

Crime, Disorder and Decay in Chicago's Latino Community

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ABSTRACT. This paper utilizes results of citywide surveys to examine trends in Chicago during the 1990s in the extent of crime, social disorder, and physical decay. These trends depict a tale of three cities, for trends in neighborhood problems differed dramatically for Whites, Blacks, and Latinos. All fared differently, and no group was "average." By the beginning of the new century, Whites saw some improvement in neighborhood conditions, and Blacks experienced major improvements, but conditions for Latinos actually worsened. Analysis indicates that a combination of language and geographical concentration were among the factors associated with worsening conditions. The paper concludes with the recommendation that the city, the police department, and the community itself redouble their efforts to address the problems facing Latinos in Chicago. *[Article copies available for a fee from The Haworth Document Delivery Service: 1-800-HAWORTH. E-mail address: <docdelivery@haworthpress.com> Website: <<http://www.HaworthPress.com>> © 2004 by The Haworth Press, Inc. All rights reserved.]*

KEYWORDS. Crime, disorder, Latino

INTRODUCTION

The face of the nation is changing. Immigration and shifts in birth rates had a visible effect on the composition of the American population by

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the turn of the new century. Between 1990 and 2000 alone, the Hispanic population in the United States grew by an estimated 58 percent and the Asian population by 73 percent. Especially in cities, the traditional concepts of "majorities" and "minorities" no longer apply demographically or, increasingly, politically. Chicago mirrors these national trends. Long an entrepôt, Chicago is the third most popular destination city for new immigrants. Since the 1990 Census, the city has become home to tens of thousands of newly arrived immigrants from Mexico, along with smaller numbers from the Middle East, the Philippines, and Poland. The city's traditional Chinatown neighborhood is expanding in every direction, and refugees from Southeast Asia have formed new communities of their own. Each group arrives with established ways of life, and faces the task of adapting themselves to this new environment and America's big-city problems.

This paper examines the success of this accommodation to big-city life. It describes trends during the 1990s in several factors of interest to criminologists and students of urban life and more generally: the extent of neighborhood crime, social disorder and physical decay. Trends in these social problems were measured in seven citywide surveys conducted between 1994 and 2001. The surveys were conducted in both English and Spanish. In them, residents were asked about a variety of crime-related neighborhood conditions. Because surveys have been conducted over a relatively long period of time, they enable us to examine trends in neighborhood problems. They were all large enough to track changes in the views of large subgroups of residents, including Latinos. Respondents were asked to characterize the extent of a list of problems in their neighborhood, and this is an analysis of what they reported.

The extent of physical decay was monitored, along with reports of the extent of crime and social disorder problems, because of the expectation that it is linked to levels of fear of crime and neighborhood deterioration more generally (cf. Skogan, 1990). In Chicago, it is widely believed that crime is rooted in a range of neighborhood conditions and events, and that it is necessary to address both criminal and criminogenic problems if the city is to take its mission of preventing crime seriously. The police department's document describing the rationale for the new community policing program noted:

... CAPS recognizes that graffiti, abandoned vehicles and buildings, malfunctioning street lights and other signs of neighborhood disorder do have an adverse effect on both crime and the public's fear of crime. By addressing these relatively minor problems early

on, police and other government agencies can prevent them from becoming more serious and widespread crime problems. (Chicago Police Department, 1996, p. 2)

After describing general trends, this paper examines in detail the fate of the city's large and growing Latino population. Latinos began to make their mark on Chicago during the 1980s, and by 2000 they totaled almost 754,000. Illinois is among the five states with the largest Latino populations, and Chicago is home to half of the state's total. Like African-Americans (or Blacks; in this paper, the two terms will be used interchangeably) in an earlier era, the Latino community is fed by an immigrant stream, one that is now helping to drive up their numbers at a dramatic rate. They are principally from Mexico. In 1990, 65 percent of the city's Latinos were of Mexican origin; by 2000 it was 70 percent. Puerto Rican migration to Chicago began later, and the proportion of Puerto Ricans in the city declined between 1990 and 2000, from 22 percent of the Latino total to 15 percent. The fraction who were of Cuban origin remained in the 1-2 percent range, and the remainder came from a variety of points in Central and South America and the Caribbean. (These figures were calculated by the authors from STF 3a Census files for the 1990 Census and STF 3 files for the 2000 Census.)

For comparative purposes, this paper traces trends within all three of Chicago's largest demographic groups. The data reveal that, at least in Chicago, no one is "average." Overall, trends in disorder and decay during the 1990s were essentially "flat"; that is, reports on the condition of the city concluded that, in the aggregate, little progress had been made (cf. Skogan et al., 2002). However, the real story is a tale of three cities—White, African-American, and Latino. In this paper, we will describe how some groups fared better than others, and explore the factors lying behind the failure of Chicago's Latinos to reap the benefits of improving neighborhood conditions during the 1990s.

METHODOLOGY

Unit of Analysis

Because the data was collected in the context of a community policing study (see Skogan & Hartnett, 1997), our geographical unit of analysis is the police beat. They are relatively small (the city is divided into 270 residential beats, while nine others are mainly commercial or indus-

trial in character) and are generally defined by the highways, rail lines and arterial streets that also outline the city's neighborhoods. They are characterized by data from the 2000 Census that were aggregated by the authors to the beat level from 2,478 block groups, which are the smallest unit in the final (STF 3) Census data set.

Sample

The seven citywide surveys were conducted by telephone, by professional interviewing organizations. The surveyors contacted households using random-digit-dialing procedures in order to ensure that new households, those that had recently moved and changed their telephone number, and persons who chose to be unlisted (which is more than 50 percent of Chicagoans) would be included in the sample. Only household members 18 years of age and older were eligible for interviewing, and when more than one adult lived there, one was chosen at random to represent the family. The results of the interviews were weighted to correct for the over-representation of households with multiple telephone numbers; unweighted data were used to calculate tests of significance and in multivariate analyses. During 1994-96, the surveys included 1,300 to 1,800 respondents. During 1997-99, they involved 2,800 to 3,000 respondents, and in 2001, just over 2,500 individuals were interviewed. No survey was conducted in 2000 in order to save money. The most conservative completion rates for the surveys ranged between 40 and 60 percent, declining somewhat over time. While the respondents remained anonymous, they were asked to identify the general location of their home by giving the name of their residential street and the nearest cross street, or—failing that—to indicate the name of their neighborhood. Responses to these questions enabled most of them to be identified by their police district and beat.

Variable—Race

The key variable for analyzing the beat and survey data is race. Some may object to the casual characterization of "Latino" as a racial category in this paper, but of course race is a social and political construct. Even the Census Bureau has changed how it handles the concept in almost every decennial census (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000a). Latinos themselves have been trying to send demographers a message. In 2000, 42 percent of those who were identified by the Census Bureau nationwide as "of Hispanic origin" chose "other race," rather than White,

Black, etc., on their racial background question (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000b). In Chicago, 52 percent of Latinos chose "other race," and they constituted 97 percent of those who did so (author's calculations from STF 3 files for the 2000 Census). Latinos in Chicago can be characterized as a racial grouping for many practical reasons as well. There are a growing number of concentrated Latino neighborhoods; they are served by Spanish-language media; they evidence a distinctive culture and days of celebration; the economic and social makeup of the group differs from that of Whites and African-Americans; they have distinctive patterns of voter turnout and local political preference; and their representatives in the City Council and the U.S. Congress belong to a "Latino Caucus." Of course the city's Latino community is internally differentiated by national origin and many other factors. But others treat them as a racial grouping: In the neighborhoods, Whites commonly refer to them collectively as "the Spanish," or in other terms, and this undifferentiated treatment by outsiders contributes to their definition here as one of Chicago's three largest racial groups.

RESULTS

Trends in Physical Decay

One important set of problems plaguing the city's neighborhoods are the signs of visible neglect, abandonment, and deliberate vandalism that are visible in too many neighborhoods. To measure these, respondents were requested to rate a list of things "... that you may think are problems in your neighborhood." They were asked to indicate whether "... you think it is a big problem, some problem or no problem in your neighborhood." Responses to four of these questions were used to assess the extent of neighborhood physical decay:

- Graffiti, that is, writing or painting on walls or buildings.
- Abandoned houses or other empty buildings in your area.
- Vacant lots filled with trash and junk.
- Abandoned cars in the streets and alleys.

The surveys reveal that there is a great deal of variation over time with regard to these trends, and that most has been linked to race. In a nutshell, Whites began the early 1990s with little concern about physical decay, and things did not change much for them. African-Americans began with many serious problems, but they reported large improvements

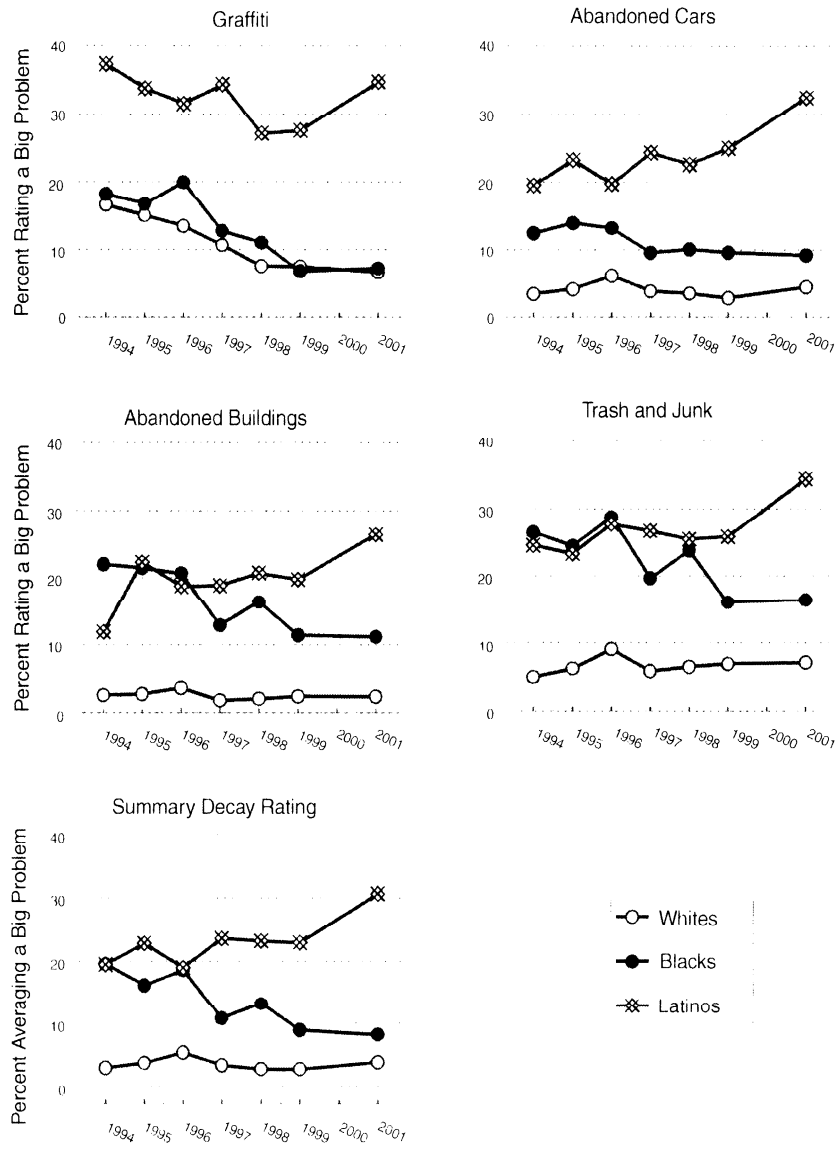
in neighborhood conditions over time. The city's Latinos, on the other hand, began with serious problems and saw them grow worse over the course of the decade. None of the city's three community groups reported experiences that were "average."

Figure 1 illustrates these patterns. It presents separate tabulations by race of the percentage of respondents reporting that physical decay problems constituted a big problem in their community, the most severe rating. It is also useful to combine responses to these four questions, because responses to them were consistent every year. For example, in 1995 they were correlated an average of $+45$. The combined index had a reliability of $.76$, indicating a moderately high level of consistency among its components. Because—based on residents' reports—these conditions tended to occur together, Figure 1 also presents a combined index of the extent of physical decay problems, as well as the individual problem measures.

Figure 1 also documents that little changed for the city's Whites over this period on three of the four measures. Except for graffiti, few Whites reported serious concern about neighborhood decay. Their high for abandoned car problems was six percent in 1996, and in 2001 it was only five percent. In no year did more than three percent of Whites think that they had a serious abandoned building problem in their neighborhood. Concerns that junk and trash were big problems began at five percent and ended at seven percent. The exception was graffiti, which was rated a big problem by 17 percent of Whites in 1994. Like African-Americans, Whites reported improvements in graffiti problems over time, dropping to seven percent by 2001. On the summary index (which charts the percentage of respondents in each group averaging at least half way between "some" and a "big" problem), Whites ended up about where they started, but they had relatively little to complain about because these were problems facing the poor.

A quite different pattern emerged among the city's African-Americans. They rated abandoned cars, abandoned buildings and refuse problems much more highly in the early years of CAPS (Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy). They were *nine* times more likely than Whites to think that abandoned buildings were a big neighborhood problem, for example, and five times more likely to give the highest rating to junk and trash problems. But during the course of the 1990s, reports of serious neighborhood decay problems by African-Americans declined sharply. Serious concern about abandoned buildings dropped by half, from 22 to 11 percent. Concern about refuse-filled lots and graffiti declined by 11 percentage points.

FIGURE 1. Race and Trends in Physical Decay



In other words, unlike the city's Whites, African-Americans in Chicago had a long way to go. And they did, reporting markedly improving conditions during the course of the 1990s. Based on the summary rating presented in Figure 1, decay problems for African-Americans approximately halved between 1994 and 2001.

However, the trends reported in Figure 1 do not depict a very hopeful situation for the city's Latinos. In 1995-1996, African-Americans and Latinos reported about the same level of concern about refuse problems and abandoned buildings and cars, but by 2001, the experiences of the two groups had diverged dramatically. On three measures, Latinos saw relatively little improvement in neighborhood conditions during the 1994-1999 period, and then things grew worse on every dimension. Even the apparent turnaround in serious graffiti problems stabilized during 1998 and 1999, and then reversed itself. By 2001, it was Whites and African-Americans who were in the most agreement about improvements in their neighborhoods—although Blacks certainly still had a ways to go before they could claim parity. Among Latinos, things grew worse.

Trends in Social Disorder

The repeated administration of surveys also enables us to examine trends in social disorder over time. Responses to three survey questions were used to assess the extent of neighborhood social disorder. Like the questions for physical decay, respondents were asked to rate a list of things that might be problems in their neighborhood and to indicate whether each was a big problem, some problem, or no problem. The conditions that were described were:

- Public drinking.
- Groups of people hanging out on corners or in the streets.
- Disruption around schools, that is, youths hanging around making noise, vandalizing or starting fights.

Questions about the extent of loitering and public drinking were not included until 1995, so this series is one year shorter than that for physical decay. In 1995, responses to these questions were correlated an average of $+0.52$, and had a combined reliability of $.76$. They, too, will be examined as a combined measure in some of the analyses that follow.

Like physical decay, when groups were examined in detail, it is apparent that some grew better off during the course of the 1990s, while others did not. In general, the bulk of the improvements registered in the surveys were reported by African-Americans. On the other hand, Lati-

nos saw few benefits from the program. White Chicagoans saw some gains, but there was again less room for improvement.

Figure 2 illustrates these patterns. It presents separate tabulations of the percentage of respondents reporting that problems in the social disorder cluster constituted a “big problem” in their community, and trends in a summary social disorder index. No problem in the social disorder cluster was top-rated by more than about 10 percent of Whites. As it documents, the only significant change in the city’s predominately White neighborhoods over this period was a decline in reports of school-related problems, from 11 to five percent. This trend was statistically significant, but those for loitering and public drinking were not; they remained essentially unchanged during the course of the 1990s, albeit at a low level.

The city’s African-Americans did somewhat better. They expressed substantial concern about social disorder during the early 1990s. In 1994, almost 40 percent thought group loitering was a big problem in their neighborhood; the figures for school disruption and public drinking were 22 and 23 percent, respectively. But over time they reported modest improvements in neighborhood conditions. The percentage of African-Americans expressing concern about disruption in and around schools dropped to only eight percent in 1999, before rebounding a bit to 14 percent in 2001. Concerns about public drinking and loitering problems were also down, until African-Americans reported losing ground again in the 2001 survey.

There was little good news for the city’s Latinos, however. As the summary measure in Figure 2 illustrates, in 1994 and 1995 African-Americans and Latinos reported about the same level of concern about social disorder; their summary scores for disorder problems were virtually identical. But by 1999, the experiences of the two groups had become dramatically different. Latinos saw none of the declines in school disruption reported by other groups, and reports of public drinking in their neighborhoods worsened considerably. Like African-Americans, they continued to report loitering problems.

Trends in Crime

The surveys also included five questions assessing the extent of neighborhood crime problems. The conditions described were:

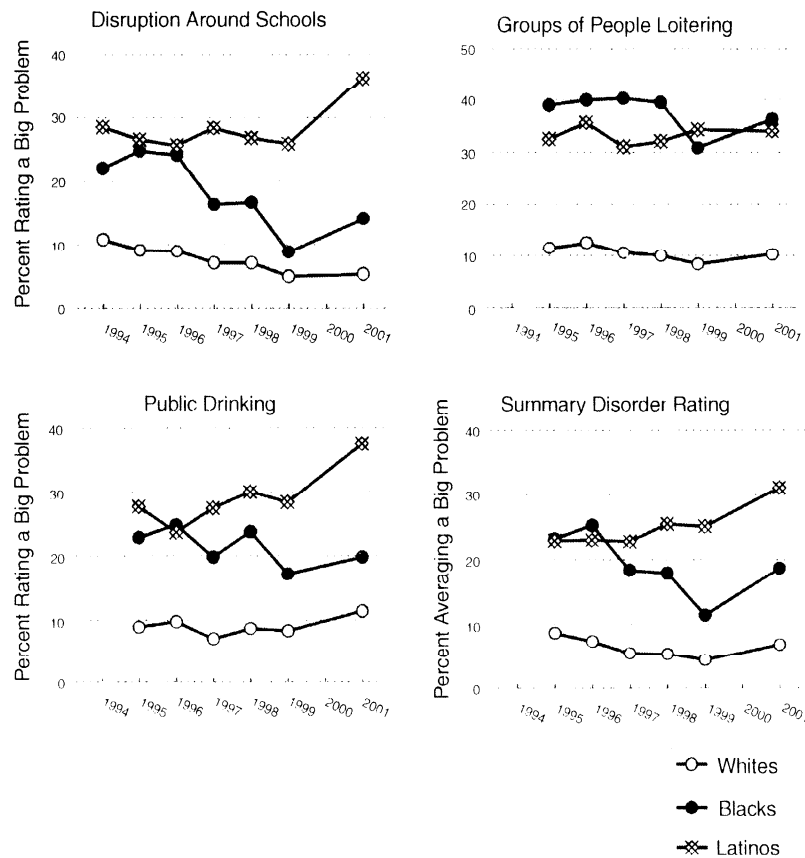
- People breaking in or sneaking into homes to steal things.
- Cars being stolen.
- Drug dealing on the streets.

- Shootings and violence by gangs.
- People being attacked or robbed.

In 1995, responses to these questions were correlated an average of $+.53$, and had a combined reliability of $.85$. They, too, will be examined as a combined measure in some of the analyses that follow.

Figure 3 depicts trends in these measures of crime problems in Chicago's neighborhoods. Based on our surveys, crime problems declined significantly for the city's Whites, albeit from an already low base. Concern about street crime dropped the most, followed by reports of the extent of auto theft. The summary index presented at the bottom of Fig-

FIGURE 2. Race and Trends in Social Disorder



ure 3 indicates that, overall, perceived crime problems dropped by about 50 percent for Whites.

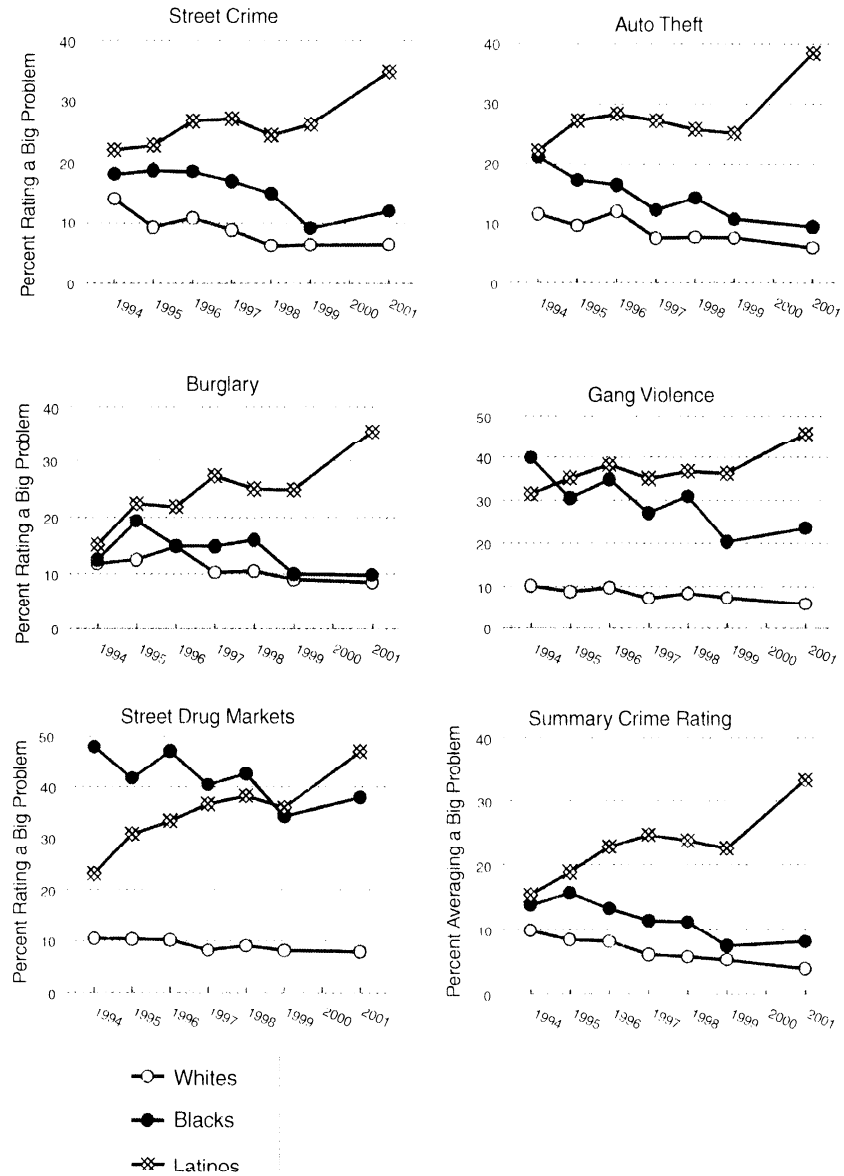
African-Americans also reported steadily improving neighborhood crime conditions. The largest percentage decline (by almost 20 percentage points) was for gang violence, and there were notable declines in the percentage of Blacks who reported serious auto theft, street crime, and drug market problems. Burglary was down the least between 1994 and 2001, although for African-Americans, the 2001 figure was 10 percentage points below its 1995 high in our surveys.

But there was again little good news in the 1990s for the city's growing Latino population. In the first surveys, they reported about the same level of problems as did African-Americans, on most measures. This was true for concern about auto theft, gang violence, street crime and burglary. However, their paths had parted by the beginning of the new century. While Blacks and Whites both reported fewer serious neighborhood problems by 2001, concern rose among Latinos on every dimension. But perhaps the most dramatic shift was in reports of the extent of street drug market problems. As Figure 3 illustrates, concern about drugs rose steadily among Latino respondents throughout the 1990s. As a group, they started with substantially less concern than was reported by African-Americans, but the percentage of Latinos reporting serious drug problems in their neighborhood more than doubled during the course of the study.

WHY LATINOS?

What lay behind these contrasting trends during the 1994-2001 period? Part of the answer can be found in demographic and survey data for these groups. In brief, the Latino community was under pressure from immigration and internal growth, and, in response, it cleaved apart. Things got better for established, English-speaking Latinos living in racially and economically diverse areas. They grew worse for Spanish speakers concentrated in the city's heavily Latino areas. As the number of concentrated Spanish speakers grew faster than their dispersed and English-speaking counterparts, as a group Chicago's Latinos found themselves progressively worse off as the decade wore on. On the other hand, the African-American community was not expanding. Its numbers were static, and there was not much immigration from the American South or elsewhere. While they were differentiated by class, trends

FIGURE 3. Race and Trends in Crime Problems



in Chicago's African-American areas were much more uniform—and things got uniformly better—during this eight year period.

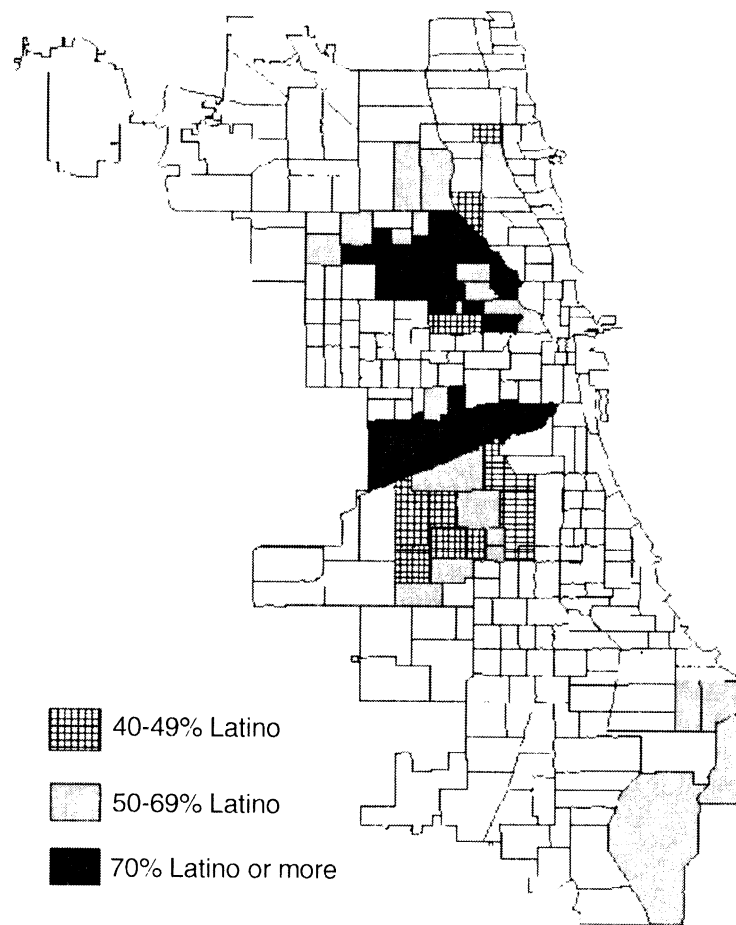
The effects of immigration on the composition of the Latino population can be seen in our yearly surveys. Because they come without much formal education, immigrants have had the effect of pushing down average levels of education for the group as a whole. In the 1994 survey, 71 percent of those identified as Latinos reported having a high school degree; by 1999, that figure had dropped to 54 percent. (The Spanish-language version of the survey included questions designed to reflect the educational experiences of persons from Mexico while allowing us to combine them with U.S. educational categories, so the percentages described here take education abroad into account.) In fact, the city reflected the general pattern: Nationally, immigrants to the United States from Mexico and Central America have low levels of educational attainment even in comparison to immigrants from South America or the Caribbean (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1999).

The results of continued immigration can also be read in respondents' language of choice in our surveys. Spanish-speaking interviewers screened and interviewed the randomly selected respondents when they preferred to be interviewed in Spanish. Using this indicator of linguistic preference, about one-third of Latino respondents were classed as "Spanish speakers" in the 1994 survey; in 1997 that figure was 49 percent, and by 1999 it was 61 percent, a tremendous demographic change.

A final key point about demographic change among Chicago's Latinos is that during the course of the 1990s they became more geographically concentrated. Between the 1990 and 2000 Censuses, Chicago's Latino population grew from 546,000 to 754,000, and most of the growth was in a growing number of heavily Latino areas on the west and near north sides of the city. Figure 4 presents a map depicting areas of Latino concentration in the 2000 Census. Between 1990 and 2000, the number of Latinos living in beats that were at least 50 percent Latino in composition in 1990 rose from 290,400 to 491,600, a 69 percent increase. By contrast, the number of Latinos living in beats that were less than 50 percent Latino in 1990 grew by only two percent. By 2000, two-thirds of all Chicago's Latinos lived in majority-Latino police beats.

The effects of these factors are depicted in Figure 5. Geographic concentration is depicted in the right-hand panels. Based on the combined 1999 and 2001 city surveys and the results of the 2000 Census, Latinos who lived in heavily Latino beats reported more disorder and physical decay problems. In 2001, the individual-level correlation between per-

FIGURE 4. Predominate Areas of Latino Residence in 2000



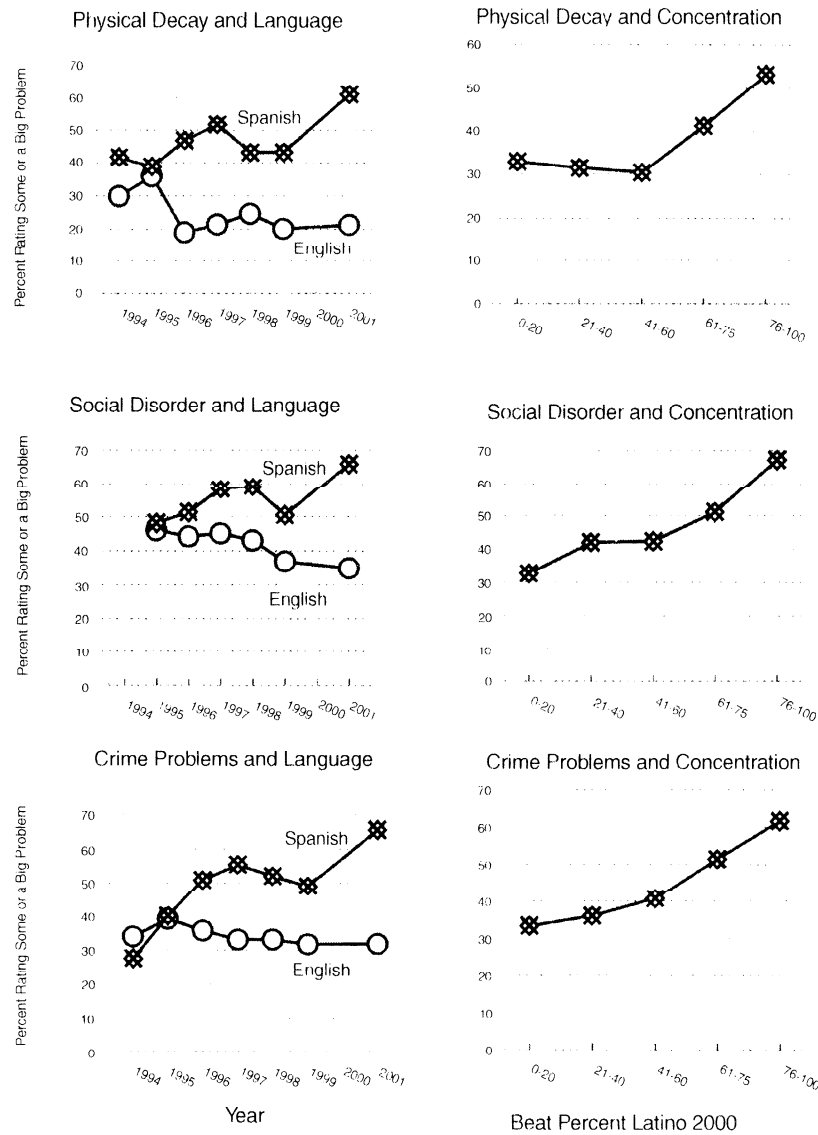
ceived social disorder and the percentage of each respondent's beat of residence that was Latino was $+.29$; for physical decay it was $+.22$. For presentation in Figure 5, physical decay, social disorder and crime problems scores (the percent reporting these were some or a big problem) were calculated for Latino respondents living in five categories of beats, ranging from areas that were less than 20 percent Latino in the Census to those that were more than 75 percent Latino. Among Latinos, reports of disorder and decay grew in frequency with the concentration

of their co-ethnics in their beat. The effects were roughly linear (the line rises smoothly) for social disorder and crime problems, but reports of physical decay problems jumped sharply among Latino respondents where their neighborhood was more than about 60 percent Latino.

The diverging experience of English- and Spanish-speaking Latinos is depicted in the left-hand panels of Figure 5. Survey respondents who preferred to be interviewed in Spanish reported more extensive neighborhood problems than did their English-speaking counterparts, and this was especially true as the decade wore on. In 2001, the individual-level decay/language correlation was $+.41$, and that for social disorder was $+.38$. Figure 5 charts trends over time in the percentage of respondents who reported that, on average, social disorder and physical decay were some or big problems in their neighborhood, breaking down respondents by language. Spanish speakers always reported more problems, but as noted above, over time the two groups began to report more divergent experiences. Much of the difference was due to worsening reports of conditions by Spanish speakers. One reason for this divergence was the increasing concentration of incoming Latinos in beats that were heavily populated by Spanish speakers. By 2001, conditions for Spanish-speaking Latinos were the worst for any demographic group we examined.

The joint impact of these language and neighborhood factors is examined in Table 1. It presents a multi-level analysis of the distribution of the social disorder, physical decay and crime problems indices. The analysis merges the two most recent years of survey data, that for 1999 and 2001. This yielded complete data for all measures on 1,007 Latino respondents scattered across 157 different police beats. Beat-level data were drawn from the 2000 Census, which lies between the two survey years. The individual-level variable of greatest interest is language preference. The beat-level variable is the percentage of beat residents who were classed as Latinos in the 2000 Census. An alternative measure of Latino concentration—the percentage of residents who reported speaking Spanish at home in 2000—was correlated $+.99$ with beat percent Latino. This is too high to examine separately in these (and most) statistical analyses, and the latter measure is employed here. Other control measures were included to strengthen the conclusions regarding language and neighborhood composition. At the individual level, nine additional measures were included: education, home ownership, age, gender, income, length of residence, marital status, employment status, and the presence of children in the home. At the neighborhood level, a powerful indicator of neighborhood poverty—the percentage of households below the 2000 poverty level—was included as well. The depend-

FIGURE 5. Effects of Language and Group Concentration Among Latinos



ent variables were created by summing the individual problem ratings for each; a high score indicates a high seriousness rating.

Hierarchical linear modeling (see Bryk & Raudenbush, 1992) yields unbiased estimates of the joint effects of individual- and group-level factors on the dependent variables. In this case, the question is what independent impact do individual and group factors have on the distribution of physical decay, social disorder, and crime problems in Chicago. Table 1 presents the results of the analysis.

As Table 1 indicates, only two individual-level factors were consistently linked to reports of neighborhood conditions by our respondents: language preference and education. In each analysis, Spanish speakers reported more extensive neighborhood problems, and more educated Latinos reported fewer area problems. Otherwise, reports of the extent of

TABLE 1. Hierarchical Models of Physical Decay, Social Disorder and Crime Problems

	Physical Decay		Social Disorder		Crime	
	Coefficient	Standard Error	Coefficient	Standard Error	Coefficient	Standard Error
Intercept	1.357**	.121	1.281**	.137	1.456	
Individual Factors						
Spanish Language	.328**	.051	.288**	.053	.283**	.052
High School Graduate	-.182**	.050	-.140**	.046	-.202**	.050
Age (in Decades)	-.005	.020	-.002	.023	.001	.021
Female	-.040	.043	-.029	.039	-.070	.041
Home Owner	.033	.048	-.040	.043	-.058	.049
Income over \$20,000	-.024	.049	.046	.076	-.045	.076
Years of Residence	-.000	.000	-.003	.003	.002	.003
Married	-.061	.046	-.040	.044	-.100**	.045
Employed	.018	.051	.047	.050	.025	.051
Children at Home	.071	.048	.056	.051	.092	.049
Neighborhood Factors						
Percent Latino	.003**	.001	.005**	.001	.005**	.001
Percent Households in Poverty	.011**	.004	.014**	.004	.010**	.004
Variance Explained						
Within-Neighborhood	12%		9%		11%	
Between-Neighborhood	63%		70%		84%	

*p < .05; **p < .01; N = 1007

neighborhood problems were almost completely independent of *who* our respondents were, as measured by the remaining control variables. Together, the individual-level factors described in Table 1 explained 12 percent of the variance in the physical decay measure, nine percent of the variance in perceptions of the extent of social disorder, and 11 percent of the variance in the crime problems measure.

In addition, both contextual measures were strongly associated with reports of neighborhood problems. Both Latino concentration and poverty independently were linked to all three measures. The effects of both neighborhood-level factors were highly significant, as indicated in Table 1. Because they are measured in the same metric (percentages), the coefficients are comparable, and it is apparent that the effect of local poverty was two to four times that of Latino concentration. Together, neighborhood poverty and Latino concentration explained 70 percent of the variation between-neighborhoods in social disorder, 63 percent for physical decay, and 84 percent of the total neighborhood effect on reports of crime problems.

In short, the analysis thus suggests a very modest role for most individual factors except language (and education, which as noted above is probably strongly linked to immigrant status as well). On the other hand, the poverty and ethnic make-up of the neighborhood within which they live seems to have a large independent effect on the life chances of Chicago's Latinos. Poverty had the biggest effect, but in addition, conditions were worse in the city's growing areas of Latino concentration.

CONCLUSIONS

So, both language and neighborhood composition counted. This was of great significance, for during the course of the 1990s, both factors shifted under the weight of internal growth and continued immigration from Mexico. Levels of education—another important determinate of life chances—also shifted, as immigrants with much less formal education moved north to Chicago.

We have examined the experiences of White, African-American and Latino Chicagoans, and have documented the divergent trend for the latter. As a group, conditions for Latinos trended for the worse, in part because the Spanish-speaking, geographically concentrated portion of the group was the one that was growing the fastest. By the turn of the century, the city—for surely disorder and decay on this scale was more than the police department's problem—had not yet figured out how to

counter these trends. But a simple extrapolation of 1990-2000 Census trends yields the prediction that Latinos will outnumber the city's Whites during 2004, and could surpass the static African-American population in 2014. If the most recent trends prevail (of course a shaky extrapolation), Chicago will shortly become a predominately Latino city.

While the fact of Latino population growth in Chicago, including the influx of immigrants, is no secret to the city and the police department, their efforts in place to deal with the problems of the newest city immigrants are not working. Politically, a large fraction of the Latino population is without "clout": They are not eligible to vote, or they are too concerned with earning a living and supporting their family to bother to register. Their needs must be voiced through the efforts of the community agencies which serve them, and other supporters. On the other hand, the effects of their numbers on the educational system, social service agencies, the housing stock, businesses, religious institutions, and the like, can no longer be ignored.

What this means for Chicago is that both the city and the police will need to increase their efforts to involve the Latino community—especially Spanish speakers—in community policing. This means addressing key issues, including low awareness of and participation in CAPS beat meetings; under-reporting of crime; avoidance of the police due to immigration status; and language skills. The Latino community will itself need to focus on some of the above, as well as additional issues which may include lack of resources and crime prevention. One of the reasons that CAPS has been very successful in the African-American community is because of high participation by Blacks in the program. Success in the Latino community will depend on their commitment to become involved in the program too.

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