

NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZING, COMMUNITY POLICING, and CRIME: THE
POWER OF COMMUNITY in HARTFORD

by

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INTRODUCTION

In communities around the world one of the factors that impinges upon the quality of life of its residents most is crime. For many fear of walking the streets or the felling of nervousness leaving your home or car unattended is foreign. It is not unusual for those living in the suburbs to leave the doors of their car and home unlocked, but for those living in a city that would be unfathomable (Allan 2013). Even so for those living in cities some are privileged living free of fear from burglaries and muggings or assaults and shootings. Yet for countless others these elements of crime have become staples of daily life; staples that residents must cope with when walking to the store, going to school, or even watching television in one's own home. In Hartford, for example, where this study is focused and conducted, one resident recounted how it is not uncommon for her children and their friends to carry two pairs of sneakers to school. One inexpensive pair they wear on their feet as they walk to school, and a more expensive luxurious pair that they carry in their backpack. I asked this mother of three, "Do they not want to dirty them on the trek to school?"

"No. No," she replied. "There are people out there who will rob you just for a nice pair of sneakers. I tell them, 'If somebody tries something, throw your book bag that way and run the other'" (Resident interview 2013). This sentiment is one not all that uncommon for those living in "inner-cities," but for those living in Hartford's suburbs like West Hartford, Glastonbury, or Avon, or even in Hartford's West End such an experience is alien. Such an anecdote is something only relatable through caricatures on television and not the trials and tribulations of daily life. The unfortunate reality

remains that it is those living in these areas of wealth and prosperity that come into the city from their suburban homes to work and take from all that Hartford has to offer. They trek into the city polluting the air with their vehicles as they travel to work at places like Hartford Hospital, or one of the many institutions of higher education that call Hartford home, or even the state capitol all places free from property taxes. The regionalism of Connecticut only serves to punish the City of Hartford further, as the wealth escapes to the periphery leaving only a city exploited by those with means, and the city's residents with no remuneration. While Hartford may serve as a particularly powerful example of such inequality, such a dynamic has seemingly become the status quo across the United States. That is part of what makes this study so vital. It is crucial that everyone, even those secluded in their "Ivory Tower" are aware of the same problems that those living in places like the Hartford neighborhoods of Barry Square and the South End experience everyday. Everyone must be informed as to what kinds of things are causing crime, and what factors, social services, neighborhood characteristics, neighborhood groups, and policing techniques are effective in helping those coping with crime every day.

This study is motivated by the question whether criminal behavior is lower or more suppressed in a neighborhood where strong social organization exists and community policing is effective. To answer this central question, my study will analyze the relative roles of a Neighborhood Revitalization Group (NRZ) and Community Service Officers (CSOs) and their interactions in dealing with crime during the time spanning 1981-2010 in the larger context of Hartford where crime rates were relatively high earlier in the period and then steadily. The 1990s was a time in Hartford known for

heavy crime and particularly vast gang violence. Deindustrialization, unemployment, and declined property prices all contributed to crime so it is important to keep those conditions in mind while examining Hartford's crime rates. This analysis will also examine neighborhood level data from 2005-2010 as a way of placing neighborhood residents' current perceptions into context. The theoretical framework of Robert Sampson (2012), which he outlines in his book *The Great American City*, will guide the empirical analysis. Sampson (2012) examines the influence of neighborhood associations on perceptions of disorder, the effects of legal and moral cynicism on community wellbeing, and other ideas to determine about how the individual, the neighborhood, and society's structures influence each other. I expect some of Sampson's (2012) findings in Chicago to hold true in Hartford. For example, in neighborhoods that maintain organizational life, and promote shared expectations and trust, as well as where residents share low levels of perceived disorder and legal and moral cynicism, crime rates are expected to be lower. Guided by Sampson's perspective, this study will pay special analytical attention to how socio-economic status (SES) and race interact with community policing on local crime rates.

This research examines the ways the Maple Avenue Neighborhood Revitalization Group (MARG) works in concert with Hartford's Community Service Officers (CSOs) to influence criminal behavior and crime rates in the areas governed by MARG. MARG is a neighborhood organization supported by City Hall, and through the reputation and influence of the group's leader, Hyacinth Yennie, as well as its respected position in the community, it is able to exert a vast influence over Hartford's government and local governance. For example, MARG is known among government

officials and police officers alike, as “one of the best neighborhood organizations,” as a Hartford Police Lieutenant put it (Allan 2013). With this prestige and the social capital Yennie has accumulated through her community organizing work in Hartford, MARG has helped establish and position itself as an incredibly influential organization. That is to say, while the neighborhood’s CSOs attend each monthly MARG meeting it is not unusual to also see some of the city’s other prominent figures like the Mayor, representatives from City Hall, the Chief of Police, and other high ranking officers in the Hartford Police Department (HPD).

It is important for this study to understand both the practice of “Community Based Policing” or “Community Oriented Policing” and the role of the CSO. Community Based Policing in Hartford has a long and complicated past. It is a practice that has evolved and morphed into the effective and vast program that it is today. The first reference to community based policing was in 1973 under Chief Thomas Vaughn, which in accordance with a program known as The Hartford Program, developed a three-pronged approach to helping curb crime. This program will be discussed at length later in this analysis, but one of the three prongs was, “a neighborhood police unit with a strong relationship to the residents” (Fowler et. al. 1979; xviii). In the spirit of this program, Chief Vaughn developed a Community Services Division, the first of its kind in Hartford (Hartford Police Department N.d). It was in 1988 that the Chief Bernard Sullivan developed a CSO program and officially coined the term “Community Service Officer,” which was said to be, “an effort to provide more personalized service for the individual neighborhoods in Hartford. The CSO program emphasized community oriented policing and has been recognized as the foundation for the department's current

efforts toward a decentralized police department that encourages more police/community collaboration in solving neighborhood problems” (Hartford Police Department N.d). At this same time the Mayor developed a “Commission on Crime” to address the stark increase in violent crime that Hartford was experiencing (Hartford Police Department N.d.). This commission worked hand in hand with the development of the CSO, which is said to be, “the roots which laid the groundwork for the Hartford Police Department's evolution to a Community Oriented Policing philosophy” (Hartford Police Department N.d).

Community policing evolved further under the watch of Chief Ronald Loranger who helped shepherd in the award winning COMPASS program in 1990. The program was an attempt to help remedy quality of life problems in areas flooded with crime and drug dealing, “The basic premise of this program was that street level drug were a primary factor in the declining quality of life in urban neighborhoods. The cornerstone of this proposal was a technology-supported, community policing philosophy focused on the concept of neighborhood reclamation” (Hartford Police Department N.d). What is important to understand is that the push towards true community based policing has been a long and difficult evolution. The Hartford Police Department’s Southeast Commander Lieutenant Robert Allan, who began as a beat officer in 1995 helps describe this evolution over his time on the force:

In 1995 while we said we had a philosophy of community based policing if you read the definition and you look at who has been successful at it we really didn’t. We’d have the occasional walk beat officer which is the early stages of community oriented policing the walk beat guy knowing the people in his neighborhood and if you have a department big enough to fill those positions it is a great tool, but in an urban setting like this you need a mix of those guys and true community service officers the guys that are assigned to the neighborhood, they have a cruiser they know the business owners, they know the residents and they are not working one shift they are working when we need them if we have a burglary pattern that’s during the days my guys are working days if we have an auto theft or robbery pattern that

develops at night my guys are working at night. So their hours are very flexible which isn't always good for the family life as I am sure you can imagine but its good for how we do police work down here.

Allan goes on to describe some of the daily tasks of a CSO:

A community service officer, CSO, is just that he is there to serve the community he is not bound by the radio so he signs online just like any other patrol officer, but your traditional patrol officer works a set shift lets say six in the morning to two in the afternoon. He signs online, he gets his car, he gets his area that he is going to patrol, and he takes calls for service in that area or on the perimeter of his area. Now a community service officer comes online he has an area to patrol but the dispatcher isn't sending him to calls

Perhaps, according to Allan (2013), one of the most crucial parts of their job is attending neighborhood association meetings and reacting to the routine complains of the residents. Residents at these meeting are not complaining about violent assaults or burglaries they can call 911 for those kinds of things. Drug dealing is even a topic only very rarely brought up by residents; it is the quality of life issues that are most often the topic of conversation. Usually it is typical examples of social disorder like traffic offenses including illegal parking, or speeding on residential streets, or individuals illegally riding around on loud ATVs or motor bikes, or vacant lots full of cars being sold under the table that are brought to the attention of the CSOs. However at times it is the larger issues like a crew dealing drugs out of a neighborhood home or the noisy ice cream truck that is known for providing narcotics. Nevertheless usually these bigger issues are not addressed at the neighborhood meetings. Instead residents can phone the CSOs on their work cell phones. While not all CSOs have this resource MARG foots the bill for the work cell phones of the two CSOs in their jurisdiction, and the number is given out freely to residents. The CSO is a pillar of this research endeavor so one must understand its fraught evolution to realize where we are today. Now that the background of this research is set we can examine how this study will be completed.

This research will use a two-tiered methodology and combines both quantitative and qualitative data on crimes at both the municipal and neighborhood scales. The time-series data on crime in Hartford will provide a temporary macro context for focusing on the Maple Avenue neighborhood. To supplement crime statistics on the study area, I have conducted interviews with three types of people: a key community leader, Yennie, the police, and a small number of varied neighborhood residents. The interviews tap people's views on the strength of the local social or neighborhood organization, perceptions of crime and social disorder and the effectiveness of crime reduction strategies. This interview data also help make sense of external factors that impinge on crime in MARG's area. This analysis will also serve as a follow-up evaluation on the findings in the study conducted by Fowler et. al. (1979) that focused on the effectiveness of a 1976 Hartford program aimed at reducing burglary and robbery. That program established formal neighborhood associations, the institutions of a neighborhood police team, and introduced changes to restrictions on streets and changes to neighborhood's residential character. Despite some changes in Hartford since the mid-1970s, the basic unfavorable economic conditions resulting from deindustrialization and the loss of jobs have largely remained. Assuming the larger urban context remains more or less constant, I hypothesize, very similarly to Sampson (2012), that neighborhoods exhibiting higher perceptions of social order, maintaining the most committed neighborhood organizations, and having the best relationships with their CSOs tend to experience lowest crime rates.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This review of literature is two-fold. First, it is crucial to examine both the theoretical framework that I use to analyze the data. Second, it is also important to investigate the quantitative data that has been previously conducted and analyzed as it pertains to Hartford.

Theoretical Perspectives

To undertake a major examination of the racial and socioeconomic composition of neighborhoods and community, it is important to examine William Julius Wilson and Richard Taub's (2006) book, *There Goes the Neighborhood*. This work examined four neighborhoods in Chicago, each distinct in their racial and socioeconomic complexion. The neighborhoods were each distinct in racial make-up, White, Mixed, Mexican, and Black as well as comprising of a working and/or lower middle class residents. Wilson and Taub (2006) describe the implications of this current urban segregation best, "America has often been characterized as a melting pot, constantly creating an ever-changing blend of races and cultures. Indeed, many citizens still cling to the notion that the residential desegregation of neighborhoods is achievable. The research conducted for this book, however, strongly suggests that neighborhoods in urban America, especially in large metropolitan areas like Chicago, are likely to remain divided, racially and culturally" (161). Given Wilson and Taub's (2006) findings that our cities are to remain victims of segregation for the foreseeable future, we must devise plans to ensure that these cities receive their fair share of resources and programs so they at the very

least can be equal in accessing these resources. That fact that crime rates are higher in areas of poverty is no mystery. Areas of poverty are also more likely to be ones of color, and with that said it is prudent that those wielding power over the city pay special attention to these unfortunate realities and address crime in a fair and even-handed way. Crime, violent and property crimes specifically, are a plague of the inner cities where those of color reside, while it is seemingly non-existent in places of white wealth. Given the research of Wilson and Taub (2006), a correlation between race, socioeconomic status, and community policing is evident, and the work of Sampson (2011) furthers that point.

In this review of Wilson and Taub's work, it is also important to note how this kind of segregated urban living pits not just those of color against whites, but also those of color against those of color as these groups find themselves competing for limited urban resources primarily jobs. Wilson also makes reference to the work of Albert Hirschman (1970) *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty* as a way to reason how citizens responded to large in-migration of "outsider" ethnic groups. Hirschman's theory is one not confined to in-migration, however, as he devised it as more of an economic principle. Nevertheless, this theory may help provide context to the responses of citizens in Hartford neighborhoods like those who attend MARG meetings. As the title of Hirschman's (1970) book suggests in regards to not just business firms, but also in regards to organizations in general that if the members are dissatisfied they have two real options, the first is to exit the situation, and the second is to voice your dissatisfaction. Where loyalty comes into play is that it is a kind of mitigating factor. One's loyalty might discourage them exiting or even from voicing their dissatisfaction.

In the context of this study it should be noted that exit needs not be physical, but instead a community's apathy to participate in the system maybe their form of exit if for instance they cannot afford to physically move. One might argue that for those still living in Hartford they have selected the voice option, and through organizations like MARG they are letting their voices be heard. If taken in concert with the interview data I have collected the residents overwhelmingly feel that their voices are being heard. It is crucial to note that over the years many residents, mostly Whites comprising of the upper socioeconomic classes have elected the exit option, but for many of those still living in the neighborhood, as I have mentioned, exit was not an option. Instead on account of loyalty and economic constraints, these residents have remained in their Hartford neighborhoods and fought to bring about change and make their neighborhoods safer. The relationship between loyalty and voice in the area governed by MARG seems to be particularly vivid. According to the group's chairperson an overwhelming majority of those that attend the meetings are not only long-term residents, but also homeowners (Yennie 2013). She reasons their strong voice to be a result of the investment they feel in the community (Yennie 2013).

Returning to the research of Sampson (2012), which in some sense speaks to the work of Hirschman (1970), Sampson argues that neighborhoods that maintain organizational life, promote informal social control, and promote shared expectations and trust, as well as where residents share lower levels of perceived disorder and legal and moral cynicism, crime rates are expected to be lower. Furthermore, Wilson (2012) hones the point of Sampson further as it pertains to my research as he supports Sampson's call for "community-level interactions" and other holistic approaches as

opposed to polices of simply moving people out of troubled areas as has been done previously. Wilson (2012) writes, “Consistent with the theory and research of *Great American City*, [Sampson’s] policy initiative would include a focus on strategies to integrate public safety intervention—such as regular meetings of local police and residents to co-identify problems—with broader non-crime policies that address the mediating social processes of social organization” (XII). It is almost like Sampson and the residents of Hartford’s Barry Square and South End are reading from the same book. Sampson’s (2012) eighth chapter extrapolates on this sentiment as he summarizes his argument, “to reframe the civil society debate in terms of collective, rather than individual, action. The overarching thesis is that collective civic engagement has changed rather than declined, with sources that are organizational and spatial rather than interpersonal in nature” (181). Sampson also goes on to describe the positive affects non-profit groups and faith-based initiatives have had, even though these groups are not directly relevant for this study. Sampson (2011) concludes this eighth chapter with hope for the future, “For despite persistent poverty, racial diversity, and other social challenges, community-based organizations strongly predict collective efficacy and collective civic action, durably so. It is not just one type of institution, and indeed churches alone are not the answer, contrary to what some believe. It is the totality of the institutional infrastructure that seems to matter in producing healthy communities” (209).

Community and neighborhood organizations are at the forefront of Sampson’s work, and they help provide both a site for identifying the needs of a neighborhood as well as providing the organizational framework through which to spark change. In

chapter 14, Sampson (2012) goes on to reason how information and resources may be distributed differently among different neighborhoods, “That ties among key institutional leaders form systematic connections of influence within and across communities, and that the emergent structure of these networks bears on our understanding of how cities work” (329). Sampson (2012) goes on to find that, “elite network ties varies considerably across communities,” and perhaps more interestingly, “network properties of social organization among elites are highly persistent over time (1995-2002), despite considerable turnover of the individuals who occupy these positions” (351). Sampson (2012) is not using the term elite here in regards to wealth or SES, but instead in reference to how prominent and powerful members of the community are. Some examples of community elites include community leaders and organizers, pastors, principals, and police commanders. While one might think a neighborhood’s organizational structure and the reaching power of its networking ability to be dependent upon the charisma of an individual leader, Sampson’s (2012) findings point not to the power of intrapersonal relationship among individuals but instead to power and prestige of organizational groups. However, there is certainly interplay between the two. The most compelling finding from this chapter of Sampson (2012) for this research is just how explanatory the “social nature of leadership network structures” are of the well-being of a community as he writes, “controlling for key socio-demographic factors, for example, cohesive leadership structures are directly related to lower rates of violence and teenage births” (352). These are findings that help support Sampson’s (2012) hypothesis of holistic and community based interventions that resonate throughout his work.

Some of Sampson's (2012) theory speaks well to his predecessor Jane Jacobs (1961). Which is no surprise as research on the overwhelming vitality of place is in no short supply. Jane Jacobs (1961) in her work the *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* outlines the shortcomings of urban planners and criticizes their creation of unnatural urban communities from the top down. An analysis of this text will provide a greater context from which to understand the current problems of the city and urban life. It is important to harp on Jacob's (1961) emphasis of the community and community life as these sentiments mesh well with the contentions of this research endeavor. Sampson (2012) speaks to Jacobs in regards to the importance of social order, but in some sense he provides his own twist. Sampson (2012) goes on to write:

From observers of London in the 1800s, such as Charles Booth and Henry Mayhew, to Jane Jacobs' 1961 *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, concerns over "broken windows," crime, and other signs of disorder have been taken as symptomatic of city life. Social disorder is commonly understood to mean public behavior that is considered threatening, like verbal harassment, open solicitation for prostitution, public intoxication, and rowdy groups of young males on the streets. Physical markers of disorder typically refer to graffiti on buildings, abandon cars, garbage in the streets, and the proverbial broken window. (121).

Sampson (2012) juxtaposes his argument to that of stratification theorists, and instead, "[His] thesis is that perceptions of disorder constitute a fundamental dimension of social inequality at the neighborhood level and perhaps larger areas...[That is to say], *shared perceptions of disorder rather than a systematically observed disorder appear to be mechanisms of durable inequality*" (Sampson 2012; 122 and 146). Sampson (2012) is building upon previously held views of physical disorder simply leading to crime, when as he argues it is not at all the disorder that is "seen," but instead it is the disorder that is perceived. To support his hypothesis he examines, Chicago data, "In 2002, for instance, collectively perceived disorder but not observed disorder predicts the homicide rate from 2002-6, all else equal" (Sampson 2012; 147). This is largely what makes the qualitative

data so applicable for this examination of Hartford. I need not count broken windows or examine just how dirty streets are, instead interviews allow a researcher to peer into the perceptions of residents, which according to Sampson (2012) is vital to rationalizing crime rates. Furthermore, Sampson (2012) is attacking the theory of his predecessors as he writes, “If the broken windows theory is correct it is apparently perversely so, and not for the original reasons hypothesized by its authors. Indeed, by popularizing the idea that signs of disorder lead to decline, the theory may have unwittingly promoted self-reinforcing actions in this very direction (e.g., outmigration, increasing poverty), thereby producing what it seeks to avoid” (147).

Returning to Jacobs (1961)’s take on social order, she describes listening to tenants complain of a rectangular lawn at the foot of New York’s East Harlem housing project. The tenants didn’t want that kind of social order they wanted elements of social order that were much more real and tangible like a place to get a cup of coffee. Jacobs (1961) writes, “There is a quality even meaner than outright ugliness or disorder, and this meaner quality is the dishonest mask of pretended order, achieved by ignoring or suppressing the real order that is struggling to exist and to be served” (15). Jacobs speaks the importance of not just applying what works in one neighborhood to every neighborhood, but instead for Jacobs (1961) the listening to the specific needs of residents in a neighborhood is tantamount. This sentiment supports the general importance of community organizations in that they become the voice of specific communities and neighborhoods. The NRZ becomes a site at which the police can hear the voices of its residents and understand the specific kinds of social order they want imposed. As was supported by resident interview after resident interview, when a

citizen feels like their voice is being heard they are going to feel more invested in the community, and this investment manifests itself in countless ways, whether it be through the picking up of garbage, or the calling of the police, or the organizing of neighborhood events this feeling of investment is critical. Jacobs (1961) anticipated the work of Sampson when it comes to safety and trust. In terms of safety in the city, Jacobs (1961) sees the sidewalk as a site for the city to not just come together but act as a place for the further enforcement of social order, “The first thing to understand is that the public peace—the sidewalk and street peace—of cities is not kept primarily by the police, necessary as the police are. It is kept primarily by an intricate, almost unconscious network of voluntary controls and standards among the people themselves, and enforced by the people themselves” (32). Jacobs (1961) furthers this idea of neighborhood residents as the primary enforcers of social order as she writes, “In settlements that are smaller and simpler than big cities controls on acceptable public behavior, if not on crime, seem to operate with greater or lesser success through a web or reputation, gossip approval, disapproval and sanctions, all of which are powerful if people know each other and word travels” (35). Jacobs (1961) addresses the importance of trust in the city as she investigates the importance of “contact” on sidewalks. Jacobs (1961) speaks to the overwhelming importance of trust as she addresses city sidewalk safety, “I mentioned how necessary it is that there should be... an almost unconscious assumption of general street support when the chips are down—when a citizen has to choose, for instance whether he will take responsibility, or abdicate it, in combating barbarism or protecting strangers. There is a short word for this assumption of support: trust” (56). She goes on to describe how this trust is built up over time and used as a means to not merely impose

social order on a community, but as a result also develop feelings of investment in the city's residents.

Prior Research

In 1976 a three-part program known as "The Hartford Program" was initiated. The program set out using Hartford as a laboratory in which through various environmental and institutional changes the researchers hoped to see reduction in residential burglary and street robbery in an urban residential neighborhood, namely North Asylum Hill. The program sought to implement three main techniques, first, the closing and narrowing of residential streets to reduce outside traffic, and "for increasing the residential character of the area" (xviii). Second was the institution of "a neighborhood police unit with a strong relationship to the residents" (xviii), and third "creating and encouraging area organizations to work with the police and to initiate resident efforts to improve the neighborhood and reduce criminal opportunities" (xviii). The researchers sponsored by the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice evaluated the program's effectiveness on follow up in 1979 and in 1982. In 1979 after the program had been in effect for almost a year the researchers found that both the rate of burglary and the resident's perceptions of the rate of burglary both dropped. The researchers cited all three of the program's components for this reduction in crime, but cited, "increased resident use of and efforts to control the neighborhood appeared to be the most important reasons for the initial success of the program" (xviii). Furthermore it was seen that decline of both property crime and residents' fear of crime, "occurred only where the physical design changes were in place, together with the police team and the

citizen organization efforts; they were not apparent in areas without the street changes (South Asylum Hill through 1977 and North Asylum Hill from 1975 to 1976)” (Fowler et. al. 1982: 6). Nevertheless researchers found it vital to follow up with another later study to ensure that these results held true over time (Fowler et. al. 1982). They found it particularly important to longitudinally examine how increased social control, which as a result would impose more social order would impact crime rates (Fowler et. al. 1982). They built upon the work of Lewis et. al. (1980) who demonstrated that social disorder would create fear in its residents. These sentiments feed directly into the work of Sampson (2012) on perceptions of disorder and how they lead to crime and inequality.

It is important to note that much of the thought behind this experiment in Hartford was the uniting of police and residents, whether that be through the community policing program or the neighborhood associations. The researchers realized, “that neither police nor residents can control crime alone. The program was designed to create mechanisms so that police and residents could more effectively work together to reduce criminal opportunities” (Fowler et. al. 1982: 8). This sentiment is reiterated by not only Jacobs (1961), but also today by Hartford residents, community leaders, and police alike. In my interviews this was perhaps one of the most consistent discourses that, “we, [being the police and residents] are in this together,” or that “this is a two way street [between the police and residents]” (Personal Interviews 2012-2013). The researchers further claim, “Before 1973, no approach combining police, citizens and the physical environment had been applied to an existing, residential neighborhood.” (Fowler et. al. 1979; 5). The researchers selected Hartford for three major reasons, they claimed it

resembled many other cities where crime is a major problem, second, “the Hartford Institute of Criminal and Social Justice provided an ideal organization to carry out such experiments” (Fowler et. al. 1982; 7), and third Hartford was a city where not just public interests were calling for the city to address the problem, but also private interests were willing to contribute financial resources to help address solve this immense problem.

Folwer et. al. (1982) conducted a second evaluation of “The Hartford Program” in 1982, again analyzing the effects of the program’s same three major components. The second study showed that the findings in relation to crime were not as positive, as the arrest rates for residential burglary had risen to “pre-program levels,” but the researchers attributed this to significant reductions in the police force between 1977 and 1979—the result of insufficient funding. However Folwer et. al (1982) wrote:

The most significant finding of the re-evaluation is the extent to which North Asylum Hill residents increased in their behaviors and feelings related to informal social control of their neighborhood. Residents reported using the neighborhood more, a better ability to recognize strangers, a much higher incidence of actually intervening in suspicious situations and a markedly increased perception of neighbors as a resource against crime. Every measure related to informal social control was significantly improved in 1979 over pre-program levels. Moreover, there was an accompanying widespread confidence that the neighborhood was growing in strength: people felt that the neighborhood was improving and would continue to improve (v).

Not only do these findings echo the work of Sampson (2012) and Jacobs (1961) in regards to social order and control, but generally speaking the researchers of The Hartford Program claimed their evaluation supported five conclusions. First, environmental design can exhibit positive impacts on a neighborhood, and making a neighborhood more residential, “can have positive effects on the extent to which residents exercise control over a neighborhood area and on the way they feel about their neighborhood and neighbors” (v). Second, “Strengthening informal social control in a neighborhood can have a positive effect on fear of and concerns about crime” (v). Third,

“Fear of crime in an area is more related to the character of a neighborhood than to the actual rates of crime” (v). Fourth, “Increased informal social control in an urban neighborhood does not, by itself, necessarily lead to crime reduction (at least given the period of time evaluated here)” (v). And fifth, “there is correlational evidence that aggressive, effective arrest activity by police may deter crime in a neighborhood area” (v). This research examined both crime rates as well as interview data. They analyzed actual crime rates and the residents' perception of crime and the community in general, all of which served to provide an apt jumping board for my research.

DATA

This study utilizes both qualitative and quantitative data. These data complement each other well as the interview and ethnographic data provide the opportunity to peer into the interworking of MARG as well as the minds of residents in regards to their perceptions on crime, what causes, and what in the community helps curb it. The statistical data on crime rates provide a check on the perceptions of residents. Individual and even group perceptions on crime and the effectiveness of policing can often be influenced by external factors. For instance political events like the hiring of a new police chief or the public promise of more stringent Community Oriented Policing may give residents the sense that crime rates are dropping when in fact they are not. However the inverse is also important to consider. If for example crime is going down, but residents feel like the community is not safe, a problem certainly exists. While this problem may not be of crime per se, some external factor is negatively imposing itself on the lives of those that live in the community. Perhaps crimes are failing to be reported or residents are forced to take such extreme precautions that result in lower crimes. If residents are too scared to leave their homes at night, yes their maybe fewer crimes, but the community is no safer.

The qualitative data are four fold. It was collected in Hartford, CT over the course of eleven months beginning in May 2012 and spanning April 2013. During that time period, I attended nine monthly MARG meetings. Ethnographic notes were taken at each of these monthly MARG meetings. Short interviews were conducted with varied residents at these meetings in the months of December, March, and April. Interviews

were also conducted with a senior member of the police department and the Chairperson of MARG. For reference the physical boundaries of MARG can be seen in Fig. 1 in appendix 1. Furthermore, the following chart outlines the demographics of MARG compared to that of Hartford:

Data based on 2000 Census	MARG	Hartford
Total Population	15,295	124,121
Male	47.7%	47.8%
Female	52.3%	52.2%
Hispanic or Latino	57.8%	40.6%
White Alone	12.9%	38.1%
Black or African American Alone	23.6%	18.8%
Other Non-Hispanic Races	5.7%	2.5%

Table 1. Comparative demographics of MARG and Hartford based on the 2000 Census (NCDB 2003).

Foreign Born				
	Number of Foreign Born	Total Population	Percentage of Population	Concentrations
MARG	3,530	15,295	23.1%	Peru, Italy, Bosnia, Poland, Jamaica
City of Hartford	22,614	124,121	18.6%	Jamaica, Peru, Poland, Italy, Portugal, Guyana, Bosnia, Colombia

Table 2. Comparative statistics regarding foreign-born population for MARG and Hartford based on 2000 Census (NCDB 2003).

These tables illustrate the vast diversity within the neighborhoods that make up MARG.

They also demonstrate that MARG is an area considerably more Hispanic, considerably

less Black or African American, and slightly more White than the rest of Hartford. There was no data available on the specific demographics of those who attend MARG meetings. Though attendance is taken, only names and phone numbers are recorded, no specific demographic information is noted. However it is estimated by Hyacinth Yennie, MARG’s chairperson, that about 70% of attendees are White, with a majority of the remaining 30% Black, and only a small number of Hispanic or Latino members (Yennie 2013).

Age of Population in 2000				
	Number of MARG Residents in Age Range	Percentage of MARG Residents in Age Range	Number of Hartford Residents in Age Range	Percentage of Hartford Residents in Age Range
0-19 years	5,370	35.1%	41,162	33.9%
20-34 years	3,600	23.5%	29,490	24.3%
35-64 years	4,858	31.8%	39,338	32.4%
65+ years	1,467	9.6%	11,588	9.5%

Table 3. Comparative Age demographics of MARG and Hartford based on 2000 Census (NCDB 2003).

MARG is overwhelmingly a younger area as is the city generally with 58.6% of residents under the age of 34, yet based on ethnographic observations nearly all MARG meeting attendees are older than 35. Furthermore, those who appear over age 65 constitute far more than 9.6% of meeting attendees. I would estimate that approximately 40%-60% of those present at meetings are over age 65. The following table explaining housing characteristics might help shed light on this observation.

Housing	MARG	Hartford
# Housing Units	5,959	50,644
# Occupied Housing Units	5,487	44,986
% Household living at current address <1 year	54.5%	28.1%
% Housing Units built before 1950	59.2%	47.2%
% Housing Owner-Occupied	26.2%	24.6%
% Housing Rental	73.8%	75.4%
% Renters paying >30% of Income on Housing	47.0%	44.5%
# Single-family detached units	738	7,264
# Owner-occupied single-family detached units	547	6,039
# Single-family attached units	207	1,996
# Owner-occupied single-family attached units	72	644
# Two- and three- and four-family units	2,753	16,074
# Owner-occupied two- and three- and four-family units	715	3,569
# Five or more family units (including mobile homes)	1,789	19,652

Table 4. Comparative housing characteristics of MARG and Hartford (NCDB 2003).

What is most striking about MARG’s housing demographics is the overwhelming number of renters and those living at their current address less than a year. Yennie estimates that “most of the people that attend our meetings are long time residents, and 99% of them are homeowners,” (Yennie 2013). On follow up Yennie reiterated that she was not speaking in hyperbole. The data I collected supports Yennie’s claim, as the average time the random sample of residents I interviewed had been living in the community was 27 years with the median length of 32 years. All of the residents I interviewed were also homeowners. Yennie reasoned the demographics of this kind of

participation were not the result of new residents being unaware of the meetings, as she says:

I walk the street and if find somebody I ask them where they live, how long they been in the neighborhood, will they join the group and come to the meetings and if you have concerns let's talk about them and address it. Yeah there are a couple of them who moved in the last year or so that come to the meeting its like I heard it from somebody, but otherwise its people I've built a relationship with. I do my phone calls every month to remind them because even though I put it in the Hartford news and I used to put it in the *Courant* but I don't know how many people read that especially those residents I have so I don't put it there anymore. And then I do a little public access TV show and mention it there sometimes.

Yennie went on to describe the reasons why so many long term home owning residents attend her meetings, "It's about investment they feel invested in the community and when you feel invested you participate in things" (Yennie 2013).

Median Household Income			
	1980	1990	2000
MARG		\$37,720	\$26,755
City of Hartford	\$27,411	\$30,378	\$25,150

Table 5. Median household income based on 2000 Census (NCDB 2003).

Poverty	MARG	Hartford
# People Living in Poverty	4,310	35,741
% People Living in Poverty	28.2%	30.6%
% Children Living as less than 100% Federal Poverty Level	39.7%	40.3%
Unemployment		
2000 Unemployment Level	13.0%	9.1%

Table 6. Comparative unemployment and Poverty levels for MARG and Hartford (NCBD 2003).

Family Characteristics		
	MARG	Hartford
% Children, Living With 2 Parents-No Parent in Labor Force	4.4%	3.9%
% Children, Living With 2 Parents-One Parent in Labor Force	13.8%	8.0%
% Children, Living With 2 Parents- Both Parents in Labor Force	23.1%	17.8%
% Children, Living With 1 Parent- Parent in Labor Force	34.8%	45.0%
% Children, Living With 1 Parent- Parent not in Labor Force	23.9%	25.2%

Table 7. Comparative family characteristics for MARG and Hartford (NCBD 2013).

Furthermore, this descriptive data demonstrate that the neighborhood can be categorized as working class. Personal observations over the nine monthly meetings, which I attended, substantiate the data, as well as Yennie’s estimate (Yennie 2013). In addition to interviews with eight varied neighborhood residents who attend neighborhood association meetings, I also conducted interviews with Hyacinth Yennie the chairperson of MARG, and with Lieutenant Robert Allan the Southeast district commander of the Hartford police department where MARG is located. Interview questions for Yennie, Allan, and the varied residents can be found in Appendix 3. Interview questions revolved around the independent variables of social order, informal social control, effectiveness of the neighborhood association, and relationship with their CSO. Dependent variable questions were in regards to crime rates and perceptions of crime. Other questions included were those pertaining to personal background and general life in the community. These questions were largely guided by the work of Sampson (2012) in an effort to follow up upon his findings in the context of a Hartford neighborhood.

The reasoning for selecting this population was two-fold. First this was a neighborhood association with which through my institution, Trinity College, I had networking connections. At the first meeting I attended I was introduced, by a professor from Trinity College, members of the Police Department and to Yennie, and without her help this research would have been impossible. It was through her connections and vast network that I was able to develop relationships with members of the police, as well neighborhood residents many of whom were interviewed for this study. One might argue that in the first few meetings, in which I was present, both police and residents alike saw me as an outsider, but once I had shown my investment in MARG as well as my relationship with Yennie those included in this study proved far more open, reflective, and generally helpful. The second reason MARG proved to be a prime case to study was because of its prestige among neighborhood associations, as has been mentioned previously police and residents alike have ranked it as one of if not the best Neighborhood Revitalization Group (NRZ) in Hartford (Allan 2013; Resident Interviews 2012; Resident Interviews 2013). The purpose of this research was to gain an understanding of how a specific case operated, and what makes this case so extraordinary. Though attempts were made to observe other NRZs they were not without problems. In attempting to attend a few of these other meetings it became apparent that they were poorly or incorrectly advertised. For example one NRZs website had an incorrect location for their meeting, and when the true location was uncovered, I found that the location had been reserved, but only a few members of the fire department were present. This may be indicative of a disorganization that is not seen in MARG. It would have been fruitful to deeply examine other neighborhood organizations not only in

Hartford, but in other cities as well, however given the constraints on time and resources such an endeavor would not have been possible.

Two types of quantitative data were gathered. First citywide crime data was gathered for the years spanning 1981-2009 gathered by the Hartford police department. Data for 2010 was collected from the FBI's Uniform Crime Report (UCR). This data included the city's population for each year and the number of Part 1 crimes committed. Part 1 Crimes include murder, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, and motor vehicle theft. The neighborhood level data for the years 2006-2010 (which was the most recent neighborhood level data available), was again gathered from the Hartford police department. This data was broken down by both district and neighborhood, and included the number of various Part 1 Crimes committed. For 2005 only the total number of Part 1 Crimes was available. Analyzing neighborhood level data from 1990-2010 may have been more beneficial for this study. In addition, analyzing even more recent neighborhood level data would also have proven helpful, but the Hartford Police Department were either unable or unwilling to make either of those data sets available. Nevertheless, considering that community policing emerged around 1973 and continued to evolve into the deep rooted and effective community policing seen today, the 1981-2010 citywide crime data would help give context to this analysis. Furthermore given that Yennie took over MARG in 2004, and that the perceptions of the residents I interviewed were focused on the now it seemed appropriate enough to examine neighborhood level data from this period (Yennie 2013).

METHODS

The qualitative data was coded with 17 codes using the program Atlas.ti as well as coding by hand in Microsoft word using the comments feature. The data that was coded included ethnographic notes, resident interviews, as well as interviews with Yennie and Lt. Allan. Decisions for coding terms and sentiments were influenced by the independent and dependent variables. In an effort to address crime rates interviews and ethnographic notes were coded for citizens' perceptions pertaining to crime rates as either having gone up or having gone down. Examining citizens' perception of crime rates as simply staying the same proved to be not existent in this study. As Sampson (2012) demonstrated, factors like social organization, social order, shared expectations of trust, perceptions of crime and disorder, and legal and moral cynicism all play a crucial role not just in resident's perceptions of crime, but also in influencing actual crime rates. After analyzing the interviews it became clear that three other sentiments remained vivid in the minds of not only residents, but the police and Yennie alike. These were accountability, the community court, and development in the community. While these attributes are in a sense subsets of some of the broader codes developed it became clear that those interviewed found them particularly crucial to the overall quality of life in their neighborhood, and as such all of these became coded attributes. The interview data was also coded to how the resident perceived the effectiveness of the neighborhood group as either "effective" or "ineffective." In an effort to analyze interviewees perceptions of community policing and the CSOs, this study examined opinions on both community policing in general, as well whether residents thought of

their relationship with the CSOs as a positive or negative. When it came to the commitment of the neighborhood association I coded not only for perceptions regarding the effectiveness of neighborhood associations, but also in regards to the importance of an organizations' leader in getting things accomplished. Furthermore the code list can be found attached in appendix two.

Quantitative data can complement the kinds of ethnographic and interview data I have collected well. It can help give a context and serve to support or contradict the perceptions and opinions of individuals. However, such data can also serve to confuse things or in some cases tell an incomplete story. Crime data, in particular, are notoriously unreliable. For example a neighborhood that is particularly committed to fighting crime will take an active role in reporting any infractions even the smallest. Where one neighborhood might consider leaving a cell phone on a restaurant table larceny another neighborhood may consider it just bad luck. To further that point, neighborhoods where crime may run rampant could bring about cynical inhabitants who have become so frustrated with a failing system that they choose not to report crimes. Nevertheless it can generally serve as a good indicator of crime levels.

While quantifiable aspects of the independent variables were largely unavailable, and given this study's focus on one particular case it seemed most appropriate to examine the crime data in a broad sense. That broad sense being the rate of Part 1 Crimes in general over time, both on the citywide scale and in a comparative sense across neighborhoods. Using the Hartford police department's yearly population data the rate of property crimes was computed per capita so as to be remaining constant despite population changes as well as provide it some comparative validity in regards to

the neighborhood level data. For the neighborhood level I selected areas both with relatively high crime rates compared to the rest of Hartford, as well as areas holding somewhat similar characteristics. While the neighborhoods are relatively similar in population, data was not available for the neighborhoods' particular population from year to year. To compensate for differences in population I utilized 2010 US Census data for each neighborhood, and then calculated the rate of Part 1 Crimes per capita using the reported 2010 population. The neighborhoods that were selected were Barry Square and the South End because MARG includes parts of each. It is important to note that MARG encompasses a very large portion of Barry Square, but only relatively smaller slice of the South End. For comparative purposes the residential neighborhoods of Asylum Hill, Frog Hollow, and Parkville were selected. All the neighborhoods are in relatively close proximity and maintain similar demographics.

Comparative Demographics	Barry Square	South End	Asylum Hill	Frog Hollow	Park-Ville	Down-Town
Population	15,512	12,053	10,179	9,476	5,206	1,852
%Household living at current address <1 year	33.7%	23.8%	38.0%	41.5%	35.6%	28.6%
% Housing Units built before 1950	50.7%	59.0%	30.2%	50.0%	64.5%	44.0%
% Housing Owner-Occupied	17.3%	37.3%	8.9%	7.3%	18.9%	23.7%
% Housing Rental	82.7%	62.7%	91.1%	92.7%	81.1%	76.3%
% Renters paying >30% of Income on Housing	46.7%	42.4%	46.9%	46.2%	48.9%	40.1%
Median Family Income	\$25,203	\$32,218	\$18,941	\$18,528	\$27,065	\$25,625
% Hispanic/Latino	56.2%	46.4%	29.9%	71.5%	60.4%	36.7%
% White non-Hispanic	24.2%	34.6%	13.7%	10.9%	18.1%	46.4%
% African American non-Hispanic	13.8%	11.6%	50.2%	13.1%	12.9%	12.0%
% Asian non-Hispanic	1.8%	1.2%	1.5%	1.4%	4.5%	3.9%
% other non-Hispanic	5.1%	6.1%	4.8%	3.1%	4.1%	1.0%

Table 8. Comparative Neighborhood characteristics and demographics. Population Data (U.S. Census 2010). Accompanying Data (U.S. Census 2000).

This data demonstrate the general consistency seen across all six neighborhoods particularly in terms of housing and income. If anything the South End is a neighborhood of slightly more means as it maintains the highest family income and the highest percentage of homes that are occupied by their owner. While the data may not directly demonstrate that Downtown is the anomaly it certainly is. Its low population and general dynamics ensure its difference. Downtown is a place where the wealthy

from all over the state come to work during the day, but leaving it as “a ghost town” at night (Personal Interviews 2013). It is a place where there is no strong sense of residential community nor strong residential neighborhood organizations, but nevertheless given its central location and its attraction to visitors it is a neighborhood looked after quite closely by the police.

RESULTS

Together this data should mesh to demonstrate that neighborhoods that have higher perceptions of social order, maintain the most committed neighborhood organizations, and have the best relationships with their CSOs tend to experience lowest crime rates.

For the eight interviews I conducted with residents who attended MARG meetings, the results of coding were as follows (Table 9, Appendix 1.).

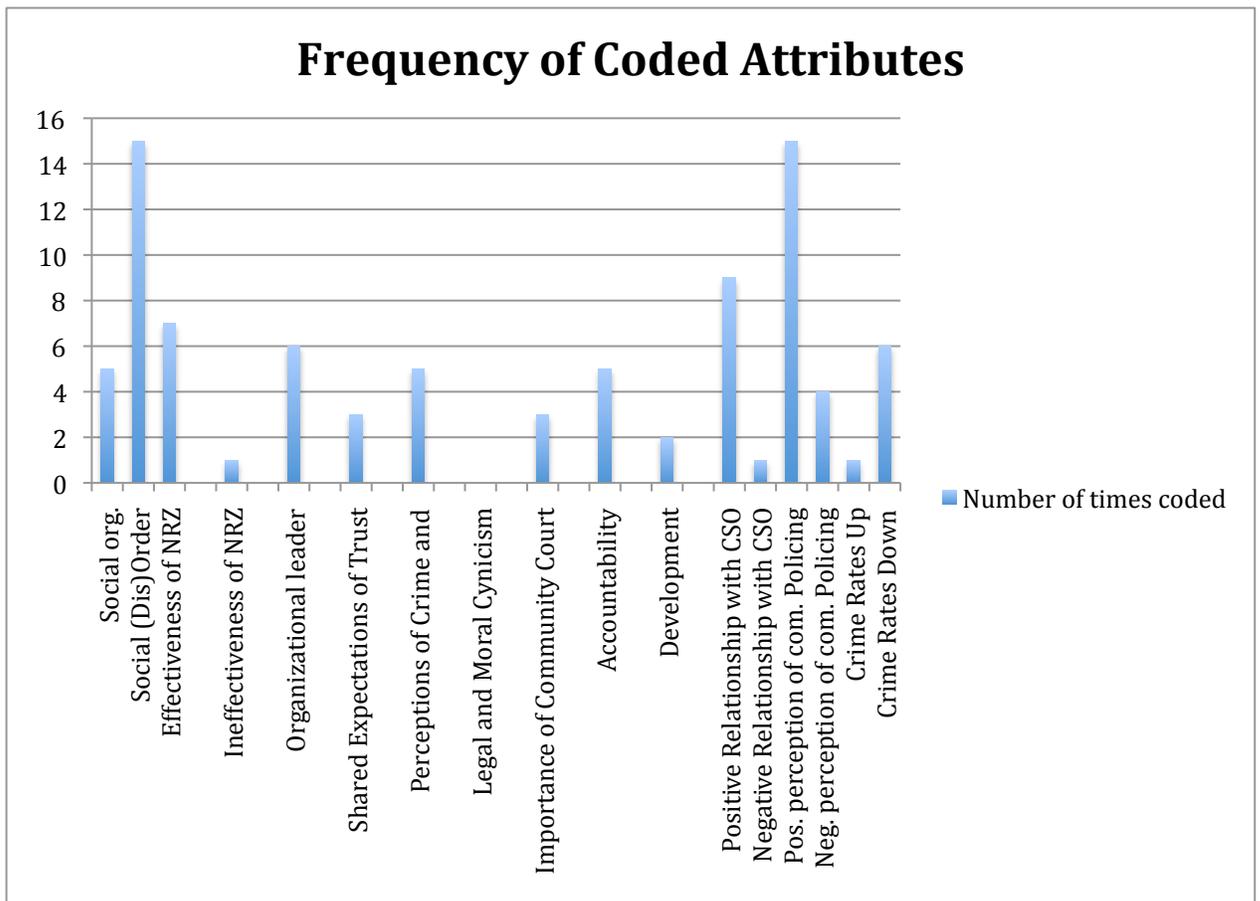


Figure 1. Coded terms appearing in interviews among eight residents.

The abundance of positive relationships residents have with their CSO and their general positive view of community based policing quickly became apparent.

One resident who has been living in the community for 49 years described how he viewed the progression of police in Hartford though this older gentleman maintained a mildly cynical opinion of the police, which was unusual compared to the other interviewees. He romanticized his younger days remembering how in 1959, “I didn’t even lock my doors,” but as times changed so did the police as he reflected, “Long ago it used to be more walking beats, then they were all in cars, and now, now with the CSOs it is surprising how much they know about the community.” These comments were the most cynical towards found in any of the interviews. They were so mild that I decided they did not even constitute being coded as “Legal and Moral Cynicism.” In fact, that code was only code never to be utilized. This lack of cynicism in the community points to a general collective efficacy according to Sampson (2012). An elderly Hispanic woman who had been living in the community sometime between 10-15 years explained that, “It’s great the police always attend the meetings we can hold them accountable, [and when] you see the CSOs and you can get responses.” This sentiment of accountability and its effect on the CSOs and crime is echoed again and again as one woman originally from Jamaica told me, “The same neighbors are always showing up [to the meetings] and holding the police and everybody accountable.” When asked about how she perceived crime rates in her community, and what she thought of that sense of accountability regarding the CSOs she responded, “Yeah they are being held accountable, [crime] seems like its going down.” As is demonstrated by Figure 1, accountability was something often repeated by residents in interviews, and those same

sentiments were echoed in open MARG meetings time and time again. This accountability not only manifests itself during community meetings but is seen in citizens' and CSOs' daily lives. As has been mentioned previously MARG bought and pays for work cell phones for their CSOs and this gesture helps ensure they are accountable as one elderly female resident who has lived in the community for 32 years said, "The CSOs are excellent they always answer their phone...[and furthermore] the CSO's have been working very well, especially over the last four years." Yet another elderly white, male resident who has been living in the neighborhood over 30 years reiterates this point, "If you call the CSOs you get stuff done." The same man went on to say, "crime seems to be down over the last two to three years, and the CSOs have had a huge impact." Lt. Allan helps to point out some reasons why the residents of the area have such glowing perceptions of their CSOs:

Down here they love them and that's because they grew up here. They have an advantage over almost every other neighborhood out there. Very few CSOs grew up in the neighborhood they work in. I was fortunate enough early on to recognize we need to latch onto these guys for this area and make it work. You have to remember a lot of these people, because this is an older neighborhood, they've seen these kids grow up here, become teenagers, go to college, come back, become police officers here where they grew up... So I have had the opportunity to mostly surround myself with officers who are from Hartford who grew up in this neighborhood down here so they truly have a vested interest in being a community service officer

And Lt. Allan is correct in his assertion. The citizens maintain very similar opinions when it comes to the CSOs. In response to a question asking what makes the CSOs so effective, a white female resident living in the community for 32 years replied, "[CSO] Sposito's family lives on Maple. He knows the people that live here. He's invested in the community." It's these kind of factors that help make the area that MARG governs so extraordinary.

The CSOs also help eliminate perceptions of social disorder. In fact based on my observations of community meetings this has become one of their most daunting tasks. At the April 2013 meeting, as is the custom, Yennie asks the group if there is any good news to report, and in addition to the numerous other bits of news one gentleman stood up and praised the CSOs and Lt. Allan, “I have excellent news, I talked to the CSOs and our street got cleaned.” After a pause for applause from the room, he continued, “The CSOs got the basketball hoop off Otis street to.” A middle aged woman reiterated some of the issues with imposing social order, when asked about her opinion regarding the CSOs she told me, “[they are] stopping the loitering so that’s positive.” At one meeting the Hartford’s new Deputy Chief Luis Rodriguez pointed out, “The CSOs made sure every street light on the side streets are lit.” This statement was met with great applause from those in attendance. Though some residents are still troubled by the lack of social order generally, as a nine year resident and board member of MARG said in an interview, “I am more alarmed by the petty crimes like illegal parking and the trash bins always on the sidewalk. You drive by the schools when the kids are getting out and its chaos.” Its these kinds of sentiments that speak to the work of Sampson (2012) pertaining to perceptions of disorder, and the importance of combating such perceptions. But the indirect references to social order from police and residents alike appear constantly. When asked if there is one thing they could change about the community Yennie and Lt. Allan resonate largely the same sentiments, as Lt.

Allan said:

Every community group that I go to I never hear about the robberies or the murders or the shootings. I hear about the motor vehicle lawlessness in the city of Hartford. It’s frustrating, even pedestrians walking out in front of you, crossing the street whenever they want. They spent millions and millions of dollars on walk signals downtown. Nobody follows them. Millions. When one person steps out and stops the flow of traffic it’s a domino effect all the

way down the street. It's ridiculous. I came from the traffic division as a patrolman, as a sergeant and all I did was write tickets all day long. You see how many people are killed and hurt in the city of Hartford. That is one thing I would change is everybody follow the rules.

Yennie mirrored this same idea of social disorder leading to even bigger problems:

I would like to see all our streets clean. I say to people you may be poor, but if you are clean it kind of covers everything up, but if you are poor and your street is dirty it makes everything worse you know. What I do is I walk on Maple Avenue every evening and if I see people have things on the pole I tear them off. I tell people I don't want any commercial signs or posters or anything on the avenue. If you go to Franklin there are tons of posters there. On Maple there are none and if there are its because I didn't see them there because I tear them down and I pick up the trash because I don't like litter. The country I come from as poor as people are people almost eat off the floor so why is it like we are like that. I talked to the Mayor and said you are going to have this litter campaign you need to have it every day not just once a year because our children need to learn about cleaning.

It is not only Yennie who feels this way about clean streets as a male resident living in the community for over 30 years said, "The streets being cleaner has had a huge impact on crime to [in addition to the CSOs]." This indication that social order is being improved is crucial for this study.

Yennie then goes on to address the city's failure to impose social order and control:

I just want to see things right people following the rules and the city enforcing things that's a big problem the city doesn't enforce anything they put a lot of things on paper and say we have an ordinance but its not enforced Like I have an issue with this guy...I complained last year I go around he has all these banners on his building by zone that's illegal if he does that why don't everybody else do that. You don't go to West Hartford or Wethersfield and see people with banners up on their building.

According to those interviewed the CSOs could not have dealt with these quality of life issues and issues of social disorder alone, but the establishment of Community Courts played an important role as Yennie says:

A couple of years ago in the early 90s we had a lot of issues that weren't being addressed in the community so one of the things we did was the police would come to the meetings and say hey what do you want me to do I arrest them and they are back on the street next day and they say what do we do from there well they day you need to talk to the prosecutors and the judges because we put them in and they let them right back out so in one of our community meetings we were like we heard about this court in New York that addressed these kind of quality life issues so a couple of us decided we were going to take a trip there see how things were going

on. It was a community court it wasn't the big court with all those cases all those quality of life cases went to a community court and they addressed it more personally so they aren't just thrown out on the street anymore the prostitution the loitering the urination the drinking oh my god I see so much change before the community court. I see so many people peeing on the street, sitting down drinking, loitering, panhandling, and all those things when we got that community court in place the partnership with the police and the community court and the neighborhood has changed drastically because now we have more partners.

Lt. Allan on the other hand sees Hartford, and not New York as the model for the community Court. While Community Courts in New York City and Portland, OR preceded Hartford's version one may still argue that Hartford has become the model for Community Courts nationwide (The Justice Education Center Inc. 2002). Nevertheless they could not agree more as to its central importance in community policing. In the words of Lt. Allan:

The model for a community court for the whole nation was the Hartford Community Court...The long and the short of it is we target people that are committing quality of life offences and instead of sending them to big boy court where nothing is going to happen we send them to community court where the judge knows everybody from here. Judge Norko knows everybody. He knows how many times you've been to court and guess what? You're going to go pick up trash for three days in the neighborhood where you committed the offense. It's awesome. It's a great resource. They also have access to programs; drugs, alcohol, domestic violence, job corps, training programs and stuff like that. I'm not going to blow smoke up your ass. People that are committing 30 offenses in a ten-year span aren't all of a sudden going to say, 'I'm going to clean my life up.' It's the person that's had one, two, three, four and they need a push in the right direction. When there's the possibility for that community court is perfect.

This push towards true rehabilitation and not merely punishment and mass incarceration is something America needs more of, and it seems to be working in a city like Hartford where crime once ran rampant. The Community Court and the courts in general also work with the CSOs to help reduce recidivism. They have recently developed the PROSPER program which works in concert with Community Oriented Policing. Lt. Allan describes how this program helps make Hartford's Community Oriented Policing practice so exemplary:

Hartford is leaps and bounds ahead of other cities and communities as far as Community Oriented Policing goes. We do a PROSPER thing where our CSOs are paired up with people that are recently paroled or on probation where they are checking in on them on a weekly basis

letting them know that, 'hey not only are we watching you but if you have an issue we might have resource to help you. Are you serious about getting a job?' Yeah there is job core and there are all those programs out there but sometimes it takes that community service officer knowing of somebody near them because he doesn't own a car and he has a suspended license and he cant be driving, saying 'hey this is in walking distance and I know the guy I'll give you a break but if you mess up not only are you messing up the job you are messing up with me and I check on you every week.' That's really progressive compared to what other places are doing.

It is this kind of innovative thinking that will help reduce crime in cities. Obviously the locking of people up and forgetting about them has been tried in jurisdiction after jurisdiction, and in the United States in particular it has been show to fail time and time again. We need more innovative techniques like these to make criminal justice appear like something closer to justice. Especially when governments are operating with such limited funding it is vital that every dollar be used as effectively as possible, and mass incarceration is only feeding this expensive problem.

While residents who attend MARG meetings refer to the Community Courts, only occasionally, less than they do, say social order for example, the court's coordinator Chris Pleasanton provides a report at every meeting, to which the residents always appear interested. Whether Hartford's particular Community Court has become the model or not, it still remains a critical aspect of Community Policing and a crucial tool for implementing social order. One woman who has been living in the neighborhood for 10-15 years and has been attending MARG meetings for three years summarizes the importance of social order best, "When the streets are clean and we see development, the crime goes down. It makes neighbors accountable it also encourages the police to enforce the rules of nuisance." What seems to resonate here is that when people perceive their neighborhood to be clean and orderly it will make everyone more accountable, and that accountability can manifest itself in numerous ways including the holding of the police to a higher standard by not only the public, but also themselves.

Some indications would point to the theory that MARG and its CSOs are particularly extraordinary as one middle aged woman from the Caribbean, who just recently finished college explained, “I’m not even from the neighborhood, I don’t know my CSOs, some guys were vandalizing my property and Hyacinth [Yennie] and these CSOs got it taken care of.” Such an experience of those from other neighborhoods coming to MARG meetings to voice their problems is not unusual as when asked if her organization was one of the best in Hartford, Yennie responded:

It stands out, as a matter of fact people come to our NRZ and say that they have learned how to run an NRZ...Some of them come from other neighborhoods and if they are not doing the job as you may have heard there’s a lady who comes [to our meeting] and complains about what’s not happening and after she came to our meeting and told our CSOs she called me and said ‘Hyacinth I saw the cop and I stopped and talked to him’ and I said, ‘That’s the first thing you have to know who your CSO is in your neighborhood,’ and she said I don’t know I’ve never seen him.

Furthermore at the April 2013 meeting a member from the South Green NRZ was even in attendance. These kinds of anecdotes point to just how exceptional and effective MARG is. This sentiment of MARG being “one of the best neighborhood groups in the city” was emphasized by not only Yennie herself, but by Lt. Allan and numerous residents alike. One of the aspects of the relationship between police and residents that make this particular NRZ so effective is that both remember it is a “two way street.” That phrase, whether thrown around in meetings or discussions with Lt. Allan, Yennie, or residents it was always something being talked about. The police especially in a community policing scheme cannot be effective if the relationship with residents is not strong. The CSOs cannot be aware of even most of the quality of life issues that plague a neighborhood. Instead they need to be informed by the public. But the two way street does not end here, it is also up to the residents to take the precautions prescribed by the

police to help prevent crime. Yennie helps to further describe the dynamic of this “two-way street”:

You see our lieutenant and he knows what going on in the neighborhood and he tells us how you can prevent this from happening in your house and wherever and I think that's crime prevention when he can tell you what you should do don't leave your windows cracked and don't leave you AC in the window and keep you windows locked and all the stuff you need to do to keep yourself safe so they are educating people and that's a lot to say for what the PD can do.

The police criticized some of the other NRZs for not taking such an active role in preventing crime. They mentioned that at certain meetings they simply stand at the front only to be berated by statements insinuating a lack of effort. The police spoke about some of the other groups simply expect the police to prevent crime on their own without any help from residents who say, “That's not my job.” According to Lt. Allan the commitment of residents is tantamount to reducing crime rates. When I inquired about what are the most important factors in reducing crime rates he replied:

Number one would be the committed to the cause. Two would be the relationship with the CSOs. If they're not willing to help with change I don't care how great the relationship with the CSO is. I've seen plenty of CSOs that know everybody in the neighborhood but the neighborhood isn't telling them anything. Nothing real. 'There's a stolen car behind that building.' Big deal. We would have found it anyway. I don't want to know about a stolen car that's been there for three days. I'm just going to tow it and move it from the property but it's not helping you.' When you're telling me, 'This guy's been looking into cars, we see him walking around at night, he always goes behind this building,' that's what we need to know. The commitment is the highest priority. The relationship with the community service officers is a close second though.

Clearly in the eyes of Lt. Allan an active citizenry is crucial to the curbing of crime, and that is why this “two-way street” idea is so crucial in impinging upon crime. This sentiment also feeds into the idea of how effective accountable and invested residents and police can be. This idea of keeping crime rates down through a “two-way street” between residents and police embodies the argument of Jacobs (1961) in the sense that the police can only play a role in maintaining street peace. It is the citizenry who must

be active and vigilant in helping maintain order. This is part of the importance of a neighborhood association. It brings individuals together so that they may see a common goal, but also allows them to develop a collective voice through, which to pursue that goal. If people feel like they are getting things done they cannot help but feel accountable and invested and as a result take pride in their community. Furthermore, Lt. Allan address other aspects that make MARG such a remarkable NRZ:

The Maple Avenue one...should be the model in the city for how it's done. It's not. Neighborhood groups often times will get funding from the state or from the city or grants and that changes them very quickly and there's a lot of infighting and there are a lot of disagreements. Sometimes there's no strong leadership or sometimes everybody wants to be the leader, nobody wants to be the background guy just helping out. MARG has a pretty good system in place; you've got Hyacinth Yennie, who was born in Jamaica, moved here, realized the potential for this neighborhood and opened a business in this neighborhood when the business that she opened would do much better in West Hartford, in a suburban area instead of an urban area. She's dedicated and people see that. It's not self-serving. She's not trying to run for political office. There's no ulterior motive with her. I think that's so key to having a group that works and to stay focused on the group. They also, the board for an NRZ, is important on getting the message on how to address problems. When they have a problem with the condition of the streets they have public works come to the meeting, the director of public works, instead of coming to us and complaining. I know I mentioned that before but it didn't always happen like that. The CSO was the catch all for every problem and it's not productive. That's key in being successful: knowing the people that live and work there, having them be a part of the group, prioritizing what you want your mission to be.

Not only do these words point to the importance of an organizational leader, but also the relationship between the police and the community. This kind of relationship and the development of an effective NRZ cannot happen overnight however. Yennie describes how she took over MARG in 2004:

At my first meeting was like 20 people. I have a great relationship with my residents and the relationship is really great when people are organized. People don't get it that you don't just tell people to come to a meeting and then don't see them until the next one its about building relationships. People feel committed when they have that feeling of relationship and that's what organizing is about. A lot of people miss out on that thinking that well I'll just put a flyer out there and they come. It doesn't work like that. I call my members every month and they will call me in between the months and talk about stuff that's happening or not happening and stuff like that. So I took over and started building it. So I build it from 20 to 30 and it keeps going and going and going and now Ill have maybe 100 or 75 on a regular basis at a monthly meeting.

But showing up is only part of the task, and the group is continuing to grow and evolve, and it is not just Yennie who is witnessing the evolution. Lt. Allan has been on the other side of it seeing things from a criminal justice standpoint, but nevertheless he still is able to support the thoughts of Yennie describing just how productive MARG has become:

You've seen these groups evolve and I use Maple Avenue because they're the group that I'm impressed with the most because I've witnessed them evolve over the years, came from a meeting to address quality of life issues that evolved into, 'We're doing really well. Crime is going down because you're taking responsibility for your neighbors. Look out for your neighbors. Trust your instincts.' Stuff that I was really driving home to them over the last couple years. Now they're having a neighborhood party and it went from all of our time was consumed with trying to address these quality of life issues to, 'Hey, we've made some progress with this and through it we've become friends and have relationships. How are your kids doing? What are they up to?' Those bonds are made and it came to we're not just here for meetings anymore let's have community day which we held at the Webster Theater for two years in a row and it evolved from a couple hundred people to last year it was almost a thousand.

These relationships that an organizer builds were her constituency helps keep residents accountable and invested. Perhaps at the very least after her phone calls, and given the relationship she has developed with individuals its possible they attend the meetings out of a sense of guilt (though I think that is not the case), but even so part of bringing about change is merely showing up. The more people that attend her meetings the more power the organization can wield. When the mayor, or state representatives, or the police chief sit down in the basement of St. Augustine's Church they see the faces of numerous concerned citizens. While those voices may go unheard alone together they wield tremendous power. It is quite a sight when a State Senator goes on about some development program that is not truly in the interest of Barry Square and the South End only to be quickly shut down by Yennie. She realizes the power that she has ascertained, and she wields it in the interest of her community. Now it is not just the municipal government, but also the government on a state level that is working with

Hartford's NRZs. At the April 2013 meeting State Senator Fonfara who represents Hartford spoke about how they had plans to get cameras monitored by police in neighborhoods citywide similar to programs in place in other major cities, like Chicago's PODs (Police Observation Device) program. This initiative urged by Hartford's NRZs will be implemented, according to Fonfara, with the help of the Hartford Police Department as well as the NRZs with all of these groups "sitting at the table" together deciding the areas of greatest need. It is obvious just how influential a neighborhood association can be, in particular one of MARG's stature and prestige.

Based on the anecdotes of Lt. Allan, who currently attends ten different NRZ meetings, Yennie MARG's chair, and the numerous residents interviewed it is clear that as far as Hartford goes MARG is one of if not the most committed NRZs in the city. It is also evident that MARG has a deep rooted and vibrant relationship with their CSOs who are also from the neighborhood. Given the glowing reports Yennie and other residents give regarding their CSOs, and considering that residents from other neighborhoods come to MARG meetings to make their problems known to the Barry Square and South End CSOs, and given that these CSOs have at times addressed these problems it seems fair to say that MARG residents also maintain some of the best relationships with their CSOs in the city. While it is difficult to measure the social order and informal social control, residents report that the neighborhood demonstrates more social order than it has before. Furthermore, residents of MARG take pride in keeping their neighborhood in order and given that their main complaints to the CSOs revolve around maintaining social order it is fair to argue that in comparison to other communities MARG has succeeded on this front as well. While nearly all of residents

interviewed have reported that they perceive crime rates to be declining, it is important to substantiate these claims in actual crime data so as to not only see if crime is declining in Barry Square and the South End, but also to see how crime in these neighborhoods that fall under the umbrella of MARG compare with other similar communities.

To begin this quantitative analysis let us examine the Part 1 crime trends across the city since 1981 around the time Community Policing hit the scene, and began its long and storied evolution that has been detailed throughout this study.

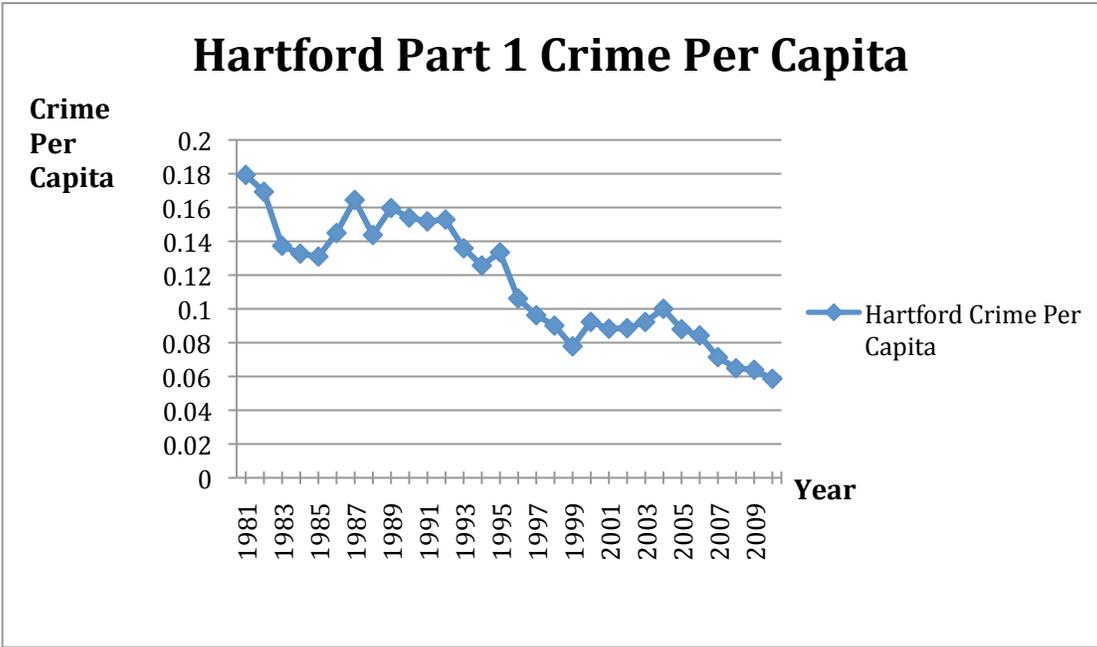


Figure 2. Harford Per Capita Part 1 Crime Data. 1981-2010.

It is apparent crime has dropped quite steadily over the 29 years from 1981-2010. Crime in 2010 is about 67% less than what it was in 1981 that is quite an incredible drop.

Hartford has done well to cope with the crime accredited to deindustrialization,

unemployment, and declined property prices, and the evolution of Community Oriented Policing most certainly played a pivotal role. Perhaps what is more important than Hartford's citywide crime rates is how various neighborhoods have fared more recently. First it is vital to examine how the Part 1 crime rates in Barry Square and the South End have fared from 2005-2010.

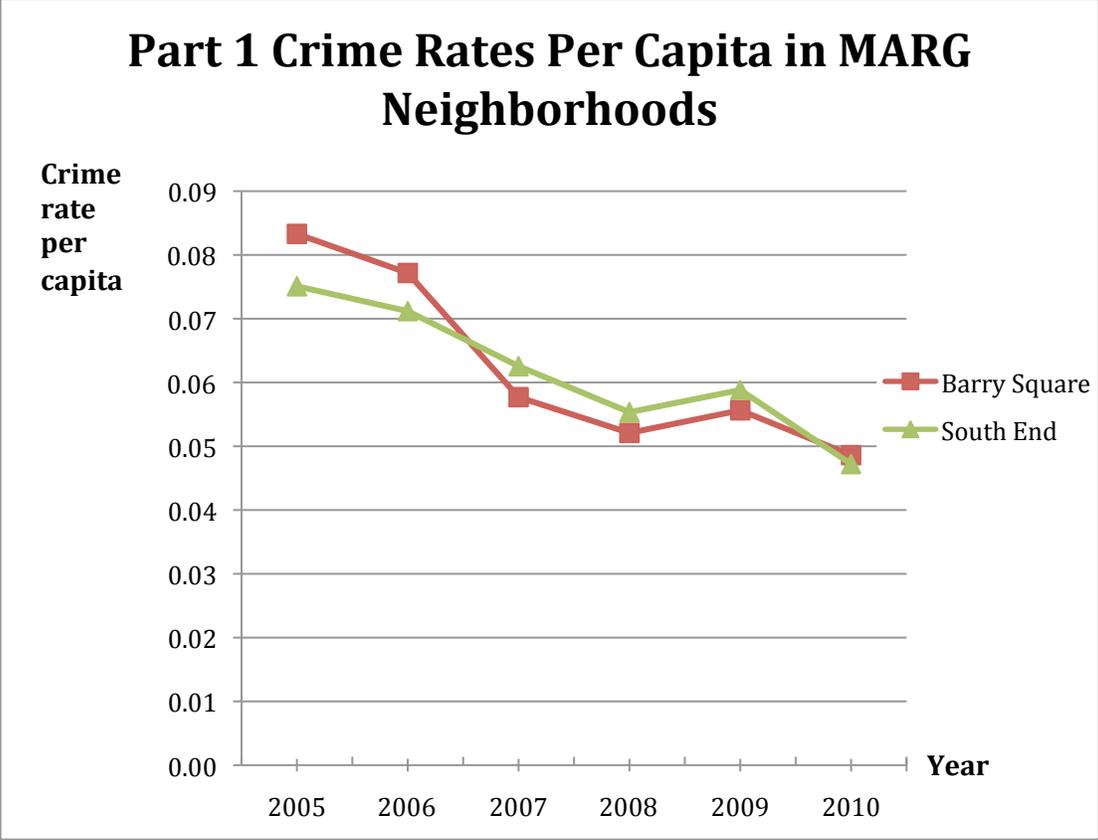


Figure 3. Part 1 Crime Rates Per Capita in MARG Neighborhoods.

Clearly resident's perceptions of recent crime reduction are valid. Except for a slight uptick in 2009, crime has fallen pretty consistently, with crime at its lowest in 2010 for both neighborhoods. Now that we have verified MARG residents' perceptions of crime

we can examine how the Barry Square and South End neighborhood's crime rates compare to other neighborhoods.

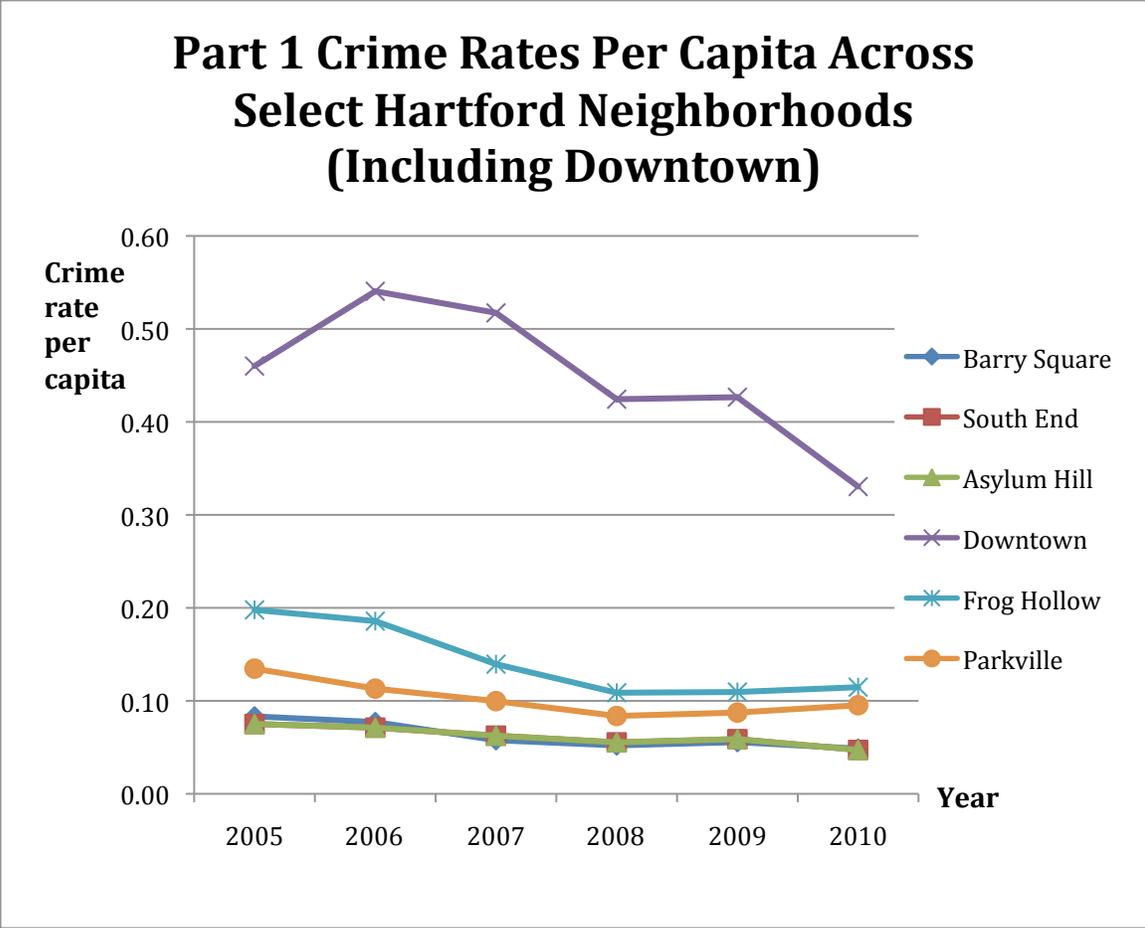


Figure 4. Part 1 Crime Rates Per Capita Across Select Hartford Neighborhoods (Including Downtown).

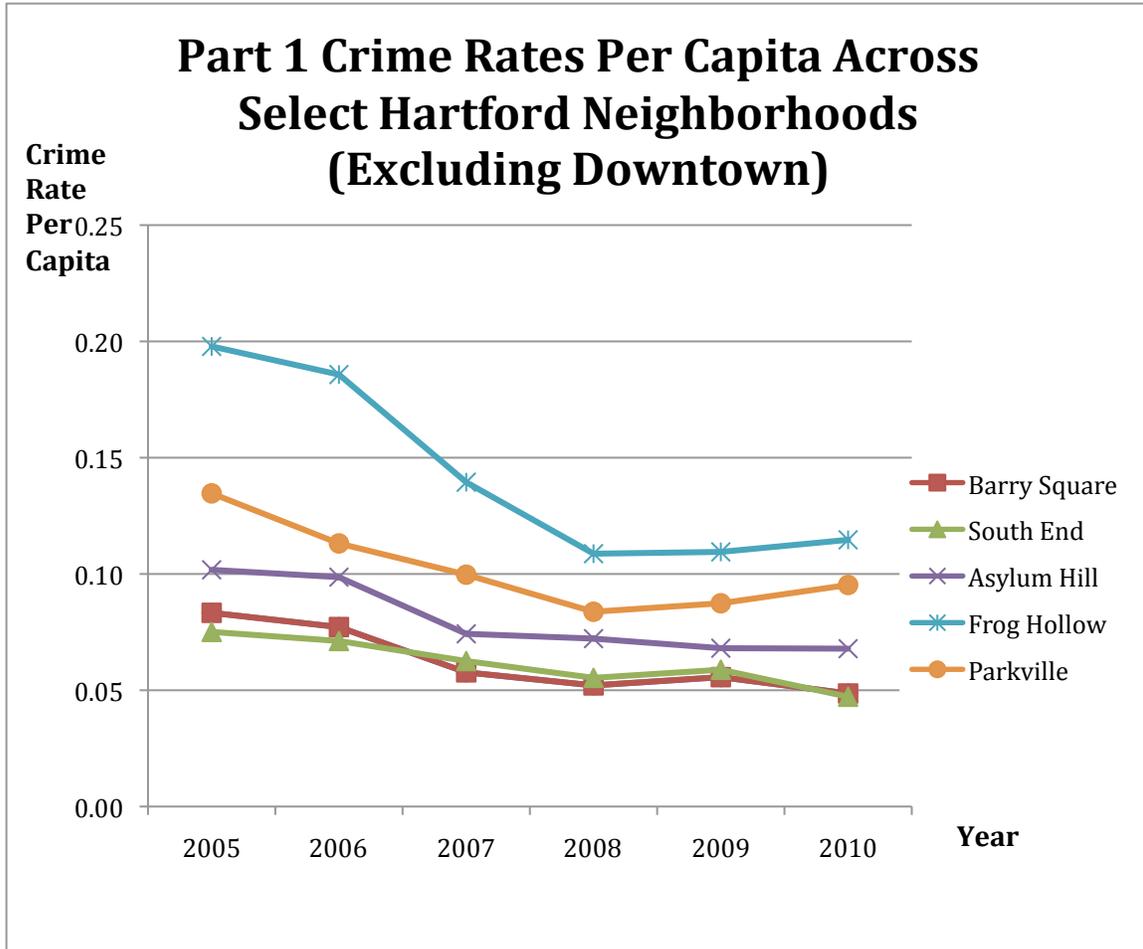


Figure 5. Part 1 Crime Rates Per Capita Across Select Hartford Neighborhoods (Excluding Downtown).

I found it interesting to juxtapose downtown’s crime rates with that of these other residential neighborhoods. Given that very few people actually reside downtown, only 1,852 (U.S. Census 2010), and that it is an area with no residential neighborhood associations, where few people actually feel invested it comes as no surprise that crime rates are exceptionally high. Given Downtown’s lack of residential character, while its CSOs may have relationships with business owners and numerous employees, they do not have walk the streets and know the resident’s in the same way that MARG CSOs do, especially given that the CSOs from Barry Square and the South End are from the

community and have developed such strong ties with those that live there (Allan 2013). While it is possible that Downtown is an anomaly, as it is an area of immense wealth during the day as corporations, and government employees inhabit it. At night it remains “a ghost town,” where only 1,852 people live and where the median family income is just \$25,625. So figure 5 may prove to be more helpful for this study as its scale allows readers to see that in fact on a per capita basis the South End and Barry Square do in fact have lower crime rates than their similar counterparts. It is particularly important to note that, while crime rates in Barry Square and the South End have been dropping from 2009 to 2010 that is not the case for the other three neighborhoods examined. In Asylum hill crime rates had remained constant over that year, and in Frog Hollow and Parkville crime rates escalated.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This analysis endeavored to answer a few key questions. I was motivated largely by the theory of Sampson (2012) in regards to just how influential neighborhood associations can be, how important is social order really, and what are effective strategies to reduce crime. This purpose of this study was to see if some of Sampson's (2012) findings were mirrored in a city like Hartford. Hartford is a much smaller city than that of Chicago, where Sampson (2012) conducted his research, and due to constraints in regards to data and resources it would have been impossible for me to truly replicate his work. Yet his theory still proved to be a magnificent compass with which to be guided, and at least on some level his theory holds true for Hartford. Throughout this research I have argued that neighborhoods, which lack perceived social disorder, retain the most committed neighborhood associations, and have the best relationships with their CSOs will experience the lowest crime rates. The ethnographic and interview data I have compiled helped me assess the independent variable in that hypothesis. Based on my observations it became quickly clear just how vital the CSO is in the minds of Hartford residents. I cannot imagine Hartford without them. While residents still lodged complaints about the social disorder, it is clear that MARG and through MARG the CSOs have been able to instill a sense of order in their neighborhood that never before existed. Similarly to the findings of Sampson (2012), my qualitative data supported the ideology that it is the neighborhood associations that allow individuals to come together collectively and fight the problems they all know exist. It is no mystery to them, as time and time again they echo the same sentiments. It

is social order that concerns them most. It is the cars speeding, the trash on the streets, and “the general lawlessness in the city of Hartford” that concerns them most (Yennie 2013). Because this analysis only examined one case it is difficult to compare the perceptions of disorder. Nevertheless, through Yennie’s tireless efforts to clean the streets of the community and the receptiveness of the CSOs it is difficult to imagine that many other Hartford neighborhoods of comparable means perceive the social disorder in their communities to be substantive less. When you feel satisfied, that your needs are being met, and that your qualms are being heard it is fair to say that your perception of social disorder will fall. It would be important for future research to undertake a more comprehensive analysis of perceptions towards disorder and informal social control. Exhaustive survey data would be a practical instrument for such an endeavor. Such research done across multiple neighborhoods, and NRZs would amplify this study even further.

The interview data emphasized time and time again that MARG residents have the one of if not the best relationship with their CSOs compared to other NRZs. Residents of other neighborhoods even travel to MARG meetings just to have their voices heard, and the issues CSOs of other neighborhoods neglect, the Barry Square and South End CSOs manage to address. These neighborhoods also have the unique privilege of having CSOs who are from the area. When residents have seen a CSO grow up, from that kid walking with his parents to school, to that successful high school pupil, to going off to college, to his return back to the community in a HPD uniform one cannot help but feel connected. Furthermore Lt. Allan cited aspects like the elderly nature of the residents also help contribute to the “two-way street” between the police

and residents. MARG even went and purchased cell phones for the CSOs to use to aid in the relationship they have with the community, and such a gesture is the exception and not the rule (Allan 2013). These acts on behalf of MARG also help it position itself as “the model” for NRZs in Hartford (Allan 2013).

Whether it is Lt. Allan who attends ten different neighborhood association meetings, or Yennie, or other residents themselves they all agree that MARG is a standout enterprise. While many other NRZs are reported as on average having less than ten attendees at a meeting, that is absolutely unheard of at MARG. MARG turnout appeared to be on average 40-50 people for the nine meetings I attended, but Yennie estimated it to be as high as 75-100 (Yennie 2013). Since 2004, when Yennie took over, the group has evolved from just four or five people to the powerhouse it is today, and now the group does not merely hold monthly meetings. They organize a massive neighborhood event held in the parking lot of the Webster Theater, which some estimated drew as many as 1,000 people. They routinely plan street beautification efforts and often offer free events for the community. At the April 2013 meeting Yennie even made a point of announcing a free “Zumba” session they were holding at the senior center, which also happens to house an HPD substation out of which Lt. Allan and the neighborhood CSOs operate. All of this helps demonstrate just how committed MARG is. While it is difficult to say how MARG’s commitment compares to all other NRZs, I can without a doubt say that it is an extremely committed neighborhood association, and based on the numerous interviews I conducted is ranked one of if not the best in the city. With that said the evaluation of other Hartford NRZs for comparative purposes would provide an even greater insight to just how exemplary MARG is, and I hope a colleague

can aid in that future research. It is clear that MARG scores very high on the independent variables I sought to analyze, whether it is perceptions of social order, commitment of the community group, or relationship with their CSO. The final question is what kinds of effects do these variables have on crime rates.

When compared to other similar neighborhoods in terms of population, geographic location, and demographics in terms of housing characteristics and income Barry Square and the South End had crime rates lower than their counterparts from 2005-2010. This finding largely supports my hypothesis. Perhaps what is even more compelling is how crime rates have acted from 2009-2010 in the five neighborhoods (excluding downtown). While crime in Barry Square and the South End continued to fall, crime in Asylum hill, Parkville, and Frog Hollow either rose or remained the same. When neighborhood associations stay dedicated it appears that crime will continue to fall. This crime data is limited. The HPD would not make available neighborhood level data for a larger time period, as they ignored numerous requests. If archived data can be obtained on the neighborhood level for before 2005, and furthermore if data for 2011 and 2012 could be obtained, it would provide an even better context through which to test the independent variables I examined. Nevertheless this data provide a solid snapshot at how crime rates have changed recently.

This analysis has proved to support the theory of Sampson (2012), and as such it would indicate that some of his recommendations be extrapolated in cities across the nation. Cities everywhere need more MARGs, more CSOs, and many of the unique Hartford programs that address problems of social disorder and help provide social services for those that need them. I hope that those sequestering themselves in periphery

open their eyes to the true problems of those living in struggling cities, and aid in a solution as opposed to further contributing to the problem. I am often the first to criticize government and society, but this research and the theory of Sampson (2012) has shown to me that some of the government's apparatuses are acting to their best of their ability though government's general structure remains flawed. When a city like Hartford is such a violent victim of suburbanization, where those from all over the state take and take, but give nothing in return it is difficult for members of the police for example to do their jobs effectively. Furthermore no matter how effective a police force is on their own, much in the vein of Jacobs (1961), they are nothing without the help of an active and judicious citizenry. Citizens deserve every opportunity. Hartford residents should have the right to send their children to schools just as good as those living in West Hartford. They should even have the ability to send their children to places like the Andovers and Exeters of the world. In our society a nasty cycle of class reproduction runs rampant, and those living in inner cities where schools and other public services are degraded feel the brunt of it. But here we are in this viciously unequal society: a society unequal not only in results but in opportunities as well. As such we have largely left residents like those living in Barry Square and the South End to fend for themselves, to merely cope. Powerful neighborhood associations like MARG help give those disadvantaged individuals a collective voice. Maybe these organizations do not have the opportunity to bring about immense change, a revolution if you will, but they nevertheless allow their residents to make daily life a little more livable.

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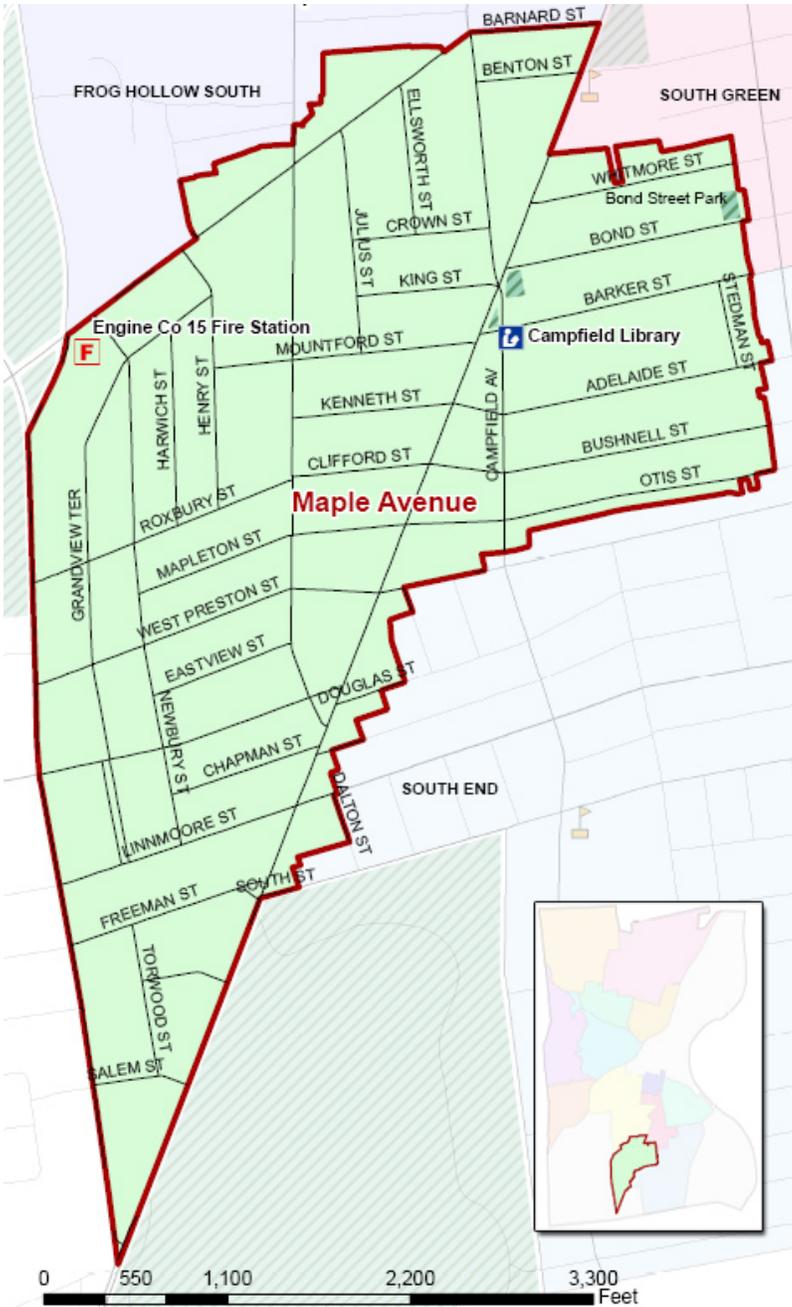
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APPENDIX 1



Tables and Figures

Figure 6. Map of area governed by MARG.

Coded Term	Frequency
Importance of social organization in neighborhood	5
Social (Dis)Order	15
Effectiveness of neighborhood group	7
Ineffectiveness of neighborhood group	1
Organizational leader importance	6
Shared Expectations of Trust	3
Perceptions of Crime and Disorder	5
Legal and Moral Cynicism	0
Importance of Community Court	3
Accountability	5
Development	2
Positive relationship with CSO	9
Negative Relationship with CSO	1
Positive perception of community policing	15
Negative perception of community policing	4
Crime Rates Up	1
Crime Rates Down	6

Table 9. Coded list.

Year	per capita
1981	0.179295346
1982	0.169315522
1983	0.137329215
1984	0.132700903
1985	0.130949243
1986	0.144931022
1987	0.164482349
1988	0.143710157
1989	0.159680411
1990	0.154058638
1991	0.151783736
1992	0.152871083
1993	0.135899146
1994	0.12570449
1995	0.133442301
1996	0.106163915
1997	0.096233332
1998	0.090103331
1999	0.077827416
2000	0.092286433
2001	0.088236256
2002	0.088578598
2003	0.092262783
2004	0.100048757
2005	0.087955487
2006	0.084273327
2007	0.071404486
2008	0.064898483

2009	0.063966658
2010	0.05863354

Table 10. Hartford Per Capita Part 1 Crime Data.

Year	Barry Square	South End	Asylum Hill	Downtown	Frog Hollow	Parkville
2005	0.08	0.08	0.10	0.46	0.20	0.13
2006	0.08	0.07	0.10	0.54	0.19	0.11
2007	0.06	0.06	0.07	0.52	0.14	0.10
2008	0.05	0.06	0.07	0.42	0.11	0.08
2009	0.06	0.06	0.07	0.43	0.11	0.09
2010	0.05	0.05	0.07	0.33	0.11	0.10

Table 11. Part 1 Crime Rates Per Capita across a selection of Hartford Neighborhoods.

APPENDIX 2

Code List:

Social Organization

- Importance of social organization in neighborhood
- Effectiveness of neighborhood group
- Ineffectiveness of neighborhood group
- Organizational leader importance

Social Order

- Social (Dis)Order
- Shared Expectations of Trust
- Perceptions of Crime and Disorder
- Legal and Moral Cynicism
- Importance of Community Court
- Accountability
- Development

Community Policing

- Positive relationship with CSO
- Negative Relationship with CSO
- Positive perception of community policing
- Negative perception of community policing

Crime Rates

- Crime rates up
- Crime rates down

APPENDIX 3

Interview Questions

Resident Interview Questions

- How long have you been living in this community?
- How long and how often do you attend MARG meetings?
- Are you from this particular neighborhood?
- What do you think about “community policing?”
- What do you think of the CSOs?
- In your time living in the community what have you noticed about crime?
 - Have you noticed any particularly effective techniques in helping curb crime?
- Do you notice any particular problems in the community that may lead to elevated crime rates?
- Do you notice any problems in the community in general?
- How effective is MARG at getting things done?
- Do you think having an effective leader plays a role in that?
- If there is one thing you could change about the neighborhood what would it be?

MARG Chairperson

Hyacinth Yennie

Interview Questions

- Can you tell me a little bit about your background and personal history?
- How did you get into community organizing? How did you become the chair of MARG?
- What is the history of MARG?
- How does your journey compare to that of other community organizers and NRZ presidents and chair persons in Hartford?
- How specifically does MARG compare to some of the other NRZs in Hartford?
- I get the sense that MARG is exceptionally functional. Is that the case? Are there others that are as effective? Are there others that are particularly dysfunctional?
- I’ve noticed you are routinely able to get prominent figures from Hartford into your meetings, why do you think that is?
- Are these figures as responsive to other community organizations?
- In your experience how do race and socioeconomic status factor into a community’s ability to organize?
- Do you think Hartford’s high-income residential areas feel the same need to interact and lobby the police and government the way residents from lower income neighborhoods do?
- Do you document the racial, ethnic, or socioeconomic attributes of your regular attendees?
- If not, what would you estimate it to be?
- How does the attendance of MARG meetings compare to other NRZs?

- Do you have any other thoughts in terms of community organizing in general that you would like to share?

The Neighborhood

- How long have you lived in the area that is now constituted by MARG?
- What positive and negative changes have you witnessed over that time?
- Have you noticed anything particularly in regards to crime?
- Since 1990 do you think crime has gone up or down or remained relatively constant?
- Has your organization lobbied the police for any specific crime reduction strategies?
- In general have you seen any crime reduction strategies be particularly effective? Any particularly ineffective?
- In your opinion how responsive are the police to the needs residents express in community meetings?
- Can you recall any specific examples?
- How would you categorize the perceptions of those that attended MARG meetings about crime and the police?
 - Do you think it differs from the way a resident who doesn't attend meetings perceives them?
- What can you tell me about the history of police in the neighborhood?
 - Have you noticed any specific changes in policing techniques over time?
 - Which have been effective, which not so much?
- What can you tell me about the history of the CSOs?
- How do you feel about the effectiveness of the CSOs today?
- I am also planning on meeting with Lt. Allan. What do you think about him?
- Are there any questions, in particular, that I should ask him?
- I have often heard you praise the new police chief. Why do you like him so much?
 - What were the shortcomings of the chief previous?
- I also plan on interviewing at least 1 of the CSOs from the area. What do you think about them?
- Anything I should ask them?
- What do you think about the community courts?
- If you could wave a magic wand and change only one thing about the neighborhood, and it could be anything, what would you change?
- How would you assess your neighborhood in regards to the following terms?
 - Social order?
 - Social Control?
 - Residents perception of disorder?
 - Legal and moral cynicism?
- Any other thoughts?
- Do you know of any other neighborhood residents, who might be enthusiastic in regards to allowing me to interview them?

Interview Questions for Lt. Robert Allan.

Background

- What can you tell me about your professional background?
- How long have you been working in the HPD? What has your career trajectory been like? Generally what were your responsibilities in these various positions?
- In your time with the HPD how has the department changed? What have been the most notable changes?

Community Based Policing

- What can you tell me about the specifics of “Community based policing”? How effective has it been?
- What exactly is a CSO? Are there responsibilities different in different neighborhoods?
- How long have the CSOs been in existence? What do you think about their role in policing Hartford? Are there any changes that could be made to make the CSOs more effective?
- What is your sense of the perceptions of Hartford residents in regard to CSOs?
- Are you at all familiar with “The Hartford Program” a three part program established in Hartford in 1976, which sought to lower crime rates through the closing and narrowing of streets, “a neighborhood police unit with a strong relationship to the residents,” and third “creating and encouraging area organizations to work with the police and to initiate resident efforts to improve the neighborhood and reduce criminal opportunities.” If you are familiar with it can you speak to the effectiveness of the program? Do you see Hartford’s current situation has been affected by this program?
- Of the top of your head what is your perception of the crime rates in Hartford over the course of your career? Any particular crimes becoming more or less prevalent?

Neighborhood Associations

- What do you think about Hartford’s Neighborhood Associations generally?
- In how many different neighborhoods have you attended meetings? Are there any particular neighborhood organizations you have found especially effective? Any you have found particularly ineffective?
- What specifically makes a Community organization/NRZ effective or ineffective? Any specific anecdotes would be greatly appreciated.
- How important a role do you see the organization’s leader, chairperson, or president playing in the overall effectiveness of the organization? What kinds of leaders have been particularly effective and ineffective? Again any specific examples would be greatly appreciated.
- In your opinion how do race and Socioeconomic status interact with community organizing?

- How has the participation in neighborhood meetings for those of color and those of lower income changed over time? Are they participating more or less now? Are they participating more or less than those of higher income and Whites?
- In your view how do the race and socioeconomic status of a neighborhood affect the ability for a neighborhood association/NRZ to effectively lobby the police and government in general?
- Do Hartford's high-income residential areas feel the same need to interact and lobby the police and government the way residents from lower income neighborhoods do?
- Robert Sampson in his book *The Great American City*, argues that neighborhoods which maintain organizational life, promote informal social control, and promote shared expectations and trust, as well as where residents share perceptions of disorder and legal and moral cynicism, have crime rates which are expected to be lower. How would you respond to this argument? Have you seen this manifest itself specifically in your career?
- Is it fair to say that neighborhoods that have more social order, maintain the most committed neighborhood organizations, and have the best relationships with their CSOs tend to experience lowest crime rates? Which of these three things seems most important? What other factors are at play?

- What role has economic and racial segregation in Hartford played in terms of crime rates? What about in the effectiveness of NRZs?
- Do you have any innovative techniques to fight crime that we haven't discussed? Is the department looking at anything new (that you can disclose)?
- I'm sorry I didn't mention this in the email I sent to you, but what can you tell me about the Community courts and their history?
 - How effective do you find them?
- If you could wave a wand and change one thing about Hartford what would it be?
- If there is anyone else, officers and residents alike, who you think would be particularly informative or reflective on these kinds of questions I'd be grateful if you could connect me, but your help with this interview has been more than enough.