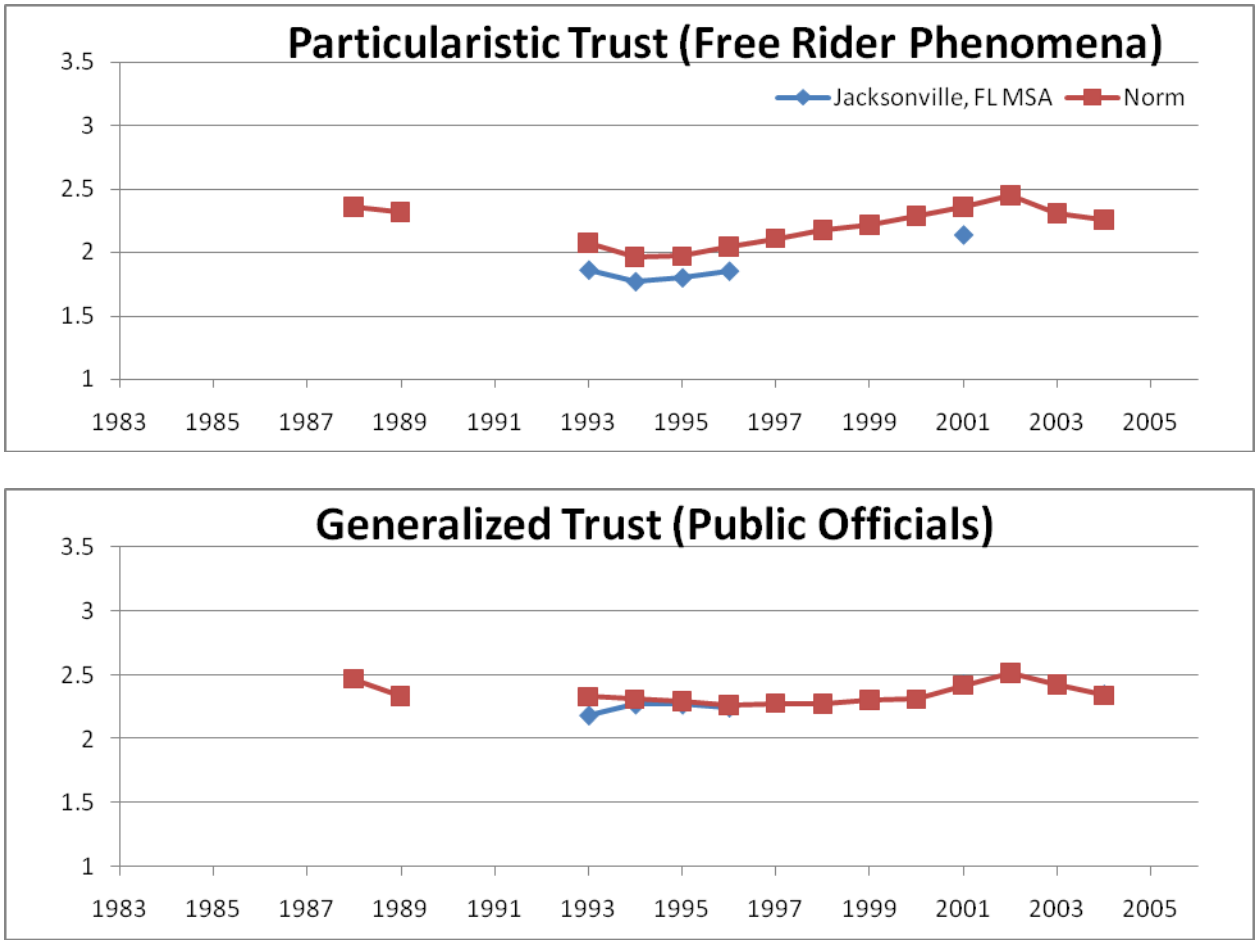
time, the social capital measure for generalized trust appears relatively stable over the years of the study.

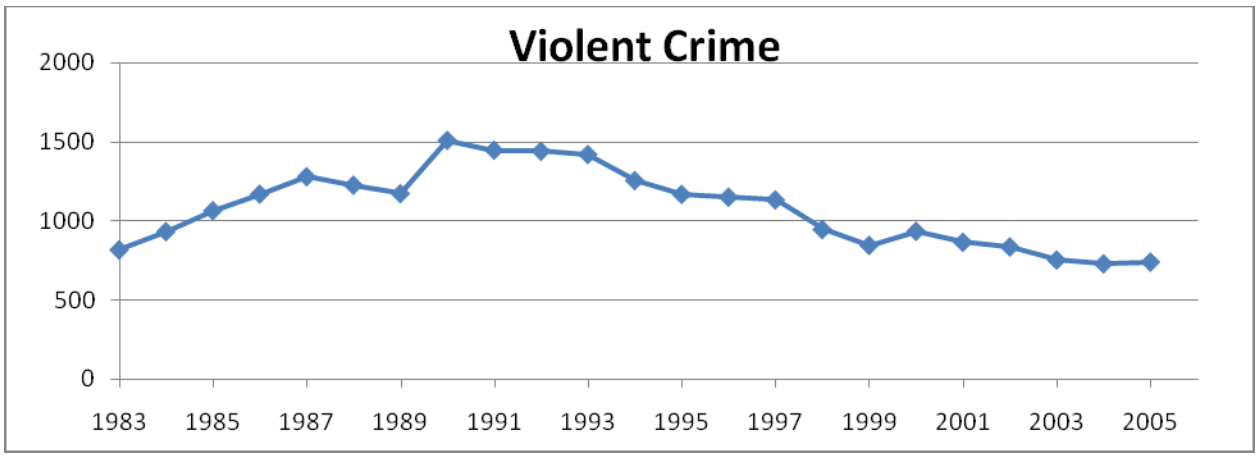
- Property Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with property crime.** Property crime rises steadily until 1989, and then decreases to a noteworthy extent thereafter. During this same time period the social capital measure for particularistic trust declines from 1989 to 1994, and then rises steadily after that.
    - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with property crime.** Property crime rises steadily until 1989, and then decreases to a noteworthy extent thereafter. During this same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust appears relatively stable over years.
- Burglary Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with burglary.** Burglary peaked in 1988, and declined to a noteworthy extent thereafter. During this same time period the social capital measure for generalized trust declines from 1989 to 1994, and then rises steadily after that.
    - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with burglary**, Burglary rates peaked in 1988, and declined to a noteworthy extent thereafter, whereas the social capital measure for generalized trust appears relatively stable over that same period of time.

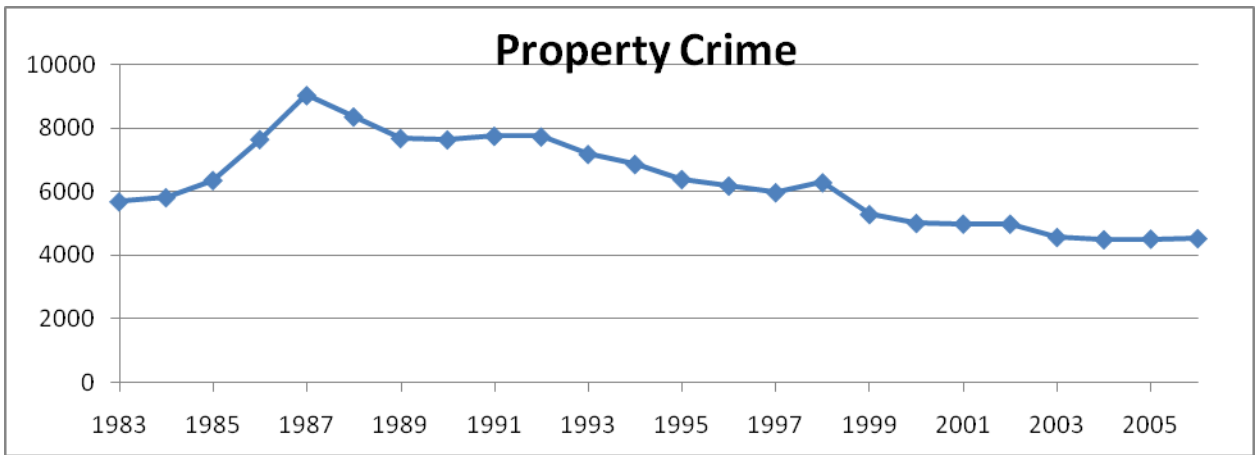
OVERALL PATTERN: Particularistic trust, as a measure of social capital, increases slightly over time while all three measures of crime – violent, property, and burglary – show considerable variation, including a dramatic overall decline over the target time period. There

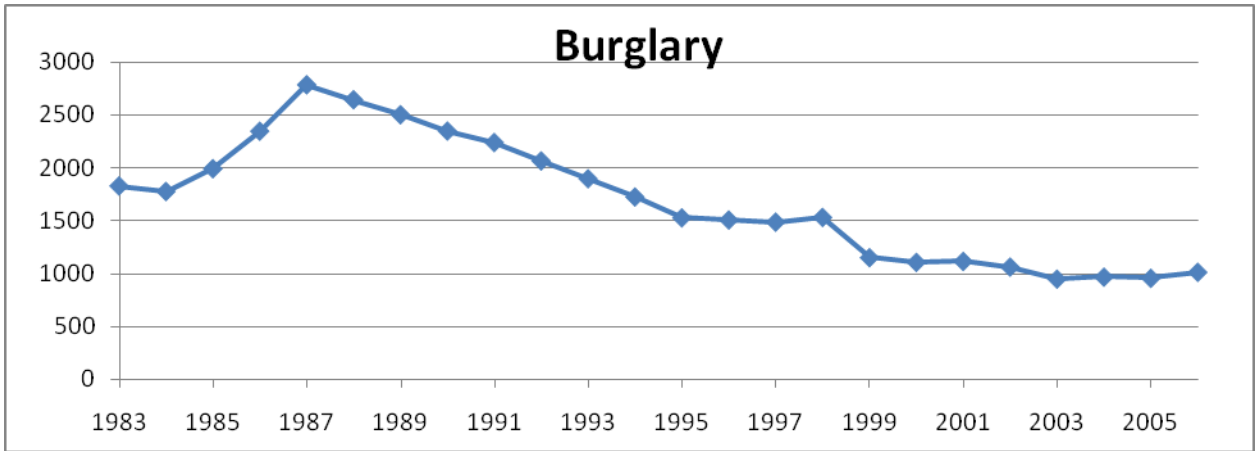
appears to be slight evidence in the Houston case that social capital might be "driving" crime rates, at least in terms of particularistic trust, and that declining crime rates could have the effect of increasing trust and social capital. However, the same pattern of association does not hold true for the generalized trust measure of social capital inasmuch as it does not vary much over the time studied here.

Figure 4.10 - Case 10: Jacksonville, FL MSA









- Relation of Jacksonville Social Capital Trust Measures to Norms Based on All Stowell Media Markets Surveyed in Each Year Graphed:
    - Particularistic trust (belief in the frequent occurrence of the free rider phenomenon) decreased from 1993 to 1994, and then increased rather steadily

thereafter; the readings documented on this Stowell survey item were sub-norm for MSAs for all years measured.

- Generalized trust (as reflected in trust in public officials) increased slightly over time, with levels close to the norm measure, with a slightly sub-norm reading in 1993.

- Violent Crime Relationship:
  - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with violent crime.** Violent crime rises dramatically from 1983 until 1987, and then steadily declines until 1989, and then moves to a sharp peak in 1990. From that point, violent crime declines to a noteworthy extent for the remaining years measured. During this same period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust declines slightly from 1993 to 1994, and then rises steadily thereafter.
  - Generalized trust **appears to correlate weakly with violent crime.** The time series record shows that violent crime rises dramatically from 1983 until 1987 in Jacksonville, and then steadily declines until 1989. From there it moves into a sharp peak in 1990, and from there violent crime declines to a noteworthy extent for the remaining years measured. During this same period of time, however, the social capital measure for particularized trust appears to rise slightly overall over the years measured.

- Property Crime Relationship:
  - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with property crime.** Property crime rises sharply until 1987, and then steadily declines thereafter. At the same time

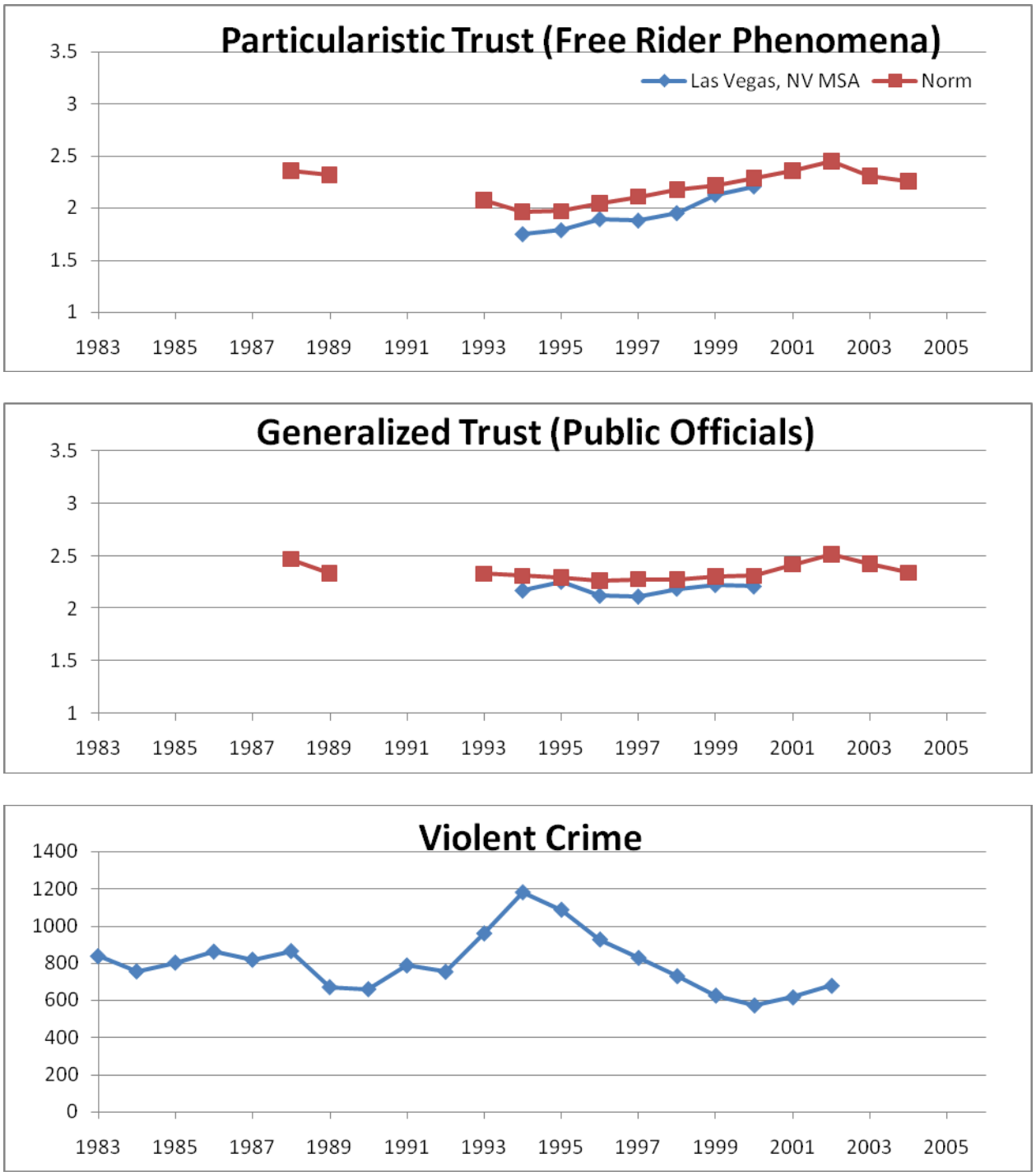
the social capital measure for particularistic trust declines slightly from 1993 to 1994, and then rises steadily thereafter.

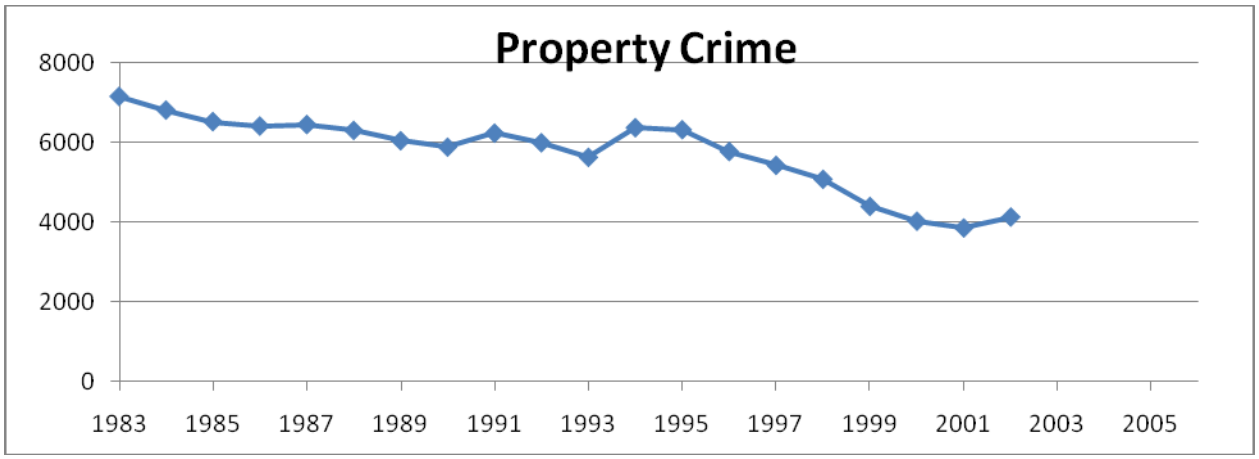
- Generalized trust **appears to correlate weakly with property crime.** Property crime rises sharply until 1987, and then steadily declines thereafter. During the same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust rises slightly overall over the years measured.

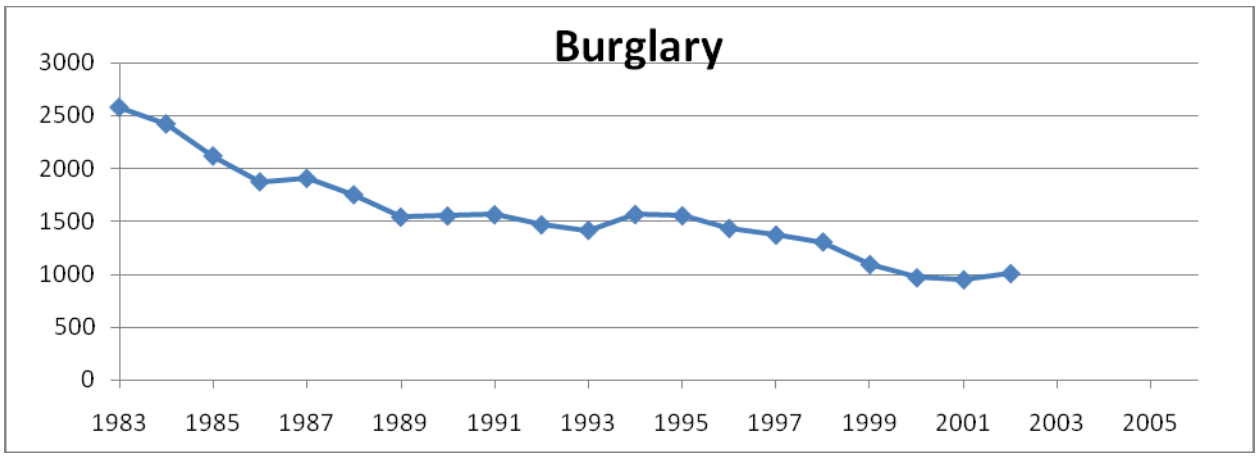
- Burglary Relationship:
  - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with burglary.** Burglary rises sharply until 1987, and then steadily declines thereafter. During the same time period the social capital measure for particularistic trust declines slightly from 1993 to 1994, and then rises steadily thereafter.
  - Generalized trust **appears to correlate weakly with burglary.** Burglary rises sharply until 1987, and then steadily declines thereafter. During this same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust appears to rise slightly overall over the years measured.

OVERALL PATTERN: Social capital increases over time while all three measures of crime – violent, property, and burglary – show considerable variation, including a dramatic overall decline over the target time period. There appears to be some evidence in the Jacksonville MSA case that social capital could be "driving" crime rates, and that declining crime rates have the effect of increasing trust and social capital.

Figure 4.11 - Case 11: Las Vegas, NV MSA







- Relation of Las Vegas Social Capital Trust Measures to Norms Based on All Stowell Media Markets Surveyed in Each Year Graphed:
    - Particularistic trust (free rider phenomenon) increased steadily over all the years measured, though the measure was sub-norm over those years.
    - Generalized trust (public officials) stayed rather constant, with a very slight increase over time, and remained slightly sub-norm over all the years measured.
- Violent Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with violent crime.** Violent crime was quite variable from 1983 to 1992 when a dramatic increase led to a peak in 1994, a point at which violent crime remained steady until 2000; from that point it

began to rise again. In contrast, the social capital measure for particularistic trust steadily rises over all years measured.

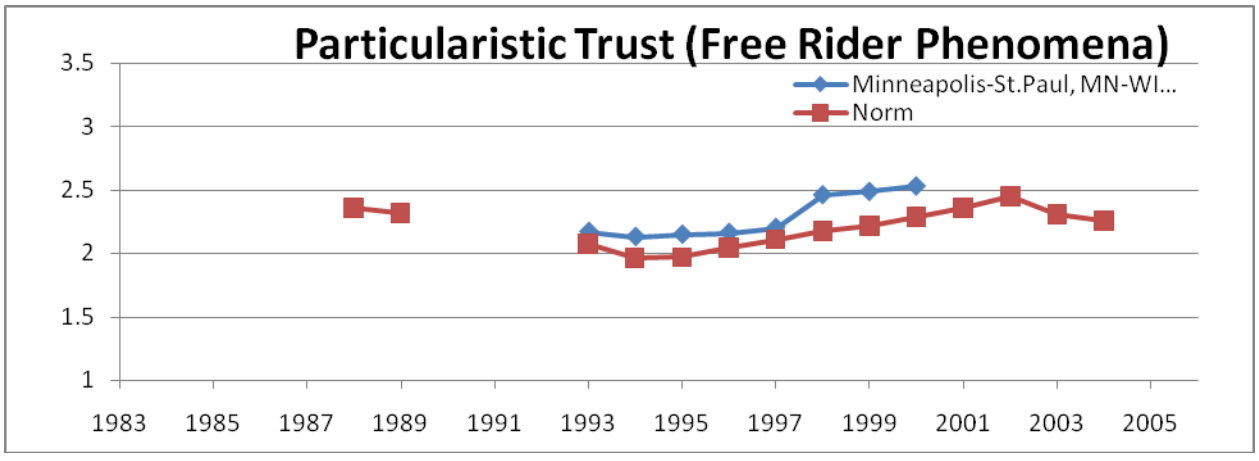
- Generalized trust **appears to correlate slightly with violent crime**. In Las Vegas violent crime was quite variable from 1983 to 1992 when a dramatic increase led to a peak in 1994; violent crime remained steady at that prior peak level until 2000, at which point it began to rise again. During this same time period the social capital measure for generalized trust stayed rather constant, with a very slight increase being registered over time.

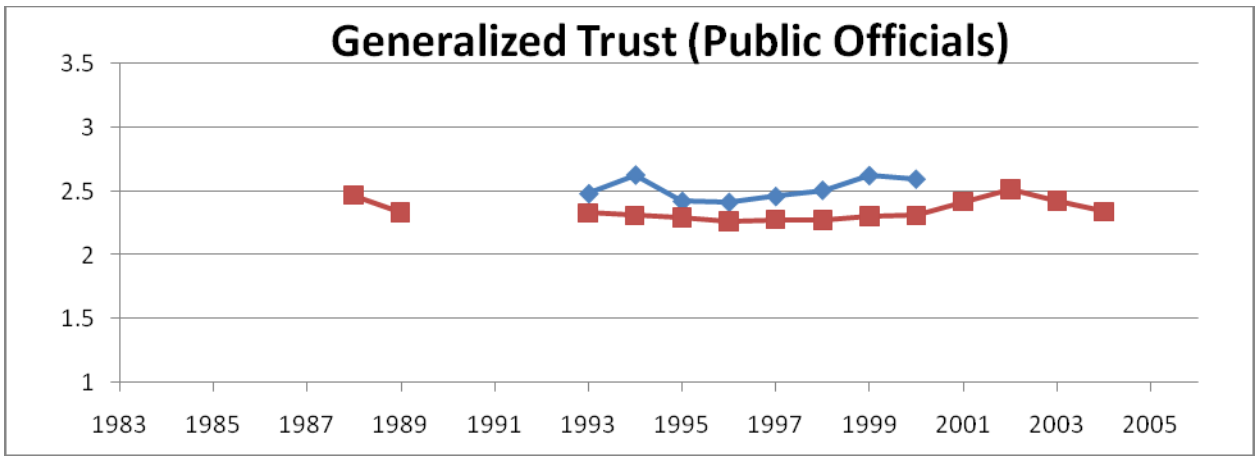
- Property Crime Relationship:
  - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with property crime.** Property crime steadily decreases from 1983 until 1990, with additional increases noted again in 1991 and 1994, at which point property crime enters a steady decline for the remaining years measured. During this same period of time the Stowell social capital measure for particularistic trust steadily rises overall for all years measured.
  - Generalized trust **appears to correlate slightly with property crime.** Property crime steadily decreases from 1983 until 1990, with additional increases noted again in 1991 and 1994 at which point property crime rates register a steady decline for the remaining years measured. During this same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust stayed rather constant, with a very slight increase over time being in evidence.

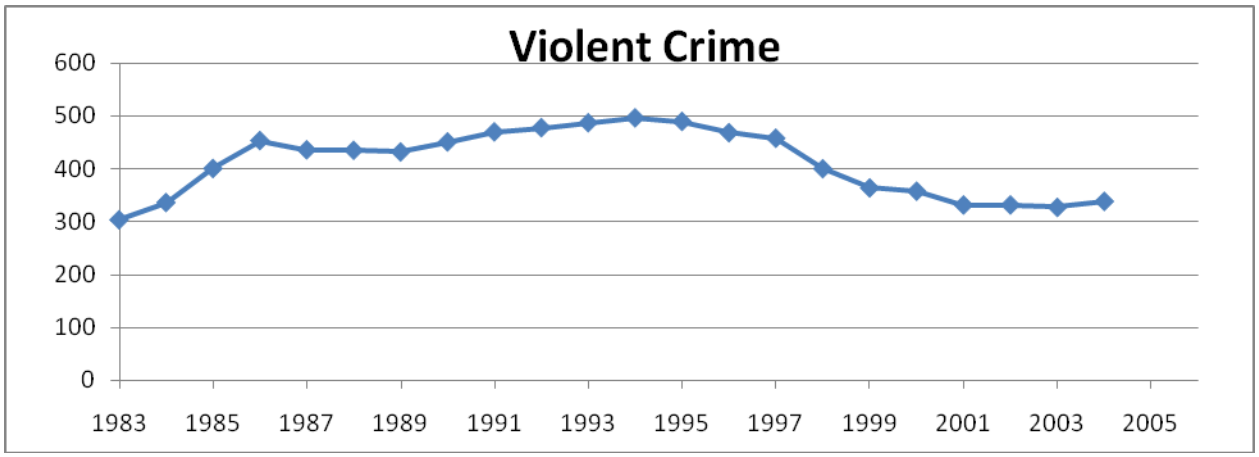
- Burglary Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with burglary.** Burglary steadily decreases over the years measured, with a few peaks and valleys across the years under observation. During this same period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust steadily rises overall for all years measured.
    - Generalized trust **appears to correlate slightly with burglary.** Burglary steadily decreases over the years measured, with a few peaks and valleys across the years under observation. During this same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust stayed rather constant, with a very slight increase overall.

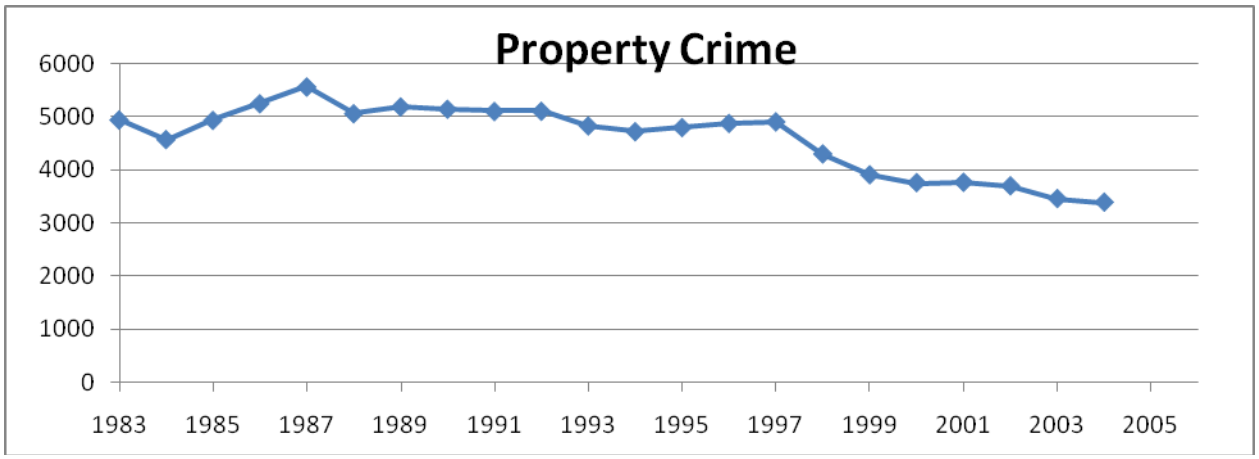
OVERALL PATTERN: Social capital varies somewhat from year to year and slightly increases overall over the time period in question, while all three measures of crime – violent, property, and burglary – show considerable variation, including a dramatic decline over the target time period. There appears to be weak evidence in the Las Vegas case that social capital could be "driving" crime rates, and that declining crime rates may have the effect of increasing trust and social capital.

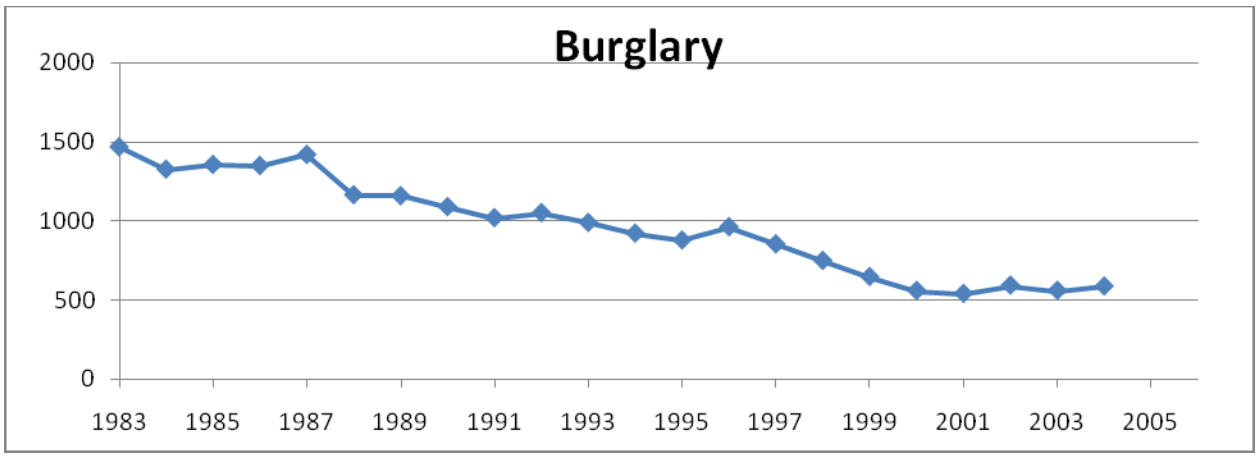
Figure 4.12 - Case 12: Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI MSA




Generalized Trust (Public Officials)
3.5
3
2.5
2
1.5
1
1983
1985
1987
1989
1991
1993
1995
1997
1999
2001
2003
2005


Violent Crime
600
500
400
300
200
100
0
1983
1985
1987
1989
1991
1993
1995
1997
1999
2001
2003
2005


Property Crime
6000
5000
4000
3000
2000
1000
0
1983
1985
1987
1989
1991
1993
1995
1997
1999
2001
2003
2005



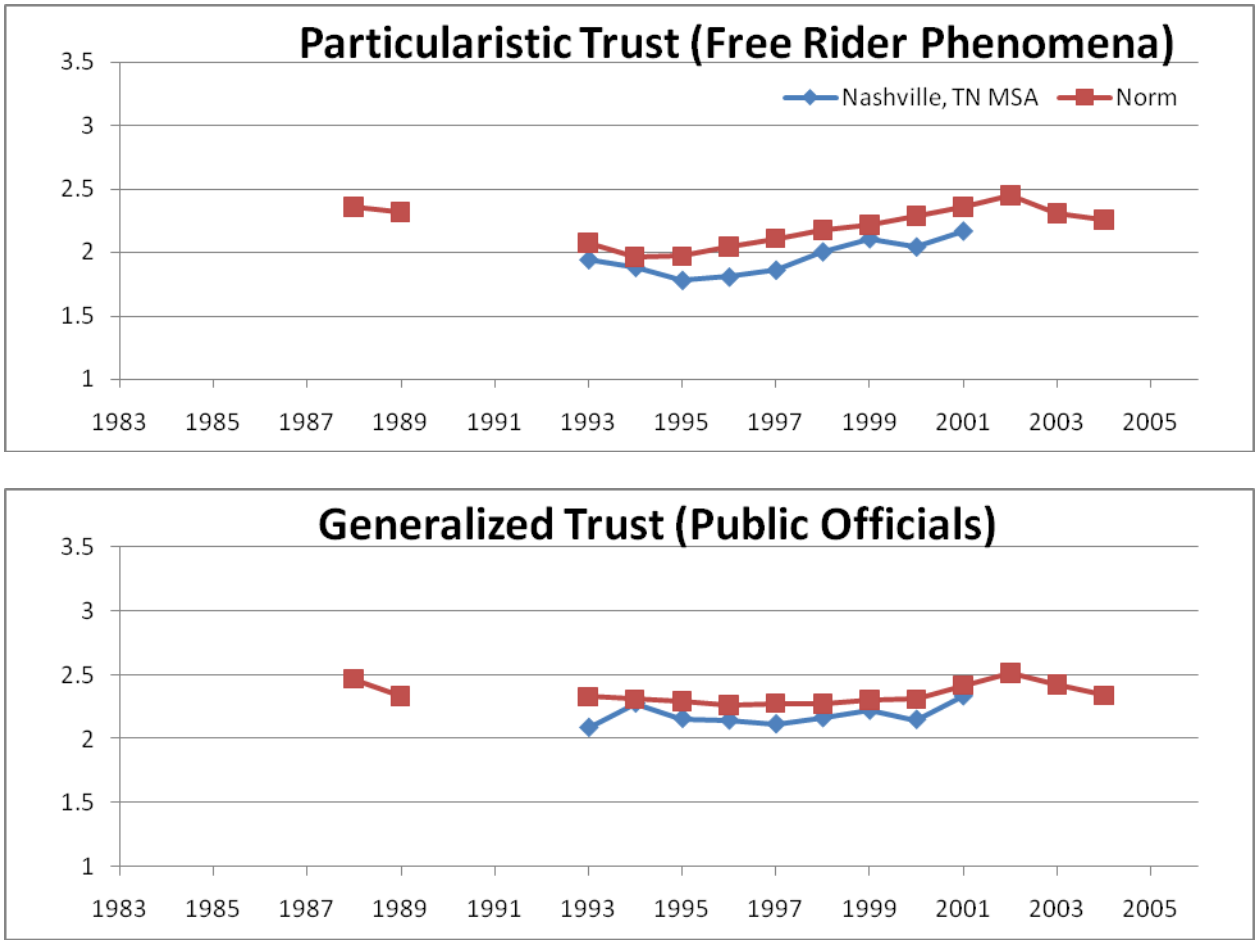
- Relation of Minneapolis Social Capital Trust Measures to Norms Based on All Stowell Media Markets Surveyed in Each Year Graphed:
    - Particularistic trust (free rider phenomenon) rose fairly steadily and stayed slightly above the norm over all years for which survey and crime rate data are available.
    - Generalized trust (public officials) increased from 1993 to 1994 and decreased somewhat in 1995, at which point it began to steadily rise thereafter. During this same period of time the measure stayed slightly above the norm over all years for which data are available.
- Violent Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with violent crime.** Violent crime rises steadily until 1994, and then steadily declines to a noteworthy extent thereafter. In the same period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust increases each year.
    - Generalized trust **appears to correlate with violent crime.** Violent crime rises steadily until 1994, and then steadily declines to a noteworthy extent thereafter. At the same time the social capital measure for generalized trust increased from

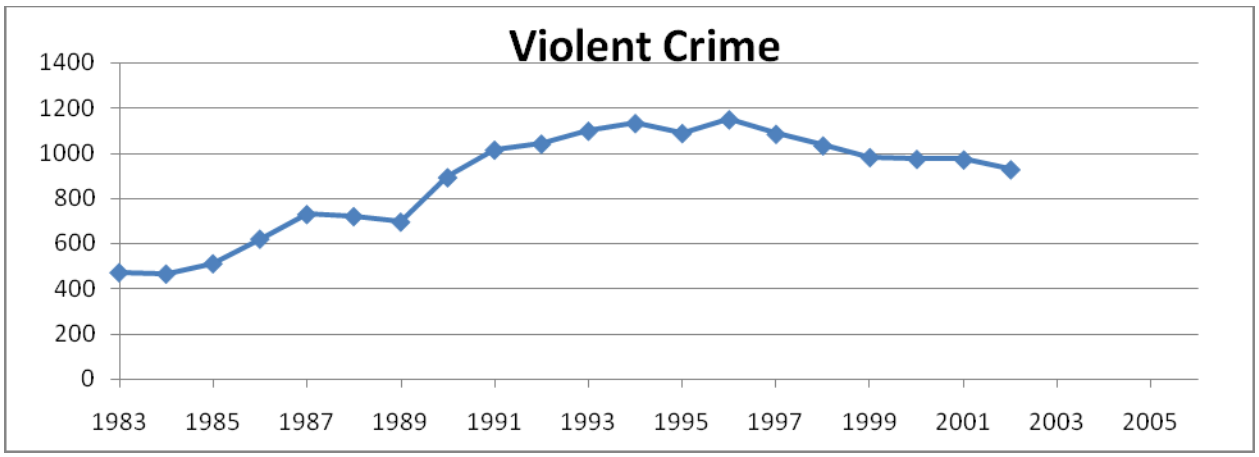
1993 to 1994 and decreased again in 1995, where it began to steadily rise thereafter.

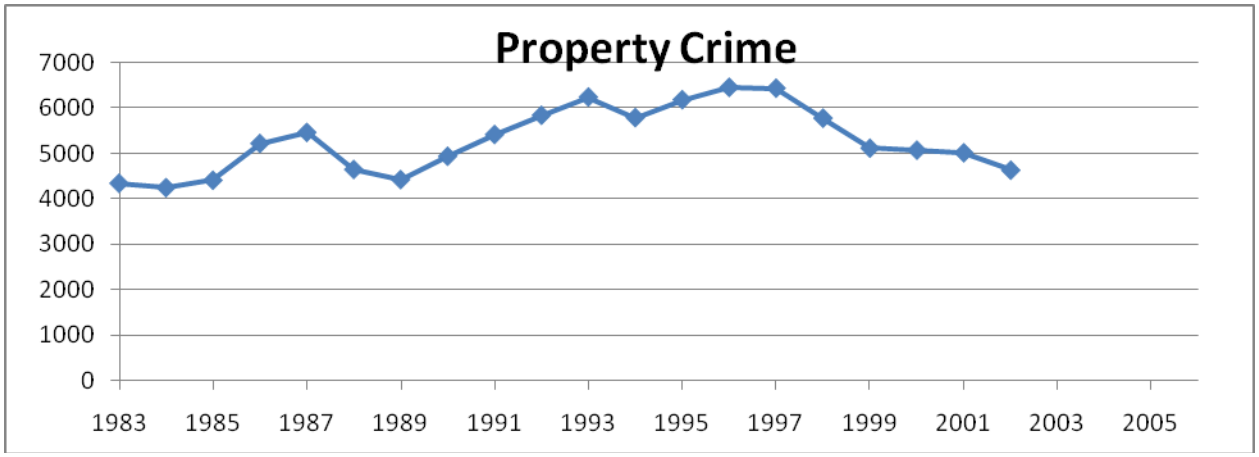
- Property Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with property crime.** Property crime rates in the Minneapolis/St. Paul MSA rise sharply and peak in 1987, and then steadily decrease thereafter. During this same period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust appears to increase each year in this high social capital setting.
    - Generalized trust **appears to correlate with property crime.** Property crime rates rise sharply for a time and peak in 1987, and then steadily decrease thereafter. During this same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust (as reflected in belief in the trustworthiness of politicians) increased from 1993 to 1994 and decreased again in 1995, at which point it began to steadily rise thereafter.
- Burglary Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with burglary**, as burglary decreases fairly steadily for all years measured while during this same period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust increases each year.
    - Generalized trust **appears to correlate with burglary.** Burglary is shown to decrease fairly steadily for all years measured. During the same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust increased from 1993 to 1994, and decreased again in 1995, at which point it began to steadily rise thereafter.

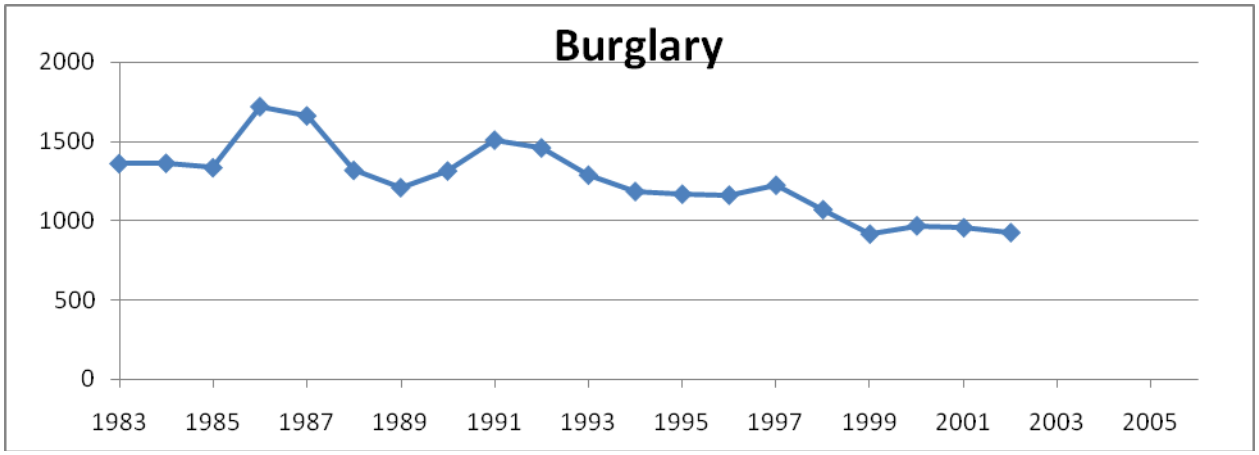
OVERALL PATTERN: Social capital increases steadily over time while all three measures of crime – violent, property, and burglary – show considerable decline over the target time period. There appears to be evidence in the Minneapolis-St. Paul MSA case that social capital might be "driving" crime rates, and that declining crime rates may have the effect of increasing trust and strengthening social capital.

Figure 4.13 - Case 13: Nashville, TN MSA









- Relation of Nashville Social Capital Trust Measures to Norms Based on All Stowell Media Markets Surveyed in Each Year Graphed:

- Particularistic trust (free rider phenomenon) decreased steadily from 1993 to 1995 and rose steadily thereafter, while remaining slightly sub-norm over all years measured.
- Generalized trust (public officials) increased from 1993 to 1994, and then remained fairly constant until it increased in 2001. The readings registered for this measure were all slightly sub-norm, with the exception of 1994 when the measure approached the norm.

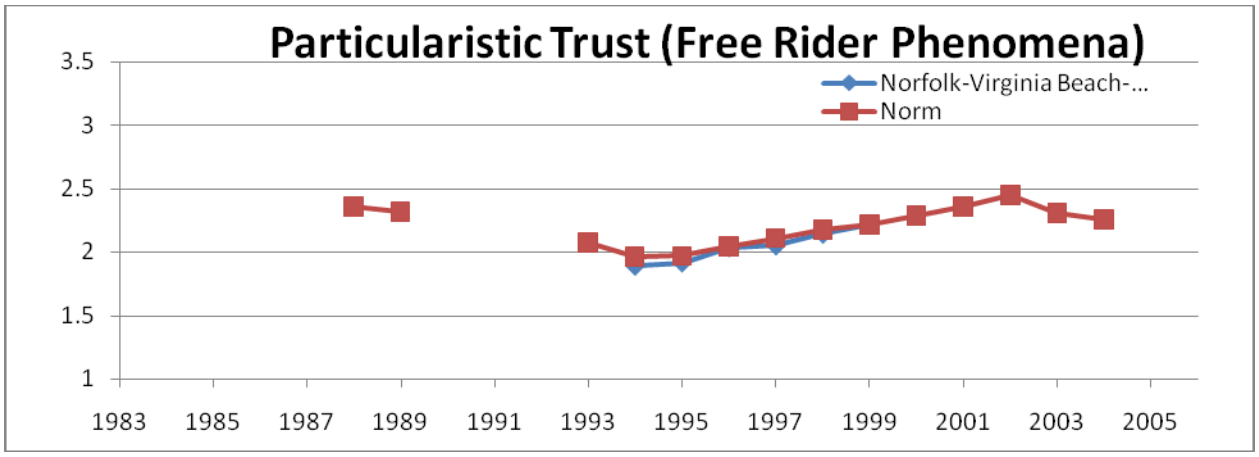
- Violent Crime Relationship:
  - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate weakly with violent crime.** Violent crime rises fairly steadily until 1996, and then declines slightly thereafter. During this period the social capital measure for particularistic trust decreased steadily from 1993 to 1995, and then rose steadily thereafter.
  - Generalized trust **appears to correlate weakly with violent crime**; violent crime rises fairly steadily until 1996, and then declines slightly thereafter. During this same period of time the social capital measure for particularized trust increased from 1993 to 1994, and then remained fairly constant until it increased again in 2001.
- Property Crime Relationship:
  - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate weakly with property crime.** Property crime rises fairly steadily until 1996 where it begins to steadily decrease. During this same period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust decreased steadily from 1993 to 1995, and rose steadily thereafter.

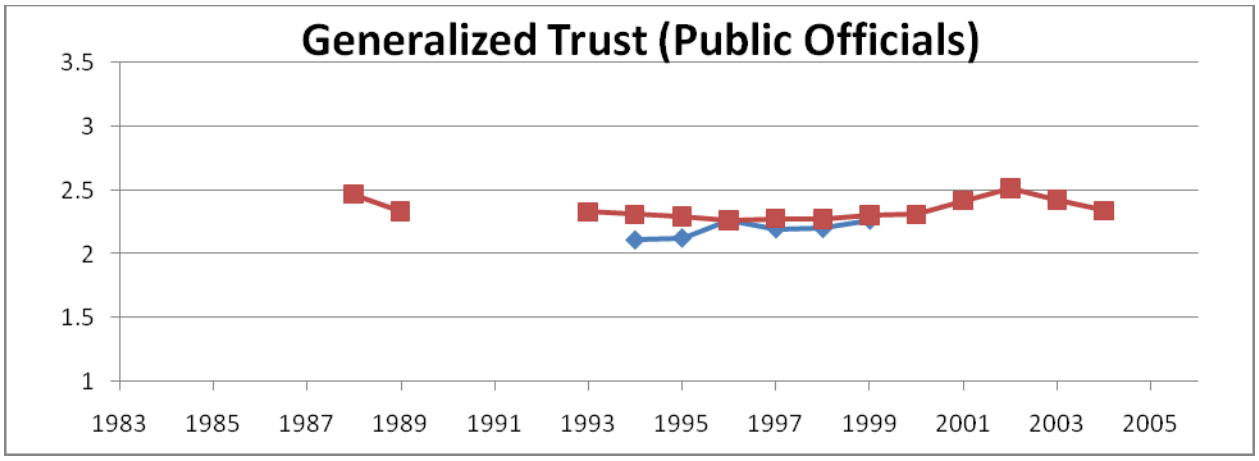
- Generalized trust **appears to correlate weakly with property crime.** Property crime rises fairly steadily until 1996, when it begins to steadily decrease. During this same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust increased from 1993 to 1994, and then remained fairly constant until it increased in 2001.

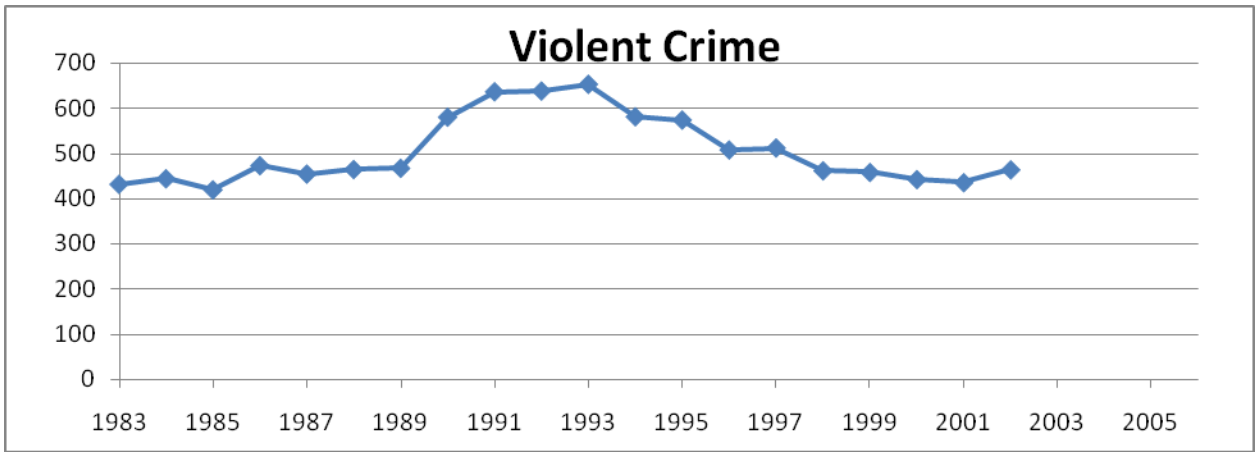
- <u>Burglary Relationship:</u>
  - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with burglary.** Burglary in Nashville MSA peaks in 1986, and then declines steadily thereafter with a few exceptions. During this same period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust decreased steadily from 1993 to 1995, and then rose steadily thereafter.
  - Generalized trust **appears to correlate weakly with burglary.** Burglary peaks in 1986, and then declines steadily thereafter with a few exceptions. During this same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust increased from 1993 to 1994, and then remained fairly constant until it registered an increase again in 2001.

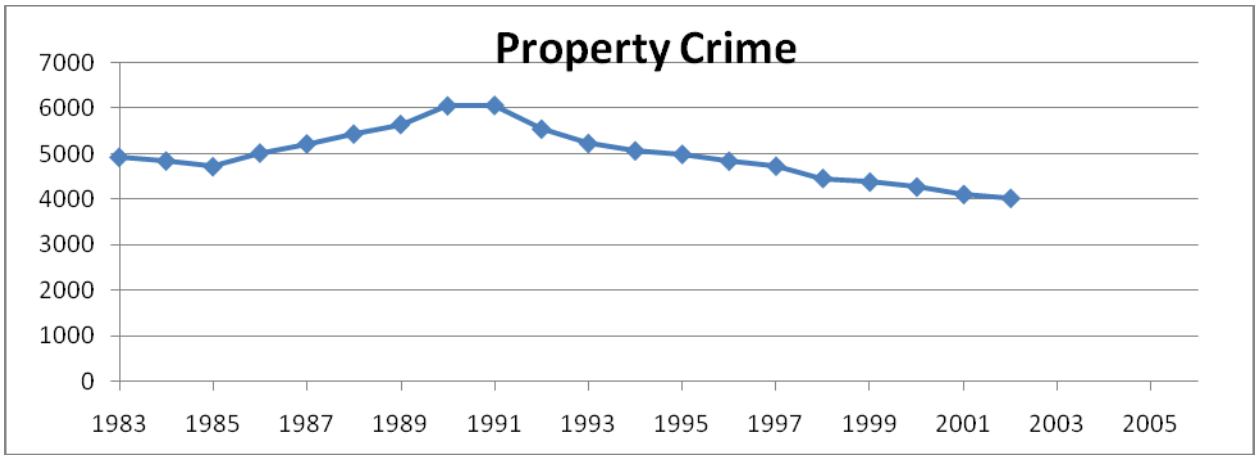
OVERALL PATTERN: Social capital increased slightly over time while all three measures of crime – violent, property, and burglary – show considerable variation, including a dramatic decline over the target time period. Given these findings, there appears to be scant evidence in the Nashville SMA case that social capital can bed said to be "driving" crime rates, or that declining crime rates have the clear effect of increasing trust and social capital.

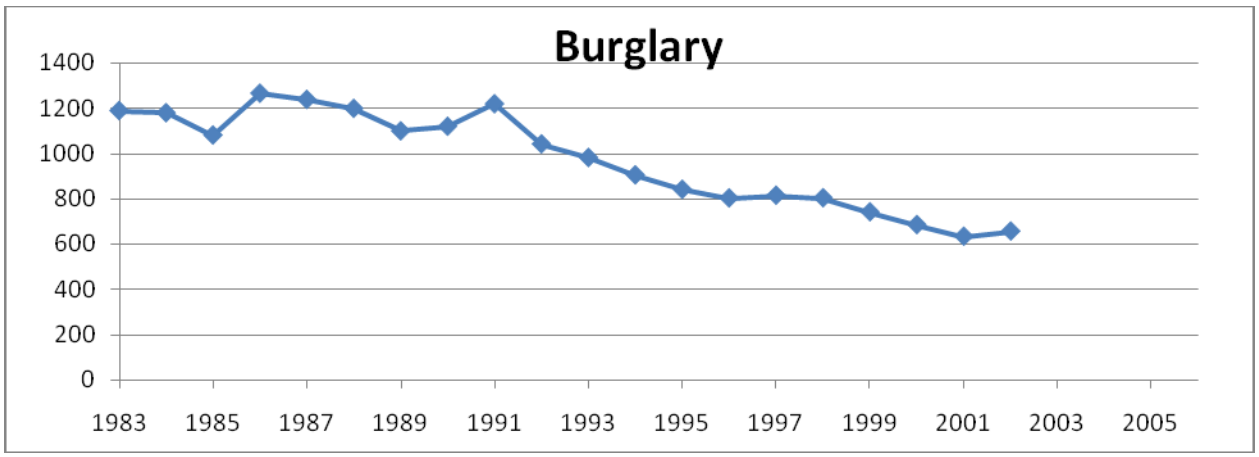
Figure 4.14 - Case 14: Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, VA-NC MSA











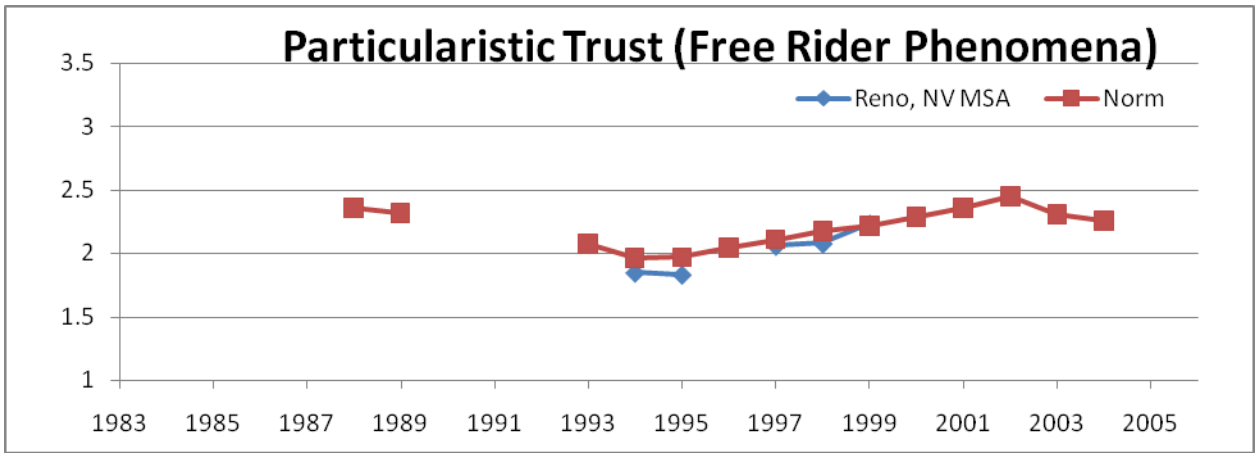
- Relation of Norfolk Social Capital Trust Measures to Norms Based on All Stowell Media Markets Surveyed in Each Year Graphed:
    - Particularistic trust (as reflected in belief in the frequent occurrence of the free rider phenomenon) rose steadily over the years measured and stayed close to the norm over all years for which data are available.
    - Generalized trust (as reflected in trust in public officials) remained rather constant over the years measured, though the measure slightly increased over time; the item mean was slightly sub-norm over all years, with the exception of 1996 when the measure closely approached the norm.

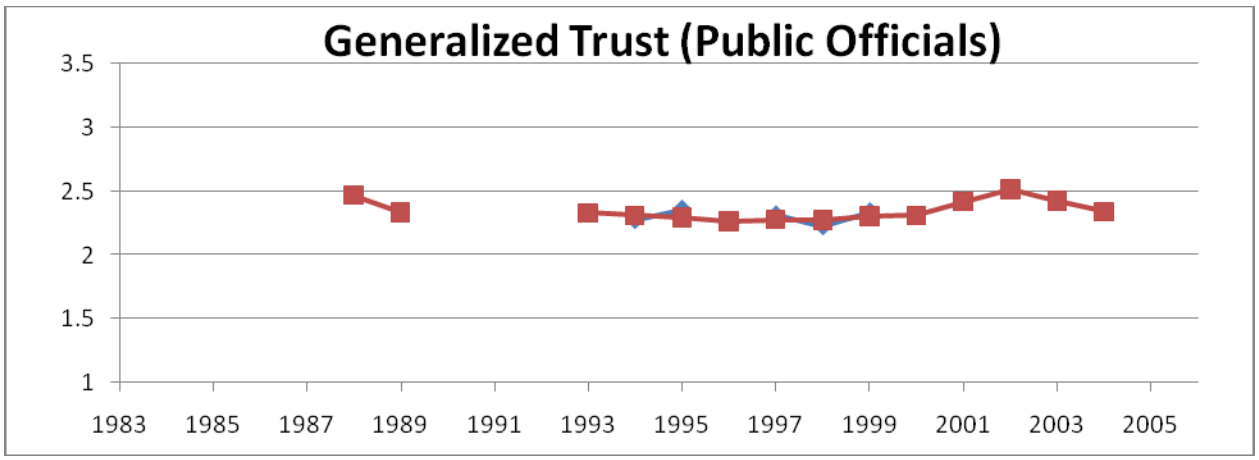
- Violent Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with violent crime.** Violent crime in the Norfolk MSA rises disjointedly, but steadily, until 1993 and then steadily declines to a noteworthy extent thereafter. During this same period the social capital measure for particularistic trust rose steadily over the limited number of years measured.
    - Generalized trust **appears to correlate with violent crime.** Violent crime rises disjointedly, but steadily, until 1993 and then steadily declines to a noteworthy extent thereafter, whereas the social capital measure for generalized trust remained rather constant over the years measured, though readings on this measure slightly increased over the limited time period during which it was measured in Stowell surveys.
- Property Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with property crime.** Property crime rose steadily until 1991 and then declined steadily thereafter. During this same period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust rose steadily over the years measured.
    - Generalized trust **appears to correlate with property crime.** Property crime rose steadily until 1991, and then declined steadily thereafter. During the same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust remained rather constant over the years measured, though the trust measure slightly increased over time.

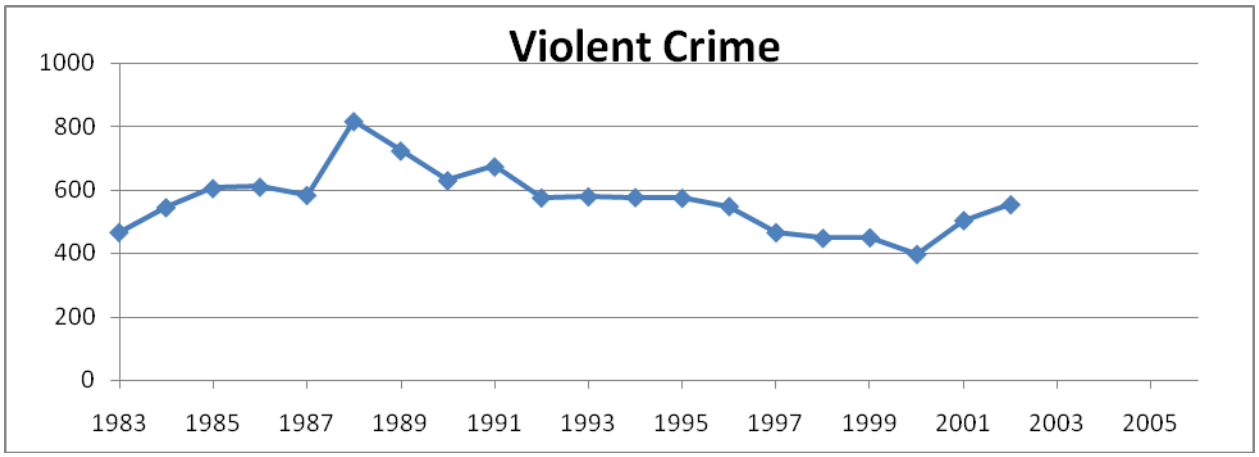
- Burglary Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with burglary.** Burglary rates evidence peaks and valleys disjointedly within the same range until 1991 at which point they begin to decline steadily for the remaining years being studied. During this period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust rose steadily over the years in question.
    - Generalized trust **appears to correlate with burglary.** Burglary peaks and valleys disjointedly within the same range until 1991 when it begins to decline steadily for the remaining years measured. During this same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust remained rather constant over the years measured, though the measure slightly increased over time.

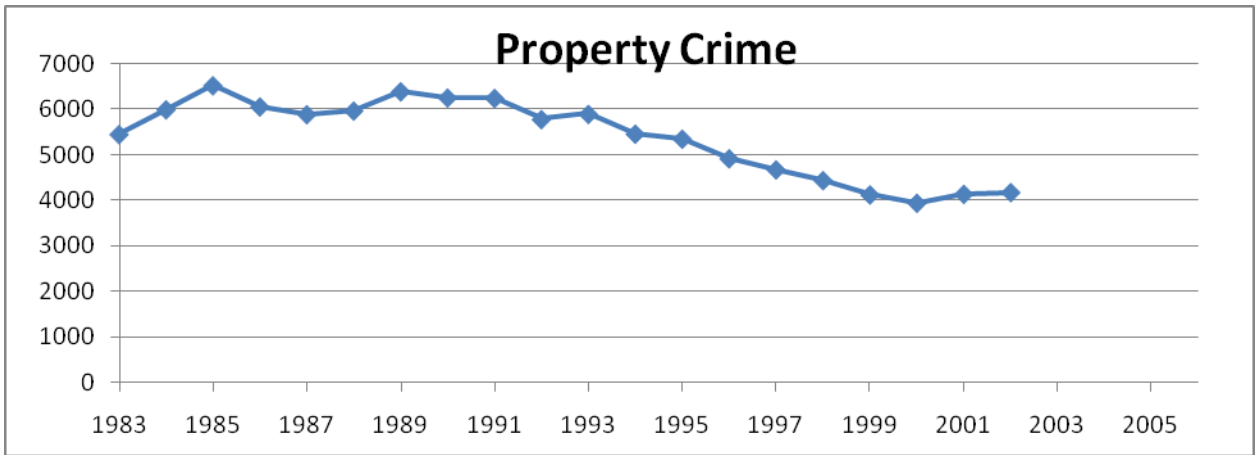
OVERALL PATTERN: Social capital increases slightly over time while all three measures of crime – violent, property, and burglary – show considerable variation, including a dramatic decline over the target time period. There appears to be weak evidence in the Norfolk MSA case that social capital is "driving" crime rates, and that declining crime rates have the effect of increasing trust and social capital.

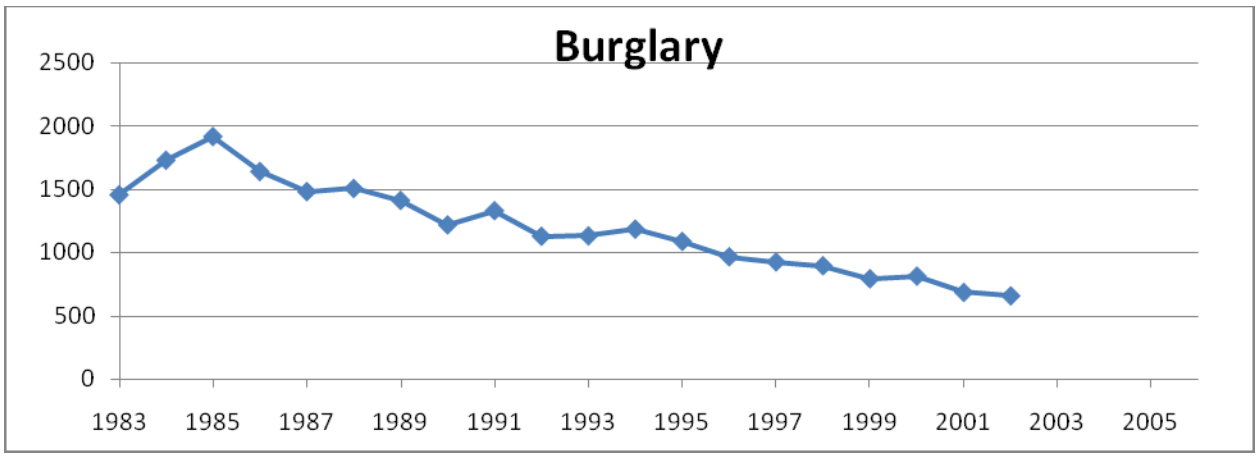
Figure 4.15 - Case 15: Reno, NV MSA




Generalized Trust (Public Officials)
3.5
3
2.5
2
1.5
1
1983
1985
1987
1989
1991
1993
1995
1997
1999
2001
2003
2005


Violent Crime
1000
800
600
400
200
0
1983
1985
1987
1989
1991
1993
1995
1997
1999
2001
2003
2005


Property Crime
7000
6000
5000
4000
3000
2000
1000
0
1983
1985
1987
1989
1991
1993
1995
1997
1999
2001
2003
2005



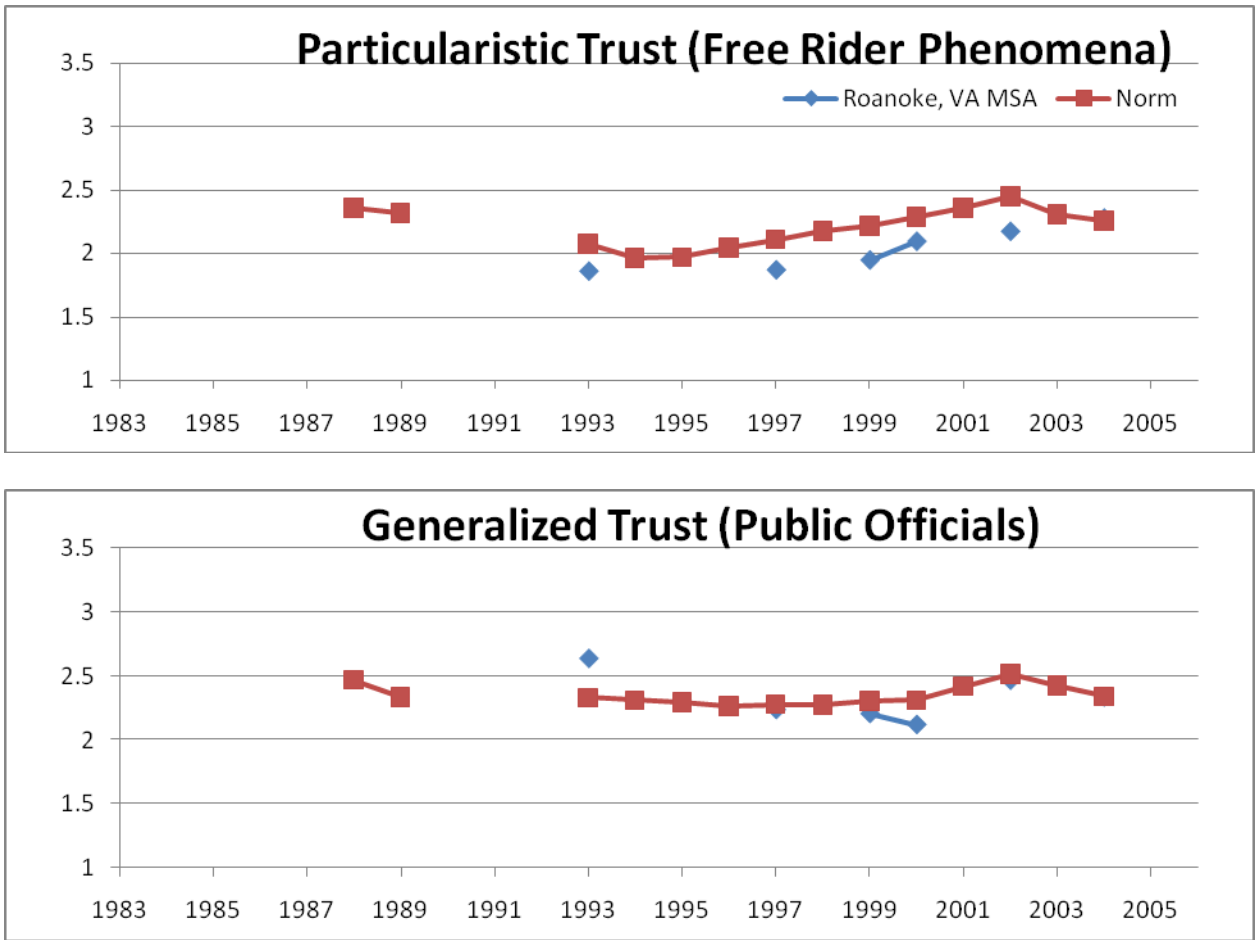
- Relation of Reno Social Capital Trust Measures to Norms Based on All Stowell Media Markets Surveyed in Each Year Graphed:
    - Particularistic trust (free rider phenomenon) increased over time with slightly sub-norm readings over all years for which data are available.
    - Generalized trust (public officials) remained rather constant and stayed close to the norm over all years for which data are available.
- Violent Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with violent crime.** Violent crime rises fairly steadily until 1988, then steadily declines to a noteworthy extent until 2000, at which point it starts to rise again. During this period the social capital measure for particularistic trust increases fairly steadily over the years measured.
    - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with violent crime.** Violent crime rises fairly steadily until 1988, then steadily declines to a noteworthy extent until 2000, when it starts to rise again. During this same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust appears relatively stable over the years measured, with slight increases being registered in 1995 and again in 1999.

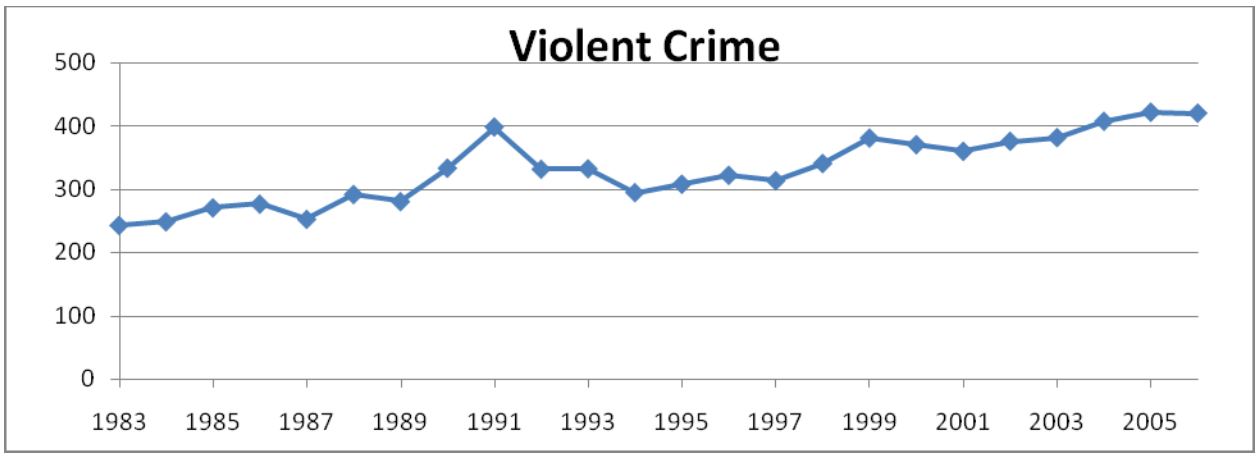
- Property Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with property crime.** Property crime rises steadily until 1985, and then declines fairly steadily thereafter. During this period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust increases fairly steadily over the years measured.
    - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with property crime.** Property crime rises steadily until 1985, and then declines fairly steadily thereafter. During this same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust appears relatively stable over the years measured, with slight increases noted in 1995 and 1999.
- Burglary Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with burglary.** Burglary peaks in 1985, and then steadily declines thereafter. During this same period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust increases fairly steadily over the years under observation.
    - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with burglary.** Burglary peaks in 1985, and then steadily declines thereafter. During this same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust appears relatively stable over the years measured, with slight increases noted in 1995 and 1999.

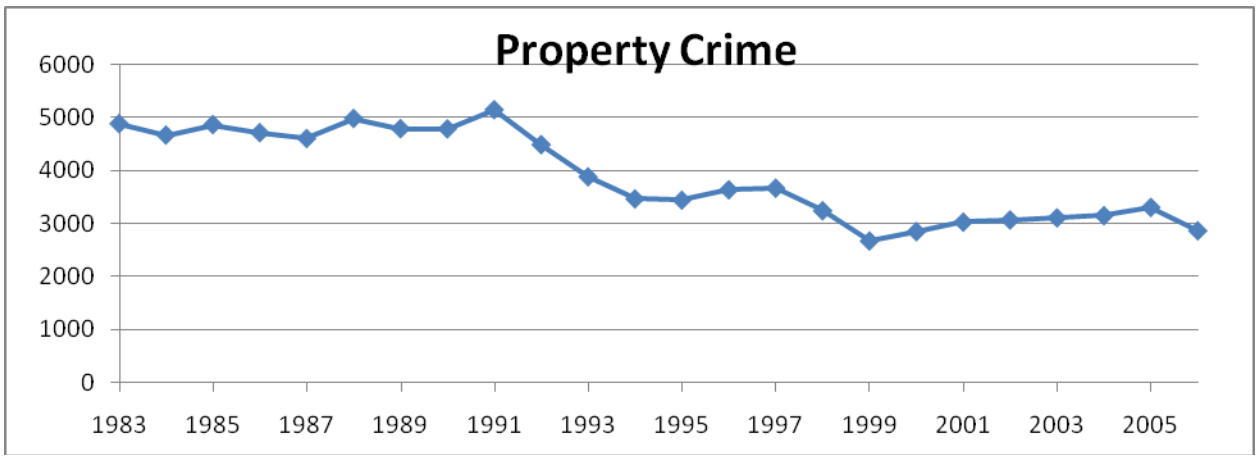
OVERALL PATTERN: In the Reno MSA case, particularistic trust, as a measure of social capital, increases over time while all three measures of crime – violent, property, and burglary – show considerable variation, including a dramatic decline over the target time period. There appears to be weak evidence in the Reno case that social capital is "driving" crime rates, and that

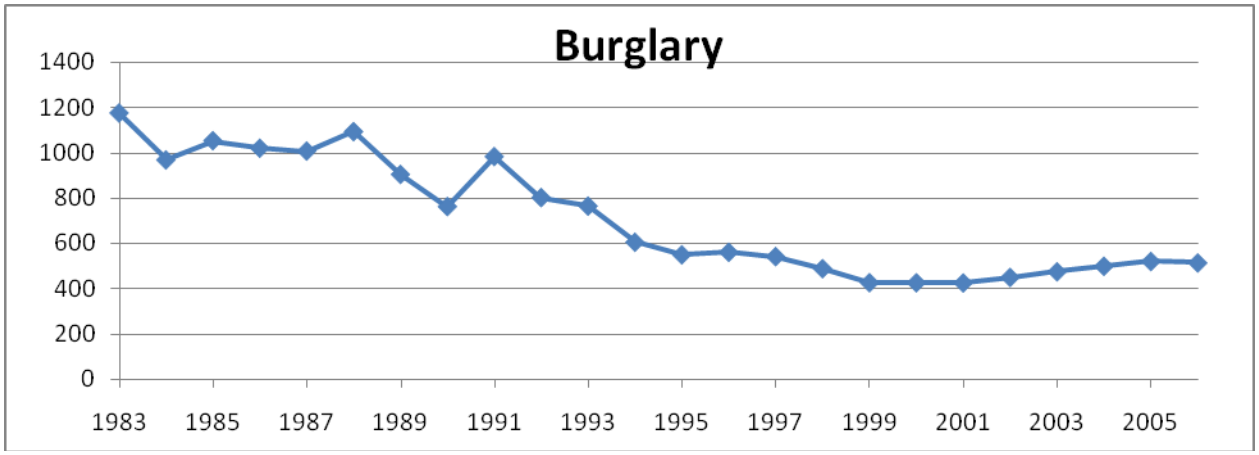
declining crime rates have the effect of increasing trust and social capital. This weak association is not in evidence, however, for generalized trust as a measure of social capital; readings on this measure remain fairly constant over time despite fluctuations in the crime rates.

Figure 4.16 - Case 16: Roanoke, VA MSA









- Relation of Roanoke Social Capital Trust Measures to Norms Based on All Stowell Media Markets Surveyed in Each Year Graphed:
    - Particularistic trust (free rider phenomenon) increased over the years measured, and was significantly sub-norm over all years for which data are available

- Generalized trust (public officials) decreased from 1993 until 2000, at which point it began to increase over the remaining years measured. With the exception of a decrease noted in 2004, the readings were slightly above the MSA norm in 1993 and sub-norm in 1999 and 2000.

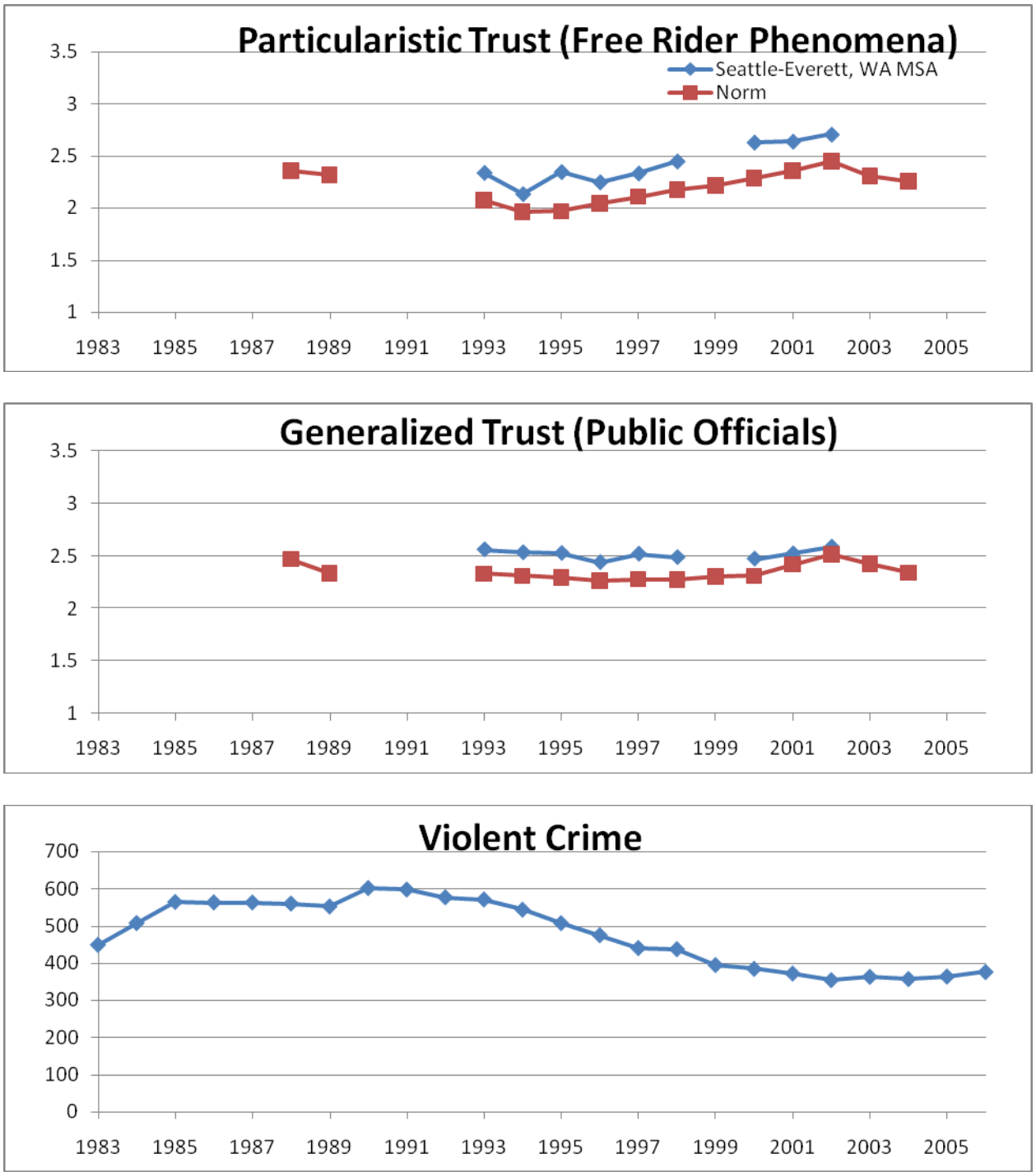
- Violent Crime Relationship:
  - Particularistic trust **does not appear to correlate with violent crime.** Violent crime rises steadily to a noteworthy extent in the years measured, whereas the social capital measure for generalized trust appeared to increase over the years measured.
  - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with violent crime.** Violent crime rises steadily to a noteworthy extent in the years measured. During the same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust decreased from 1993 until 2000, at which point it began to increase over the remaining years measured, with the exception of a decrease registered in 2004.
- Property Crime Relationship:
  - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with property crime.** Property crime appears fairly stable until 1991 when it begins to decrease for the remaining years measured. During this same period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust increased over the years measured.
  - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with property crime.** Property crime rates were fairly stable until 1991 when they begin to decrease for the remaining years measured. During this same period of time the social capital measure for particularized trust decreased from 1993 until 2000 where it began

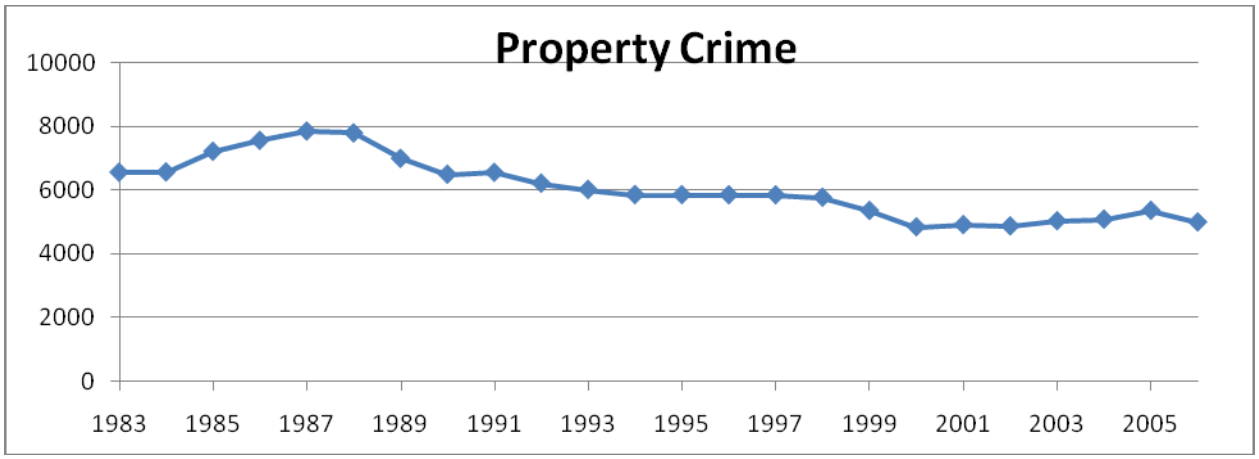
to increase over the remaining years measured, with the exception of a decrease noted in 2004.

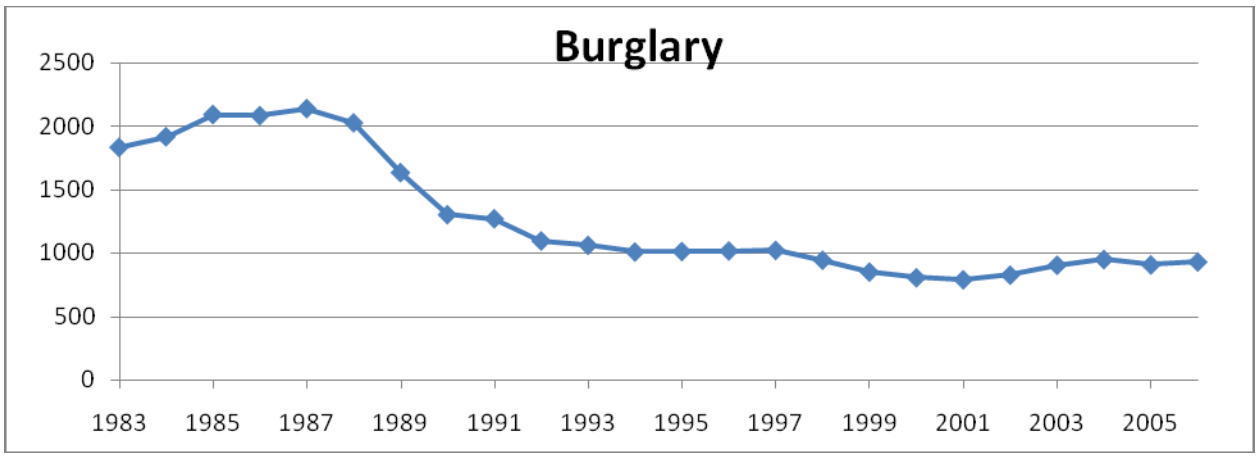
- Burglary Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with burglary.** Burglary declines steadily over the time period measured, with slight peaks documented in 1988 and 1991. During this same period of time the Stowell social capital measure for particularistic trust appeared to increase over the years measured.
    - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with burglary.** Burglary declines steadily over the time period measured, with slight peaks noted in 1988 and 1991. During this period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust appeared to decrease from 1993 until 2000 where it began to increase over the remaining years measured, with the exception of a decrease noted in 2004.

OVERALL PATTERN: The particularistic trust measure of social capital appears to correlate in the hypothesized direction with both property crime and burglary as measures of crime. In the Roanoke case, it appears that in the case of particularistic trust, as a measure of social capital, social capital may be "driving" these crime rates, and that declining crime rates may have the effect of increasing trust and social capital. Violent crime presents a unique case in that it appears that the relationship between particularistic trust runs in the opposite of the hypothesized relationship, meaning it appears that as violent crime was rising in this urban area so was particularistic trust. Generalized trust, however, does not appear to have a relationship with violent crime, property crime or burglary, as the measure both increases and decreases during a period of significantly rising crime (as is the case with violent crime) or significantly decreasing crime (as is the case with property crime and burglary).

Figure 4.17 - Case 17: Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA MSA







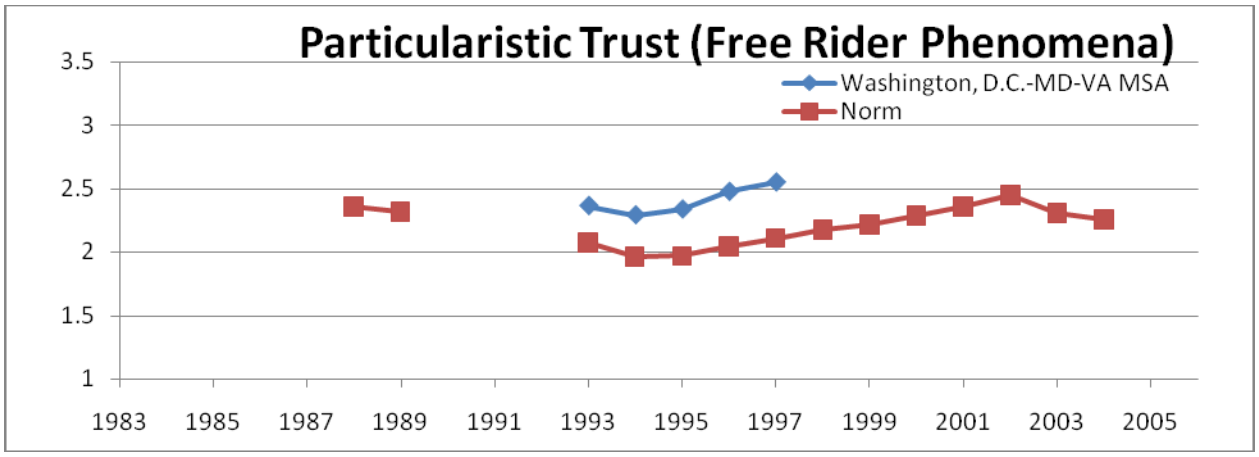
- <u>Relation of Seattle Social Capital Trust Measures to Norms Based on All Stowell Media Markets Surveyed in Each Year Graphed</u>:
    - Particularistic trust (free rider phenomenon) increased steadily over the years for which data are available, with a slight decrease in 1994, and then rising steadily thereafter. The measures were above norm for all years measured.
    - Generalized trust (as reflected in trust in one's public officials) remained fairly constant over the years measured, with above MSA norm readings being documented over all years.

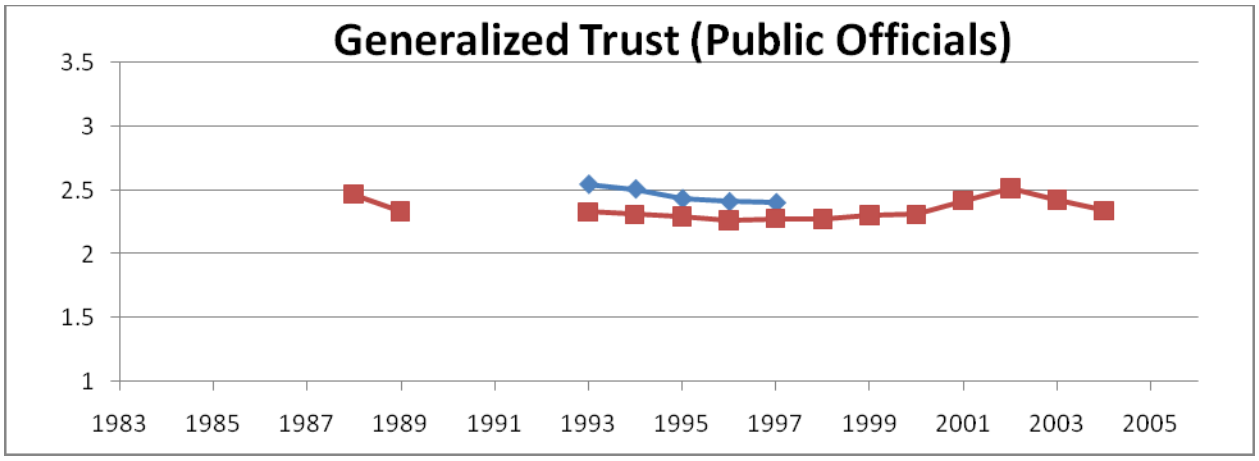
- Violent Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with violent crime.** Violent crime rises steadily until 1990, at which point it begins to decrease steadily to a noteworthy extent thereafter. During this same period of time the Stowell social capital measure for particularistic trust increased steadily over the years for which data are available, with a slight decrease in 1994, and then rising steadily thereafter again.
    - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with violent crime.** Violent crime rises steadily until 1990, at which point it begins to decrease steadily to a noteworthy extent thereafter. During this same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust remained fairly constant over the years in which it was measured.
- Property Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with property crime.** Property crime rises steadily until 1987, and then declines steadily thereafter, whereas the social capital measure for particularistic trust increased steadily over the years for which data are available, with a slight decrease in 1994, and then rising steadily thereafter again.
    - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with property crime.** Property crime rates in the Seattle/Bellevue MSA rose steadily until 1987, and then declined steadily thereafter. During this same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust as reflected in trust in politicians remained fairly constant over the years measured.

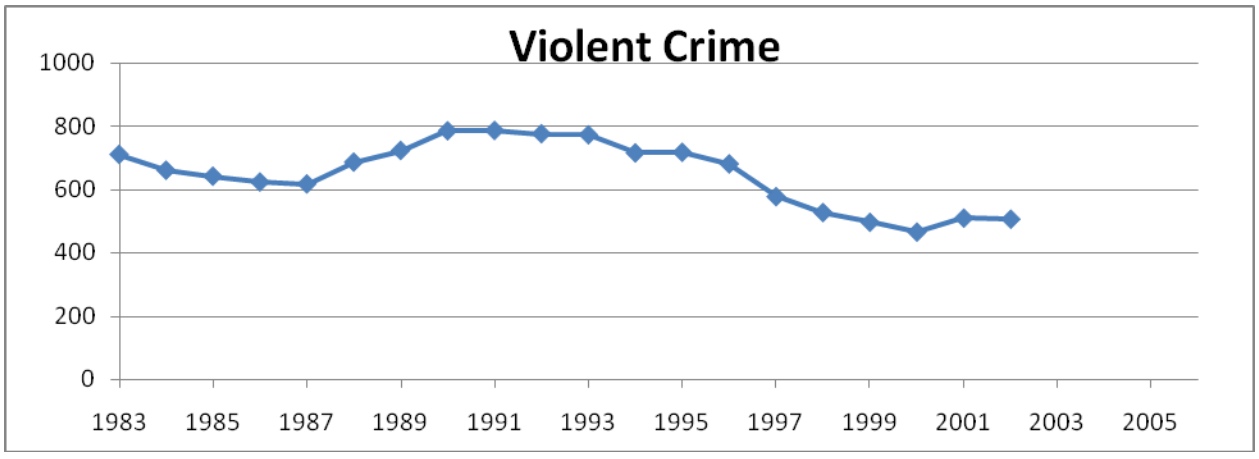
- Burglary Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with burglary.** Burglary rises steadily until 1987, and then declines steadily thereafter. During this same period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust increased steadily over the years for which data are available, with a slight decrease in 1994, and then rising steadily thereafter again.
    - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with burglary.** Burglary rises steadily until 1987, and then declines steadily thereafter. During this same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust remained fairly constant over the years measured.

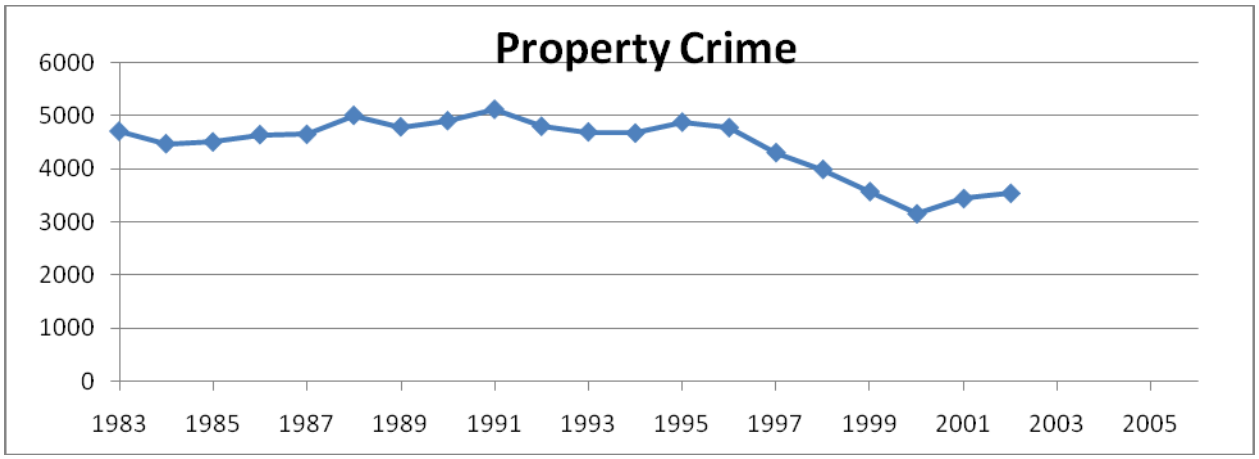
OVERALL PATTERN: In the Seattle case, the particularistic trust measure of social capital increases over time while all three measures of crime – violent, property, and burglary – show a considerable decline over the target time period. There appears to be some evidence in the Seattle case, at least in terms of particularistic trust, that social capital could be "driving" crime rates, and that declining crime rates have the effect of increasing trust and social capital. The same is not the true for the generalized trust measure of social capital in light of the fact that this measure remains stable over time despite declining crime rates.

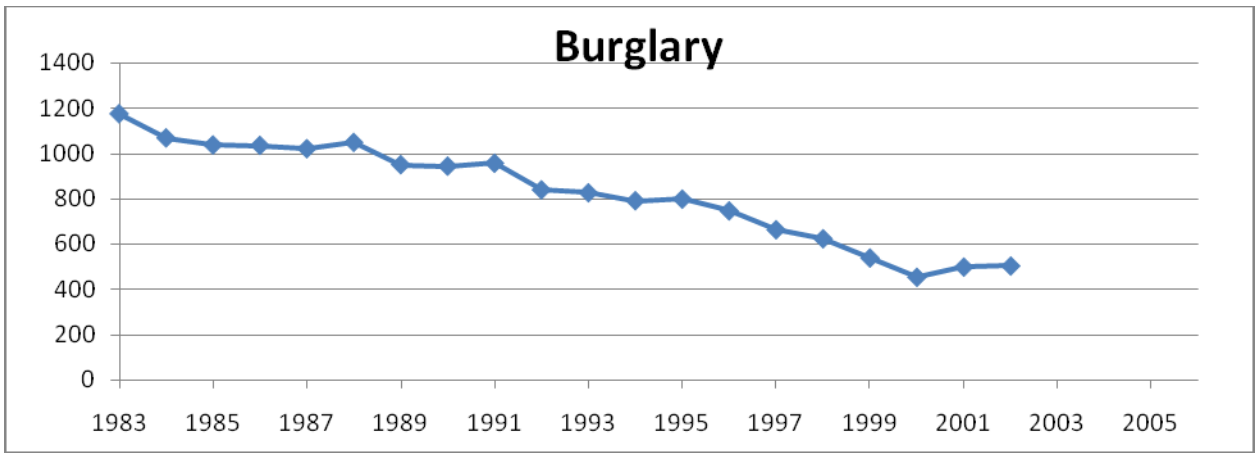
Figure 4. 18 - Case 18: Washington, D.C.-MD-VA MSA











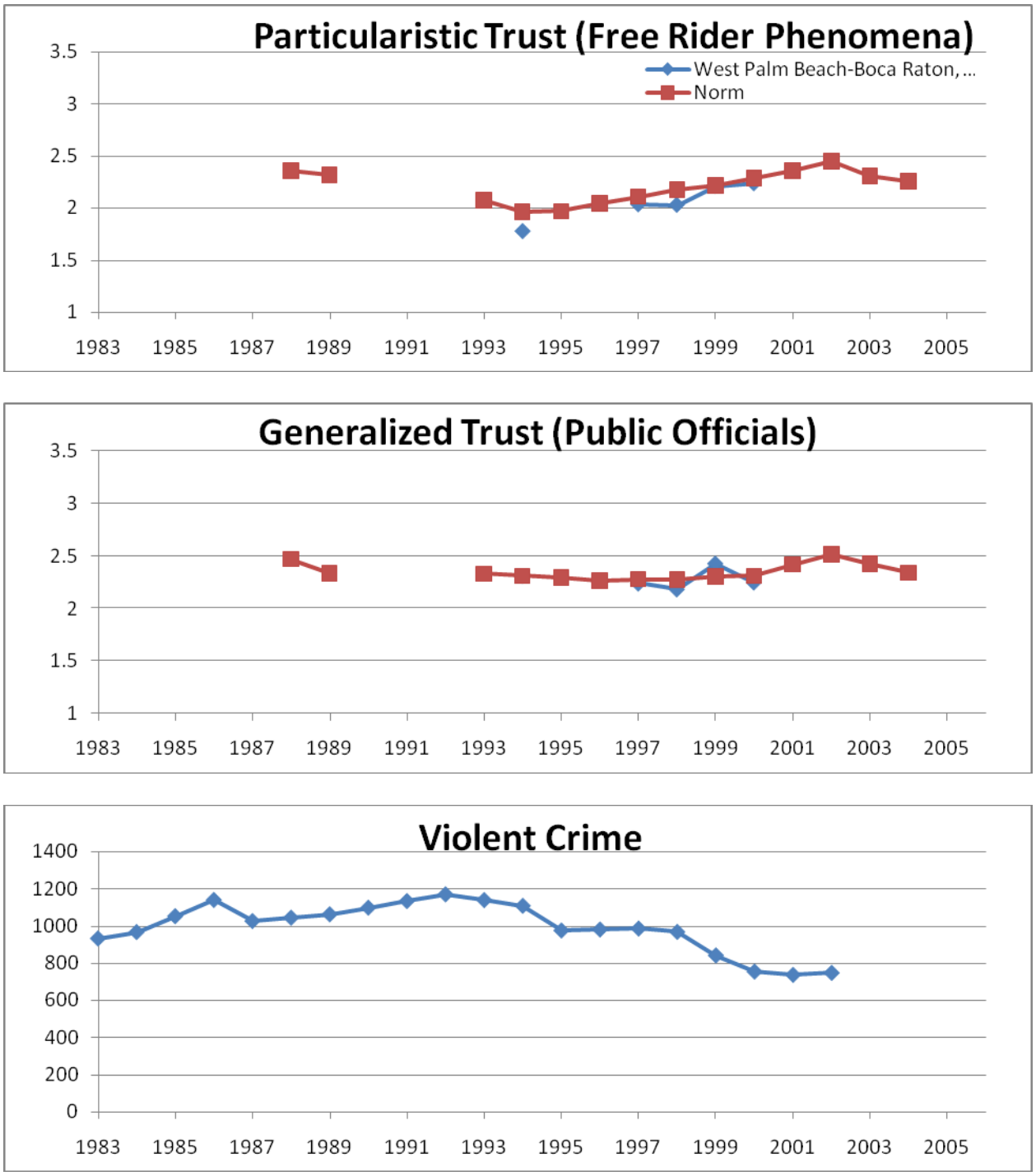
- <u>Relation of Washington, D.C. Social Capital Trust Measures to Norms Based on All Stowell Media Markets Surveyed in Each Year Graphed</u>:
    - Particularistic trust (free rider phenomenon) increased fairly steadily throughout the years measured, with a slight decrease noted in 1994. The ratings on this Stowell survey-based measure were all significantly above the norm for MSAs over all years for which these data are available.
    - Generalized trust (vis-à-vis trust in one's public officials) decreased slightly over all years for which the measure is available, with slightly above MSA norm readings for all years documented.

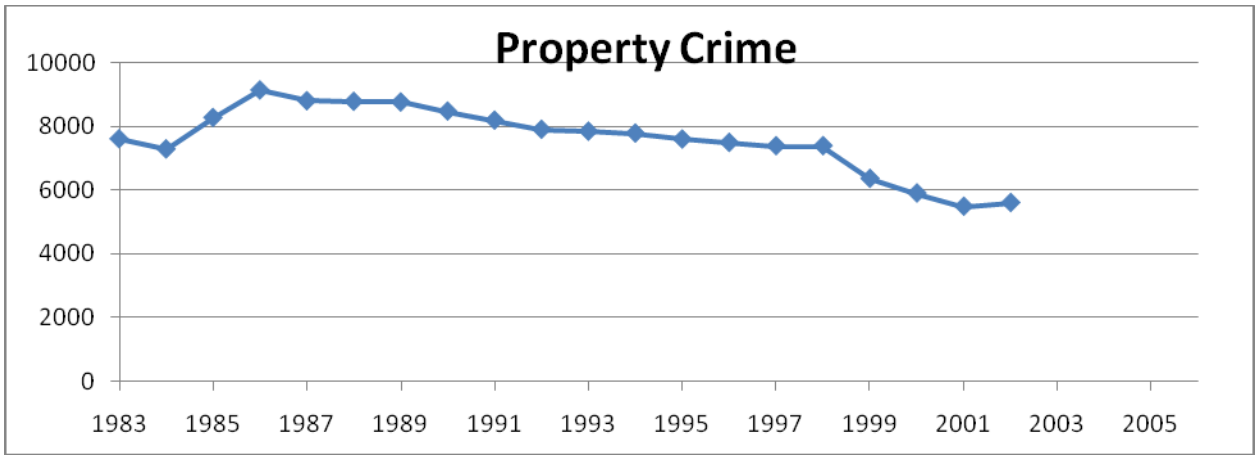
- Violent Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with violent crime.** In the Washington, D.C. MSA violent crime decreased slightly from 1983 until 1987, at which point it steadily increased until 1990, and then began to steadily decrease to a noteworthy extent thereafter. During this same period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust increased fairly steadily throughout the years measured, with the exception of a slight decrease noted in 1994.
    - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with violent crime.** Violent crime decreased slightly from 1983 until 1987, where it steadily increased until 1990, and then began to steadily decrease to a noteworthy extent thereafter. During this period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust decreased slightly over all years measured.
- Property Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with property crime.** Property crime remains fairly constant until 1997, at which point it steadily decreases until 2000 and begins to rise again. During this same period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust increased fairly steadily throughout the years measured, with a slight decrease noted in 1994.
    - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with property crime.** Property crime remains fairly constant until 1997, where it steadily decreases until 2000 and begins to rise again. During this same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust decreased slightly over all years measured.

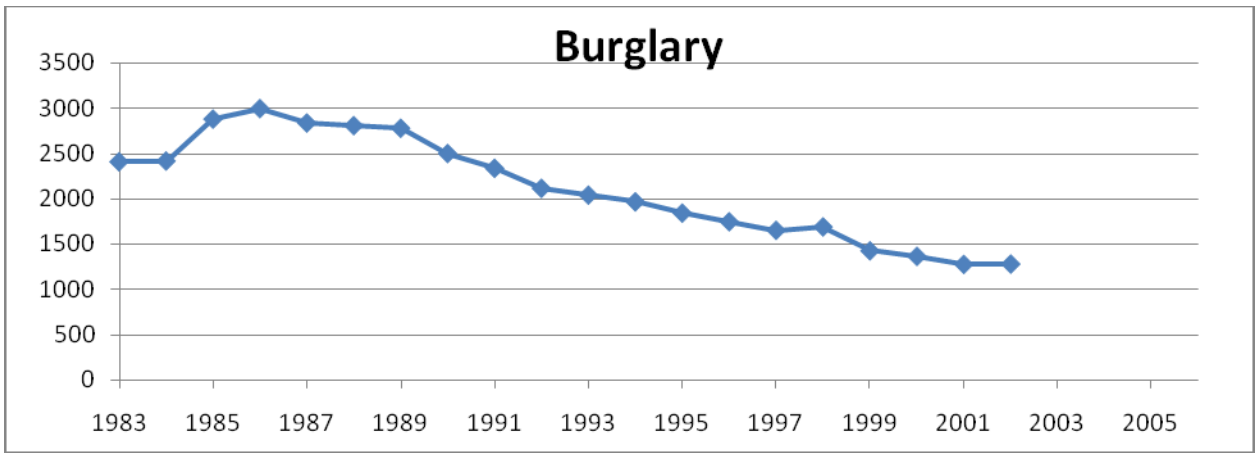
- Burglary Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with burglary.** Burglary decreases steadily to a noteworthy extent over all years measured. During this same period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust increased fairly steadily throughout the years measured, with a slight decrease noted in 1994.
    - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with burglary.** Burglary rates decreased steadily to a noteworthy extent over all years measured, while the social capital measure for generalized trust also decreased slightly over all years measured.

OVERALL PATTERN: The particularistic trust measure of social capital appears to correlate in the hypothesized direction with violent crime, property crime and burglary as measures of crime. In the Washington, D.C. case it appears that in the instance of particularistic trust that social capital could be "driving" these crime rates, and that declining crime rates may have the effect of increasing particularistic trust and social capital. Generalized trust presents a contrary case in that it appears that the relationship between that form of social trust and the three measures of crime runs **opposite** to the hypothesized relationship – that is, as violent crime, property crime, and burglary are decreasing, so is particularistic trust in the Washington, D.C. MSA setting.

Figure 4.19 - Case 19: West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL MSA







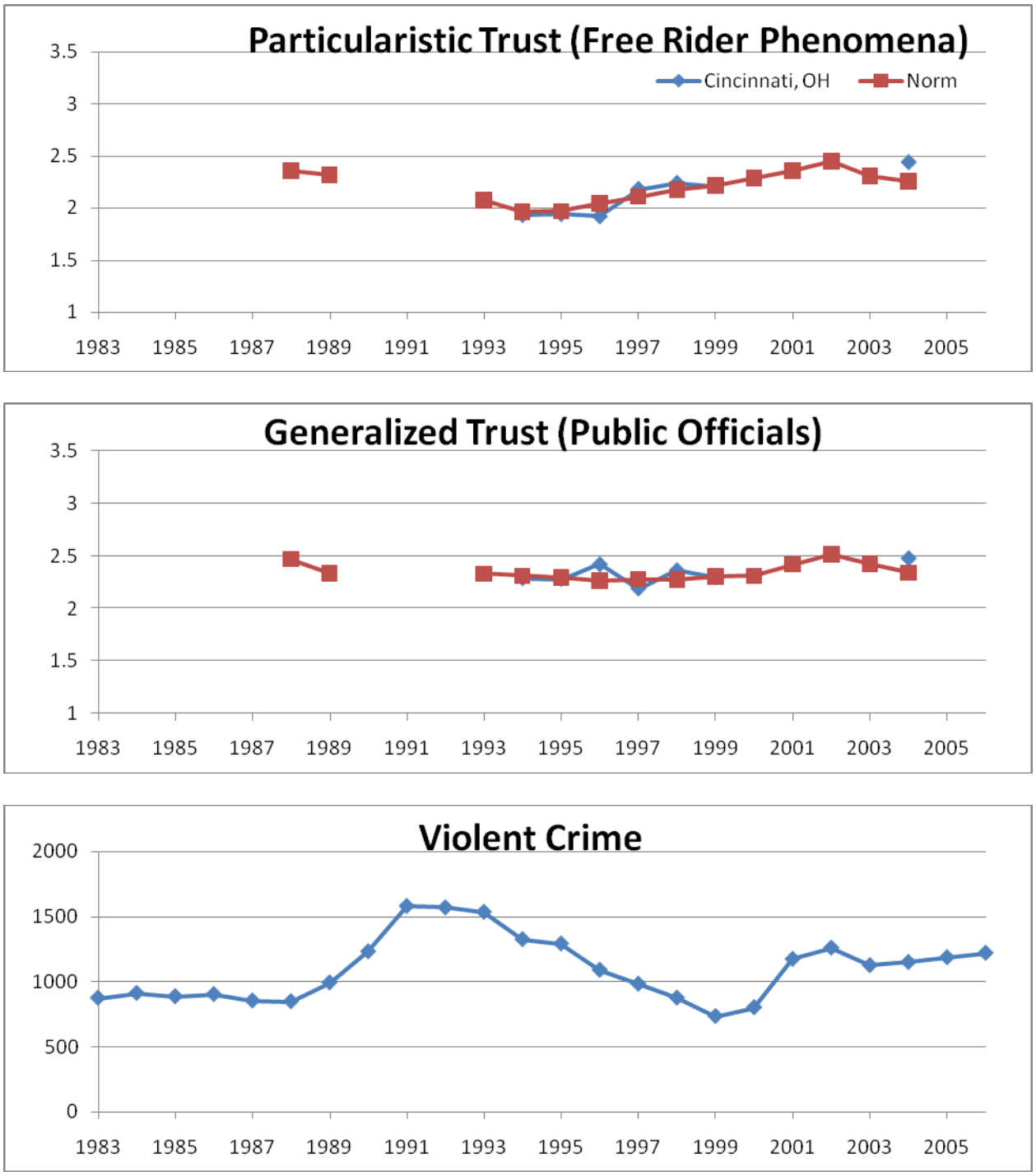
- Relation of West Palm Beach Social Capital Trust Measures to Norms Based on All Stowell Media Markets Surveyed in Each Year Graphed:
    - Particularized trust (free rider phenomenon) increases steadily over all years measured, with slightly sub-norm readings for MSAs registered in each year for which data are available.
    - Generalized trust (public officials) was quite variable over the years measured, with a decrease in trust noted from 1997 to 1998, an increase noted 1998 to 1999, and then another decrease being documented. The annual readings measured both sub-norm and above norm levels vis-à-vis other MSAs over the years observed.

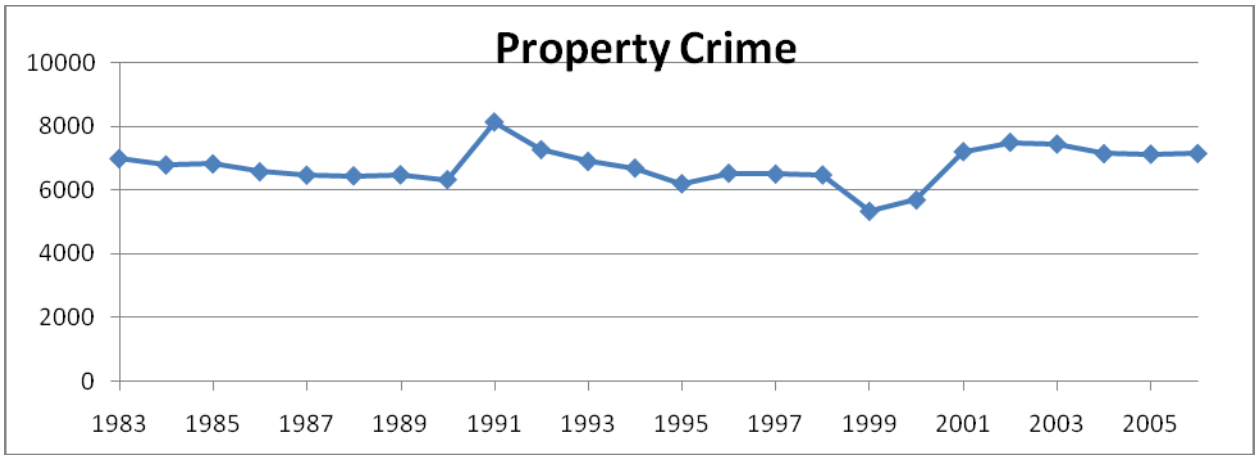
- Violent Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with violent crime.** Violent crime increases until 1986, decreases in 1987, and then rises again until 1992, at which point it begins to steadily decrease thereafter. During this same period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust appeared to increase steadily over all years for which data are available.
    - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with violent crime.** Violent crime increases until 1986, decreases in 1987, and then rises again until 1992, at which point it begins to steadily decrease thereafter. During this same period of time the social capital measure for particularized trust was quite variable over the years measured, with a decrease noted from 1997 to 1998, an increase 1998 to 1999 witnessed, and then another decrease noted.
- Property Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with property crime.** Property crime rises sharply until 1986, and then declines fairly steadily thereafter. During the same period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust increased steadily over the years measured.
    - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with property crime.** Property crime rises sharply until 1986, and then declines fairly steadily thereafter. During this same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust was quite variable over the years in which it was measured, with a decrease noted from 1997 to 1998, an increase 1998 to 1999 witnessed, and then another decrease noted.

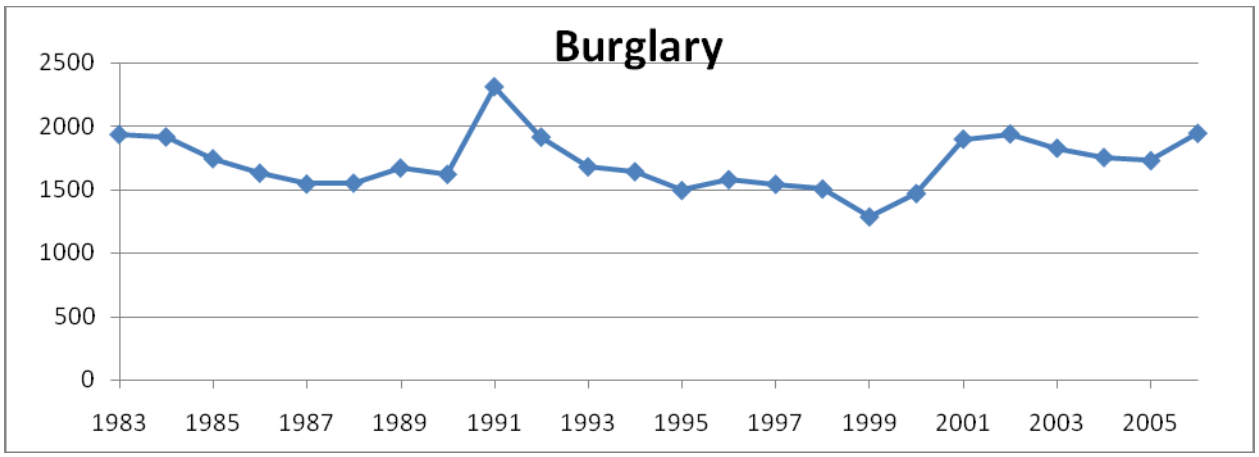
- Burglary Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with burglary.** Burglary rises sharply until 1986, and then declines steadily thereafter. During this same period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust increased steadily over the years in which it was documented.
    - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with burglary.** Burglary rises sharply until 1986, and then declines steadily thereafter. During this same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust was quite variable over the years measured, with a decrease from 1997 to 1998 noted, an increase 1998 to 1999 witnessed, and then another decrease noted.

OVERALL PATTERN: The particularistic trust measure of social capital appears to correlate in the hypothesized direction with violent crime, property crime and burglary as measures of crime. In the West Palm Beach case, it appears that social capital, and especially particularistic trust as a measure of that MSA trait, may be "driving" these crime rates, and that declining crime rates may have the effect of increasing generalized trust and social capital. Generalized trust, as a measure of social capital, however, does not seem to have such a clear relationship with violent crime, property crime, and burglary; this trait is quite variable over the years in which it was measured.

Figure 4.20 - Case 20: Cincinnati, OH CITY







- Relation of Cincinnati Social Capital Trust Measures to Norms Based on All Stowell Media Markets Surveyed in Each Year Graphed:
    - Particularistic trust (free rider phenomenon) appeared to decrease slightly at first, and then steadily increased over all years for which data are available, with slightly sub-norm readings noted in 1995 and 1996 and slightly above norm readings witnessed in 1997, 1997, and 2004.
    - Generalized trust (public officials) was rather variable over all the years in which it was measured, with peaks observed in 1996, 1998, and 2004, and lower levels registered in 1997. The readings closely approached the norm, with above norm

readings registered in 1996, 1998, and 2004 and sub-norm readings documented in 1997.

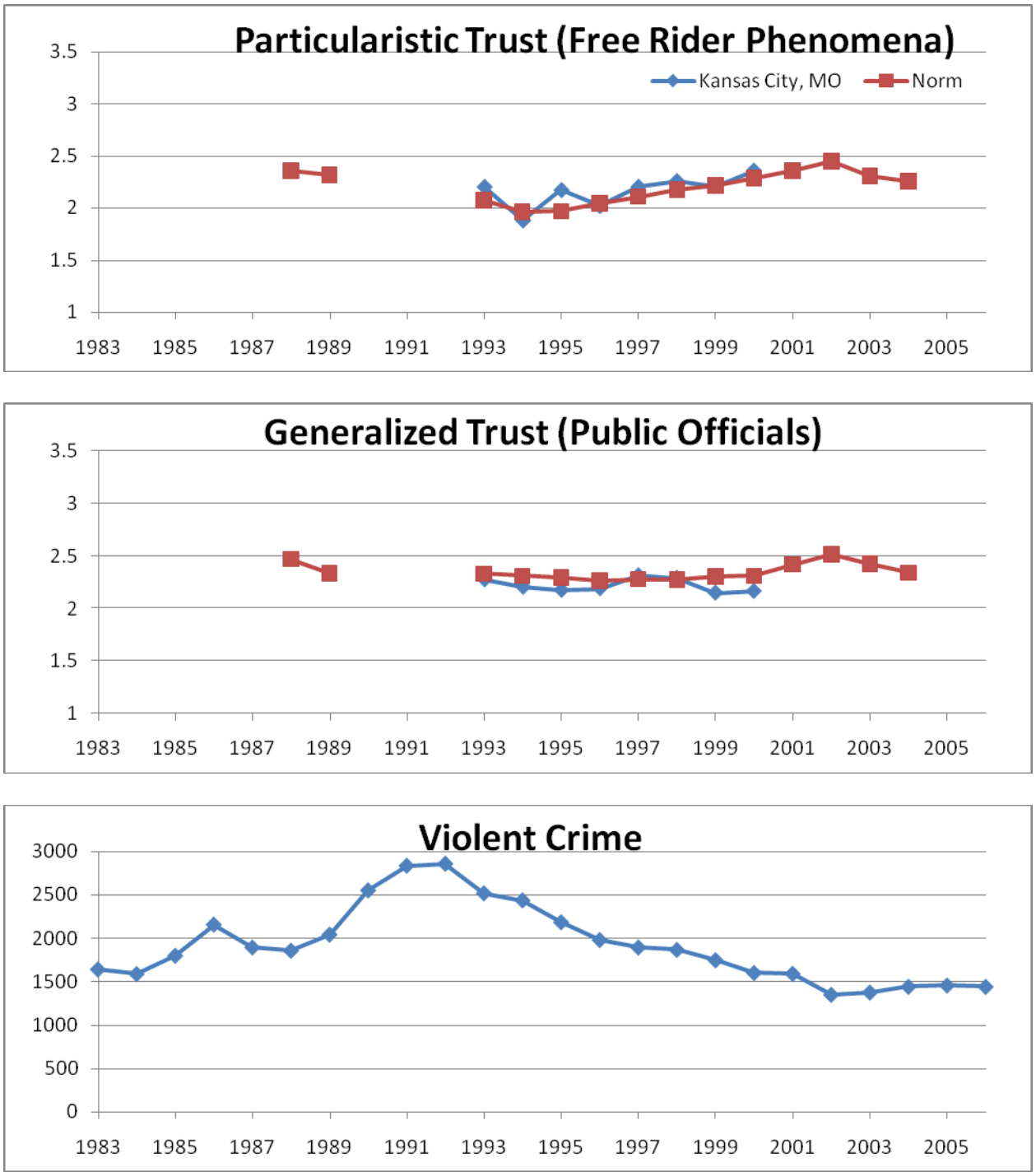
- Violent Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate slightly with violent crime.** Violent crime remained fairly constant until 1988 when it increased to a noteworthy extent until 1991, at which time it began to steadily decrease until 1999, where it began to rise again. During this period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust appeared to decrease slightly at first, and then steadily increased over all years for which data are available.
    - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with violent crime.** Violent crime remained fairly constant until 1988 when it increased to a noteworthy extent until 1991, at which time it began to decrease steadily until 1999, at which point it began to rise once again. During this period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust was rather variable over all years measured, with peaks noted in 1996, 1998, and 2004, and lower levels registered in 1997.
- Property Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **does not appear to correlate with property crime.** Property crime remains fairly constant until 1990, at which point it increases quite dramatically, and then begins to decrease steadily until 1999 where it begins to rise again and then levels off at a fairly constant level. During this period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust decreases slightly at first, and then steadily increases over all years for which these data are available.

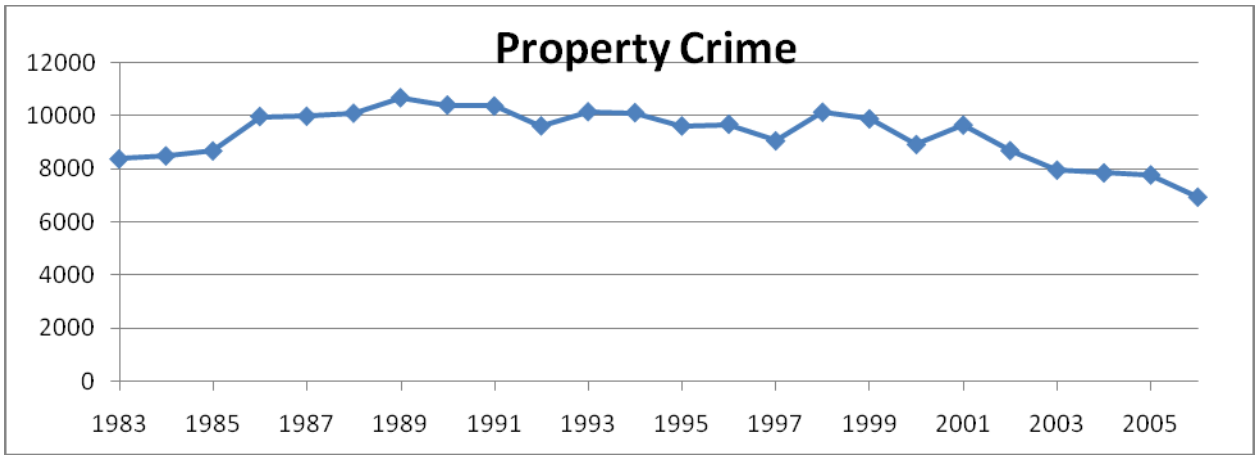
- Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with property crime.** Property crime remains fairly constant until 1990, when it increases quite dramatically and then begins to decrease steadily until 1999, where it begins to rise again and then levels off at a fairly constant level. During this period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust was rather variable over all years measured, with peaks noted in 1996, 1998, and 2004, and lower levels registered in 1997.

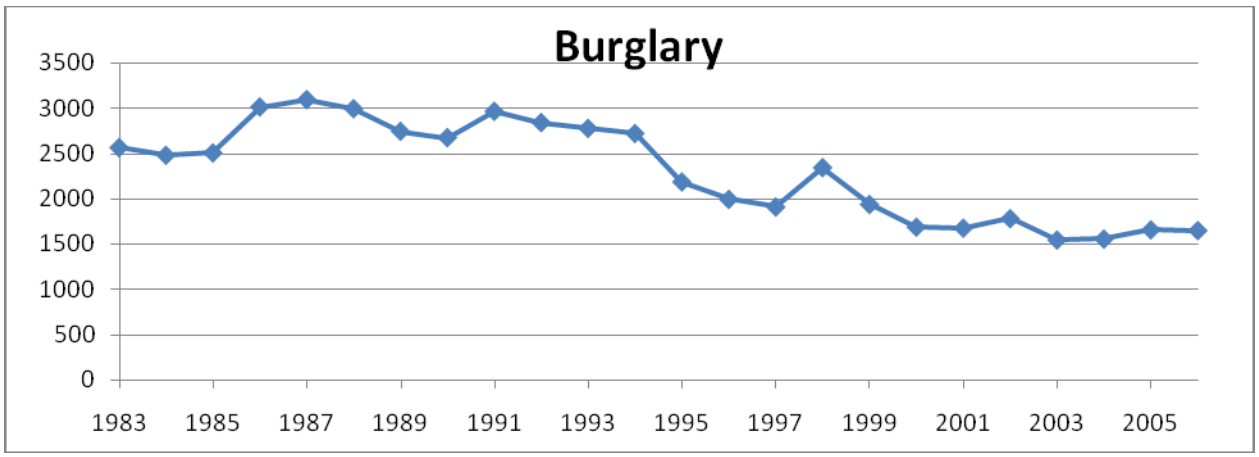
- Burglary Relationship:
  - Particularistic trust **does not appear to correlate with burglary.** Burglary decreases slightly until 1986 when it begins to dramatically increase, with a peak in 1991, after which it begins a steady decline again until 1999 when the measure starts to steadily increase again, and then another steady decline occurs thereafter. During the same period generalized trust decreased slightly at first, and then steadily increased over all years for which these data are available.
  - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with burglary.** Burglary decreases slightly until 1986 when it begins to dramatically increase with a peak in 1991, after which time it begins a steady decline again until 1999 when the measure starts to steadily increase again, and then another steady decline occurs thereafter. During this same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust was rather variable over all years measured, with peaks noted in 1996, 1998, and 2004, and lower levels registered in 1997.

OVERALL PATTERN: The generalized and particularistic trust measures, as measures of social capital, do not seem to have a relationship with violent crime, property crime, and burglary in the Cincinnati MSA case as these measures are quite variable over the years examined.

Figure 4.21 - Case 21: Kansas City, MO CITY







- Relation of Kansas City Social Capital Trust Measures to Norms Based on All Stowell Media Markets Surveyed in Each Year Graphed:
    - Particularistic trust (free rider phenomenon) sharply decreased from 1993 to 1994, with a sharp increase in 1995, whereupon the readings decreased again in 1996 and then steadily rose thereafter for the remaining years measured. The measure was sub-norm for MSAs for 1994, and slightly above that norm or right at the norm for the remaining years in which it was measured.
    - Generalized trust (public officials) decreased ever so slightly from 1993 to 1995, at which point it began to slightly rise again until 1997; after that the measure slightly decreased again, then leveled out for the remaining years in which it was

measured. The Stowell social capital measure was slightly sub-norm over all the years in which it was measured, except for 1997 and 1998, two years in which it closely resembled the MSA norm level.

- Violent Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with violent crime.** Violent crime rises to a noteworthy extent until 1994, with peaks in the measure in documented in 1986 and 1994, and then violent crime begins to decline steadily to a noteworthy extent for the remaining years for which UCR data are available. During this same period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust sharply decreased from 1993 to 1994, with a quite sharp increase noted in 1995, a decrease witnessed again in 1996, and then the Stowell measure steadily rose thereafter for the remaining years in which it was assessed.
    - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with violent crime.** Violent crime rises to a noteworthy extent until 1994, with peaks in the measure documented in 1986 and 1994, and then violent crime begins to decline steadily to a noteworthy extent for the remaining years for which the measure is available. During this same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust decreased ever so slightly from 1993 to 1995, at which point it began to rise slightly again until 1997; after that, this type of social trust decreased swlightly again and leveled out for the remaining years in which it was observed.
- Property Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **does not appear to correlate with property crime**, as property crime increases from 1983 to 1989 and then remains fairly constant

over all of the years measured, with slight decreases noted in 1997 and 2000, and the beginning of a decline for the remaining years measured in 2001 and thereafter. During this same period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust sharply decreased from 1993 to 1994, with a sharp increase noted in 1995, whereupon the measure of social trust decreased again in 1996 and then steadily rose thereafter for the remaining years in which it was measured in Stowell surveys.

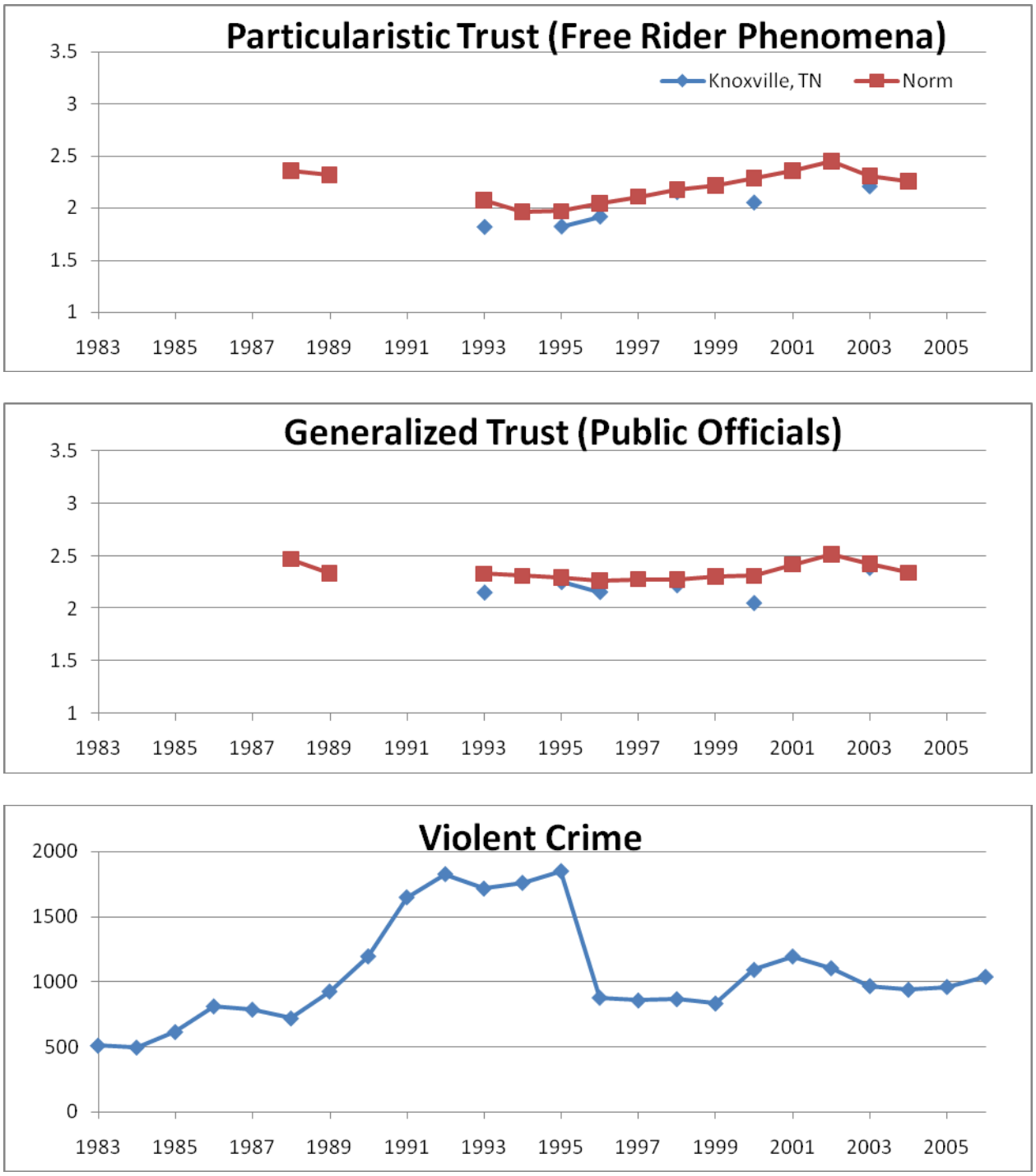
- Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with property crime.** Property crime increases from 1983 to 1989, and then remains fairly constant over all of the years measured, with slight decreases noted in 1997 and 2000 and the beginning of a decline for the remaining years measured in 2001. During this same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust decreased ever so slightly from 1993 to 1995, at which point it began to rise slightly again until 1997; after that, the measure for this type of social capital slightly decreased again and leveled out for the remaining years in which it was measured.

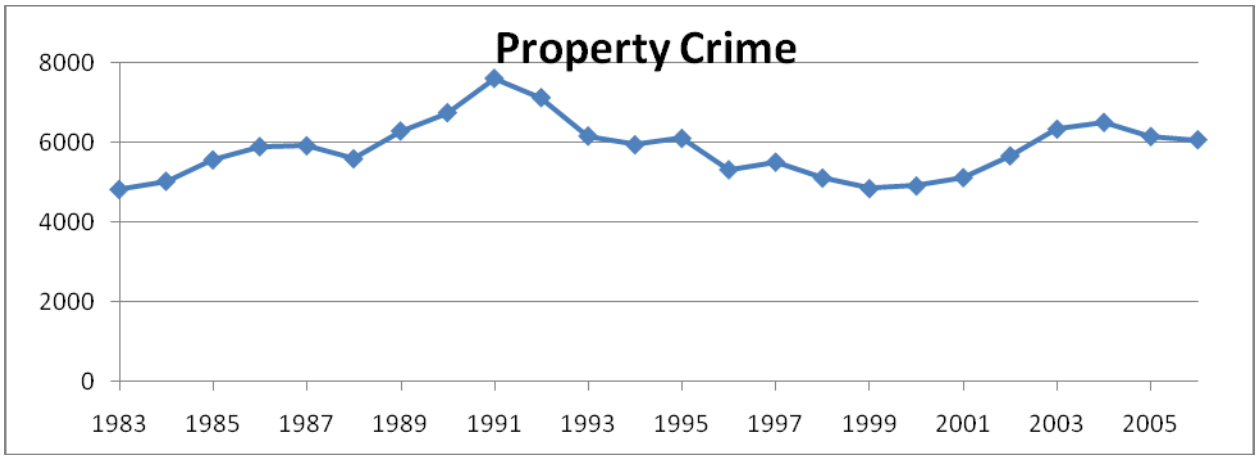
- <u>Burglary Relationship:</u>
  - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate slightly with burglary.** Burglary rates remained fairly constant until 1985 when it began to rise until 1987, and then began a fairly steady descent with a few peaks for the remaining years measured. During this same period the social capital measure for particularistic trust sharply decreased from 1993 to 1994, followed by a sharp increase in 1995 where the measure decreased once again in 1996 and then steadily rose thereafter for the remaining years observed.

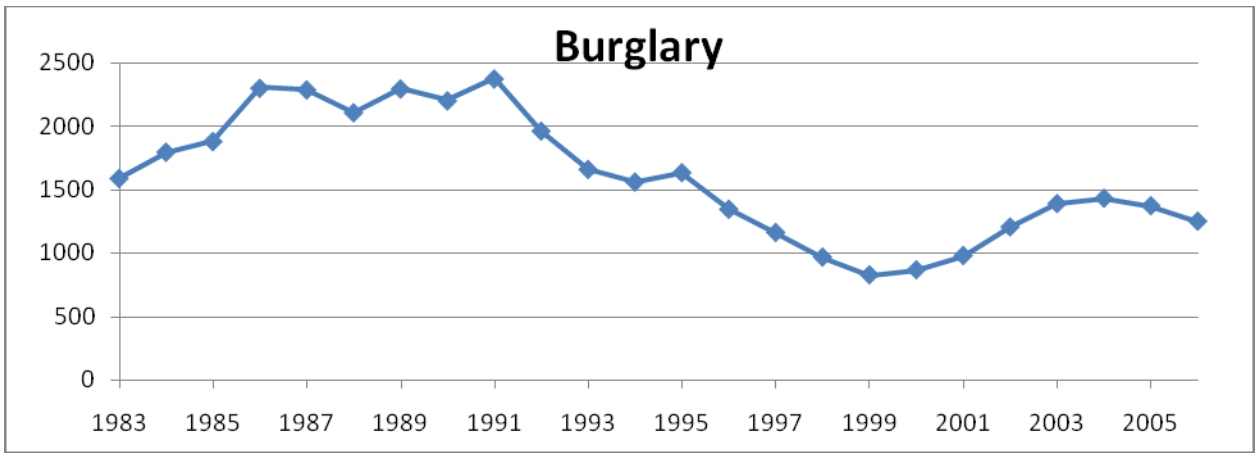
- Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with burglary.** Burglary rates remained fairly constant until 1985, whereupon it began to rise until 1987, and then began a fairly steady descent with a few peaks for the remaining years measured. During this same period the social capital measure for generalized trust decreased ever so slightly from 1993 to 1995 where it began to slightly rise again until 1997; after that point in time the measure slightly decreased again and leveled out for the remaining years measured.

OVERALL PATTERN: The generalized trust measure of social capital appears to slightly correlate in the hypothesized direction with violent crime, property crime and burglary as measures of crime. In the Kansas City case it appears that with respect to generalized trust as a measure of social capital, it could be that social capital may be "driving" these crime rates to some extent, and that declining crime rates may have the effect of increasing generalized trust and social capital. Particularized trust, as a measure of social capital, however, does not seem to have such a relationship with violent crime, property crime, and burglary given that it is quite stable over the years measured and appears to be subject to as much decrease as increase in this same time period.

Figure 4.22 - Case 22: Knoxville, TN CITY







- Relation of Knoxville Social Capital Trust Measures to Norms Based on All Stowell Media Markets Surveyed in Each Year Graphed:
    - Particularistic trust (free rider phenomenon) appeared to increase steadily from 1993 to 1998, where it decreased slightly in 1999, and then began to rise again for the remaining years observed. The readings recorded for this measure of social trust were sub-norm for cities for all years measured except for 1998, a year in which the reading on this measure closely approached the norm for cities under study here.

- Generalized trust (public officials) remained rather constant over the years measured, with a slight increase noted in 1995 and a slight decrease witnessed in 2000; the readings registered were slightly sub-norm over all years observed.

- Violent Crime Relationship:
  - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate weakly with violent crime.** Violent crime rises to a noteworthy extent between 1983 and 1995, and then drops dramatically in 1996, at which point it levels off until 1999 and begins to rise slightly, then decreases slightly, and then it evens out for the remaining years observed. During this same period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust increased steadily from 1993 to 1998, then decreased slightly in 1999, and then began to rise again for the remaining years under study.
  - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with violent crime.** Violent crime rises to a noteworthy extent between 1983 and 1995, and then drops dramatically in 1996, where it levels off until 1999 and begins to rise slightly, then decreases slightly, and then appears to even out for the remaining years measured. During this period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust remained rather constant over the years measured, with a slight increase noted in 1995 and a slight decrease being registered in 2000.

- Property Crime Relationship:
  - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate weakly with property crime** Property crime rises steadily from 1983 to 1991, and then begins to decline steadily until 1999, at which point it begins to increase steadily again, with a downturn noted again in 2004 for the remaining years measured. During this

same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust increased steadily from 1993 to 1998, then decreased slightly in 1999, and then began to rise again for the remaining years under study.

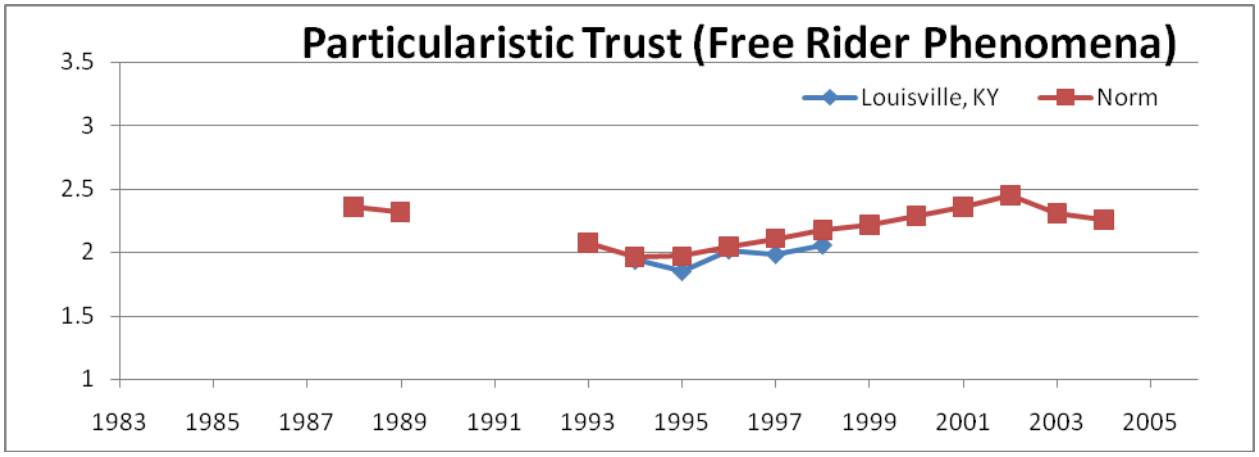
- Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with property crime.** Property crime rises steadily from 1983 to 1991, and then begins to decline steadily until 1999, where it begins to steadily increase again, with a downturn noted again in 2004 for the remaining years observed. During this same time period the social capital measure for generalized trust remained rather constant over the years measured, with a slight increase noted in 1995 and a slight decrease witnessed in 2000.

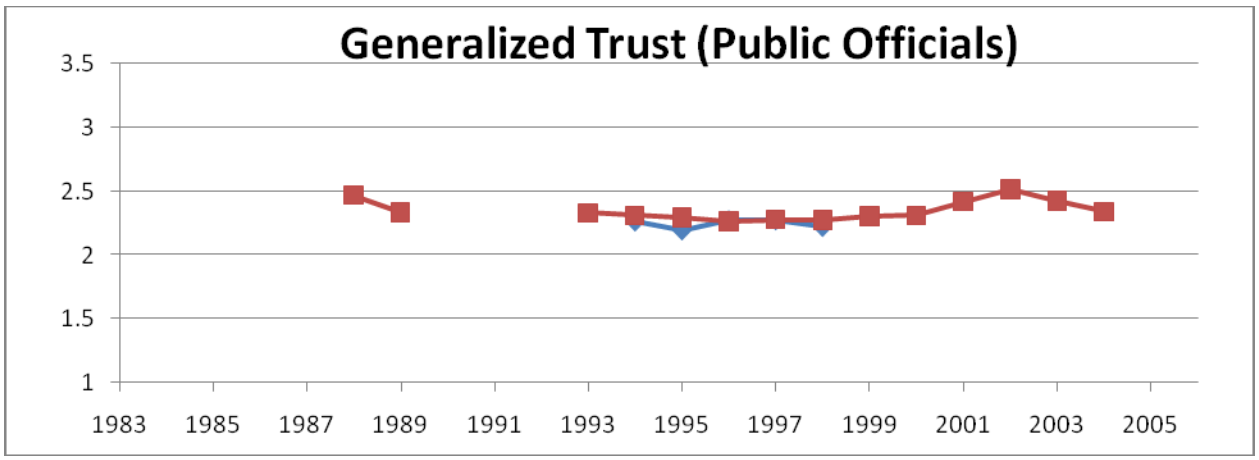
- Burglary Relationship:
  - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate weakly with burglary.** Burglary rates increase steadily until 1986, and then their pattern becomes quite variable – with highs and lows noted from 1986 until 1991; from this point on burglary declines to a noteworthy extent until 1999, a point at which it begins to steadily rise again, with a downturn registered in 2004 for the remaining years observed. During this period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust increased steadily from 1993 to 1998, then decreased slightly in 1999, and then began to rise again for the remaining years under study.
  - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with burglary.** Burglary increases steadily until 1986, and then is quite variable, with highs and lows from 1986 until 1991; from that point in time burglary declines to a noteworthy extent until 1999, where it begins to steadily rise again, with a downturn noted in 2004

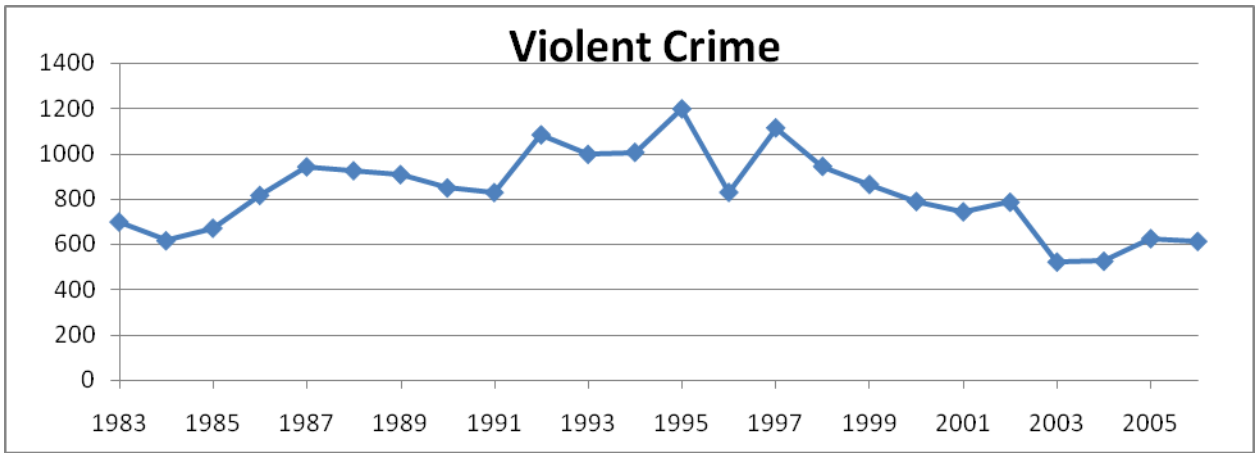
for the remaining years observed. During the same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust remained rather constant over the years measured, with a slight increase registered in 1995 and a slight decrease noted in 2000.

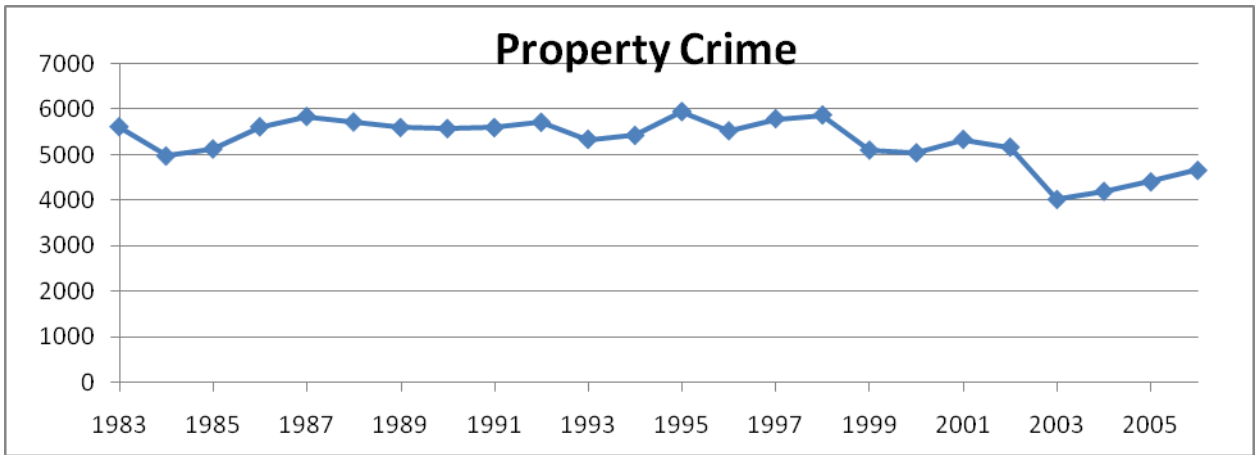
OVERALL PATTERN: The particularistic trust measure of social capital appears to correlate weakly in the hypothesized direction with violent crime, property crime and burglary as separate measures of crime. In the Knoxville case, it appears that in the instance of particularistic trust social capital this form of social capital may be "driving" these crime rates to some limited degree, and that declining crime rates may have the effect of increasing particularistic trust and social capital to some extent. Generalized trust, as a measure of social capital, however, does not seem to have a noteworthy relationship with violent crime, property crime, and burglary inasmuch as it is more stable over the years measured and appears to decrease more than increase while the crime rate measures are quite variable.

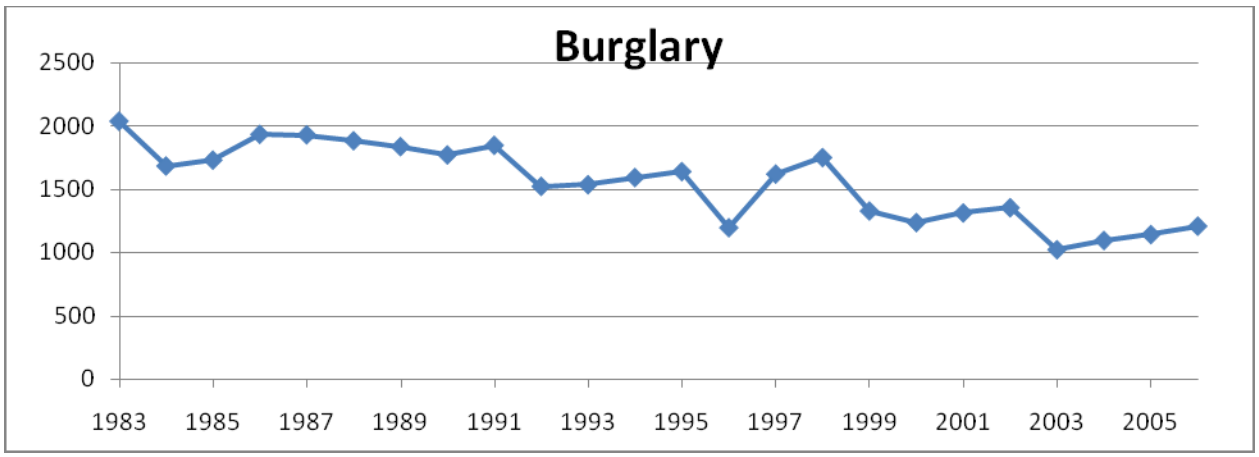
Figure 4.23 - Case 23: Louisville, KY CITY




Generalized Trust (Public Officials)
3.5
3
2.5
2
1.5
1
1983
1985
1987
1989
1991
1993
1995
1997
1999
2001
2003
2005


Violent Crime
1400
1200
1000
800
600
400
200
0
1983
1985
1987
1989
1991
1993
1995
1997
1999
2001
2003
2005


Property Crime
7000
6000
5000
4000
3000
2000
1000
0
1983
1985
1987
1989
1991
1993
1995
1997
1999
2001
2003
2005



- Relation of Louisville Social Capital Trust Measures to Norms Based on All Stowell Media Markets Surveyed in Each Year Graphed:
    - Particularistic trust (belief in the frequent occurrence of the free rider phenomenon) in Louisville decreased slightly from 1994 to 1995, and then rose over the remaining years for which data are available; the readings on this measure were slightly sub-norm for cities for all of the years measured.
    - Generalized trust (public officials) remained rather constant over all years measured and stayed close to the norm over most years, with a slightly sub-norm reading registered in 1995.
- Violent Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with violent crime.** Violent crime increases to a noteworthy extent from 1984 to 1995, with some variance in levels noted over that time period; the measure drops dramatically in 1996, increases dramatically again in 1997, and then declines fairly steadily thereafter with a slight upturn again in 2004. During this same period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust decreased slightly from 1994 to 1995, and then it rose over the remaining years for which data are available.

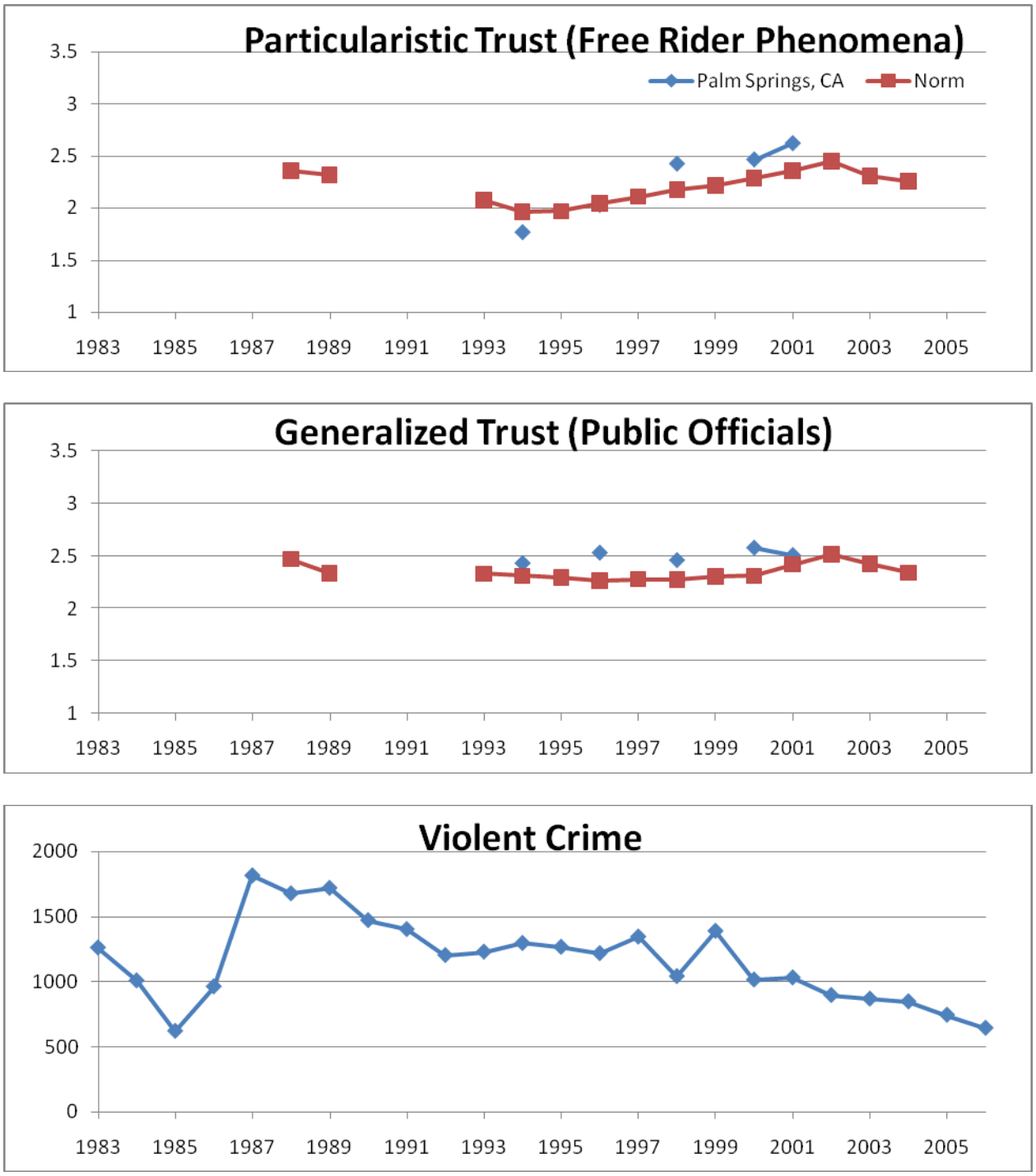
- Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with violent crime**. Violent crime increases to a noteworthy extent from 1984 to 1995, with some variance occurring in levels over that time period. This crime measure drops dramatically in 1996, increases dramatically again in 1997, and then declines fairly steadily thereafter, with a slight upturn noted again in 2004. During this same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust remained rather constant over all years observed.

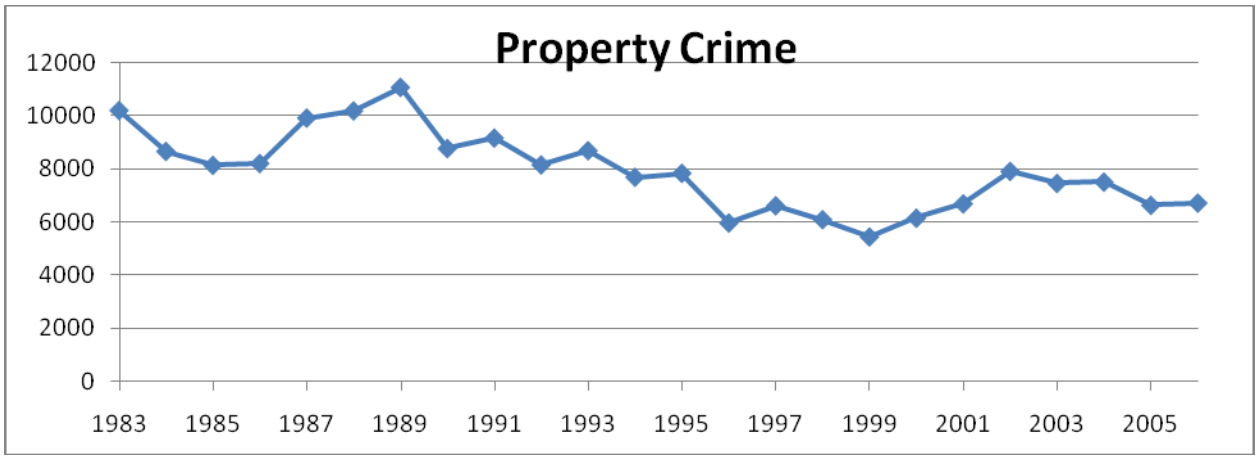
- Property Crime Relationship:
  - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with property crime.** Property crime begins to rise and then levels off in 1987, at which point it remains relatively stable with slight fluctuations registered until 1998; at this point it begins a decline, with some variance, during the remaining years measured. During this same period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust decreased slightly from 1994 to 1995, and then rose over the remaining years for which Stowell data are available.
  - Generalized trust **may correlate with property crime.** Property crime begins to rise and then levels off in 1987, whereupon it remains relatively stable with slight fluctuations until 1998; at this point in time it begins a decline, with some variance, during the remaining years measured. During this same period of time the social capital measure for particularized trust also remained rather constant over all years measured.

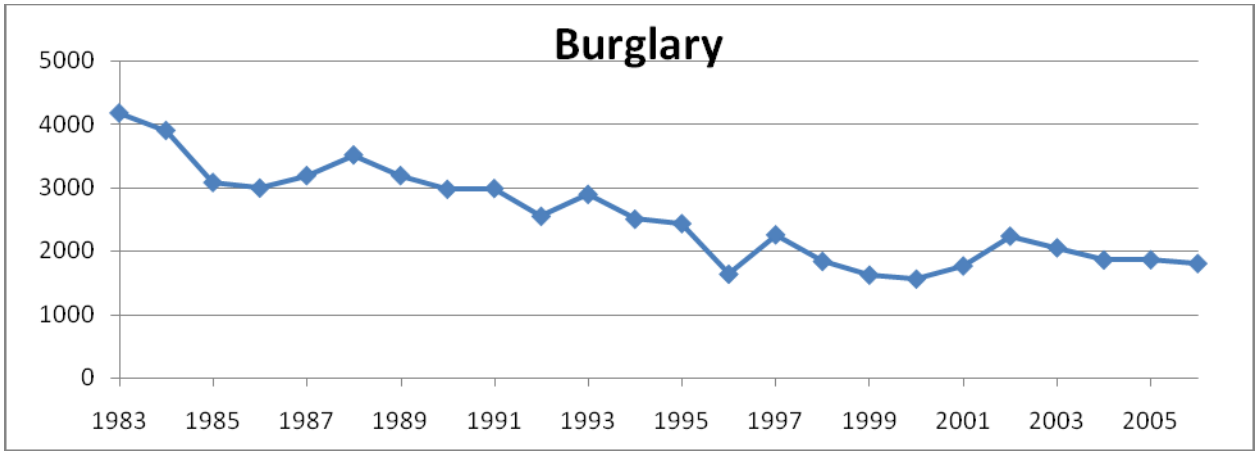
- Burglary Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with burglary.** Burglary decreases from 1983 to 1984, and then increases again until 1987, and then decreases steadily until 1990; from this point in time the burglary measure continues to decrease, although quite unsteadily, over the remaining years measured. During the same period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust decreased slightly from 1994 to 1995, and then rose over the remaining years for which data are available.
    - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with burglary.** Burglary decreases from 1983 to 1984, and then increases again until 1987, and then decreases steadily until 1990; from this point in time the burglary measure continues to decrease, although quite unsteadily, over the remaining years measured. During the same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust remained rather constant over all years measured.

OVERALL PATTERN: Social capital varies slightly over time while all three measures of crime – violent, property, and burglary – show considerable variation, including an overall decline over the target time period. There appears to be some evidence, in the Louisville case, at least in terms of particularistic trust, that social capital could be "driving" crime rates, and that declining crime rates may have the effect of increasing trust and social capital. This tenuous relationship is especially evident with the generalized trust measure, as a measure of social capital, as it shows very small variation over the years measured.

Figure 4.24 - Case 24: Palm Springs, CA CITY







- Relation of Palm Springs Social Capital Trust Measures to Norms Based on All Stowell Media Markets Surveyed in Each Year Graphed:
    - Particularistic trust (free rider phenomenon) increased dramatically over the time period measured; the readings documented were slightly sub-norm in 1994, then approached the norm in 1996, and then remained above norm for the remaining years measured.
    - Generalized trust (public officials) was fairly consistent over time, with a slight increase noted from 1994 to 1996, a slight decrease observed from 1996 to 1998, another slight increase registered from 1998 to 2000, and a slight decline noted in 2001. The readings were above norm for cities for all years measured.

- Violent Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with violent crime.** Violent crime in Palm Springs decreased rather dramatically from 1983 to 1985, then increased dramatically from 1985 to 1987, then declined significantly, though quite variably, over the remaining years measured. During the same period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust increased rather dramatically over the time period under study.
    - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with violent crime**. Violent crime decreased rather dramatically from 1983 to 1985, then increased dramatically from 1985 to 1987, then declined significantly, though quite variably, over the remaining years measured. During this same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust was fairly consistent over time, with a slight increase from 1994 to 1996, a slight decrease from 1996 to 1998, another slight increase from 1998 to 2000, and a slight decline in 2001.
- Property Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with property crime.** Property crime decreased steadily from 1983 until 1985, when it begins to rise again until 1989; from that point in time it declines variably until 1999, whereupon it increases again until 2002, and then begins a steady decline for the remaining years measured. During this same period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust increased dramatically over the time period in question.
    - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with property crime.** Property crime decreased steadily from 1983 until 1985, when it begins to rise again until

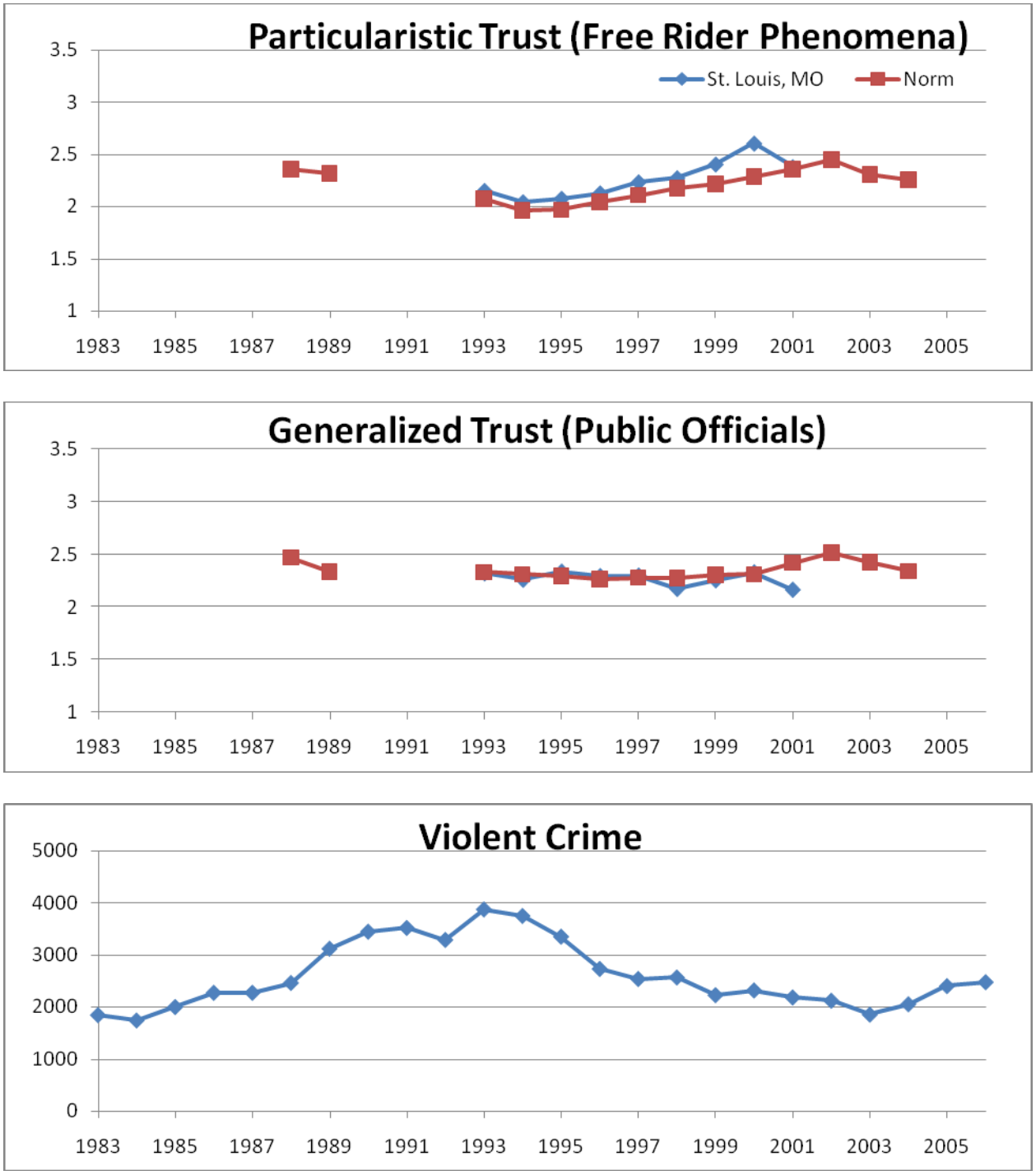
1989; from this point in time it declines variably until 1999, where it increases again until 2002, and then begins a steady decline for the remaining years in question. During this same time period the Stowell social capital measure for generalized trust was fairly consistent over time, with a slight increase noted from 1994 to 1996, a slight decrease from 1996 to 1998 documented, another slight increase witnessed from 1998 to 2000, and a slight decline noted in 2001.

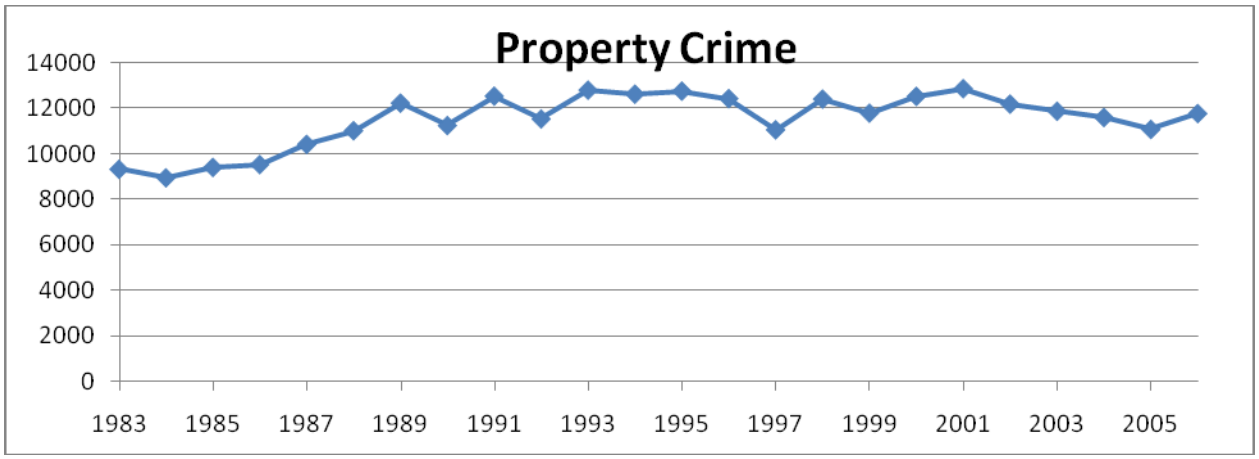
- Burglary Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with burglary.** Burglary decreases over the time period measured, with some variable peaks and valleys. During this same time period the social capital measure for particularistic trust increased dramatically over the time period in question.
    - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with burglary.** Burglary decreases over the time period measured, with some variable peaks and valleys noted, whereas the social capital measure for generalized trust was fairly consistent over time, with a slight increase registered from 1994 to 1996, a slight decrease noted from 1996 to 1998, another slight increase documented from 1998 to 2000, and a slight decline witnessed in 2001.

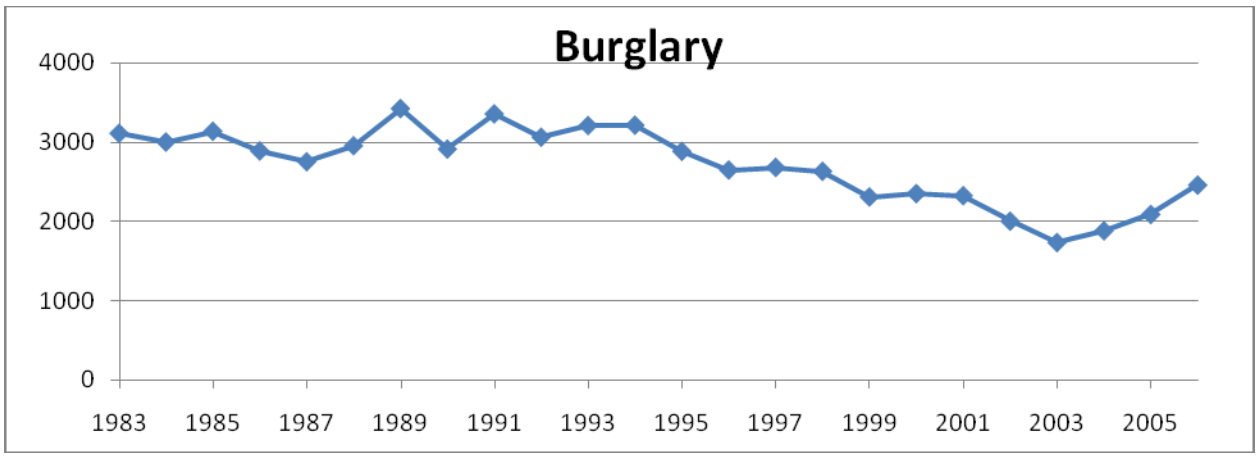
OVERALL PATTERN: The particularistic trust measure of social capital appears to correlate in the hypothesized direction with violent crime, property crime and burglary as measures of crime, all of which dramatically decline over the time period studied. In the Palm Springs case it appears that, with respect to particularistic trust, social capital may be "driving" these crime rates, and that declining crime rates may have the effect of increasing particularistic trust and

social capital. Generalized trust, as a measure of social capital, however, does not seem to have anywhere as strong of a relationship with violent crime, property crime, and burglary over time

Figure 4.25 - Case 25: St. Louis, MO CITY







- Relation of St. Louis Social Capital Trust Measures to Norms Based on All Stowell Media Markets Surveyed in Each Year Graphed:
    - Particularistic trust (free rider phenomenon) decreased slightly from 1993 to 1994, and then increased dramatically until 2000 where it began to decline again. The measures are slightly above norm for all years measured, except for 2001 when the reading for this measure of social capital approaches the norm.
    - Generalized trust (public officials) remained rather constant until 1997 when it decreased slightly, then increased until 2000, at which point it began to decrease again, and it stayed close to the norm over all years, with slightly sub-norm readings for cities documented in 1998 and 2000.

- Violent Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with violent crime.** Violent crime rises steadily from 1983 to 1993, and then decreases steadily thereafter until 2003 when the measure begins to rise again. During this same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust decreased slightly from 1993 to 1994, and then increased dramatically until 2000 where it began to decline again.
    - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with violent crime.** Violent crime rises steadily from 1983 to 1993, and then decreases steadily thereafter until 2003 when the measure begins to rise again. During the same period of time the social capital measure for particularized trust remained rather constant until 1997 when it decreased slightly, then increased until 2000, where it began to decrease once again,
- Property Crime Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **does not appear to correlate with property crime.** Property crime increased steadily until 1989 and remains fairly steady thereafter, with slight peaks and valleys being documented. During the same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust decreased slightly from 1993 to 1994, and then increased dramatically until 2000 at which point it began to decline once again.
    - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with property crime.** Property crime increased steadily until 1989 and remains fairly steady thereafter, with slight peaks and valleys being documented. During this same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust remained rather constant until 1997

when it decreased slightly, then increased until 2000, where it began to decrease once again.

- Burglary Relationship:
    - Particularistic trust **appears to correlate with burglary.** Burglary decreases 1985 to 1987, and then increases until 1989, and then peaks and valleys are documented for a few years until 1994, and then decreases steadily thereafter until 2003, when it begins to increase anew. During this same period of time the social capital measure for particularistic trust decreased slightly from 1993 to 1994, and then increased dramatically until 2000 where it began to decline once again.
    - Generalized trust **does not appear to correlate with burglary.** Burglary decreases 1985 to 1987, and then increases until 1989, and then peaks and valleys are registered for a few years until 1994, and then it decreases steadily thereafter until 2003, when it begins to increase once more. During this same period of time the social capital measure for generalized trust remained rather constant until 1997 when it decreased slightly, then increased until 2000 at which point in time it began to decrease once again.

OVERALL PATTERN: The particularistic trust measure of social capital appears to correlate in the hypothesized direction with violent crime and burglary as measures of crime, all of which dramatically decline over the time period measured. In the St. Louis case, it appears that in the case of particularistic trust, as a measure of social capital, social capital may be "driving" these crime rates, and that declining violent and burglary crime rates may have the effect of increasing generalized trust and social capital. Generalized trust, as a measure of social capital, however, does not seem to have as strong of a relationship with violent crime, property crime, and burglary

as it is more stable over the years measured and appears to slightly increase over time. Property crime also remained fairly steady over the time period measured and does not appear to correlate with either of the two measures of social capital.

Patterns of Association Between Social Capital and Crime Over Time in U.S. Urban Areas

What follows is a ***summary matrix*** of findings using two measures of social capital (particularistic trust and generalized trust) and three measures of crime (violent, property and burglary), all of which were mapped on the time series graphs shown previously. The graphs for the 25 cities and MSAs in question did **not** display the same pattern across the three types of crimes and the two types of social trust. That diversity in findings being noted, the findings recapped in the summary matrix do indicate the presence of ***some noteworthy commonality of covariation***. The matrix in question is divided into **two parts** based on the two social trust measures, "particularistic trust" (free rider phenomenon) and "generalized trust" (trust in politicians), and then further delineated based on the three types of crime that may fall under the five hypothesized (and observed) patterns of covariation. If there is an X for a type of crime in a particular city or MSA grouped under one of the five hypothesized patterns it means that the relevant measure of social capital tends to co-vary with that type of crime in the pattern hypothesized.

Please recall that *Observed Pattern # 1* is interpreted as fluctuation in both the crime rate and social capital of a city or MSA does occur over time, but the patterns of change over time prove to be independent of one another. *Observed Pattern #2* is interpreted as follows: the crime rate varies over time while the social trust dimension remains largely invariant. *Observed Pattern #3* is interpreted as follows: social capital and crime co-vary inversely – that is, when the crime rate falls, social trust grows; or, alternatively, as social trust grows the crime rate falls.

This is the most broadly hypothesized pattern of association in the literature on social capital and crime. *Observed Pattern #4* is interpreted as a declining level of social trust did not translate into a higher crime rate for a city or MSA as predicted in the social capital literature. *Observed Pattern #5* is interpreted as both crime and social trust remained relatively invariant a city or an MSA.

Part I: Particularistic Trust (Free Rider Assumption Broadly Applied)

Cases falling in Observed Pattern #1

[Social Capital and Crime Both Vary Considerably Over Time, but that Variation is Independent (Unrelated)]

	Violent Crime	**Property Crime**	**Burglary**
Dallas, TX MSA	X	X	X
Roanoke, VA MSA	X		

Cases falling in Observed Pattern #2

[The Crime Rate Varies Over Time While the Social Trust Dimension Remains Largely Invariant]

	Violent Crime	**Property Crime**	**Burglary**

No cases fell under this pattern

Cases falling in Observed Pattern #3

[Social Capital and Crime Co-vary Inversely – that is, When the Crime Rate Falls, Social Trust Grows; or, alternatively, as Social Trust Grows the Crime Rate Falls]

	Violent Crime	Property Crime	Burglary
Albuquerque, NM MSA		X	X
Atlanta, GA MSA	X	X	X
Colorado Springs, CO MSA		X	X
Columbus, OH MSA	X		
Fort Worth-Arlington, TX MSA	X	X	X
Dayton-Springfield, OH MSA	X		
Denver, CO MSA	X	X	X
Houston, TX MSA	X	X	X
Jacksonville, FL MSA	X	X	X
Las Vegas, NV MSA	X	X	X
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN MSA	X	X	X
Nashville, TN MSA	X	X	X
Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, VA MSA	X	X	X
Reno, NV MSA	X	X	X
Roanoke, VA MSA		X	X
Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA MSA	X	X	X
Washington , D.C. MSA	X	X	X
West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL MSA	X	X	X

Cincinnati, OH CITY	X		
Kansas City, MO CITY	X		X
Palm Springs, CA CITY	X	X	X
St. Louis, MO CITY	X		X

Cases falling in Observed Pattern #4

[A Declining or Increasing Level of Social Trust Did Not Translate into a Higher Crime Rate]

	Violent Crime	**Property Crime**	**Burglary**
Albuquerque, NM MSA	X		
Colorado Springs, CO MSA	X		
Columbus, OH MSA		X	X
Dayton-Springfield, OH MSA		X	X
Cincinnati, OH CITY		X	X
Kansas City, MO CITY		X	
St. Louis, MO CITY		X	

Cases falling in Observed Pattern #5

[**Social Capital and Crime are Both Invariant, or Stable, Over Time]**

	Violent Crime	**Property Crime**	**Burglary**

No cases fell under this pattern

Part 2: Generalized Trust (Trust in Politicians)

Cases falling in Observed Pattern #1

[Social Capital and Crime Both Vary Considerably Over Time, but that Variation is Independent (Unrelated)]

	Violent Crime	Property Crime	Burglary
Cincinnati, OH CITY	X	X	X
Roanoke, VA MSA	X	X	X
Washington , D.C. MSA	X	X	X
Knoxville, TN CITY	X	X	X

Cases falling in Observed Pattern #2

[The Crime Rate Varies Over Time While the Social Trust Dimension Remains Largely Invariant]

	Violent Crime	Property Crime	Burglary
Albuquerque, NM MSA	X	X	X
Colorado Springs, CO MSA	X	X	X
Columbus, OH MSA	X		
Houston, TX MSA	X	X	X
Reno, NV MSA	X	X	X
Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA MSA	X	X	X
West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL MSA	X	X	X
Kansas City, MO CITY	X	X	X
Louisville, KY CITY	X	X	X

Palm Springs, CA CITY	X	X	X
Dallas, TX MSA	X	X	X
Ft. Worth-Arlington, TX MSA	X	X	X
St. Louis, MO CITY	X		X

Cases falling in Observed Pattern #3

[Social Capital and Crime Co-vary Inversely – that is, When the Crime Rate Falls, Social Trust Grows; or, alternatively, as Social Trust Grows the Crime Rate Falls]

	Violent Crime	**Property Crime**	**Burglary**
Atlanta, GA MSA	X	X	X
Dayton-Springfield, OH MSA	X		
Denver, CO MSA	X	X	X
Jacksonville, FL MSA	X	X	X
Las Vegas, NV MSA	X	X	X
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN MSA	X	X	X
Nashville, TN MSA	X	X	X
Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, VA MSA	X	X	X

Cases falling in Observed Pattern #4

[A Declining or Increasing Level of Social Trust Did Not Translate into a Higher Crime Rate]

	Violent Crime	**Property Crime**	**Burglary**

No cases fell under this pattern

Cases falling in Observed Pattern #5

[Social Capital and Crime are Both Invariant, or Stable, Over Time]

	Violent Crime	Property Crime	Burglary
Columbus, OH MSA		X	X
Dayton-Springfield, OH MSA		X	X
St. Louis, MO CITY		X	

Conclusion

In analyzing the observed patterns noted, it would appear to be the case that the majority of the MSAs and cities fit the most commonly hypothesized relationship (observed pattern #3), with relatively few cases having a relationship in the direction opposite to the principal hypothesized relationship. The second most common patterns noted are interpreted as the crime rate does not correlate with the social trust dimension (observed pattern #2) and wherein a declining or increasing level of social trust is not associated with a higher or lower crime rate for a city or MSA. Relatively few cities and MSAs fall into observable patterns #1 and #5. Observed pattern #1 is the observation of noteworthy fluctuation in both crime rates and social trust, but such fluctuation as occurs is entirely independent and uncorrelated. Observed pattern #5 is the observation that both crime rates and social trust are invariant or stable over time and thus a covariation pattern is not evident. Even though there are relatively few cases in these two types of patterns, THERE ARE SOME OUTLIERS. This finding indicates the possibility of conducting follow-up analyses to test for the presence of common aspects of outlier cases and to determine if unique and determinative events or developments took place in those urban areas which account for the outlier findings.

Based on the findings recorded in the summary matrix, it would appear that particularistic trust and generalized trust have quite different connections to crime rates, and moreover that the patterns of association over time are not identical for violent crime, property crime, and burglary. If one were to derive a test of theory regarding the connection between social capital and crime it is clear that looking at only one city or MSA or using only one measure of crime would likely result in a wide range of "findings" from single jurisdiction longitudinal studies. Using the multiple measure, multiple case approach of King, Keohane and Verba, however, provides a relatively firm foundation for such a test of theory. As for overall pattern strength, it seems apparent that the strongest pattern present is that most often predicted pattern – namely, the **inverse relationship between social capital and crime** – is in evidence when the measure of social capital employed is the particularized trust (free rider item) measure. In 19 of 25 urban areas studied here this inverse relationship is shown for at least two of the three UCR crime measures employed in the analysis; for 14 of those 19 urban areas that inverse relationship applies to violent crime, property crime, and burglary alike. While the covariation of social capital and crime rates is stronger in some cases than in others, the overall pattern of connection is clearly present in the highly diverse and geographically dispersed set of urban areas studied in a decade-long period when the nation experienced a substantial decline in crime rates.

Another initial observation is that cities (as opposed to MSAs) tended to have more widely fluctuating crime rates and more variance in their crime rate measures. This may have something to do with reporting and measurement in these areas, and there is a potential for exploration of this phenomena in future research. The crucial question of the causal connection between social capital and crime – that is, whether the major effect is that of social capital upon crime as opposed to the incidence of crime acting to reduce the level of social capital – deserves

careful attention. In those cases of cities and MSAs where a covariation is clearly in evidence, it will be possible to observe whether a lag effect is in evidence in one or the other direction – that is, does a change in one appear to be followed by a change in the other in a systematic way. The next chapter will explore the potential implications of these time series graph-based findings and then spell out the potential implications these findings have for future research in this area.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH CONCLUSIONS AND PROPOSED FUTURE RESEARCH

Introduction

This chapter will explore the potential implications of the time series graph-based findings and patterns presented in the previous chapter, identify some of the limitations of this research, and discuss the future research that may be conducted to develop a deeper understanding of the nexus between crime and social capital. At least five patterns of association between crime and social capital emerged, as suspected, in the findings reported in Chapter 4 involving each of the measures of crime (violent crime, property crime, and burglary) and the two trust-based social capital measures. The five potential patterns that emerged were as follows: (pattern #1) the fluctuation in the crime rate of a city/urban area is independent of the social trust dimension; (pattern #2) the crime rate does not affect the social trust dimension; (pattern #3) when crime rates fell over time, social trust grows; or, that as social trust grows the crime rate falls; (pattern #4) a declining level of social trust does not translate into a higher crime rate for a city; (pattern #5) crime and social trust are both relatively invariant over time in the city or MSA in question.

In analyzing the observed patterns noted, it appears that the majority of the MSAs and cities fit the most commonly hypothesized relationship (observed pattern #3), with relatively few cases having a relationship in the direction opposite to the principal hypothesized relationship. The second most common pattern noted was that the crime rate did not correlate with the social trust dimension (observed pattern #2) and wherein a declining level of social trust was not associated with a higher crime rate for a city or MSA (observed pattern #4). Relatively few cities and MSAs fall into possible patterns #1 and #5. Observed pattern #1 features noteworthy

fluctuation in both crime rates and social trust, but such fluctuation is entirely independent and uncorrelated. Observed pattern #5 is the observation that crime rates and social trust are relatively stable over the years measured. Even though there are relatively few cases that fall under patterns #1 and #5, THERE ARE SOME NOTEWORTHY OUTLIERS; these outlier findings and their implications, along with suggestions for future research, will be addressed in this chapter.

Implications and Analysis of the Research Findings

Common Patterns Observed with Generalized Trust

When examining the relationship between levels of generalized trust (item = trust in politicians) and crime, it became clear that the most common relationships observed fell under observed patterns #2 (12 cities or MSAs) and pattern #3 (9 cities or MSAs), with pattern #2 being slightly more common. What was similar across all cities and MSAs in pattern #2 was that generalized trust remained fairly stable and relatively invariant across years. There are several reasons this may be the case. It might simply be the case, for example, that generalized trust has reached a peak level and evened out, though we might not have enough data over enough years to show the presence of that phenomenon. It is also true that it is very difficult to increase levels of generalized trust, and the invariant nature of generalized trust found in pattern #2 cities and MSAs might be a product of that stubborn fact.

Those cities that fall into pattern #3 (the hypothesized inverse relationship between social capital and crime), show increasing levels of generalized trust and decreasing levels of crime during the period under study. Most of the cities and MSAs that fall into this pattern, with the exception of two, show this same pattern of increasing generalized trust and decreasing crime for all three measures of crime. It appears that crime and generalized trust do co-vary in these

metropolitan areas, and thus it is possible that increasing levels of generalized trust in these areas are leading to a decrease in criminal activity. The two cities that only show this relationship for the crime measure of violent crime are the Colorado Springs, CO MSA and the Dayton-Springfield, OH MSA. Although the Colorado Springs and Dayton-Springfield MSAs only show a inverse covariation for violent crime, versus property crime and burglary, this is very likely due to the fact that the relationship between social capital (and thus the measures of social capital used here) and violent crime may be stronger than the relationship of social capital with property crimes (Putnam, 2000).

The cities and MSAs that remain fell fairly evenly distributed across pattern #1 and pattern #5, with four metropolitan areas falling into both of these groups. For pattern #1 we saw that metropolitan areas that fell into this category exhibited a large amount of variation, in both crime and generalized trust. This variation is independent of one another (unrelated) and the cities and MSAs in this category also tend to differ quite a bit from one another in a number of respects. For example, in the Cincinnati, OH CITY case and the Knoxville, TN CITY case we see that generalized trust is quite variant as are the three UCR crime levels; they tend to jump up and down with no consistent pattern in increases and decrease in evidence. In the Roanoke, VA MSA we see that the generalized trust measure is quite variant, while in the case of violent crime it is steadily increasing at the same time that property crime and burglary are steadily decreasing. In the Washington, D.C. MSA we see survey-based evidence of steadily decreasing levels of generalized trust, but unexpectedly we document steadily decreasing levels of crime for violent crime, property crime and burglary alike. The Washington, D.C. MSA case is a **clear outlier**, and it will be explored as such in a later section of this chapter. There may be several possible factors at work here, which lead to a few cases falling into this pattern. First, it simply could be

attributed to various measurement issues associated with the estimation of reported crime levels, especially at the city level; this could be due to reporting inconsistency or other limitations known to be associated with the UCRs (FBI, 2005; FBI, 2004b; Lanier and Henry, 1998; Cohen and Lichbach, 1982; Hindelang, Hirchi, and Weis, 1979). It could also be the case that something unique is operating at the community level that is causing crime and trust to fluctuate in a certain unusual way – perhaps, a new police chief cracking down on certain types of crime for instance, or various other community-level variables such a plant closing or influx of immigrants may be involved. That being said, this is where the future research into outlier cases or interesting patterns between social capital and crime becomes critical to our deeper understanding of the nature of the covariation between these two phenomena in American urban areas.

One of the issues with the city-level crime data, as opposed to the MSA data, is that they tend to fluctuate more widely and inconsistently than do the MSA data. That being said, the variant nature of the crime rates for the Cincinnati and Knoxville cases might simply be a reflection of the available data from the UCR and the limitations on reporting or reporting issues experienced when using city-level data versus MSA data. Obviously, if crime levels are wildly fluctuating it makes it impossible to document an established relationship over time between social capital and crime. However, it is important to note that with the exception of the Washington, D.C. case, in all of the metropolitan areas that fell under pattern #1 the measure of generalized trust was quite variable compared to the rather invariant nature of generalized trust across the majority of the other metropolitan areas. Future research should look into what causes these particular areas to show more dramatically fluctuating levels of generalized trust compared to the other cities and MSAs examined in this dissertation, especially since the cases that fall

under pattern #1 do not show the same variant nature when it comes to the measure of particularized trust.

There were no cities and MSAs that fell under pattern #4, an observation which is interpreted as levels of generalized trust were either increasing or decreasing while the measure of crime remained rather invariant. Those metropolitan areas that fell under pattern #5 exhibited crime levels and generalized trust measures that both remained rather invariant. For these cities and MSAs one could almost postulate that these results have no bearing on whether a relationship does or does not exist between social capital and crime. It may just be the case that the dimension of generalized trust does not capture the nuances of the relationship between social capital and crime. Or, alternatively, it could simply be that types of crime levels in these metropolitan areas do not tend to vary much, especially since many of the cities that have more invariant levels of crime and generalized trust tended to fall into the pattern #4 category when it came to particularized trust. This pattern of findings means that these cities or urban areas had invariant levels of crime even while the particularized trust measure was increasing; it is always possible, of course, that social trust just does not influence crime rates in these cities one way or the other.

Overall, it is clear the generalized trust measure tends to be more invariant over time than the particularized trust measure. This is the case not only within each individual city, but also when examining the norm across all cities. While the norm does increase for both measures of social capital across the years between 1994 and 2002, where it begins to decrease again, the increase for particularized trust is certainly more notable than that for generalized trust over that same time period. That being said, it appears that patterns #2 and #3 are closely related. While crime is decreasing in most of the cities and MSAs being studied, in the metropolitan areas that

have rather invariant generalized trust (for the potential reasons explained previously) we are seeing pattern #2 emerge. However, in cases when we observe a more variant generalized trust measure that is increasing slightly over the years, we tend to find the metropolitan areas in question falling under the hypothesized relationship between social capital and crime, pattern #3. **It is also pertinent to note that 9 of the 12 cities or MSAs that fell under pattern #2 for generalized trust actually fell under pattern #3 when examining particularized trust.**

Common Patterns Observed with Particularized Trust

When examining the relationship between levels of particularized trust and crime, it became clear that the most common relationships observed fell under observed patterns #3 and #4, with observed pattern #3 being by far the **most** commonly observed pattern for the particularized trust (free rider phenomenon) measure. Recall that pattern #4 is interpreted as no systematic connection existing between social capital and crime, where the crime measure is rather invariant, even though particularized trust may be increasing or decreasing. Only seven metropolitan areas fell into this category for specific types of crime, while **21 cities or MSAs out of 25 fell under pattern #3**. Recall that pattern #3 is the hypothesized inverse relationship between social trust and crime, meaning that as particularized trust levels rose, crime levels decreased – or, alternatively, that as crime rates fell the level of particularized trust increased.

Most of the cities and MSAs that fall into this pattern (14 of 21 metropolitan areas) manifest this same pattern of increasing generalized trust and decreasing crime **for all three measures of crime** (violent crime, property crime, and burglary). It appears that crime and generalized trust do indeed co-vary in these metropolitan areas, and thus it is possible that increasing levels of generalized trust in these areas are leading to a decrease in criminal activity.

There are eight cities or MSAs that show this same inverse relationship between crime and particularized trust (pattern #3), but only for certain types of crime. Of these eight metropolitan areas, three show this relationship for only the measure of violent crime, three show the relationship for property crime and burglary, and finally two cities show this relationship only for the combination of violent crime and burglary. Although only three metropolitan areas show an inverse covariation for violent crime but not for property crime and burglary, this is likely due to the fact that the relationship between social capital (and thus the measures of social capital used here) and violent crime may be stronger than the relationship between social capital and property crimes (Putnam, 2000, 308). For those three cities or MSAs that show the inverse relationship only for property crime and burglary, it is clear why the measure for burglary and property crime tend to co-vary given the fact that burglary is a reliably reported component of the property crime measure in the UCR. However, for these three metropolitan areas it also appears that part of the reason why violent crime may not have fallen into this pattern for particularized trust is because, as a periodic measure, violent crime for these three metropolitan areas is quite variant and unstable, with alternating sharp increases and decreases, whereas property crime and burglary tend to plot out a steady decline. It may be possible that in these few cities particularized trust may only influence lower level offenses and property crimes as a social capital effect.

Finally, there were two cases, St. Louis, MO CITY and Kansas City, MO CITY, that fell into pattern #3 for the violent crime and burglary categories, but not the property crime category. This is probably the most peculiar finding recorded under pattern #3. As mentioned previously, since burglary is a component of the property crime measure, for these two categories to operate separately in terms of trends is a bit uncharacteristic, to say the least. While property crime

levels remained rather invariant during the time period under study, violent crime and burglary demonstrated a slight decline. These two cases could be considered for future research as outlier cases in order to uncover why violent crime and property crime seem to have different connections with particularized trust in these particular locations.

For those cities that fell under pattern #4, the second most common pattern evidenced with particularized trust, we find that there is no systematic connection between particularized trust and crime -- that is, as particularized trust increases, the crime rate remains invariant. There is no single metropolitan area, however, that exhibits this pattern across all three measures of crime. Two of the MSAs exhibit this pattern for violent crime, three metropolitan areas exhibit this pattern for both property crime and burglary, and two cities exhibit this pattern for property crime alone. Essentially, what this pattern is noting is that while particularized trust may vary, crime is fairly stable and thus it does not appear that a change in social trust is influencing crime rates in any way.

It is interesting to note that the remaining crime measures for the cities and MSAs that fall into pattern #4 for some crime measures fall into pattern #3. For example, the two MSAs that exhibit pattern #4 for violent crime fall into pattern #3 when property crime and burglary are examined. The same is true for all of the other cities and MSAs that fall under pattern #4 as well. What this set of findings might be telling us is that in some metropolitan areas, for some reason, certain levels of crime do not vary as much as others, or have not been declining in a stable manner for a number of years as is evidenced for those metropolitan areas that fall into pattern #3. The reasoning behind this would most likely be different depending on the type of crime that appears relatively stable, be it violent crime, property crime, or burglary, and community-level variables that may be operating in these locales. Further qualitative research in

the future could profitably explore the invariant nature of crime in some of these metropolitan areas and cities and potentially explain why some urban areas in the U.S. tend to vary in certain types of crime and others do not despite experiencing an increase in particularized trust.

The two MSAs that remain fell into pattern #1, wherein a large amount of variation in both crime and generalized trust was present. It appears that this variation is independent of one another (unrelated), and the two MSAs in this category also tend to differ quite a bit from one another in terms of the relationship, or lack thereof, between particularized trust and crime. For example, in the Dallas, TX MSA case we see that particularized trust is quite variable over time, although not in a steadily decreasing or increasing pattern, and crime levels are steadily decreasing cross all three measures of reported crime. In contrast, in the case of the Roanoke, VA MSA we see that the particularized trust measure is steadily increasing while violent crime is also steadily increasing. At the same time, however, the property crime and burglary measures for Roanoke are steadily decreasing. The Roanoke MSA case is a clear outlier, and it will be explored in a later section of this chapter. There may be several possible factors at work here which lead to particular cases falling into this pattern. First, it simply could be attributed to various measurement issues with the crime levels, especially at the city level; this could be due to reporting inconsistency or other limitations with the UCRs. It could also be the case that something unique is operating at the community level that is causing crime and trust to fluctuate in a certain way; for example, a new police chief cracking down on certain types of crime or various other community level variables may be involved. That being said, this is where the future research into outlier cases or interesting patterns of connection between social capital and crime becomes critical to deepen our understanding of the nature of the covariation between these two phenomena.

No metropolitan areas fell under either pattern #2 or pattern #5 for the particularized trust measure. As mentioned previously, particularized trust tends to be more variable and increase more over all metropolitan areas over all years than does generalized trust, and this is the reason why no cases fell under pattern #2 for particularized trust (i.e., social capital remains invariant while the crime rate varies over time). Pattern #5 characterizes a situation wherein a lack of a systematic connection between crime and social capital is in evidence because both measures are largely invariant. We are unlikely to see metropolitan areas and cities fall into this pattern simply because particularized trust is substantially more variable over time than generalized trust in virtually all MSAs and all cities.

While the norms for both trust-based measures of social capital increase across the years between 1994 and 2002, where it begins to decrease again, the increase for particularized trust is certainly more notable than that for generalized trust over that same time period. That being said, for particularized trust it appears that pattern #3, the broadly hypothesized inverse relationship between social capital and crime, is clearly the most common pattern, even more so than when examining generalized trust. For the majority of the metropolitan areas and U.S. cities examined here, the rate of crimes reported to the police is decreasing and particularized trust is steadily increasing.

Overall Implications for the Most Common Patterns

Based on the findings recorded in the summary matrix, it would appear that particularistic trust and generalized trust have quite different connections to crime rates, and moreover that the patterns of association over time are not identical for violent crime, property crime, and burglary. If one were to derive a test of theory regarding the connection between social capital and crime it is clear that looking at only one city or MSA, or using only one measure of crime, would likely

result in a wide range of "findings" from single jurisdiction longitudinal studies. Using the multiple measures, multiple case approach advocated by King, Keohane and Verba (1994), however, provides a relatively firm foundation for such a test of theory. As for overall pattern strength, it seems apparent that the strongest pattern present is that most often predicted pattern – namely, the **inverse relationship between social capital and crime** – is in evidence when the measure of social capital employed is the particularized trust measure. In 21 of 25 urban areas studied here this inverse relationship is shown for at least two of the three UCR crime measures employed in the analysis; for 14 of those 21 urban areas that inverse relationship applies to violent crime, property crime, and burglary alike. While generalized trust does not show as strong as a relationship with crime inasmuch as it is more invariant over the time period of a decline in crime nationwide, when added to the picture along with particularized trust the covariation between crime and these two trust measures employed as measures of social capital is even stronger. While the covariation of social capital and crime rates is stronger in some cases than in others, the overall pattern of connection is clearly present in the highly diverse and geographically dispersed set of urban areas studied in a decade-long period when the nation experienced a substantial decline in its rate of crime reported to police.

Outlier Cases

As mentioned previously, several outlier cases have been noted in a number of metropolitan areas that fell into observed patterns other than the most common patterns. Two outliers, St. Louis, MO CITY and Kansas City, MO CITY simply share the trait that although the violent crime and burglary measures are steadily decreasing, the property crime measure remains rather invariant. While this is not an astounding discovery, it is interesting enough to note here. It could quite possibly be that burglary, as a component of the property crime measure, was

decreasing over the years measured while other measures included in the property crime rate were not decreasing or were increasing. This combination of outcomes would result in an invariant property crime rate overall. This is probably the most likely explanation, however it would be helpful to further explore this relationship to see if this is the case or not, or whether perhaps an underlying community-level variable might be at play here.

Another interesting outlier case is the Washington, D.C. MSA case. In this case, all three of the measures of crime were decreasing while particularized trust was increasing and generalized trust steadily decreased. For the majority of cities and MSAs generalized trust remained rather invariant or increased, but it did not decrease except for this single circumstance. Clearly this relationship is quite different than the others observed. Considering the nature of the generalized trust measure, trust in public officials, it would seem that living in Washington, D.C. itself, as our nation's capital, might certainly influence that type of trust more so than in other cities or MSAs across the country. That being said, it might also be possible that given the transient nature of Washington, D.C. and the high turnover rate of citizens in the area compared to other locales, it might simply be that the level of trust in Washington, D.C. is actually more a product of where individuals have come from versus the fact that they were a resident of the D.C. area at the time of the Stowell survey call. Again, a more qualitative analysis of crime and social capital phenomena in this unique "federal" city would provide useful insight into why generalized trust levels decreased during a period of increasing particularized trust and decreasing crime rates occurring across the board. It would strong appear that it is a community-level variable is at work here, one that will take further qualitative analysis in the future to identify and document.

The last noteworthy outlier identified is that of the Roanoke, VA MSA. In the Roanoke case, while property crime and burglary were steadily decreasing the violent crime rate was steadily increasing. We also saw increasing levels of particularized trust and decreasing levels of generalized trust occur during this time period. This situation is most clearly unique inasmuch as during the time period under study the U.S. saw a marked increase and then a marked decline in levels of crime. While Roanoke appeared to experience this pattern of variation for property crime and burglary, the MSA did not have this experience with respect to the reporting of violent crime. As to the covariance between the levels of trust and crime, it could be that particularized trust is increasing while generalized trust is decreasing because levels of violent crime may affect generalized trust more readily than particularized trust, and *vice versa*, with respect to particularized trust and property crime and burglary. Clearly, more analysis of both community-level variables and crime should be employed for this MSA, as community-level variables could very well be affecting the levels of social trust and potentially crime in the area in some way.

In these cases where counter-intuitive findings emerged in a city or urban area, future research using a qualitative analysis of these city cases will be important as this may reveal some exceptions that support the rule, or possibly some evidence of the darker side of social capital. This type of analysis can feature both a quantitative multi-city dimension and a selected outlier qualitative case study dimension that promises to more fully inform our understanding of the relationship between social capital and crime. A qualitative case study is important in order to note the history of the cities being examined if we want to understand the local level dynamics of social capital and crime.

For example, the installation of a new police chief might affect levels of crime or arrests for certain types of crimes in an urban area. A new community policing strategy or the

development of various community programs and civic engagement programs might also influence levels of crime and social capital in an area. Without qualitatively examining the social nature of these metropolitan areas once various outlier or common pattern cities are identified, we fail to truly *understand* the nexus between social capital and crime and how it operates. It is one thing to say common patterns or outliers exist, it is quite another to be able to posit what factors in a particular community might be influencing potential control variables and dependent and independent variables, and thus affecting how social capital is generated and why an area may have higher levels of social capital than another.

Are Low Levels of Social Capital the Cause of Violence, or Vice Versa?

Based on the research reviewed in chapter 2, it is possible that the causal connection between social capital and crime can go in either direction or both ways, perhaps depending on the circumstances or the area being studied. For example, in the case of both Guatemala and Colombia written about in the literature review the violence was originally state-sanctioned and ultimately that governmental action has led to declining social capital in local communities throughout those two countries in Latin America. It is important to recognize that trust, as a component of social capital, is properly understood as a "two-way street" (McIlwaine and Moser, 2001). In some ways it is just as important that the government is able to trust citizens as it is for citizens to be able to trust government. If either party lacks trust in the other, then the implications for a community or a country can be unfortunate. The decline of social capital in local communities in Guatemala and Columbia was due to a lack of trust of the government in the citizens. This lack of trust became reciprocal, resulting ultimately in government initiated violence resulting from political goals gone awry in a number of local communities. This unbridled violence against defenseless citizens led to widespread mistrust of the government on

the part of the citizens countrywide. This resorting to civil violence in these two countries was most likely a direct cause of the development of progressively lower levels of societal social capital, a condition further worsening the relationship between citizens and their government.

Another argument in regards to the directionality in the relationship between social capital and crime is that low levels of social capital tend to cause violent crime. Putnam (2000) is a strong proponent of this argument, and he argues that increasing levels of the replacement of extended families by nuclear families and the growth in the proportion of single-parent households has led to a decline in the levels of social capital and social trust present in many American communities. This trend is documented in great detail in *Bowling Alone* (2000) through an extensive set of social statistics and attitudinal surveys that are intended to show that civic engagement and social trust have been declining in American communities since the 1960s, while crime has been increasing (Putnam).

A third alternative for consideration is offered by Rose and Clear (1998). They make the argument that low levels of social capital both increase levels of violent crime and are caused by the occurrence of violent crime; in essence, they maintain that there is a *self-reinforcing cycle* relationship between social capital and crime. In the Rose and Clear (1998) study in which this argument is made, frequent incarceration in socially disorganized communities was used as an example of this reciprocal relationship at play. It was shown that low levels of social capital were contributing to the levels of violent crime, but it was also noted that violent crime and decreasing levels of social capital were perpetuated because of the effects of incarceration on individuals from the troubled communities studied. Rose and Clear (1998) maintained that the suggested self-reinforcing cycle relationship between social capital and crime occurs because state social controls (incarceration) were weakening the development of community informal

social controls, and thus the community was forced to rely on the state's official social controls instead of strengthening and developing their own community-based informal social controls. Lynch, Sabol, Planty, and Shelly (2002) also find evidence of a *self-reinforcing cycle* between crime and social capital in their study. They found that high levels of arrest and incarceration in a local community lead to significantly reduced levels of civic engagement (Lynch, Sabol, Planty, and Shelly, 2002). These two studies offer relevant examples of how different and confounding the directionality of the relationship between social capital and violent crime can be. These two phenomena have the ability to influence one another in different directions, and the direction of the relationship ultimately likely depends on the circumstances and the level of social aggregation under study.

The crucial question of the causal connection between social capital and crime – that is, whether the major effect is that of social capital upon crime as opposed to the incidence of crime acting to reduce the level of social capital – deserves careful attention. In those cases of cities and MSAs where a covariation is clearly in evidence, it is possible to observe whether a **lag effect** is in evidence in one or the other direction – that is, does a change in one appear to be *followed by* a change in the other in a systematic way. When one examines the cities that fall into pattern #3 (where there is an inverse covariation between social trust and crime) for both generalized trust and particularized trust, there are three potential directionality patterns that could result: 1) social trust could be shown to increase *before* crime begins to decrease; 2) social capital could begin to increase *after* crime begins to decrease; or 3) social trust could begin to increase at the *same time* that crime begins to decrease.

It becomes readily apparent when examining the time series graphs for all the MSAs and cities that show an inverse covariation between social trust and crime that ***there is a time lag***

between when crime begins to decrease and when social trust begins to increase. For all of the metropolitan cases examined, it appears that crime begins to decrease **before** social trust begins to register an increase. It appears that the crime rates for these cities, for the most part, began decreasing in the late-1980s and early 1990s, where social trust levels did not begin to increase until the mid-1990s. This finding is quite significant in that it constitutes strong evidence that urban area social trust levels are influenced by decreasing levels of crime versus crime levels going down because the citizens of a city are becoming more trusting. This finding also has major policy implications in how we might target crime and build trust in communities. The core question becomes why this lagged effect might be occurring. Clearly, reducing the levels of crime in a city, and disseminating publicity about decreasing levels of crime, will likely serve to reduce citizen fear of crime. Decreasing levels of fear of crime may well be associated with increasing trust in others, and this dynamic might account for why we are seeing the covariation between social trust and crime that we have documented with longitudinal data in this dissertation.

Ultimately, the reason that the issue of the direction of the relationship between social capital and crime is still undecided in the literature is because, depending on the circumstances, it might be that the causal arrows can go either way; the research literature reviewed above shows this may well be the case. The research findings reported in this dissertation tend to show that, with respect to cities and MSAs, a reduction in crime comes *prior to* an increase in social trust or social capital. It is possible that both those that claim the relationship goes one way and those that claim the relationship is the opposite may be correct; however, if a somewhat different set of cities or MSAs were examined, or if there were more data on social capital available, it might be possible to document some sort of reciprocal effect. The wide variety of circumstances in which

social capital is studied, simply put, likely provides us with varied results. The question of the directionality of the effect in the relations between social capital and crime at the level of contemporary American metropolitan areas deserves more attention in future research to fully understand how trust and crime co-vary, and how one potentially influences the other. More research is also needed to understand the conditions under which reciprocal effects and self-reinforcing cycles are at play in the U.S., as suggested by Galea et al. (2002) and Rose and Clear (1998).

Limitations of this Research

Although the research conducted in this dissertation was able to examine social capital and its effect on crime longitudinally, where most past research has been conducted cross-sectionally, ultimately continued **longitudinal** research is required to properly assess causal patterns. Even though the Stowell data has allowed us to examine crime and social capital longitudinally at a relatively low level of geographic aggregation, the results reported would be more reliable if we were able to employ more data overall on the level of social capital present in cities and MSAs. While there is definitely enough data to see some patterns emerge, continued measurement of social capital over time would obviously give us an even clearer picture of the covariance between social capital and crime. What would be especially interesting is to see how the patterns of connection between social capital and crime continue to advance. If we examine the norms across all cities for both particularized trust and generalized trust, we see we only have data for the Stowell metropolitan areas examined here up until 2004; however, in 2002 we start to see the social trust norm begin a potentially steady decline while many cities are still experiencing either decreasing or stabilizing crime rates. Continued longitudinal research would

potentially shed some light on this occurrence, and indicate whether or not a decline in social trust has occurred despite the presence of declining crime rates.

Self-report surveys, as used in the Stowell datasets, also have inherent limitations. For example, one person's conception of trust and how they feel about their neighbors may be very different than another person's conception; even if the absolute level of social trust is the same, it may be measured in the survey as being different. There are also inherent limitations in the FBI Uniform Crime Report data, an often-used source on crime rates, which measures reported crime across the United States.

Although the UCR data are one of the best measures of crime that we have in the United States, not all law enforcement agencies across the country faithfully report their statistics; in 2003, for example, reporting for all law enforcement agencies in the United States represented around 93% of the Nation's total population (FBI, 2005, para. 10). Another limitation of the UCR source is the presence of unreported crime. Victimization surveys uniformly identify many crimes that go unreported, either because the crime is too personal, not felt to be sufficiently significant by the victim to report, or it is felt to represent a futile action on the part of the victim owing to an expected uncaring police reaction or low expectation of a fruitful outcome resulting from police involvement. Obviously, if crime is not reported then it cannot be measured in the FBI UCR. It is possible that the rate of non-reporting is not uniform across cities and MSAs, hence potentially confounding the results reported here.

Another limitation of the UCR is that if several offenses are committed by one person, only the most serious offense committed is recorded in the formal UCR crime reports (FBI, 2004b). That practice clearly has implications for understanding and comparing crime with social capital if more offenses and different types of offenses are being committed but not

recorded at differential rates across cities and MSAs. However, this limitation is not too significant in that the most serious offenses tend to be violent crimes, and these are included in the UCR. We have taken note in this chapter of the significant covariation between social capital and violent crime as compared to less of a connection for property crime and burglary. In the future it would be wise to examine crimes reported in the National Crime Victimization Surveys (NCVS), self-report surveys of random U.S. households that ask if a crime was committed against anyone in the household in the last six months, along with the crimes reported in the UCR. Estimates for under-reporting could be calculated for each of the three types of crime rates used here, and "corrected" estimates could be used and the tests run here could be replicated. However, it should be that the NCVS also has limitations that would have to be addressed, including the issues noted previously regarding self-report surveys.

Another observation of the data presented in this dissertation is that cities (as opposed to MSAs) tended to have more widely fluctuating crime rates (retrieved from the UCR) and more variance in their crime rate measures (retrieved from the UCR). This may have something to do with reporting and measurement in these areas, and there is a potential for further exploration of this phenomenon in future research. Any variances or notations recorded by the FBI in regards to the UCR were recorded in the raw data and the information necessary to access this information is included in Appendix B. Errors in reporting or inconsistent reporting of data in the UCR are also a potential limitation of this research; however, the FBI does utilize various methods to ensure that the data presented is reliable and also makes notations when data may not be comparable across years (as noted in the raw data when this rare event occurred in this dissertation) (FBI, 2004b).

Another significant methodological issue present in attempting to quantify the effect of social capital on crime has to do with the nature of the cause/effect relationship between the two. As mentioned previously, the interpretation of the directionality of the relationship between social capital and crime can be argued both ways. For example, many of the studies examined in the literature did not even speculate on the question of the cause-and-effect relationship between social capital and criminality. The relationship between the two may very well swing both ways; however, each study needs to specifically address the direction of that relationship in its own analysis. Without such attention to directionality, those who examine the literature on social capital and crime might not fully understand how the dynamic relationship between the two variables is playing out in their specific analytical setting.

According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the United States is split up into four regions of the country into which each of the cities and MSAs examined here fall (U.S. Census Bureau, 2007). Those regions are: **West** (Albuquerque, NM MSA; Colorado Springs, CO MSA; Denver, CO MSA; Las Vegas, NV MSA; Reno, NV MSA; Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA MSA; and Palm Springs, CA CITY), **Midwest** (Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI MSA; Kansas City, MO CITY; St. Louis, MO CITY; Columbus, OH MSA; Dayton-Springfield, OH MSA; and Cincinnati, OH CITY), **South** (Atlanta, GA MSA; Jacksonville, FL MSA; Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, VA-NC MSA; Roanoke, VA MSA; Washington, D.C.-MD-VA MSA; West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL MSA; Nashville, TN MSA; Knoxville, TN CITY; Louisville, KY CITY; Dallas, TX MSA; Ft. Worth-Arlington, TX MSA; Houston, TX MSA), and **Northeast** (none). The majority of the cities and MSAs examined in this dissertation which had enough social capital data collected across years to be included in the dissertation tended to reside in the Southern states. While there is still a good mix of metropolitan areas in the South, West, and Midwest,

unfortunately there are no Northeastern cities or MSAs included in the analysis presented in this dissertation. According to Putnam (2000), Northeastern and Midwestern cities actually tend to have higher levels of social capital than other areas of the nation, so it would have been informative to have cities and MSAs in the Northeast included in this analysis to further explore the character of the relationship between social capital and crime across the entire nation. The lack of cities from the Northeast obviously constitutes a noteworthy limitation of the findings presented here.

This dissertation attempts to offer a preliminary longitudinal examination of the relationship between social capital and crime, and the findings presented here certainly offer some measure of understanding of the different patterns and relationships that may be present in the data for these 25 MSAs and cities. However, the statistical rigor of a multivariate analysis featuring the inclusion of pertinent control variables is not present at this point. Future statistical models and the inclusion of various variables that have a known influence on crime and social capital are definitely proposed for the future, as noted in the next section; however, the limited rigor of the analysis and the limitations of the data used at this stage of research making use of the Stowell archival dataset should be properly noted.

Clearly, limitations are inherent in any form of serious research, and this dissertation is no exception. However, the data used are fairly reliable, they have been used effectively in published research appearing in peer-reviewed journals, and they come from reputable sources employing well-trained staff that made every effort to ensure that the collection and reporting of their survey data were accurate. With respect to the Stowell data used here, a comparison to Putnam's Social Capital Benchmark Survey was made to ensure the reliability and validity of the questions being used from the Stowell datasets to measure social trust as a component of social

capital (The Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, 2008; Division of Governmental Studies and Services, Washington State University, official communication, November 27, 2008). That being said, the future research sketched out below will help to address several of the limitations of the research presented here in order to offer more reliable, more valid, and more robust research in the future.

Proposed Future Research

Potential Control Variables for Future Research

Although the variables that have the potential to intervene in the relationship between social trust and violent crime may be many in number, the literature on social capital and violent crime does provide some guidance on the key variables of interest. First, in the future it will be necessary to control for various demographic characteristics that may affect the creation and sustenance of social capital (social trust) and the incidence of violent crime and property crime. A *disadvantage index* will eventually be created in order to control for the level of income, education, and the occupational status of the individuals surveyed in the Stowell datasets (Krivo and Peterson, 1996). Other variables that may affect the level of social capital (social trust) in a community and necessitate being controlled for in the research proposed here are race, ethnicity, and family composition characteristics of the MSAs and cities being compared; all of these factors will be controlled for in a full model employing a multivariate, multi-level (individual and community levels) statistical analysis in future research and in the research papers and publications to follow.

Rodney Hero (2007) argues that the current social capital literature does not take into sufficient account the effects of race and ethnicity, and thus in his opinion does a great disservice to our understanding of the impact the "social capital doctrine" has on American life and the

potential impact public policies created in this tradition tend to have on minorities. Hero may very well be right, and that is why a full model that takes race and ethnicity into account is proposed for the future. It is important to understand, as Hero (2007) argues, what role racial and ethnic diversity versus societal homogeneity plays in the nexus between social capital and crime. Only further research can really show whether Hero (2007) is correct in arguing that social capital has a dark side in the form of a disproportionate adverse impact on minorities with respect to involvement in the criminal justice system as both the victims of crime and the people most likely to be arrested and prosecuted for offenses.

The Stowell datasets also contain information on other variables concerning the makeup of the population that was surveyed in the 25 cities and MSAs presented here. For example, among the numerous psychographic measures (multi-item scales) information included in the media market datasets are: social and institutional trust, self-esteem, liberalism/conservatism, open-minded/close-minded thinking, optimism/pessimism, sophistication of tastes, price sensitivity, and brand loyalty (Leigh Stowell and Co. Media Market Studies, 1989-2002). Demographic and personal background variables such as level of education, family income, gender, race and ethnicity, family unit composition, occupational status, and location of residence (zip code) are also measured and provided along with market-specific content such as: newspapers read and local media used, access to and extent of use of the Internet, patronization of principal local businesses and cultural attractions, and buying, leasing, renting and purchasing behaviors on a variety of goods and services (Leigh Stowell and Co. Media Market Studies, 1989-2002). In the future these measures may be included a much more complete statistical model to gain more understanding about the nexus between social capital, societal context and the incidence of crime. In this regard, the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS)

data collected by the FBI features far more detailed information about crime with respect to both victims and offenders, and these data are collected in a good number of urban areas for which Stowell data are available. The "dark side" of social capital hypothesized by Hero with respect in inequitable outcomes for minorities in high social capital settings could be investigated with a combination of NIBRS and Stowell data.

In the future, data will also be gathered from the United States Census Bureau on the various cities and MSAs selected for analysis from the Stowell datasets. It will be necessary to control for any shifts in the population over the course of the years where social trust and crime are being examined. Notably, it is important to examine shifts in the population that may significantly alter the ethnic or racial composition of a selected city, as well as population shifts that might alter the components of the *disadvantage index* for the particular population. These population shifts must be clearly understood in order to specify accurately a model for examining the relationship between social trust and crime at the level of American MSAs and cities.

Although the review of literature on social capital suggests strongly that **trust** is clearly the most predictive variable for social capital, with civic participation being much less predictive, civic participation measures will also be included in future research to see if it measurably increases the predictive power of the research design (Lederman et al., 2002; Kennedy et al., 1998). Clearly, much was learned from the research reported here, but much more remains to be done to round out our understanding in this area of social life.

Conclusion

It appears from the examination of the overall findings in this dissertation that there is a demonstrable relationship between social trust, as a measure of social capital, and crime. The majority of cities and MSAs did fall into the hypothesized pattern #3, predicting the inverse

relationship between social capital and crime, as social capital increases, crime decreases in MSAs and cities studied over a decade of time. Clearly there are differences between the particularized trust and generalized trust measures as to their degree of covariation with crime. Particularized trust appears to increase more steadily across years, whereas generalized trust appears to be more stable and less variant. Therefore, with declining crime rates over many of the MSAs and cities examined here from 1983 to 2006, we have evidence of a stronger degree of covariation between measures of particularized trust and crime than for generalized trust and crime. That is not to say that generalized trust is not a good measure of social trust or social capital in other types of studies; when combining the measures of generalized trust and particularized trust we have an even stronger case that social capital and crime co-vary, inasmuch as all of the cities that fall into pattern #3 for generalized trust also appear in pattern #3 for particularized trust.

It is also clear from the research presented in this dissertation that when examining the directionality of the relationship between social trust and crime, crime tends to begin decreasing **before** social trust begins to increase. Since this directionality issue has not been studied very often in social capital research, further research will be needed to allow us to examine this relationship more fully with multivariate, multi-level statistical models. Finally, it is clear that future examination of the outlier cases as well as selected common pattern cases will offer important potential policy implications and a more in-depth understanding of the nuances of the relationship between social capital and crime at the MSA and at the city level of geographic aggregation.

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CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

Introduction

As has been shown throughout this dissertation, social capital research viewed within a longitudinal framework can provide us with an important element of enhanced understanding of one key set of social dynamics – namely, the relationship between social and institutional trust and public safety in U.S. urban communities. If the literature generated by the advocates of social capital-building initiatives is to be believed, social capital might offer an efficacious, cost-effective and social engaging solution to the issues of social disorganization, anomie, and strain discussed in the literature review. However, it is also possible that interpersonal and institutional trust levels are strongly influenced by crime, and crime reduction needs to precede community-building along the "weed and seed" model (O'Connell, Perkins, and Zepp, 2004; Seattle Neighborhood Group et al., 2006). These two principal scenarios, among others, offer potentially critical policy implications for communities and policymakers that will be explored later in this chapter.

The dissertation research presented here was directed at gaining a deeper understanding of one specific problem – namely, how social capital levels are associated with crime rates at the city or urban center level in the United States. It is the case, of course, that many more avenues social capital research are available to be taken at a variety of levels of geographic aggregation ranging from the neighborhood level to that of entire countries. This dissertation has offered an analysis of particularized and generalized trust at a lower level of geographic aggregation than has been previously attempted in the social capital literature. This undertaking is important because, as King, Keohane, and Verba (1994) note, if a social science concept has genuine

"leverage" its effects ought to be demonstrable at varying levels of analysis. This is precisely the type of testing of demonstrable effects that has been done in this dissertation. It is hoped that the research presented here has not only contributed somewhat to our collective understanding of the literature on social capital, but that it contributed importantly as well to the literature of Criminal Justice by conducting a study at a level of aggregation that has practical significance for practice in a country in each the national enforcement forces are rather meager in comparison to the vast number of local police agencies in every U.S. state.

Review of Chapters

Chapter 1 introduced the dissertation and established the importance of and articulated the purpose of this type of social science research, and it described in quite broad terms the empirical data and specific variables that would be investigated in this monograph. What was highlighted in the chapter was the critical importance and timeliness of this type of social science research for the formation of informed public policy on public safety at the state and local levels of American government.

Chapter 2 explored the literature regarding the connection between social capital and crime, and established the theoretical roots of the social capital construct as it is employed in contemporary social science research. Although a rather wide range of research has been conducted relatively recently on the social capital phenomena and its relationship with crime, among other connections, some methodological difficulties in defining and explaining social capital nonetheless remain. Chapter 2 discusses some of the difficulties encountered by researchers and how they have addressed them, and also attempts to address the "dark side" of social capital research. Finally, the importance of the use of a relatively low level of geographic aggregation to study social capital and crime that is so critical to this dissertation is discussed.

Chapter 3 set forth the methodology to be used in the dissertation, along with the hypothesized patterns and the types of analyses that were to be conducted in examining the connection between social capital and crime. The data used from the FBI UCRs were explained, along with the use and selection of the social capital data extracted from the Stowell datasets. Finally, this chapter explicated the comparative case study method that was used in conjunction with an innovative simultaneous time series graphing technique to examine the relationship between the 25 MSAs and cities researched in this dissertation.

Chapter 4 identified five patterns of association between crime and social capital that emerged in the research, involving each of the potential measures of crime (violent crime, property crime, and burglary) and the two social capital measures. The findings were presented for each city or MSA case, and each particular case was examined with respect to its deviation from or adherence to the norm measure for all cities and MSAs for both particularized trust and generalized trust. Next, each case was examined as to the relationship between both generalized trust and particularized trust and each of the three measures of crime. An overall pattern of findings was presented in a summary matrix at the end of the chapter detailing each of the five patterns under which each city or MSA fell for particularized trust and generalized trust.

Chapter 5 addressed the implications of the findings of this dissertation for both research and practice, and offered some suggestions for future research in this area. Chapter 5 set forth a discussion of how the variation of patterns across urban areas and the overall pattern of connection between social capital and crime related to the question of **causality** – can it be said that low social capital "causes" crime to occur, and high social capital serves as protection against crime from the evidence assembled in this study? Or, conversely, could it be said that declining crime rates lead to greater interpersonal trust and hence strengthen social capital? The

chapter concluded with a discussion of the potential utility of these findings for public policy decision makers, but highlighted the noteworthy limitations of the data and analysis presented in this research.

Finally, this chapter summarizes the principal findings reported here and set forth the major conclusions drawn in the dissertation, and presents a case for why the continuation of research on social capital is so important to the further development of theory and practice alike. This chapter addresses some of the potential policy implications arising from the findings presented here, and suggests that the discussion of social capital phenomena should be strongly incorporated into the teaching of criminal justice courses in the United States.

Review of Findings and Their Implications

This dissertation presents strong evidence that there is a noteworthy relationship between social trust, as a principal component of social capital, and the occurrence of crime. The majority of cities and MSAs examined in this dissertation fell under the principal hypothesized pattern #3, where **crime and social trust co-vary in an inverse relationship**; when crime is decreasing, social capital is increasing. However, there are differences in the strength of the relationship observed when one examines particularized trust versus generalized trust. Particularized trust tends to demonstrate stronger covariance over time with crime than does generalized trust. This may be in part due to the fact that particularized trust increased consistently and more steadily over the years measured than did generalized trust, which in comparison was rather invariant. However, when the measures of generalized trust and particularized trust are combined, an even stronger case may be made about the strength of the relationship between social trust, as a component of social capital, and levels of crime in the 25 MSAs and cities examined here.

This dissertation also presents some noteworthy evidence on the directionality of the relationship between social capital and crime. When the cities that fell under the most commonly hypothesized pattern, pattern #3, were examined, it became clear that **a decrease in crime clearly precedes an increase in social trust**, and this is the case for both generalized and particularized trust. This finding has some fairly significant policy implications, because while it is clear that crime and social capital co-vary, they do so in a very specific way. Future research on the cities and MSAs will further explicate the nuances of the directionality of the relationship between social capital and crime, and what that might mean for policymakers and researchers examining and applying social capital analytical frameworks in their work.

In the area of significant findings, the causality conclusions drawn in this dissertation are of primary importance. The empirical documentation of a time lag between changes in crime rates and subsequent change in social trust is a noteworthy accomplishment. This observation was made on the basis of a longitudinal analysis of changes in measures of social trust and crime in 25 urban areas, but some of those areas had only a few iterations of the Leigh Stowell and Company surveys over the course of a decade. What can be said of the results to be observed in an examination of the cities or MSAs that offer the greatest number of periodic Stowell surveys over the years of available data?

If we look at those cities and MSAs that offer **eight or more years of social trust data** and inspect the patterns of association and time lag effects they exhibit, we are able to get a sampling of nine of the 25 cities or MSAs examined in this dissertation (Albuquerque, NM MSA; Atlanta, GA MSA; Dayton-Springfield, OH MSA; Kansas City, MO CITY; Las Vegas. NV MSA; Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN MSA; Nashville, TN MSA; Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA MSA; and St. Louis, MO CITY). When examining the social capital measures of particularized

trust and generalized trust together for cities that have eight or more years of data, we find that four of the nine MSAs or cities exhibit the hypothesized inverse relationship between social capital and crime (pattern #3) for ***ALL measures of crime and both measures of social trust***. These urban areas were the Atlanta, GA MSA, the Las Vegas. NV MSA; the Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN MSA; and the Nashville, TN MSA. Clearly this finding presents the strongest case for the evidence of a social capital and crime covariation over time.

There were five cities of the nine, however, that fell under pattern #3 (the hypothesized inverse relationship between social capital and crime) for only some measures of crime or one of the two measures of trust. For particularized trust, four cities fell out of pattern #3 mostly for non-violent crimes, with the sole exception of Albuquerque. The only other pattern (other than pattern #3) that was evidenced by these urban areas for particularized trust and some measures of crime was pattern #4 (interpreted as no systematic connection, invariant levels of crime, while social capital is increasing or decreasing). The Dayton-Springfield, OH MSA evidenced pattern #4 for particularized trust for property crime and burglary, while the Kansas City, MO CITY and the St. Louis, MO CITY evidenced pattern #4 for property crime alone. The only urban area that exhibited pattern #4 for a non-property crime measure was Albuquerque, which exhibited pattern #4 for violent crime. In these cities, crime was simply not increasing or decreasing at the levels noticed in other urban areas over the time periods where social capital was measured. It could simply be the case, as discussed in the previous chapter, that crime has hit a maximum or minimum in these cities and thus is insensitive to increasing or decreasing levels of social trust.

These same four cities or MSAs, along with an additional urban area, fell under pattern #2 (interpreted as no systematic connection, invariant social capital while crime is decreasing or increasing) or pattern #5 (interpreted as no systematic connection, invariant levels of crime and

invariant levels of social capital), when it came to examining generalized trust. The Albuquerque, NM MSA, the Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA MSA, and the Kansas City, MO CITY all fell under pattern #2 for generalized trust for all measures of crime. The St. Louis, MO CITY fell under pattern #2 for violent crime and burglary. If you recall, pattern #2 was the most common pattern for generalized trust simply due to the fact that, compared to particularized trust, generalized trust was more invariant over time over most cities and MSAs. This precisely why we are seeing that same pattern across all types of crime discussed above for several of the nine cities with the most reported social capital data. The Dayton-Springfield, OH MSA and the St. Louis, MO CITY, on the other hand, fell under pattern #5. In the Dayton-Springfield case this was evidenced for both property crime and burglary measures and for St. Louis this was evidenced only for the property crime measure. St. Louis was a noted outlier for several reason, as discussed in the previous chapter, and thus the finding here is a bit odd as well, although more case study analysis of this city would assist in further understanding the relationship between social capital and crime. In this case Dayton-Springfield really just did not show any relationship, and again further case study analysis would likely reveal more information on the invariant nature of both social capital and crime in this MSA.

It is important to note that **ALL of the cities or MSAs with the MOST data available on social trust fell under the hypothesized inverse relationship between social capital and crime for at least some measures of social trust and crime**. It is also the case that **the time lag featuring changes in crime preceding changes in social trust are also in evidence** in these high data density cases. This additional analysis of the longitudinal data available for study in this dissertation offers strong evidence for the conclusions drawn here. As King, Keohane and Verba (1994) note, however, the combination of quantitative and qualitative methods would

permit an even more robust understanding of the relationship between social capital and crime. Future qualitative research on the outlier cases will allow us to explore more thoroughly the nature of this relationship in different societal contexts, and offer additional insight into the connections between levels of social trust and crime.

The Importance of Future Research on Social Capital

Unfortunately, there are so many different potential facets of social capital and it's interaction with crime and the nature of communities that the directionality of the relationship between social capital and crime remains unresolved. Essentially, more research is needed to understand how the nature of crime and social capital co-varies at different levels of geographic aggregation. Do low levels of social capital cause violent crime as Putnam (2000) argues, or does a cycle of mutual doubt, possibly between a government and its people, as is likely the case in Columbia and Guatemala, cause low levels of social capital and higher levels of violent crime (McIlwaine and Moser, 2001)? Clearly there is the potential that a reciprocal effect exists between crime and social capital, and that future research is needed on the cities and MSAs being studied in this dissertation in order to further understand the nature of this relationship in both the "common pattern" cases and the outlier cases.

Coming to a clear understanding of the social capital and crime connection in American cities, and knowing the direction of their effects on one another is clearly an important goal for future research related to this dissertation. In this dissertation, it was found that the increase in social capital clearly lagged behind a decrease in crime for the majority of cities and MSAs studied. Thus the policies that would be formulated in the case of this research, where an increase in crime causes a reduction in social capital, or where a decrease in crime causes an increase in social capital, would mirror the strategies of weed and seed programs and programs

such as Project Safe Neighborhoods (PSN). Were this the case, then the arguments of "civil society" advocates would likely prevail in the "chicken or the egg" arguments regarding the connection between social capital and crime. Corwin Smidt (2003) has argued, in this regard, that the "concept of civil society is much more comprehensive than that of social capital. Social capital **originates in** civic society" (emphasis added) (4).

If this study had shown that low social capital led to higher levels of violent crime, the policy implications would be dramatically different. It would be beneficial, then, to implement policies and programs that have been shown to increase levels of social trust and hence enhance social capital. Perhaps a different set of 25 MSAs many have produced such evidence of the reverse causal direction of effect. Even more complicated would be the case if there were evidence of a clearly reciprocal or self-reinforcing cycle connection between social capital and crime, where the connections are intertwined and drive one another; the policy implications arising from this observed pattern would be to seek to accomplish both the building of social capital and the reduction of crime simultaneously. Clearly, it is likely true that the nature of the relationship between social capital and crime varies somewhat across levels of geographic aggregation and types of societal settings (e.g., social homogeneity vs. heterogeneity, prosperous vs. impoverished communities, stable vs. in flux communities, etc.) and needs to be much more clearly understood if policy makers are going to be able to develop and implement effective public policies for their respective communities (Baron, Field, Schuller, 2000; Halpern, 2005).

It is not just important to understand how social capital affects cities and MSAs in the United States, but as Lederman et al. (2002) maintain it is important to understand this phenomenon as it occurs around the world. They note the following in this regard: "A major challenge for future research in this area is to discriminate, precisely and quantitatively, the

effects of each of group-specific and society-wide social capital" (Lederman et al., 2002, 12). It is not enough to just do pure research on social capital as a concept and a theory; it is critical to those seeking to promote public safety on our communities that the evaluation of social capital theories leads to more fully informed public policies and better-informed practice in the implementation of progressive public policies. Putnam and Feldstein clearly understand the contemporary importance of this type of translation of research into practice by exploring twelve different cases of social capital theory put into action in *Better Together* (2003). Not only does concrete use need to be made of research such as what has been presented in this dissertation, but the practical evaluation and application of applied research findings that have been found to work well also need further examination in order to promote the effective application of these insights to appropriate settings and avoid their application to inappropriate settings. Social capital is an inherently personal phenomenon, but that is not to say that with the correctly targeted and appropriately in-depth analysis of the various components of social capital that the principles inherent in the research and application of social capital cannot be applied on a rather large scale.

In noting the importance of future research on social capital, it should not be forgotten that understanding and evaluating the effectiveness of current social capital-oriented or social capital-inspired programs and policies that are currently in place is critical. Many of the current programs that have social capital base roots are organized at the community level. That being said, understanding the contributions these programs have made to some communities will allow us to consider similar efforts elsewhere in similar circumstances. It will also be important for those policies created on a more macro-level to have evaluation components built in to ensure

that evaluation studies will be able to assess the effectiveness of these programs that utilize social capital-based research in developing programs on a more global scale.

Potential Policy Implications

The *Saguaro Seminar* at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University was developed by Dr. Robert Putnam to serve as an example of how social capital research can be translated into effective action to improve the quality of life in local communities. The Saguaro Seminar brings together academics, practitioners, religious leaders, street-level public agency workers, and government officials from all over the country in order to discuss the status of social capital in America and develop ideas and strategies for increasing levels of "bridging social capital" and civic engagement in the United States (John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, 2003). From the discussions of those who have collaborated with the Saguaro Seminar, a book was produced entitled ***Better Together*** (2003), and various community resources were made available both in print and on-line to citizens and public leaders as a result of this major private foundation-supported effort (John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, 2003). Through the examination of case studies of social capital in action drawn from around the United States in *Better Together* (2003), the authors argue that there are several practical ways to enhance social trust in communities, and thereby enhance social capital.

First, they argue as follows: "Building social capital depends both on the actions of protagonists and on key enabling structural conditions in the broader environment, many of which are immutable in the short run (though not in the long run)" (Putnam and Feldstein, 2003, 271). Putnam and Feldstein (2003) also note that developing social capital not only takes time, but also requires the support of government actors and policy makers in most cases. This is

where research becomes crucial in the development of policies to promote social capital in local communities. If research is able to show relationships between the level of trust, or social capital, in a community and a feature of society (whether it be crime, public health problems, income inequality, etc.) then there is a greater likelihood that policymakers and government entities will see the inevitable connections between these issues and the potential for something to be done about them. Understanding the both the directionality and the nature of those relationships between social capital and crime (or other features of communities) will also inform the types policies that might be created. The lower level of aggregation used in this dissertation is so important because trust is developed at a much lower level than nationally or statewide – it is most often developed in communities and in our daily interactions with one another (Wuthnow, 1996, 2). That being said, if we are to develop effective programs and inform public policies we need to understand how social capital operates at this level so the policies that are developed reflect the communities they are intended to serve.

Second, Putnam and Feldstein (2003) maintain that "smaller is better." Their research and experience have shown that smaller communities and areas tend to have higher levels of social capital than their large social aggregate counterparts (Putnam and Feldstein, 2003; Putnam, 2000). That being said, social capital may still be created in larger areas, but "nesting" smaller groups within larger groups might be the best approach. It is argued that the connectedness that people feel in a smaller group will translate into the larger group, thus enhancing the social capital and trust present in the larger group overall (Putnam and Feldstein, 2003). They note, "In sum, smaller is better for forging and sustaining connections" (Putnam and Feldstein, 2003, 277).

Third, Putnam and Feldstein (2003) argue that there is a significant difference between "bonding social capital" and "bridging social capital." Bonding social capital consists of "ties that link individuals or groups with much in common," where bridging social capital consists of "ties that link individuals or groups across a greater social distance" (Putnam and Feldstein, 2003, 279). Clearly, in a diverse society or group the strengthening of bridging social capital is the goal, but this is much more difficult to create than bonding social capital due to the differences in perspectives and values present among members of a heterogeneous group. That being said, the creation of trust and bridging social capital is not impossible. Putnam and Feldstein (2003) explain that using stories to build connections becomes critical here. Through shared stories people can help to construct commonalities with one another and learn to trust one another and bridge the gap between their differences. A good example of this in relation to crime and criminal involvement might be the development of successful neighborhood watch programs or community centers. By bringing people together to tell their respective personal stories and share how they have dealt with certain commonly experienced issues, the group as a whole might operate more effectively, prevent crime, and protect their neighborhoods through the increased development of trust and social capital.

The authors of *Better Together* (2003) also note that existing networks can be used, or "recycled," to build social capital. If there are already some elements of trust present in a group or some commonalities already exist, there is no need to reinvent the wheel when the structure or foundation might already be in place. Granted the development and furthering of the level of social trust in this group will take time, but some pre-existing structure or foundations are often helpful. This is particularly the case with respect to existence of local church congregations in poor neighborhoods and urban ghettos and barrios (see Cnaan, Boddie and Yancey, 2003).

Finally, Putnam and Feldstein (2003) argue that creating common spaces for people to interact is a key strategy for enhancing social capital. This strategy is probably the most relevant to this dissertation and to the theories behind social capital that were discussed in the literature review. For example, Shaw and McKay (1969), argue in their discussion of social disorganization theory that the occurrence of crime is a direct function of the level of disorganization in a community (Vold, 2002). Disorganized communities are characterized by a lack of ties or bonds among residents, lower socioeconomic status, a more heterogeneous and racially and ethnically diverse population, and low pride in the community appearance, among other variables (Shaw and McKay, 1969; Vold, 2002). In these neighborhoods the ties that bind individuals together (trust) have deteriorated and social institutions have been weakened (Vold, 2002).

Taking matters a step further, other social science researchers contend that a socially disorganized community lacks the two most crucial elements of social capital -- namely, *civic engagement* and *trust* (Rosenfeld, Messner, and Baumer, 2001, 3), one element of which has been extensively examined in this dissertation. The lack of trust and civic engagement prevents individuals in socially disorganized areas from bonding together to thwart gangs, violent crime, and property crime. This is precisely where the creation of public spaces in which people can interact and learn to trust one another through civic engagement in common safe spaces of congregation becomes an important form of social investment (see discussion of such "civic architecture" in Guterbock and Fries, 1997).

Routine activities theory, on the other hand, focuses more attention on the normal, day-to-day activities of individuals and the criminals who perpetrate crime. As Felson (2002) explains, "A criminal act has three elements almost always present: a likely offender, a suitable

personal or property target, and the absence of a capable guardian against a crime" (35). If these three elements are present, along with a motivated offender, crime is likely to occur. In regards to social capital, routine activities theory is highly relevant to public policy prescriptions. The development of neighborhood watch programs represent a prime example of a strategy intended to thwart the activities of criminals by enhancing the odds of crime prevention. By having neighbors "watching out"' for one another, personal and property targets become less suitable because there is a "guardian" against crime "on duty" who can both help apprehend criminals and deter them from victimizing others. Routine activities theory also supports Putnam and Feldstein's (2003) argument that the creation of common spaces is key to the development of social capital as well as the encouragement and trust that comes when neighbors learn to look after one another, with the potentially added benefit of less criminal victimization taking place against persons and property.

Finally, the integrated theory of social support is also highly relevant to Putnam and Feldstein's (2003) argument that common spaces are a key to developing social capital. Supporters of social support theory claim that crime is a result of the lack of social support among individuals in communities. When people have a strong support system – whether it is through their family, friends, community, and church – they are less likely to participate in criminal activities (Cullen, 1994: 527; Colvin et al., 2002; Pratt and Godsey, 2002). Luckily social support may be cultivated in a variety of ways, possibly through community activities, such as government-supported afterschool programs or community-based social programs, school or church activities, and community centers, to name a few. Social support may even be created on a more macro-level through drug court programs or restorative justice initiatives at the city or county level (Cullen, 1994: 527; Colvin et al., 2002; Pratt and Godsey, 2002). The key

insight here is that social support can arise as a consequence of the development of the common spaces that Putnam and Feldstein (2003) describe.

American crime levels have been decreasing in recent years, as is evident in the majority of the 25 MSAs and cities examined here. It is possible that this reduction in crime is due at least in some measure to the creation of community-based citizen volunteer programs, court-based therapeutic jurisprudence programs, and community policing strategies (for example, the restorative justice movement, juvenile and adult drug courts, school-based crime prevention programs, and domestic violence partnership movements) that have been implemented around the country to build trust between community residents and the police and public officials associated with the criminal justice system (Pino, 2001). For example, the advent of community policing in many towns, counties, and on tribal reservations has led to a variety of partnerships between the citizenry and the police functioning at the community level.

In recent years, for example, community policing has quite possibly been at the forefront of efforts related to building social capital as it is specifically related to criminal justice and policing. With the advent of patrol cars in the 1920s, there was movement away from foot patrols and the direct interaction of citizens with police officers (Dempsey and Forst, 2008). Although the patrol car certainly affords officers with certain protections and conveniences (for example, cover from weather, the ability to respond quickly, technology for safety and patrol functions, etc.), it also takes officers away from the face-to-face interaction with citizens that may help build trust and enhance social capital. As a result, many law enforcement agencies reoriented their patrol operations to permit their officers more opportunities to interact with citizens. Such reoriented patrol practice have been shown to increase citizen satisfaction with the police and lead to greater officer satisfaction (Garcia, Gu, Pattavina, and Pierce, 2003;

National Crime Prevention Council, 1997). It gives citizens an opportunity to air their grievances and provides officers the opportunity to interact with those on both sides of the law instead of just working with those persons in social who are in trouble with the law. However, it should be noted that community policing strategies, such as having community policing officers or special units devoted specifically toward engagement and consistent contact with a community from the policing perspective, need to be implemented with a department-wide philosophy, it is not enough to just have a few officers supporting this strategy. Rather, community policing, "is a philosophy that runs throughout the department. It must be believed, supported, and practiced by all levels of the department, especially line officers" (Dempsey and Forst, 2008, 332).

The federal government has noted that the trust building that is present in community policing is integral to its understanding of the connection between social capital and public safety. The funds allocated for crime prevention efforts in the 1994 Crime Bill resulted in the creation of the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS). The COPS office has several formal goals, one of which is "encouraging partnerships between police and the community" (Dempsey and Forst, 2008, 343). The COPS office has awarded over $9 billion in grants since its creation and has offered financial backing to agencies struggling with developing community policing responses to such issues as drug trafficking, community policing training, police-community partnerships, criminal intelligence sharing, problem-solving and relationship building initiatives (Oliver, 2001). Since a wide range of outreach programs have proven quite effective, offering grants to support these initiatives is critical. Two prior dissertations completed at Washington State University on such programs in operation in the western states of Washington, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming and South Dakota provided evidence of such

effectiveness; both dissertation projects were supported by the federally-funded [U.S. Department of Justice] Western Regional Institute for Community Oriented Public Safety (WRICOPS) and the Division of Governmental Studies and Services (Correia, 1998; Gutierrez, 2002). Both of these dissertations were subsequently published and served as the foundation for further research (Correia, 1998; Gutierrez, 2002). In a similar assessment study done on a major urban police agency the Citizen-Oriented Police Enforcement (COPE) program undertaken by the Baltimore Police Department was shown to have led to a dramatic reduction in fear of crime among citizens by addressing problems that the citizens of the city perceived to be an issue even though the police had been focusing their attention on other matters they believed to be more pressing. By showing that they were attentive to citizen-identified concerns the Baltimore P.D. ultimately succeeded in building a sense of trust and mutual respect between the police and the citizens of that city (Cordner, 1988).

Through these interactions between citizens and police officers in these community policing programs created at the local government level, the reservoirs of social trust and social bonds likely will be enhanced. However, it is not only trust and bonds between citizens and police that will be improved, since citizens often see the police as an extension of government, it is likely that through these types of programs trust in public officials and government entities will also increase allowing these non-law enforcement agencies to also benefit (secondarily) from these programs. Although research has been somewhat inconclusive on whether or not these programs decrease crime, there still may be added non-obvious benefits to the increase in trust that go beyond crime prevention that are noteworthy.

Another element related both to community policing and building trust in schools and among young people are the principal school-based programs that bring officers on to school

grounds and into classrooms to interact with students. Programs such as School Resource Officers, Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E.) and Gang Resistance Education and Training (G.R.E.A.T.) are good examples of such school-based programs. D.A.R.E. is a program taught by police officers in the schools that attempts to help kids resist peer pressure to try tobacco, alcohol and drugs (Siegel and Welsh, 2009; Bartollas and Miller, 2008). The program is widely supported by parents, teachers, and police officers familiar with it despite the fact that formal evaluations have found that the program is not particularly effective at its stated goal of helping kid resist the use of controlled substances (Siegel and Welsh, 2009; Bartollas and Miller, 2008; Vastag, 2003). It should be noted that D.A.R.E.'s "appeal cuts across racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic lines," even though it statistically has not been shown to reduce drug use among young people (Dempsey and Forst, 2008, 308). Dempsey and Forst (2008) also note from the various studies they reviewed that D.A.R.E. is a great community relations tool for the police and it is useful for developing relationships between and among kids of various social, racial, and ethnic backgrounds and police officers, thus increasing trust and bridging social capital within this heterogeneous group.

The G.R.E.A.T. program was modeled after D.A.R.E. and it was developed in an attempt to prevent delinquency – especially gang involvement (Siegel and Welsh, 2009). Trained police officers go into the schools, just as they do with D.A.R.E., and present several lessons over the course of a number of weeks. Early evaluations of this program were somewhat favorable, and some evidence of the development of pro-social attitudes being developed by students was produced; however, mixed results have been produced as to whether or not the program actually helped to reduce delinquency and gang involvement (Esbensen and Osgood, 1999). However, as with the D.A.R.E. program, this program quite possibly led to more mutual awareness and trust

being built between police officers and teenage students. Dempsey and Forst (2008) offer this assessment of the G.R.E.A.T. program, "It fulfilled one of its program objectives in steering the youths toward law enforcement and increasing their awareness of gang involvement. Parents, teachers and officers also viewed the GREAT program very favorably" (309). Clearly both the D.A.R.E. and G.R.E.A.T. programs are popular and represent the "stories" Putnam and Feldstein (2003) argue are critical to the formation of bridging social capital. The interpersonal bonds and mutual awareness that are created between police officers and students in these programs are likely well worth the effort made to implement them in urban, suburban, rural and tribal reservation schools across the country.

These are just a few of the potential policy implications for the research presented here. The implications for practice and the possibilities for further research are too numerous to note in their entirety here; most certainly, the potential policy implications do not end with community policing, school-based programs, neighborhood watch, juvenile and adult drug courts, or the best practices strategies noted by Putnam and Feldstein (2003). Community-based programs all over the United States are utilizing a wide range of strategies to enhance the amount of social capital present in their communities, regardless as to whether or not they label their effort as such. Neighborhood watch programs, community-based gang reduction projects, community and campus clean-up and volunteer programs, community civic groups, social gospel-oriented religious groups, school-based service learning activities and other such undertakings all employ a wide range of tactics and strategies that ultimately have the result that they increase civic engagement and build social trust, and in the process strengthen the bonds among individuals. Communities wherein such bonds exist are more likely than communities lacking such bonds to be able to address their shared concerns through effective collective action. As James Coleman

(1990) has noted in this regard, social capital makes possible "the achievement of certain ends that would unattainable in its absence…a group whose members manifest trustworthiness and place extensive trust in one another will be able to accomplish much more than a comparable group lacking that trustworthiness and trust (302-304). These very same bonds that tie people together to accomplish shared goals may also help tie people together in the effort to reduce crime through the strategies and policy implications described previously.

Conclusion

Although social capital prescriptions have been lauded as the potential solution to crime and decreasing levels of engagement in the U.S., unfortunately we still cannot say *conclusively* whether or not an enhancement of social capital will lead to a reduction in crime or various societal ills in an urban area in every instance. The research carried out and the data analyzed for this dissertation, however, have helped to deepen our understanding and has further clarified how social capital might help us to achieve public safety goals more effectively. It might well be the case from the findings reported here that enhancement of public safety precedes the development of interpersonal trust within MSAs and cities in the U.S. If that is the case, programs such as weed and seed and Project Safe Neighborhoods (PSN) should be seen as appropriate first steps in building the social conditions ("civic society") within which social capital building is the follow-up activity of choice.

In closing, it is the hope of the author that the research reported here and the findings presented set forth in this dissertation have contributed materially to the larger literature on social capital by looking at social capital at a lower level of geographic aggregation than has been examined previously. Such research has been shown to offer important policy and research implications for state and local government officials making public policies aiming at the

improvement of the quality of life for Americans within the local communities in which they reside.

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APPENDIX A: YEARS OF AVAILABLE STOWELL DATA FOR CITIES AND MSAS EXAMINED

City	Number of Years Data is Available	Years Measured
Las Vegas, NV	10	1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1997,1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002
Nashville, TN	10	1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1997,1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002
St. Louis, MO	10	1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1997,1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002
Atlanta, GA	9	1989, 1994, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002
Dayton, OH	9	1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2002
Kansas City, MO	9	1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2002
Seattle, WA	9	1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2002
Albuquerque, NM	8	1989, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999
Minneapolis-St.Paul	8	1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000
Cincinnati, OH	7	1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2002
Colorado Springs, CO	6	1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999
Columbus, OH	6	1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999
Jacksonville, FL	6	1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 2001, 2002
Norfolk, VA	6	1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999
Roanoke-Lynchburg, VA	6	1993, 1997, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002
Palm Springs, CA	6	1994, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2002
West Palm Beach	6	1993, 1994, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000
Denver, CO	5	1989, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997
Reno, NV	5	1994, 1995, 1997, 1998, 1999
Dallas-Ft. Worth, TX	4	1994, 1995, 1996, 1997
Houston, TX	4	1989, 1994, 1995, 1996
Knoxville, TN	4	1995, 1996, 1998, 2000
Louisville, KY	4	1994, 1995, 1997, 1998
Washington, D.C.	4	1994, 1995, 1996, 1997

APPENDIX B. SOURCE OF ACCESS TO DATASET FOR STUDY REPLICATION: RAW DATA FOR STOWELL PSYCHOGRAPHICS, CENSUS DEMOGRAPHICS, AND CRIME RATES

Please contact the author at livelyda@unk.edu for information on how to access the raw data used in this dissertation.