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*RR89-103

Suburban Crime:
Dimensions and Implications

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Paper was presented at the Annual Meeting of the Urban
Affairs Association, Baltimore, Maryland, March 16, 1989

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not necessarily represent the position of the Institute for
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Abstract

Suburban crime is neither as pervasive nor as violent as big city crime, but, over the past 25 years, has increased more rapidly than in the central city, albeit from a lower initial base. The incidence of lawbreaking in outlying settlements, however, is highly uneven, and, while some suburbs and suburban areas are virtually crime free, others experience high levels of victimization. Nevertheless, unwarranted fears, nourished, in part, by mental perceptions of big city and fringe area crime and its perpetrators, even among suburbanites who have little or no contact with crime, may be contributing unnecessarily to the fortress mentality which pervades many suburban communities. In addition to filling an apparent gap in the professional literature on crime, this article seeks to demonstrate a linkage between suburban fears of victimization and exclusionary policies and practices which tend to frustrate a greater assimilation of minority group members into the larger American society, as well as to undermine efforts to move away from the traditional reactive philosophy of police and prisons to one which concentrates on strategies designed to reduce the number of "new recruits" entering into lives of crime.

SUBURBAN CRIME: DIMENSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The magnitude and not infrequent drama of big city crime, in contrast to the less pervasive and fragmented character of lawbreaking in the nation's burgeoning urban fringe areas, have contributed to a general absence of serious investigation of criminal activity beyond central city borders. This neglect has occurred even though crime indices over the past 25 years have risen more rapidly in suburban locations than in the large city, albeit from a lower initial base, and the risk of victimization in some suburbs is twice as high as in their central cities. The impact of generally rising crime rates, however, has been highly uneven, and the wide variations in victimization which have developed between city and suburb, individual suburban areas and suburbs, have contributed to a dichotomy which has serious societal implications. Suburban perceptions of big city and fringe area crime and its perpetrators, even among those elements which have experienced little or no actual victimization, may be contributing unnecessarily to the fortress mentality which pervades many outlying settlements and residents. Fear of crime may be as important a factor in explaining the exclusionary policies and practices of individual suburbs as the more commonly cited concerns over property value maintenance (Wood, 1958; Culver, 1982) and the influence of racial prejudice (Davidoff and Brooks, 1973; Schwartz, 1976).

This article has two major objectives, to fill an apparent gap in the professional literature on crime, by providing a general overview of the phenomenon in a suburban setting, and demonstrate a linkage between suburban fears of criminal victimization and policies and practices

which tend to frustrate a greater assimilation of minority group members into the larger American society. The relatively low levels of violence and property infractions in most of suburbia compared to the large, more economically and racially diverse central cities and outlying minority enclaves, and the particular success of most exclusive suburbs in maintaining low crime rates reinforce support of those policies and practices to which effective containment of crime is attributed. Furthermore, the fortress mentality tends to frustrate efforts to deemphasize reliance on more police and an expanded prison system, and, instead, to concentrate on programs designed to reduce the number of "new recruits" entering into lives of crime.

In preparing this study, the author has relied heavily on the annual Uniform Crime Reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Statistical Abstracts of the United States, the annual reports of the Illinois State Police, entitled Crime in Illinois, various census data, newspaper articles, interviews and supplementary information from the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The Dimensions of Suburban Crime

Nationally, over thirteen million serious offenses (murder, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny-theft and motor vehicle theft) were recorded in 1987, nearly four million of them in the suburban portions of metropolitan areas. In contrast, the nation's largest cities (those of at least 250,000 inhabitants) experienced four and a quarter million index crimes with half the population base. (See Table I for a geographical/jurisdictional distribution of crime.) With few exceptions, crime intensity declines

as densities and population aggregates diminish, with the highest crime rates to be found in cities of over one-quarter million inhabitants, the lowest in rural areas. Although wide variations are to be found between metropolitan areas and individual suburban communities, only rural areas have a lower overall crime rate than the suburban parts of metropolitan areas.

Over the past 25 years suburban crime has increased more rapidly than either crime in general or crime in the nation's largest central cities. Arising from a lower initial base, however, the suburban phenomenon is still neither as pervasive nor as violent as that which confronts the big city.

The numerical count of index offenses in suburban areas over the quarter century (1962-87) increased by tenfold, but crime indices registered a lower fivefold advance because of a doubling of the suburban population base. By 1976, because of a steady growth of infractions, more property offenses were committed in suburban locations than in cities of over 250,000 inhabitants. Most of the suburban gains occurred prior to 1978, and, at least over the past ten years, the count of index offenses has grown more slowly in fringe areas than in the big cities, and the overall rate, reflecting a less rapidly growing property segment, fell by nearly one percent over the decade. While the index of violent offenses has risen by nearly twenty percent since 1977, this was only half the big city increase, and a fifteen-year period during which the gap between suburban and big city crime narrowed, has been followed by a gradual widening of the gap.

Although violent crime in the suburbs has outpaced the growth of property offenses, the proportion of total index infractions of a

violent nature has increased only slightly from 7.9 percent in 1962 to 8.3 percent in 1987. In contrast, the proportion of offenses of a violent nature in the big city has remained nearly twice as high as in fringe areas, rising from 15.3 to 15.6 percent over the 25-year period. In spite of the large expansion of suburban crime rates, an individual today is twice as likely to be the victim of a property offense and four times as likely to be the victim of a violent offense in the nation's largest cities than in their suburbs.

Suburban Area Variations

Not unlike the marked differences found between individual central cities in the intensity of crime, there are wide variations between suburban areas. The exposure of inhabitants to criminal activity in some suburban regions may be far greater than for the residents of many large cities. On the other hand, some out-city areas exhibit crime rates suggestive of rural locations, even when they command urban densities. The residents of suburban Miami, for example, are ten times as likely to be the victims of a violent offense and three times more likely of a property offense as a suburban dweller in metropolitan Milwaukee, Minneapolis/ St. Paul or Rochester and twice as likely to be victimized of person or property as residents of the core cities of San Jose, Philadelphia or Indianapolis.

While the high incidence of crime in suburban Dade County (Miami) suggests a spillover from crime-ridden Miami, a close correlation between central city and suburban crime in a given area is far from clear. Both the central core and suburban areas of Miami, Dallas, Fort Worth, Tampa, Atlanta and Detroit experience relatively high crime rates. However, the high crime rates of St. Louis, Cleveland,

Minneapolis and Boston are not duplicated in their suburbs. While St. Louis, for example, has had a long history of high criminal victimization, its suburbs rank in the lower quartile of criminal intensity among the nation's sixty largest metropolitan areas.

There is a strong regional bias to suburban crime rates. With only one exception (Detroit), the suburban regions with the highest overall crime rates are all located in the South or West. Even when only violent infractions are counted, all but three of the most victimized suburban regions are in the South and West. In contrast, twelve of the fifteen least victimized suburban regions, in terms of both overall index offenses and violent crime, are located in the Northeast and Midwest. The South and West have been the major growth regions during the past two decades, while the Northeast and Midwest have been relatively stagnant, suggesting a correlation between rapid population change and criminogenic tendencies.

Although care must be taken in making generalizations, it is noteworthy that both the Milwaukee and Minneapolis/St. Paul suburban areas, which rank lowest in violent crime in the United States among the larger built-up regions, are characterized by high incomes, negligible minority populations (less than three percent), no distressed suburban communities and modest residential mobility. Waukesha and Ozaukee counties in metropolitan Milwaukee and Washington and Anoka counties outside the Twin Cities are among the most affluent counties in the United States.

On the other hand, the Miami and Los Angeles suburban areas have the highest violent crime rates, with Miami also possessing the highest incidence of property infractions. Both suburban areas are

characterized by large, disparate minority populations, large numbers of distressed suburbs and significant residential mobility, reflected in the rapidly changing racial-ethnic composition of numerous jurisdictions. Coupled with this has been the influence of gang warfare in both areas, and drug-related offenses and intergroup conflict between blacks and Hispanic latecomers in suburban Miami. Even neighboring Broward County, where many Miamians have fled to escape the urban violence, has been impacted by the spillover, and ranks among the most crime-burdened counties without a major central city in the United States. In contrast, Orange County (CA), bordering Los Angeles, has not been similarly affected with criminal violence, although its property crime rate exceeds that of suburban Los Angeles County.

Comparing densely populated suburban areas with those which have large expanses of undeveloped land can be misleading, but comparisons with built-up suburban regions confirm real differences. Table V includes only the built-up portions of the Milwaukee and Minneapolis metropolitan areas, while Table VI lists only the suburban part of urban counties or suburban counties which are entirely urban. The most striking differences are found in the intensity of crimes against the person.

Individual Community Variations

The burden of suburban crime is spread unevenly across metropolitan areas and individual communities, and the risk of victimization is closely related to one's place of residence or employment. While some suburban settlements are virtually crime free, others have crime rates equalling or exceeding the most crime-ridden central city, establishing

a dualism which has important policy implications, since the non-impacted majority does not always view crime with the same urgency as the highly impacted minority.

Highland Park in metropolitan Detroit and Compton in metropolitan Los Angeles are examples of outlying settlements which exhibit violent and property crime rates which far exceed those of their central cities. Others, among them Aurora (CO), Harvey (IL), Inglewood (CA), Miami Beach (FL), Irvington (NJ) and Prichard (AL), have experienced increases in crime far exceeding that experienced by their central cities. In contrast, there are numerous fringe communities which have been little impacted by the general rise in crime over the past generation. Some, mainly smaller suburbs such as Winthrop, Massachusetts (18,714 inhabitants), Fox Point, Wisconsin (7,253), Corcoran, Minnesota (5,056), Capitol Heights, Maryland (3,800) and Barrington (15,724), Burr Ridge (5,765), and Palos Heights (10,574) in the Chicago metropolitan area, have witnessed no violent offenses and negligible numbers of property offenses in recent years.

Statistical differences between individual suburban communities cannot always be simply explained, although a number of variables have been cited, including the intensity of drug-related crime, the extent of commercial development within the jurisdiction, the proximity or distance from high crime areas, poverty levels, the degree of citizen awareness and involvement, the pace of socio-economic change and the diversity of resources available for crime prevention. Some have also noted the presence of large numbers of minority group members as a factor. There tends to be a strong correlation between the intensity of crime and minority population size, but only when combined with poverty

and residential mobility variables. Capitol Heights, a predominantly black suburb outside of Washington, D.C., for example, has the lowest crime rate of any suburb of over 2,500 people. In 1987, the community witnessed no violent offenses and only a single stolen motor vehicle. Moreover, Prince George County, Maryland, where Capitol Heights is located, has one of the lowest crime rates of urbanized counties in the country, even though it is home of over a quarter million black residents. The single most important factor explaining the low crime rate is the high per capita income of the county's minority population.

In the absence of a collective agency to address crime as a regional phenomenon, the responsibility for law enforcement in the nation's metropolitan areas is fragmented between dozens, and, in some cases, hundreds, of separate autonomous police agencies. Given their diverse size and resources, suburban jurisdictions confront the crime problem unequally, in spite of cooperative efforts encouraged by the Federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration before its demise and the existence of mutual aid and contractual arrangements. Some departments are too small to provide adequate, around-the-clock service, rely heavily on part-time, often inexperienced, personnel or are forced to skimp on training, equipment or salaries due to lack of funds. While corruption can occur in any department, small, poor communities, unable to afford competitive wage scales, are often forced to hire personnel of limited attainment, making them especially vulnerable. In Robbins, Illinois, a highly distressed, minority suburb south of Chicago, the entire twelve-man police force was dismissed in March 1978 amid widespread allegations of corruption and police brutality (Suburban Tribune, 1979 and the Star, 1980). In contrast, affluent suburban

settlements have the capacity to attract highly educated personnel, often demanding a college degree (i.e., Lakewood, Colorado), provide them with the best equipment and training and pay competitive salaries. Short of metropolitan-wide coordination of law enforcement activities, there is need to address the critical issue of disparate resource availability among jurisdictions in the fragmented effort to combat suburban crime.

Other than differing capacities to confront crime, an important variable in explaining statistical differences between suburban jurisdictions in crime indices is the location of major commercial and entertainment centers, which often present enhanced opportunities for theft of property, including the unlawful taking of motor vehicles. The impact of such developments on individual indices is the function of both infraction count and population size. Where the population is large, the additional criminal activity generated is easily absorbed into the indices; but where population is small, the enlarged basis can produce significant aberrations. Table VII below is illustrative. Rosemont, adjacent to O'Hare Airport and site of a major music arena, several exhibition halls and numerous motels, hotels and parking areas, has one of the highest crime rates in the Chicago metropolitan area, because reported offenses, primarily theft, are factored into a small population base. On the other hand, Schaumburg, location of the largest shopping center in the Chicago MSA, exhibits a less imposing crime index, because its relatively large number of theft-related offenses is factored into a significantly large population base.

Crime levels also tend to reflect a strong socio-economic bias. Highly affluent suburbs generally have a lower incidence of crime than

poor suburbs. However, it is important to distinguish between stable, impoverished communities and those undergoing rapid socio-economic transition. Residents of high status communities are better able to fortify themselves against potential intruders or to afford high levels of either private or public police protection. Moreover, affluent family members face a lower probability of being the victim of domestic violence than residents of poverty areas or of being involved in violent ways of resolving problems. Another factor is the smaller percentage of young men in the most crime-prone age in predominantly white suburbs than in predominantly minority suburbs.

In a study of 840 American cities (including suburbs) involving six independent factors, Victor E. Flango and Edgar L. Sherbenou (1976) found poverty and the impact of urbanization to be the two most important criminogenic forces, except in the South, where stage in the life cycle was more important than poverty in explaining crime. Urbanization appeared to be more relevant in measuring variations in rates of crime against property, while poverty was more closely associated with crimes against people. G. Nettler (1978), in another study, lists residential mobility, which tends to undermine culture, as a primary criminogenic condition. This seems to suggest that residential stability is a factor in inhibiting crime. This may, in part, explain differences in crime levels between stable minority communities and those undergoing rapid change, as illustrated in Table VIII.

As a rule, high status suburbs are characterized by racial homogeneity, low levels of criminal violence and below average incidences of property infractions. The coincidence of low crime rates

and racial homogeneity tends to reinforce the forces supportive of exclusionary practices in those communities. In contrast, the highest levels of criminal violence are to be found in outlying jurisdictions which have experienced significant racial or ethnic succession, along with a severe deterioration of economic status. The violent crime index of such suburban cities as Highland Park (MI), Opa-Locka (FLA), Compton (CA) and East St. Louis (IL) is over ten times the national average, exceeding the rates of the most violent big cities. It is, however, incorrect to equate minority suburbs with a high incidence of crime. Established, low-income, minority settlements, such as Ford Heights and Robbins in the south suburbs of Chicago and Capitol Heights and Glenarden in metropolitan Washington, recorded no murders and relatively low levels of other forms of criminal violence even though the populations are almost entirely minority and income levels place them among the most distressed suburbs. This suggests that while poverty may be an important criminogenic force, it is not an absolute predictor of the intensity of crimes against people. However, when combined with rapid residential change and the subsequent undermining of community control factors, high levels of law-breaking can be anticipated.

Implications and Conclusions

The movement of large numbers of people from central city to outlying locations after World War II, coupled with social and economic change in individual suburban communities which sometimes created conditions resembling those of deteriorating neighborhoods of the urban core, produced stresses and strains in fringe areas both like and unlike those of the big city. Although crime was one of the problems which

migrants from the city sought to escape, it reappeared in varying degrees and form in their new environment. Even where little or no victimization actually occurred, mental images of crime, nourished and sustained by radio and television programs, newspaper headlines, magazine articles and word-of-mouth communication, tended to create a possibly unwarranted amount of fear, suspicion and mistrust, influencing behavior patterns and lifestyles of wide sections of the suburban population, both individually and collectively.

Although research findings (Skogan, 1989) have demonstrated lower anxiety levels for suburban dwellers than for central city residents, concern about crime has given rise to varying, often far-reaching, responses. Some communities have sought to reduce citizen fears by "killing crime," either by classifying reported offenses as unfounded or downgrading their severity. Instances of police officers dragging murder victims across municipal boundaries or throwing bodies into a neighboring river to influence crime indices are not unknown. Fear of victimization has been an important factor encouraging exclusionary practices designed to keep out possible "crime prone" elements. Opposition to low income or public housing, the erection of barriers to entry through large minimum lot and house size requirements, costly impact fees, permit charges and building specifications or the dead-ending of streets adjacent to neighborhoods inhabited by unwanted people, as illustrated by the borders between University City and St. Louis and Oak Park and Chicago are, in part, products of suburban crime phobia. Where money has posed no limitation, residents have sought security either by buying into enclosed, protected subdivisions with 24-hour guard service or relying on highly sophisticated electronic

surveillance systems (Illian, 1989; Sulski, 1989). Not limited to the affluent for protection has been the growing popularity of attack dogs, especially the pit bull.

Beverly Hills, California, famous for its elegant shops and residential areas, has established the highest per capita suburban police force in the United States, with 5.3 employees for each 1,000 inhabitants, to secure person and property, even though its crime rate is comparable with Concord (CA) and Costa Mesa (CA), which, with three times the population, have numerically equivalent forces. In spite of this army of police, lawns in Beverly Hills are dotted with signs warning possible intruders of "armed response," "pit bulls" or "electronic surveillance," reflecting, perhaps, in part, citizen reaction to the fact that the community is located in the suburban area with the second highest level of criminal violence.

At a time when many citizens have taken steps to arm themselves, a limited number of suburban communities, primarily in the Chicago metropolitan area, have chosen to pursue a diametrically opposite course. Following the lead of Morton Grove in 1981, they have enacted ordinances banning hand guns, in spite of strong opposition from the National Rifle Association (NRA), which was a factor in the defeat of an advisory referendum on hand-gun control in Arlington Heights (IL) in 1985. In reaction to efforts to ban hand guns, Kennesaw (GA), outside Atlanta, passed legislation requiring that all residents keep guns in their homes.

The impact of the fear of crime is, however, more pervasive than measures taken to protect one's self and property, by influencing the places citizens frequent and the associations they keep. Certain

outlying communities, shopping centers, forest preserves and public transportation routes may be deliberately avoided by a fearful public, and other areas and facilities may be limited only to daytime use. The Dixie Mall, a major suburban shopping center in Harvey, Illinois, was completely abandoned because of real and perceived notions over shopping safety. People may flee from suburb to suburb much as they did earlier from central city neighborhood to central city neighborhood, in search of greater safety. As relations are limited to proven associations, walls are built up between differing groups, endangering efforts to develop future satisfactory accommodations, and straining that web of close relationships which makes modern urban society possible, including loss of faith in the ability of that society to protect its citizens.

As between neighborhoods of most large cities, central cities and their suburbs, and individual communities of the urban fringe, variations in the intensity of crime reflect, in large measure, the deep divisions within the American society and the residential separation of the less successful and less well-integrated elements from the general population. While poverty alone is not a predictor of criminal intensity, separation and feelings of exclusion from participation in the economic abundance of the society can lead to alienation and a resort to violence to resolve felt problems.

The fear of crime has tended to turn us inward as a people, and we have been more concerned with escaping its grasp than seeking broader solutions aimed at weakening its roots. The relatively low rates of criminal violence in much of suburbia strengthen support for a continuation of those policies and practices to which successful containment of crime is ascribed, and, at the same time, undermines

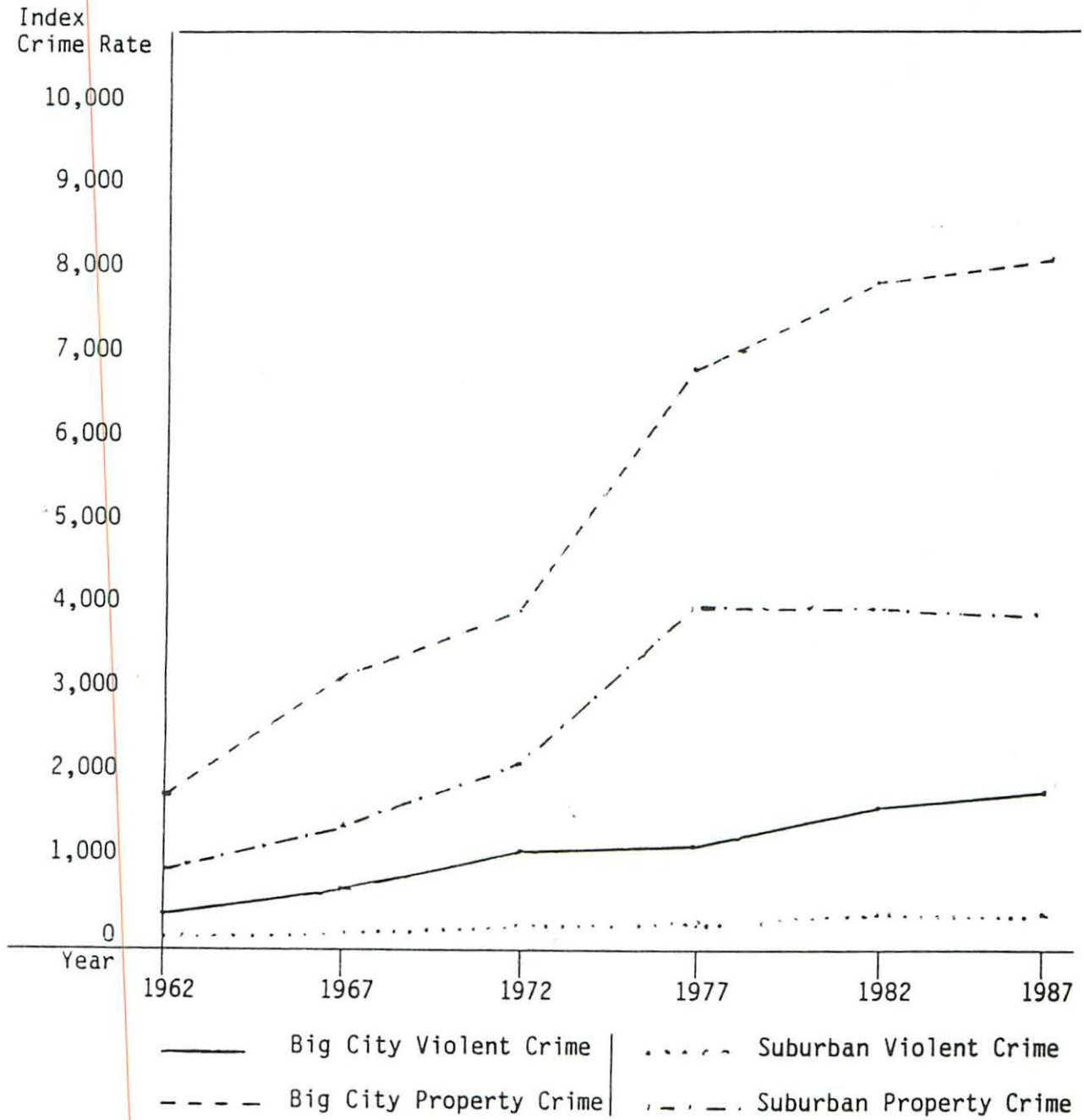
efforts to move away from the traditional reactive philosophy of expanding protective services and increasing the costs of unlawful activities through incarceration of more offenders. The authors contributing to an update of the findings and recommendations of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (Curtis, 1985), established in 1968 by President Johnson, have argued the need to redirect our energies by emphasizing "urban social reconstruction" through economic development, the creation of stable employment and the strengthening of family and community cohesion. Yet, without the strong support of the suburban population, which, by the turn of the century, will make up a majority of all Americans, there can be no new direction in addressing the crime issue.

TABLE I
 Crime Intensity by Population Aggregates, 1987

Area	Population	Total Crime Index		Violent Crime Index		Property Crime Index	
United States	243,400,000	13,508,708	5550.0	1,483,999	609.7	12,024,709	4940.3
Metropolitan Statistical Areas	186,637,521	11,747,875	6249.5	1,343,765	720.0	10,404,110	5574.5
Cities of 250,000 and Over	44,693,000	4,271,920	9558.4	668,404	1495.5	3,603,516	8062.8
Cities of 100,000-249,999	18,574,000	1,526,015	8215.9	156,729	843.8	1,369,286	7372.1
Cities of 50,000-99,999	21,185,000	1,340,976	6329.8	130,418	615.6	1,210,558	5714.2
Suburban Areas	92,878,000	3,968,363	4272.7	328,879	354.1	3,639,484	3918.6
Other Cities	22,752,410	1,114,517	4898.5	79,814	350.8	1,034,703	4547.7
Rural Counties	34,009,028	646,316	1900.4	60,420	177.7	585,896	1722.8

FBI: Crime in the United States: Uniform Crime Reports--1987, 42, 140-147

TABLE II
Suburban-Big City Crime Trends, 1962-1987



Year and Rate	Suburban Area Crime Trends*				Big City Crime Trends**			
	Population	Crime Index Total	Violent Crime	Property Crime	Population	Crime Index Total	Violent Crime	Property Crime
1962	45,790,000	377,448	29,765	347,683	38,725,000	806,126	123,578	682,548
Rate		824.3	65.0	759.3		2,081.7	319.1	1,762.6
1967	50,378,000	731,241	64,271	666,970	42,944,000	1,599,911	259,481	1,340,430
Rate		1,451.5	127.6	1,323.9		3,725.6	604.2	3,121.3
1972	59,045,000	1,395,580	130,917	1,264,663	43,321,000	2,143,467	432,587	1,710,880
Rate		2,363.6	221.7	2,141.9		4,947.9	998.6	3,949.3
1977	73,154,000	3,148,614	216,230	2,932,384	42,157,000	3,296,284	451,259	2,845,025
Rate		4,304.1	295.6	4,008.5		7,819.0	1,070.4	6,748.6
1982	86,182,000	3,806,103	293,908	3,512,195	42,050,000	3,870,692	569,316	3,301,376
Rate		4,416.4	341.0	4,075.3		9,204.9	1,353.9	7,851.0
1987	92,878,000	3,968,363	328,879	3,639,484	44,693,000	4,271,920	668,404	3,603,516
Rate		4,272.7	354.1	3,918.6		9,558.4	1,495.5	8,062.8
Rate Increase								
	1962-77	+422.2%	+354.8%	+427.9%		+275.6%	+235.4%	+282.9%
	1977-87	-0.7%	+19.8%	-2.2%		+22.2%	+39.7%	+19.5%
	1962-87	+418.3%	+444.8%	+416.1%		+359.2%	+368.7%	+357.4%

*Includes suburban city and county police reporting units within metropolitan areas.

**Includes figures for cities of 250,000 and over inhabitants in each reporting year. Because of population changes, the universe of cities differs with the reporting period.

FBI: Crime in the United States: Uniform Crime Reports - 1962, 1967, 1972, 1977, 1982 and 1987.

TABLE III

Central City Crime Rankings, Per 100,000, 1987

Upper Quartile

<u>Crime Index Total</u>		<u>Violent Crime</u>		<u>Property Crime</u>	
17,941.7	Fort Worth	3,113.1	Tampa	16,162.7	Fort Worth
17,263.9	Tampa	2,998.7	Atlanta	14,337.9	Portland
16,580.0	Portland	2,936.7	Miami	14,294.4	Dallas
16,283.2	Dallas	2,803.4	Newark	14,150.8	Tampa
15,557.7	Atlanta	2,544.9	Detroit	13,316.7	Seattle
15,266.9	Miami	2,277.1	St. Louis	12,559.0	Atlanta
14,751.9	Seattle	2,269.3	Chicago	12,330.1	Miami
12,926.1	San Antonio	2,242.1	Portland	12,264.1	San Antonio
12,722.1	Baton Rouge	2,075.8	Boston	11,839.2	Oklahoma City
12,699.6	Oklahoma City	2,036.1	New York	11,079.9	Minneapolis
12,680.5	Detroit	1,988.8	Dallas	10,950.4	Baton Rouge
12,670.3	St. Louis	1,910.2	Los Angeles	10,396.7	Oakland
12,620.9	Minneapolis	1,895.4	Kansas City	10,393.2	St. Louis
12,620.8	Newark	1,868.9	Baltimore	10,357.3	Tucson
12,168.6	Oakland	1,779.1	Fort Worth	10,263.7	Jacksonville
9,558.4	U.S. Big City Average	1,495.5	U.S. Big City Average	8,062.8	U.S. Big City Average

Lower Quartile

8,290.7	Milwaukee	875.4	San Diego	6,833.3	Washington, D.C.
8,283.5	Cleveland	875.0	El Paso	6,816.7	Pittsburgh
8,043.7	St. Paul	862.0	St. Paul	6,723.4	Los Angeles
7,977.1	Akron	860.4	Oklahoma City	6,701.3	Baltimore
7,926.7	Pittsburgh	852.3	Cincinnati	6,631.2	Norfolk
7,719.5	Long Beach	845.8	Tulsa	6,598.8	Buffalo
7,690.0	Buffalo	802.1	Toledo	6,572.5	Long Beach
7,531.5	San Francisco	763.3	Norfolk	6,466.9	Cincinnati
7,394.5	Norfolk	753.8	Denver	6,320.7	San Francisco
7,319.2	Cincinnati	676.3	Omaha	5,843.7	Louisville
6,784.3	Louisville	662.0	San Antonio	5,826.3	Omaha
6,502.6	Omaha	599.7	San Jose	5,607.8	Honolulu
6,341.9	Indianapolis	538.7	Wichita	5,392.8	Indianapolis
5,734.0	Philadelphia	492.6	Austin	4,679.2	Philadelphia
5,001.9	San Jose	271.2	Honolulu	4,402.3	San Jose

TABLE IV
Suburban Crime Rankings, Per 100,000, 1987

		<u>Upper Quartile</u>			
<u>Crime Index Total</u>		<u>Violent Crime</u>		<u>Property Crime</u>	
11,615.1	Miami	1,513.5	Miami	10,101.6	Miami
7,261.9	Dallas	977.4	Los Angeles	6,919.7	Dallas
7,161.4	Fort Worth	707.6	Tampa	6,743.5	Fort Worth
6,953.9	Tampa	670.3	Jacksonville	6,246.3	Tampa
6,582.0	Jacksonville	650.7	Oakland	5,966.4	Atlanta
6,438.9	New Orleans	610.2	New Orleans	5,911.7	Jacksonville
6,397.0	Denver	606.8	San Francisco	5,900.0	Denver
6,368.0	Oakland	592.0	Albuquerque	5,878.1	Phoenix
6,352.7	Atlanta	589.8	San Diego	5,828.7	New Orleans
6,320.5	Phoenix	566.8	Sacramento	5,761.0	Seattle
6,190.0	Sacramento	560.8	Baltimore	5,717.3	Oakland
6,015.2	Detroit	517.2	Detroit	5,623.3	Sacramento
5,986.9	Seattle	497.0	Denver	5,553.1	Oklahoma City
5,859.8	Oklahoma City	490.3	Newark	5,497.9	Detroit
5,717.8	San Diego	483.4	Birmingham	5,328.7	Austin
4,536.7	U.S. Suburban Average	397.8	U.S. Suburban Average	4,138.9	U.S. Suburban Average
<u>Lower Quartile</u>					
4,000.7	Toledo	273.7	Chicago	3,776.0	Cincinnati
3,823.5	New York	272.6	Kansas City	3,544.4	New York
3,752.5	Philadelphia	256.3	Cincinnati	3,391.0	St. Louis
3,746.5	St. Louis	235.7	Portland	3,362.4	Philadelphia
3,702.7	Birmingham	231.4	Wichita	3,219.3	Birmingham
3,466.9	Boston	225.9	Seattle	3,171.7	Milwaukee
3,455.6	El Paso	224.1	Tulsa	3,166.1	Tulsa
3,390.2	Tulsa	221.9	Indianapolis	3,144.5	Boston
3,308.7	Nashville	187.4	Pittsburgh	3,123.4	El Paso
3,300.0	Milwaukee	182.5	Cleveland	3,094.4	Rochester
3,258.0	Cleveland	181.9	Omaha	3,075.5	Cleveland
3,246.1	Buffalo	179.7	Toledo	2,972.2	Buffalo
3,229.5	Rochester	135.1	Rochester	2,961.9	Nashville
3,007.6	Wichita	133.5	Minneapolis/ St. Paul	2,776.2	Wichita
2,058.9	Pittsburgh	127.9	Milwaukee	1,871.6	Pittsburgh

TABLE V
Comparative Study of High and Low Levels
of Criminal Violence in Suburban Areas

	Miami*	Los Angeles*	Milwaukee*	Minneapolis/ St. Paul*
Area Population	1,625,969	7,477,657	1,245,314	1,401,195
Suburban Population	1,279,048	4,149,560	609,102	760,014
Area Black Population, 1980	17.2%	12.6%	12.1%	3.4%
Area Hispanic Population, 1980	35.7%	27.6%	2.7%	1.2%
Area Minority Population, 1980	53.8%	46.7%	15.8%	6.7%
Suburban Black Population	15.1%	9.6%	0.5%	0.8%
Suburban Hispanic Population	30.3%	28.9%	1.2%	0.6%
Suburban Minority Population	46.3%	44.5%	2.5%	2.8%
Area Per Capita Income, 1983	9,971	10,510	10,360	12,088
Suburban Per Capita Income, 1983**	10,554	10,405	11,904	13,273
Central City Violent Crime, 1987	2,936.7	1,827.4	505.2	1,252.5
Suburban Violent Crime, 1987	1,513.5	977.4	137.4	146.8
Numbers of Distressed Suburbs	10	20	None	None

*The Miami area includes Dade County only; Los Angeles area, Los Angeles County only; the Milwaukee area, Milwaukee and Waukesha Counties; the Minneapolis/St. Paul area, Hennepin and Ramsey counties. In Los Angeles County, both the cities of Los Angeles and Long Beach have been subtracted from the area total to obtain the suburban population base.

**Contrasts between suburban areas in per capita income are intensified by the fact that there are wide disparities in income between outlying communities in metropolitan Dade and Los Angeles counties, but only moderate disparities between the suburbs of metropolitan Milwaukee and Minneapolis/St. Paul.

TABLE VI

Suburban Crime in Selected Urban Counties, 1987

County or Suburban Portion of County	Population	Crime Index Total	Index of Violent Crime	Index of Property Crime
Suburban Dade Ct. (Miami, FL)	1,437,166	11,615.1	1,513.5	10,101.6
Suburban DeKalb Ct. (Atlanta, GA)	499,601	9,035.2	511.4	8,523.8
Suburban Fulton Ct. (Atlanta, GA)	244,570	8,797.1	604.3	8,192.7
Broward Ct. (Miami, FL)	1,176,462	8,511.5	892.8	7,618.8
Suburban Dallas Ct. (Dallas, TX)	829,960	8,283.4	423.0	7,860.4
Suburban Tarrant Ct. (Fort Worth, TX)	671,157	7,629.5	440.0	7,189.5
Suburban Hillsborough Ct. (Tampa, FL)	513,178	6,829.8	702.3	6,127.5
Suburban Wayne Ct. (Detroit, MI)	1,094,097	6,507.6	562.1	5,945.5
Oakland Ct. (Detroit, MI)	1,030,808	6,366.6	639.7	5,727.0
Suburban Alameda Ct. (Oakland, CA)	873,271	6,352.4	597.5	5,754.9
Suburban Harris Ct. (Houston, TX)	1,076,245	6,056.9	403.6	5,653.3
Orange Ct. (Los Angeles, CA)	2,221,570	5,735.0	450.2	5,284.9
Suburban Los Angeles Ct. (Los Angeles, CA)	4,757,574	5,405.1	977.4	4,427.8
Suburban Hennepin Ct. (Minneapolis, MN)	635,535	4,686.4	162.2	4,524.2
Suburban Cook Ct. (Chicago, IL)	2,274,024	4,618.1	286.1	4,331.9
Westchester Ct. (New York, NY)	805,892	4,346.6	349.8	3,996.8
DuPage Ct. (Chicago, IL)	658,858	3,832.4	130.4	3,702.0
St. Louis Ct. (St. Louis, MO)	991,891	3,768.0	284.2	3,483.7
Fairfax Ct. (Washington, D.C.)	724,901	3,764.5	146.0	3,618.6
Suburban Cuyahoga Ct. (Cleveland, OH)	852,941	3,471.8	182.0	3,289.8
Suburban Monroe Ct. (Rochester, NY)	468,019	3,438.3	93.2	3,345.2
Nassau Ct. (New York, NY)	1,326,938	3,338.8	247.7	3,091.0
Prince George Ct. (Washington, D.C.)	692,346	2,384.2	318.5	2,065.7
Waukesha Ct. (Milwaukee, WI)	286,206	2,269.0	68.5	2,200.5
Suburban Allegheny Ct. (Pittsburgh, PA)	957,946	1,625.6	154.7	1,470.9

TABLE VII
 Crime Levels in Chicago Area Suburbs Possessing Major
 Commercial and Leisure-Time Developments

City	Population	Total Index	Violent Crime	Property Crime	Offenses/Index Larceny/Theft	Offenses/Index Auto Theft
Schaumburg	57,555	5,405.3	151.2	5,254.1	2,144 (3,725.1)	305 (357.8)
Calumet City	39,697	7,292.7	289.7	7,003.0	1,674 (4,216.9)	732 (1,844.0)
Orland Park	30,857	4,018.5	61.6	3,957.0	947 (3,069.0)	179 (580.1)
Matteson	10,223	11,092.6	195.6	10,897.0	902 (8,823.2)	133 (1,301.0)
Gurney	9,882	13,215.9	161.9	13,054.0	1,221 (12,355.8)	29 (293.5)
Oakbrook	7,263	9,183.5	82.6	9,100.9	536 (7,380.0)	88 (1,211.6)
Rosemont	4,137	16,074.5	459.3	15,615.2	541 (13,077.1)	80 (1,933.8)
Average Suburban Cities	47,132,000	4,663.1	341.9	4,321.2	1,404,883 (2,980.7)	168,620 (357.8)

Illinois State Police, 1988. Crime in Illinois 1977. Springfield. 113-124.

TABLE VIII

Crime in Selected Affluent and Low Income Suburbs

A. Affluent Suburbs

Suburb/ Metropolitan Area	Population	Minority Population	Per Capita Income	Total Crime Index	Violent Crime	Property Crime	Murder
Kenilworth (Chicago, IL)	2,708	0.2	39,142	2,437.2	73.9	2,363.4	0.0
Highland Park (Dallas, TX)	9,490	2.5	32,281	5,890.4	242.4	5,648.1	10.5
Winnetka (Chicago, IL)	12,772	0.5	32,189	2,575.9	54.8	2,521.1	0.0
Scarsdale (New York, NY)	17,713	1.8	31,750	1,970.3	11.3	1,959.0	0.0
Hillsborough (San Francisco)	11,104	0.4	30,869	1,305.8	117.1	1,188.8	0.0
Beverly Hills (Los Angeles, CA)	32,646	1.5	28,488	7,220.2	793.2	6,427.0	0.0

B. Distressed Suburbs Undergoing Socio-Economic Change

Bell Gardens (Los Angeles, CA)	37,863	67.7	4,550	6,539.4	2,060.1	4,479.3	31.7
East St. Louis (St. Louis, MO)	55,200	96.6	4,997	9,753.6	3,731.9	6,021.7	61.6
Compton (Los Angeles, CA)	95,894	97.9	5,617	8,922.4	3,658.2	5,264.1	83.4
Opa-locka (Miami, FL)	14,984	81.3	5,896	19,447.4	4,411.4	15,036.0	53.4
Highland Park (Detroit, MI)	25,745	85.6	6,758	17,327.6	4,649.4	12,678.2	135.9
Harvey (Chicago, IL)	35,810	70.5	7,216	14,222.3	1,290.1	12,932.1	19.5

C. Stable Low/Moderate Income Minority Suburbs

Ford Heights (Chicago, IL)	5,347	100.0	4,178	5,012.2	1,178.2	3,833.9	0.0
Robbins (Chicago, IL)	8,853	99.2	5,984	1,965.4	225.9	1,739.5	0.0
Bessemer (Birmingham, AL)	32,273	52.2	6,078	7,650.4	1,109.3	6,541.1	34.1
Phoenix (Chicago, IL)	2,850	95.1	6,264	3,403.5	350.1	3,052.6	35.1
Capitol Heights (Washington, D.C.)	3,800	81.3	7,872	26.3	0.0	26.3	0.0
Inkster (Detroit, MI)	32,056	58.6	8,071	667.6	193.4	474.2	6.2

Suburban City
Average

47,132,000 NA NA 4,663.1 341.9 4,321.2 3.5

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