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Street Codes, Routine Activities, Neighborhood Context, and Victimization: An Examination of Alternative Models

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Street Codes, Routine Activities, Neighborhood Context, and Victimization: An Examination of Alternative Models

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ABSTRACT

According to Elijah Anderson's *Code of the Street* (1999), individuals in disadvantaged communities adopt a set of oppositional values, partly because demonstrating these values allows them to avoid victimization. However, the empirical evidence on the effect of the street code on victimization is mixed, with several studies finding that those who adhere to the values provided in the code are at greater risk for victimization. This study incorporates lifestyle-routine activities theory in order to better understand the relationships between subcultural values, opportunity, and victimization. Specifically, three theoretical models are tested. In the first model, the main effects of code-related beliefs are examined, net of activities. The second model proposes an indirect effect of subcultural values on victimization through an increase in public activities or lifestyle. The third model is interactive in nature; one's beliefs and activities may interact to increase the chances of experiencing victimization, with adherence to subcultural values affecting victimization to a greater extent for those who more often engage in public activities. Additionally, the extent to which the effects of subcultural values in the form of street codes and public activities vary by neighborhood context is examined.

Using survey data from approximately 3,500 adults from 123 census tracts in Seattle, Washington, multilevel models of crime-specific victimization were estimated. The findings revealed that both public lifestyles and adherence to the street code were positively related to violent and breaking and entering victimization. In addition, the effect of the street code on both types of victimization was moderated by public activities; code-related values contributed to greater risk of victimization for those with more public lifestyles, but were protective for those who did not spend as much time in public. Implications for policy and theory that arise from

these findings are discussed, as are suggestions for future research.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of my mother, Marian McNeeley, and my grandfather, Marian “Hap” McGilberry.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Due to the consistent finding that individuals who commit crime are likely to become victims of crime (Wolfgang, 1958; Hindelang, Gottfredson, and Garofalo, 1978; Sampson and Lauritsen, 1990; Schreck, Stewart, and Osgood, 2008), scholars have begun to explore the application of criminological theories to victimization. Two criminological perspectives that have been used to explain victimization are opportunity theories and subcultural theories. On their own, these theories are unable to completely explain the variation in victimization across individuals.

This dissertation serves as an integration of the two aforementioned explanations of victimization. Specifically, alternative models of moderation and mediation are proposed. These models explore the interrelationships between adherence to criminogenic subcultures ("street" codes, in particular), public routine activities, and victimization. Furthermore, this dissertation will examine the extent to which the interrelationships among subcultural values in the form of street codes, public activities, and victimization vary by neighborhood context. Finally, due to the limited understanding of causes of specific types of crime victimization (Schreck, Ousey, Fisher, and Wilcox, 2012), the possibility that these variables differentially affect specific types of victimization will be explored. The next section briefly outlines why this is an important topic of study and what sorts of explanations currently prevail.

VICTIMIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES

After World War II, violent crime rates in the United States increased notably until decreasing in the 1980s and 1990s. According to data from the Uniform Crime Report (UCR), homicide in general has decreased since the mid-1960s (McDonald and Finn, 2000). However, this trend does not hold for certain segments of the population; homicide among those under the age of 25 increased between 1985 and 1997. Similarly, African-American males became more likely to become homicide victims during this period. NCVS data show that the rates of other violent crimes, including aggravated assault, robbery, and rape, have also decreased since 1973; notably, violent crime perpetrated by strangers decreased from 2001 to 2010 (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2011). Again, this trend varies by social groups; violent crime perpetrated against male victims has decreased while victimization of women has remained stable. According to McDonald and Finn (2000), property crime victimization has experienced the same reduction. Burglary, theft, and motor vehicle theft have decreased by 61% (from 554 per 1,000 households in 1975 to 217 per 1,000 households in 1998).

Although nationwide crime rates have decreased substantially in the last few decades, victimization remains a serious issue. The National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) reports that Americans over the age of twelve experienced 18.7 million violent and property crimes in 2010 (BJS, 2011). Of those, 3.8 million were violent crimes, while 1.4 million were serious violent crimes. There were 14.8 million property crimes and 138,000 personal thefts.

Work in the field of victimology has found that victimization is not equally distributed throughout segments of society. Rather, it is concentrated among disadvantaged members of society. Racial and ethnic minorities, particularly African-Americans, experience a

disproportionate amount of violent crime when compared to Caucasians (Hindelang et al., 1978). According to the NCVS, the violent crime rate for Black non-Hispanics was 20.8 per 1,000 in 2010, while the violent crime rate for White non-Hispanics in 2010 was 13.6 per 1,000 (BJS, 2011). Victimization is also concentrated among those of low socioeconomic status (Cohen, Kluegel, and Land, 1981). For example, the NCVS rates of burglary in 2010 were 44.4 per 1,000 for the lowest income category (< $7,500), while the burglary rates for the highest income category (> $75,000) was 20.8 per 1,000 (BJS, 2011).

Macrolevel factors are also important in determining the likelihood of victimization. Those living in disadvantaged communities are at increased risk of being victimized (Sampson and Lauritsen, 1994; Lauritsen and White, 2001). According to Lauritsen and White (2001), those living in the most disadvantaged communities are four times more likely to become victims of violence than are those living in the most advantaged neighborhoods. Victims of violent crimes in less affluent areas are also more likely to be injured than their wealthier counterparts (Baumer, Horney, Felson, and Lauritsen, 2003). Furthermore, neighborhood context can interact with individual characteristics, conditioning the effects of personal attributes on victimization (Miethe and McDowall, 1993; Wilcox Rountree, Land, and Miethe, 1994; Wilcox, Land, and Hunt, 2003).

Theoretical explanations of victimization are useful in that they attempt to make sense of these vast discrepancies in victimization across different segments of society so as to inform the most effective victimization-prevention policy possible. Of the prevailing theories of victimization, two are the focus of this dissertation: 1) opportunity theories emphasizing the effect of lifestyles and activities and 2) subcultural theories stressing the influence of oppositional values. A third theory – social disorganization theory – serves as a foundation for

exploring the extent to which effects of opportunity and oppositional values are conditioned by neighborhood context.

Opportunity Theory

A great deal of work in the field of victimology has used opportunity theories to explain differences in victimization across the population. Opportunity theorists seek to understand the occurrence of criminal events rather than the criminality of the offender. Because crime is assumed to be a product of rational decision-making on the part of the offender (Cornish and Clarke, 1986), criminal victimization is considered a function of the ease with which the victim can be targeted due to the proximity to the offender or characteristics that make the victim vulnerable.

Hindelang, Gottfredson, and Garofalo's (1978) work on victimization led to the emergence of an early opportunity theory of victimization, lifestyle-exposure theory. This theory assumes that demographic characteristics are related to one's pattern of behavior, which differentially affects the likelihood that an individual will be in close proximity to offenders. This proximity to offenders, or exposure, increases the risk of victimization.

Cohen and Felson's (1979) routine activities theory is based on the assumption that crimes occur due to the convergence of a motivated offender and a suitable target in the absence of a capable guardian who could prevent the offense from occurring. According to routine activities theory, daily behavior at the individual level affects the likelihood that a person will be in a situation in which victimization is likely to occur. This theory also explains rates of offending at the aggregate level; areas in which people engage in public activities are more likely to have high rates of crime than are areas with more home-based activity.

Because of the emphasis on decision-making, opportunity theories are crime-specific (Cornish and Clarke, 1986; Felson and Clarke, 1998). The types of decisions that are necessary for one type of crime may differ greatly from those associated with another type. For example, the entity targeted can vary by crime type; the target for a residential burglary would be a house or apartment while the target for an assault would be an individual. Therefore, research on specific types of victimization is required. Recent work has found that individuals who are victimized tend to experience multiple types of victimization rather than fit into a pure typology, although some individuals tend to predominantly fall victim to non-violent crime while others experience violence (Schreck et al., 2012). However, the predictors of specific types of victimization are not yet completely understood, as theories predicting violent rather than non-violent victimization do not perform well (Schreck et al., 2012).

Subcultural Theory

A well-established explanation of criminal behavior is an individual's belief in values that encourage the violation of traditional behavior norms. Scholars have argued that these values are more likely to be held by certain cultural groups, making the theory suitable for explaining higher rates of crime among members of racial or ethnic minorities (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967) and in the Southern or Western United States (Ellison, 1991).

A more modern application of subcultural theory can be seen in Anderson's *Code of the Street* (1999). Anderson argues that the code of the street arises as a response to conditions in disadvantaged neighborhoods. These neighborhoods experience high rates of poverty, unemployment, racial discrimination, social isolation, and criminal victimization, which create a sense of hopelessness and a rejection of traditional values. Therefore, some residents of these

neighborhoods adopt an oppositional culture in response to these circumstances. Theories such as Anderson's code of the street have been posited to explain higher rates of crime among young African-American males.

Anderson describes the code of the street as an informal set of rules regarding appropriate behavior, specifically violent behavior, among members of disadvantaged neighborhoods. The code emphasizes the importance of respect, which one obtains and maintains by projecting an aggressive, masculine image. This requires the willingness to perform violent acts when necessary, especially as retaliation to any signs of disrespect. Quantitative studies analyzing hypotheses derived from Anderson's work have found support for the effect of the code of the street on violent offending (Brezina, Agnew, Cullen, and Wright, 2004; Stewart and Simons, 2006; Stewart and Simons, 2010).

Recently, scholars have begun to explore the possibility that subcultural values play a role in victimization. As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2, there is debate regarding whether adherence to criminogenic street cultures reduces or increases one's chance of becoming a victim of violent crime. While Anderson's theory would suggest that the code of the street has a protective effect, the empirical evidence seems to support the notion that street culture at the individual and neighborhood levels increases the risk of victimization (Stewart, Schreck, and Simons, 2006; Berg, Stewart, Schreck, and Simons, 2012).

Social Disorganization Theory: The Importance of Neighborhood Context

Another theory that is used to examine victimization is social disorganization, which posits that neighborhood characteristics affect the ability of residents to control behavior within the community. After mapping the addresses of juvenile delinquents in Chicago, Shaw and

McKay (1942) noted that delinquency was concentrated in certain neighborhoods. These neighborhoods were also characterized by indicators of disadvantage and disorganization, such as poverty, residential instability, and racial or ethnic heterogeneity. The systemic model of social disorganization, presented by Kornhauser (1978) focuses on informal social control by community members as an intervening mechanism between neighborhood disorganization and crime.

As will be discussed in Chapter 2, neighborhood characteristics are directly related to individual risk of victimization. In addition to directly affecting victimization, neighborhood disorganization also contributes to the understanding of the effect of individual-level factors on victimization. Multilevel studies have shown that cross-level interactions – interactions between individual characteristics and neighborhood factors – occur to further impact the risk of victimization (Miethe and Meier, 1993; Wilcox Rountree, Land, and Miethe, 1994; Wilcox, Land, and Hunt, 2003). Social disorganization theory is used in this dissertation to examine the extent to which individual predictors of victimization vary across neighborhood.

THE PRESENT STUDY

This dissertation integrates the two aforementioned major theoretical explanations of victimization by conducting a quantitative analysis to determine the interrelationships between subculture, opportunity, and victimization. As such, it offers a more comprehensive theoretical approach to understanding patterns of victimization. Furthermore, it proposes three models in which lifestyle is included to further understand the effect of the street code on victimization. Two of these are alternative models to explain possible ways that individual routine activities

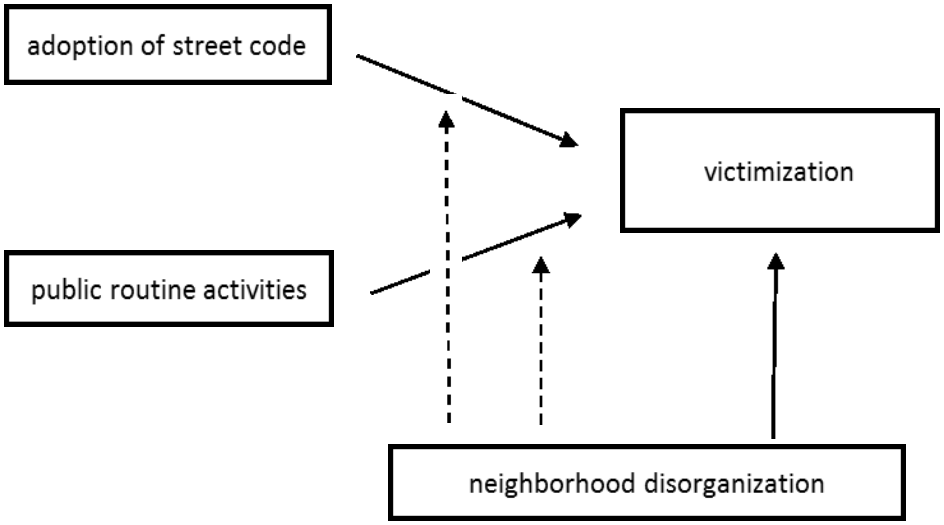
and adherence to criminogenic subcultures work together to affect one's risk of victimization. Thus, not only does the dissertation aim to integrate existing theories of victimization, but it also aims to specify precisely how these theories work together in explaining victimization. Further, it integrates a third perspective – social disorganization theory – by examining how the relationships among concepts from opportunity theory and subcultural theory vary across neighborhood context.

The three hypothesized integrative models that will be explored are presented in Figure 1.1. First, the effects of code-related values and public activities on victimization will be examined separately, as they have been in previous research. Second, it is possible that the adoption of subcultural values could increase victimization indirectly through lifestyle or routine activities. Qualitative research has suggested that this may be the case. For example, based upon observations of a delinquent group in Western Canada, Kennedy and Baron (1993) theorized that membership in a subculture and adherence to non-traditional values affected routine activities, which in turn influenced the likelihood of finding oneself in a situation in which the escalation of violence was likely. The third model proposes that the relationship between subcultural values and routine activities is interactive in nature. One's beliefs and activities could interact to increase the chances of experiencing victimization, with adherence to subcultural values affecting victimization to a greater extent for those who more often engage in public activities. These individual-level effects will be examined across neighborhoods to determine to what extent they vary by community context. To do this, the competing models discussed above will be analyzed in multilevel models using survey data on approximately 3,500 adults from 123 census tracts in Seattle, Washington.

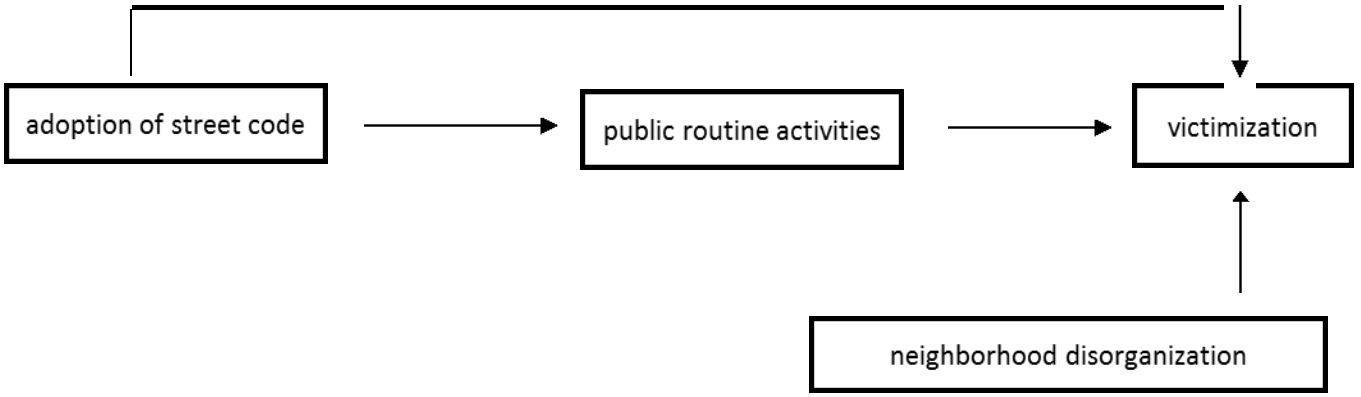
In sum, through estimation of the alternative conceptual models shown in Figure 1.1, this

Figure 1.1: Alternative Models of Victimization

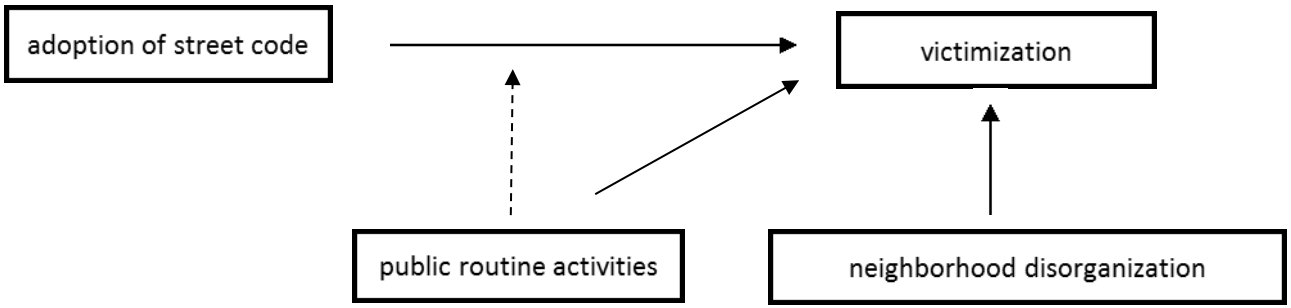
Model 1



Model 2



Model 3


adoption of street code
victimization
public routine activities
neighborhood disorganization

dissertation makes five important contributions to the literature on victimization. First, routine activities and subcultural explanations of victimization have heretofore largely been examined independently. The incorporation of both routine activities *and* subcultural values into the models analyzed herein allows for a more complete understanding of the causes of victimization. Second, the research regarding the effect of code-related values on victimization is inconsistent; while Anderson's theory suggests that the code of the street provides rules that reduce victimization, the empirical evidence does not support this notion. This dissertation attempts to explain this inconsistency by adding measures of public activities, which are expected to explain the positive effect of values on victimization. Third, a sample of adults is used to test the alternative models linking routine activities, subcultural values, and victimization. This is important because, while routine activities theory is tested on both adolescents and adults, most prior work on the values-victimization linkage has used youth samples. Thus, the analyses herein allow for a test of the generalizability of previous findings that juveniles who adhere to the street culture are at increased risk of victimization. Fourth, the importance of community context in determining the effects of subculture and opportunity on victimization will be further explored. By examining the extent to which the effects of oppositional values and routine public activities on victimization vary across neighborhoods, this dissertation will thus serve as a test of the spatial generalizability of the models being considered. Fifth, the use of crime-specific victimization and the inclusion of property victimization as an outcome variable will provide further clarification regarding the generalizability of theories of victimization.

Overview of Chapters to Follow

This dissertation will unfold over the course of four chapters to follow. Chapter 2

reviews the literature on victimization in detail. In particular, there is an emphasis on research that focuses on victimization risk associated with opportunity, which differs due to one's lifestyle and routine activities. In addition, this chapter will describe subcultural explanations of crime and the recent application of these theories to explain offending as well as violent victimization. Chapter 2 will conclude with a statement of hypotheses to be tested in the present study. Chapter 3 provides a description of the data, measures, and analytic strategies used to test the hypotheses.

Chapter 4 presents the results of the analyses of three alternative models. First, the model analyzing the effects of public activities and code-related values separately is presented. Second, the possibility of interaction effects between routine activities and subcultural values is tested and discussed. Third, the model suggesting an indirect effect of subculture on victimization through its effect on routine activities is provided. In Chapter 5, the findings are discussed in terms of their implications for the theories in question. In addition, the limitations of the research will be discussed and suggestions for future research on these topics will be offered.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

VICTIMOLOGY: ORIGINS AND CONTEMPORARY DIRECTIONS

Early Research on Victimization

The concept of scientifically studying victims, along with the term "victimology," was presented by Benjamin Mendelsohn. Other early work in victimology involved the division of victims into separate groups or categories. Von Hentig's (1948) categorization explained the various reasons that victims are targeted or vulnerable to attack. For example, he argued that the largest category of victims is the depressive type, who is vulnerable because of carelessness and a lack of self-protection. Mendelsohn (1963) also created a typology of victims that was based on the degree to which the victim contributed to the event. The typology ranges from the completely innocent victim to the criminal victim, who is injured or killed in self-defense.

This work on the victim's role in the crime event resulted in the emergence of the concept of victim precipitation. According to Wolfgang (1958), victim precipitation occurs when the victim is actively involved in the offense and provokes the eventual offender to commit violence. Since then, victim precipitation has been expanded to include more passive forms of precipitation, which can refer to any provocation of the crime by the victim, including negligence or vulnerability.

After the collection of victimization data was made possible by large-scale victimization surveys such as the NCVS, the field of victimology expanded to an exploration of the effects of individual characteristics on the risk of experiencing victimization. Work such as Hindelang,

Gottfredson, and Garofalo's (1978) *Victims of Personal Crime: An Empirical Foundation for a theory of Personal Victimization* noted relationships between several demographic characteristics and victimization, including gender, race, age, social class, and marital status. Many of the patterns noted by Hindelang et al. (1978) are still present today. Such patterns are noted below, drawing upon the most recent NCVS data (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2011).

First, males are more likely to be victims of most types of violent crime, with the exception of rape and sexual assault. The nature of violence also varies by gender; for example, men are more likely to be assaulted by strangers than are women. Second, African-Americans are more likely to experience violent crime than are Whites. Third, the risk of violent victimization declines after age twenty-five and is quite low for the elderly. Fourth, social class is also related to victimization; violence is more likely to occur among those who are poor or who live in low-income areas. Finally, married persons are less likely to be victimized than those who are divorced or never married

The Victim-Offender Overlap

Beyond unearthing important patterns of victimization across social groups, another important development in the field of victimology has been the study of homogenous victim-offender populations. Early scholars noted that there were similarities between victims and offenders in terms of demographic and social characteristics. Specifically, offenders and victims are frequently male, young, non-white, and single (Hindelang et al., 1978; Gottfredson, 1984). They are also more likely to have lower socioeconomic status and are likely to engage in deviant activities, ranging from minor deviance such as drug use and partying to more serious forms of offending (Gottfredson, 1984; Kühlhorn, 1990). Additionally, victims and offenders both tend to

reside in neighborhoods characterized by structural disadvantage, high population density, and high residential mobility (Sampson, 1985).

Furthermore, there is evidence of a victim-offender overlap, in which the risk of offending and victimization are related. Much of the research on the victim-offender overlap has focused on juveniles (see Esbensen and Huizinga, 1991; Lauritsen, Sampson, and Laub, 1991; Stewart et al., 2006). In particular, youth in gangs are considered one of the populations most likely to fit in the victim-offender population (Taylor, Peterson, Esbensen, and Freng, 2007; Peterson, Taylor, and Esbensen, 2004, Miller and Decker, 2001). Research on adult populations also demonstrates an overlap between offending and victimization (see Gottfredson, 1984; Sampson and Lauritsen, 1990). Further, studies have shown that repeat victimization is related to recidivism (Chang, Chen, and Brownson, 2003). This relationship holds for violent assault and offending as well as for less serious types of delinquency (Tewksbury and Mustaine, 2000)

Early studies on the victim-offender overlap were bivariate in nature. In a follow-up survey to Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin's *Delinquency in a Birth Cohort* (1972), Singer (1981) found that 68% of individuals who had been victimized reported committing a serious assault while 27% of nonvictims reported doing so. Furthermore, the relationship between victimization and offending partially explained the racial difference in offending. Gottfredson's (1984) analysis of the British Crime Survey showed that the association between offending and victimization is substantial, especially for personal crime.

Multivariate analyses support the victim-offender overlap as well, with offending behavior showing independent effects on victimization after controlling for other factors. Sampson and Lauritsen's (1990) multivariate analysis of the British Crime Survey found effects of violent offending and minor deviance on personal victimization net of demographic

characteristics and lifestyle measures. This effect was stronger for violence perpetrated by acquaintances than for violence committed by strangers and accounted for the effect of gender differences in acquaintance-perpetrated victimization. Similarly, Lauritsen et al.'s (1991) measure of delinquent lifestyle, which captured one's involvement in delinquency and association with delinquent peers, was significantly related to assault victimization.

Empirical work on the victim-offender overlap suggests that individuals who experience victimization and offending differ from "pure" victims or offenders in terms of demographic characteristics and lifestyles. In an analysis of a sample of adults from Bogotá, Colombia, Klevens, Duque, and Ramírez (2002) found that victims who have been perpetrators of violent crime were more likely to be younger males of lower-middle class. They were also more likely to report attempting to act "tough," particularly by carrying or pretending to carry weapons, and more frequently pass through highly congested areas of the city. Similarly, Mustaine and Tewksbury's (2000) survey of college students showed that those who fit into the violent victim-offender category were more likely than those in other categories to report committing other types of crime and regularly using drugs or alcohol.

"Similar Mechanisms" Thesis

This evidence of a homogenous victim-offender population suggests a need for theories of victimization to account for possible criminogenic influences. Due to evidence that victims tend to have previous experiences with crime and delinquency, criminological theories may be useful in explaining victimization as well – an idea referred to as the "similar mechanisms" thesis (Gottfredson, 1981). Hence, several criminological theories have been used to explain violent victimization. A notable example is Christopher Schreck's recent extension of

Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) general theory of crime to explain victimization as well as offending. Schreck (1999) argues that individuals with low self-control are likely to experience victimization. According to this theory, low self-control leads one to behave in ways that result in immediate gratification of short-term goals. Such behavior often has unanticipated consequences, including victimization, due to the individual's lack of foresight and planning. Research has supported this idea; low self-control is a significant predictor of victimization (Ousey, Wilcox, and Fisher, 2011; Schreck, 1999; Schreck, Stewart, and Fisher, 2006; Tillyer, Fisher, and Wilcox, 2011) and it influences the relationship between prior and subsequent victimization (Higgins, Jennings, Tewksbury, and Gibson, 2009; Schreck et al., 2006).

Other examples of theories useful for understanding both offending and victimization are utilized in this dissertation. Two theories – routine activities theory and subcultural theory (including Anderson's code of the street hypothesis) – serve as the theoretical basis for the models presented and analyzed. The third – social disorganization theory – is used to contextualize the models presented. These three theories are discussed in detail below. For each, literature testing the theory's applicability to both offending and victimization is reviewed, though emphasis is placed on studies of victimization since that is the ultimate focus of this dissertation.

LIFESTYLE-ROUTINE ACTIVITIES AND CRIME

As suggested above, scholars have attempted to create theories explaining the patterns observed in the data from victimization surveys. Further, given the noted overlap between victims and offenders, theories that can account for both patterns seem particularly plausible.

Lifestyle-routine activities theory is one such theory.

One of the earliest and most widely accepted theories of victimization, specifically, is Hindelang, Gottfredson, and Garofalo's (1978) lifestyles-exposure theory, which has subsequently been integrated with Cohen and Felson's (1979) routine activities theory of crime, more generally, thus creating a "lifestyle-routine activities" perspective useful for accounting for offending and victimization.

The lifestyle-exposure theory put forth by Hindelang et al. (1978) maintained that there were differences in victimization rates across demographic groups because of the variations in lifestyles led by individuals of different groups. "Lifestyles" was defined as "routine daily activities, both vocational activities (work, school, keeping house, etc) and leisure activities" (Hindelang et al., 1978, 241). Demographic characteristics such as age, sex, race, marital status, income, education, and occupation were believed to affect lifestyles because they affect role expectations – or behaviors that individuals are expected to engage in – and structural constraints over an individual's behavior. From the lifestyles-exposure perspective, one expects individuals' lifestyles to be related to victimization due to the extent to which these lifestyles expose them to high-risk places and people during times when crime is most likely to occur.

A similar approach to understanding victimization was developed by Cohen and Felson (1979), who noted that there are three necessary elements for a crime event to occur: a motivated offender, a suitable target, and the lack of a capable guardian. Cohen and Felson theorized that these elements must converge in time and space in order for crime to be possible. While most criminologists focus on the motivated offender, Cohen and Felson argued that crime trends in the United States after World War II were the result of changes in the other two elements. Factors considered conducive to crime, such as poverty and inequality, decreased during this period,

which would lead one to expect a decrease in crime as well due to a decrease in the number of motivated offenders. However, crime rates increased in this period. Cohen and Felson argued that the nation's prosperity affected routine activities in ways that increased criminal opportunity. Because more people were employed and spent more leisure time outside the home, homes and property were left without capable guardianship for longer periods of time; similarly, the increase in spending for material goods would increase the number of attractive items available for offenders to steal.

Since its original inception, the theory has been conceptualized at multiple levels of analysis. For instance, routine activities theory was originally conceptualized as an explanation of macrolevel crime trends. Cohen and Felson (1979) noted that reductions in guardianship, as measured by the proportion of female-headed households and higher levels of female labor force participation, was related to an increase in rape, robbery, assault, and personal larceny. Similarly, Cohen, Felson, and Land (1980) employed a routine activity approach to examine and forecast national-level property crime rates for future years. Other scholars have used routine activities theory to account for differences in crime across cities or areas (e.g., Messner & Blau, 1987; Miethe, Hughes, & McDowall, 1991). In contrast, Cohen, Kluegel, and Land (1981) offered a micro-level conceptualization of the theory, integrating it with lifestyle-exposure theory in order to account for effects of lifestyle and routine activities on individual risk of victimization. As will be discussed later in this chapter, many others have similarly used the theory to account for individual risk of victimization (e.g., Miethe, Stafford, and Long, 1987). Finally, still others have conceptualized LRAT as a multilevel theory, with criminal opportunity existing at both the neighborhood and individual levels (see Sampson and Wooldredge, 1987). Multilevel applications of routine activities theory are also beneficial because they include the

possibility of cross-level interactions, in which the effect of individual-level characteristics varies by context (e.g., Miethe and McDowall, 1993; Wilcox, Hunt, and Land, 2003; Wilcox, Madensen, and Tillyer, 2007). I turn now to a more in-depth review of studies testing the effects of lifestyle-routine activities, first on offending and secondly on victimization.

Routine Activities and Individual Offending: A Review of the Literature

Early work on routine activities theory either focused on crime rates or victimization as the dependent variable. Recent work has extended the theory to explain individual offending. Osgood, Wilson, O'Malley, Bachman, and Johnston (1996) argued that individuals' motivation to commit crime varies by their lifestyles. In particular, they posited that unsupervised, unstructured socializing with peers affects offending in three ways. First, when one is in the presence of peers, deviant acts will be perceived as easier and more rewarding. Second, the lack of supervision will facilitate crime by preventing social control by authority figures. Third, the unstructured nature of the activity will allow time for individuals to engage in crime. Bernberg and Thorlindsson (2001) extended this theory by noting that the first effect of unstructured social activity with peers would vary by differential social relationships. Specifically, the presence of peers will affect the perception of criminal activities when these peers are deviant; unstructured socializing with prosocial peers would not be likely to increase offending.

This theory has received empirical support; research shows that the effect of delinquent friends on delinquency varies by how much time individuals spend in unstructured activities with their friends. A summary of studies testing the effect of routine activities or lifestyle on offending can be seen in Table 2.1. Measures of general delinquency and offending have been found to be related to one's routine activities, particularly unstructured socializing with friends

Table 2.1: Studies Testing the Effect of Routine Activities on Offending

Citation	Data	Outcome	Opportunity Measures	Significant Predictors (Opportunity)
Anderson & Hughes (2009)	Add Health	violent offending, property offending, heavy alcohol consumption, marijuana use	Unstructured time use, guardianship (single family, parental availability), miles driven/week	Violent: single parent(+), parental availability(-), time use(+), transportation(+), school-level time use(+) Property: single parent(+), parental availability(-), transportation(+) Alcohol: time use(+), parental availability(-),school-level single parent(+), transportation(+) Marijuana: single parent(+), parental availability(-),time use(+), transportation(+), school-level single parent(+), school-level time use(+)
Bernberg & Thorlindsson (2001)	National survey of Icelandic adolescents	Property offending, violent offending	Unstructured peer interaction (how much time respondents spend at parties, downtown, driving around, coffeehouse/pub, malls/candy-shops, out at night)	Property: unstructured peer interaction(+), unstructured activitiesXfamily attachment(-), unstructured activitiesX school attachment(-) Violent: unstructured peer interaction(+), unstructured peer interactionXviolent peers(+)
Mustaine & Tewksbury (2000)	Surveys of 1,513 college students	Violent offending	Illegal behavior, alcohol/drug use, leisure activities, exposure to potential offenders	Bought drugs(+), sold drugs(+), used cocaine(-), used crack(+), frequent drinking during week(+), % drinking in public(+), frequent basketball or tennis(-), mall(+), vandalism(+), entering a home(+), broken into a vehicle(-), % weekday away from home(+)
Mustaine & Tewksbury (2000)	Surveys of 1,513 college students	Victim-offender overlap	Illegal behavior, alcohol/drug use, leisure activities, exposure to potential offenders,	Recently bought drugs(-), sold drugs(+), grew marijuana(+), used crack(+),% drinking in public(+),frequent basketball or tennis(-), eating out(+), organized sports(-), arrested(+), entering home(+), stolen from stranger(+), % weekday away from home(+), % weekend with strangers(+), age of people one drinks with(-)

Osgood & Anderson (2004)	Surveys of 4,359 students in 36 schools	Self-reported delinquency	Hours in unstructured socializing (individual and school levels)	Individual unstructured socializing(+), contextual unstructured socializing(+)
Osgood et al. (1996)	Monitoring the Future	Criminal behavior, alcohol use, marijuana use, use of other drugs, dangerous driving	Unstructured socializing with peers (riding for fun, going to parties, visiting friends, evenings out), structured activities outside the home, activities inside the home	Crime: unstructured: riding for fun(+), going to parties(+), evenings out(+) Alcohol: all unstructured activities(+); outside home activities – dating(-); home activities – working around house(-) Marijuana: all unstructured activities(+); outside home activities – community affairs(-); home activities – working around house(-), watching TV(-) Drugs: unstructured – visit friends(+), parties(+), evenings out(+); outside home – community affairs(-); home activities – relaxing(+) Driving: unstructured – riding for fun(+), evenings out(+); outside home – movies(+); home activities – working around house(-)
Pauwels & Svensson (2011)	Halmstad School Survey (Sweden); Sint-Niklaas School Survey (Belgium)	Self-reported offending	Lifestyle risk (delinquent friends, nights spent in city-centre, alcohol use)	Lifestyle risk(+)
Svensson & Oberwittler (2010)	Halmstad School Survey (Sweden), MPI Youth Survey (Germany)	Overall offending	Time spent with friends, unstructured routine activities	Halmstad: unstructured activities(+), friendsX activities(+) MPI: time w/friends(+), activities(+), friendsXactivities(+)

(Osgood et al., 1996; Osgood and Anderson, 2004; Svensson and Oberwittler, 2010). Pauwels and Svensson (2011) found that individuals who associated with delinquent friends, frequently spent time in the city-center, and used alcohol were more likely to report engaging in delinquent behavior. In addition, routine activities interacted with other variables to increase the risk of offending. Svensson and Oberwittler's (2010) analyses, using school surveys from Sweden and Germany, found significant positive interaction effects between unstructured activities and association with delinquent friends, with unstructured activities increasing the influence of delinquent friends.

Crime-specific analyses have provided additional information regarding the effect of routine activities on particular types of offending. Mustaine and Tewksbury's (2000) survey of college students found several types of activities related to violent offending; individuals who engaged in non-violent offending, used alcohol or drugs, and participated in unstructured activities such as playing basketball or tennis or going to the mall were more likely to report committing violent offenses. Anderson and Hughes' (2009) analysis of the Add Health data found that unstructured time use was positively associated with violent offending but not property offending, while the amount of time spent driving per week was positively related to both types of offending. Results of a survey conducted in Iceland showed that unstructured interaction with peers was related to both violent and property offending (Bernberg and Thorlindsson, 2001). However, activities interact with other variables differently for each type of offending. Attachment to school or family decreased the effect of unstructured activities but only on property offending, while unstructured activities was more strongly associated with violence for those with violent peers.

Routine Activities and Individual Victimization: A Review of the Literature

Victimization can also be affected by one's lifestyle or routine activities. As discussed earlier, Hindelang et al. (1978) maintain that demographic characteristics affect lifestyles, which differentially bring individuals into contact with potential offenders. Similarly, lifestyles affect the presence or absence of persons or objects that can provide guardianship to prevent crime from occurring. Therefore, the concept of lifestyle under this theory consists of exposure to potential offenders and guardianship against crime.

Cohen et al. (1981) extended lifestyle-exposure theory by identifying five factors that mediate the relationship between demographic characteristics and predatory victimization: proximity, exposure, attractiveness, guardianship, and definitional properties of crimes themselves. First, in terms of exposure, Cohen et al. (1981) maintained that persons or objects that were more visible or accessible to offenders were more likely to be victimized. Second, proximity to motivated offenders refers to the physical location of potential targets. Cohen et al. posited that, all else being equal, those who were closer in distance to large populations of motivated offenders were more likely to be victimized. Third, Cohen et al (1981) asserted that guardianship was negatively related to risk of victimization. Guardianship refers to the security measures a person can adopt to prevent victimization. This can refer to people or objects that prevent crime either by being present or by performing a specific action.

Fourth, Cohen et al. (1981) asserted that victims/targets, in comparison, to non-victims/targets, offer greater attractiveness – referring to the desirability of the person/target based on financial or symbolic gain, or the ease with which a potential target can be offended against or its ability to resist attack. A similar concept, target congruence, was posited by Finkelhor and Asdigian (1996). Target congruence refers to the extent to which individuals'

characteristics match up with offenders' needs, motives, or reactivities. Target congruence consists of three components: target antagonism (characteristics of the victim arouse the offender's anger or jealousy), target gratifiability (characteristics of the victim lead to victimization because they are qualities that the offender wants to obtain or use), and target vulnerability (characteristics of the victim that demonstrate an inability to resist or deter victimization).

Finally, Cohen et al. (1981) argued that opportunity varies by type of crime. Crime specificity is important for opportunity explanations of victimization because the effect of the preceding four elements can vary by type of crime. Specifically, Cohen et al. suggested that target attractiveness, guardianship, exposure, and proximity were more likely to be associated with crimes that are prompted by instrumental motivations rather than expressive ones. Similarly, the opportunity structure surrounding different types of offenses can differ for practical reasons; for example, as noted by Cohen et al. (1981), some crimes require extensive knowledge of the victim's activities, while others do not.

Research on Exposure. A summary of literature testing the effect of routine activities on victimization can be found in Table 2.2. Research has shown support for the hypothesis that both property and violent victimization increase with exposure, which is often studied on its own due to a focus on activities that take individuals away from their homes. According to Cohen and Cantor's (1981) study using data from the National Crime Survey, household occupancy – at least one household member staying at home rather than participating in the workforce – was negatively related to burglary victimization. Miethe et al. (1987) found that both nighttime and daytime activities were related to property crime victimization. Additionally, scholars have examined the effect of leisure activities on property victimization; many studies find that

increased time spent engaging in leisure activities increases the risk of victimization. Breaking and entering and vehicle theft victimization are associated with time spent at bars, in class, or working and time spent walking or driving (Kennedy and Forde, 1990). College students are more likely to experience theft on campus when they spend more nights on campus (Fisher, Sloan, Cullen, and Lu, 1998). A survey of Chinese adults shows that personal theft and swindling victimization are both related to travel patterns; those who travel for work or leisure are more likely to be victimized (Messner, Lu, Zhang, and Liu, 2007).

Studies using violent victimization as the dependent variable have also found that patterns of leisure activities are related to the risk of victimization. Data from the National Crime Survey found that violent victimization is more likely for those who spend more nights out (Miethe et al., 1987). An analysis of the Canadian Urban Victimization Survey shows that both assault and robbery victimization are associated with time spent at bars, in class or working, and time spent walking or driving (Kennedy and Forde, 1990). According to Miethe and McDowall (1993), individuals are more likely to experience violent victimization when they engage in dangerous activities, such as going to bars, going to places that teenagers frequent, and taking public transportation. Additionally, individuals who live near public areas, such as schools, convenience stores, bars, restaurants, offices, parks or playgrounds, shopping malls, bus stops, and hotels, are more likely to experience victimization (Miethe and McDowall, 1993). Using the British Crime Survey, Sampson and Lauritsen (1990) and Miethe and Meier (1990) found that those who spent more nights out were likely to be victimized by assault. Specifically, going out at night was related to assault by strangers, but not assault by acquaintances (Sampson and Lauritsen, 1990). Similarly, Fisher et al. (1998) found the number of nights spent partying per week to be associated with violence. Sexual victimization is associated with frequency at

Table 2.2: Studies Testing the Effect of Routine Activities on Victimization

Citation	Data	Outcome	Opportunity Measures	Significant Predictors (Opportunity)
Burrow & Apel (2008)	NCVS – School Crime Supplement	In and out of school assault and larceny victimization	Exposure: age, male, minority, family income, school performance, college expectations, extracurriculars, long commute to school, leave school for lunch, skipped class, fought at school, brought weapon, Proximity: central city residence, residential instability, public school, middle school, rule clarity Guardianship: intact family, family size, sibling at school, school disorder, physical security, non-physical security,	Community assault: age(+), male(+), minority(-), school assault(+), intact family(-) School assault: age(-), male(+), minority(-), community assault(+), central city(+), residential instability(+), intact family(-) Community larceny: age(+), male(+), minority(-), school larceny(+), central city(+), intact family(-) School larceny: age(-), community larceny(+), central city(+), family income(+)
Cass (2007)	Understanding Crime Victimization Among College Students in the US 1993-1994	sexual assault victimization on campus	Individual: number of days and nights on campus, student status Campus: self-defense class, escort service, fence, perimeter barriers, key card access, security checks, closed roads, number of police officers and patrol officers and supervisors	None
Cohen & Cantor (1981)	National Crime Survey	Burglary victimization	Household occupancy (more occupied = at least one person unable to work, retired, housekeeping, or spending less than 15 hours away from home)	Occupancy(-)
Fisher et al. (2010)	NCWSV	sexual victimization and repeat sexual victimization	Proximity (frequency at places exclusively male, co-ed dorm, in relationship), exposure (frequency at places with alcohol, sorority), suitability (substance use), guardianship (attend seminar, carry self-protection, live alone)	Frequency at exclusive male places(+) and places with alcohol(+), substance use(+), carry self-protection(+), self-protective action during first incident(-)

Fisher et al. (1998)	Understanding Crime Victimization Among College Students in the US 1993-1994	on-campus violent and theft victimization	Proximity (male dorm, coed dorm, size of dorm, maleXsize, coedXsize, days on campus, nights on campus, academic standing), attractiveness (money spent per week), exposure (nights partying on and near campus, drug use, alcohol use, fraternity/sorority, athletics), guardianship (attending awareness program, asking someone to watch property)	Violence: nights partying(+), Theft: nights on campus(+), money spent per week(+), fraternity/sorority(-), asking someone to watch property(-)
Henson et al. (2010)	Survey of students from rural KY high school	Violent victimization (minor and serious)	Unstructured lifestyles (e-lifestyle, driving with friends, texting, spending time with romantic partner), structured lifestyles (time with family, homework/reading, school sports, extracurriculars, church activities), working, delinquency	Minor: time with romantic partner(-), delinquent lifestyle(+), e-lifestyleXgender(+) Serious: delinquent lifestyle(+)
Jensen & Brownfield (1986)	Monitoring the Future	Victimization (property, violent, vandalism)	Risky activities (riding for fun, bars, parties), other activities (evenings out, dates, drive, movies, visit friends, shopping, job), delinquent lifestyle	Delinquency(+), risky activities(+), evenings out(+), dates(+), visit friends(+), shopping(-)
Kennedy and Forde (1990)	Canadian Urban Victimization Survey	Victimization (breaking and entering, vehicle theft, assault, robbery)	Nighttime activities (sports, movie/theater/restaurant, meetings/bingo, work/class, visit friends, walk/drive, bar/pub,)	B&E: bar(+), work/class(+), walk/drive(+) Vehicle theft: bar(+), work/class(+) Assault: bar(+), work/class(+), walk/drive(+) Robbery: bar(+), walk/drive(+)
Lasley (1989)	British Crime Survey	Predatory victimization	Nights out, self-reported drinking, drinking lifestyle	Drinking lifestyle(+)
Messner et al. (2007)	Survey of Chinese adults	Victimization (personal theft, swindle, robbery, assault)	Guardianship: physical strength, self-defense/alert Attractiveness: wears jewelry Activities: eat out, time home to work, take bus, leisure travel, work travel	Personal theft: eat out(+), take bus(+), work travel(+) Swindle: self-defense/alert(-), leisure travel(+), work travel(+) Robbery: none Assault: self-defense/alert(-)

Miethe & McDowall (1993)	Survey of adults in Seattle	Victimization (burglary, violence by strangers)	Home unoccupied, dangerous activities, family income, carried valuables, expensive goods, safety precautions, live alone, busy places	Violent crime: dangerous activity(+), busy places(+) Burglary: home unoccupied(+), family income(+), expensive goods(+), safety precautions(-)
Miethe & Meier (1990)	British Crime Survey	Victimization (burglary, theft, violence)	Proximity (inner city area, perceived danger, average rate of offending in neighborhood), exposure (evenings out for social activities, evenings out walking, pm hours home unoccupied, day hours home unoccupied), target attractiveness (social class, owns VCR, carries cash), guardianship (lives alone, doesn't have burglar alarm or carry weapon for protection)	Burglary: central city(+), perceived danger(+), home empty(+), VCR(+), live alone(+), no protection(+), female(+) Theft: central city(+), perceived danger(+), high crime area(+), night activities(+), live alone(+), female(+) Assault: central city(+), perceived danger(+), high crime area(+), night activities(+), low social class(+), carries cash(+), lives alone(+), no protection(+), age less than 30(+), female(+)
Miethe et al. (1987)	National Crime Survey	Violent and property victimization	Night activity, daily activity	Violent: night activity(+), nightactivityX race(+), nightactivityXgender(+), day activityXrace(+), dayactivityX age(+), dayactivityXsingle(+) Property: night activity(+), day activity(+), dayactivityXage(+), nightactivityXrace(+), dayactivityXsingle(+)

Mustaine & Tewksbury (1998)	Surveys of 1,513 college students	Victimization (major and minor theft)	Activities away from home (eating out, studying, walking, jogging, night entertainment, bar, play sports, gym, mall, theater, sports, organizations), time exposed (away from home weekday or weekend, with acquaintances weekday or weekend, time alone weekday or weekend, age of those spending time with, age of those drinks with), self-reported illegal behavior, home security measures (security system, extra lock, interior lights, exterior lights, dog), alcohol or drug use	Minor theft: eating out(+), studying(+), night entertainment(-), organized sports(-), theater(-), sports(-), age of others one drinks with(-), arrested(+), aggravated assault(+), threatened others(+), vandalism(+), entered another's home(+), dog in residence(-), drunk in public(+), uses acid(+), uses marijuana(+), grows marijuana(+), abandoned bldgs(-), unattended dogs(+), unsupervised youth(+), too much crime(+), too much noise(+) Major theft: eating out(+), studying(+), mall(-), sports(-), member of many clubs(+), time with acquaintances weekday(-), time spent alone weekend(-), age of others one drinks with(-), aggravated assault(+), threatened others(+), extra locks(-), dog(-), alcohol use(+), drunk in public(+), gang graffiti(+), street light(-), too much noise(+)
Mustaine & Tewksbury (2000)	Surveys of 1,513 college students	Assault victimization	Illegal behavior, alcohol/drug use, leisure activities, exposure to potential offenders	Lives alone(+), lives near liquor store(+), lives near vacant houses(-), disruptive neighbors(+), unsupervised kids(+), frequent drinking during week(+), % drinking spent at home(+), frequent basketball or tennis(+), eating out(+), gym(-), festival/community events(-), arrested(+), % weekday spent alone(-), % weekday spent away from home(+), % weekend alone(-), % weekend with strangers(-), age of people one drinks with(-), age of people one hangs with(+)

Mustaine & Tewksbury (2000)	Surveys of 1,513 college students	Victim-offender overlap	Illegal behavior, alcohol/drug use, leisure activities, exposure to potential offenders	Male(+), married(-), employment(+), lives near graffiti(+), lives near park(+), neighborhood has loose dogs(+), recently bought drugs(-), sold drugs(+), grew marijuana(+), used crack(+),% drinking in public(+),frequent basketball or tennis(-), eating out(+), organized sports(-), arrested(+), entering home(+), stolen from stranger(+), % weekday away from home(+), % weekend with strangers(+), age of people one drinks with(-)
Pauwels & Svensson (2011)	Halmstad School Survey (Sweden); Sint-Niklaas School Survey (Belgium)	Self-reported victimization	Lifestyle risk (delinquent friends, nights spent in city-centre, alcohol use), offending	Halmstad Survey: lifestyle risk(+), offending(+) Sint-Niklaas Survey: offending(+)
Peguero et al. (2011)	ELS:2002	School-based violent and property victimization	Attractiveness (academic and athletic extracurricular activities), exposure (school misbehavior), proximity (school-level misbehavior), guardianship (school-level general security and security for activities)	Violence: athletic activities(+), academicactivitiesXrace(+), athleticXrace(+), exposure(+), exposureXrace(-), proximity(+) Property: academic activities(+), athletic activities(+), proximity(+), exposure(+), exposureXrace(-)
Sampson & Lauritsen (1990)	British Crime Survey	Assault victimization; assault victimization by strangers or acquaintances	Nights out for leisure, drinking	Assault: nights out(+) Stranger assault: nights out(+), drinking(+) Acquaintance assault: none
Sampson & Wooldredge (1987)		Burglary, HH theft, personal theft, larceny without contact	Individual: Nights out, HH empty, HH appliances, VCR Community: % VCR, % HH empty, area cash flow, street activity	Burglary: HH empty(+), % VCR HH theft: none Personal theft: nights out(+), street activity(+) Larceny: nights out(+), area cash flow(+), street activity(+)

Spano et al. (2008)	Mobile Youth Survey	Violent victimization	Gang membership, gun carrying, employment status, hours per week employed, violent behavior, drinking/drug use	Hours per week employed(+),violent behavior(+)
Taylor et al. (2008)	Survey of 8th graders in public school	Serious violent victimization	Unstructured leisure, available drugs/alcohol, drug use, delinquency, gang membership	Gang(+), available drugs/alcohol(+), delinquency(+)
Taylor et al. (2007)	Survey of 8th graders in public school	Violent victimization, serious violent victimization	Gang membership, unsupervised leisure time, availability of alcohol/drugs, delinquency	General: gang(-),unstructured leisure(+), available drug/ alcohol(+), delinquency(+) Serious: gang(+),available drug/alcohol(+), delinquency(+)
Wilcox Rountree et al. (1994)	Victimization survey from Seattle, WA	Violent or burglary victimization	Individual: Exposure (dangerous activity, home unoccupied), target attractiveness (family income, expensive goods), guardianship (safety precautions, lives alone) Community: incivilities, ethnic heterogeneity, population density	Violence: exposure(+) Burglary: exposure(+), target attractiveness(+), guardianship(-), neighborhood incivilities(+), ethnic heterogeneity(+)
Wooldredge et al. (1992)	Survey of 422 university faculty members	Property victimization, personal victimization	Exposure (nights per week on campus, # students enrolled, walking alone on campus, socializing with students, months on leave per year), guardianship (# colleagues within shouting distance, teaching all classes in office bldg., office in most secured bldg.), target attractiveness (office in "high-status" bldg.), perceived dangerousness	Property: on campus after hours(+), colleagues within shouting distance(-), teach in office bldg.(-), office in most secure bldg.(-), generally feel safe(-) Personal: on campus after hours(+), walk alone on campus(+), socialize with students(+), generally feel safe(-)

male places and places with alcohol (Fisher, Daigle, and Cullen, 2010). Mustaine and Tewksbury (1998) found that several types of leisure activities were positively related to both violent and property victimization, although some leisure activities were not associated with victimization or were protective factors against victimization.

Mustaine and Tewksbury's (1998) study demonstrates the importance of specifying types of activities (see also Henson, Reyns, and Cullen, 2010). Some activities outside the home, such as going out to eat and leaving home to study, were positively related to victimization. However, other activities, such as going to the mall and playing sports, were negatively associated with victimization. These findings show that simply engaging in activities outside one's home does not necessarily increase the risk of victimization; therefore, more work is needed to understand how certain types of activities are associated with victimization. Further, different types of activities expose individuals to each type of victimization. For example, in Miethe and Meier's (1990) analyses using data from the British Crime Survey, theft and assault victimization were positively related to one's nighttime activities, while burglary victimization was more likely for individuals whose homes were left empty, regardless of the time of day.

Research on Proximity. Beyond the effects of lifestyle-related exposure to motivated offenders, research has shown that violent victimization is more likely when proximity to offenders is high. According to Miethe and Meier (1990), central city location, respondents' perceptions of risk in their neighborhoods, and neighborhood crime rate – all indicative of proximity to offenders – were related to risk of assault victimization. Burrow and Apel's (2008) study using the NCVS School Crime Supplement concluded that two measures of proximity, central city location and residential instability, were positively associated with assault victimization. Fisher and colleagues' (2010) study of sexual victimization found that women

who spent more time at exclusive male places and places with alcohol were more likely to experience sexual assault due to proximity to potential offenders.

Property victimization is also related to proximity to offenders. Using data from the British Crime Survey, Miethe and Meier (1990) found two measures of proximity, central city location and respondents' perceptions of danger in the community, were related to burglary and theft victimization. An additional measure of proximity, residence in a high-crime area, was related to theft victimization. Burrow and Apel (2008) found one proximity measure, central city location, positively associated with larceny victimization. According to Fisher et al. (1998), the number of nights that college students spend on campus is indicative of proximity to motivated offenders. This measure was positively related to theft victimization.

Research on Target Attractiveness. The importance of target attractiveness in determining violent victimization has also received support in the literature. Those who carry cash more frequently are at increased risk of assault (Miethe and Meier, 1990). Fisher et al.'s (2010) survey of college women shows that substance use, which is posited to increase the suitability as a target for sexual victimization, was associated with increased risk of sexual victimization. According to Peguero et al. (2011), students who are involved in extracurricular activities may be perceived as more suitable targets; the results showed that school-based violent victimization is more likely when individuals are involved in athletic activities (this interacts with race, with minority students more vulnerable due to athletic or acacdemic activities).

The concept of target attractiveness has also received support from research examining risk of property victimization. Using data from the British Crime Survey, Miethe and Meier's (1990) analyses showed that individuals who owned expensive items (VCRs) were more likely to experience burglary victimization (see also Sampson and Wooldredge, 1987). Analyses

conducted by Miethe and McDowall (1993) and Wilcox Rountree et al. (1994) utilizing data from a survey of Seattle residents also found that family income and possession of a large number of expensive items – such as color televisions, VCRs, 35mm cameras, home computers, and motorcycles – were positively related to burglary victimization. Fisher et al.'s (1998) study of college students found that the amount of money spent per week was a significant predictor of theft victimization. According to Peguero et al. (2011), individuals who are involved with athletic or academic extracurricular activities are more likely to experience school-based property victimization.

Research on Guardianship. Studies show that guardianship is negatively related to both violent and property victimization. According to Miethe and Meier (1990), those who live alone were more likely to experience assault while those who reported carrying weapons for protection were less likely to be victims of assault. Similarly, Fisher et al. (2010) found that carrying self-protection reduced the risk of sexual assault. Further, their study showed that engaging in self protective actions during the first incident reduced the risk of repeat sexual victimization. Messner et al. (2007), in a survey of Chinese adults, found that individuals who engage in self defense or attempt to stay alert were less likely to be victims of assault. Burrow and Apel (2008) concluded that the guardianship provided by an intact family structure reduced the risk of assault victimization both in school and in the community.

The risk of property victimization is also reduced by engaging in guardianship measures or actions. According to Miethe and McDowall (1993) and Wilcox Rountree et al. (1994), those who employ safety precautions – such as locking doors; leaving lights on; using extra locks; participating in crime prevention programs; owning burglar alarms, dogs, or weapons; or having neighbors watch their home – are less likely to experience burglary victimization. In

Wooldredge, Cullen, and Latessa's (1992) survey of faculty members, on-campus property victimization was negatively related to having more colleagues within shouting distance, teaching in the same building in which one's office is located, and teaching in a high-security building. Miethe and Meier (1990) found that burglary and theft are related to guardianship measures; those who live alone were more likely to be victims of either crime. Individuals who did not report carrying weapons for protection were more likely to be victims of burglary; this relationship did not hold for theft victimization (Miethe and Meier, 1990). According to Mustaine and Tewksbury (1998), the risk of experiencing theft is lower for those who have extra locks or dogs in their residence. College students who ask someone to watch over their property are less likely to experience theft (Fisher et al., 1998). Those who live in intact families, which provide additional guardianship, are less likely to experience larceny (Burrow and Apel, 2008).

VIOLENT SUBCULTURE: "STREET" CODES AND CRIME

Another theory that has been used to explain both offending and victimization is subcultural theory. According to Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967), a criminogenic subculture is a group that, while being part of the larger culture, holds values that are not consistent with the values held by mainstream society. This theory assumes that individuals who participate in the groups that adhere to the contradictory values are socialized into the subculture, so that their behavior is appropriate according to the beliefs of the group. These groups often enforce these behaviors, meaning that individuals who do not engage in activities that are valued by the subculture may be subjected to ridicule or other means of social control.

Many subcultural theories maintain that minority and lower-class groups adhere to

criminogenic subcultures. For example, Daniel Moynihan (1965) argued that racial differences in poverty and delinquency were not the result of a lack of jobs, but rather a destructive cultural element that stemmed from the weakening of the African-American family and the rise in female-headed households. According to Moynihan, the harmful effects of slavery and Jim Crow laws prevented non-white males from fulfilling their roles as patriarchs of families, which also inhibited proper socialization of African-American youth.

Similarly, Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) also noted the failure of traditional institutions – such as the family – in the African-American community, which prevents individuals from learning conventional values through proper socialization. They argue that, because of this lack of conventional values, African-American youth engage in dispute resolution through violence rather than through traditional, prosocial means. To illustrate this fact, they note homicide statistics, which show that murder is more likely to be committed by members of lower social class or minority groups. While crime in general is higher among these groups, the racial or class differences are greater for aggressive crimes than for property crimes that do not involve violence.

In the last few decades, scholars have moved away from theories that suggest there is a monolithic subculture of violence among certain groups. Rather, scholars have begun to integrate theories of criminogenic subculture with theories regarding the structural characteristics of neighborhoods. For example, Sampson and Wilson (1995) argue that the social isolation that occurs in communities experiencing concentrated disadvantage has contributed to cultural adaptations to poverty that undermine social control. They argue that this is not a racial culture but rather is an attenuated mainstream culture stemming from poverty that is concentrated among non-whites. The idea is that most people believe in conventional values, but some live in

contexts so devoid of legitimate opportunities and legitimate law that behavior in accordance with conventional values is not particularly useful. In such contexts, deviant behavior is tolerated, and perhaps even expected.

Elijah Anderson's *Code of the Street*, published in 1999, explores the effect of structural characteristics on culture. According to Anderson, economic processes that result in concentrated disadvantage in inner-city neighborhoods, along with long-term racism and discrimination (including residential racial segregation) have resulted in cultural adaptations that are not simply the result of socialization processes, as argued by early scholars in the subcultural tradition. Because of the lack of upward mobility, individuals in these communities turn to what Anderson terms the "code of the street" for strategies to become successful within the community. Further, the high crime rates in these neighborhoods give residents a constant feeling of danger. However, residents of these communities have a deep-seated mistrust of the police, which makes it necessary for them to adopt cultural strategies of self-protection.

Due to the social and economic conditions in these neighborhoods and the subsequent feelings of alienation from mainstream society, some residents of these communities reject traditional values and do not subscribe to conventional methods of achieving success, such as through educational and career achievements. Instead, they turn to the code of the street, which, as will be discussed in the next section, encourages aggressive and violent behavior.

Anderson's code of the street hypothesis (1999) explains the link between the neighborhood processes described above and the individual behavior exhibited by those affected by concentrated disadvantage. Due to the poverty and isolation experienced in the community, respect – which is necessary to demonstrate one's dominance and status – becomes the predominant capital in these neighborhoods. Respect is important for mainstream society as

well; however, traditional methods of obtaining respect – such as earning money legitimately, forming and providing for a family, and joining local organizations – are withheld from individuals living in communities marked by concentrated disadvantage. Therefore, members of impoverished communities reject these indicators of status and turn to the code of the street for new strategies for earning respect and prestige.

Subculture and Offending: A Review of the Literature

As described by Anderson (1999), the code of the street provides an informal set of rules that guides followers in obtaining respect from others in the community. Under the street code, violence and sexual prowess are indicators of masculinity and can therefore be important in instilling respect. Because respect is so highly valued, it is vital that one does not lose it by failing to respond appropriately to perceived slights. The alienation and deep-seated mistrust of the police further require individuals to respond themselves. This is in line with Donald Black's (1983) argument that violence can be seen as a form of social control known as self-help, in which individuals who have no other recourse for dealing with interpersonal issues will use violence to solve problems.

According to the code of the street, an individual must respond to any insult or expression of disrespect in order to maintain his or her status. Failure to aggressively deal with violators may label him as a "chump" and show others that he is an easy target for future victimization or disrespect. Therefore, the code of the street encourages violence and aggression as prescribed methods of dealing with those who behave in an insulting or disrespectful manner in order to maintain one's reputation as being tough and not to be messed with. As argued by Silverman (2004), maintaining a reputation in the criminal world can be a powerful motivator and can

explain criminal activity in which there is little financial gain.

See Table 2.3 for a summary of quantitative studies testing the effects of values in line with the code of the street on offending. Research indicates that individuals who hold aggressive values are more likely to engage in violent behavior (Heimer, 1997; Colder, Mott, Levy, and Flay, 2000; McNulty and Bellair, 2003; Baron, 2009). Furthermore, the presence of violent definitions affects the likelihood of engaging in violence for both genders (Heimer and De Coster, 1999). Beliefs related to the code of the street, specifically pertaining to the use of violence as a source of respect, are a predictor of violent behavior and aggression in adults, adolescents, and children (Hartnagel, 1980; Felson, Liska, South, and McNulty, 1994; Stewart, Simons, and Conger, 2002; Simons, Chen, Stewart, and Brody, 2003; Ousey and Wilcox, 2005; Stewart and Simons, 2006; Stewart and Simons, 2010; Berg et al., 2012; Matsuda, Melde, Taylor, Freng, and Esbensen, 2012). Further, such attitudes partially mediate the effect of socioeconomic characteristics on violence (Heimer, 1997; Markowitz and Felson, 1998).

Related to the notion of "street values," scholars also suggest that the relationship between structural characteristics and crime is due to differential disputatiousness, or the likelihood that an individual will perceive a negative outcome or action by others as an injury or wrong that requires retaliation (Luckenbill and Doyle; 1989). This hypothesis has been supported by research; in a study of ex-offenders and the general population, Markowitz and Felson (1998) found that disputatiousness was significantly related to violence against strangers and acquaintances. Further, disputatiousness is affected by one's attitudes toward violence and retribution and explains the effect of those attitudes on violent behavior.

Table 2.3: Studies Testing the Effect of Code-Related Beliefs on Offending

Citation	Data	Outcome	Code Measures	Significant Predictors (Code)
Agnew (1994)	National Youth Survey	Violent behavior	Approval of violence, neutralizationXapproval	NeutralizationXapproval(+)
Agnew (2002)	High School Youth, Weapons, and Violence survey	Delinquency	Aggressive beliefs	Aggressive beliefs(+)
Allen & Lo (2012)	Firearms, Violence, and Youth in CA, IL, LA, and NJ	Drug dealing and gun carrying	Code-based beliefs	Code-based beliefs (+)
Ball-Rokeach (1973)	Survey of 1,429 adult Americans, 363 incarcerated men in Michigan	Inter-personal violence, violent crime	Pro-violent attitudes	Weak relationship between values and IPV, no relationship between values and official records of violent crime
Baron (2009)	300 interviews in Toronto	Violence	Violent values	Violent values(+)
Baron & Hartnagel (1998)	200 interviews with male street youth	Violent behavior	Length of homelessness, criminal peers/peer pressure, alcohol/drug use	Time on street(+), criminal peers(+), peer pressure(-), drinking(+)
Berg et al. (2012)	FACHS	Violent behavior	Neighborhood street culture	Street culture(+), victimizationXstreet culture(+)
Bernburg & Thorlindsson (2005)	National survey of Icelandic adolescents	Aggressive behavior	Neutralization values, retribution values, and conduct norms at individual and school levels	School: conduct norms(+) Individual: neutralization values(+), conduct norms(+)
Brezina et al. (2004)	National Youth Survey	Violent behavior	Code-related beliefs	Code-related beliefs(+)
Colder et al. (2000)	Aban Aya Youth Project	Verbal aggression, physical fighting, gang involvement	Positive beliefs about aggression	Positive beliefs about aggression(+)
Felson et al. (1994)	Youth in Transition	Aggression	Subculture of violence at individual and school levels	Individual and school culture(+)

Hartnagel (1980)	Survey of adolescents in a Maryland county	Violent behavior	Approval of violence	Approval of violence(+)
Heimer (1997)	National Youth Survey	Self-reported violent delinquency	Parents' disapproval of violence, definitions favorable to violence	Definitions favorable to violence(+)
Heimer & De Coster (1999)	National Youth Survey	Self-reported violent delinquency	Violent definitions	Females: violent definitions(+) Males: violent definitions(+)
Markowitz & Felson (1998)	Interviews of ex-offenders and the general population	Violence against strangers and those known	Disputatious-ness, attitudes toward retribution and courage	Disputatiousness(+)
Matsuda et al. (2012)	National evaluation of GREAT program	Violent delinquency	Street code, violent neutralizations	Street code(+), violent neutralizations(+)
McGloin et al. (2011).	RSVP	Overall delinquency, specialization in violence	Subculture of violence	Subculture of violence(+)
McGrath et al. (2012)	Survey of 208 male residents of a work-release facility	Violence, drug/alcohol use	Violent values	Violence: violent values(+) Drug/alcohol: none
McNulty & Bellair (2003)	National Education Longitudinal Survey	Violent offending	Belief that it's ok to fight	Belief that it's ok to fight(+)
Ousey & Wilcox (2005)	RSVP	Violent offending	Culture at individual and school level	Individual violent values(+)
Piquero et al. (2012)	Nationwide survey of adults	delinquency	Street code	None
Simons et al. (2003)	FACHS	Violent offending	Legitimacy of violence (aggression justified)	Aggression justified(+)
Singer (1981)	Delinquency in a Birth Cohort	Violent delinquency (self-report & official)	Gang membership	Self-report: gang membership(+) Official: gang membership(+)
Stewart & Simons (2006)	FACHS	Violent offending	Code of the street	Code of the street(+)

Stewart & Simons (2010)	FACHS	Violent delinquency	Neighborhood and individual street code	Neighborhood culture(+), Individual culture(+)
Stewart et al. (2002)	FACHS	Childhood violent behavior	Adopting a street code	Street code(+)
Zavala & Spohn (2013)	National Survey of Weapon-Related Experiences, Behaviors, and Concerns of High School Youth	Violent offending	Aggressive beliefs	None

In addition to affecting violent behavior, values in line with the street code have been found to be associated with non-violent delinquency (Agnew, 2002). In fact, in a study using data from Rural Substance Abuse and Violence Project (RSVP), McGloin, Schreck, Stewart, and Ousey (2011) found that those who held subcultural values were more likely to report involvement in delinquency, but were not more likely to specialize in violent offending. Allen and Lo's (2012) analysis of the dataset "Firearms, Violence, and Youth in CA, IL, LA, and NJ" showed that code-based beliefs are associated with co-occurring gun-carrying and drug dealing. Using data from inmates in a work-release institution, McGrath, Marcum, and Copes' (2012) analysis found that violent values, while not significantly related to violent behavior, were associated with substance use.

Scholars suggest that the code of the street creates a situation in which the use of violence is perceived as necessary, and qualitative work has supported this posited process. Qualitative studies find that respondents feel pressured to behave violently in order to protect themselves; they believe that failure to respond to affronts, even when trivial, will invite future victimization (Jacobs and Wright, 2006). In Brookman, Bennett, Hochstetler, and Copes' (2011) interviews with incarcerated offenders, four major themes regarding violent behavior arose. First, offenders reported feeling the need to physically respond to any action they perceived as disrespectful. Second, they claimed that violence was necessary to avoid future victimization. Third, they felt that violence and aggression served as strategies for conflict management and would show others that they were self-reliant. Fourth, they argued that it was necessary to maintain a formidable reputation and that behaving violently was the best way to do so.

Some individuals claim that they are not violent by nature, but rather are obligated to engage in violence due to situations that occur on the street (Kennedy and Baron, 1993).

Similarly, offenders provide justifications for their actions that demonstrate a commitment to the moral order, suggesting that the code of the street provides an incentive toward violence in people who may not behave violently otherwise (Ray and Simons, 1987). In a study by Garot (2007), many respondents claimed that fighting was necessary to maintain one's reputation. However, they avoided fighting when they could do so without a loss of respectability. They described several situations in which fighting was not desirable, including when the odds were unequal, when the matters of dispute were too trivial, or when the risks of fighting outweighed the rewards. Additionally, they claimed that attacking particular targets, such as women and those weaker than them, has the potential of making them seem weaker or less masculine.

Violent values also interact with other factors to increase the likelihood of engaging in violent behavior. Agnew (1994) noted positive interactions between violent neutralization and approval of violence and violent neutralization and delinquent peers. Code-related beliefs also interact with previous experiences with victimization; the effect of the code of the street on offending is stronger for those who have been victimized (Berg et al., 2012).

It is important to note that situational factors are important determinants of whether subcultural values will translate into violent incidents (Felson and Steadman, 1983). Research on the situational nature of violent behavior has shown that violence is more likely to occur in public leisure situations, especially when these situations involve the use of drugs or alcohol. As discussed by Anderson, the increased likelihood of engaging in violence in public can be explained by the necessity of displaying aggressive behavior in order to obtain respect from others in the community. Public displays of violence communicate to potential attackers that certain individuals are not to be messed with. As noted by Copes and Hochstetler (2003), failure to follow the street code's prescription for violence in public can severely damage one's

masculine reputation. Similarly, violence by those who adhere to the street code can be elicited by others with similar values. Luckenbill's (1977) analysis of official data shows that homicides often occur in the presence of bystanders, with the witnesses becoming an active part of the transaction between the offender and victim. In many cases, the audience encouraged the offender's actions. Similarly, Griffiths, Yule, and Gartner (2011) found that issues of contention at the center of violent incidents were more often trivial when a large number of bystanders were present at the incident.

Research on contextual influences on crime has found that aggregate-level subculture is a significant predictor of crime above and beyond the effect of individual-level violent values. Stewart and Simons (2010) found that neighborhood subculture had an independent effect on violent delinquency after controlling for other community and individual factors. Studies on subculture at the school level have also shown that delinquency can be affected by the cultural context in which people operate (Felson et al., 1994; Ousey and Wilcox, 2005).

Subculture and Victimization: A Review of the Literature

While a number of studies have examined and found support for the hypothesized positive the effect of criminogenic subcultures on violent behavior and aggression, the effect of violent values on victimization is less clear. The adoption of subcultural values favorable to violence is considered by Anderson (1999) and other scholars to be a protective measure, but other researchers have argued that adherence to the code of the street actually increases the risk of violent victimization.

According to Anderson (1999), the street code is perceived by residents of disadvantaged communities to increase one's safety because of the belief that potential attackers will recognize

an individual who displays aggressive masculine behavior as someone best left alone. In contrast, failing to follow the street code is believed to leave one vulnerable to attacks; individuals who do not behave according to the code are labeled "weak" and could be considered optimal targets. While behaving according to the code of the street opens up the possibility of serious injury or even death, individuals operating under these values believe that the alternative – the loss of respect and subsequent mistreatment – would be worse. This belief is demonstrated in research involving active street offenders who have participated in retaliatory attacks (Jacobs, 2004; Jacobs and Wright, 2006). These offenders claim that, following an experience of assault or theft, individuals on the street must respond violently in order to show the attackers and others that continuing to target them would not be in their best interests.

However, it has also been argued that victimization risk increases due to one's involvement with subcultural groups or the values inherent in the code of the street. There are three major explanations for this positive relationship between violent values and violent victimization. First, those with violent values may contribute to their own victimization by others with such beliefs through a process known as victim precipitation. As noted by Stewart, Schreck, and Simons (2006), adherents of the street code frequently behave in ways that are perceived as disrespectful. This behavior, in turn, encourages others who behave according to the code of the street to respond violently in order to save face. Such behavior can increase the risk of victimization or increase the intensity of a violent encounter (Wolfgang, 1958; Luckenbill, 1977; Felson and Steadman, 1983). Furthermore, it is possible that those who adhere the most strongly to the code of the street and have the "baddest" reputation may be attractive targets to others who seek to earn respect; attacking such individuals would result in a higher gain in respect than would an attack on a weaker individual.

Second, the street code can contribute to victimization due to its focus on retaliation. As discussed above, retaliating violently to a perceived injury to one's reputation is thought to reduce the chance of future victimization. However, Jacobs and Wright (2006) note the occurrence of counter-retaliation, in which the retaliatory attack by the initial victim or wronged party is so intense that the initial offender comes to perceive himself as having suffered an injury, causing him to seek retribution.

Third, as hypothesized in this dissertation, subcultural values may also influence one's victimization risk indirectly through an increase in public activities. Individuals who are invested in the street code associate with violent peers and place themselves in public situations in which victimization is likely (Kennedy and Baron, 1993). As discussed by Anderson (1999), violent encounters often occur in staging areas, or public spaces such as parks, street corners, or bars and clubs. These areas allow individuals to build their reputations by committing violence in front of an audience, increasing the amount of respect earned by a single encounter. Further, failing to act according to the code in public can be more detrimental to one's reputation than a similar failure in a situation with fewer witnesses (Copes and Hochstetler, 2003). Those who are most invested in the code of the street may seek out these areas in order to engage in violence publicly. At the same time, increasing the amount of time spent in public would increase one's exposure and proximity to potential offenders. According to Jody Miller (2008), staging areas are sometimes so risky that some individuals avoid them in an attempt to prevent victimization or harassment. However, such avoidance would likely violate the code of the street; therefore, those who adhere to the street code may consider it a less valid option for self-protection than engaging in violence (Polk, 1999).

Table 2.4 provides a summary of quantitative studies on the effect of subculture on

victimization. A number of studies have found a negative relationship between subculture and victimization, although many of these studies do not measure victimization directly. Qualitative observations and interviews demonstrate the common perception held by individuals who adhere

Table 2.4: Studies Testing the Effect of Code-Related Beliefs on Victimization

Citation	Data	Outcome	Code Measures	Significant Predictors (Code)
Berg et al. (2012)	FACHS	Violent victimization	Neighborhood street culture	Neighborhood street culture(+), delinquencyXculture(+)
Jensen & Brownfield (1986)	Monitoring the Future Study (1981), survey of high school students in AZ	Victimization (theft, vandalism, violence)	Delinquency	Delinquency(+)
Melde et al. (2009)	Survey of students	General victimization	Gang membership, gang onset at time 2, only in gang at time 1	Late gang onset(+)
Schreck et al. (2012)	RSVP	Violent and non-violent victimization	Violent subculture	Violent subculture(+)
Stewart et al. (2006)	FACHS	Violent victimization	Adopting the street code	Street code(+)
Taylor et al. (2007)	Survey of 8th graders in public school	Violent victimization, serious violent victimization	Gang membership, guilt, neutralizations	General: gang(-), guilt(+) Serious: gang(+), guilt(+)
Taylor et al. (2008)	Survey of 8th graders in public school	Serious violent victimization	Gang membership, guilt, neutralizations	Gang(+)
Zavala & Spohn (2013)	National Survey of Weapon-Related Experiences, Behaviors, and Concerns of High School Youth	Violent victimization	Aggressive beliefs	none

to street culture that failure to follow the code will result in being labeled and future assaults (Jacobs, 2004; Jacobs and Wright, 2006; Garot, 2007; Brookman et al., 2011). In Baron, Kennedy, and Forde's (2001) cross-sectional study of male street youth, respondents who reported the least victimization held the strongest views favorable toward violence. They hypothesize that, for individuals whose situations leave them vulnerable to victimization, adoption of violent values serves as a protective measure.

As described above, individuals who adopt the street code do so because they perceive such values and behavior to be associated with lowered vulnerability to potential attackers. However, research suggests that this perception may be incorrect; adherence to the code of the street appears to be positively related to violent victimization (Stewart et al., 2006; Berg et al., 2012; Schreck et al., 2012).Quantitative studies using the code of the street hypothesis to explain violent victimization have found support for a positive effect of code-related beliefs on violent victimization. Stewart et al. (2006) found that individual adoption of the street code was positively related to violent victimization net of other factors believed to affect victimization. A study by Schreck et al. (2012) demonstrates that adherence to the code of the street differentiates victims of violence from victims of non-violent crimes. In addition to individual violent beliefs, neighborhood street culture also affects one's risk of victimization; those residing in communities in which the street code is dominant are more likely to experience violence (Berg et al., 2012).

Subcultural values may also interact with other factors to influence one's risk of victimization. Stewart et al. (2006) argue that the relationship between adherence to the street code and victimization may be greater for those who reside in high-crime neighborhoods. Berg, Stewart, Schreck, and Simons (2012) noted that cultural values interact with delinquency to

further increase the risk of violent victimization.

Other scholars have noted that participation in subcultural groups and adherence to subcultural values indirectly affect victimization through one's routine activities/lifestyle. Kennedy and Baron's (1993) interviews with members of a delinquent punk group in Western Canada support this notion. Respondents noted that, after joining the group, they found themselves in more public situations in which violence could occur. Additionally, they were targeted by members of rival groups specifically due to their involvement with the subculture. According to Rich and Grey (2005), African-American males who were injured in street attacks were likely to be reinjured due to two lifestyle changes made after the original attack. First, because of the prevalence of the code of the street and its emphasis on self-protection, these individuals often began carrying weapons, which may have increased their likelihood of becoming caught in a violent encounter. Second, due to the trauma of being injured in an assault, some patients turned to substance use, which decreases guardianship and increases target attractiveness. Similarly, Taylor, Freng, Esbensen, and Peterson (2008) note that gang members are at increased risk of victimization due in part to their lifestyles and substance use.

Finally, since gang members are considered to be highly enmeshed in violent subcultures, scholars have used gang membership as a proxy for individual subcultural values. While some view gang membership as a protective factor, research shows that gang membership increases the risk of violent victimization; gang members are more likely than non-gang members to experience violence and experience a greater frequency of violent victimization (Peterson et al., 2004; Taylor et al., 2007; Taylor et al., 2008; Melde, Taylor, and Esbensen, 2009). The increased vulnerability to violent crime holds for female gang members as well as for males, although female members are at less risk since they are less involved in violent altercations than

their male counterparts (Miller and Decker, 2001). The positive relationship between gang membership and victimization is assumed to be due to the increased exposure to potential offenders (Kennedy and Baron, 1993; Taylor et al., 2008), the possibility of victimization due to retaliation for earlier behavior (Miller and Decker, 2001; Jacobs and Wright, 2006), and proximity to high-risk situations due to the increase in unstructured, public leisure activities, especially those involving drugs or alcohol (Jensen and Brownfield, 1986; Kennedy and Baron, 1993; Taylor et al., 2008).

NEIGHBORHOOD DISORGANIZATION

The third theoretical perspective, social disorganization theory, is used in the current study to determine the generalizability across neighborhoods of the models presented. Like lifestyle-routine activities theory and subcultural theories, social disorganization theory has been used to account for both offending and victimization. As such, it is another theory of victimization that has withstood the empirical reality that victims and offenders are often from the same pool of individuals, thus opening the possibility that similar mechanisms account for both.

Social disorganization theory is especially useful in that it can be integrated with individual-level theories in a multilevel approach (see Miethe and McDowall, 1993; Wilcox Rountree, Land, and Miethe, 1994). A multilevel approach focuses on both individual and aggregate effects on offending and victimization. Additionally, the possibility of cross-level interactions, or variations in the effect of individual effects across community context, is emphasized. Studies that have employed this approach when examining offending and

victimization will be reviewed in the sections below.

Social Disorganization

In their classic work *Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas*, Shaw and McKay (1942) noted the concentration of offenders in neighborhoods with high rates of poverty, ethnic heterogeneity, and residential mobility. Shaw and McKay argued that these characteristics of neighborhoods affected delinquency in three major ways. First, social disorganization prevented residents of the community from forming relationships with one another, which inhibits the successful exercise of informal social control of delinquency. Second, residents of these communities were likely to experience poverty and strain. It was posited by Shaw and McKay that residents of such neighborhoods would turn to crime due to the lack of opportunities to achieve legitimate success. Third, Shaw and McKay argued that criminal subgroups would emerge in the community, with adults encouraging youths to adopt delinquent values and engage in delinquent activities.

In *Social Sources of Delinquency* (1978), Ruth Kornhauser reformulated the original conception of social disorganization theory into what became known as the systemic model of social disorganization. The systemic model removes two of the intervening mechanisms, cultural transmission and strain, and focuses on the mediating effect of community social systems, which permit residents to prevent crime through informal social control. Subsequent work in the social disorganization tradition focused on the effects of social disorganization on social ties in the neighborhood that weaken the ability of residents to exert informal social control.

While subsequent work in social disorganization focused on the systemic model,

Kornhauser also acknowledged the criminogenic effect of cultural disorganization, which is likely in communities characterized by poverty, population turnover, and diversity. Cultural disorganization occurs when the strength of individuals' adherence to conventional values weakens, thereby reducing the incentive to refrain from delinquency. When conventional values are weakened, they can be replaced by subcultural values that promote criminal behavior, such as those consistent with the code of the street.

The systemic model of social disorganization was not fully tested until Robert Sampson and W. Byron Groves' study in 1989. Using victimization data from the British Crime Survey (BCS), Sampson and Groves found that sparse friendship networks, unsupervised teenage peer groups, and low organization participation mediated the effect of poverty, ethnic heterogeneity, residential instability, and female-headed households on crime. These results were replicated using later BCS data, adding additional support for the systemic model (Lowenkamp, Cullen, and Pratt, 2003). However, a number of other studies found that social ties within communities do not always affect crime rates in the expected ways. Research indicates that social ties among neighbors do not have to be strong to reduce crime. According to Bellair (1997), crime rates were lower in communities in which residents socialized together at least once a year. Further, not all types of social ties affect crime rates in the same ways. Wilcox Rountree and Warner (1999) found that social ties among women in the community reduced crime, while social ties among male residents were not as important in differentiating between high- and low-crime areas.

Rather than reducing crime, strong social ties may actually inhibit informal social control. Patillo's (1998) ethnographic study of black middle-class communities in Chicago demonstrates that criminal networks are often highly integrated into the community and may perform

important tasks within the neighborhood. Due to this familiarity with the neighborhood's criminal element, community members are unable to effectively disrupt criminal activity. Similarly, Wilkinson (2007) conducted interviews with young males to determine when adult members of their communities intervened in undesirable situations. The study showed that adults intervened in situations in which social ties were moderate but tended not to do so when they had strong ties to the parties involved.

Due to the aforementioned issues with the systemic model, Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls (1997) developed the theory of collective efficacy. "Collective efficacy" includes two components: the community's level of trust and residents' willingness to intervene. Rather than assuming that crime is more effectively controlled when social ties are strong, collective efficacy focuses on the extent to which community members actually intervene or would intervene in situations involving crime or delinquency. Research on the effect of collective efficacy on crime demonstrates that communities with high levels of collective efficacy experience lower levels of offending and victimization (Sampson et al., 1997; Morenoff, Sampson, and Raudenbush, 2001; Browning and Dietz, 2004; Pratt and Cullen, 2005).

Physical Disorganization

Social disorganization theory maintains that structural disadvantage within a community increases crime by disrupting the maintenance of social networks between residents, hampering the ability to exert social control. In addition, the effectiveness of these networks may be impacted by other factors, such as physical characteristics of a community. For example, Markowitz, Bellair, Liska, and Liu (2001) found that the presence of physical and social disorder (noisy neighbors, loitering teenagers, litter, or graffiti and vandalism) within neighborhoods

affects crime indirectly through fear and community cohesion. Physical features of a community may also serve as indicators of a community's level of social disorganization, thereby allowing potential offenders to gauge the level of criminal opportunity that exists within a neighborhood. For example, Wilson and Kelling's (1982) broken windows theory suggests that the perpetuation of physical disorder (such as litter, vandalism, graffiti, and abandoned or dilapidated buildings) and social incivilities (such as prostitution, loitering, homelessness, gang presence, and the presence of drug addicts) serves as a signal of weakened community controls to potential offenders, resulting in an increased risk of crime.

Specifically, the presence of non-residential land within a neighborhood is a focus of community-level explanations of crime, although there is some debate regarding whether non-residential land increases crime or is a protective factor. According to some scholars, public land use attracts strangers to the neighborhood, which increases criminal opportunity in two ways. First, the presence of public land increases the chance that non-residents will be familiar with the neighborhood, making it more viable as a target area (see Smith, Frazee, and Davison, 2000; Kinney, Brantingham, Wuschke, Kirk, and Brantingham, 2008). Second, the increased traffic decreases residents' ability to differentiate between neighbors and non-residents, decreasing social ties, collective efficacy, and informal social control (Taylor, Gottfredson, and Brower, 1981; Taylor, Koons, Kurtz, Greene, and Perkins, 1995).

Conversely, others maintain that the presence of public land is associated with lower crime rates. For example, in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961), Jane Jacobs argues that the additional traffic in the neighborhood provided by non-residential property increases the number of "eyes on the street," increasing guardianship and informal social control. Additionally, certain types of non-residential land use attract non-criminal patrons and can

increase positive community relations. Peterson, Krivo, and Harris (2000) found that some non-residential land uses, such as activity centers, encouraged prosocial interactions among residents in disadvantaged areas. Communities containing such facilities had lower rates of violent crime. Similarly, Kurtz, Koons, and Taylor (1998) argue that churches and small businesses are associated with higher numbers of 'legitimate' users, which is related to a decrease in crime.

Disorganization and Offending: A Review of the Literature

Social disorganization theory does not focus on individuals' positive motivations to commit crime. Rather, it focuses on conditions that affect residents' ability to control crime. This ineffective control, in turn, allows potential offenders to engage in crime. In support of social disorganization theory, research has found that, net of individual differences, rates of offending are higher in disadvantaged neighborhoods. Delinquency is related to community levels of unemployment, female-headed households, and poverty (Hoffman, 2003), as well as the concentration of welfare recipients within neighborhoods (Oberwittler, 2004). In addition to economic factors, social characteristics of neighborhoods are related to rates of offending. Using path analyses, Elliott, Wilson, Huizinga, Sampson, Elliott, and Rankin (1996) find that neighborhood disadvantage (poverty, instability, single-headed households, and ethnic diversity) affects informal control and social integration, which in turn affect delinquency, drug use, and arrest. Further, higher rates of delinquency are found in communities that contain criminal subcultures that value violence and lower levels of social organization (Simcha-Fagan and Schwartz, 1986; Oberwittler, 2004).

The research on social disorganization and offending has also found significant cross-level interactions in which neighborhood conditions moderate the effect of individual factors on

delinquency. For example, according to Hoffman (2003), those living in disadvantaged communities are more likely to respond to stressful life events with delinquency than those in more affluent communities. Further, the protective effects of parental supervision and school involvement depend upon the level of disadvantage in the community. Similarly, Oberwittler (2004) found that the effect of deviant attitudes on juvenile delinquency was stronger in neighborhoods with higher levels of social organization.

Disorganization and Victimization: A Review of the Literature

Social Disorganization and Victimization. Community characteristics can affect individual victimization as well as patterns of offending. According to scholars such as Sampson and Lauritsen (1990) and Miethe and McDowall (1993), neighborhood socioeconomic factors increase individual risk of victimization by increasing residents' proximity and exposure to motivated offenders and serving as cues regarding the attractiveness of residents and their property in comparison to residents of other neighborhoods. Additionally, social characteristics of communities, such as cohesion and informal social control, can decrease risk of victimization by increasing guardianship (Lee, 2000).

Indicators of social disorganization have been found to be related to individual risk of both property and violent crime. For example, Sampson and Wooldredge's (1987) study of 238 political districts in Great Britain concluded that burglary victimization was influenced by macrolevel characteristics indicative of social disorganization, such as family disruption. Similarly, Smith and Jarjoura (1989), using data from U.S. neighborhoods, found that risk of burglary was impacted by poverty, racial heterogeneity, and residential instability. Kennedy and Forde (1990) found that both violent and property victimization were related to unemployment

and divorce rates across Canadian metropolitan areas.

As well as directly affecting the risk of victimization, social disorganization influences victimization by affecting the impact of individual-level factors. Using data from a 1990 survey of Seattle residents, Miethe and McDowall (1993) found that target attractiveness and guardianship had stronger effects on burglary victimization in more affluent neighborhoods than in neighborhoods characterized by social disorganization. Using the same data, Wilcox Rountree, Land, and Miethe (1994) concluded that neighborhood incivilities, ethnic heterogeneity, and population density increased the risk of victimization. Further, they reaffirmed the interactions between neighborhood characteristics and individual opportunity measures, concluding that guardianship measures, while still effective in disorganized areas, have a stronger effect in more organized neighborhoods.

Physical Disorganization and Victimization. In regards to physical disorganization, several studies have suggested a link between commercial or non-residential land use and crime (Greenberg, Rohe, and Williams, 1982; Roncek and Lobosco, 1983; Wilcox, Quisenberry, and Jones et al., 2004). More specifically, scholars have suggested that crime is most likely to occur near popular activity centers, such as shopping centers, public high schools, playgrounds, vacant lots, restaurants, transportation hubs, and bars or taverns (Roncek and Fagiani, 1985; Brantingham and Brantingham, 1993; Beavon, Brantingham, and Brantingham, 1994; LaGrange, 1999; Smith, Frazee, and Davison, 2000; Bowes, 2007; Foster, Giles-Corti, and Knuiman, 2010). Additionally, certain locations – such as drug-treatment centers, halfway houses, homeless shelters, and pawnbrokers – have been found to attract criminal transactions and disorder (Anderson, 1999; Rengert, Ratcliffe, and Chakravorty, 2005; McCord et al., 2007).

Conversely, Sampson and Raudenbush (1999) found a negative relationship between face

blocks with residential and commercial land use and violent victimization. Similarly, in an analysis of the relationship between commercial and residential density and homicide and aggravated assault, Browning, Byron, Calder, Krivo, Kwan, Lee, and Peterson (2010) found an association between increased concentrations of residential and commercial density and reductions in homicide and aggravated assaults. However, it is also important to note that these findings revealed that low levels of residential and commercial density were associated with homicide and aggravated assault, suggesting that the relationship between land use and crime and victimization may be more complex.

THE PRESENT STUDY

To date, the theoretical traditions described above have generally been analyzed separately. A notable exception is the integration of opportunity theories with theories regarding neighborhood physical and social disorganization. Researchers have noted that social disorganization affects individual risk of victimization by affecting individual opportunity measures, such as exposure and proximity to motivated offenders, target attractiveness, and guardianship (Sampson and Lauritsen, 1990; Miethe and McDowall, 1993; Lee, 2000). Accordingly, multilevel approaches to victimization frequently integrate social disorganization theory and opportunity theories such as lifestyle-routine activities theory. However, while research has shown that victimization is affected by both individual-level adherence to the street code (e.g., Stewart et al., 2006) and the cultural context of the community (e.g., Berg et al., 2012), the possibility that the effect of individual code-related values on victimization varies by neighborhood context has not yet been explored.

In particular, the connection between subcultural values and criminal opportunity has not received a great deal of attention. Kennedy and Baron's (1993) quantitative study noted an increase in vulnerability due to the public activities associated with belonging to a subcultural group; however, this notion has not been explicitly tested. Similarly, while research has shown that victimization is affected by both individual-level adherence to the street code (e.g., Stewart et al., 2006) and the cultural context of the community (e.g., Berg et al., 2012), the possibility that the effect of individual code-related values on victimization varies by neighborhood context has not yet been explored.

This dissertation extends previous research by integrating the theoretical perspectives reviewed above into an analysis of victimization across adults in 123 unique neighborhoods. The models analyzed in this dissertation will explore the extent to which subcultural values, routine activities, and neighborhood disorganization are interrelated through processes of mediation or moderation.

Research Questions

RQ_1: What is the nature of the relationship between code-related beliefs and victimization, net of public activities? By applying the concept of target congruence (Finkelhor and Asdigian, 1996), two ways in which the adoption of code-related values could affect victimization can be offered. First, as suggested by Anderson (1999), code-related values could serve as a protective factor through a reduction in target vulnerability. As discussed above, Anderson suggests that members of disadvantaged communities adopt the code of the street in order to demonstrate their dominance to others, sending a signal that they are not viable targets for victimization. If this assumption is correct, then a lower risk of violent victimization would

be expected. Additionally, this protection could extend to one's property; if potential attackers feel that retaliation is likely, they may avoid targeting a specific person altogether. Therefore, code-related vales could be negatively related to property victimization as well.

Second, as suggested by Stewart et al. (2006), code-related values could increase the risk of victimization through an increase in 1) target antagonism, as those who adopt the street code are likely to behave in a manner that is perceived as threatening or insulting, or 2) target gratifiability, as a potential offender may obtain more respect from others in the community after targeting a notable member of the street culture. These factors can also contribute to property victimization, as it can be considered a form of retaliation. Further, if following the code of the street discourages personal crimes due to the target seeming less physically vulnerable, property crime could be perceived by a potential offender as a "safer" way to target a member of the street culture in order to save face after an insult. Therefore, code-related values could influence different types of victimization in different ways.

While Anderson's code of the street hypothesis maintains that the code of the street is adopted in order to prevent victimization, prior research shows that belief in code-related values increases victimization (Berg et al., 2012; Schreck et al., 2012; Stewart et al., 2006). This dissertation attempts to resolve the discrepancy between Anderson's theory and the findings of these studies. Previous research may have found a positive effect of the street code because these models did not include public activities. Therefore, Model 1 examines the effects of code-related values on victimization net of public activities.

RQ_2: What is the effect of public activities on victimization? Following prior research on routine activities theory (reviewed above), it is expected that those who more frequently engage in public activities will have a higher risk of victimization.

RQ_3: Do code-related values and public activities act together to affect victimization? What is the nature of this interrelationship? This dissertation presents two possible interrelationships between the code of the street and public activities. Figure 1.1 (see Chapter 1) contains an illustration of the conceptual models examined in this dissertation. The first, as shown in Model 1 and discussed above, examines the effects of subculture and routine activities on victimization. Models 2 and 3 propose alternative mechanisms through which code-related values and public activities combine to affect victimization.

Model 2. Recall that Model 2 posits, first, that street-code-related beliefs will exert a direct effect on victimization, either positively due to interpersonal behavior that provokes others to engage in violence or negatively due to the protective nature of the code. Second, Model 2 suggests that belief in the code of the street may also impact victimization indirectly by influencing routine activities. Routine activities, in turn, are posited to directly affect victimization. Specifically, public activities are expected to increase risk. Also, the effects of public activities and belief in the code of the street are expected to vary by level of neighborhood disorganization.

Anderson (1999) discusses three types of staging areas in which residents of inner-city communities gather to socialize: local neighborhood establishments, business strips that bring in individuals from a larger area, and city-wide attractions such as sports arenas or concerts. Staging areas are important for those who adhere to the code of the street because they serve as an arena in which individuals can demonstrate their toughness and masculinity. This is especially true for the third type of staging area, which attracts a large number of people who come from different neighborhoods. When residents of different communities come together, they are likely to engage in power struggles in order to represent their communities well in

addition to furthering their personal campaign for respect (Anderson, 1999).

Because these public areas are places in which people can find an audience for their respect-enhancing behaviors, those who adopt the code of the street are likely to seek out public spaces, which may increase victimization. Kennedy and Baron (1993) argue that victimization and offending are more likely among members of subcultural groups (a delinquent punk group, in this case) because the involvement with the group and the adoption of the group's values increase the amount of time that a person spends in public exposed to potential offenders.

According to Copes and Hochstetler (2003), public leisure activities are important for those who follow the code of the street due to the opportunity they provide to display one's street persona to code-following peers. As proposed by lifestyle-routine activities theory, engaging in public leisure activities increases one's risk of victimization due to increased proximity and exposure to motivated offenders. Because of the importance of public activities for those who follow the code of the street and the impact of public activities on victimization, an indirect positive effect of the code of the street on victimization through public lifestyle is expected.

Model 3. Recall that the third proposed model predicts an interaction effect between adoption of the street code and public routine activities. In summary, it is expected that the effect of subculture on victimization, whether negative or positive, will be greater for individuals who participate in public activities more frequently. First, Anderson's description of the code of the street suggests that it offers instruction on how to interact with others in public. According to Anderson, the code of the street is known and used even by members of the community who don't ascribe to its values, as it is valuable for avoiding conflicts with others. Because of this use of the code, protection given by the code of the street may be especially great for potential crimes that would occur in public, as these are most likely to be influenced by the code of the

street. Therefore, a negative effect of the code of the street on victimization could be expected to be greater for those who spend more time in public places.

Additionally, if the code of the street increases the risk of victimization, this increase could be more pronounced as public activity increases. As noted by Stewart et al. (2006), the code of the street encourages attitudes and behavior that may be perceived by others as disrespectful or injurious. Because those who adhere to the code of the street generally socialize with or near others who also hold these beliefs, this behavior may result in violence, *especially when it occurs in public*. Disrespectful behavior in public with witnesses present is especially likely to lead to violence; the other party will feel pressured to violently respond to threats to his masculinity in an attempt to prevent the community from perceiving him as weak.

Similarly, because of the code of the street's emphasis on retaliation, those who spend more time in public are more likely to be victimized. As noted above, adoption of the street code often leads to behavior that would encourage retaliation or counter-retaliation. It is important for retaliatory acts to take place in public areas so that the retaliator can show others that he has gotten even with the person who insulted him (Jacobs and Wright, 2006). Therefore, while a person's level of adherence to the street code may increase others' desire to attack him, this is less likely to happen if he spends less time engaged in public activities.

RQ_4: What is the relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and victimization? Following prior research on social disorganization theory (reviewed above), it is expected that rates of victimization will be higher in neighborhoods with more non-residential land use and lower in neighborhoods with high collective efficacy.

RQ_5: Do the effects of code-related values and public activities on victimization vary by neighborhood context? It is expected that these factors will impact victimization to a greater

degree in disadvantaged communities (i.e., those with lower levels of collective efficacy). Additionally, these effects are expected be stronger in communities that contain more non-residential land (i.e., busy places – bars and restaurants, hotels and motels, and shopping malls – and parks) due to their utility as staging areas in which individuals have the opportunity to demonstrate their adherence to the code of the street.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

DATA

To test the hypotheses stated in Chapter 2, this dissertation uses secondary data from Ross Matsueda's Seattle Neighborhoods and Crime Survey. The study was funded by the National Science Foundation (SES-0004324) and the National Consortium on Violence Research (SBR-9513040). The dataset contains information from households within all 123 census tracts in Seattle, Washington. There are between 21 and 110 households included from each census tract, with an average of 47. The data collection, conducted in 2002-2003, involved telephone surveys using computer-assisted telephone interviewing (CATI). Respondents were asked for information regarding personal behavior and attitudes as well as characteristics of their communities' organization, social ties, and collective efficacy.

The data were obtained using three separate sampling frames. For the first sample, called the "Random Sample," the researchers selected two block groups from each census tract. Approximately nine households were then selected from each block group. The second sampling frame was the "Ethnic Oversample." In order to obtain a high proportion of participants in neighborhoods with high minority populations, the 558 census blocks with largest racial and ethnic minority populations were identified; two households were selected from each of these blocks. Third, the researchers obtained a sample to act as a replication of Terrance Miethe's 1990 survey, also conducted in Seattle. To collect the "Miethe Replication Sample," the six street segments per census tract that were sampled in Miethe's study were identified. Then,

approximately three households per street segment were sampled.

SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

This dissertation utilizes data collected in the first two subsamples described above: the "Random Sample" and the "Ethnic Oversample." The "Miethe Replication Sample" uses different geographic boundaries than the other subsamples and therefore cannot be included due to the multilevel nature of the analyses. The total sample size after combining the first two subsamples is 3,759.

Approximately half (50.5%) of the sample analyzed herein was female. The age of the respondents ranged from 18 to 103, with an average age of 48.55. The majority (81.9%) of the respondents categorized themselves as White, while 6.6% of the sample was Asian, 3.4% was Black, 4.7% was Hispanic or Latino, 2.8% was Native American, and 3.3% identified as "other." These are consistent with U.S. Census data collected for Seattle in 2000. Slightly over half (54%) of the sample was married or cohabitating at the time of the survey. Approximately a quarter (25.5%) was single and had never been married. Divorced and separated persons made up 13.7% of the sample, while 6.7% were widowed.

The sample overrepresents individuals with higher levels of education. The majority of the sample (97.5%) reported having at least a high school diploma or GED. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, 89.5% of the general population in Seattle had high school diplomas in 2000. Approximately two-thirds (69.4%) reported having at least a college degree, while 47.2% of the general population of Seattle had a bachelors degree or higher in 2000. The sample also overrepresents those with higher income. The median for respondent's household income falls

in the category representing $50,000 to $64,999; this is inconsistent with U.S. Census data, which shows the median income for Seattle as $45,736.

MEASURES

The key concepts in this analysis include victimization, street code orientation, routine activities, and neighborhood disorganization. Below, I discuss the measurement of these concepts. Descriptive statistics for each measure are provided in Table 3.1.

Dependent Variables

This dissertation uses multiple outcome measures representing different types of victimization. Previous work has demonstrated the importance of considering specific types of victimization. According to Cohen, Kluegel, and Land (1981), the definitional properties of crimes affect the ease with which they can be committed, which influences the factors surrounding the opportunity structure of each type of crime. Therefore, it is important to analyze specific types of crime or victimization when testing opportunity theories. Furthermore, the possibility that the effect of subcultural values on victimization varies by type of crime has not yet been explored. While the code of the street hypothesis is typically used to explain violent victimization, it may also apply to property victimization directly (as discussed in Chapter 2) or indirectly through the effect of subcultural values on routine activities. Therefore, property victimization is analyzed in this dissertation in addition to violent victimization.

Table 3.1: Descriptive Statistics

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	S.D.	N
Dependent Variables					
Assault and Robbery	0	50	.204	2.187	3715
Breaking and entering	0	40	.17	.960	3743
Independent Variables					
Street Code Orientation					
Don't back down	1	4	2.27	.761	3645
Confrontations okay	1	4	1.88	.705	3713
Tough reputation	1	4	1.69	.642	3712
Routine Activities					
Activities	0	21	5.16	3.496	3558
Control Variables					
Individual Control Variables					
Age	18	102	48.55	16.147	3722
Female	0	1	.50	.500	3759
White	0	1	.87	.341	3558
Asian	0	1	.07	.255	3558
Black	0	1	.04	.186	3558
Other race	0	1	.10	.294	3558
Lives alone	0	1	.31	.461	3714
Income	1	15	9.99	2.917	3232
Education	1	7	5.74	1.328	3751
Hours worked per week	0	90	27.41	21.188	3740
Neighborhood Control Variables					
Average income	4.85	12.28	9.94	1.205	123
Residential instability	1.17	4.00	2.10	.494	123
Racial heterogeneity	0	.65	.21	.154	123
Neighborhood Context					
Collective efficacy	18.77	25.64	22.71	1.566	123
Busy places	0	2.64	.87	.590	123
Parks/playgrounds	.3	1	.72	.163	123

Two separate outcome variables are used in this dissertation. These variables represent two types of victimization – violent victimization (assault and robbery) and breaking and entering – and are limited to incidents that occurred within two years prior to the survey. First, violent victimization is measured as the number of times participants had been assaulted or robbed (see Appendix A for question wording) in the past two years (mean = .204, standard

deviation = 2.187). These items were not estimated separately because of the infrequency of robbery in this sample (1.3%). Second, respondents reported how many times someone had broken into or illegally entered their home, garage, or other building on their property in the past two years (mean = .17, standard deviation = .960).

Independent Variables

Street Code Orientation. The second key concept is individual adherence to the code of the street. This is measured using three single items representing the extent to which the respondent has internalized values favorable to crime and violence or experienced an attenuation of traditional values that view crime and violence negatively. The dataset actually includes six questions regarding the respondents' beliefs regarding crime and violence. However, due to low reliability between these items (Cronbach's $\alpha = .530$), I extracted three of the six items most relevant to attitudes regarding public behavior and use them as single-item measures.

The first item represents the norm of <u>never backing down when disrespected or threatened</u>: "If someone insults you or threatens you, you should turn the other cheek" (mean = 2.27, standard deviation = .761). The second variable similarly reflects the notion that <u>avoiding violence is seen as weak</u>: "Out in public, it is important to avoid confrontation with strangers to avoid violence" (mean = 1.88, standard deviation = .705). The third item captures the concept that <u>respect is earned through tough behavior</u>: "It is important for young men to have a reputation as someone who is tough and not to be messed with" (mean = 1.69, standard deviation = .642).

The response set for each variable was a four-point Likert scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree," so that, for the first two variables discussed above, higher scores indicate values consistent with the code of the street. The third variable, which asked

respondents whether they believe it is important for young men to have a tough reputation, was recoded for consistency.

Activities. Public lifestyle (mean = 5.16, standard deviation = 3.496, Cronbach's α = .502) is measured as an additive scale made up of three items. The first item indicates how many nights the respondents reported going out per week. The second measures how many days per week respondents' homes were left unoccupied for at least four hours. The third variable specifies the number of days per week respondents spent at bars or nightclubs.

Neighborhood Disorganization. Several variables were included to represent socio-cultural and physical characteristics of disorganized neighborhoods. The first variable represents community social/cultural disorganization. Specifically, collective efficacy (mean = 22.71, standard deviation = 1.566, Cronbach's α = .836) is a scale calculated using eight items measuring the extent to which respondents trust their neighbors and perceive that they would intervene to stop undesirable behavior. The first four questions asked respondents if their neighbors could be trusted in general, whether they were willing to help each other, whether they would watch out to make sure that children were safe, and whether the adults in the neighborhood knew the local children. The second set of questions asked respondents how likely it was that adults in their neighborhoods would intervene if children were fighting in the street, skipping school, spray-painting graffiti, or showing disrespect to an adult. Therefore, the responses to these questions were summed and averaged across census tracts to result in one measure of community collective efficacy.

Beyond collective efficacy, disorganized, vulnerable neighborhoods often have a physical make-up distinct from organized communities. For instance, high-density mixed land use is often associated with disorganization (e.g., Shaw & McKay, 1942). In addition, Anderson

discussed public spaces as important staging areas in which those who follow the code of the street can display their status and earn respect. This makes the presence of non-residential land within a community important for the exercise of code-related values. For these reasons, the analysis includes two measures of the presence of public land within the neighborhood. First is an additive scale indicating the presence of busy places (mean = .87, standard deviation = .590, Cronbach's α = .701). Respondents were asked about the presence of the following structures within three blocks of their homes: hotels or motels, bars or restaurants, and shopping malls. These items were averaged across census tracts and then summed. Respondents were also asked whether they lived within three blocks of a park or playground. This variable did not load with the other land use measures in a factor analysis and the addition of parks lowers the reliability of the measure of busy places (Cronbach's α = .632). This makes sense given that parks and playgrounds are a different type of public land use, and one less linked to disorganization. However, because parks or playgrounds could serve as staging areas in which individuals' violent behavior is displayed thus providing opportunity for victimization, the variable is included in the analysis separately. These responses were averaged across census tracts; the values indicate the proportion of respondents within each census tract that live within three blocks of a park or playground.

Control Variables

Individual Control Variables. A number of variables that have been linked with victimization are included as controls. Age is a continuous measure representing age in years (mean = 48.55, standard deviation = 16.147). Gender is a dummy variable with males coded as 0 and females coded as 1 (mean = .50, standard deviation = .50). Four dichotomous variables were

created to represent race; these show whether the respondent identified as White (mean = .87, standard deviation = .341), Black or African-American (mean = .04, standard deviation = .186), Asian or Pacific Islander (mean = .07, standard deviation = .255), or other race (mean = .10, standard deviation = .294). Because opportunity theory assumes that the presence of others in one's household provides guardianship against victimization, the analyses include a binary measure reflecting whether the respondent lives alone (mean = .31, standard deviation = .461).

Socioeconomic status is measured using three separate items. The first is respondent's income (mean = 9.99, standard deviation = 2.917). Respondents were asked to choose the category within which their income fell. There were fifteen categories, ranging from less than $5,000 to more than $200,000. The second item is the respondent's highest level of formal education, which ranges from "eighth grade or less" to "graduate or professional school" (mean = 5.74, standard deviation = 1.328). Third, respondent's current employment is measured as the number of hours worked per week (mean = 27.41, standard deviation = 21.188).

Neighborhood Control Variables. Individual survey responses were aggregated[1] to estimate the socioeconomic characteristics that are typical of disadvantaged communities. First, because poverty is associated with social disorganization, the average income of respondents within each census tract is included in the analysis (mean = 9.94, standard deviation = 1.205). At the individual level, income is measured using an ordinal scale ranging from one to fifteen, with one representing "less than $5,000" and fifteen representing "more than $200,000." Second, racial heterogeneity (mean = .21, standard deviation = .154) represents the "chance expectation that two randomly chosen persons do not belong to the same group" (Blau, 1977: 78). This variable was created by subtracting from one the sum of the squared proportions of respondents

[1] Participants were grouped using randomly generated identification numbers to represent the census tract in which they resided. Therefore, neighborhood characteristics can only be estimated by aggregating individual responses.

from each racial group ($1-\sum p^2$). Third, respondents were asked how many times they had moved in the five years prior to taking the survey; these responses were averaged across census tracts to estimate residential instability (mean = 2.10, standard deviation = .494).

ANALYTIC STRATEGY

In order to test the hypotheses presented in Chapter 2, several analyses will be performed. First, bivariate correlations between the independent and dependent variables will be presented in order to offer preliminary information regarding the strength and direction of the associations between variables.

Second, the proposed models of victimization are estimated using multilevel modeling. Multilevel modeling is used because it accounts for non-random distribution of individuals within neighborhoods by adjusting the standard errors appropriately. Failure to use multilevel modeling would result in biased estimates (Raudenbush and Bryk, 2002). Furthermore, multilevel modeling allows for characteristics of neighborhoods to be entered as predictors and allows for an exploration of cross-level interactions; these models can explore the possibility that the effect of the predictors on the outcome measures is dependent upon community context. The theoretical models of victimization presented in Chapter 2 are estimated in HLM 7.0 using multilevel poisson regression, which is appropriate for modeling count data such as measures of the number of victimization incidents. The outcome variables were skewed, requiring the correction for overdispersion available in poisson-based HLMs.

Before embarking on the analyses described above, I estimated an unconditional, random ANOVA model (i.e., a model with no predictors added) for both dependent variables – violent

victimization and breaking and entering victimization – to make sure that significant variation in victimization occurred at level two, thus justifying a multilevel analysis. The results of these models are presented in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Unconditional Models for Violent Victimization and Breaking and Entering Victimization

	Violent Victimization			Breaking and Entering Victimization		
	Variance Component	SD	Chi-square	Variance Component	SD	Chi-square
Intercept	.970***	.985	705.969	.385***	.621	276.096
Level-1 Error	3.787	1.946		2.252	1.501	

Census Tracts (*N = 123*); Individuals (*N = 3,715*)
***p < .001

The variance component for violent victimization was significant. This indicates that there is significant variance in violent victimization across census tracts (variance component = .970, $p < .001$). The results were similar for breaking and entering victimization; the variance component shows that breaking and entering victimization varies significantly across census tracts (variance component = .385, $p < .001$). Therefore, it is appropriate to proceed with the multilevel analyses.

Next, a random coefficients model was tested in which the slopes for code-related values and activities were allowed to vary across census tracts while holding the slopes for the other predictors fixed (e.g., Wilcox Rountree, Land, and Miethe, 1994; Stewart and Simons, 2010). This demonstrates whether the slopes vary across census tracts. The results of these models are presented in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Random Coefficients Model for Violent and Breaking & Entering Victimization

	Violent Victimization			Breaking & Entering Victimization		
	Variance Component	SD	Chi-Square	Variance Component	SD	Chi-Square
Don't back down	1.480***	1.217	459.934	.332*	.578	154.487
Confrontations okay	1.124***	1.060	364.916	.459***	.677	184.127
Tough reputation	1.018***	1.009	310.277	.392*	.626	155.178
Public activities	.045***	.211	319.174	.023***	.152	205.789
Don't back down*Public activities	.045	.212	89.549	.011	.106	113.198
Confrontations okay*Public activities	.045	.213	57.523	.017	.131	115.865
Tough reputation*Public activities	.011	.103	55.160	.033	.182	118.209

***p < .001; **p < .01; *p < .05

The results of the random coefficients model indicated that the slopes of the street code variables and public activities varied significantly across census tracts for both violent victimization and breaking and entering victimization. Therefore, in the final models, the slopes of the code variables and public activities were allowed to vary randomly. However, because the slopes of the interaction terms did not vary across census tracts for either violent victimization or breaking and entering victimization, the slopes of the interaction terms were fixed in the final models. Additionally, in the final models presented in the next chapter, the variables were centered around their grand means in order to avoid confounding contextual effects with compositional effects (Britt, 2000; Raudenbush and Bryk, 2002).

To test the theoretical model predicting an indirect effect of the code of the street on victimization through public activities, a mediation model is tested. MacKinnon, Fairchild, and Fritz (2007) outline three methods for determining the indirect effect of a variable through a mediator: the causal-step test (Baron and Kenny, 1986), the difference in coefficients test, and the product of coefficients test. The product of coefficients test is used in this dissertation. This test is often considered preferable to the others because it explicitly accounts for the extent to which the independent variable affects the mediating variable (MacKinnon et al., 2007). This test uses the following three equations:

$$Y = i_1 + cX + e_1 \qquad \text{(Equation 3.1)}$$
$$Y = i_2 + c'X + bM + e_2 \qquad \text{(Equation 3.2)}$$
$$M = i_3 + aX + e_3 \qquad \text{(Equation 3.3)}$$

In the equations above, *c* is the total direct effect of X on Y; *a* is the effect of X on M; *b* is the effect of M on Y; *c'* is the direct effect of X on Y after controlling for M; *i* represents the intercepts for each equation; and *e* represents the residual error terms for each equation. These

parameters are obtained using regression models, which are estimated in HLM. To test for the significance of the mediated effect, a standard error is calculated using the formula below (Sobel, 1982):

$$s = \sqrt{\hat{a}^2 s_b^2 + \hat{b}^2 s_a^2} \qquad \text{(Equation 3.4)}$$

The indirect effect is then divided by its standard error to obtain a *z* value, which can then be compared to the *z* curve to determine significance.

Finally, to assess the extent to which the effect of subculture and lifestyle vary by type of crime, an informal comparison of coefficients across models using different dependent variables will be offered. By comparing the strength of the associations between opportunity and cultural values across various types of victimization, it can be determined whether these theories are generalizable across specific types of violent and non-violent victimization.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

The purpose of this dissertation is to explore the possible interrelationships between the code of the street and public routine activities to determine whether they combine to affect violent victimization (assault and robbery) and breaking and entering victimization. In this pursuit, three theoretical models were presented in Chapter One (see Figure 1.1). The first model suggests main effects of code-related values and activities on victimization. In the second model, a mediating effect of activities is hypothesized, whereby the effect of adoption of the street code on victimization is indirect through its influence on public activities. The third hypothesis predicts a conditioning effect of activities on the relationship between the street code and victimization. Specifically, it is expected that code-related values will be more likely to lead to victimization when held by individuals who spend more time in the public domain.

This chapter presents the results of the analyses conducted to test these models. The analysis will proceed in the following manner. First, I will examine the bivariate correlations between the key variables within these models: code-related beliefs, public activities, and victimization. I will then estimate a series of multivariate hierarchical poisson-based regression models in which I 1) examine the cross-individual and cross-neighborhood variation in victimization; 2) examine the effects of code-related beliefs on victimization, net of controls, but without activities included in the model; 3) examine the effects of code-related beliefs and activities on victimization, while highlighting the extent to which activities mediate the effect of the street code; 4) examine the effects of interactions between code-related beliefs and activities on victimization; and 5) examine the extent to which the effects of code-related beliefs and activities vary according to neighborhood characteristics.

BIVARIATE ANALYSES

To gain initial insight into the strength and direction of the associations between the outcome variables and key independent variables, correlation coefficients were calculated. Pearson's correlation coefficients are reported for the relationship between activities and both types of victimization; due to the ordinal nature of the street code variables, Spearman's coefficients are reported for the relationships between code-related values and victimization. Since these statistics are interpreted similarly, they are presented and discussed together. The results of the bivariate analysis are presented in Table 4.1. As can be seen in Table 4.1, a few of the relationships were significant at the .01 level. However, all the correlations were weak by conventional standards.

Table 4.1: Bivariate Correlations Between Key Variables

	Public activities	Violent victimization	Breaking and entering victimization
Don't back down	-.009	.037*	.044**
Confrontations okay	.066**	.026	.037*
Tough reputation	-.005	.016	.024
Public activities	---	.045**	.028

** p < .01; *p < .05

First, because it is hypothesized that activities will mediate the effect of the code of the street on victimization, correlations between the code variables and activities were calculated. One of the street code variables, the belief that public confrontations should not be avoided, was significantly related to activities ($r = .066$, $p < .01$). This association was in the predicted direction; higher belief in this aspect of the street code is related to more frequent public activities.

Next, the correlations between victimization and code-related values and activities were

examined. One of the street code variables, a belief that it is wrong to back down from a threat, was significantly related to violent victimization ($r = .037$, $p < .05$). The correlation was positive; the number of violent incidents experienced increased along with belief in the code. As expected, public activities were also positively associated with violent victimization ($r = .045$, $p < .01$). Two of the code-related values were significantly positively correlated with breaking and entering; both the belief that one should not back down after being insulted or threatened ($r = .044$, $p < .01$) and the belief that one should not avoid confrontations in public ($r = .037$, $p < .05$) increased with the number of breaking and entering incidents.

While these bivariate correlations offer some information regarding the association between these key variables, they are limited because they do not account for the potential effects of other variables on the relationship. Therefore, the remaining sections of this chapter will focus on multivariate analyses.

MULTICOLLINEARITY STATISTICS

Before conducting a multivariate analysis, it is necessary to determine the extent to which the independent variables are correlated. Strong correlations between predictor variables, or multicollinearity, create problems for multivariate analysis. To examine the possibility of excessive multicollinearity, correlations between predictor variables and tolerance and variance inflation factor (VIF) statistics were analyzed.

Bivariate correlations between the predictors used in the analyses are presented in Table 4.2. Several types of correlation coefficients were calculated; Pearson's r was calculated for relationships between metric scales, Spearman's rho was calculated for comparisons of ordinal

variables or ordinal variables and metric scales, and Phi was calculated for associations between dichotomous variables. Because these variables are interpreted similarly, they are presented and discussed together. While cutoff points for strength of correlation coefficients vary across the literature, according to Fox, Levin, and Forde (2009), a correlation below ±.30 is considered weak, between ±.30 and ±.60 is considered moderate, and higher than ±.60 is considered strong. While there are several significant relationships among the independent variables, most are weak or moderate in strength. However, the correlation between collective efficacy and average income (r = .698) can be categorized as a strong correlation. Two other relationships fall close to this threshold: busy places and collective efficacy (r = -.593) and busy places and average income (r = -.549). According to Tabachnick and Fidell (2007), collinearity may be an issue when correlations have absolute values greater than .90. While none of the correlation values exceeded .90, the correlations among collective efficacy, average income, and busy places make it difficult to differentiate between these factors. This will be addressed in later sections of this chapter.

Table 4.2: Bivariate Correlations Between Predictor Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Don't back down	1.00									
2. Confrontations okay	.178**	1.00								
3. Tough reputation	.105**	.114**	1.00							
4. Public activities	-.009	.066**	-.005	1.00						
5. Age	.063**	-.104**	.022	-.349**	1.00					
6. Female	.017	-.062**	-.142**	-.083**	.055**	1.00				
7. Black	.035*	-.029	.041*	.015	-.024	-.009	1.00			
8. Asian	.056**	.024	.104**	-.028	-.099**	.004	.030	1.00		
9. Other	.045**	.004	.043*	.012	-.112**	-.021	.071**	-.007	1.00	
10. Lives alone	.050**	-.013	.032	.245**	.156**	.055**	.009	-.041*	-.033	1.00
11. Income	-.071**	.020	-.077**	.040*	-.051**	-.098**	-.041*	-.084**	-.108**	-.369**
12. Education	-.054**	.020	-.096**	.124**	-.048**	-.016	-.072**	-.086**	-.170**	-.064**
13. Hours worked per week	-.036*	.060**	-.018	.360**	-.432**	-.148**	-.003	-.016	.024	-.045**
14. Collective efficacy	-.056**	-.021	-.039*	-.019	.166**	.066**	-.117**	-.094**	-.071**	-.199**
15. Busy places	.022	.022	.032*	.017	-.148**	-.036*	.025	.006	.033	.207**
16. Parks	-.020	-.007	-.018	.037*	-.089**	-.008	.018	-.009	-.002	.038*
17. Average income	-.061**	-.016	-.039*	.040*	.129**	.046**	-.079**	-.123**	-.099**	-.189**
18. Residential Mobility	.002	.042*	-.021	-.003	-.088**	-.005	.001	-.026	.006	.053**
19. Racial heterogeneity	.052**	-.002	.045**	-.001	-.089**	-.036*	.165**	.239**	.115**	.025

** $p < .01$; *$p < .05$

Table 4.2: Bivariate Correlations Between Predictor Variables (Continued)

	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1. Don't back down									
2. Confrontations okay									
3. Tough reputation									
4. Public activities									
5. Age									
6. Female									
7. Black									
8. Asian									
9. Other									
10. Lives alone									
11. Income	1.00								
12. Education	.343**	1.00							
13. Hours worked per week	.353**	.188**	1.00						
14. Collective efficacy	.255**	.136**	-.019	1.00					
15. Busy places	-.195**	-.019	.017	-.593**	1.00				
16. Parks	-.013	.070**	.037*	-.121**	.126**	1.00			
17. Average income	.354*	.191**	.040*	.698**	-.549**	-.008	1.00		
18. Residential Mobility	-.067**	.006	-.003	-.256**	.255**	.014	-.203**	1.00	
19. Racial heterogeneity	-.150*	-.128**	-.001	-.467**	.142**	-.033*	-.433**	-.017	1.00

** p < .01; *p < .05

In addition, multicollinearity can be assessed using tolerance and variance inflation factor (VIF) statistics. Cutoff points for excessive multicollinearity vary across the literature. However, tolerance values are often considered acceptable if they are higher than .20 (Hutcheson and Sofroniou, 1999; Menard, 1995). Similarly, VIF should not exceed five or ten (Bowerman and O'Connell, 1990) and the average value of VIF should not be substantially greater than one (Myers, 1990). The values of tolerance and VIF for the analyses for this dissertation are presented in Table 4.3. As shown in the table, the highest values of VIF were 2.640 and 2.631; the averages of the VIF values were 1.407 and 1.460. The lowest tolerance values were .379 and .380. These values fall within the acceptable range regarding multicollinearity. Therefore, it can be concluded that it is appropriate to continue with the multivariate analyses.

Table 4.3: Values of Tolerance and Variance Inflation Factor (VIF)

	Violent Victimization		Breaking and Entering Victimization	
	Tolerance	VIF	Tolerance	VIF
Don't back down	.943	1.061	.943	1.060
Confrontations okay	.946	1.057	.945	1.058
Tough reputation	.936	1.069	.937	1.067
Public activities	.724	1.380	.726	1.377
Age	.690	1.450	.688	1.453
Female	.942	1.062	.943	1.061
Black	.961	1.041	.962	1.040
Asian	.924	1.083	.925	1.081
Other	.937	1.067	.938	1.066
Lives alone	.710	1.409	.711	1.406
Income	.579	1.728	.580	1.724
Education	.801	1.249	.803	1.246
Hours worked per week	.670	1.493	.672	1.489
Collective efficacy	.379	2.640	.380	2.631
Busy places	.541	1.847	.544	1.839
Parks	.950	1.052	.951	1.052
Average income	.416	2.407	.416	2.403
Residential Mobility	.876	1.141	878	1.139
Racial heterogeneity	.665	1.504	.664	1.505

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSES

Violent Victimization

Model 1: Main Effects. Table 4.4 presents the results of the analysis examining the main effects of code-related values and activities on violent victimization. Specifically, Column 1 presents the effects of the street code without controlling for public activities, while Column 2 estimates the effects of the street code on violent victimization net of public activities.

As can be seen in the first column of Table 4.4, two of the three street code measures were significantly related to violent victimization before controlling for public activities. Specifically, violent victimization was related to the belief that it is important not to back down after being insulted or threatened ($b = .688$, $p < .001$) and the belief that it is important to have a tough reputation as someone who is not to be messed with ($b = .431$, $p < .01$). As belief in not backing down after an insult increased, the log count of violent victimization incidents increased by .688. To aid in the interpretation of these coefficients, exponentiated coefficients are also presented in Table 4.4. The proportion increase or decrease in victimization count is calculated by subtracting 1 from the exponentiated coefficient. Percentages are calculated by multiplying by 100. The exponentiated coefficient of 1.990 shows a 99% increase in victimization for each one-unit increase in the belief that it is wrong to back down. Similarly, a one-unit increase in belief in the importance of having a tough reputation corresponded with an increase of .431 in the log of violent victimization, which is a 54% increase in the number of violent incidents.

Three of the individual-level control variables were significantly related to violent victimization: age, gender, and income. First, age was negatively related to violent victimization, with the logged number of incidents decreasing by .045 with each one-year

Table 4.4: Hierarchical Overdispersed Poisson Models for Violent Victimization (Main Effects)

	1		2	
	Coefficient (SE)	Exp(B)	Coefficient (SE)	Exp(B)
Level 1				
Intercept	2.286 (2.173)	9.836	2.299 (3.161)	9.962
Don't back down	.688 (.123)***	1.990	.558 (.135)***	1.747
Confrontations okay	.016 (.150)	1.016	.044 (.163)	1.045
Tough reputation	.431 (.125)**	1.540	.350 (.130)**	1.419
Public activities	---	---	.083 (.019)***	1.086
Age	-.045 (.010)***	.956	-.038 (.008)***	.963
Female	-1.096 (.197)***	.334	-.881 (.192)***	.414
Black	-.151 (.219)	.860	.039 (.222)	1.040
Asian	-.480 (.264)	.619	-.668 (.213)**	.513
Other	.034 (.364)	1.035	.033 (.331)	1.033
Lives alone	-.102 (.255)	.903	-.105 (.257)	.901
Income	-.110 (.045)*	.896	-.086 (.047)	.917
Education	.001 (.081)	1.001	-.059 (.081)	.943
Hours worked per week	-.007 (.007)	.993	-.010 (.008)	.990
Level 2				
Collective efficacy	.027 (.080)	1.028	-.021 (.089)	.979
Busy places	.086 (.148)	1.090	.080 (.172)	1.084
Parks	-.368 (.639)	.692	.149 (.754)	1.161
Average income	-.403 (.139)**	.668	-.294 (.182)	.745
Residential Mobility	-.0001 (.207)	1.000	-.147 (.247)	.864
Racial heterogeneity	-.874 (.666)	.417	-1.058 (.868)	.347
Proportion variation explained				
Individual[a]	.268		.504	
Neighborhood[b]	.555		.758	
Variance Components[c]				
Intercept	.043 (.208)		.235 (.485)	
Level-1 error	2.772 (1.665)		1.877 (1.370)	
Don't back down slope	.855 (.925)		.728 (.853)	
Confrontations okay slope	.743 (.862)		.698 (.836)	
Tough reputation slope	.383 (.862)		.405 (.637)	
Public activities slope	---		.029 (.171)	

Census Tracts *(N = 121); Individuals (n = 2,833)*

***p < .001; ** p < .01; *p < .05

[a]Proportion variation within census tracts = .796

[b]Proportion variation between census tracts = .204

[c] Variance components and standard deviations are presented

increase in age (b = -.045, p < .001); the exponentiated coefficient of .956 demonstrates that this corresponds to a 4.4% decrease in the number of violent victimizations for each additional year of age. Second, compared to males, females reported a decrease of 1.096 in the logged number of assaults and robberies (b = -1.096, p < .001). The exponentiated coefficient shows that females report 66.6% fewer violent incidents than do males. Third, as an individual's income increased, the logged number of violent incidents decreased by .110 (b = -.110, p < .05) or 10.4%. As can be seen in Column 2, income was no longer significantly related to violent victimization after controlling for public activities.

One of the community-level variables was related to violent victimization. Average income was negatively related to violent victimization, with rates of assault and robbery decreasing by .403, or 33.2%, as average income increased (b = -.403, p < .01). As can be seen in Column 2 of Table 4.3, this effect was no longer significant when controlling for public activities (b = -.294, p > .05). Rates of violent victimization were not significantly lower in higher-income census tracts when accounting for public lifestyles[2].

In Column 2 of Table 4.4, the effects of code-related values and public activities on violent victimization were estimated. The effect of public activities on victimization was significant (b = .083, p < .001); individuals who spend more time in the public domain experienced more violent victimization than did those whose activities less frequently took place outside their homes. Specifically, for each additional activity per week, the logged number of violent incidents increased by .083. According to the exponentiated coefficient of 1.086, violent victimization increased by 8.6% for each additional activity per week. Additionally, when

[2] In separate analyses not presented, average income and busy places were excluded from these models due to their correlations with collective efficacy. When average income and busy places were excluded, collective efficacy was significantly related to violent victimization before controlling for activities (b = -.215, p < .05). This effect was reduced to non-significance when individual-level activities were included in the model (b = -.187, p > .05).

accounting for activities, Asians and Pacific Islanders experienced 48.7% fewer incidents of violent victimization than did Whites (b = -.668, p < .05).

The variance components are substantially lower in these models than in the unconditional model (presented in Chapter 3), indicating good model fit. The level-2 variance component in the unconditional model was .970; the inclusion of the individual- and neighborhood-level characteristics reduced this value to .043 (.235 when public activities were added). Additionally, the level-2 variance components were not significant in these models, indicating that violent victimization no longer varied significantly across census tracts when these predictors were included in the model. The level-1 variance component was reduced from the null model (3.787) to 2.772. The inclusion of public activities further reduced the level-1 variance to 1.877. Further, the slopes for the independent variables of interest (activities and code-related values) no longer varied significantly across census tracts in the full model[3].

Model 2: Mediation. Recall that the first proposed integration of routine activities theory and the code of the street theory predicts an indirect effect of code-related values on violent victimization through public activities. As can be seen in Table 4.4, after controlling for public activities, the beliefs that it is important not to back down after being insulted (b = .558, p < .001) and that it is important to have a tough reputation (b = .350, p < .01) were still positively related to violent victimization. The effects of these code-related values, while still significant, were lower when controlling for public activities, suggesting a partial mediating effect of public activities.

To assess more fully the indirect effect of the code of the street on victimization to determine whether it is significantly mediated by public activities, it is first necessary to

[3] The slopes for two of the street code measures become significant after including the interaction terms (see Table 4.7). Therefore, cross-level interactions for the models including interaction terms were estimated. The results are included in Appendix B.

determine the extent to which the code is related to public activities (see Table 4.5).

Table 4.5: Hierarchical Linear Model for Public Activities

	Coefficient (SE)
Level 1	
Intercept	7.204 (1.642)
Don't back down	.014 (.077)
Confrontations okay	.126 (.082)
Tough reputation	.050 (.096)
Age	-.061 (.004)***
Female	-.218 (.109)*
Black	.346 (.343)
Asian	-.243 (.273)
Other	.034 (.232)
Lives alone	2.123 (.111)***
Income	.032 (.027)
Education	.127 (.056)*
Hours worked per week	.039 (.003)***
Level 2	
Collective efficacy	-.021 (.064)
Busy places	.630 (.149)***
Parks	-.106 (.339)
Average income	.038 (.076)
Residential Mobility	.064 (.140)
Racial heterogeneity	-.128 (.461)
Proportion variation explained	
Individual[a]	.246
Neighborhood[b]	.875
Variance Components[c]	
Intercept	.088 (.296)*
Level-1error	8.700 (2.950)

Census Tracts *(N = 123); Individuals (n = 2,854)*

***p < .001; ** p < .01; *p < .05

[a]Proportion variation within census tracts = .943

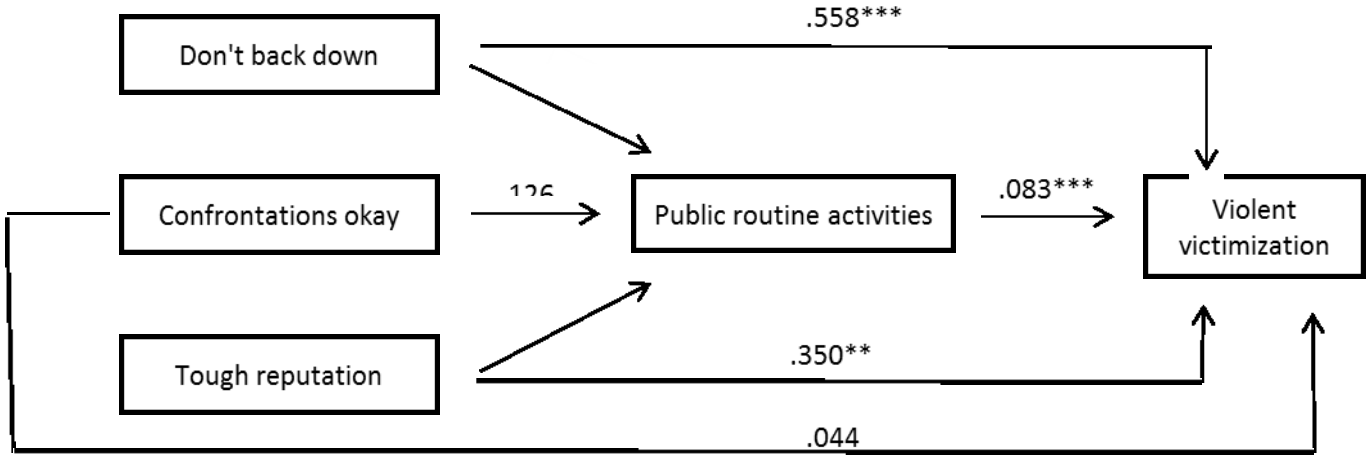
[b]Proportion variation between census tracts = .057

[c] Variance components and standard deviations are presented

Linear models are used for this estimation due to the measurement of this variable; as discussed in Chapter 3, the activity scale is a ratio measure of the number of days per week the respondent engages in certain activities away from home. As can be seen in the table, none of the code-related values included in the model were significantly related to public activities after controlling for demographic and neighborhood-level variables. This provides preliminary evidence that mediation is unlikely. However, the indirect effects are still calculated in order to formally test for their significance.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the indirect effects of the street code on victimization are calculated using the product of coefficients method (MacKinnon et al., 2007). In this calculation, the coefficients for path *a* (the effect of the code of the street on activities) and path *b* (the effect of activities on victimization) are multiplied to produce the total indirect effect of the street code on victimization. These paths are provided in the illustration in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1: Direct and Indirect Effects of the Street Code on Violent Victimization



The calculated values of the indirect effects of the code of the street on victimization are presented in Table 4.6. While the belief that one should not back down from a threat or insult has a significant direct effect on violent victimization, the indirect effect through public activities is quite small and is not significant ($ab = .0012$, $p > .05$). Similarly, the indirect effect of the belief that it is important to have a tough reputation has a significant direct effect, but the indirect effect through activities is not significant ($ab = .0042$, $p > .05$). Finally, the belief that one should not avoid confrontations when in public does not significantly affect violent victimization either directly or indirectly ($ab = .0105$, $p > .05$). It is important to note that the estimates of the standard errors may be inaccurate due to the use of both linear and poisson-based models. However, all evidence nonetheless points to non-significant mediation. Specifically, the non-significant path from the code-related values to public activities and the low values for the product of the coefficients indicate that there is not an indirect effect of the street code through the adoption of a public lifestyle.

Table 4.6: Indirect Effects of the Street Code on Violent Victimization

	ab	SE
Don't back down	.0012	.0273
Confrontations okay	.0105	.0625
Tough reputation	.0042	.0400

***Model 3: Moderation*.** Recall that the second proposed integration of the code of the street theory and routine activities theory predicted a moderating effect of activities, in which the effect of the street code on victimization would be higher for those with more public lifestyles. In Table 4.7, the possibility of interaction effects between the street code and public activities is explored.

Table 4.7: Hierarchical Overdispersed Poisson Models for Violent Victimization (Moderation)

	1		2		3	
	Coefficient (SE)	Exp(B)	Coefficient (SE)	Exp(B)	Coefficient (SE)	Exp(B)
Level 1						
Intercept	3.530 (2.941)	34.107	3.531 (3.298)	34.168	2.945 (3.418)	19.016
Don't back down	-.118 (.221)	.889	.510 (.132)***	1.666	.554 (.141)***	1.741
Confrontations okay	.051 (.147)	1.053	.034 (.194)	1.034	-.005 (.141)	.995
Tough reputation	.243 (.119)*	1.275	.269 (.116)*	1.309	-.241 (.176)	.786
Public activities	-.154 (.086)	.858	.097 (.067)	1.101	-.116 (.060)	.890
Age	-.038 (.007)***	.962	-.035 (.007)***	.965	-.036 (.008)***	.964
Female	-.842 (.204)***	.431	-.873 (.172)***	.418	-.922 (.178)***	.398
Black	.187 (.224)	1.205	.173 (.214)	1.189	.080 (.249)	1.083
Asian	-.407 (.274)	.665	-.453 (.221)*	.635	-.512 (.224)*	.599
Other	.194 (.289)	1.214	.029 (.319)	1.030	.332 (.304)	1.395
Lives alone	-.137 (.210)	.872	-.114 (.247)	.892	-.202 (.239)	.817
Income	-.121 (.035)**	.886	-.084 (.044)	.920	-.114 (.041)**	.892
Education	-.021 (.079)	.978	-.072 (.074)	.930	-.031 (.072)	.970
Hours worked per week	-.009 (.006)	.991	-.007 (.007)	.993	-.007 (.007)	.993
Don't back down*Activities	.122 (.036)**	1.130	---	---	---	---
Confrontations okay*Activities	---	---	-.023 (.033)	.978	---	---
Tough reputation*Activities	---	---	---	---	.115 (.034)**	1.122
Level 2						
Collective efficacy	-.058 (.098)	.944	-.069 (.084)	.933	-.010 (.094)	.990
Busy places	-.099 (.185)	.906	-.010 (.146)	.990	.021 (.183)	1.021
Parks	.206 (.754)	1.228	.545 (.656)	1.725	.600 (.734)	1.822
Average income	-.320 (.155)*	.726	-.319 (.184)	.727	-.397 (.199)*	.673
Residential Mobility	-.230 (.232)	.794	-.167 (.230)	.846	-.254 (.259)	.775
Racial heterogeneity	-1.006 (.893)	.366	-1.352 (.928)	.259	-.836 (1.026)	.433
Proportion variation explained						
Individual[a]	.586		.544		.600	
Neighborhood[b]	.719		.738		.706	

Variance components			
Intercept	.272 (.522)	.254 (.504)	.285 (.534)
Level-1 error	1.567 (1.252)	1.726 (1.314)	1.514 (1.230)
Don't back down slope	.876 (.936)	.732 (.855)*	.758 (.871)*
Confrontations okay slope	.717 (.847)*	1.606 (1.267)	.697 (.835)*
Tough reputation slope	.383 (.618)	.395 (.629)	.258 (.508)
Public activities slope	.105 (.325)	.131 (.154)	.051 (.227)

Census Tracts *(N = 121); Individuals (n = 2,833)*

***p < .001; ** p < .01; *p < .05

[a]Proportion variation within census tracts = .796

[b]Proportion variation between census tracts = .204

The results show that public lifestyles condition the effect of two of the code-related values on victimization: the belief that one should not back down after being insulted or threatened ($b = .122$, $p < .01$) and the belief that it is important to have a tough reputation ($b = .115$, $p < .01$). The interaction results are illustrated below in Figures 4.2 and 4.3. Specifically, the expected influence of code-related values on violent victimization is plotted for two levels of public activities (one standard deviation above and below the mean). Figure 4.2 shows the effect of the belief that one should not back down after being insulted at different levels of activity, while Figure 4.3 shows the different effects of the belief that one should have a tough reputation.

As discussed in the sections above, the main effect of these street code values are positive, indicating more vulnerability to violent victimization as belief in the code increases. However, as can be seen in the figures, the effect of these aspects of the street code is quite different depending upon lifestyle. As predicted, the effect of the street code is positive for those with more active public lifestyles. Conversely, for those who engage in lower levels of public activities, the effect of the code is actually negative; the street code provides protection against violent victimization for those who engage in below-average amounts of public activities.

Figure 4.2: Effect of "Don't Back Down" on Violent Victimization by Public Activities

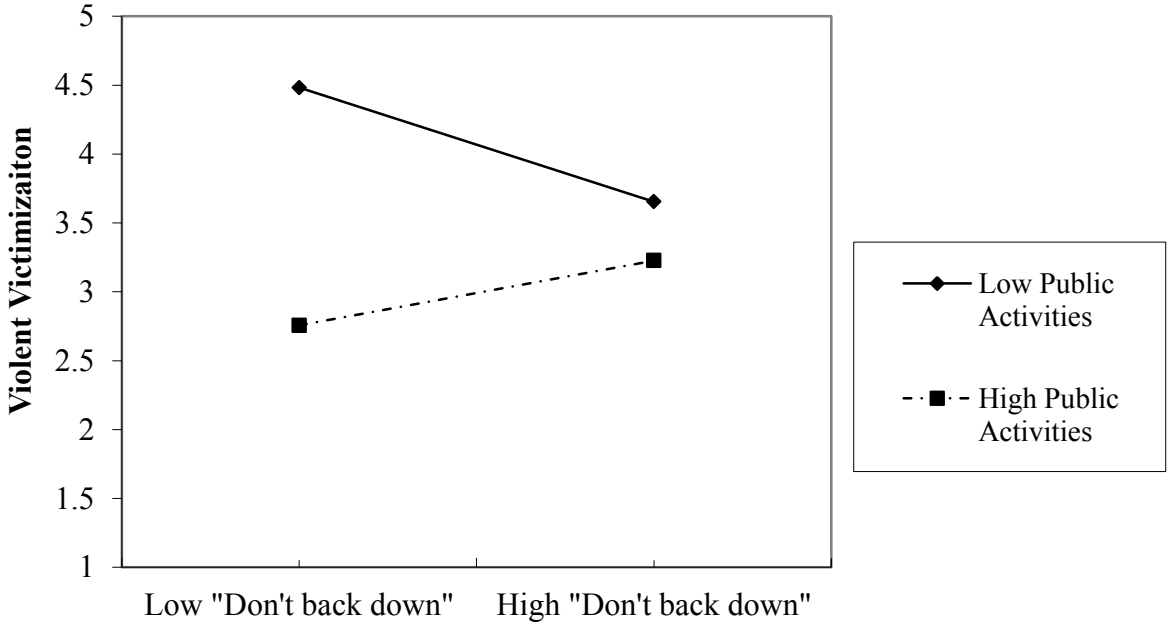
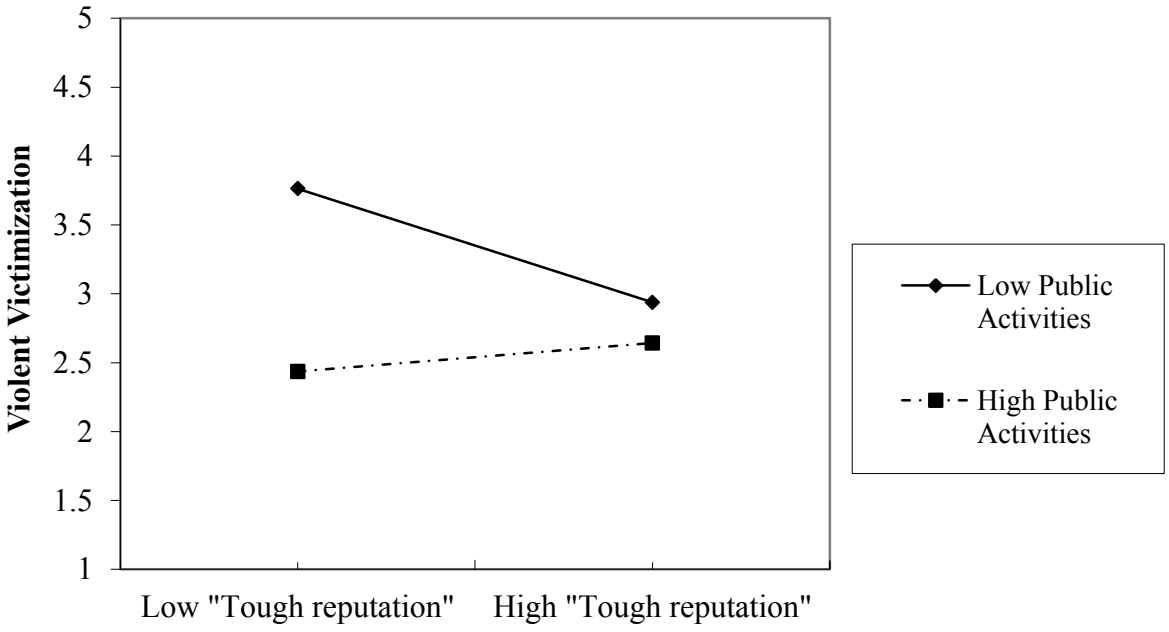


Figure 4.3: Effect of "Tough Reputation" on Violent Victimization by Public Activities



Breaking and Entering Victimization

Model 1: Main Effects. In Table 4.8, the results regarding the main effects of code-related values and public activities on breaking and entering victimization are presented. As before, Column 1 shows the effects of code-related values without controlling for public activities. In Column 2, the scale representing public activities is entered into the model.

In Column 1 of Table 4.8, the effect of the code was estimated without controlling for activities. One of the three code-related values – it is important not to back down from an insult or threat – was related to breaking and entering victimization ($b = .182$, $p < .05$). With each one-unit increase in this aspect of the street code, respondents reported an increase of .182 in the log of incidents in which someone broke into their homes or other property. According to the exponentiated coefficient (1.258), breaking and entering increased by 25.8% with each one-unit increase in belief in this aspect of the street code. The other two street code measures – the belief that one should not avoid confrontation and the belief that it is important to have a tough reputation – were not related to breaking and entering ($b = .065$, $p > .05$; $b = .011$, $p > .05$).

One individual-level control variable was significantly related to breaking and entering victimization before controlling for public activities. Compared to White respondents, Asians and Pacific Islanders reported fewer breaking and entering incidents ($b = -.513$, $p > .05$). On average, the log of the number of breaking and entering incidents reported by Asians and Pacific Islanders was lower than that of Whites by .513. The exponentiated coefficient of .599 shows that the number of breaking and entering incidents was 40.1% lower for Asians than for Whites.

Table 4.8: Hierarchical Overdispersed Poisson Models for Breaking & Entering Victimization (Main Effects)

	1		2	
	Coefficient (SE)	Exp(B)	Coefficient (SE)	Exp(B)
Level 1				
Intercept	2.885 (1.402)*	17.912	3.339 (1.236)**	28.188
Don't back down	.182 (.073)*	1.200	.229 (.061)***	1.258
Confrontations okay	.065 (.095)	1.067	.103 (.084)	1.109
Tough reputation	.011 (.081)	1.011	.003 (.082)	1.003
Public activities	---	---	.048 (.020)*	1.049
Age	-.003 (.004)	.997	-.001 (.005)	.999
Female	-.267 (.161)	.765	-.216 (.135)	.806
Black	-.726 (.451)	.484	-.693 (.362)	.500
Asian	-.513 (.237)*	.599	-.321 (.199)	.726
Other	.097 (.222)	1.102	.082 (.210)	1.085
Lives alone	.141 (.184)	1.151	.037 (.181)	1.038
Income	-.003 (.029)	.997	-.019 (.025)	.981
Education	-.102 (.096)	.903	-.116 (.097)	.890
Hours worked per week	.004 (.004)	1.004	.003 (.004)	1.003
Level 2				
Collective efficacy	-.190 (.060)**	.827	-.222 (.065)**	.801
Busy places	.005 (.142)	1.008	-.057 (.144)	.944
Parks	.146 (.391)	1.157	.531 (.439)	1.701
Average income	-.019 (.090)	.981	-.011 (.099)	.989
Residential Mobility	-.187 (.136)	.830	-.158 (.127)	.854
Racial heterogeneity	.500 (.434)	1.649	.436 (.422)	1.546
Proportion variation explained				
Individual[a]	.132		.140	
Neighborhood[b]	.566		.528	
Variance Components[c]				
Intercept	.185 (.430)*		.266 (.516)***	
Level-1error	1.322 (1.150)		.985 (.992)	
Don't back down slope	.237 (.487)		.352 (.593)*	
Confrontations okay slope	.309 (.556)		.484 (.695)***	
Tough reputation slope	.245 (.495)		.414 (.643)*	
Public activities slope	---		.024 (.154)***	

Census Tracts *(N = 123); Individuals (n = 2,975)*

***p < .001; ** p < .01; *p < .05

[a]Proportion variation within census tracts = .854
[b]Proportion variation between census tracts = .146
[c] Variance components and standard deviations are presented

As can be seen in Column 2 of Table 4.8, the difference between Asians and Whites was reduced by the inclusion of public activities (b = -.321, p > .05).

At the neighborhood level, collective efficacy was significantly related to breaking and entering victimization. As expected, the rate of breaking and entering victimization was lower among residents of neighborhoods with higher levels of collective efficacy (b = -.190, p < .01). For each one-unit increase in collective efficacy, the rate of breaking and entering victimization decreased by.190, which corresponds with a 19.9% decrease in the rate of breaking and entering for each one-unit increase in collective efficacy[4].

In Column 2 of Table 4.8, the measure of public activities was included in the model. Public activities were positively related to breaking and entering (b = .048, p < .05). For each additional activity per week that respondents participated in, the logged count of breaking and entering incidents increased by .048. The exponentiated coefficient of 1.049 demonstrates that there was a 4.9% increase in the count of breaking and entering victimization for each one-unit increase in activities.

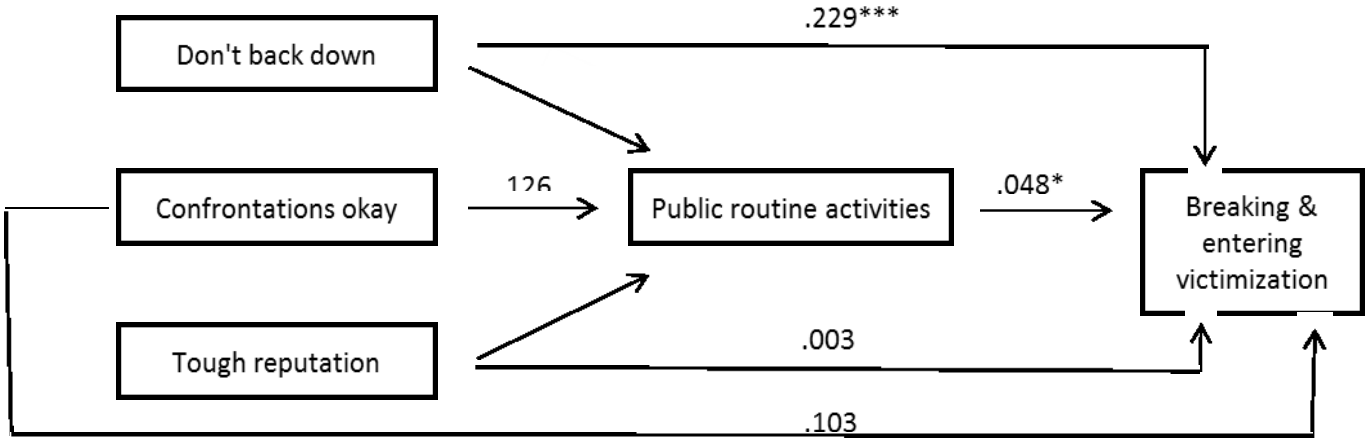
The variance components at both levels were greatly reduced from the values in the unconditional models (presented in Chapter 3). The level-1 variance component in the unconditional model was 2.252; this was reduced to 1.322 in the first model and decreased further to .985 when public activities were entered into the model. Although lower than the variance components in the null model (.385), the level-2 variance components for these models (.185, .266 after including public activities) were significant, indicating that breaking and entering victimization continued to vary significantly across census tracts after controlling for these individual- and neighborhood-level characteristics. Additionally, the variance components

[4] In separate analyses not presented, these models were estimated without including average income and busy places due to their correlations with collective efficacy. The effect of collective efficacy on breaking and entering victimization was similar in these models (b = -.198, p < .001).

for the slopes of the street code variables and activities were significant, indicating that the effects of these factors vary across census tracts.

Model 2: Mediation. The second proposed model predicted a mediating effect of public activities on the relationship between code-related values and breaking and entering victimization. There was little reduction in the coefficients for code-related values before and after entering public activities into the model; the coefficients for two of the street code measures actually increased after the inclusion of public activities. Because the code of the street does not have a significant effect on public activities (see Table 4.5) and the coefficients for code-related values are not substantially lower after controlling for public activities, there is little preliminary support for the hypothesis that the effect of the code of the street is mediated by activities.

Figure 4.4: Direct and Indirect Effects of the Street Code on Breaking & Entering Victimization



As with the analysis of violent victimization above, the product of coefficients test (MacKinnon et al., 2007) is used to formally calculate the indirect effects of the street code. Figure 4.4 provides the direct and indirect paths from the street code to victimization. As before, the coefficients for path *a* (from the street code to public activities) are multiplied with

the coefficient for path *b* (from public activities to victimization) to calculate the total indirect effect. These calculations are provided in Table 4.9. As can be seen in Table 4.9, none of the code-related values have significant indirect effects on breaking and entering victimization. Again, the estimates of the standard errors must be viewed with caution due to the nature of the outcome variable. However, as with the results for violent victimization, the lack of a relationship between the street code and activities and the low values for the product of the coefficients suggest that the indirect effects of these code-related values are non-significant.

Table 4.9: Indirect Effects of the Street Code on Breaking & Entering Victimization

	ab	SE
Don't back down	.0006	.0037
Confrontations okay	.0060	.0047
Tough reputation	.0024	.0047

Model 3: Moderation. Next, the possibility that the code of the street and public activities interact to further influence breaking and entering victimization was examined. The results of the models testing these interaction effects are presented in Table 4.10. Public activities significantly moderated the effects of all three of the street code measures, although the nature of the interaction was not consistent. Activities positively interact with the belief that one should not back down after being insulted ($b = .045$, $p < .01$) and the belief that it is important to have a tough reputation ($b = .049$, $p < .05$). Conversely, the interaction between activities and the belief that confrontations should not be avoided is negative ($b = .060$, $p < .01$).

Table 4.10: Hierarchical Overdispersed Poisson Models for Breaking & Entering Victimization (Moderation)

	1		2		3	
	Coefficient (SE)	Exp(B)	Coefficient (SE)	Exp(B)	Coefficient (SE)	Exp(b)
Level 1						
Intercept	3.450 (1.224)**	31.460	3.210 (1.226)*	24.785	3.471 (1.254)**	32.165
Don't back down	-.026 (.113)	.975	.228 (.061)***	1.256	.231 (.061)***	1.260
Confrontations okay	.100 (.084)	1.106	.448 (.123)***	1.565	.094 (.084)	1.099
Tough reputation	.007 (.082)	1.007	.014 (.082)	1.014	-.271 (.136)*	.762
Public activities	-.059 (.045)	.943	.168 (.050)**	1.182	-.039 (.046)	.962
Age	-.0003 (.005)	1.000	.0002 (.005)	1.000	-.00004 (.005)	1.000
Female	-.212 (.136)	.809	-.215 (.135)	.807	-.211 (.134)	.810
Black	-.708 (.368)	.492	-.729 (.356)*	.483	-.716 (.352)*	.489
Asian	-.301 (.201)	.740	-.313 (.199)	.732	-.302 (.201)	.739
Other	.087 (.208)	1.091	.097 (.208)	1.102	.094 (.209)	1.098
Lives alone	.034 (.181)	1.034	.031 (.181)	1.032	.029 (.182)	1.030
Income	-.019 (.025)	.982	-.020 (.025)	.980	-.020 (.025)	.980
Education	-.114 (.096)	.892	-.120 (.097)	.887	-.117 (.096)	.890
Hours worked per week	.003 (.004)	1.003	.003 (.004)	1.003	.003 (.004)	1.003
Don't back down*Activities	.045 (.016)**	1.046	---	---	---	---
Confrontations okay*Activities	---	---	-.060 (.020)**	.941	---	---
Tough reputation*Activities	---	---	---	---	.049 (.021)*	1.051
Level 2						
Collective efficacy	-.227 (.066)**	.797	-.216 (.064)**	.806	-.223 (.066)**	.800
Busy places	-.053 (.146)	.949	-.049 (.144)	.952	-.077 (.148)	.926
Parks	.554 (.440)	1.740	.529 (.439)	1.698	.517 (.436)	1.677
Average income	-.010 (.098)	.990	-.014 (.098)	.986	-.017 (.099)	.983
Residential Mobility	-.167 (.128)	.846	-.162 (.128)	.850	-.160 (.126)	.852
Racial heterogeneity	.448 (.425)	1.566	.478 (.422)	1.613	.415 (.425)	1.515
Proportion variation explained						
Individual[a]	.143		.159		.154	
Neighborhood[b]	.520		.514		.493	

Variance Components[c]			
Intercept	.278 (.528)***	.265 (.514)***	.276 (.526)***
Level-1error	.966 (.983)	.986 (.993)	.969 (.984)
Don't back down slope	.368 (.607)**	.350 (.591)*	.357 (.597)**
Confrontations okay slope	.494 (.703)***	.480 (.693)***	.483 (.695)***
Tough reputation slope	.436 (.661)**	.415 (.644)*	.438 (.662)**
Public activities slope	.024 (.155)***	.023 (.153)***	.024 (.154)***

Census Tracts *(N = 123); Individuals (n = 2,975)*

***p < .001; ** p < .01; *p < .05

[a]Proportion variation within census tracts = .854

[b]Proportion variation between census tracts = .146

[c] Variance components and standard deviations are presented

These interaction effects are illustrated in Figure 4.5, Figure 4.6, and Figure 4.7. The expected influence of the street code on breaking and entering incidents is plotted for two levels of public activity (one standard deviation above and below the mean). As with the interactions between the code and activities for violent victimization, for those who engage in more public routines, the belief that one should not back down from a threat or insult (see Figure 4.5) is related to higher amounts of breaking and entering victimization. However, for those whose lifestyles less frequently take them into the public domain, this aspect of the street code has a protective effect against breaking and entering. The belief that one should have a tough reputation (see Figure 4.6) has little effect on breaking and entering victimization for those whose lifestyles are more public, while there is a greater, negative relationship between the code and victimization for those who engage in less public activity.

Figure 4.5: Effect of "Don't Back Down" on Breaking & Entering Victimization by Public Activities

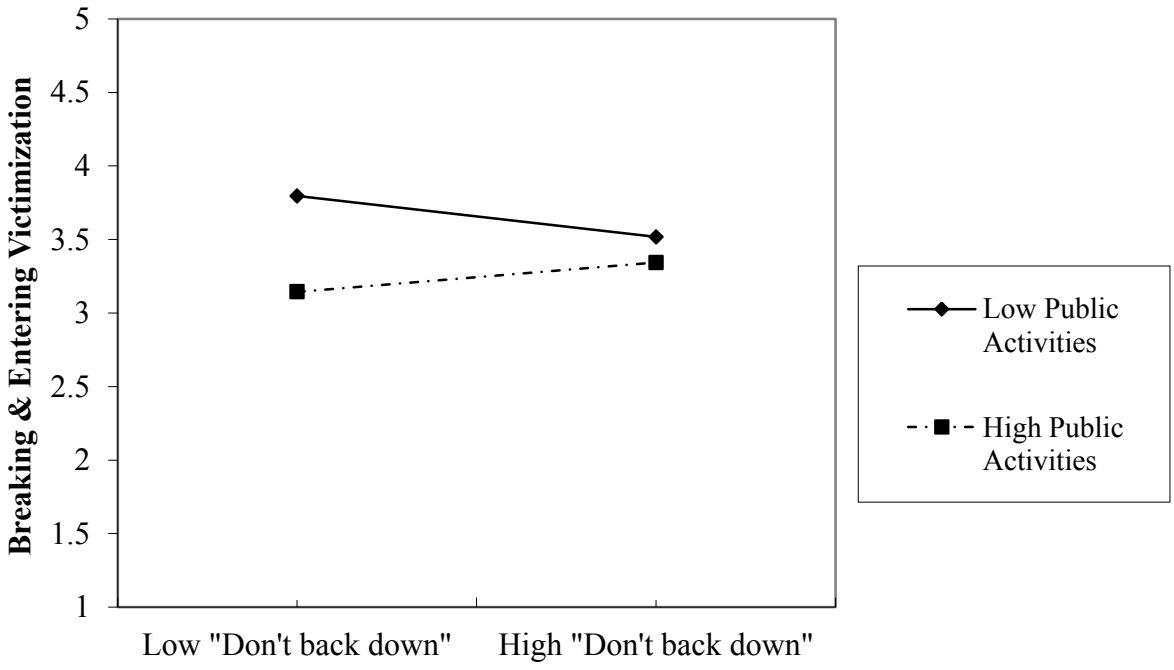
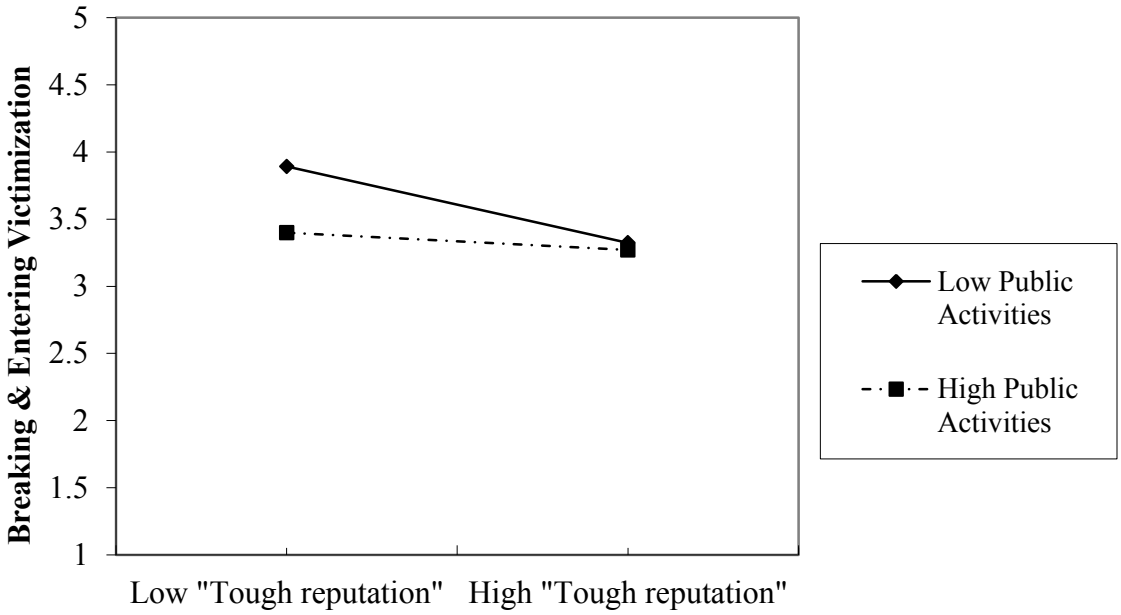
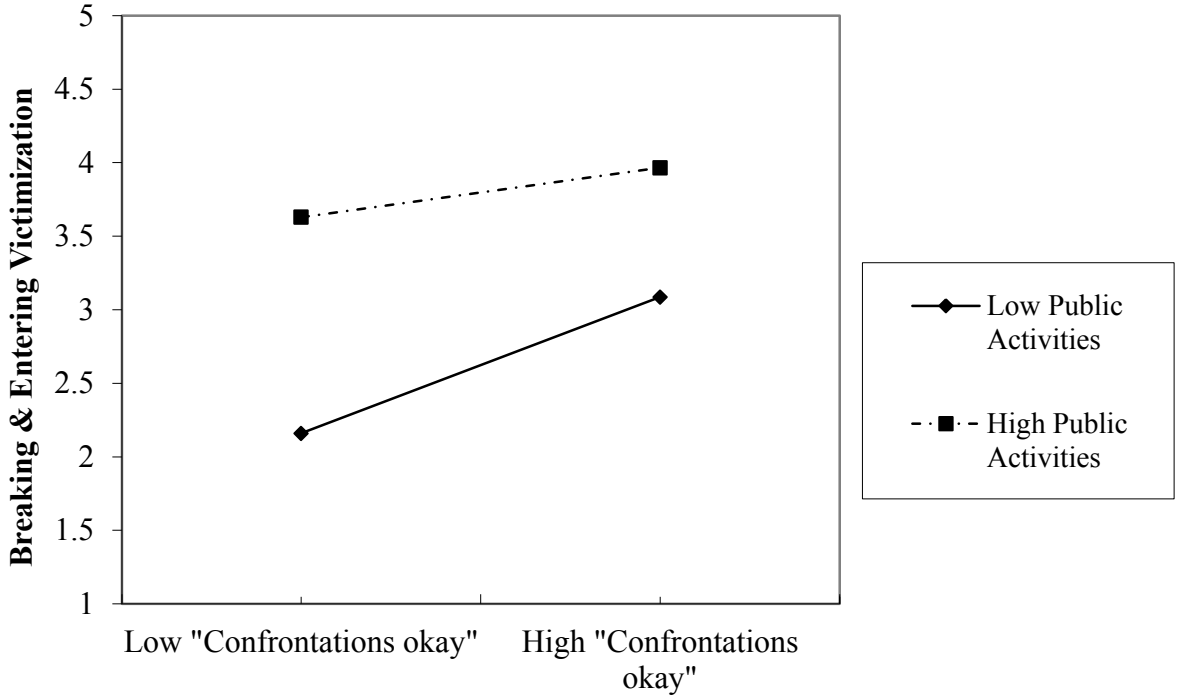


Figure 4.6: Effect of "Tough Reputation" on Breaking & Entering Victimization by Public Activities



Additionally, as can be seen in Figure 4.7, the effect of the belief that one should not avoid confrontations is positive regardless of the level of public lifestyle. However, the strength of this positive effect is dependent upon the extent to which one engages in activities outside the home. For those who spend more time in public, the increased risk of being victimized by breaking and entering due to belief in the code is minimal. However, the positive effect of the code is stronger for those who spend less time in public.

Figure 4.7: Effect of "Confrontations Okay" on Breaking & Entering Victimization by Public Activities



Cross-Level Interactions. Because the variance components for the slopes of the street code variables and public activities were significant, indicating that the effects of these characteristics on breaking and entering victimization vary across neighborhoods, cross-level interactions were estimated to explain this variation. Three neighborhood characteristics – collective efficacy, the presence of busy places, and the presence of parks – were included to explain the variation of the slopes across census tracts. It is important to note that three-way interactions between the street code, activities, and neighborhood characteristics were not estimated due to evidence that the Level-1 slopes for the interaction terms for code-related values and public activities did not vary across census tracts (see Chapter 3). The results of the slopes-as-outcomes model for breaking and entering victimization are presented in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11: Level 1 Slopes for Breaking & Entering Victimization as Outcomes at Level 2

	Coefficient (SE)
Coefficient for *Don't back down* as outcome	-1.894
Collective efficacy	.052 (.036)
Busy places	-.109 (.097)
Parks	1.455 (.387)***
Coefficient for *Confrontations okay* as outcome	-1.583
Collective efficacy	.114 (.064)
Busy places	.418 (.202)*
Parks	-1.751 (.626)**
Coefficient for *Tough reputation* as outcome	1.369
Collective efficacy	-.050 (.054)
Busy places	-.166 (.146)
Parks	-.101 (.455)
Coefficient for *Activities* as outcome	.506
Collective efficacy	-.032 (.011)**
Busy places	-.018 (.032)
Parks	.382 (.091)***
Variance Components[a]	
Intercept	.283 (.532)***
Level-1 error	.977 (.989)
Don't back down slope	.350 (.591)**
Confrontations okay slope	.467 (.684)***
Tough reputation slope	.440 (.663)**
Public activities slope	.021 (.146)***

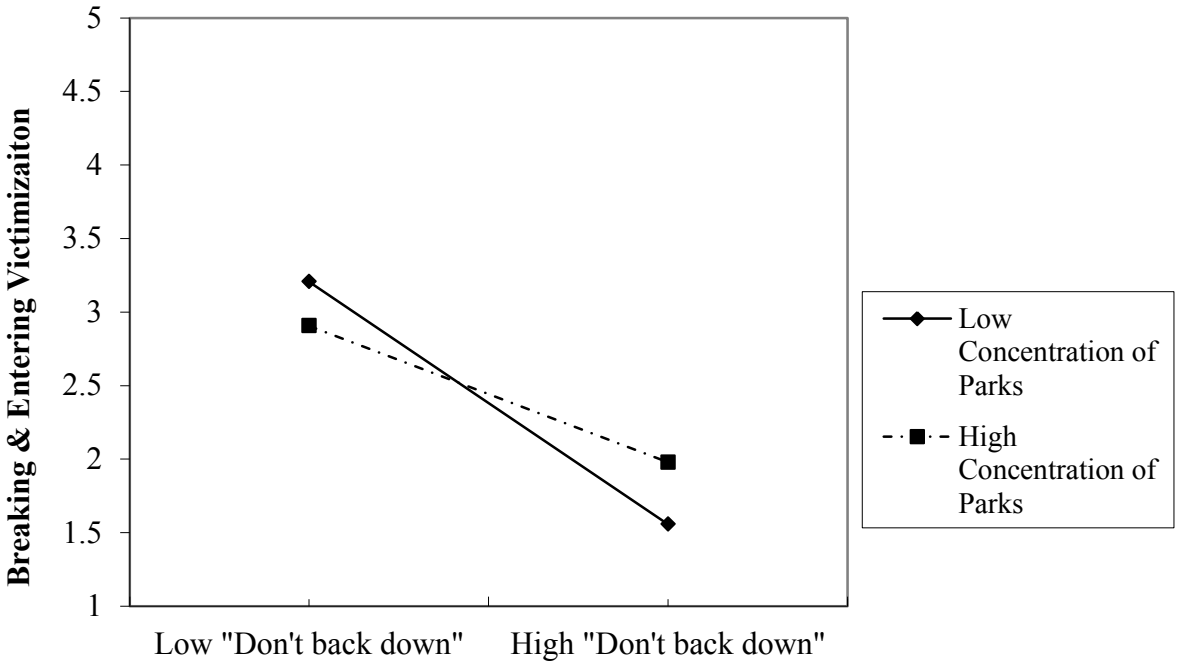
***p < .001; ** p < .01; *p < .05

[a] Variance components and standard deviations are presented

A community's level of public land use – both the presence of busy places and the presence of parks – moderated the effects of code-related values on breaking and entering victimization. Both the belief that one should not back down from an insult or threat and the belief that confrontations should not be avoided in public were related to the concentration of parks within the neighborhood, although the relationships were not consistent. The effect of the belief that one should not back down after being insulted was weaker in neighborhoods containing fewer parks ($b = 1.455$, $p < .001$). This effect is illustrated in Figure 4.8. As shown in Figure 4.8, the belief in this aspect of the code was more protective for respondents who lived

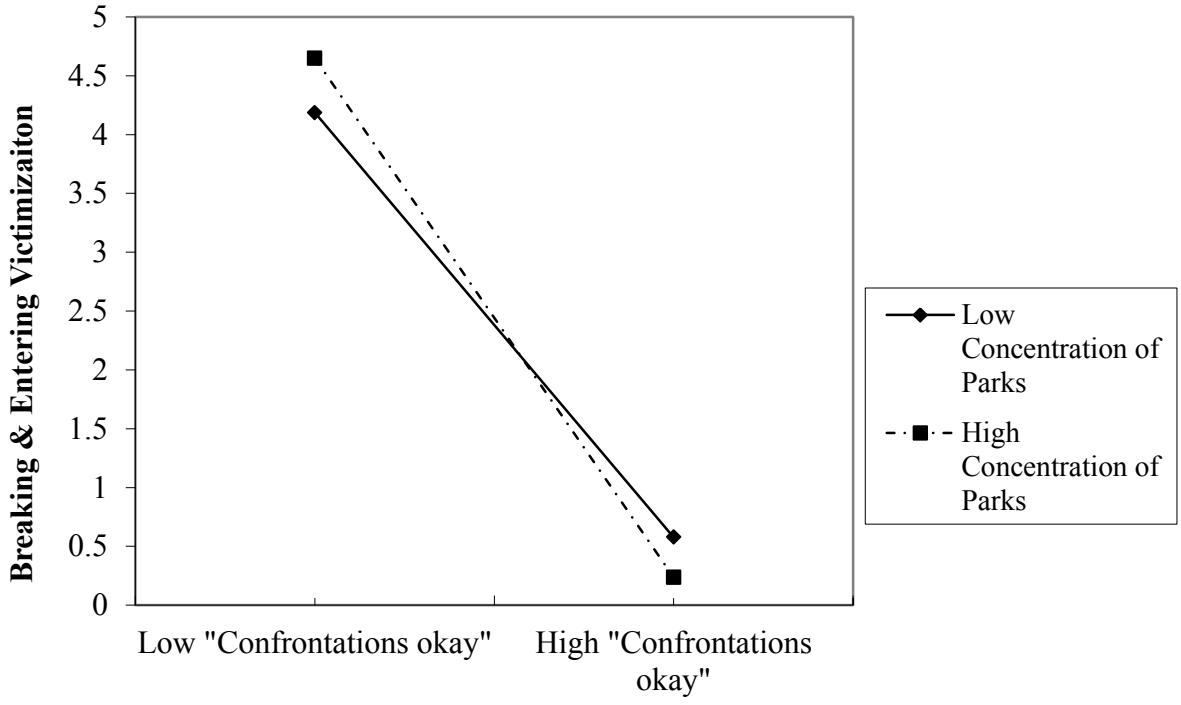
in neighborhoods with fewer parks; for those living near more parks, the effect of this code-related belief was still negative, but weaker.

Figure 4.8: Effect of "Don't Back Down" on Breaking & Entering Victimization by Concentration of Parks



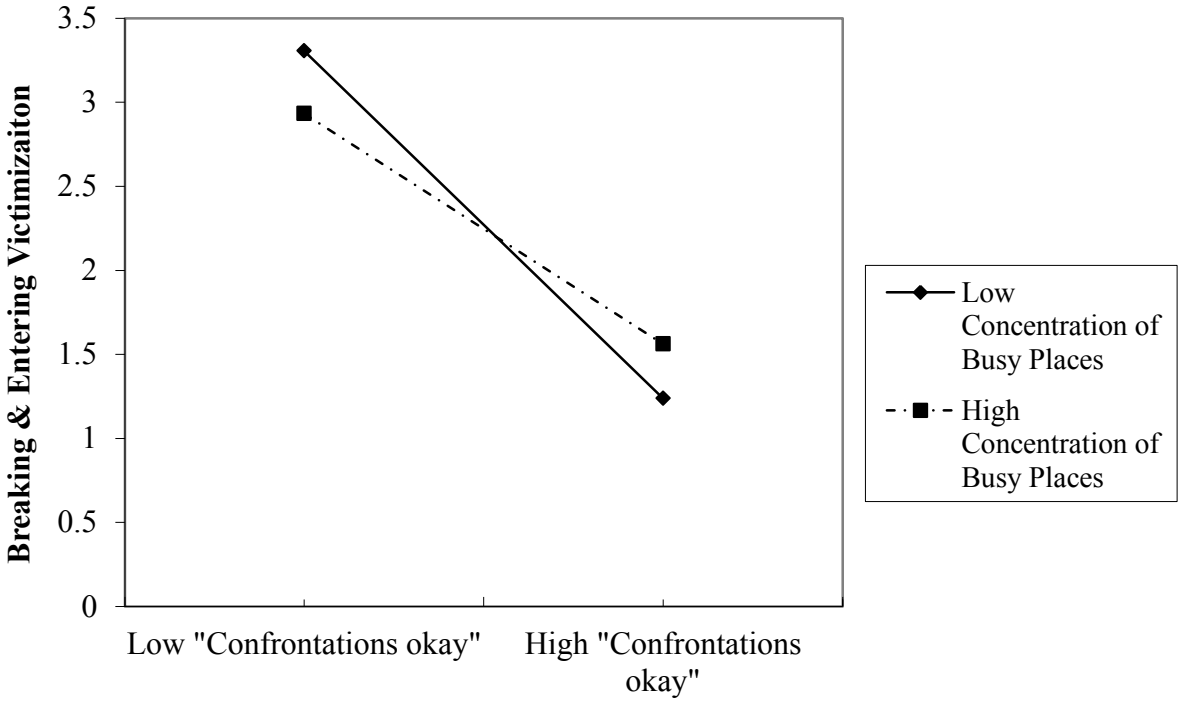
Conversely, the negative effect of the belief that public confrontations are acceptable was stronger in census tracts containing parks (b = -1.751, p < .01). As illustrated in Figure 4.9, the effect of the belief that one should not avoid confrontations when in public was negative, regardless of the number of parks in the neighborhood. However, this effect was stronger in neighborhoods with more parks; the number of parks was less negatively related to breaking and entering victimization in neighborhoods with fewer parks.

Figure 4.9: Effect of "Confrontations Okay" on Breaking & Entering Victimization by Concentration of Parks



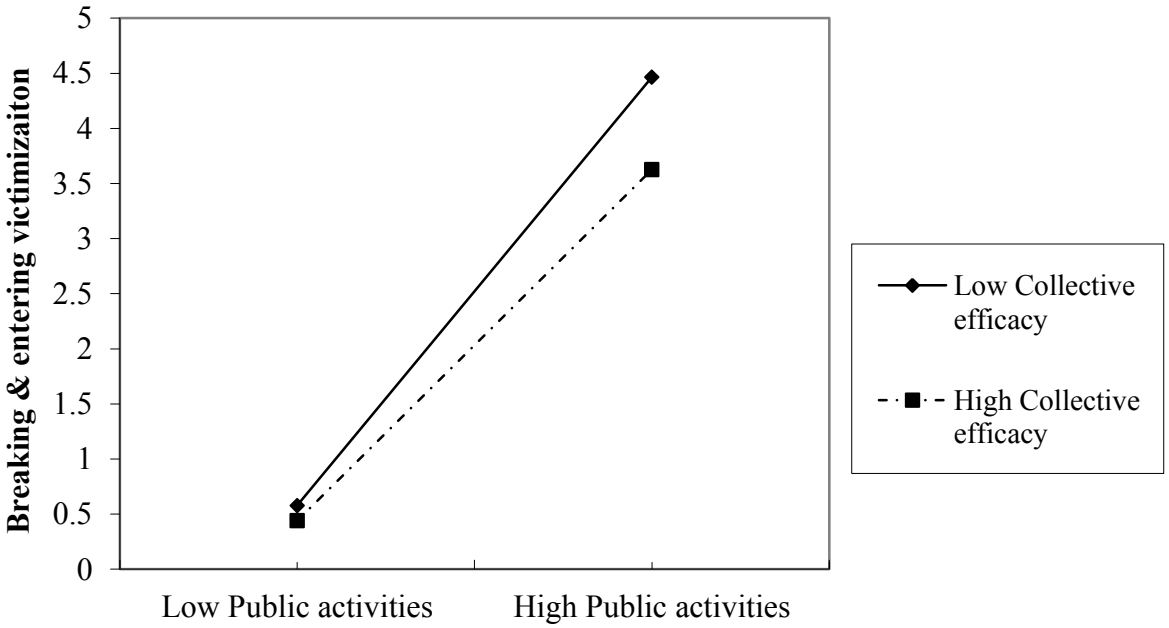
Additionally, the effect of the belief that confrontations should not be avoided was moderated by the presence of busy place, including shopping malls, bars or restaurants, and hotels or motels ($b = .418$, $p < .05$). As shown in Figure 4.10, the effect of this aspect of the code was negative. However, the negative effect of the street code on breaking and entering was weaker in neighborhoods with higher concentrations of busy places.

Figure 4.10: Effect of "Confrontations Okay" on Breaking & Entering Victimization by Concentration of Busy Places



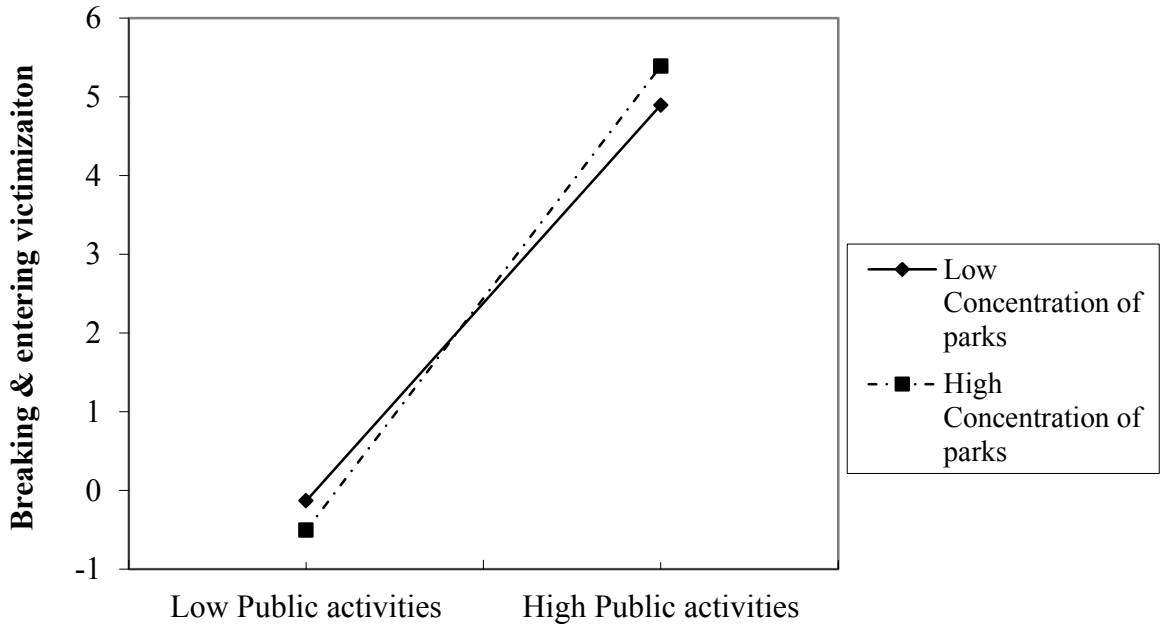
As with the street code variables, the effect of public activities on breaking and entering victimization was moderated by community characteristics. The slope of public activities was related to two of the neighborhood characteristics: collective efficacy and the presence of parks. First, the effect of public activities varied by the level of collective efficacy in the neighborhood, with public activities contributing to victimization to a lesser extent for residents of communities with greater collective efficacy (b = -.032, p < .01). As can be seen in Figure 4.11, while public lifestyles were related to increased risk of victimization regardless of census tract, this relationship was stronger in census tracts with lower collective efficacy.

Figure 4.11: Effect of Public Activities on Breaking & Entering Victimization by Collective Efficacy



Additionally, the effect of public activities was moderated by the presence of parks (b = .382, $p < .001$). For respondents living in neighborhoods containing more parks, engaging in a public lifestyle more greatly contributed to breaking and entering victimization than it did for those in neighborhoods with fewer parks. As shown in Figure 4.12, those with more public lifestyles reported more incidents of breaking and entering victimization. This relationship was stronger in neighborhoods with higher concentrations of parks or playgrounds.

Figure 4.12: Effect of Public Activities on Breaking & Entering Victimization by Concentration of Parks



The variance components for the slopes-as-outcomes model are also presented in Table 4.12. The level-2 variance component in this model is significant, showing that the variation in breaking and entering victimization across census tracts is not completely explained by the model (variance component = .283, $p < .001$). The variance components for the slopes of code-related values and public activities did not decrease substantially from the full model (presented in Table 4.8). Further, they were still significant, indicating that the effects of the street code and public activities still varied significantly across census tracts after accounting for the moderating effects of collective efficacy and various types of land use. This indicates that there are still other factors to explain the neighborhood-level variation in the effect of these characteristics on breaking and entering victimization.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This dissertation integrates the code of the street theory and routine activities theory to better understand victimization. In doing so, I attempt to provide a better understanding of the nature of the relationship between the code of the street and victimization. I present three alternative ways in which controlling for lifestyle might allow for a better understanding of the relationship between the code and victimization: 1) as a control for a potential confounding factor; 2) as the intervening mechanism through which codes relate to violence; and 3) as the moderating mechanism that accounts for the conditional effects of the code on victimization. While Anderson (1999) and other scholars argue that the code of the street is adopted in order to reduce the risk of victimization, the empirical evidence generally shows that individuals who hold these values are at higher risk of victimization. By incorporating routine activities theory and thereby clarify the relationship between the code and victimization, my intention was to better understand the contradiction between Anderson's theory and subsequent empirical tests. In addition, the effects of neighborhood characteristics on victimization and on the individual-level slopes were analyzed. Table 5.1 offers a summary of the results of the analyses presented in Chapter 4.

As can be seen in Table 5.1, certain aspects of the street code were positively related with both violent and breaking and entering victimization. These effects were still significant when controlling for activities. As expected, public activities were also positively related to victimization. Additionally, several significant interactions between code-related values and activities were found. These findings are discussed in this chapter, with attention given to

Table 5.1: Summary of Findings

	Violent Victimization	Breaking & Entering Victimization
Don't back down		
without Public activities	+	+
with Public activities	+	+
with Don't back down*Activities	-	ns
Confrontations okay		
without Public activities	ns	ns
with Public activities	ns	ns
with Confrontations okay*Activities	ns	+
Tough reputation		
without Public activities	+	ns
with Public activities	+	ns
with Tough reputation*Activities	-	-
Public Activities	+	+
Don't back down*Public activities	+	+
Confrontations okay*Public activities	ns	-
Tough reputation*Public activities	+	+

+ = positive significant effect; - = negative significant effect; ns = non-significant effect

answering the research questions outlined in Chapter 2. In addition, the implications for theory and policy that arise from the findings and the limitations of this study will be discussed in this chapter and suggestions for future research will be made.

EFFECT OF THE STREET CODE AND PUBLIC ACTIVITIES ON VICTIMIZATION

The Code of the Street and Victimization

The first research question explored in this dissertation surrounds the effect of the street code on various types of victimization, net of public activities. As discussed in Chapter 2, quantitative studies have found a positive relationship between the code of the street and violent victimization, possibly due to victim precipitation caused by behavior that provokes anger and violence from others (Stewart et al., 2006; Berg et al., 2012; Schreck et al., 2012). However,

these studies have not controlled for routine activities. By including measures of lifestyle, I am able to better determine the main effects of the street code while controlling for potential confounding factors. Two of the three code-related values used in this dissertation were positively related to violent victimization after controlling for routine activities. This provides partial support for previous findings that belief in the street code is related to an increased risk of violent victimization.

Additionally, while scholars have used the code of the street to explain crime and delinquency in children, adolescents, and adults, previous research testing the effect of the code of the street on victimization has been limited to samples of juveniles. By analyzing a sample of adults, this dissertation provides further evidence regarding the effect of the street code on victimization. The results of this dissertation provide evidence that the code of the street explanation of violent victimization is also applicable to adults.

While research has shown that the code of the street promotes non-violent offending (Agnew, 2002; Allen and Lo, 2012; McGloin, Schreck, Stewart, and Ousey, 2011; McGrath, Marcum, and Copes, 2012), research on the effect of the code on victimization has focused on violent victimization. This dissertation extended the code of the street explanation of victimization to property crime; specifically, the extent to which belief in the code is related to breaking and entering was explored. Two explanations of the potential relationship between the code and property victimization were offered. First, as discussed in Chapter 2, Finkelhor and Asdigian's (1996) concept of target congruence can be applied to understand the effect of the street code on victimization. Following this theory, adoption of the street code may impact victimization by increasing target antagonism and/or target gratifiability or by decreasing target vulnerability. The protection or vulnerability that is provided by the code in regards to personal

victimization may also extend to one's property, making this theory relevant to property crime victimization.

The results of the analyses presented in Chapter 4 provide partial support for the hypothesis that the code of the street affects property crime victimization. One of the code-related values – the belief that one should not back down from a fight – was related to the number of breaking and entering incidents experienced. The results suggest that the code directly influences breaking and entering, perhaps by antagonizing potential offenders and creating a motivation for retaliation.

The results of this dissertation show that, while the code is related to property victimization, it provides a stronger and more consistent contribution to violent victimization. This finding is logical given differences in the opportunity structures surrounding personal and property victimization. In particular, target attractiveness and guardianship are different for breaking and entering than for assault or robbery. While individuals' characteristics may influence the likelihood that their homes or property will be broken into, features of the house or building itself are more likely to affect the risk of this occurring.

In general, the results of this dissertation indicate that those who hold values in line with the code of the street are at increased risk of victimization. However, it can be noted that not every aspect of the code contributes to victimization. Of the three code-related values included in the analysis, only one – the belief that it is important not to back down from a fight – was consistently related to various types of victimization. This measure may be most related to victimization because it represents a more specific prescribed behavior than the others, and is therefore more likely to lead to victim precipitated events or acts of retaliation. Another tenet of the code – the belief that confrontations should not be avoided while in public – was not related

to either violent or breaking and entering victimization. This belief may not be related to victimization because it does not necessarily encourage any particular behavior or personality trait that would provoke an attack or require retaliation.

Public Activities and Victimization

The second research question explores the effect of public lifestyles on victimization. As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, one of the most commonly used explanations for victimization is lifestyle-routine activities theory. According to routine activities theory (Cohen and Felson, 1979), for a crime event to occur, a motivated offender must encounter a suitable target in the absence of a capable guardian. At the individual level, one's lifestyle affects the convergence of these three components, influencing the chances that crime will occur (e.g., Cohen, Kluegel, and Land, 1981; Miethe, Stafford, and Long, 1987).

In this dissertation, public activities are used as an indicator of lifestyle. When people engage in activities away from home, they increase the likelihood that they will come in contact with motivated offenders, increasing the risk of violent victimization. As expected, the results presented in Chapter 4 indicate that leading a public lifestyle was positively related to the number of assaults or robberies experienced. Additionally, while people are away from home, their house or other buildings are exposed to potential offenders due to the absence of guardianship provided when owners are at home. Interviews with active residential burglars show that occupancy is an important factor in choosing homes to break into; 90% of the burglars interviewed said they would not knowingly break into an occupied home (Wright and Decker, 1994). In this analysis, more frequently engaging in public activities was also associated with more incidents of breaking and entering victimization.

INTEGRATION OF THE STREET CODE AND ROUTINE ACTIVITIES

The third research question examines the possible interrelationships between the street code and routine activities. This dissertation proposed two alternative models through which the code of the street and routine activities may interrelate to affect victimization. These models proposed that the effect of the street code on victimization is either mediated or moderated by lifestyle. The results of the tests of these models are discussed below.

Mediation Model

Recall that the first integrated theory proposed that, in addition to a direct effect of street-code-related beliefs on victimization, belief in the code of the street may impact victimization indirectly by influencing routine activities. Because public areas serve as staging areas, or places in which people can find an audience for their respect-enhancing behaviors, those who adopt the code of the street are likely to seek out public spaces. According to Copes and Hochstetler (2003), public leisure activities are important for those who follow the code of the street due to the opportunity they provide to display one's street persona to code-following peers. Kennedy and Baron (1993) argue that involvement with subcultural groups and the adoption of the groups' values increase the amount of time that a person spends in public. As proposed by lifestyle-routine activities theory, the increase in time spent in public leisure activities increases one's risk of victimization due to increased proximity and exposure to motivated offenders. Because of the importance of public activities for those who follow the code of the street and the impact of public activities on victimization, an indirect positive effect of the code of the street on victimization through public lifestyle is expected.

The hypothesis that the code of the street influences victimization indirectly through an increase in public activities was not supported for either violent victimization or breaking and entering victimization. The inclusion of public activities in the analysis did not reduce the street code's effect on violent victimization to non-significance. Also, contrary to expectations, the code of the street was not related to public lifestyle; those who held values in line with the code did not lead more public lifestyles than did those with more conventional values. Because the effect of the code was not mediated by activities, this dissertation supports the hypothesis of a direct effect of the street code, net of public lifestyles, on victimization rather than an indirect effect.

This mediation model was also offered as a possible explanation for a relationship between the street code and breaking and entering victimization. It was hypothesized that the street code could be related to property crime indirectly due to a relationship with public activities. Those who adopt the code may move into public spaces more often, leaving their property vulnerable. Because the effect of the street code was not mediated by activities, the hypothesis that property crime is indirectly affected by the code through public activities was not supported.

Moderation Model

The second proposed integration of the code of the street and routine activities predicted an interaction effect between adoption of the street code and public routine activities. According to Anderson, the code of the street provides information on how one should behave in public, especially in interactions with others. It was hypothesized that an increased risk of victimization would be more pronounced with greater levels of public activity due to the likelihood that those

who adhere to the street code behave in ways that would be perceived by others as disrespectful. This may result in violence when it occurs in public with witnesses present, as others may feel pressured to respond publicly to avoid being perceived as weak (see Jacobs and Wright, 2006).

As discussed in Chapter 2, there is conflict between theory and empirical evidence regarding the effect of the code of the street on victimization. Anderson suggests that the code is necessary as a means of self-protection, and studies have shown that those who adopt the code believe this to be true (Jacobs, 2004; Jacobs and Wright, 2006; Garot, 2007; Brookman et al., 2011). However, many studies explicitly measuring the effect of code-related values on victimization have found that those who adopt the code are more likely to become victims of violent crime (Stewart et al., 2006; Berg et al., 2012; Schreck et al., 2012, but also see Baron, Kennedy, and Forde, 2001). This dissertation attempts to reconcile this conflict by introducing lifestyle as an explanation.

The hypothesis that the effect of the street code is moderated by public activities was supported for both violent and breaking and entering victimization. For violent victimization, the effect of two of the code-related values – the belief that one should not back down after being insulted and the belief that it is important to have a tough reputation – varied by time spent in public. Specifically, for those with more public lifestyles, the effect of the code was positive, with stronger belief in the code leading to more incidents of violence. However, for those who less frequently engaged in activities away from home, the effect of the code was negative, with stronger belief in the street code serving as a protection against violent victimization. When accounting for the interactions with public activities, the effects of these code-related beliefs were either not significant or were significant and negative.

The finding that public activities moderate the influence of the street code on

victimization could help to explain the incongruence between the theory and the empirical findings regarding the relationship between the code and victimization. Because previous studies have not considered the way that lifestyle could influence the effect of the code on victimization, they have not fully accounted for the complexities of the relationship between the street code and victimization. The hypothesis that the code provides protection by creating a perception of invulnerability may be accurate; however, at the same time, the increased opportunity due to public activities is compounded by adherence to the street code. Therefore, while a potential target's general level of attractiveness may be reduced by adherence to the code, adoption of code-related values may contribute to crime events while one is engaged in public activities.

As with violent victimization, belief in the street code generally decreases the risk of breaking and entering victimization for those who engage in public activities less frequently. Opportunity theory would suggest that frequently leaving one's home unoccupied may increase the risk of breaking and entering victimization to the point that antagonistic behaviors due to the street code do not make much difference. Those who spend more time at home are less vulnerable to breaking and entering victimization due to the guardianship that they provide while at home. However, while one's routine activities (i.e., leaving home less frequently) may leave his property less vulnerable to break ins, his adherence to the street code may either increase the risk, by providing motivation for potential offenders to target him in this way, or decrease the risk, by further discouraging potential offenders from targeting him due to fear of retaliation.

STREET CODES, PUBLIC ACTIVITIES, AND VICTIMIZATION: NEIGHBORHOOD CONTEXTUAL EFFECTS

The fourth research question asks whether victimization varies according to neighborhood context. As discussed in Chapter 2, previous research has found that victimization is more likely in neighborhoods characterized by socioeconomic disadvantage, including poverty, racial and ethnic heterogeneity, and residential instability (e.g., Shaw and McKay, 1942). This relationship has been explained by the intervening mechanism of informal social control, since those in disadvantaged communities are less able to control behavior of others in their communities (e.g., Kornhauser, 1978; Sampson et al., 1997).

In this dissertation, community characteristics were generally not related to victimization. This was especially true for violent victimization. As will be discussed later in this chapter, because of significant correlations between neighborhood-level variables, the effect of community characteristics on victimization is difficult to determine. However, violent victimization appeared to be more likely for residents of disorganized neighborhoods (i.e., economically disadvantaged communities or those with low collective efficacy) before individual-level public activities were included in the model. However, the community effects disappeared when controlling for activities. This may suggest that, along with affecting criminal opportunity, neighborhood conditions contribute to victimization in a developmental manner – one's community may influence individual characteristics that lead to victimization, such as lifestyle. Also, as expected, breaking and entering victimization was less likely in communities with higher levels of collective efficacy. This is in line with collective efficacy theory (Sampson et al., 1997); residents of neighborhoods with higher collective efficacy are more likely to

exercise informal social control, leading to a lower chance of victimization in these communities.

It is important to note that the outcome variables used in this dissertation were not neighborhood-specific; they included incidents that occurred anywhere, not just the respondent's neighborhood. While the dependent variable is not limited to incidents that occurred within the respondent's current neighborhood, breaking and entering is more likely than assault or robbery to be limited to one's current neighborhood. Therefore, it is not surprising that community characteristics were more important for breaking and entering victimization than for violent victimization.

The Effect of the Street Code and Activities across Neighborhoods

The fifth research question asks whether the effect of the street code or public activities on victimization is dependent upon neighborhood characteristics. The effects of the street code and public activities on violent victimization did not vary across census tracts in most of the models estimated. Again, this may be due to the fact that the models did not analyze violent victimization that occurred within a particular neighborhood.

The effects of the street code and public activities on breaking and entering did vary across neighborhoods. This variation was partially explained by the neighborhood characteristics included in the models. First, it was expected that the effects of the street code and public activities would be weaker in communities with higher collective efficacy due to a lack of criminal opportunity in such neighborhoods. This expectation was partially supported. Collective efficacy moderated the effect of lifestyle; public activities were more strongly related to increased risk of breaking and entering victimization in communities with low collective efficacy. However, collective efficacy did not moderate the effects of code-related values on

victimization.

Second, it was expected that the effects of the street code on victimization would be stronger in neighborhoods with more public land, as public land serves as staging areas in which people can display their adherence to the code. This hypothesis was partially supported; the presence of parks and busy places within neighborhoods moderated the effects of some aspects of the street code on breaking and entering victimization. The effect of the belief that confrontations in public should not be avoided was stronger in neighborhoods with more parks. However, the effect of this code-related value on victimization was weaker in neighborhoods with more busy places. Additionally, the effects of another aspect of the code, the belief that one should not back down from an insult, were weaker in census tracts with more parks. This aspect of the code was more likely to protect individuals from breaking and entering victimization in neighborhoods with low concentrations of parks.

This inconsistency in the effect of parks may be due to the fact that parks are different across neighborhoods, possibly based on factors such as a community's level of economic disadvantage. To explore this possibility, I ran negative binomial regression models in SPSS that included interactions between these two aspects of the street code and the presence of parks for the census tracts with the 10% lowest average incomes and compared the effects to the census tracts with higher incomes (see Table 5.2). While these findings should not be given much weight because of limitations with the analysis, it appears that the effect of parks on the relationship between the street code and victimization may be dependent upon the economic status of the community.

Table 5.2: Interactions between the Street Code and Parks by Neighborhood Average Income

	Low income	High income
Parks*Don't back down	-0.544 (2.348)	1.028 (.570)†
Parks*Confrontations okay	-11.952 (4.553)**	-1.124 (.605)†

**p < .01; * p < .05, † p < .10

It was also expected that public lifestyles would have a greater impact on breaking and entering victimization in communities with more public land, as these features attract more people to the area, further increasing the probability that motivated offenders would target the area (see Smith, Frazee, and Davison, 2000; Kinney, Brantingham, Wuschke, Kirk, and Brantingham, 2008). This expectation was also partially supported; the positive relationship between public activities and breaking and entering victimization was greater in neighborhoods that contained more parks. However, this relationship did not vary by the concentration of busy places.

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

The findings of this dissertation have implications for the empirical status of the code of the street theory. As previously discussed, the literature regarding the effect of the street code on victimization is mixed, with debate regarding whether this effect is positive or negative. This dissertation offers an explanation of these findings. Because the effect of the street code varies by the level of public activities, the street code has both negative effects on victimization, as predicted by Anderson, and positive effects, as previously found in empirical studies. The code of the street theory, as it pertains to victimization, should be modified by more explicitly incorporating lifestyle and public areas into the explanation of the effect of the code on

victimization.

These results also indicate that additional work on the theoretical concept of the code of the street is needed to clarify the sort of beliefs that originate in the code and the extent to which these influence crime. As discussed in Chapter 3, the survey items derived from the code of the street theory did not hang together, indicating that they measure multiple constructs. Also, the three items that were included in the analyses varied in the extent to which they affected victimization. Therefore, the code of the street theory should be refined to more fully specify what sorts of codes are the most likely to lead to offending or victimization.

These results also suggest a possible extension of lifestyle-routine activities, as it appears that there may be an additional role for lifestyles in explanations of individual-level victimization. Previously, lifestyle has been examined in terms of how it creates opportunity for victimization by increasing exposure and proximity to offenders. In addition to simply increasing risk by providing opportunity for criminal victimization, lifestyle affects the extent to which other factors affect victimization. This function of routine activities could be further explored with other characteristics known to be related to victimization.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

According to Anderson, residents of disadvantaged communities reject traditional values due to structural conditions such as poverty, unemployment, and racial discrimination, which result in a sense of hopelessness. While neighborhood characteristics were not important in predicting victimization in this analysis, these factors may lead to the emergence of the street code and individual belief in the code, as Anderson suggests. If reliance on the code can be weakened by addressing these structural factors, the results of this dissertation suggest that both

violent and breaking and entering victimization may, in turn, be decreased.

Anderson also argues that the street code arises as a means of self-protection due to mistrust of and lack of confidence in the police; self-reliance is perceived as necessary to avoid victimization because it is perceived that the police are not doing anything to protect residents of inner-city communities. As suggested by Stewart, Schreck, and Brunson (2008), steps should be taken to promote the legitimacy of the police and the criminal justice system in order to reduce the reliance on the code. The results of this dissertation would suggest that a decrease in the reliance on the code, in turn, would decrease violent and breaking and entering victimization. Stewart et al. (2008) suggest two methods to accomplish this goal: community policing and restorative justice.

Community policing involves a partnership between the police and the community to promote community safety. It is a popular strategy because it is believed to improve citizen perceptions of the police, increasing cooperation with police and obedience of the law, although the literature is mixed on this issue (Sherman, 1997). One aspect of community policing involves working with community institutions to improve the relationship between the police and citizens within the community, which may be especially beneficial in communities in which the street code flourishes.

Under restorative justice, the criminal justice system utilizes informal processes to mediate between parties following conflicts, focusing on the needs of victims and offenders (Braithwaite, 1989). According to Stewart et al. (2008), this method would demonstrate to those in disadvantaged communities that the code is not necessary for conflict resolution, as other means of solving problems are available. In addition to reducing reliance on the code over time, restorative justice may reduce victimization situationally by resolving specific issues within the

community. The results of this dissertation suggest that street code's emphasis on retaliation may lead to both violent and breaking and entering victimization. Solving problems through mediation or restorative justice could reduce code followers' perception that they need to retaliate against those who have wronged them, reducing multiple types of crime and victimization.

Another strategy that may be relevant given these findings is problem-oriented policing, in which the police identify particular crime or disorder problems that face the community and then develop strategies for addressing those problems (Goldstein, 1979; Eck and Spelman, 1987). Because of the importance of public lifestyles for victimization, both in creating opportunity and moderating the effect of the street code, an emphasis on public areas may be beneficial in decreasing crime events that arise due to belief in the street code. This would be especially helpful if police gave particular attention to public settings likely to serve as staging areas.

Kennedy and Forde (1990) suggested that activity patterns promote certain types of conflict resolution, which affects the risk of victimization. The results of this analysis support this view. When those with more public lifestyles adopt the values of the street code, which promotes violence as a means to resolve conflict, their risk of victimization increases. To reduce victimization that arises due to the reliance on the street code, other means of conflict resolution should be promoted. Prosocial conflict resolution could reduce any type of victimization that is a form of retaliation, as the need to retaliate would disappear if issues were resolved constructively. A review of research shows that conflict resolution programs in schools generally result in the use of more constructive methods of dealing with conflict (Johnson and Johnson, 1996). Such programs could be adapted for use in managing conflicts in neighborhood

settings.

Previous research has found that, when disputes arise in public areas, mediation by third parties may reduce the severity of the resulting violent incident (Luckenbill, 1977; Felson and Steadman, 1983). Therefore, bystander intervention training may be a practical method of reducing victimization that arises from interpersonal conflicts. Currently used to reduce gender violence and sexual assault, bystander intervention training promotes community prevention by educating community members in identifying conflicts that will lead to violence and in appropriate ways to intervene before or during an assault (Banyard, Plante, and Moynihan, 2004). Research on bystander intervention training has found that educational programs are related to an increase in helping behavior (Johnson and Johnson, 1996; Laner, Benin, and Ventrone, 2001; Banyard, Moynihan, and Plante, 2007)

LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

As with all studies, this dissertation has limitations that must be acknowledged. First, because the data used in this dissertation are cross-sectional in nature, causal order cannot be established. The conclusions that can be drawn from the results of the analyses are limited due to the necessity of making assumptions regarding the relationships between the independent and dependent variables. There is a possibility that the relationship between the street code and victimization is reciprocal in nature; as the code is perceived to limit one's vulnerability to subsequent victimization, belief in the code may increase after victimization. Therefore, scholars interested in the relationship between the street code and victimization should employ a longitudinal design in order to fully understand the nature of the relationship.

Second, because of the use of secondary data, certain measures that should be controlled are unavailable. As was discussed in Chapter 2, previous research shows that offending and self-control are strong predictors of victimization. Unfortunately, the dataset used in this dissertation does not contain measures of either offending or self-control. Therefore, conclusions drawn from the findings of the analyses are limited due to the inability to control for other known correlates of victimization.

Third, because the dataset includes randomly generated census tract identification numbers rather than official census codes, it is not possible to include data from the U.S. Census to measure factors related to social disorganization. Consequently, neighborhood socioeconomic characteristics are estimated using aggregates of individual survey responses – the individual responses are averaged across census tracts. As discussed in Chapter 3, respondents were older, more highly educated, and had higher incomes than the general population of Seattle. However, it is unknown to what extent respondents are representative of the neighborhoods in which they resided at the time of the survey. Therefore, the validity of findings regarding the aggregated neighborhood measures may be limited.

Fourth, the sample used in this dissertation may not be ideal for testing Anderson's theory, which was proposed to explain disadvantaged, predominantly black neighborhoods in the inner-city. The sample used here includes all neighborhoods, approximately four percent of the sample is African-American, and consists of adults (the average age is 49). While the effect of these values is similar to that found in studies using samples that are more ideal for testing the theory (e.g., Stewart et al., 2006), the results of the current study may over- or understate the relationship between the street code, lifestyle, and victimization. However, the results of the analyses presented in this dissertation demonstrate the universality of values discussed by

Anderson and generalizability of theories generated from his work. The results suggest that the code of the street is not only applicable to urban African-American youth – these values may also be held by others in society, with implications for victimization observed. Future studies could explore sub-group differences in the effect of the street code on victimization to determine the extent to which this effect varies across demographic groups (e.g., race, gender, age, socioeconomic status).

Another limitation is that there are significant correlations between collective efficacy and other neighborhood-level characteristics, specifically busy places and average income. There is not a model in which more than one of these factors is significant; significance bounced between average income and collective efficacy across the models. Also, the magnitude of the effects of these community characteristics may be weakened due to the inclusion of the others in the models. Therefore, it is difficult to differentiate between the effects of separate community characteristics on victimization. Future research should attempt to create more distinct operationalization of concepts measured at the community level in order to more fully understand the contextual causes of crime and victimization.

The dataset analyzed for this dissertation only included three measures capturing routine activities, and only one (nights per week at bars/clubs) was specific as to the type of activity engaged in while away from home. Future research should utilize more specific measures of public activities. Certain activities – such as unstructured time with friends, going out to eat, and drinking – are correlated with victimization, while others – such as organized sports or other leisure activities or attending community events – are related to lower risk of victimization (Mustaine and Tewksbury, 1998, 2000). Similarly, it is likely that certain activities are more likely to moderate the effect of the street code on victimization. It is likely that unstructured

leisure activities, activities involving drugs or alcohol, and activities that take place in locations that serve as staging areas (e.g., bars or clubs, schools, parks, arenas or stadiums) are more likely to condition the effect of the code of the street. Future research should explore these relationships in order to more fully understand the relationships between the street code, activities, and victimization.

CONCLUSION

Despite the limitations described above, by integrating lifestyle-routine activities theory with the code of the street theory, this dissertation has provided a clearer picture of the causes of victimization. The findings show that belief in the street code increases violent victimization in adults; this relationship has previously been tested using samples of juveniles. Therefore, this study shows that this explanation for victimization is applicable to a broader set of the population. The results show that the code of the street explanation for victimization is applicable to property crime; breaking and entering victimization was more likely for those who believed in the code.

Notably, the findings of this dissertation have helped to address a debate in the literature regarding whether adherence to the street code protects one from victimization or increases vulnerability. The effect of the street code on victimization is contingent upon one's lifestyle. Previous research has found a positive effect of the code on victimization; the results show that this relationship exists for those who engage in more public activities. However, for those whose lifestyles are less public, the negative effect of the street code is more consistent with Anderson's theory that the code is adopted in order to appear less vulnerable in order to avoid victimization.

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Appendix A: Victimization Survey Questions

Victimization

Breaking and Entering	Other than childhood incidents, how many times has someone ever broken into or illegally entered your home, garage or other building on your property? How many of these incidents occurred within the past 2 years?
Assault	Aside from childhood incidents, how many times have you ever been physically attacked, beaten up, or threatened? How many of these incidents occurred within the past 2 years?
Robbery	How many times have you ever had something stolen from you by force (e.g., stick-up, mugging)? How many of these incidents occurred within the past 2 years?

Source: Seattle Neighborhoods and Crime Survey (Matsueda, 2003)

Appendix B: Level 1 Slopes for Violent Victimization as Outcomes at Level 2

	Coefficient (SE)
Coefficient for *Don't back down* as outcome	6.586
Collective efficacy	-.204 (.066)**
Busy places	-.379 (.200)
Parks	-1.519 (.876)
Coefficient for *Confrontations okay* as outcome	-1.270
Collective efficacy	.014 (.078)
Busy places	.076 (.186)
Parks	1.242 (1.190)
Variance Components[a]	
Intercept	.289 (.538)
Level-1 error	1.510 (1.228)
Don't back down slope	.758 (.871)*
Confrontations okay slope	.712 (.844)*
Tough reputation slope	.254 (.504)
Public activities slope	.053 (.231)

***p < .001; ** p < .01; *p < .05

[a] Variance components and standard deviations are presented

As discussed in Chapter 4, when estimating the main effects of the street code on violent victimization, the slopes for the code-related variables did not vary significantly across census tracts. However, after including the interactions with public activities, the variance components for two of these slopes became significant. Therefore, neighborhood characteristics, specifically collective efficacy and the presence of busy places and parks, were included as predictors of the level-1 slopes for these models. As shown above, the belief that one should not back down from an insult or threat was related to higher risk of victimization; however, this effect was weaker for residents of communities with higher collective efficacy. These slopes still varied significantly across census tracts after including these neighborhood characteristics.