

A nighttime aerial view of Barcelona, Spain, showing the illuminated city skyline with various skyscrapers and buildings. The lights create a vibrant contrast against the dark blue twilight sky.

NEIGHBORHOOD AND CRIME: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

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INDEX

1. INTRODUCTION 4

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK 5

 2.1. THEORETICAL REVIEW 6

 2.2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND HYPOTHESIS 9

3. METHODOLOGY 11

 3.1. STUDY LOCATION 11

 3.2. SMALL UNITS: DISTRICTS AND STREETS 11

 3.3. DATA COLLECTION 13

 3.3.1. DEPENDENT VARIABLE: CRIME RATES 13

 3.3.2. INDEPENDENT VARIABLES 19

4. RESULTS 24

 4.1. SABADELL 24

 4.1.1. SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION THEORY 24

 4.1.2. COLLECTIVE EFFICACY 27

 4.1.3. ROUTINE ACTIVITIES THEORY 30

 4.2. MIAMI 32

 4.2.1. SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION THEORY 32

 4.2.2. COLLECTIVE EFFICACY 35

 4.3.3. ROUTINE ACTIVITIES THEORY 36

5. CONCLUSIONS 38

 5.1. COMPARATIVE RESULTS 38

 5.2. DISCUSSION 40

 5.3. LIMITATIONS 41

 5.4. THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS 41

6. BIBLIOGRAPHY 43

ABSTRACT

This project is defined in the broad field of the socio-spatial Criminology, particularly it tries to test three main theories: social disorganization, collective efficacy and routine activities theory. Many studies tried testing these theories and the results are indeterminate. However, in my opinion these three theories could have explanatory capacity in determine the crime rate in a particular place. For this reason, this research has tried to look for the best explanation of crime in a certain location. Nevertheless, not only one theory could explain the phenomenon but also the mix of them. Moreover, I developed the same research in two different cities of two different countries to test if the results in both cities are the same, despite the many social and cultural differences.

Key words: *socio-spatial criminology; social disorganization; collective efficacy; routine activities theory; crime rate.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Criminology is a huge and broad area which tries to explain the causes of delinquency and their methods of control. During the years different kinds of theories arose to achieve this goal. There are some theories focused on individual factors such as biological, social or psychological. On the other hand, there are others centered in structural factors such as cultural or social. However, we can affirm there is not a definitive theory to explain the causes of delinquency. The best way to explain it is a mix of all these theories and factors. Nevertheless, the integration of theories is not easy.

There is a broad perspective in criminology which focuses on the concentration of delinquency in a particular place called socio- spatial criminology. The social disorganization theory was one of the first theories trying to explain the variations of crime rates related to geographical situation. However, the field of socio- spatial criminology is huge and it takes into account more perspectives. According to Bottoms (2011), the socio spatial criminology is composed by three main branches. First, those studying the social structures and social dynamics of neighborhoods like Social Disorganization Theory. Second, the study of criminal events adopting a routine activities or a rational choice perspective. Finally, those following an ethnographic and cultural criminology approach.

Knowing from the precedents that the study of only one of these theories is not enough to explain the differences in crime rates per area, I will focus on three different theories, the Social Disorganization Theory (called from now SDT), the Collective Efficacy Theory (CET) and the Routine Activities Theory (RAT) to explain the different crime rates. Therefore, the main goal of this project is trying to find which one explains better the variations of crime rates related to the geographical location. On the other hand, different authors also stressed the validity of these theories could vary between countries because different factors could affect. Therefore, the objective is not only proving some theories but also checking if there are different explanatory factors in two different countries, Spain and United States.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The ecological theories of delinquency or socio-spatial criminology began when clinical criminology felt into crisis. That is, the more individualist criminology, which focuses exclusively the individual, dropped sharply because criminologist realized that the environment is also important. In this way, sociological theories started to be important.

According to Sampson (2012) the ecological theory is previous to the Chicago School because some authors like Guerry were interested in variations of the crime rates between countries. He demonstrated that crime was more prevalent in some places and affirmed that besides biological and psychological factors, social factors influence crime rates. Therefore, crime was not randomly distributed. It maintains a logical explanation. According to Sampson (2012), another precedent is Mayhew affirming that crime was a learned behavior, and it spread in poor areas affected by alcoholism and economic insecurity. He started the theory that Shaw and McKay would explain later and connected the idea of prevalence of crime with some opportunities. Therefore, this author started connecting the idea of social disorganization with the opportunity theory.

The most important precedent in this criminology's branch is SDT formulated by Shaw and McKay in 1942 that at the same time was based on ideas developed by Park and Burgess (Steenbeeck and Hipp, 2011). These authors stood up for the existence and persistence of "delinquency areas" and the theory that juvenile delinquency is associated with the physical structure of the city and other human problems, e.g., adult crime, poverty, disease and family instability.

According to Bruinsma et al. (2013) Shaw and McKay's empirical study of the city of Chicago inspired other researchers to study the spatial distribution of crime in other American cities. Nevertheless, in the 60s and 70s, the social disorganization paradigm was given up because of methodological problems in geographic criminology. In the 80s, social disorganization and the study of the role of communities in individual crime and crime distributions returned on the research agenda and since then, a revival of disorganization studies emerged in the United States (Bruinsma, 2013). According to Bottoms (2011), socio-spatial criminology includes three different perspectives. Firstly, these theories focus on the study of criminal events; secondly, those studying the social structures and social dynamics of

neighborhoods; and thirdly, those following a more ethnographic or cultural criminology approach. Although, one of the most important problems in the socio-spatial criminology is every theory is tested individually. Mixing together for achieving a good empirical and theoretical integration is necessary (Bottoms, 2011).

2.1. THEORETICAL REVIEW

2.1.1. Social Dynamics of neighborhoods and Neighborhood Effects

As I commented, the history of the ecological theory is previous to the Chicago School. However, the precedents of the spatial dimensions of criminality began in earnest in University of Chicago between the two World Wars. The main criminological work of the Chicago School started mapping the location of offender residences (especially juvenile delinquents), initially in Chicago and later in other cities. Researchers then attempted to explain those observed distributions by reference to wider understandings of the city, as derived from the field of urban sociology (Bottoms, 2011).

The Chicago researchers noted that, over time, the rates of offender residence remained highest in the same inner city neighborhoods despite the fact that such neighborhoods were successively occupied by waves of immigrants from different countries. Hence, Chicago School researchers made the claim that the social conditions of these neighborhoods helped to generate delinquency in a process that recently has been named as the *production of a neighborhood effect* (Sampson, 2012). With this study, the Chicago school achieved three important conclusions: (i) Juvenile delinquency was more concentrated in transitions zones; (ii) other problematic social signs followed the same spatial pattern; (iii) delinquency rates were stable in the time in spite of nationality changes (Cid and Larrauri, 2001).

In order to explain these findings, authors were focused in cultural heterogeneity and the population movement in zone transitions. As a consequence, economical factor was important, but it was not the focus of the theory. Hence, transitional zones, physical deterioration, population movement and population heterogeneity were seen as a debilitating in the social structural because they induce a cultural fragmentation (Bottoms, 2011).

a) Social disorganization

From the previous study in Chicago appeared the SDT. The basic premise of this theory is neighborhoods with high residential instability, low socioeconomic status, and high level of ethnic heterogeneity experience more disorder than others. The underlying mechanism is that people in these neighborhoods are less able to organize themselves against threats than people in other neighborhoods. The residents themselves may move to and from the neighborhood, but the characteristics at the neighborhood level persist and it remains socially disorganized (Shaw and Mckay, 1942).

Sampson and Groves (1989) added additional indicators of social disorganization like urbanization and structural density. Structural density refers to an area's concentration of high-rise flats and also to the clustering of children in the same household unit. It is assumed that structural density reduces area supervision and collective problem-solving behavior. Moreover, Sampson and Groves introduced mediating mechanisms like local friendship networks, low organizational participation and unsupervised teenage peer groups.

However, some authors have criticized the theory because they argued that not necessarily all the communities with low residential stability, low socioeconomic status and higher ethnic heterogeneity experience more disorder. Therefore, they found that there are many neighborhoods with these characteristics having high social cohesion (Steenbeek and Hipp, 2011).

b) Collective efficacy theory

To solve the problems that the social disorganization theory presents, Sampson et al. (1997) proposed the collective efficacy theory. This includes two different mechanisms: social cohesion and social control. These authors explained that social and organizational characteristics of neighborhoods explain variations in crime rates that are not solely attributable to the aggregated demographic characteristics of individuals. They proposed that the differential ability of neighborhoods to realize the common values of residents and maintain effective social controls is a major source of neighborhood variation in violence. Although social control is often a response to deviant behavior, it should not be equated with formal regulation or forced conformity such as

the police. Somewhat, social control refers generally to the capacity of a group to regulate its members according to desired principles—to realize collective, as opposed to forced, goals. One central goal is the desire of community residents to live in safe and orderly environments that are free of predatory crime, especially interpersonal violence.

Sampson et al. (1997) focused on the effectiveness of informal mechanisms by which the residents themselves achieve public order. It follows that socially cohesive neighborhoods will prove the most fertile contexts for the realization of informal social control. In sum, it is the linkage of mutual trust and the willingness to intervene for the common good that defines the neighborhood context of collective efficacy.

Finally, it is important to stress that collective efficacy does not exist in a vacuum. It is embedded in structural contexts and a wider political economy that stratifies places of residence by key social characteristics. Consider the destabilizing potential of rapid population change on neighborhood social organization. A high rate of residential mobility, especially in areas of decreasing population, fosters institutional disruption and weakened social controls over collective life. A major reason is that the formation of social ties takes time (Sampson et al, 1997).

2.2.2. Focusing on criminal events

The research of Chicago School in the geography of crime focused on data plotting *the areas where offenders lived*. Although offenders do not always commit crimes close to home, so an alternative focus for socio-spatial criminology is to undertake a detailed study of the *location of offences* (Bottoms, 2011).

The two leading theoretical frameworks deployed to analyze crime events have been routine activities theory and the rational choice perspective. RAT was originally developed by Cohen and Felson (1979) in a paper where they sought to explain crime rate trends by reference not to offenders' dispositions, but rather to social changes leading to increased opportunities for crime. Therefore, Cohen and Felson (1979) specify that crime rate trends are related to patterns of what they have called routine activities¹. Thus, it has been well stated that RAT embodies two

¹ They define these as any recurrent and prevalent activities which provide for basic population and individual needs, whatever their biological or cultural origins. Thus routine activities would include formalized

key ideas: first, the structure of routine activities in a society influences what kinds of situations emerge, and second, that people commit acts of crime in response to situational conditions (Bottoms, 2011). Cohen and Felson (1979) stated that to understand crime rate trends is necessary the convergence in time and space of three elements (motivated offenders, suitable targets, and the absence of capable guardians). Moreover, they affirmed the lack of any of these elements is sufficient to prevent the occurrence of a crime. The convergence in time and space of suitable targets and the absence of capable guardians can lead to large increases in crime rates without any increase or change in the structural conditions that motivate individuals to engage in crime. It is important to note that the capable guardian dimension allows connections between RAT and CET. It is because, on average, the residents in a neighborhood with high collective efficacy are more capable guardians.

The second main theoretical approach was the rational choice perspective developed by Clarke and Cornish. This approach was based on the insight derived from psychological research, that often human behavior is situation-specific; it follows therefore that people might act in a different way if the immediate context is altered. Although they are not identical, there are some important similarities between RAT and the rational choice approach (Bottoms, 2011).

2.2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND HYPOTHESIS

I adopted an integrated perspective because I think that the three theories which I summarized before (SDT, CET and RAT) could have explanatory ability to understand the geographical distribution of delinquency. Therefore, the main objective of my research is proving some hypothesis of every theory.

In other words, I want to prove in my research the SDT taking into account that the characteristics defined by the SDT are given in these areas with high crime rate.

On the other hand, I want to prove also the CET. For this reason, I will assume that this theory is valid if the collective efficacy is low in these areas with high crime rates. I want to

work, as well as the provision of standard food, shelter, sexual outlet, leisure, social interaction, learning and childrearing.

prove also that the collective efficacy is lower in these areas where the variables of the SDT are given.

Finally, I want to test the RAT taking into account that there are higher crime rates in these districts with more opportunities. On the other hand, there are less capable guardians and more motivated offenders in these areas with more crime.

To sum up, I tested the previous hypothesis because I want to know which one have more explanatory ability in the places chosen like study object.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. STUDY LOCATION

Some authors like Sutherland et al. (2013) criticized that some of the theories considered in this research are applicable only in some cities or countries with particular cultural and social aspects. It is necessary to test the same theories in different contexts to affirm whether we can apply them all over the world. This is a difficult aspect not only in socio-spatial criminology, but also in all the theories which compose the field of criminology. For this reason, I decided to build the same design in two cities of two different countries taking advantage the opportunity to finish my bachelor in Criminology abroad. The cities where I started to analyze the crime data and other indicators were Sabadell and Miami Beach². Sabadell is one of the two capitals in Vallès Occidental in Catalonia, 20 km north from the main city of Barcelona. Sabadell was an important city during the Industrial Revolution, overall in the textile industry. For this reason, the city received a lot of immigrant populations and grew from the center to the suburbs³. According to the City Council, Sabadell had a population of 208.318 in 2012 with a density of 5.506 (inhabitants/ km²). The city is divided into 7 districts and every district contains different neighborhoods⁴. On the other hand, Miami Beach is a city of the Miami Dade County located in southeastern Florida, USA. Miami Beach was incorporated in 1915 in the Miami Dade County and quickly became one of America's top vacation spots. Nowadays, Miami Beach is an urban center with a multicultural ambience and a strong economy based on tourism and other industries⁵. It is an Island of 19.7 Km² with a population of 90,588 inhabitants. This island is formed by three main Districts formed at the same time for different smallest “neighborhoods”⁶.

3.2. SMALL UNITS: DISTRICTS AND STREETS

Another fact to remark is the definition and delimitation of the area I considered like a neighborhood for my research. It is difficult to define an area like a neighborhood; moreover the

² In the first stage of this project, the research field of this final bachelor dissertation was Tarragona (Spain) and Miami (United States). Both cities were chosen taking into account that I could access to data easily because I had to start the internship in the Municipal Police of Tarragona (from September to December 2013). However, finally I could not start the internship there because they had some personnel and coordination problems.

³ Information from the city council and the [enciclopedia.cat](#).

⁴ See the chart 1 in the appendix with the different neighborhoods of every district.

⁵ Information from the web [citytown.info](#)

⁶ See chart 2 in the appendix about neighborhoods in Miami Beach.

cities not always recorded data considering the same administrative division. Some authors, like Bursik and Grasmick (1993) discussed about this issue and affirmed that there is not a clear consensus about how to define it. Sutherland et al. (2013) also stress this challenge in their research and explain that in the United Kingdom they worked with postcode sectors, electoral wards and other administrative boundaries. In my case, I decided to base my research in two levels taking into account the smallest areas with a minimum sense of belonging of every city where I could obtain data.

The first level is the analysis of the SDT and RAT in a district level choosing these districts with a highest crime rate and comparing their characteristics to the others⁷. The second level is the analysis of the CET through smaller units. I wanted to study this variable through higher units like districts. However, it was too much work for only one student. Therefore, the analysis unit for the CET is in a street level. In the case of Sabadell, in the District with the highest crime rate, I chose two streets with many offenses and two streets with few offenses or no offenses next to the streets with more crime. On the other hand, in Miami I selected two streets with many offenses in the District with the highest crime rate and two streets with few or no offenses near to the District with more offenses.

City	Analysis unit	Tested theory
Sabadell	District	Social disorganization
		Routine Activities theory
	Streets	Collective Efficacy
Miami	District	Social disorganization
		Routine Activities theory
	Streets	Collective Efficacy

⁷ I have used a District level like the analysis unit because is the smaller unit where I could obtain data for testing the social disorganization theory and the routine activities theory.

3.3.DATA COLLECTION

3.3.1. DEPENDENT VARIABLE: CRIME RATES

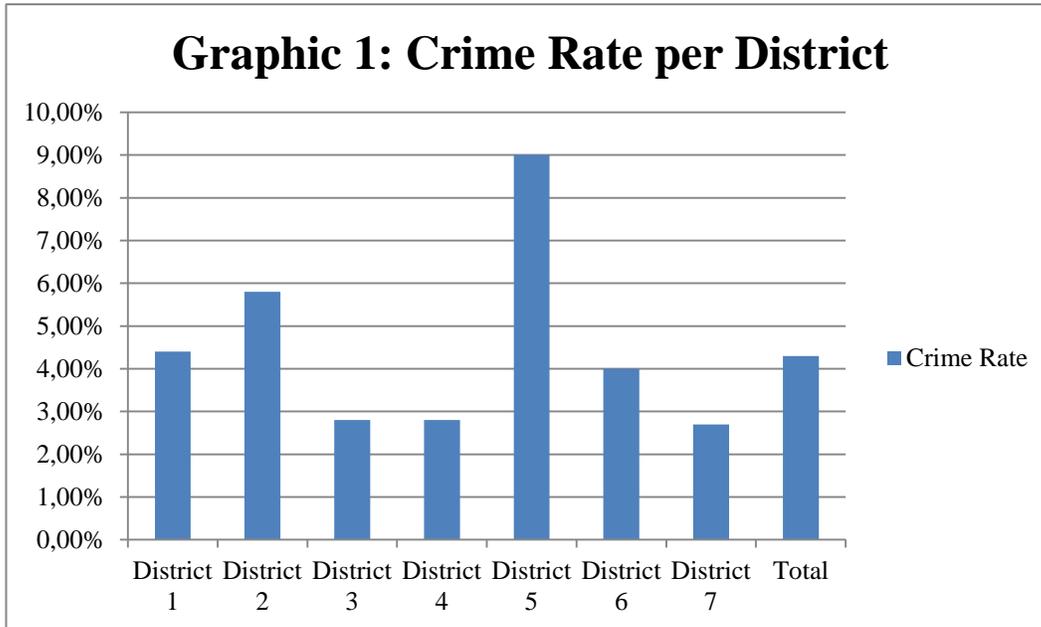
The crime rates of every city are the dependent variable of my research. I measured this variable with law enforcement data of every municipal police. However, the method used for every city was different because every country has a different record method. For this reason, I prefer explaining the followed process separately per city.

a) Sabadell Crime Rate

The crime rate of Sabadell was obtained by the data of the Municipal Police of Sabadell of the year 2012. They had a database with all the criminal acts committed in Sabadell per month⁸. In this database, there is different information like type of offense, date, where the act was lapsed, opening and closing date of investigation, among others. However, the only required information for my research was the type of offense and the particular place. The first information to create the offense typology I wanted to take into account. The second one was to obtain the district with most offences in Sabadell and the crime rate per district. Nevertheless, the original database did not contain the particular district where the act was committed, only the exactly street and number. For this reason, I looked for the particular district where the street belongs through a program that the Municipal Police uses. On the other hand, I classified the different offenses in five main groups: property, violent, drug dealing offences, domestic violence and others. In this database there were some acts that could not been identified like crime like incivility.

Having this database of the Municipal police of Sabadell I calculated the crime rate per every district (number of offenses per 100 inhabitants) to compare the characteristics of these districts with higher crime rates with these districts with lower crime rates. However, I will take as a reference for the comparison the district with the highest crime rate, in this case District 5 with a 9%.

⁸ The database is shared with *Mossos D'Esquadra*. It means that in this database there are data registered by both, *MMEE* and Municipal Police depending who has arrived first to the act.



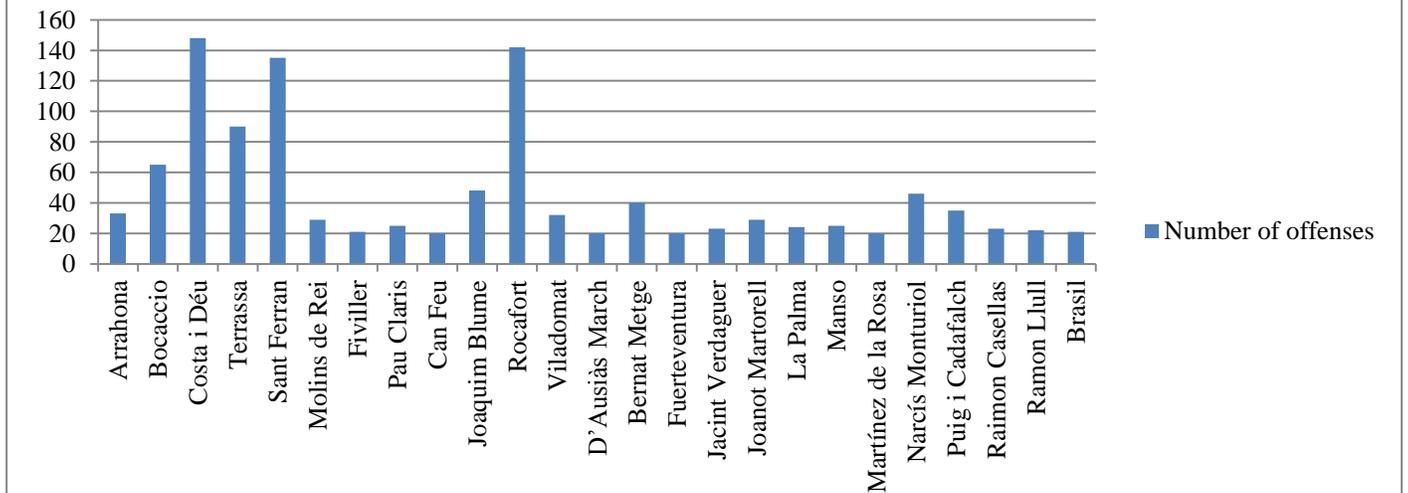
Source: own graphic built with data of Municipal Police of Sabadell.

It is necessary to test also if delinquency typologies are represented in every district in a similar way. In order to verify it, I did a chi square test to compare independent observed proportions. This test affirms that the typology of crime is related with every district. It means, every district has the same kind of crime, where the vast majority of crimes are against property, while the second place is violent crime⁹. However, district 5 does not follow this tendency because the second typology is Drug dealing offences.

As you can see in the graphic 1, District 5 is the area with a higher crime rate. it is necessary to know which streets receive more offenses because I need to know these streets to carry out my collective efficacy survey. Finally, these streets with more crime, in absolute numbers¹², in district 5 were Costa i Déu, Rocafort and Sant Ferran.

⁹ See in the appendix tables 3 for the complete analysis.

¹² I used the total number offenses and not the crime rate because I did not have access to the number of people who live in every street.

Graphic 2: Streets with more crime in District 5

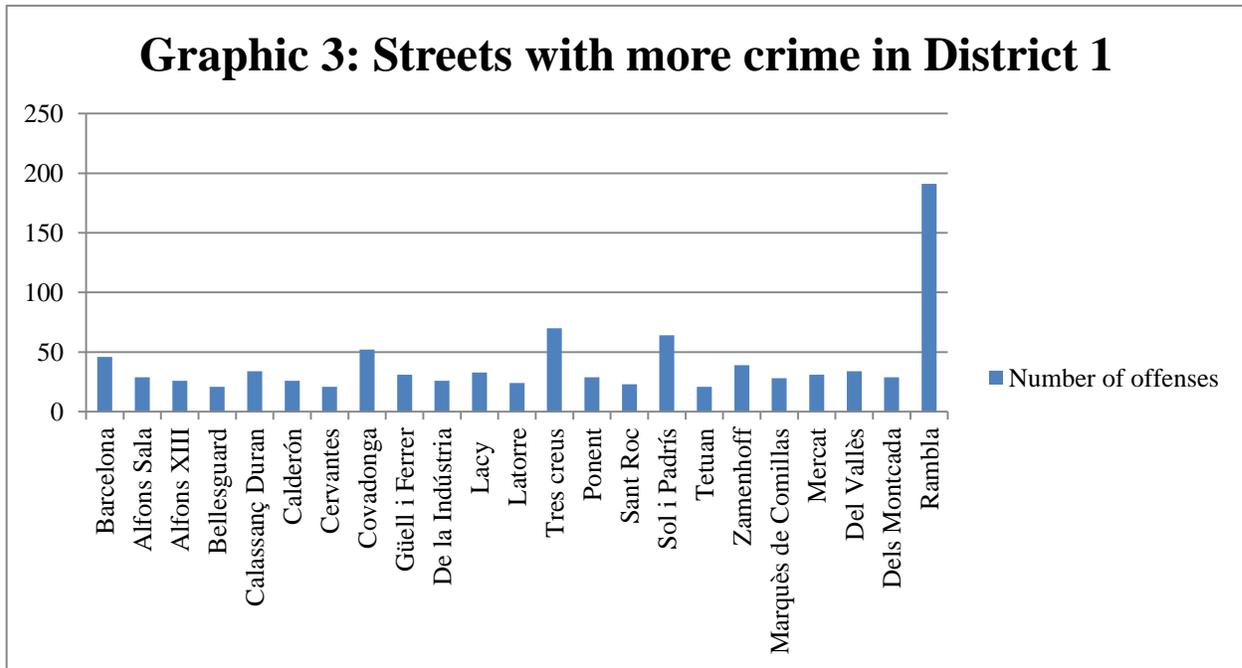
Source: Own graphic built with Sabadell Municipal Police data.

After knowing the streets with more crime, I observed and realized that district 5, and specially these streets with more crime, covers one of the highest disco zones of Barcelona. Moreover, this zone has a very low population. The presence of this hot spot in District 5 could change the methodology of the investigation because an area with many industries and fewer neighbors could complicate the collective efficacy validation. These particular characteristics can affect my analysis and testation of criminological theories. For this reason, finally I chose a second district with the highest crime rate, in addition to district 5.

This second district with the higher crime rate is District 2 with a 5.8%. However, this District presented some problems because it has a commercial and business hot spot and covers the police station of *Mossos d'Esquadra* in Sabadell. Therefore, this zone is over-represented¹⁴.

Finally, I decided to study District 1 because the crime rate is close to the second District. Moreover, this district does not have a deviation that could affect the validation of socio-spatial theories. For this reason, I decided to study the characteristics of Districts 5 and 1 comparing them with the others districts of the city.

¹⁴ The fact that in this Street it is located the Police department of Mossos D'Esquadra could cause an increase of the crime rate because when people do not know the exact location where the crime is committed, the crime is located in the place where it is denounce.



Source: Own graphic built with Sabadell Municipal Police data

According to the graphic 3, District 1 has a crime concentration in the more commercial area (Rambla and Tres Creus) while the other streets maintains a similar number of offenses. The chosen street with more offenses to conduct the surveys in District 1 was La Rambla, the most commercial street of the city and also a residential place. In this case, the residences are apartments with floors, many of them with more than 6 apartments per floor. For this reason, the density is higher. The chosen street with less crime where I conducted the survey in this District was Montserrat, more residential, with lower houses and with many elderly people, but also young families. On the other hand, the chosen streets in District 5 were Sant Ferran, the street with a higher crime rate in that District. There are big apartments or small flats. Finally, Permanyer and Frederic Soler were the chosen streets with less crime in District 5. These streets are composed by small houses.

b) Miami Beach crime rate

The initial idea was analyzing the city of Miami by districts with municipal police data like in Sabadell. However, when I tried to get the crime data of Miami, the police said they have this data, but they only way to obtain it is paying a particular fee per year. For this reason, I followed another methodology to study the socio-spatial theories in USA. First of all, I obtained

data from UCR, law enforcement data gathered by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. UCR classify the crimes between: violent crime (murder, forcible rape, robbery and aggravated assault) and property crime (burglary, larceny theft, motor vehicle theft and arson)¹⁵. Therefore, it is not the same classification that I used in Sabadell, but it is enough to localize the area with more crime. However, the problem with the UCR data is that the smallest area where you can find data is a city. This last aspect it was not too important because the structure of US is not like in Spain. For example, Miami-Dade County has a lot of cities. The main one is Miami, but this city is not as big as other important cities in Spain like Barcelona. This city is surrounded by small cities that sometimes you can confuse as neighborhoods. For this reason, I chose cities next to the center of Miami with small population and with a sense of belonging. These cities are West Miami, Coral Gables, Miami Beach, North Miami, North Miami Beach, South Miami, Miami Shores and Miami Springs.

Table 1: Crime rate per City

City	Population	Violent crime	Property crime	Total offenses	Crime rate
West Miami	6188	17	147	164	2,7
Coral Gables	48435	79	2277	2356	4,9
Miami Beach	91066	941	9028	9969	10,9
North Miami	60964	521	2973	3494	5,7
North Miami Beach	43084	279	1988	2267	5,3
South Miami	12095	90	841	931	7,7

Source: own table built with UCR data

Once I had the total crime rate of 2012 for all these cities, I chose the city with the higher crime rate. The initial idea was using these cities like districts in the case of Sabadell because I could not obtain crime data for smaller units. According to the table 1, Miami Beach has the highest crime rate in property and violent crime. For this reason, I chose this city to work with. However, Miami Beach is the city with the highest population and dealing with all the area with the same characteristics and indicators could be an error. Therefore, I was in contact with the

¹⁵ There are no data available about drug dealing offenses, gender violence or other kind of crime.

police of Miami Beach in order that they provided me the data. They have a specific department called “records” where they are in charge to record all kind of information and every month they sent a report with the offenses committed to a department in Florida International University. This department has an online program where you can obtain a sample of 200 offenses every month. It is a strong limitation for the work. However, it is the most reliable data I could obtain. For this reason, I used this data and created my own database classifying the dependent variable in four categories: property, violent, drug dealing and miscellaneous¹⁷. However, the most popular typology is property offenses and miscellaneous in second place¹⁸. On the other hand, Miami Beach does not have noticeable neighborhoods or districts and the city does not have data available about small areas. Finally, I decided to analyze the data according to the zip code. I found enough data considering these limits and it allows me to distinguish different areas. The main “districts” of Miami Beach taking into account the zip code were three. First, the South Part called South Beach is from 1st Street to 22th Street with 33139 Zip Code called District 1. This is the more touristic and commercial part of Miami Beach. The center part is from 23th Street to 68th Street with 33140 Zip Code, called District 2. Finally, the north part is from 69th street to 87th Street, which has 33141 as a Zip Code and called District 3.

According to the database the District with the highest crime rate was District 1 with a 4.3%. Once I had the District with more crime I selected these streets with more crime and less crime of the Miami Beach city in order to conduct the collective efficacy survey. In the graphic 4 is visible that the crime is assembled between the 1st Street and Lincoln¹⁹.

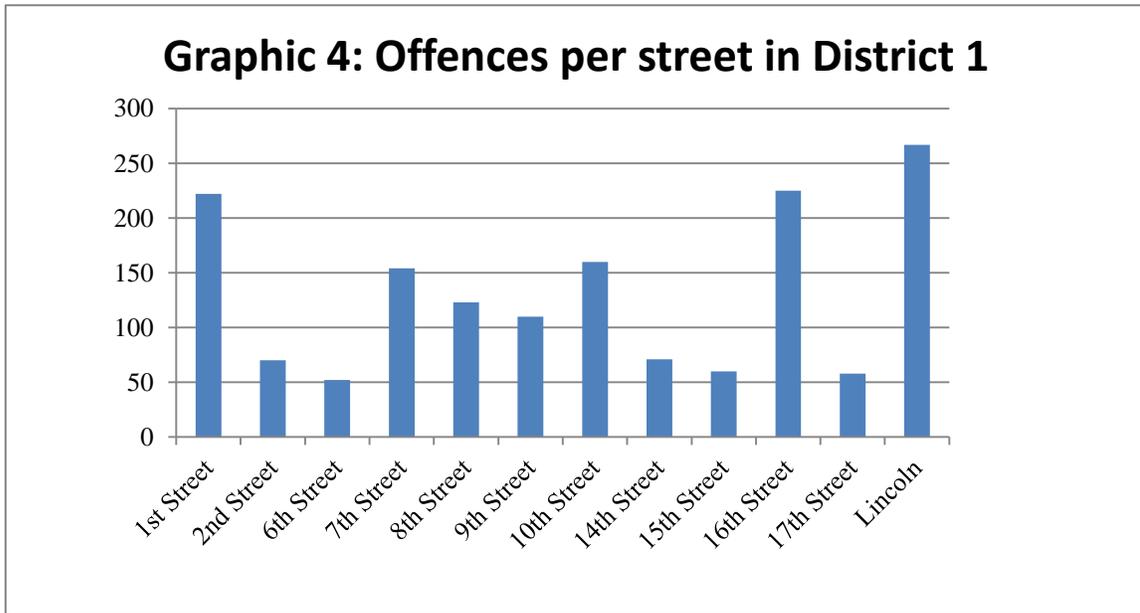
However, Lincoln road is the main hot spot, and 16th and 1st street more or less have the same number of offences. Finally, I worked on District 1 and particularly, in Lincoln Road and 16th Street for the collective efficacy survey like these streets with more offenses. On the other hand, Flamingo Drive and Pine Tree in District 2 as the streets with less crime and nearest to the District with more offenses²⁰.

¹⁷ The same four main typologies that I have used in Sabadell less gender violence. I could not find any offense related to this typology, probably because the police record this particular crime as rape or harassment

¹⁸ See Tables 4 for the complete analysis per typologies.

¹⁹ In the graphic there are only these streets with more than 50 offenses per year.

²⁰ In the case of Miami Beach, I used two streets in two different districts, not like in Sabadell. The main reason is because these streets are the first streets in Miami Beach nearer to Lincoln without crime.



Source: own graphic built with Miami Beach Police department data.

3.3.2. INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

a) Social Disorganization Theory

Structural variables (social disorganization theory)		
Variable	Indicator used in Sabadell	Indicator used in Miami
Heterogeneity	Nationality	Foreign Born
Mobility	Demographic movement	Population growth rate
Transition zones	Address change in the last year	Number of rented houses
		Moved in 2010 or later
Physical deterioration	Incivilities reported to the police	Incivilities reported to the police
Poverty concentration	Families receiving social assistance	% people below poverty level
	-	Per capita income
	Enrolled population in a private school	Enrolled population in a private school
	-	Median home value
Family disruption	-	Average of single parent families
Density	Density in the area	Density in the area
		Average household size (inhabitants)

The variables that composed the social disorganization theory are the independent variables, which could affect the crime rate in every district. In the case of Sabadell the data was obtained by the city council and the police department. On the other hand, in Miami Beach this kind of data was obtained by the webpage of US Census Bureau. All the data was obtained of the year 2012 and is presented in relation with 100 inhabitants.

To test this theory I looked for some indicators given by the main authors of the social disorganization theory, which cause a disorganized society. The first variable that I measured in every District is heterogeneity because it was thought to stop the ability of residents to achieve consensus. In Sabadell I measured this characteristic like the rate of population with no Spanish nationality per district. On the other hand, in Miami Beach I used the rate of foreign born population per district. Moreover, in Miami Beach I also calculated the percentage of Latin American population²³.

The second variable was mobility because it was hypothesized to disrupt a community's network of social relation (Sampson and Groves, 1989). In Sabadell I measured this variable like the natural growth plus the immigration growth. With this figures I measured the percentage per district. In Miami Beach, I calculated the population difference per district between 2010- 2012.

The third factor is transition zone. According to SDT, high crime areas are characterized by people trying to move to a better neighborhood when they have more money. In Sabadell I measured this variable with the number of address changes in the last year²⁴, while in Miami Beach I used two indicators. The first one, people moved in 2010 or later, it means that the District with a higher rate will have more transition zone. Secondly, by the number of rented dwellings because it means that people prefer to rent the house instead of buying it because they will move to another place when they are able.

²³ It is important to know the concentration of Latin American population in Miami Beach because there are many Latin American immigrants in Miami Dade County.

²⁴ The indicator measures how many people have moved to another address during the year 2012 inside Sabadell. It could be that people have moved to District 1 from another district and so on. It means that the chart below shows the final changes, it have made a calculation of people have left and people have arrived.

Another variable of this theory is the physical deterioration, and I measured it like Weisburd (2012) by the number of incivilities reported to the police in the year 2012. I obtained this data with the same crime database.

It is also important to consider the poverty concentration in every district because according to Sampson and Groves (1989), low-socioeconomic-status communities suffer from a weaker organizational base than higher-status communities. Therefore, I calculated this variable in Sabadell with the number of families who receive social assistance and the number of students in a private school per district. On the other hand, in Miami Beach I used four different indicators: percentage of people below the poverty level; per capita income; enrolled students in a private school and median home value.

I also considered the recent contribution of Sampson and Groves (1989) of family disruption which argued that marital and family disruption may decrease informal social controls at the community level. I only measured this indicator in Miami Beach because I did not have it for Sabadell. The indicator was the number of one single parent families per district.

Finally, the last indicator is structural density, which mostly refers to an area's concentration of high-rise flats and also to the clustering of children in the same household unit. Structural density is assumed to reduce area supervision and collective problem-solving behavior. Therefore, I measured the density in both cities like density in the area. Moreover, in Miami Beach I introduced the average of inhabitants in the household unit.

b) Collective efficacy theory

In both cities I measured this theory with the same tool: the collective efficacy survey. To measure collective efficacy, I followed Sampson et al. (1997), combining a series of questions covering social cohesion and informal social control. Individuals were asked to report on five-point Likert scales from “strongly agree” (5) to “strongly disagree” (1)²⁵. The higher scores represented greater pro-social efficacy and I used the six items to produce a “collective efficacy” score for each informant. These were aggregated to the street level. Although, this survey has been validated for different studies, I measured the Cronbach alpha for my own study and this is

²⁵ See Appendix 5 for details of questions used.

low, with a 0.7, because it does not arrive to minimum level of 0.8²⁶. On the other hand, I added more indicators in the survey. 1) Unsupervised peer groups (one item) 2) Local friendship network (three items); 3) Neighborhood participation (three items); 4) Heterogeneity of the value system of the neighborhood or moral cynicism (eight items)²⁷.

The correct way to carry out this study is selecting a representative sample. However, it is too much work for only one student to conduct a survey to a significant sample. For this reason, my advisor and I decided to make the survey in those streets with a highest rate and those streets with a lowest rate taking into account that according to Raudenbush and Sampson (1999, cited in Bruinsman et al. 2013) 20–30 respondents is sufficient to reliably measure neighborhood social characteristics. Therefore, I conducted 80 surveys in Sabadell during December 2013 and 40 in Miami Beach during April 2014.

c) Routine Activity Theory

Routines Activity Theory		
Variable	Indicators used in Sabadell	Indicators used in Miami
Target	Number of public services	Number of services
	Number of shops and restaurants	-
	Number of vehicles	No cars available
	Nightclubs	Nightclubs
	Streets Markets	-
Motivated offender	Unemployment rate	Unemployment rate
	-	Teenagers between 18 and 24 years old without high school education
Guard	Police stations and fire stations	Police stations and fire stations
	-	Unoccupied houses

The variables of the RAT are the independent variables. As the first group of variables, these indicators for this theory were obtained by the police department and the city council of

²⁶ See Appendix 6.1. for details about the Cronbach alpha.

²⁷ See Appendix 6 for details about the questionnaire.

Sabadell, and the US Census Bureau. The data is of the year 2012 and some of them are presented in absolute numbers and other in proportion to the population²⁸.

I measured the variable target with different indicators depending on the case of every city and I tried to use different indicators taking into account the type of crime because according to Bennet (1991) the effect of specific variables on crime incidence is mediated by the type of crime. In Sabadell I used the number of public services per district (libraries, museums, public transport...) because these facilities are responsible for gathering crowds and therefore, may increase the attraction of new offenders looking for suitable targets. The same indicator was used in Miami Beach. Nevertheless, it is not only includes public services, but also stores and business. A second indicator for target is the number of shops and restaurants per district because these kinds of stores attract many people and could increase the number of property offenses. In Sabadell I measured this variable like number of stores and restaurants, but in Miami Beach these indicators are included in the service indicator. A third indicator for target is the number of vehicles because if in a particular place there are many cars available is likely that it attracts more offenders than in a place without cars. For this reason, I used the indicator number of vehicles per district in the case of Sabadell and the correspondent measure in the case of Miami Beach, households without car per district. Fourthly, I used the indicator of number of nightclubs in the case of Sabadell and Miami Beach because it can stimulates drug dealing and violent crimes²⁹. Finally, in Sabadell I measured the number of streets markets per districts because it could increase the hot spot for pickpocketing and other property crime. However, I do not have this measure for Miami Beach.

Another variable of RAT is motivated offender. These variables usually have been measured through indicators of unemployment or low education success because it seems that people without job have more motivation and time to commit crime, and teenagers with low commitment with studies are more prone to commit crime. I used the indicator of unemployment

²⁸ I have considered that in the case of the variable target is not necessary and does not make sense calculate the rate because it means that the suitable target can attract people from others districts. For this reason, it is not important the rate per 100 inhabitants, but also the major concentration of these kind of targets in a particular place. However, it is important to present other indicators.

²⁹ I found this particular indicator through the localization of a city council map.

rate in both cities. However, I only use the indicator of teenagers between 18 and 24 years old without high school education in Miami Beach.

Finally, the last element of the theory called capable guard refers to the figure which is capable to prevent violations. It is not necessary to be a person; it could be an object like an alarm. However, my indicators for this element are: number of police stations and fire stations per district. Moreover in the case of Miami Beach I measured the rate of unoccupied houses because it means that there is less surveillance in the area.

4. RESULTS

4.1.SABADELL

4.1.1. SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION THEORY

As I commented before, these Districts with a higher crime rate are taken like Districts of reference to arrive to a definitive conclusion. However, they will be compared with the others. District 5 has an area of 4.67 km² and a population of 19.097 inhabitants in 2012, with a density of 4.089 persons/ km². On the other hand, the gender is very similar in the district with 49% men and 51% women and the most popular age is in the range between 35-39 years old.

Photo 1: Carrer Sant Ferran, Sabadell



Source: Google.maps.

On the other hand, District 1 has an area of 4.07 km² and a population of 51.712, with a density of 12.705 inhabitants/ Km². Therefore, it is one of the Districts more populated. The gender composition of the district is 47.6% men and 52.4% women and the most popular age is also between 35-39 years old.

Photo 2: La Rambla, Sabadell

Source: Google.maps

According to the SDT indicators, District 5 has a growth rate of 1% meaning that this district has a low mobility rate. The same with District 1, which has a growth rate of 1.2%. All the districts in Sabadell have a similar growth rate; moreover, there is no district with decreasing population rate. The district with a highest growth rate is District 7, the others are similar. It means that these districts have a high capacity to transmit positive values. Therefore, if the neighborhood has a low mobility there is no social disorganization³¹.

On the other hand, District 1 and 5 received more population than left. It means that people prefers to move to District 1, 4 and 5 and leaving the others. According to the social disorganization theory, these areas with more people trying to leave the neighborhoods reflect that people do not want to live in these areas. When they have the opportunity to change their home, they prefer to move to another area of the city. However, there are more neighbors who chose living in Districts 1 and 5 in the last year than these people who left the area. District 5 has only 21 positive changes while District 1 has 217 in the year 2012. Therefore, according to the social disorganization theory, District 1 and 5 is not a transition zone.

Another variable of social disorganization theory is heterogeneity and according the data, District 5 has a normal immigrant concentration (11%), similar with other districts, while District 1 has the lowest with 7.9%. Meanwhile, Districts 2, 6 and 7 have a highest percentage. It means that in Districts 1 and 5 are not complicated to transmit common values. Therefore, these districts with a lower heterogeneity have less social disorganization³².

³¹ See appendix 8.1 for more information about growth rate.

³² See table number 8.3 in the appendix for more information.

Table 2: Indicators for the SDT

District	Crime Rate	Population	Growth Rate	Address change rate	% Foreign population	% Population in SSSS	Population in a private school	Incivilities Rate
1	4,40%	51712	1,2	0,42	7,9	1,5	2,2	1,4
2	5,80%	24726	1	-0,2	15,4	3,2	0,32	2,3
3	2,80%	35476	0,7	-0,66	11,4	2,3	-	0,6
4	2,80%	38347	0,7	0,93	11,3	2,1	5,9	1,3
5	9%	19097	1	0,11	11	4,2	-	1,9
6	4%	30326	0,9	-0,7	19,3	2,6	4,8	1
7	2,70%	8644	2,3	-1,19	15,9	-	-	0,5

Source: own graphic built with city council of Sabadell data.

According to the data used to test the socioeconomic variable, District 5 is the poorest neighborhood because it has more population helped by the social services with a 4.2%, while District 1 has the lowest rate with a 1.5%. It means that in District 5 families will have to work more than others with more money and parents will have less time to spread moral values. However, District 5 presents the highest rate because in this district there is La Serra area, which is one of the most disadvantage areas of Sabadell according to this statistics. Nevertheless, this area is not the most affected by crime. In District 5 Gracia is the sector which receives more crime. Moreover, Gracia is one of the areas with less population attended by social services with a rate of 20.9% assisted per 1000 inhabitants. For this reason, this is one of the weaker points of using a big area like a District instead of very small units. In order to contrast the result obtained for this indicator I used the number of students enrolled in private school and District 5 does not have any student enrolled in private school, while District 1 has a 2.2%. District 4 has the highest rate with 27%. Therefore both indicators used for measuring this variable give the same information. District 1 is one of the districts with less poverty concentration, while District 5 is one of the districts with more poverty concentration.

Finally, the last variable that I analyzed in Sabadell is the physical disorder. Some authors like Steenbeek and Hipp (2011) suggest that disorder has large consequences for subsequent levels of social control and residential instability, thus leading to more disorder. In other words, it is the statement that the broken windows theory tries to test. District 1 has a normal incivility rate in the average of the incivilities rate of Sabadell (1.4)³³. However, District 5 is the second

³³ See table 8.4 for more information.

District in Sabadell with more disorder (1.9), for this reason it could have an effect in the social disorganization.

With all these indicators I can affirm that Districts 1 and 5 only accomplish with some SDT variables. District 1 has the highest density with 12.705 inhabitants/ Km2 while district 5 has a lower density with 4.089 persons/ km2. Secondly, both districts have a growing population, but higher in District 1 than District 5. Thirdly, there are more people that want to leave from District 5 than from District 1. In other words, there are more positive address changes in District 1. Fourthly, District 1 has the lowest foreign rate with a 7.9%, while District 5 remains in the average of Sabadell with 11%. Proportionally District 1 is the district with less poverty concentration while District 5 is the most helped. The conclusion of this theory is that District 1 joins all the characteristics of disorganization theory for not being affected by delinquency less density. The same happens with District 5, but in a lower rate.

4.1.2. COLLECTIVE EFFICACY

	Table 3: Collective Efficacy in District 1	
	Rambla (+ crime)	Montserrat (- crime)
Average residence time	27.7	19.4
Collective efficacy	2.2	2.7
Friendship network	1.9	2
Neighborhood participation	1.9	2.2
Heterogeneity of the value system	3.6	3.5
Insecurity perception	0.3	0.4

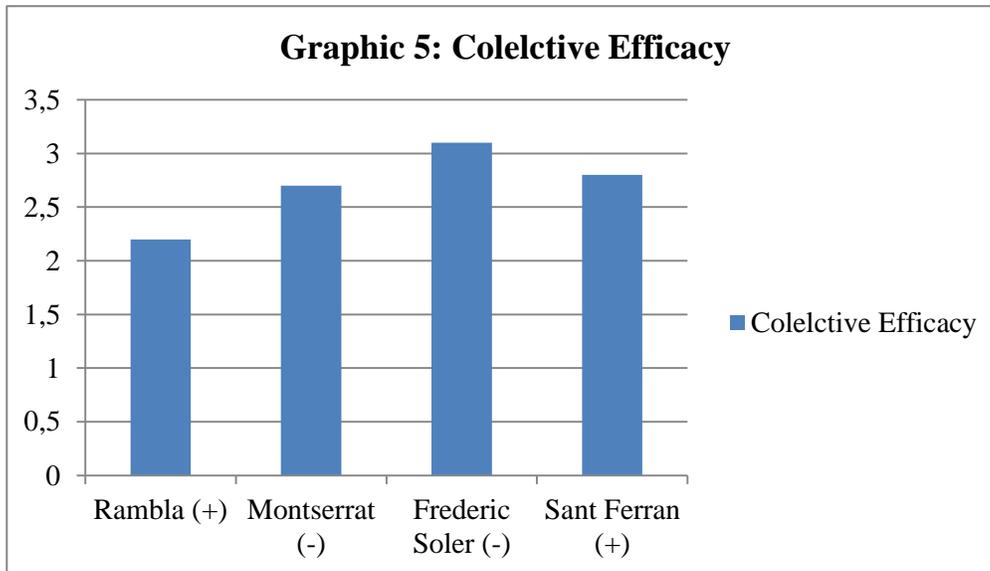
In the case of District 1, the results of the survey show that there is 0.5 points of difference in the collective efficacy rate between the street with more crime, La Rambla, and the street with less crime, Montserrat. The collective efficacy in Rambla is 2.2 while in Montserrat is 2.7. Therefore, the average of collective efficacy in Montserrat is a little bit high and talking with the neighbors, they commented that they can trust with the others and it is usual to do activities together. However, the answers vary depending of the kind of residence (more collective efficacy in low houses than in high flats, despite they are close each other). In the case of La Rambla the neighbors answered that years ago there was a very strong relationship in the area and they knew each other in the flat. However, in the last years that people started dying and the

apartments were occupied for young people. These new residents are less social and few times talk each other. Surprisingly, the difference between variables of collective efficacy, local friendship network, neighborhood participation and heterogeneity of the value system of the neighborhood are small and the differences are not significant.

In the case of District 5 there are very few differences in the different variables between this street with less crime (Frederic Soler and Permanyer) and this street with more crime (Sant Ferran). The Collective Efficacy rate in San Ferran is 2.7, while it is 3.1 in Frederic Soler and Permanyer. There are no significant differences between streets. The same occurs with the other variables of social ties in the neighborhood, neighborhood engagement and moral values.

	Table 4: Collective Efficay in District 5	
	Sant Ferran (+ crime)	Frederic Soler (- crime)
Average residence time	6.9	18.3
Collective efficacy	2.8	3.1
Friendship network	2.1	2.4
Neighborhood participation	2.3	2.5
Heterogeneity of the value system	3.6	3.8
Insecurity perception	1.5	1.2

In the particular case of Sant Ferran, neighbors do not have very strong ties or are interested with the neighborhood. I can affirm it not only for the survey, but also with my observation during the surveys. They usually commented that they do not have strong relationship with their neighbors. One of the reasons was that they were moved recently from another district. In Sant Ferran the measure of heterogeneity of the value system is 3.6 meaning that these neighbors do not permit incivilities.



Source: Own chart built with the survey results.

Apparently, it seems that there are very few differences between collective efficacies. For this reason, I did a Kruskal Wallis test for independent k median variables and there are no significant differences between streets of the same District with more offenses and less offenses. The only significant difference is between Rambla and Frederic Soler, which are in different districts³⁴. In conclusion, it seems that there are only significant differences between streets of two districts. When I obtained this result I did another test in order to test if there are significant differences in the collective efficacy between districts, regardless the streets. I did a T test for independent samples and I obtained that there are significant differences between District 1 and 5, where 5 has the highest collective efficacy rate (2.9).

³⁴ See appendix 9 for the complete analysis.

4.1.3. ROUTINE ACTIVITIES THEORY

Table 5: Indicators for the RAT in Sabadell

	Total services	Stores and Restaurants	Vehicles	Nightclubs	Street Market extension
District 1	71	98	54%	8	120
District 2	27	61	51%	-	60
District 3	17	20	47%	2	
District 4	16	18	51%	-	
District 5	22	23	60%	16	210
District 6	31	27	42%	-	110
District 7	10	6	47,70%	-	15

Source: own table built with city council data

The results for the indicator of social services in every district show that District 1 is the district with more services (71). On the other hand, District 5 has 22, below of the average. The concentration of public services in District 1 proves that this area could attract a lot of people and the offenders too because this concentration of people in a reduced place make them easy targets. The same occurs with the number of stores in every district. The vast majority of them are in District 1, in particular the commercial area of La Rambla. The result is the same an increased in the number of available targets and then, an increased in the number of property crimes.

Thirdly, it is also important street markets in every district because in these events there are a lot of people and according to the Municipal police of Sabadell they have to dedicate many resources in this activities. One more time, District 5 and District 1 are the places with more streets markets per week. It means that these events attract a lot of people and then the number of targets increase.

On the other hand, Districts 1 and 5 are the areas with more opportunities related with vehicle theft because there are the places with more cars. Finally, related with the number of bars and discotheques District 1 and 5 are those areas with more nightclubs.

Finally, related with the second element of the theory in Sabadell, there are two municipal police stations, one of them in District 5 and another one in District 3. On the other

hand, there is a Mossos D'Esquadra police station in District 2. Finally, there is also a police station of National police in District 2. Therefore, the district with more police stations is District 2. On the other hand, the only one fire station of Sabadell is in the boundary between District 1 and 5 and very close to the Municipal Police Station.

Finally, I considered the element of motivated offender with the indicator of unemployment rate per district. The district with a highest unemployment rate is District 7, followed by Districts 3 and 4. However, I do not think that this is the correct and more accurate indicator. For this reason, I used this indicator with more caution. According to this theory, I understand that motivated offender does not have to live in the area where he or she commits the crime. In this case, I would be affirming that the offenders do not move to commit crime; they commit crime in the same area where they reside. In my opinion this is not the idea of the opportunity theory. I understand that offenders attend to these areas with more opportunity to commit crime without danger to be detected³⁵.

To sum up, District 1 and 5 are the areas with more opportunities. District 1 has more opportunities to property, violent and health public crime because it includes shops, restaurants and nightclubs. On the other hand, District 5 does not have a commercial area like District 1, but it has the largest street market, a lot of vehicles and the largest nightlife area.

³⁵ See appendix number 10 for more information about this variable.

4.2.MIAMI

4.2.1. SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION THEORY

District 1 has an area of 6.9 km² and a population of 38,665 inhabitants in 2012 with a density of 5,603 persons/ km². On the other hand, the gender is 58.9 % men and 41.1% women and the most popular age is in the range between 25-34 years old.

Photo 3: Lincoln Road, Miami Beach.



Source: googlemaps.com .

In order to compare the District with more crime (District 1) I used the others Districts as a reference (Districts 2 and 3). Overall District 2 because is very close to District 1 and it has a very low crime rate in comparison to District 1. This district has an area of 7.7 km² and a population of 21.210, with a density of 2,754 inhabitants/ Km². Therefore, it is one of the Districts less crowded. The gender composition of the district is 51% men and 49% women and the most popular age is in the range between 25-34 years old like District 1.

Photo 4: Pine Tree, Miami Beach



Source: Googlemaps.com

Taking into account the indicators for the social disorganization theory, the variable of mobility is positive for all the Districts. It means that the population is increasing in every district. However, District 1 has a very low growth; the population in this district has increased only 0.13% in two years. On the other hand, District 3 has the highest population growth with 2.95%. Therefore, District 1 does not have a decreasing population, but almost.

The second variable is transition zone and the indicators show that District 1 has a high mobility because it has the highest rate of people who moved in 2010 or later in the area³⁶. It means that, there are a lot of new people and they do not use to live too much time in the same house. Finally, District 1 has the highest rate of people who live renting an apartment. However, this rate is similar to District 3. In other words, they do not buy the house because they will try to move to another part when the economic situation improves. In conclusion, it seems that District 1 is considered a transition zone³⁷.

Table 6: Indicators for the SDT in Miami Beach

	Population	Crime Rate	Population Growth Rate	Moved in 2010 or later	Foreign born	One single parent families	Average household size	Median home value	Percent of enrolled population in private schools	Median value of units paying rent	Per capita income
District 1	38613	4,30%	0,13%	18,30%	51,62%	8,80%	1,80%	322.600	32,20%	1.104	49.556
District 2	21210	1%	1,01%	0,10%	44,80%	11,60%	2,20%	438.900	55,70%	1.138	54.162
District 3	35249	0,20%	2,95%	0%	57,20%	22,70%	2,40%	232.100	27,50%	1.021	28.051

Source: own chart built with census data.

The heterogeneity is very important in all Miami Beach Districts. All these Districts have a very high percentage of foreign population; almost the fifty percent of population was born in another country. District 1 has a high rate (51,62%). However, District 3 has the highest rate and District 2 the lowest. An interesting aspect of this variable is the vast majority of foreign population is from Latin American. It means that the proportion of foreign population is very high; nevertheless almost 60% of the population is Latin. Then, district 1 has a high heterogeneity, but almost the 80% of foreign population is from Latin America. It means that the proportion of foreigners is very high, but almost all of them are from the same place. The same

³⁶ This District has the highest rate of people moved in 2010 or later and then, the lowest rate of people in the same house at least from 1999. It means that there are more new people in District 1 than the others. See appendix chart 11.2 for more information.

³⁷ See appendix number 11.1 for more information.

pattern is followed by District 3, but not for District 2 which had the lowest foreign rate but also the lowest Latin American population rate.

District 1 is the second District in Miami Beach with low socio-economic factors in connection with the others Districts of the city. The factor of socio-economic disadvantage seems that it is more prevalent in the vast majority of indicators in District 3. On the other hand, District 2 seems to be the most wellbeing one because all the indicators are higher than the others. However, in connection with the mean of all Districts, the area of south beach is one of the most affected by socio-economic factors.

The variable of physical disorder shows that District 1 has the highest incivility rate. However, District 2 and 3 has a very low rate. In my opinion, the problem is the same than in the crime rate which I described previously³⁸. In this case, this District with more incivilities is the District with more crime too.

Finally, the indicator of one single families shows that District 1 has the lowest rate of one single parent families; the rate is too high in the other Districts. It means that in District 1 children will be more supervised because they have two parents. According to the theory these kids with only one parent are less supervised because the parent have to work more to maintain the family.

To sum up, this descriptive analysis about the structural variables affirms that District 1, which has the highest crime rate, match almost totally with the SDT. District 1 has the lowest population growth in Miami Beach, it sustains that the population is not decreasing, but it almost does. This district also accomplish with the variable of transition zones because it has the highest rate of people who live there since 2010. District 1 has also a high rate of foreign population and one of the least rich. On the other hand, District 1 has the highest physical disorder rate and the highest density. The only indicator which is not accomplished is one parent family's rate.

³⁸ Like I commented before, the crime rate per District that I obtained it is not a complete record of all the offenses committed during one entire month. It is a sample of 200 offenses per month. Therefore, District 1 is the District with more offenses, but I ignore if it cause of the little sample or there are other causes of recording involve in it.

4.2.2. COLLECTIVE EFFICACY

Table 7: Collective efficacy results in Miami Beach

	Miami Beach	
	Lincoln (+ crime)	Flamingo (- crime)
Average residence time	8.1	16.6
Collective Efficacy	2.6	3.3
Friendship network	1.8	2.3
Neighborhood participation	2.6	3.3
Heterogeneity of the value system	3.4	3.9
Insecurity perception	0.6	0.42

In this case, the collective efficacy comparison is between Lincoln Road and 16th street (District 1) and Flamingo Drive and Pine Tree (District 2)³⁹. The results of the survey show that the average of residence time in the Flamingo Drive area is 16.6, the double that in the case of the Lincoln Road area. On the other hand, the collective efficacy is higher in Flamingo (3.3) than in Lincoln Road (2.6)⁴⁰. I did a T test for independent samples assuming equal variances (alpha higher than 0.05) and it shows that there are differences⁴¹. Therefore, in Flamingo there are more informal social control and the neighbors trust in each other. I realized while I was conducting the surveys that in Flamingo neighbors know each other and they have good relationship. On the other hand, in Lincoln Road neighbors were very different each other and they did not know anybody in the area. Therefore, Flamingo is a very close area where the neighbors trust each other and they are capable to exercise control.

The other variables measured with the survey are higher in Flamingo than Lincoln. The smallest difference is in the indicator of social ties with a 2.3 in Flamingo and 1.8 in Lincoln. Moreover, roughly the half of the interviewed neighbors affirms taking part of the neighborhood

³⁹ I stressed before that in the case of Sabadell I choose two streets of the same District, but one of them with a lot of offenses and the other with fewer. However, in Miami Beach, in particular District 1, crime is spread more or less in the same intensity per streets. Therefore, I thought that it could be more interesting to analyze an area next to the place with more crime, but with more differences in the crime rate. The nearest area was Pine Tree and Flamingo (District 2).

⁴⁰ It seems that the indicators for the variable control are a little bit higher than the indicators for the cohesion. Therefore, neighbors think that neighbors in the area are likely to act. However, the relationship between them is weak.

⁴¹ See Appendix number 12 for the complete analysis.

association, while in Lincoln only a 13%. However, some neighbors in Lincoln Road answered that they do not take part of it because there are not associations in the area.

The highest variable in Flamingo and Pine Tree is moral cynicism with 3.9, almost 4. It means that the population of this area is very conscious about the good behavior and bad behavior. On the other hand, this variable in Lincoln area is lower. Mainly, because the vast majority of the interviewed sample affirmed that drinking in the street, skating in banned places and exceeding the speed limit is acceptable in almost every case. However, they answered that is totally unacceptable stealing something, scratching cars or throwing trash in the street⁴².

Finally, it is also important consider the perception of insecurity that these sample have. The measure indicates that the insecurity perception is 0.42 in Flamingo while it is 0.6 in Lincoln. The majority of people in Flamingo have affirmed that the most likely danger is theft or Justin Bieber driving under the influence of drugs, but not the other categories. In the case of Lincoln more people answered that the other typologies could be possible.

To sum up, it seems that the CET is acceptable in the particular case of these two areas of Miami Beach. Lincoln Road and 16th Street has less collective efficacy than Pine Tree and Flamingo Drive, and also all the other indicators have resulted lower. However, it is also important to stress that in both cases the measures are very high in comparison with the cases of Sabadell, but it will be compared later.

4.2.3. ROUTINE ACTIVITIES THEORY

District 1 seems to have the highest rate of services in comparison with the others because like I mentioned, this District is known for being one of the most touristic places and includes a lot of shops and restaurants. Therefore, these services attract a lot of population in specific points. The second indicator is the number of residents in the area. In this case, like I stressed, district 1 has the highest population and the highest density too. Moreover, it is important to mention that this area has a high quantity of tourism.

On the other hand, District 1 has the lowest rate of available cars. Therefore, this area would not be a good target for the vehicle theft offenses. However, this indicator only takes into

account residents' vehicles, it does not take into account that this area has a lot of tourism and the foreign people usually bring the car there. Finally, I considered also the number of nightclubs in Miami Beach like in Sabadell. All of them are in District 1 (from 1st street to 23rd street), while in the other Districts there are no clubs (only one in 44th street). In conclusion, in this District there are more opportunities for crime than the others⁴³.

The other element in the RAT is surveillance absence, and according to Miami Beach data, District 1 has little surveillance. For example, Miami Beach has only one police station for the entire city and it is in District 1. On the other hand, there are four fire stations in the city of Miami Beach⁴⁴, but only one in District 1. Consequently, Miami Beach has little formal control because there is only one police station and it could cause the perception that the reaction time could be slow. Finally, according the last indicator used for the surveillance absence District 1 has a 35% of vacant houses, it is the second District with more vacant houses. It means that in this area there is less informal social control because there are more vacant houses.

Finally, the last element of the RAT is the motivated offender and according to the indicators used, District 1 would have the vast majority of motivated offenders because it has the highest rate of teenagers (between 18 and 24 years old) that does not have high school (it means the minimum education) and the second highest unemployed rate (4.5%). Therefore, District 1 has the element of motivated offender for the opportunity theory. However, I have the same opinion that I commented in the analysis of Sabadell, offenders not always live in the area where they commit crime.

In conclusion, taking into account all the elements of the RAT seems that District 1 is the most affected for all the factors of this theory because it has high opportunity, little surveillance and a high rate of motivated offenders⁴⁵.

⁴³ See appendix number 13 for more information about suitable target.

⁴⁴ The first one is in Jefferson Avenue (District 1); the second one in Pine tree Drive (District 2); the third one in Collins Avenue (Second District) and the last one in Indian Creek Drive (third District)

⁴⁵ See appendix number 13 for more information about the data.

5. CONCLUSIONS

5.1. COMPARATIVE RESULTS

The conclusion of this research is likely the same that a lot of authors affirmed during years. The variables of the social disorganization theory are not capable to explain the crime rates in a specific place completely without error. Some variables can be given in a particular place and not in others, depending on the structure, culture and other factors.

Therefore, the social disorganization theory is not confirmed in my research in Sabadell, but it is confirmed in Miami Beach. However, the common factors which seem to be present in both cities are density and physical disorder. Moreover, one of the Districts in Sabadell (District 1) contradicts totally this theory.

Table 8: Summary SDT

Social Disorganization Theory			
Variables	Sabadell		Miami
	D1	D5	D1
Mobility	No	No	Yes
Transition area	No	No	Yes
Heterogeneity	No	No	Yes
Disadvantage concentration	No	Yes	Yes
One single parent	-	-	No
Physical deterioration	No	Yes	Yes
Density	Yes	No	Yes

On the other hand, the CET is also partially confirmed, one more time for the American city, which has obtained significant differences between a place with crime and a place without. In the Catalan city, the collective efficacy difference exists between areas with more crime and less crime, but the difference is very small and there are no significant differences. The only significance difference is between the street with more offenses in District 1 and the street with fewer offenses in District 5 or if I mix the results of both street and I calculated the collective efficacy per district.

Table 9: Summary CET

Collective Efficacy Theory						
Variables	Sabadell				Miami	
	D1		D5		D1	D2
	Rambla (+ crime)	Montserrat (- crime)	St. Ferran (+ crime)	Frederic Soler (- Crime)	Lincoln (+ crime)	Flamingo (- crime)
Average residence time	27.7	19.4	6.9	18.3	8.1.	16.6
Collective Efficacy	2.2	2.7	2.7	3.1	2.6	3.3
Social Ties	1.9	2	2.1	2.4	1.8	2.3
Neighborhood engagement	1.9	2.2	2.3	2.5	2.6	3.3
Morality	3.6	3.5	3.6	3.8	3.4	3.9

Another important fact of the survey is in both cases local friendship has positive correlation with collective efficacy. In other words, if neighbors have good friends, do activities together and ask for favors between them the collective efficacy is higher.

		Local friendship	Neighborhood participation	Value System
CE Miami Beach	Pearson correlation	,603**	,585**	,390**
CE Sabadell		,205*	0,179	0,118

However, only in Miami Beach there are correlation between neighborhood participation and heterogeneity of the values system. Therefore, in Miami Beach if neighbors are involved in the neighborhood they have a higher collective efficacy. On the other hand, the correlation between the values system and collective efficacy is negative (as less values system less collective efficacy)⁴⁶.

Finally, the RAT seems to be proved in both cities. The results are almost the same because in both cities are given the fact that more opportunities to crime more crime. Moreover,

⁴⁶ See appendix number 14.

in Sabadell I could analyze many indicators for every typology of crime and it seems that the kind of opportunity is related with the kind of crime more committed in every district. The only variable that does not have relation with the crime rate in both cities is the motivated offender. In Sabadell, the district with more motivated offenders does not have more crime. However, in Miami Beach the area with more crime has motivated offenders. In conclusion, the essential key of the theory is the target. For this reason, the opportunity theory developed by Cohen et al. (1979) could be a better approach to study in future researches.

Table 10: Summary RAT

Routine Activities Theory			
Variables	Sabadell		Miami Beach
	D1	D5	D1
Opportunities			
Services	Yes	No	Yes
Restaurants/ shops	Yes	Yes	-
Street markets	Yes	Yes	-
Vehicles	Yes	No	No
Nightlife	Yes	Yes	Yes
Highest population	Yes	No	Yes
Lack of Surveillance	Yes	Yes	Yes
Motivated offender	No	No	Yes

5.2.DISCUSSION

The main objective of this research was the comparative study between two cities to observe if the theories have the same results. Apparently, it seems that in the American city the differences are bigger than in the Catalan one. However, I want to stress the word apparently because both cities are very different and both have a very different dynamics. For this reason, the results obtained in this research could be caused by the differences between both cities. Therefore, the comparative study seems to indicate that we need to study the structural variables carefully in every city because they could vary. However, I would like to stress three main points. First of all, RAT seems valid in both cases, overall for the opportunity element.

Secondly, the differences in SDT do not show clear results. However, the District in Miami Beach with more crime accomplish with almost all the characteristics.

Finally, the CET is very remarkable in Miami Beach because the collective efficacy is lower in the District with crime. I did not obtain the same results in Sabadell; the differences are too small to affirm that there are differences. Probably, it is caused by the small area segments where I conducted the survey. However, in my opinion it is important the fact that in Miami Beach the survey with less crime was conducted in a different area than the survey with more crime, while in Sabadell both surveys were inside the same district. Therefore, the difference between cities could be caused by this factor or the selection of only small areas (like in the case of Weisburd research, 2012).

5.3. LIMITATIONS

Once I finished the research I realized that it has been a very hard work and I am conscious that my research has a lot of limitations. However, I would like to stress the main ones. Firstly, the main problem that I found was the lack of data, not only in Spain, but also in US. Moreover, it is very difficult to collect the same data for two different countries. Therefore, confronting all the problems I tried to do the most accurate work that I could. Secondly, the neighbor border is a big problem that many authors stressed because it is difficult to determine where a neighborhood finishes and starts. However, I had more problems because it is not only determine the borders of a neighbor, but also having the access to data to study it. Finally, a great limitation is the sample that I used to study CET because it is very small. Although, Sampson (1997) affirms that with some informants per street is enough, I think that with a bigger sample I could analyze better this theory.

5.4. THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

Firstly, like a theoretical implication I want to stress the integration of theories because only one theory cannot explain a big phenomenon like crime. Another theoretical implication that I desire to stress is the use of small units to study the field of socio-spatial criminology. During my research I realized that if I use big units and then you reduce the same part in smaller units the characteristics and the results are different. Finally, according to my results, overall in

Sabadell I realized that the areas, which accomplish with the social organization theory are these areas with less crime. Therefore, this pattern seems like potential offenders live in these areas, but they move to another place of the city to commit the offenses. For this reason, if I would be able to continue with the research I would like to introduce the place where the offenders lived (like Shaw and Mckay, 1942).

Secondly, it is necessary to expand practical implications according to the main results of the research. However, these implications will be different depending on the analyzed part of the city. Firstly, in District 1 of Sabadell, the theory which explains better the crime rate is RAT and CET. It means that the practical implications should follow a perspective more focused to the crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED). Moreover, the area of La Rambla has a low collective efficacy, for this reason it would be necessary to increase the neighbor cohesion through activities and other measures. District 5 in Sabadell follows almost the same pattern than District 1, but the opportunity theory is not too strong than District 1, and SDT is more stated. For this reason, it would be important implement some situational prevention in the most conflictive area of nightclubs and other structural measures in other part of the area. Finally, in Miami Beach the district with more crime accomplishes with almost all the studied theories. For this reason, I think that District 1 needs implications related with all the theories. First of all, introduce more surveillance in the streets with more offenses (Lincoln Road and the streets around there). On the other hand, some policies related with collective efficacy, creating a stronger neighborhood association in the area. Finally, in a more structural level would be positive remodel some areas and apartments to attract more residents.

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Used webpages:

Sabadell historical information: <http://www.sabadell.cat/es/>

<http://www.enciclopedia.cat/enciclop%C3%A8dies/gran-enciclop%C3%A8dia-catalana/EC-GEC-0057505.xml?s.rows=10&s.start=150&s.q=abril+1914>

Miami Beach historical information: <http://www.citytown.info>

Data sources:

Sabadell structural data: <http://opendata.sabadell.cat/ca/>

Miami Dade County data: <http://www.ucrdatatool.gov/>

Miami Beach structural data:

http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/community_facts.xhtml

Miami Beach crime data: http://vn4.cs.fiu.edu/cgi-bin/arquery.cgi?more=1&tester=&gnis0=1&matchprop=2&y1=25.790&x1=-80.1291&category=crime_dade&vid=herald41.com&arcriteria=1&OIIncidentFromDateTime%E=2014-01-01

Maps: <https://www.google.es/maps/preview>